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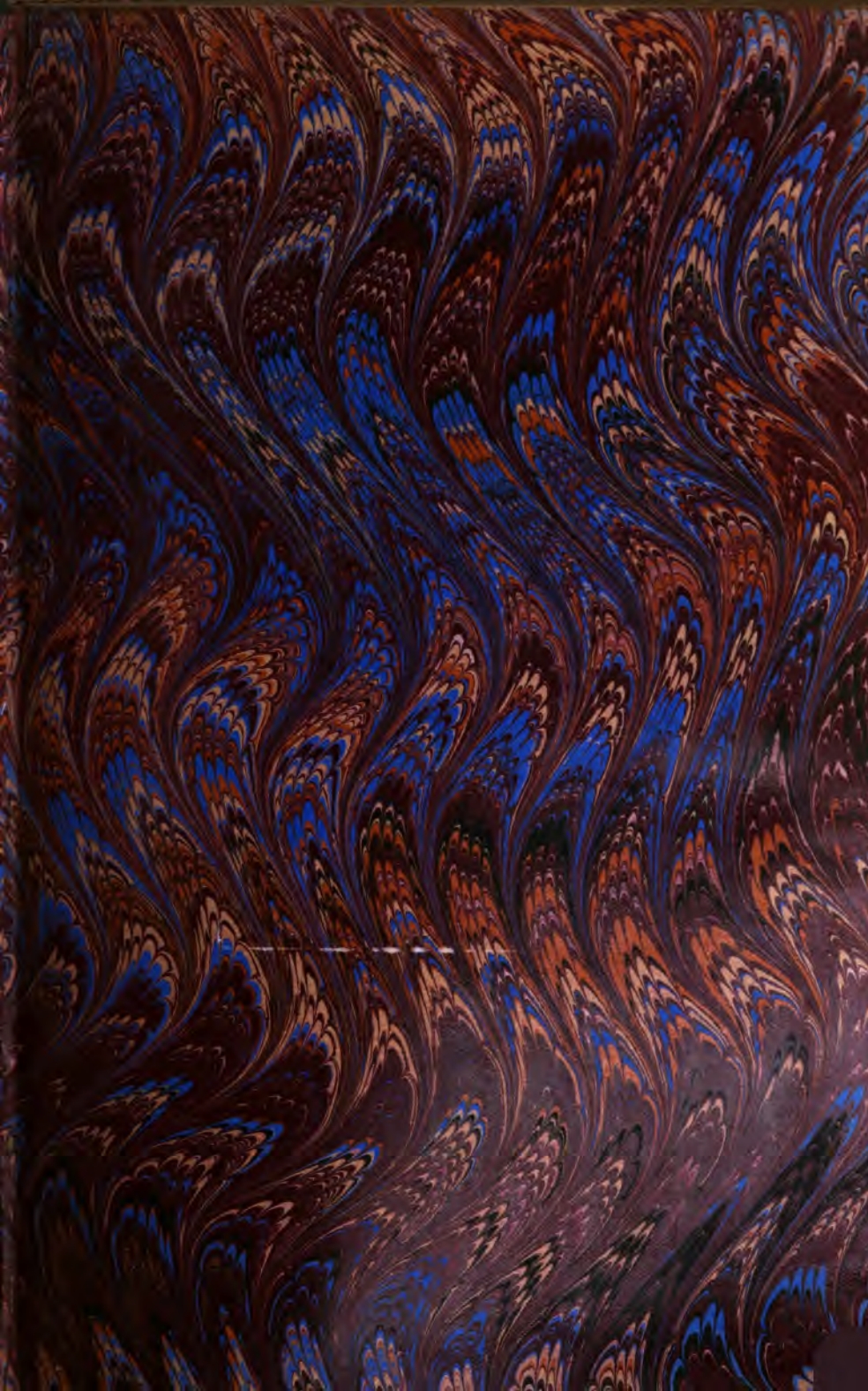
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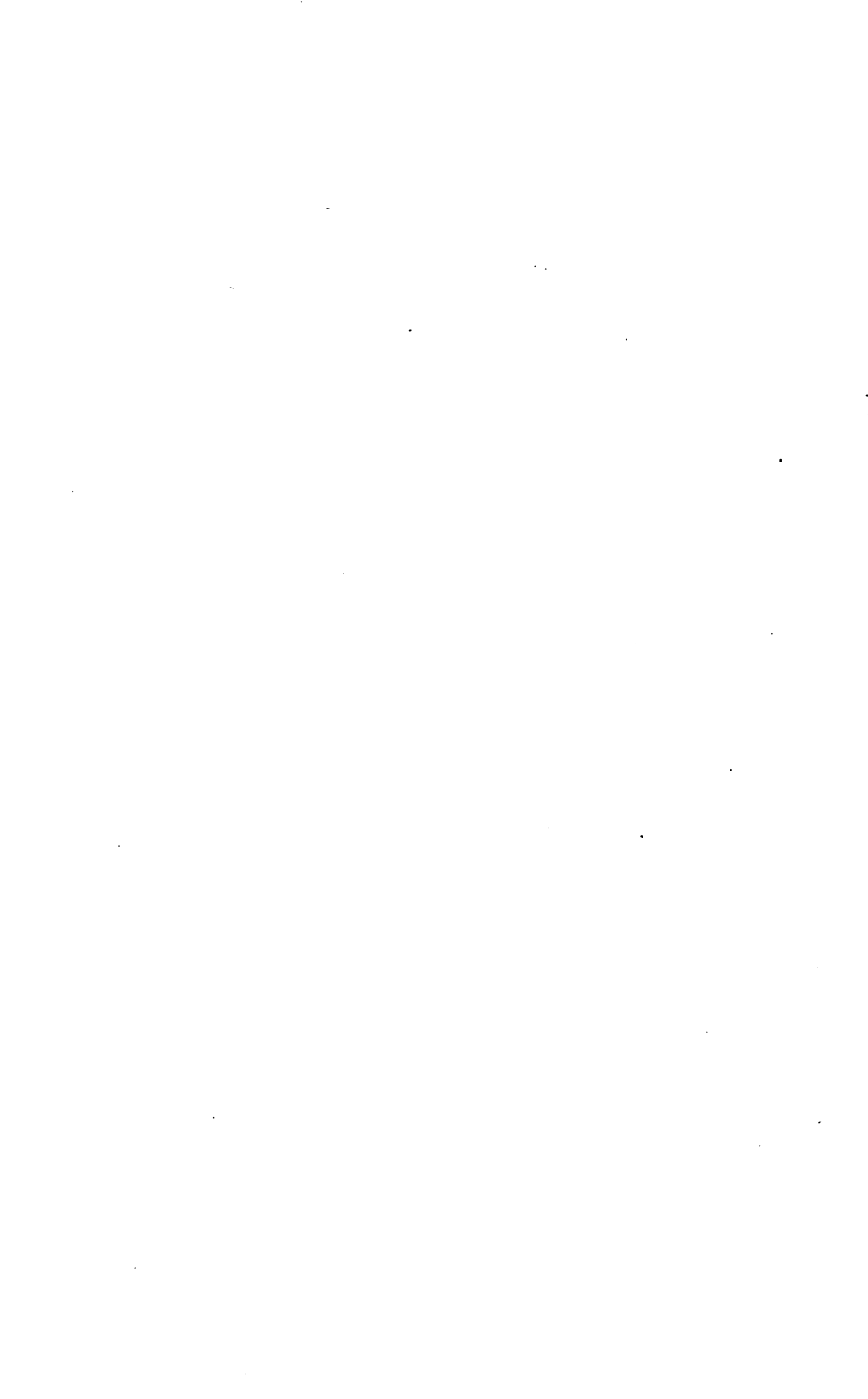


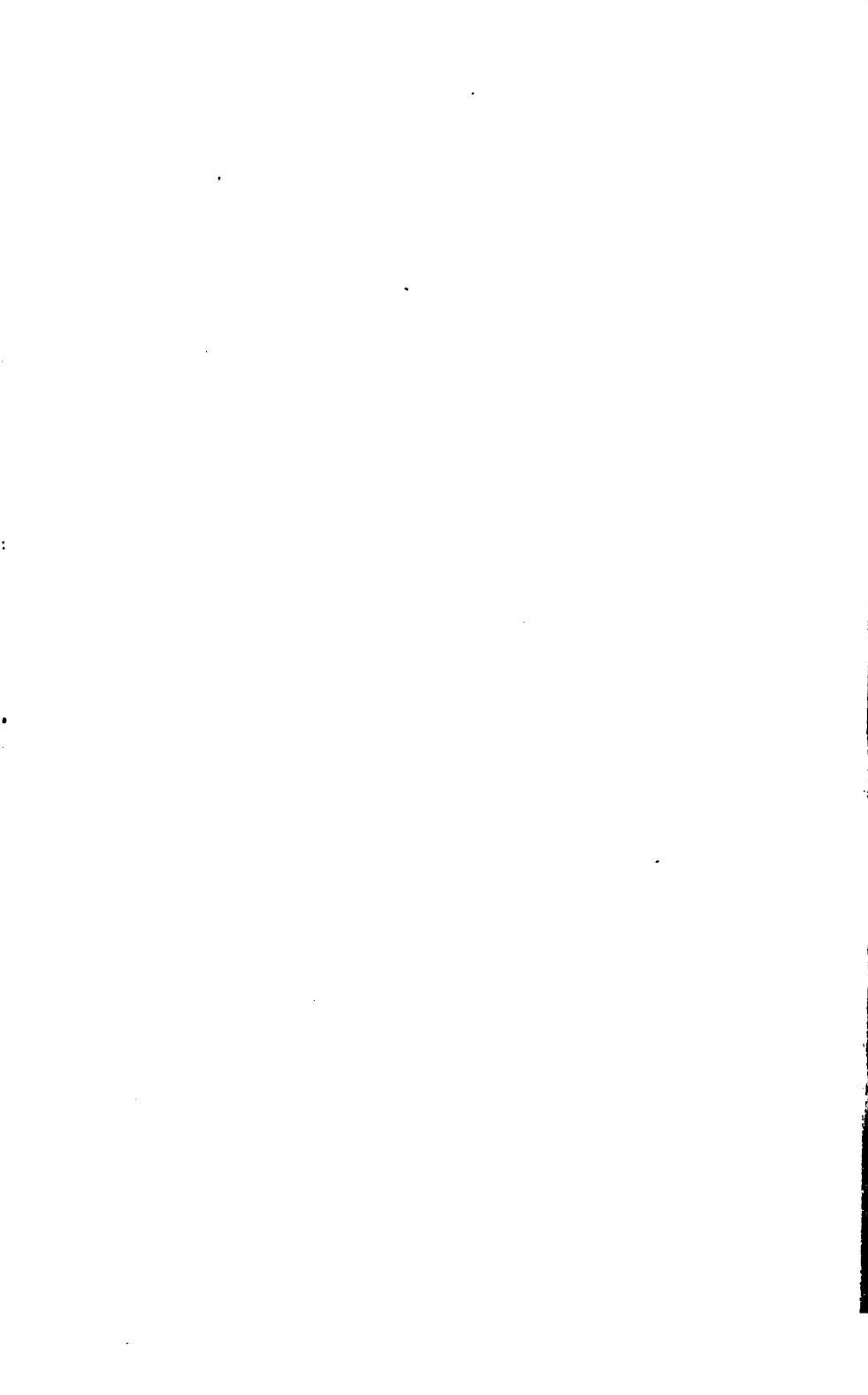
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PREFACE TO VOL. IX.

IN the present volume will be found considerable diversity of papers relating to places widely distant from each other, and to subjects remotely connected. Some of them, referring to remains in Brittany, Cornwall, France, Germany, and England, have been published by the Association with the express view of promoting the study of comparative archæology, on which the true advancement of a knowledge of Welsh antiquities is so much dependent; and they will be found to be the most valuable contributions which the Association has received during the past year.

Two highly interesting memoirs on subjects connected with early mining and manufacturing processes in Wales and Monmouthshire also enrich the pages of this volume.

The thanks of the Association are due to the Presi-

dent and Committee of the Archæological Institute for leave to reprint the learned paper of Dr. Guest on the Conquest of the Severn Valley, and for the use of the excellent map with which it is illustrated.

Archæologia Cambrensis.

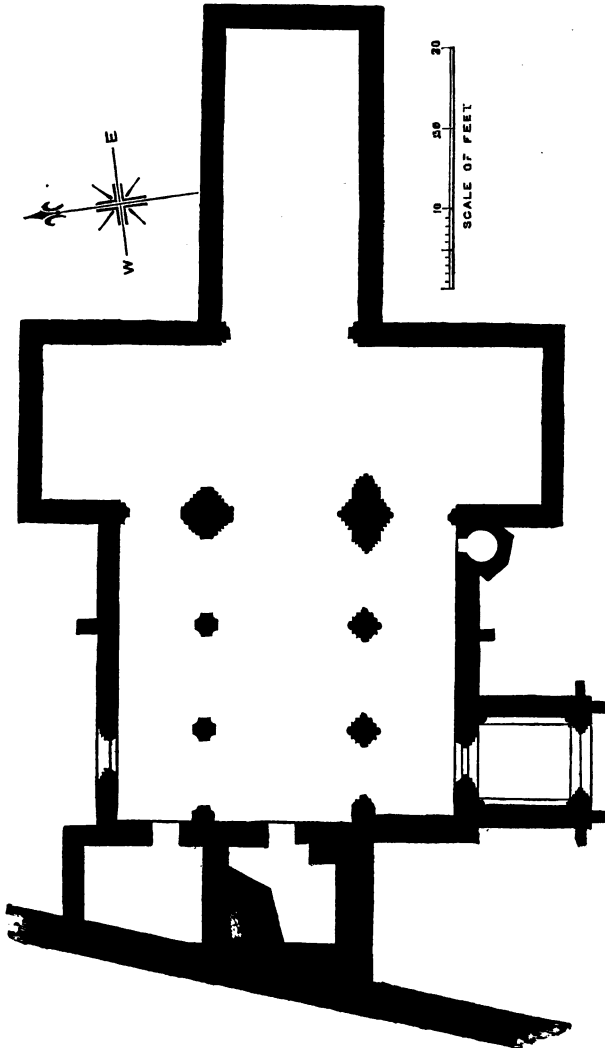
THIRD SERIES, No. XXXIII.—JANUARY, 1863.

MONA MEDIÆVA.—No. XXVIII.

HOLYHEAD.

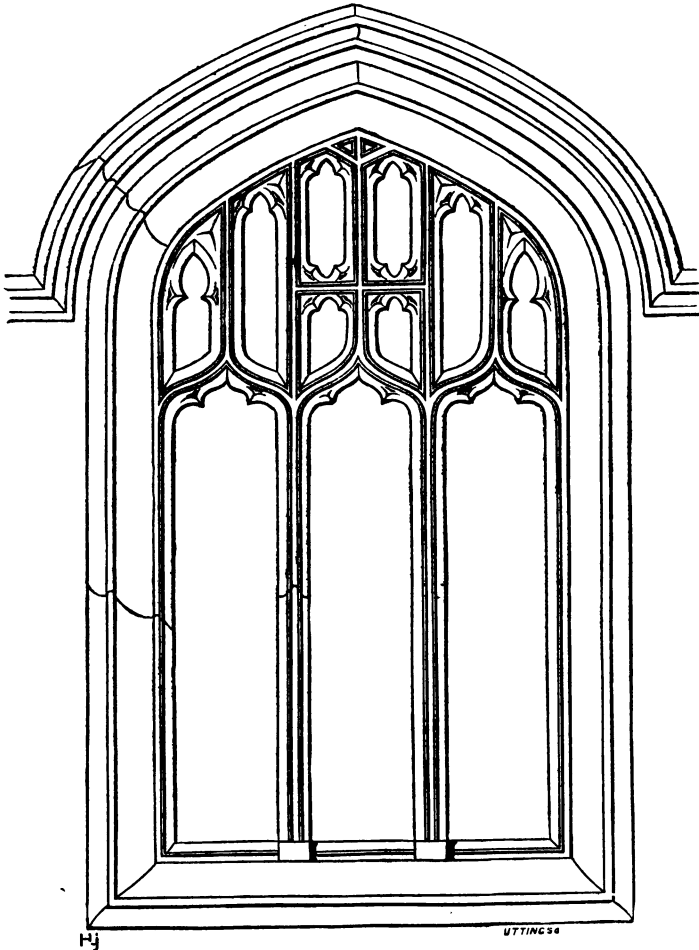
THE church of this parish, which constitutes the only mediæval building actually standing within it, was formerly collegiate; and, with those of Llanfaes, Pénmon, and Llanddwyn, made up the four religious houses existing in the isle of Mona. It is peculiar in its situation, being erected within a portion of what seems to have been a Roman fortified station. Round two sides of the churchyard the Roman walls, very similar in their work to those of SEGONTIUM, still stand; but part has been washed away by the sea, and part removed, in former days, for building purposes. It is highly probable that the Romans had a *trajectus* to Ierne from hence; and that, at all events, they knew the value of the locality as an harbour of refuge, and protected it accordingly. The lines of road from CONOVIUM and SEGONTIUM converge at a spot where a small camp stood, still called *Caer Helen*, a little to the east of Four-Mile Bridge. Here the road crossed, either by ford or ferry, the narrow arm of the sea, and ran on to what was afterwards called *Caer Gybi*. It may also be conjectured that the Romans made use of the British camp on the summit of the mountain for exploratory purposes; but no positively distinctive traces of their operation have been observed, though on this mountain British

remains are abundant. Whatever may have been the fate of this Roman station, it is certain that the spot was a chosen one for the piratical rovers who infested the north-western seas; and that it was made a stronghold of the Irish when they landed to devastate, or to possess, Mona. One of their leaders, Seirigl, is stated to have lost his life here.



Plan. Holyhead Church.

The church, as it now stands, consists of a nave with aisles, transepts, chancel, and tower at the west end of the nave. Judging from the plan and the dimensions of the piers, it would seem that a central tower was to have been erected at the intersection of the nave and

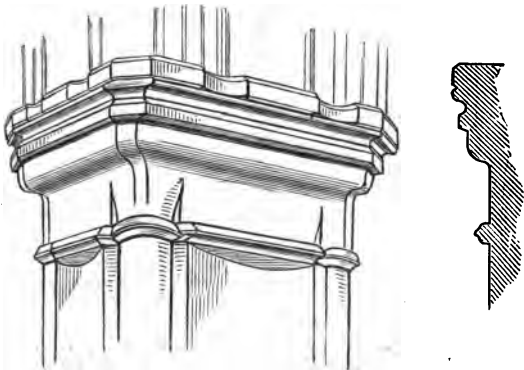
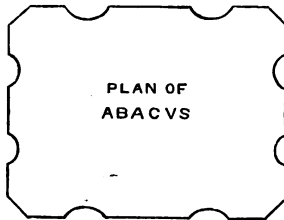


Holyhead. S. aisle, interior.

transepts; and, in fact, the whole building must have been in process of enlargement and alteration just before the tide of the Reformation swept over the land, and

the property of the collegiate chapter was taken away. Two large piers remain, the dimensions of which shew that they were intended to bear great weight; and they would have formed, in fact, the two western points of support for a superincumbent tower. There are no traces now observable of any eastern piers answering to them. The actual tower is older than the south aisle of the nave, and is of the same date as the northern one. It rests partly upon the Roman wall itself, and is entered only from the inside of the church. Over the south door of the nave is a porch of good design and careful workmanship, of the same date as the windows adjacent to it,—that is to say, of the end of the fifteenth century. It is covered with panelling work, and is in good preservation.

The chancel is modern, unusually long and narrow, and too low for the other parts of the building.



Pier. S. aisle.

The whole of the interior is greatly blocked up and

spoiled by high pews and galleries; but if these were replaced by suitable benches, and if the pulpit, etc., were properly treated, the whole would be much improved.

Over the north transept, on the outside, is seen on a stone the legend, SANCTE KYBI ORA PRO NOBIS.

At the south-west angle of the churchyard stood, in former days, the Chapel of St. Cybi,—or, as some say, of St. Seirigl; but the latter statement is probably erroneous. It has been replaced by a modern, featureless building.

On the western side of the mountain, at the head of a steep and dangerous gully leading down to the sea, may still be seen the foundations of a building called Capel Clochwydd. This was one of several small edifices which existed in various parts of the parish, and which served as places of pilgrimage, like the small chapels round St. David's in Pembrokeshire. The stones of this edifice, as well as those of some adjacent ancient British remains, have been long since removed by the ignorant inhabitants for building purposes. They little thought, at the time, that they were destroying a source of income by obliterating objects of national antiquity, which would have brought many a tourist and many a shilling on to the sides of the desolate mountain of Holyhead.

The following particulars concerning Holyhead are from Dugdale's *Monasticon* (edit. Cayley, vi, 1475):

“College of Holy Head, or Caer Guby, in Anglesey. St. Kebius,” says Tanner, “who flourished about A.D. 380, founded a small monastery here,¹ and in after times,² there was founded

¹ Capgrave in Vita S. Kebii. Cressy's *Church History*, p. 149; Fuller's *Church History*, Cent. IV, p. 26, etc.

² “This college,” says Tanner “(as the friendly J. Jones, of Galtvaynan, M.D., informs me), is said to have been founded by Hwfa ap Cynddelin, Lord of Llys Llivon in Anglesey, and one of the fifteen tribes; who lived in the time of Griffith ap Conan, Prince of North Wales, and Owen his son, or the former part of the twelfth century. It was certainly in being before A.D. 1291, because rated in the *Lincoln Taxation*.”

in the Royal free chapel,¹ in the castle of this place, a College of Prebendaries,² whose yearly revenues were valued, 26th Hen. VIII, at £24.³ This college was granted, 7 Jac. 1, to Francis Morrice and Francis Philips.⁴

¹ The provostship was disposed of by the king, as Registr. Institutionum Norvic., vol. i, fol. 85. Newcourt's *Repertorium*, vol. i, p. 453.

² Leland, *De Scriptor. Brit.*, p. 65.

³ Tanner says, in the *Lincoln Taxation*, "Præpositura in ecclesia de castro Kybii archidiaconatus Anglesey," is rated at 39 marks alone; and there is then mention of three portionists only; the first of which had xi marks per annum, and the other two xi marks between them. Willis, *Bangor*, p. 201. But the number of prebendaries seems to have been greater at the Dissolution, though the revenues were valued lower; for, A.D. 1553, twelve persons belonging to this college enjoyed pensions, as Willis, *Mitred Abbies*, vol. vii, p. 303.

⁴ Tanner says, "The great tithes of Holy Head belong to Jesus College, Oxford, by the gift of Rice Gwynne, Esq., A.D. 1648. N.B. The pencluse (*sic*) or president of the Collegiate Church at Holy Head, was one of the three spiritual lords of Anglesey, his tenure being baron or knight's service." Tanner adds, relating to this college, "*Vide* in Bibl. Harl. MS. 696, fol. 152. Nomina canonicorum et patronorum eccl. collegiatæ de castro Kibii secundum librum Will. ap Griffith de Penmenyth: Nomina canonicorum et patronorum prebendariorum secundum librum Hugonis Alcoke decani de Bangor. MS. Harl., 862, fol. 114. Instrumenta diversa ad ecclesiam collegiatam S. Kibii pertinentia."

H. L. J.

INFLUENCE OF MEDIEVAL UPON WELSH LITERATURE.

THE STORY OF THE CORT MANTEL.

ALL who are well acquainted with the general literature of Western Europe during the middle ages, know how necessary that general knowledge is to enable us to judge correctly the literature of any one of its separate states or peoples. This is the case, to some degree, at all periods; but it is felt more especially after the tenth century. The establishment of feudalism had formed a centre of the new society which arose from it; and that centre was France, which remained through the medieval period the head and grand exemplar of the feudal system. France, from this moment, began to be the model of social fashions to the peoples of the West: she lent them her language, and with that she communicated to them her literature, and that literature soon began to exercise a very great influence over the literature of every country which came within its limits. Thus, in England, the older literature of the Anglo-Saxons was altogether either superseded, or greatly modified, by what we denominate Anglo-Norman—the literature of northern France, so named from the dialect in which it was written. This same French, or, if we like to keep the term, Anglo-Norman, literature had equally a powerful influence over that of the Celtic race, whether in Wales, in Scotland, or in Ireland; and it is extremely important that that influence should be investigated with more care, and with more knowledge of both sides of the question, than have hitherto been bestowed upon it. The cause of its influence is easily understood. Feudalism had great attractions to peoples who still lived in a state of clanship; and, once established, it drew constantly from its centre. The literature of the feudal minstrel, which addressed itself directly to feudal

feelings in every form, and was at the same time most frequently anonymous, and existed only orally, was carried incessantly from the centre to its most distant dependencies, and easily took root among people who soon began to look upon feudalism as a condition coeval with their own race. Its stories and legends, therefore, as well as its principles, were soon adopted as native by peoples to whom they were really foreign; and their true character can only be detected by a very large and deep study of the subject. This may be investigated, at least most popularly, by tracing particular branches of literature, or even particular sentiments or legends, from one country to another; and I venture on this occasion to take as an example one of these legends, which is in many respects curious and interesting, although it is, perhaps, in some respects, not quite the best which might have been chosen.

The morality of the middle ages was not of a very elevated character, and the frequent failings of the weaker sex appear in the popular literature rather as a subject of jocularly than of reprehension. It was in this spirit that people sought expedients for detecting female frailty, several of which are commemorated in medieval stories; and tests for this purpose are sometimes introduced even into the old manuscripts of domestic receipts. One of these tests best known in romance was an enchanted mantle, which, when placed on a lady who had sinned, drew up or contracted her dress so as to expose her person. The first shape in which we find this story in the existing literature, is a short French poem of the thirteenth century, of which the following is a brief outline.

Once King Arthur called his knights to hold a splendid feast at Pentecost, and he ordered each to bring with him his lady, whether wife or mistress. It was a crowded assembly, and many a bold knight and fair dame or damsel was present. Now it was Arthur's custom on these occasions never to sit down to table until news of some adventure arrived; and this time,

while the queen entertained all the ladies in her chambers, the king and his knights waited in the hall, long after the hour of dinner, until they all became impatient. Suddenly, to their relief, a "vallet" was seen approaching on horseback, who dismounted in haste, entered the hall, and courteously saluted the company. Arthur returned the salutation, and inquired his business. The "vallet" stated that a maiden had sent him from a distant country to present to King Arthur a mantle, which is afterwards stated to have been made by a fairy, and which possessed the property of discovering the falseness of the lady who wore it; for if she were not chaste, it would become instantly too long or too short. He drew the mantle from his *aumosnierre* (the bag suspended to his girdle), and obtained from the king a promise that the queen and the other ladies present at court should immediately be put to the test; and the mantle was to be the prize of the first lady who underwent the trial without mishap, or, in other words, whom it should fit. The queen stepped forward, eager to gain the prize; but she had no sooner tried it on than it rumbled up, and put her to so great shame, that she rushed blushing from the hall to hide herself in her chamber. King Arthur, as may be supposed, was not well pleased; but he determined to continue the experiment, and one lady after another made the trial, and failed no less than the queen, amid the laughter and jeering of all the worthy knights who were spectators, though each winced a little when it became the turn of his own *chère amie*. The scornful knight, Sir Kay, exulted more than any over the shame of the other ladies, yet his own wife was exposed most disgracefully of all. At length it came to the gentle lady of Sir Caradoc, and she, though far less eager for the trial than her companions, carried off the prize triumphantly, to the great exultation of her husband, and to the admiration of the whole court,—or, at least, with the exception only of the ladies.

We next meet with the story in what was intended

for a grave chronicle of historical events, intitled the *Scalachronica*; but, as it was compiled by a knight, Sir Thomas Gray of Heton in Northumberland, he has introduced in it stories of chivalrous romance instead of legends and miracles of saints, which were more suitable to the taste of the monkish chroniclers. This chronicle was compiled in the French then spoken in our island, and in the fourteenth century, and it contains a brief notice which gives us a rather curious account of the subsequent history of the famous mantle. The author has recorded how, at one of King Arthur's feasts of Pentecost, "the same night was sent into the court, by a beautiful damsel, the mantle of Karodès (Caradoc), which had such virtue that it would not fit properly her who would not let be known to her husband her act and thought; out of which there arose great laughter, for there was not a single woman in the court which the mantle would fit, because it was either too short, or too long, or too tight, beyond measure, except only the wife of Karodès; for which purpose, as was said, it was sent to the court by the father of the said Karodès, who was said to be an enchanter, to prove the goodness of his son's wife, who was one of the most virtuous of the court. Of the same mantle was made a chasuble afterwards, as is said, which is still preserved at the present day at Glastonbury."¹

We learn from this that there were different versions of the story of the mantle, and that it was popular in

¹ "Meisme le nuyt estoit envoyé en la court od un damoysele jolyve le mauntil Karodès, qe out tiel vertu qe il ne voroit estre de droit mesure à nul femme que [ne] vouloit lesser savoir à soun marry soun fet et pensé, de quoi en out grant risé, qar y n'y out femme nulle en la court à qui le mauntil estoit de mesure, ou q'il estoit trop court, ou trop long, ou trop estroit, outre mesure, fors soulement à l'espous Karodès, pur quoi, com fust dit, estoit envoyé à la court de par le pier le dit Karodès, qe fust dit un enchanteour, de prover la bounté la femme soun fitz, qe un dez plus mouer (?) estoit de la court. De meisme le mauntel fust fet un chesible puscedy, com est dit, qe unqor est à jour de huy à Glastenbery."—*Scalachronica*, MS. Corp. Chr. Camb., No. 133. The part subsequent to the Conquest was printed in a quarto volume by the Maitland Club. My extract is taken from the part which remains still inedited.

England as early as the fourteenth century. In the early French literature the mantle was known as the *cort mantel*, or short mantle, which is the title of the poem in the early manuscripts, and is a correct description of its quality; for it usually shrank, instead of stretching out, when worn by a sinner. But this name was subsequently changed for one which was by no means so correctly descriptive of it, that of the *mantel maltaillé*, or the ill-shaped mantle; under which title a paraphrase in prose of the poem was published in the sixteenth century.¹ This version, the language modernized, was given to the public again in a well known collection of stories by a popular French writer of the last century.² In England, too, the story evidently remained popular, and it probably formed the subject of an English poem or ballad in the fifteenth century. This, in the century following, had assumed the usual form of the old English ballad; and two texts of it in this form were published by Bishop Percy in his well known *Reliques of Ancient English Poetry*.³ This English ballad evidently represents the French poem of the thirteenth century, or perhaps rather a French poem of the same period which gave the story with some slight variations in detail.

It is not only clear that different versions of the story of the mantle existed, but in some of them the mantle was exchanged for other tests. Thus, in one, the "vallet" brings to King Arthur a horn (in some versions of this story a cup), out of which no man whose wife was not true could drink without spilling a part of the contents; and on the trial Cradoc (Caradoc) alone succeeded in proving his lady's innocence, and became the possessor

¹ This French version in prose was printed at Lyons, by Didier, in the latter half of the sixteenth century (Didier printed in 1577); and it was reprinted in a popular form, without date or name of place or printer, but apparently about the beginning of the last century.

² *Recueil de ces Messieurs,—Les Manteaux*; by the Comte de Caylus. It is reprinted by Legrand d'Aussi, *Fabliaux ou Contes*, tom. i, p. 126, ed. 1829.

³ Percy, *Reliques of Ancient English Poetry*, edition of 1823, vol. iii, p. 263, and vol. iv, p. 240.

of the wonderful horn. This story existed in mediæval literature at a rather early date, for it is introduced into the romances of Tristan and Perceval, and it enters into an old English ballad¹ (probably of the fourteenth century) in which King Arthur, and not Cradoc, is the possessor of the wonderful horn. In another story, again, it was a boar's head which was placed on Arthur's table, and which no one whose wife had been untrue could carve; and again Cradoc's knife was the only one which could cut it, and he accordingly obtained the boar's head as his reward. In the romance of *Perceforest* a rose is introduced, which, if smelt by a lady, immediately betrays her. The earlier of the two English ballads introduces, at one festival, all the three first mentioned of these tests, and gives them all to Craddocke and his lady:

“Craddocke wan the horne,
 And the bores head;
 His ladie wan the mantle
 Unto her meede.
 Everye such a lovely ladye,
 God send her well to speede!”

Let us now turn to the literature of the other race which shared in the population of our islands. As far as I can learn, the story of the mantle is not at present known to exist in Welsh, but the Welsh bards were certainly well acquainted with it. The hero Caradoc Vreichvras, or Caradoc the brawny-armed, and his wife

¹ “Kyng Arthour had a bugylle horne,
 That evermour stod hym beforne,
 Wer so that ever he zede.

* * *

Iff any cokwold drynke of it,
 Spylle he schuld withouten lette;
 Therefore thei wer not glade.
 Gret dispyte thei had therby,
 Because it dyde them vilony,
 And made them oft tymes sade.”

This curious ballad was first published in Hartshorne's *Ancient Metrical Tales*, 1829, p. 209; but a more correct text was given in a little book published at Vienna in 1839, by Th. G. von Karajan, under the title of a *Frühlingsgabe für freunde älterer Literatur*.

Tegan Eurvron, or Tegan the golden-breasted, are personages well known to Welsh legend. One of the Welsh *Triads* tells us that the "three virtuous damsels of the isle of Britain" were "Trywyl, daughter of Llyn-gessawl the generous-handed; Gwenfroun, daughter of Tudwal Tudelud; and Tegan Eurvron, who was one of the three beautiful dames of Arthur's court." And another *Triad* enumerates as "the three beautiful dames of Arthur's court,—Dyfir, the golden-haired; Enid, the daughter of Earl Yniwl; and Tegan Eurvround"; while a third *Triad* names them as "the three splendid ladies of Arthur's court: Dyfir, the golden-haired; Enid, the daughter of Earl Iniwl; and Tegen Eurfron." Tegan's mantle is enumerated among the thirteen rarities of the isle of Britain.¹ A more complete account of this lady and her attributes is given in Williams's *Dictionary of Eminent Welshmen*,—"Tegan Eurvron, the daughter of Nudd Hoel, and the wife of Caradoc Vreichvras, is celebrated in the ancient Welsh records for her chastity." [He here refers to the preceding *Triads*, and continues:] "In another *Triad* she is thus mentioned; 'There are three things of which no one knows their colour—the feathers of the peacock's tail when expanded, the mantle of Tegan Eurvron, and the miser's pence.' Her mantle formed one of the thirteen royal curiosities of the isle of Britain; for no one could wear it who had dishonoured marriage, nor a young damsel who had been guilty of incontinence, but it would cover a chaste woman to the ground. The bards of the middle ages make frequent allusions to the mantle of Tegan Eurvron, as well as to her golden goblet and her knife. The story of her mantle is copied from the Welsh by the English minstrels in the old English ballad of *The Boy and the Mantle*, as well as that of the knife and cup."² Percy was also informed by the Rev. Evan

¹ The list of these thirteen rarities is given in Jones's *Relics of the Welsh Bards*, vol. ii, p. 47. The Welsh *Triads* are, as is well known, printed in the *Myvyrian Archæology*.

² The knife, of course, was that with which the boar's head was carved.

Evans, a Welsh antiquary of the last century, that the English ballad was taken from the Welsh; but it appears to have been a mere assertion without any foundation, for none of those who made it ever produced the original from which the English ballad was taken.

If we turn to the other great branch of the Celtic language peculiar to our islands, I am not aware if the story of the mantle is found in Irish literature; but curiously enough we meet with it in Gaelic. In the recently published selection of ancient Gaelic poetry from the Dean of Lismore's book, the editor gives and translates a short poem as "a curious episode in Fenian history": in fact, it is supposed to be one of the fragments of the early Ossianic poetry. One day, according to this poem, Finn went to drink on the banks of the river Alve with a small party: they were in all six men and six women. The men were Finn himself, Diarmad, Cavilte and Ossian, Oscar and Conan; the ladies, Maighinis, Finn's wife, and five others. The women became inebriated, and then they began to vaunt their good qualities, and boasted especially that there were no six women in the world so true as they. One only spoke more modestly, and reproved the vanity of the others. While they were thus engaged, a maiden approached bearing a seamless robe, and seated herself by the side of the king (Finn). "Maid of the seamless robe," said Finn, "what virtue has this spotless vest?" She replied that her robe had the quality "that women who were not true could find no shelter in its folds,—it shielded only the spotless wife." Conan then stepped forward, and demanded that his wife should make the first trial. She did so, and the robe "shrank into folds," and left all her breast uncovered. The Fenian heroes appear to have been less tolerant than Arthur's knights, for Conan grasped his spear, and slew his wife. Diarmad's wife fared no better; and when Oscar's spouse put it on, it left her bare to her middle. The fair Queen Maighinis was no better than the others, or even worse, for the robe "creased and folded up to her ears." The

latter part of the poem is, in the translation at least, rather obscure; but it would appear that the daughter of Dearg, who seems to be here considered as the wife of Mac Rea,—though she is elsewhere spoken of as the mother of Ossian, and therefore a wife or mistress of Finn,—occupies the place of the wife of Caradoc in the other legends. When the robe was put on her, “her body was covered, feet and hands, none of it all was left exposed.” As Ossian is pretended to be the composer of this poem, it was but fair that he should give credit to his own mother. But Mac Cumhail, who was not so fortunate, is made to utter a curse against all woman-kind.

Here, then, is a Celtic poem, professing to be of a much more remote antiquity than the age of King Arthur, for Ossian is supposed to have lived in the third century, and the authenticity of which is very strongly vouched; for the poetic son of Finn not only gives his own name among the six heroes present on this occasion, but speaks in the first person of his wife,—“the fair-bosomed maid, my own dear wife,” as one of the ladies of the party. She appears to have escaped the trial. If this poem, therefore, were authentic, the Welsh history of the story would be entirely overthrown. But, unfortunately for its authenticity, the manuscript known as the Dean of Lismore’s Book is itself only of the beginning of the sixteenth century; and a little careful examination will convince us that the poem I refer to was derived from perhaps an earlier form than those now remaining of the English ballad,—very probably through a Lowland Scottish version of it. In fact, the order in which the different incidents occur, and many of the expressions, lead us to believe that this Gaelic poem and the two English ballads were derived from the same earlier English original. It is curious to observe how, in the literature of each of these branches of the Celtic race, foreign legends and literary compositions are at a late period dragged in and transmitted back, so to say, to the Celtic heroic period. It is my

belief that the Gaelic version of the story of the mantle was derived from English ballads of the fifteenth century; while the legend came into Welsh literature through English or French poems in the fourteenth, if not at a later period.¹ This, of course, is a question of some importance, as it bears upon the antiquity of the Welsh *Triads*.

We thus fall back upon France, and find there the centre from which this legend spread itself into the literatures of the various peoples of Western Europe. We will not seek for it in Germany, or in any other countries which are known to have derived the mass of their medieval literature from this central source. But we may ask, from whence did France derive the legend?

There are facts tending to throw some light even upon this new question,—facts which lead our researches towards the east. Morality at Constantinople, under the later empire, was at a lower ebb even than in Western Europe in the middle ages; and we find there the same curiosity for means of detecting individual female weakness, arising out of the same love of scandal. It is recorded in more than one of the Byzantine chroniclers and historians, that in the year 536, under the Emperor Justinian, a man named Andreas went through the provinces of the empire carrying with him a dog which had the power of pointing out faithless wives and unchaste damsels.² The critic Nicolaus Alemannus, in his notes on the *Arcana* of Procopius, speaking of the great corruption of morals at this period, quotes from the Byzantine writer an account of a statue of Venus at Constantinople, which had the singular property that, when suspected maidens were brought to it, if they were innocent they went away unharmed; but if guilty, they no sooner approached it than their robes shrank up and exposed their persons; and the same thing happened in

¹ I learn from Mr. Stephens that the earliest allusions in Welsh to the wife of Caradoc as a character in romantic literature, occur in the poems of Goronwy Ddu, who is said to have lived from A.D. 1320 to 1370, and Davydd ap Gwilym, from A.D. 1350 to 1400.

² See the Byzantine historian, Theophanes, sub an. 536.

the case of married women who were not faithful to their husbands. The truth of this, it is added, was proved in the case of the sister-in-law of the Emperor Justin II (the nephew of Justinian), who, passing accidentally near the statue, was suddenly exposed to public shame and derision by the treachery of her garments.¹ In revenge she caused the statue to be broken to pieces. There can be little doubt that we have here the real origin of the medieval story of the *Cort Mantel*; for if this singular legend were not itself the foundation of it, it no doubt indicates the existence in Greece of a story similar to that of the mantle, out of which the legend of the statue of Venus was formed; and I shall not be surprised if some day the identical story of the mantle be found among the innumerable tales of the Arabian and Turkish story-tellers. It is evident from the examples I have already given, that there were several forms of the story in the western literature of the middle ages; and a comparison of these examples will shew that the original idea embodied in it was that of disgraceful exposure of the person, which is expressed more crudely by the Byzantine writer.

¹ I give the note of Alemannus as it stands in the original: "*Hac tempestate omnium fere mulierum mores corrupti. Ita ut soror Sophiæ Augustæ Justinii uxoris et Theodoræ neptis adulterii manifesta publice facta est. Nam ut in πατρίοις CP. observavimus, erat Byzantii inde a Constantini temporibus Veneris statua, ad quam παρθένοι ἐν ὑποφύῳ οὖσαι ὅτε ἐπλησίαζον, εἰ μὲν ἀμεμπτοί, διήρχοντο ἀβλαβεῖς, τῶν δὲ διεφθαρμένων ἀθρόα ἐσηκούοντο τὰ ἱμάτια αὐτῶν, καὶ ἐδείκνυον τὸ αἰδοῖον ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ αἱ ἔχουσαι ἄνδρας, εἰ μὲν λαθραίως ἐμοιχεύοντο, τοῦτο ἐγίνετο. ἐκεῖναι γὰρ εὐθὺς ὠμολόγουν ἢ δὲ γυναικαδελφῆ Ἰουστίνου τοῦ ἀπὸ Κουροπαλατῶν συνέτριψε τὴν στήλην, διὰ τὸ καὶ αὐτῆς φανήναι τὸ αἰδοῖον μοιχευθείσης ἐκεῖθεν διερχομένης ἐφ' ἵππῳ ἐν τῷ λουσμάτι τῶν Βλαχερνῶν. Virgines vitii suspecte cum accederent, siquidem illibate essent, secure discedebant, at vero corruptarum statim vestis reducebatur patefactis pudendis. Nuptis etiam fæminis, quæ clandestinis adulteris se fœdasent, idem plane accidit, ipsaque statim rem fassæ sunt. Cæterum soror uxoris Justinii, qui post curam palatii imperium cepit, eam Veneris statuam comminui jussit; quod et ejus, post adulterium, pudenda detecta sint, cum inde præteriret et equo vecta ad balneas Blanchernianas proficisceretur. Sic etiam adulteras vitiatasque virgines deprehensas Justiniani tempore canis indicio, quem ex Italia Andreas quidam per provincias circumduceret, narrant Theophanes, Anastasius, Cedrenus, Historia Miscella, et Paulus Diac.*"

We are thus enabled to trace, in this particular instance, the history of a story which, originating in all appearance in the east, made its way to the west, where it appeared in the French literature as early at least as the thirteenth century. It probably travelled westward in the form of an Arabian or Greek story then current in the East, as we know that multitudes of such stories did so travel westward; when, to give it a western shape, the personages of the story were changed, the new heroes were adopted from the then popular romance cycle of King Arthur,—just as when, at a later period, the Gaelic minstrel took up the story, he changed these personages of the Arthurian romance for others taken among the heroes who attended upon Finn. From the mediæval form it had thus assumed in France, it was again taken by the mediæval Celtic bards,—those of Wales who had adopted the whole cycle of the romances of King Arthur, placed this story among them, and soon believed that it belonged to their own oldest literature; while the Gaelic minstrels also believed that it belonged to their earliest literature, and gave its authorship to no less a personage than Ossian. It is only by thus tracing its history in detail that we shall obtain gradually a correct appreciation of the real character of Celtic literature as it now exists. I believe that the great mass of it will be found to have been adopted, at a late period, from the popular literature of mediæval Europe.

It remains to say a few words on the sources from which I have taken the following texts of the various versions of the popular story, the history of which has been the subject of the preceding essay.

I. Of the *FABLIAU DU CORT MANTEL* three copies are known to exist,—the first in a manuscript in the Imperial Library in Paris, No. 7218, fol. 27, of the thirteenth century;¹ the second in another manuscript

¹ A full description of this interesting manuscript is given by M. Paulin Paris in his valuable work, *Les Manuscrits François de la Bibliothèque du Roi*, tom. vi, p. 404.

in the same great collection, No. 6973, of the fourteenth century;¹ and the third in a well known manuscript of early French poetry, in the library of Berne in Switzerland, No. 354, fol. 93, of the thirteenth century.² It is here printed from the first of these manuscripts, and I have to thank my good friend, M. Paulin Paris, for his kindness in carefully collating my text with the original. The other manuscripts, as is always the case with different mediæval manuscripts of the same poem, contain a great number of various readings; none of which, however, have appeared to me of sufficient importance to be given here, with the exception of those at the conclusion of the poem. The *Fabliau du Cort Mantel* was printed by another old friend, Dr. Ferdinand Wolf of Vienna, in the appendix to a very learned work, but which is now not easily to be met with, *Über die Lais* (p. 342, Vienna, 1837); and there the various readings of the other Parisian manuscript are given. It may be added that this early French poem has not previously to the present edition been translated into English.

II. The two English ballads of THE BOY AND THE MANTLE were printed, as already stated, by Percy in his *Reliques of Ancient English Poetry*. The first, like so many other pieces of old English poetry published by Percy, was taken from a manuscript in his own possession. He has not informed us of the source from which he derived the other, but it was most probably furnished by a black-letter ballad. It is evidently of the sixteenth century, or at least not older; and a comparison will shew that it was either a later copy considerably altered from the first, or that both versions were derived from one original. To shew this more effectively, I print them side by side. The different manner in which the boar's head is introduced in these two ballads seems to mark the difference of the age in which they were written. It was an old English custom to bring with great cere-

¹ See Paulin Paris, *ib.*, tom. iii. p. 53.

² See the *brochure* of M. Achille Jubinal, *Lettre au Directeur de l'Artiste*, Paris, 1838, p. 40.

mony the boar's head into hall at the festival of Christmas; and the writer of the later of the two ballads seems to have thought that this circumstance would have been more fitted to the understanding of his contemporaries, than that of boars running wild about the country. He has, therefore, changed the time at which King Arthur held his court from May to Christmas. In 1839 I contributed an edition of these two ballads, with a few notes, to a little collection of early poetry and legend printed at Vienna,¹ from which they are reprinted here.

III. For editing the texts of the WELSH FRAGMENTS relating to the mantle, which are not older than the fifteenth century, I am indebted to Thomas Stephens, Esq., of Merthyr Tydfil, whom I look upon as one of our best and most judicious scholars in the Welsh literature of the middle ages. It is to be regretted that these fragments are so few and so scanty in their nature; but I have hopes that the story, in some form or other, may still be found among the Welsh manuscripts yet in existence. "The story of *Le Court Mantel*, or the *Boy and the Mantle*," Warton tells us, "is recorded in many manuscript Welsh chronicles, as I learn from original letters of Lhuyd in the Ashmolean Museum."²

IV. The GAELIC POEM and translation are printed *verbatim* from the very curious and interesting volume of selections from the manuscript of Gaelic poetry collected by the Dean of Lismore (in the Perthshire Highlands) soon after the beginning of the sixteenth century.³ Some of the poems in this manuscript are, no doubt, considerably older than the manuscript in which they are preserved; but in all probability the greater part of them are not older than the fifteenth century.

T. W.

¹ *Frühlingsgabe für Freunde älterer Literatur* (a spring gift for the friends of old literature). Von Th. G. v. Karajan. 12mo, Wien, 1839.

² Warton, *History of English Poetry*, vol. i, p. vi, edition of 1840.

³ *The Dean of Lismore's Book, a Selection of Ancient Gaelic Poetry*. Edited, with a translation and notes, by the Rev. Thomas McLauchlan. 8vo. Edinburgh, 1862. P. 72 of translations, and p. 50 of texts.

THE FABLIAU OF THE CORT MANTEL

| | | | | |
|---|--|--|--|----------------------------------|
| D'une aventure qui avint A la cort au bon roi qui tint Breitaigne et Engleterre quite, Por ce que n'ert pas a droit dite, Vous vueil dire la verité. A la Pentecouste en esté Tint li rois Artus cort pleniére ; Onques rois en nule maniere Nule plus riche cort ne tint. De maint lointain pais i vint Maint roi et maint duc et maint conte, Si com l'estoire le raconte. Li rois Artus ot fet crier Qui tuit li jone bachelier I venissent delivrement ; Et si fu el commandement, Que qui auroit sa bele amie, Que venist en sa compaignie. Que vous iroie-je contant ? De damoiseles i vint tant Que je n'en sai le conte dire. Molt par en fust griez a eslire La plus bele, la plus cortoise. A la roïne pas n'en poise De se qu'eles sont assablées. En sa chambre les a menées, Et por eles plus esjoir Lor fist maintenant despartir Robes de diverses manieres. Molt furent vaillans les mains chieres, De molt bone soie et de riche ; Mès qui vous voudroit la devise Et l'uevre des dras aonter, Trop i covendroit demorer, Qui bien en voudroit reson rendre ; Mès aillors me covient entendre. Molt fit la roïne a loer. Après lor a fet aporter Fermaus, çaintures, et aniaus. Onques tel plenté de joiaus Nus hom, mien escient, ne vit Comme la roïne lor fist A ses puceles aporter. S'en fist à chascune doner Tant comme onques en vouldrent prendre. Or me covient aillors entendre, Et du bon roi Artu parler, Qui fist aus chevaliers doner Robes molt riches et molt beles, Et grant plenté d'a[r]mes noveles, Et molt riches chevaus d'Espaigne, De Lombardie, et d'Alémaingne. N'i ot si povre chevalier Qui n'eüst armes et destrier, Et robes, se prendre les volt. Onques si grant plenté n'en ot A une feste plus doné. Si en ont tuit le roi loé, Qui ne l' fist mie en repentant, Ains fist toutes voies samblant Que riens ne li griet, ne ne couste. | | Of an adventure which occurred At the court of the good king who held Britany and England entirely, Because it has not been told rightly, I will tell you the truth. At Pentecost in summer King Arthur held his full court ; Never king in any manner Held a richer court. From many a distant country there came Many a king and many a duke and many As the history relates. King Arthur had caused to be proclaimed That every young bachelier Should come in fair array : And there was another command, That whoever had a <i>belle amie</i> She should come along with him. Why should I go on talking ? Of damsels there came so many That I cannot tell you the number. Very difficult it was to choose The fairest or the most courteous. It was no grievance to the queen That they were assembled. She has conducted them to her chamber, And to cause them greater pleasure She at once distributed among them Robes of different shapes. Very valuable were the least precious, Of very good and rich silk ; But whoever would the style And work of the cloths describe, It would take too much time If he would do it properly ; But I must take up other matters. The queen was much to be praised. Afterwards she caused bring them Brooches, girdles, and rings. Never such plenty of jewels To my knowledge any man saw As the queen then caused To bring to her maidens. And she caused to be given to each As many as ever they would take. Now I must consider elsewhere, And speak of good king Arthur Who caused to give to the knights Robes very rich and very handsome, And great plenty of new arms, And very rich horses of Spain, Of Lombardy, and of Germany. There was not so poor a knight Who had not arms and a steed And robes, if he would take them. Never was there so great plenty Of them given at one feast. And they have all praised the king, Who did it without grudging, But by all means shewed That nothing grieved or cost him. | 10 10 20 30 40 50 50 60 | 10 20 30 40 50 60 |
|---|--|--|--|----------------------------------|

Le samedi de Pentecouste
 Fu cele grant cort assamblée.
 Molt ont grant joie demenée ;
 Molt i ot le jor grant deduit.
 Quant il virent venir la nuit,
 Aus ostex alerent couchier.
 Les liz firent li escuier,
 Si coucha chascuns son seignor.
 Au matin, quant il fu cler jor, 70
 Resont à la cort assamblé,
 Et o le roi en sont alé
 Tuit ensamble à la mestre yglise.
 La roïne vait le service
 Et ses puceles escouter.
 Ci ne vueil-je plus demorer,
 Ne de noient fere lonc conte.
 Si com l'estoire le raconte,
 Quant li service fu finé,
 Tuit en sont à la cort alé, 80
 Et la roïne en a menées
 En ses chambres encortinées
 Toutes ses puceles o li.
 Li serjant furent bien garni
 De doner au roi à mengier.
 Seur les tables sont li doublier,
 Les salieres, et li coutel.
 Mès au roi Artu n'ert pas bel
 Que il menjast, ne ne béust,
 Por tant que haute feste fust,
 Ne qu'à la table s'asséist, 90
 De si que à la cort venist
 Aucune aventure novele.
 Gavains le seneschal apele,
 Se li demande ce que doit
 Que li rois mengier ne voloit,
 Quar il ert jà molt près de nonne.
 Et Kex le roi en arresone ;
 "Sire," fet-il, "ici que doit
 Que vous ne mengiez orendroit ?
 100 Votre dinner est prest piecà."
 Li rois sourrist, si l'esgarda ;
 "Dites-moi," fet-il, "seneschal,
 Quant véistes feste anual
 Que je à mengier m'asséisse,
 De si que à ma cort véisse
 Aucune novele aventure ?"
 Estes-vous poingnant à droiture
 Uns vallet parmi une rue ;
 Son cheval d'angoisse tressue,
 110 Qui molt venoit à grant exploit.
 Gavains tout premerains le voit,
 Qui aus chevaliers escria :
 "Se Dieu plest, nous mengerons jà,
 Quar je voi çà venir corant,
 Seur uns molt grant rōincin ferrant,
 Uns vallet parmi une porte
 Qui aucune novele aporte."
 Atant est li vallés venuz,
 120 Devant la sale est descenduz ;
 Assez fu qui son cheval prist,
 Li vallés de rien ne mesprist,
 Quar molt fu sages et membrez.
 De son mantel s'est desfublez,
 Si l'a geté demaintenant
 Sor le col de son auferant.
 Quant desfublez fu du mantel

The Saturday of Pentecost
 Was this great court assembled.
 They have made great joy ;
 During the day there was great enjoy-
 ment.
 When they saw the night come, [ment.
 They went to the lodgings to sleep.
 The esquires made the beds,
 And each put his lord to bed. [70
 In the morning, when it was full daylight,
 They have reassembled at the court,
 And with the king they are gone
 All together to the principal church.
 The queen and her maidens
 Go to hear the service.
 Here I will no longer delay,
 Nor of nothing make a long story.
 As the history relates it,
 When the service was finished,
 80 All went thence to the court, 80
 And the queen took thence
 To her tapestried chambers
 All these maidens with her.
 The servants were well provided
 To serve the meal to the king.
 On the tables are the napkins,
 The saltsellers, and the knives.
 But it was not agreeable to king Arthur.
 Either to eat or to drink,
 90 Inasmuch as it was high festival, 90
 Nor to sit down to table,
 Until news came to the court
 Of some new adventure.
 Gawain calls the steward,
 And asks him what is wanting
 That the king would not eat,
 For it was now very near noon.
 And Kay expostulates with the king :
 "Sire," said he, "what is wanting here
 100 To prevent your eating at once ? 100
 Your dinner is ready some time."
 The king smiled and looked at him ;
 "Tell me," said he, "steward,
 When saw you the annual feast
 At which I seated myself to eat,
 Until there came to my court
 Some new adventure ?"
 Behold, riding earnestly,
 A valet amid the street ;
 110 His horse sweats with labour, 110
 For he came with great speed.
 Gawain saw him first,
 And cried out to the knights,
 "If God pleases, we shall eat now ;
 For I see there come running
 On a very great horse of speed,
 A valet through a gate,
 Who brings some news."
 At length the valet is arrived,
 120 And is descended before the hall. 120
 There were plenty to take his horse.
 The valet forgot himself in nothing,
 For he was very wise and remembering.
 He took his mantle off,
 And threw it immediately
 On the neck of his steed.
 When he was freed from his mantle

- A grant merveille par fu bel.
Blont ot le chief et cler le vis,
Bele bouche et nez bien assis, 130
Grosses espauls et lons braz;
Trestout à uns mot le vous faz,
Onques plus bel ne fist nature.
Grant cors et grant enforcéure,
Jambes bien fetes, piez voutiz.
Sages paroles et bians diz
Out li vallès à grant plenté.
Quant en la sale fu entré,
Cortoisement et bian parla:
"Cil Diex," fet-il, "qui tout forma, 140
Saut et gart ceste compaignie!"
"Biaus amis, Diex vous benéie!"
Ce li dist Kex li seneschaus.
"Tressuez ost vostre chevaus;
Quar me dites que vous querrez."
"Sire," fet-il, "ainz me moustreiz
Et m'enseigniez Artu le roi;
Quar, par la foi que je vous doi,
Je li dirai jà tex noveles
Qui à toz ne seront pas beles, 150
Et teux i a qu'en auront joie."
A chascun est tart que il oie
Que c'est que li vallès a quis.
"Par mon chief," dist-il, "biaus amis,
Vez-le là en cele chaire."
Li chevalier sont tret arriere,
Si lessent le vallet aler.
Cil qui n'a soing de demorer,
En est devant le roi venuz,
Se li a fet uns gent saluz. 160
"Cil Diex," fet-il, "qui fist le mont
Et toutes les choses qu' i sont,
Et de tout fet sa volenté,
Gart le meilleur roi coroné
Qui onques fust, ne jamès soit!
Sire," fet-il, "or est bien droit
Que je vous die que j'ai quis.
Une pucele m'a tramis
De moult lointain país à vous;
Uns don vous requier à estrous, 170
Et si vueil bien que vous sachoiz,
Se je ne l'ai à ceste foiz,
Jà ne vous ert plus demandé,
Ne jà ne vous sera nommé
Ne le don, ne la damoisele,
Qui tant est avenant et bele,
De si que je de fi saurai
Se je de vous le don aurai;
Et je vous créant une rien,
Et vueil que tuit le sachent bien, 180
Que je ne vous querrai hontage
Où aiez honte ne damage."
Gavains a premerains parlé:
"Cist dons ne puet estre véé,"
Fet-il, "quant n'i ait vilonie,"
Mès que misires l'en mercie."
Lors a dit li rois q'il l'auroit
Tout maintenant, quoi que ce soit.
Cil l'en mercie o bele chiere, 190
Et li vallès prist s'aumosniere,
Si en a tret fors un mantel.
Onques nus hom ne vit si bel,
Quar une fée l'avoit fet;
- He was wonderfully handsome. [bright;
He had his head blonde, and his face
A handsome mouth, and nose well placed;
Broad shoulders and long arms; [130
I tell it you all in one word,
Nature never made one more handsome.
Large body and large cleft,
Legs well made, feet vaulted.
Wise words and fair speech
Had the valet in great plenty.
When he had entered the hall,
He spoke courteously and fair:
"That God," said he, "who created all,
Save and guard this company!" [140
"Fair friend, God bless you!"
Replied Kay the seneschal.
"Your horse is covered with sweat;
Tell me what you come for."
"Sir," said he, "first show me
And point out to me Arthur the king;
For, by the faith I owe you,
I will here tell him such news
As shall not be good to all, 150
And some there are will rejoice at them."
Each was in a hurry to hear
What it was the valet wanted.
"By my head," said he, "fair friend,
There he is in that chair."
The knights drew back,
And made way for the valet.
He, who wanted no delay,
Came before the king,
And made him a gentle salutation. 160
"That God," said he, "who made the
And all things in it, [world
And does his will on everything,
Guard the best king crowned
That ever was or ever may be!
Sire," said he, "now it is quite right
That I tell you my errand.
A maiden has sent me
From a very distant country to you;
I ask you a grant without delay, 170
And I wish you to know positively,
If I have it not at this asking,
It will not be asked of you again,
And you will never hear the name
Of the grant or of the damsel,
Who is so agreeable and beautiful,
Until I know certainly
If I shall have from you the grant;
And I give you my faith,
And wish all to know it well, 180
That I shall not seek your discredit
Where you would either have shame or
Gawain spoke first: [loss."
"This gift cannot be refused,"
Said he, "if there is no vilany,
But let milord thank him for it."
Then the king said that he should have it
At once, whatever it might be.
He thanks him with fair mien;
And the valet takes his aumosniere, 190
And draws from it a mantle.
No man ever saw one so handsome,
For a fairy made it;

| | | | |
|---|-----|--|-----|
| Nus n'en saveroit le portret Ne l'uevre du drap acouter ; Trop i covendroit demorer. | | No one could describe the design of it, Or the work of the cloth ; It would take too much time. | |
| Or leraï de l'ouvrage ester ; D'autre chose voudrai parler, Si vous dirai une merveille, Onques n'oïstes la pareille. | | Now I will speak no more of the work ; I will speak of other matter, And I will tell you a wonder, You never heard its equal. | |
| La fée fist el drap une oevre Qui les fausses dames descuevre. Jà fame qui l'ait afublé, Se ele a de rien messerré | 200 | The fairy made in the cloth a work Which discovers false ladies. Never lady who had put it on, If she has in any way sinned | 200 |
| Vers son seignor, se ele l'a, Jà puis adroit ne li serra ; Ne aus puceles autressi, Se ele vers son bon ami | | Towards her lord, if she has one, It will never fit her ; Nor to damsels similarly, If she towards her lover | |
| Avoit mespris en nul endroit, Jà puis ne li serroit à droit | 210 | Has erred in any way, It will never after fit her, | 210 |
| Que ne soit trop lonc ou trop cort. Et cil, oiant toute la cort, Lor a tout aconté et dit | | But will be too long or too short. And he, in the hearing of the whole court, Has related and told them all | |
| L'uevre du mantel et descrit. Puis dist au roi ismelemant : | | The work of the mantle, and described it. Then he said to the king promptly : | |
| "Sire," fet-il, "demaintenant Que n'i ait point de demorer, Fetes le mantel afubler ; Si n'i ait dame ne pucele | | "Sire," said he, "now Let there be no delay, Cause the mantle to be tried on ; And let there be nor dame nor maiden | |
| Qui sache mot de la novele, Dont céenz a grant assamblée ; El me fu de molt loins contée. | 220 | Knows a word of the news, Of whom there are here great assembly ; It was told me from a great distance. | 220 |
| Si sui venuz d'estrangle terre Por seulement cest don requerre." Molt esgarderent le mantel, Et dist : "Gavains, ci a don bel, | | And I am come from foreign land In order only to ask this grant." They looked much at the mantle, And said (the king) : "Gawain, here is a | |
| Et molt regnable est à doner. Fetes la roïne mander. Gavains, alez i esraument, Vous et Yvain tant seulement, | | And it is very reasonable to give. [fair gift, Cause the queen to be sent for. Gawain, go there directly, You and Ivain only, | |
| Et si dites à la roïne Que n'i ait dame ne meschine Qu'ele ne face o li venir ; Quar je vueil fermement tenir | 230 | And tell the queen To leave neither dame nor girl, Whom she does not bring with her ; For I will hold firmly | 230 |
| Ce qu'au vallet ai créanté." Et cil cui il l'a commandé I sont alé demaintenant. La roïne truevent lavant, | | That which I have promised to the valet." And those to whom he gave the order Went there immediately. They found the queen washing her hands, | |
| Qui du mengier s'apareilloit, Que durement li anuioit | 240 | And preparing for dinner, For it had grieved her much | 240 |
| De ce que tant ot jéuné. Gavains a premerain parlé : | | To fast so long. Gawain spoke first : | |
| "Dame," fet-il, "li rois vous mande, Et tout à estrouz vous commande Que vous sans plus de delaiier Venez en la sale mengier. | | "Lady," said he, "the king sends for you, And commands you immediately That you without more delay Come into the hall to dinner. | |
| Si amenez ces damoiseles Qui tant sont avenanz et beles ; Quar à cort vint ore uns danzel, Qui aporta uns cort mantel, | | Bring also the damsels Who are so agreeable and handsome ; For a youth is now come to court, Who has brought a short mantle, | |
| Onques nus si riche ne vit. Le drap est d'un riche samit ; Il est à merveilles bien fet ; Molt honorera le portret | 250 | None ever saw one so rich. The cloth is of rich samite ; It is wonderfully well made ; The style of it is very becoming, | 250 |
| Et les ouvrages qui i sont ; Il n'a son per en tout le mont. Et sachiés bien de verité Que il a au roi créanté | | And the works that are in it ; There is not its equal in the whole world. And know well the truth, That he has promised the king | |
| Que il à cele le doutra, | | That he will give it to her | |

- A cui miex et plus bel serra." 260
 Mais onques ne lor en dist plus.
 S'eles séussent le sorplus,
 Miex vousissent que il fust ars,
 Se il vausist cent mille mars.
 La roïne premier le prent,
 Maintenant à son col le pent,
 Que molt amast que il siens fust ;
 Mès se la verité séust
 Comment li mantiaus fu toissuz,
 Jà à son col ne fust penduz ;
 A paine au soller li ataint.
 Toz li vis li palist et taint
 Por la honte que ele en ot.
 Yvains par delez li estot,
 Qui li voit si noircir le vis :
 "Dame," fet-il, "il m'est avis
 Que il ne vous est pas trop lonc ;
 Sachiez qui le travers d'un jonc
 Du mantel sanz plus osteroit,
 Jà puis à droit ne vous serroit.
 Cele damoisele de là
 Qui delez vous à destre esta,
 Ele l'afublera avant,
 Quar ele est bien de vostre grant.
 Amie est Tors, le filz Arés ;
 Le mantel li bailliez après,
 Si porrez bien à li véoir
 S'il vous porra à droit séoir."
 Desfublée s'est la roïne,
 Le mantel tent à la meschine,
 Qui molt volentiers l'afuba ;
 Et le mantel plus acerça
 Qu'à la roïne n'avoit fet.
 "Tost est ore," dist Kex, "retret
 Si ne l'a on pas loins porté."
 Et la roïne a demandé
 Tout entor li à ses barons :
 "Dont ne m'est-il assez plus lons ?"
 "Dame," dist Kex li seneschaus,
 "Avis m'est qu'estes plus loiaus
 Que ceste n'est, mès c'est petit ;
 Et si ai-je malement dit
 Que plus léaus n'estes-vous mie,
 Mès mains a en vous tricherie."
 Et la roïne a demandé
 Comment va de la loiauté,
 Que l'en die delivrement
 Tout quanqu' au mantel en apent.
 Et Kex li a trestout conté
 De chief en chief la vérité,
 Si com li vallès l'ost contée
 Et du mantel et de la fée,
 Et l'ouvrage que ele i fist ;
 Tout de chief en chief li a dit,
 Si c'onques riens n'en trespassa.
 La roïne se porpenssa,
 S'ele fesoit d'ire sambiant
 Tant seroit la honte plus grant ;
 Chascune l'aura afublé ;
 Si l'a en jenglois atorné.
 "Que vont ces autres attendant,
 Quant je l'ai afublé avant ?"
 "Dame, dame," ce a dit Koi,
 "Ancui verrons la bone foi
 Que vous fetes à voz seignors,
- Whom it shall fit best and fairest." 260
 But he told them nothing more.
 If they had known the rest
 They would have rather had it burnt,
 If it had been worth a hundred thousand
 The queen first takes it : [marks.
 She now attaches it to her neck,
 Desiring much that it were hers ;
 But if she knew the truth,
 How the mantle was woven,
 It would not be hanged at her neck ; 270
 It hardly reached her shoe.
 All her face became pale and coloured
 For the shame she had of it.
 Yvain stood near her,
 And saw her face darken :
 "Lady," said he, "it is my opinion
 That it is not too long for you ;
 Know that if the breadth of a rush
 One took from the mantle, without more,
 It would not fit you the better. 280
 That damsel there,
 Who stands by you on the right,
 She will come forward and try it,
 For she is about your size.
 She is mistress of Tors, son of Ares.
 Give her the mantle next,
 And you will see well by her
 If it can fit you right."
 The queen took it off,
 And gave the mantle to the girl, 290
 Who very willingly put it on ;
 And the mantle shrank more
 Than it had done with the queen.
 "It is now soon told," said Kay,
 "Although it has not been carried far."
 And the queen asked
 All round her of her barons,
 "Why is it not long enough for me ?"
 "Lady," said Kay the steward,
 "It is my opinion that you are more loyal
 Than she is, but not much ; [300
 And yet I have misspoken,
 For you are not more loyal,
 But there is less deception in you."
 And the queen asked
 What it was about loyalty,
 That they should tell her at once
 What was the affair about the mantle.
 And Kay told her all
 The truth from head to head, 310
 As the valet had told it,
 Both of the mantle and of the fairy,
 And of the work she had done in it ;
 All from head to head he told her,
 And omitted nothing.
 The queen reflected
 That if she made show of anger
 Her shame would be only the greater ;
 Each will have tried it on ;
 So she turned it to jest. 320
 "Why are the others waiting,
 Since I have put it on first ?"
 "Lady, lady," said Kay,
 "We shall soon see the good faith
 You hold to your lords,

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| Et la léauté des amors Que ces damoiseles demainent, Por qui cil chevalier se painent Et metent en granz aventures. Molt se féissent ore lui.....res Qui d'amors les areonast. N'i a cele qui ne jurast, S'il fust qui prendre la vousist, Que onques de riens ne mesprist." Quant les dames ont entendu Comment le mantel fu tissu, Et l'uevre que la fée i fist, N'i a cele qui ne vousist Estre arrières en sa contrée, Que n'i a dame si osée Ne damoisele qui l'ost prendre. "Bien le poons," dist li rois, "rendre Au vallet qui ça l'aporta ; Bien voi céenz ne remaindra Por damoisele qui i soit." Li vallès dist : "Tenés moi droit ; Jamès nul jor ne le prendrai De si adont que je verrai Que toutes l'auront afublé ; Quar ce que rois a créanté Doit par reson estre tenu." Et li rois li a respondu : "Bians amis, vous dites reson ; Il n'i aura jà achoison Que ne lor coviegne afubler." Lors les véissiez incliner, Muer color et empalir, D'ire et de mautalent fremir ; N'i a cele qui ne vousist Que la compaigne le préist, Ne jà ne l'en portast envie. Kex en a apelé s'amie : "Damoisele, venez avant, Oiant ces chevaliers me vant Que vous estes léans partout ; Que je sai bien, sanz nul redout Vous le poez bien afubler. N'i auez compaigne ne per De léaute, ne de valor ; Vous en porterez hui l'onor De céenz, sanz nul contradict." La damoisele li a dit : "Sire," fet-el, "s'il vous pléust, Je vousisse qu'autre l'éust Afublé tqnt premierement, Quar j'en voi céenz plus de cent Que nule ne l'vout afubler." "Ha !" fet Kex, "je vous voi douter, Je ne sai que ce senefie." "Sire," fet-el, "ce n'i a mie ; Mès j'en voi céens grant planté, Dont chascune a assez biauté, Et nule ne l'ose sesir ; Si ne me vueil por ce envair Que ne me fust à mal torné." "Jà mar en douterez maugré," Fet Kex, "qu'eles n'en ont talent." Et la damoisele le prent, Voiant les barons l'afubla, Et li mantiaus plus acorça, Ans jarés et noient avant ; | 830 | And the faithfulness of the loves Which these damsels entertain, For whom these knights labour And put themselves in great adventures. They would now do much Who would talk to them of love. There is not one but would swear, If any one would take her, That she never erred in anything." When the ladies have heard How the mantle was woven, And the work which the fairy did in it, There was not one but wished To be back in her country ; And there was not a lady so courageous, Nor damsel, who wish to take it. "We had better," said the king, "return To the valet who brought it here ; I see well it will not remain here For any damsel we have." The valet said : "Keep faith with me ; I will never take it Until I have seen All of them try it on ; For what a king has promised Ought rightly to be performed." And the king replied to him : "Fair friend, you say right ; There shall not be any excuse, But they must all put it on." Then you might see them bow their heads, Change colour, and become pale, Tremble with anger and spite ; There was not one but wished Her companion to go before her, Nor was at all envious of her. Kay called his mistress : "Damsel, come forward, In the hearing of these knights vaunt That you are loyal in all things ; For I know well, without fear, That you are able to put it on. You will have neither companion norequal In loyalty or worth ; You will today bear the honour Here without any contradiction." The damsel said to him : "Sir," said she, "if you please, I would that another had Tried it on first ; For I see here more than a hundred, Of whom not one will put it on." "Ah !" said Kay, "I see you are afraid ; I know not what that means." "Sir," said she, "that is not it ; But I see here great plenty, Each of whom has beauty enough, And not one dare take it ; Therefore I will not presume, That I may get no reproach." "Now you shall not fear it, although," Said Kay, "they have no will to it." And the damsel took it, Before the barons she put it on, And the mantle became shortened To the ham, and not beyond ; | 330 340 350 360 370 380 390 |
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| Et li dui acor de devant Ne porent les genouz passer. "Voirement n'i avoit son per," Ce li a dit Bruns sanz pitié ; "Bien doit estre joiant et lié Messires Kex li seneschaus ; Voirement estes des léaus." Quant Kex li vit si messéoir, Il ne voustist por nul avoir 400 Que li rois péust aramir, Que ne se pot mie couvrir, Que véu est de tant de gent. Lors dist Ydier en sorrriant, "Bien doit à eschar revertir Qui en toz tens en veut servir." Cele n'i voit point de rescousse ; Et Kex dist à la perestrousse : "Seignor, trop vous poez haster, Nous verrons jà sanz demorer 410 Comment il ert aus voz séant. Festes les tost venir avant, Jà verrons comme il lor serra." Arrière lors le desfubla, Si l'a geté sor uns séoir ; Si se r'est alée séoir. Quant les autres orent véu Que si mal li est avenü, 420 Molt par fu le vallet maudit ; Quar bien savent que escondit Ne lor pooit avoir mestier ; Por noient feroient dangier, Que ne lor coviengne afubler. Le connestable du lorer En a le roi à reson mis. "Sire," fet-il, "il m'est avis Que nous sommes tuit molt vilain ; L'amie mon seignor Gavain, Qui tant est noble et avenant, 430 Le déüst afubler avant, Venelaus, la preus, la cortoise. A mon seignor Gavains en poise De ce que trop est oubélie." "Si soit," fet li rois, "apelée." Beduiers tantost l'apela ; Et la pucele se leva, Qui pas ne l'osoit refuser. Et li rois li fist apporter Le mantel, et ele le prent. 440 Maintenant à son col le pent, Qui n'i osa essoine querre. Derrière li ataint à terre Si que plain pié li trains ; Et la puciele se leva, Si que li genouz descouvri Et li senestres se forni, Tout entor ala le mantel. A Keu le seneschal fu bel, Quant il chosi l'acor si cort. 450 Ne cuidoit qu'en toute la cort Enst dame plus fust loians. "Par mon chief!" dist li seneschaus, "Huimès, la dame Dieu merci ! Ne serai-je seul escharni, Quar cel acor que je là voi Nous senefie ne sai qoi ; Or vous en dirai mon avis. | And the two lappets before Could not pass the knees. "Truly there was not her equal." Bruns told her so without pity ; "Well may be joyous and glad My lord Kay the steward ; Truly you are one of the loyal." When Kay saw it fit so ill, He would not for anything 400 That the king could engage That it might not be concealed, Which is seen by so many. Then said Ydier smiling, "Well ought he to come to scorn Who will use it always." She sees no rescue ; And Kay says to those around, "Lords, you may be too hasty ; 410 We shall see without delay How it will be with you. Make them immediately come forward, Then we shall see how it will fit them." She then took it off, And threw it on a seat, And went to sit down again. When the others had seen That her success was so ill, The valet was much accursed ; 420 For they know well that excuse Could not be of use to them ; In vain they might make difficulty, For they must try it on. The constable of the (?) Expostulated with the king. "Sire," said he, "it is my opinion That we are all very ill-mannered : My lord Gawain's mistress, Who is so noble and elegant, 430 Ought to put it on now, Venelaus, the gentle and courteous. My lord Gawain is grieved That she has been too long forgotten." "Let her," said the king, "be called." Beduiers immediately called her ; And the maiden rose, For she dared not refuse. And the king caused to be brought her The mantle, and she took it. 440 Now she hangs it to her neck, For she dared not seek an excuse. Behind her it reached the ground, So that it trailed a whole foot ; And the maiden rose, So that it uncovered her knees, And the left was covered, The mantle went all round. It pleased Kay the steward, When he saw the lappet so short. [450 He did not believe that in the whole court There was a lady more loyal. "By my head!" said the steward, "Today, thank God ! I shall not be the only one scorned, For the lappet I see there Means I know not what ; But I will tell you my opinion. |
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La damoisele, o le cler vis,
 Ot la destre jambe levée
 Et sor icele fu corbée,
 Et l'autre remest en estant;
 Et si croi-je que en gisant
 Li avint ce en uns trespas.
 Je croi que je ne vous ment pas
 A la besaingne que je di."
 Mesires Gavins fu marri,
 Que onques mot ne li sona,
 Et Kex dist que il la menra
 Séoir avec la seue amie,
 Quar poi out encor compaignie.
 Li rois prist par la destre main
 L'amie monseignor Yvain,
 Qui au roi Urien fu fil,
 Le preu chevalier, le gentil,
 Qui tant ama chiens et oisians.
 "Bele," fet-il, "icist mantiaus
 Doit estre vostre par reson;
 Nus ne set en vous achoison
 Que bien ne le doiez avoir;
 Nus ne puet rien de vous savoir."
 Dist Gahariès, li petiz :
 "N'afichiez mie si voz diz,
 Devant que vous aurez véu
 Comment il li ert avenu."
 Affublé l'a delivrement;
 Li mantiaus arrière s'estent,
 Si que plain pié li traîna.
 Li mestres acors se leva
 Seul le genoil uns seul petit.
 Sire Gahariès a dit :
 "Molt par est fols qui nule en croit,
 Que chascune le sien deçoit.
 S'il estoit le miendres de l'ost,
 Tant le decevroit el plus tost;
 Or en droites le disiez-vous
 Qu'ele l'auroit tout à estrous;
 Or poez bien apercevoir
 S'ele le puet par droit avoir.
 Or vous en dirai mon samblant;
 Li mantiaus qui arrière pant,
 Nous monstre qu'il chiet de son gré
 Volentiers seur icel costé;
 Et li autres qui tant li lieve
 Nous moustre que molt poi li grieve
 A lever contre mont les dras;
 Quar ele veut isnel le pas
 Soit la besaingne apareillie."
 La damoisele est tant irie
 Qu'ele ne set que fere doie;
 Si prent par l'atache de soie
 Le mantel, si l'a jus geté;
 Le vallet qui l'ot aporté
 A molt escordelment maudit.
 Et Kex, li sénéchaus, a dit :
 "Bele, ne vous corouciez pas;
 O damoisele Venelas
 Vendrez séoir et o m'amie,
 Quar poi ont encor compaignie."
 Li rois apela demanois
 L'amie au damoisei Galois
 Qui Percheval ert apelez.
 "Bele," fet li rois, "or prenez
 Le mantel; vostres ert en fin,
 The lady with the bright countenance
 Had the right leg raised,
 And on it was enjoyed,
 And the other remained straight;
 And I believe that as she lay
 This happened to her by mishap.
 I think I do not say false
 In the explanation I give."
 My lord Gawain was vexed,
 And said not a word to him;
 And Kay said that he would lead her
 To sit with his own mistress,
 For there was yet small company.
 The king took by the right hand
 The mistress of my lord Iwain,
 Who was king Urien's son,
 The brave knight and gentle,
 Who so much loved dogs and birds.
 "Beauty," he said, "this mantle
 Ought rightly to be yours;
 Nobody knows in you a cause
 Why you ought not to have it;
 Nobody knows ill of you."
 Gahariès the little said :
 "Don't be so ready in your opinion,
 Before you have seen
 How it shall happen to her."
 She immediately put it on;
 The mantle stretched behind,
 So that it trailed a foot.
 The main lappet rose
 A very little above the knee.
 Sir Gahariès said :
 "He is a great fool who believes any wo-
 For each deceives her lover.
 If he were the best of the host,
 She would the sooner deceive him.
 Now you said off hand
 That she would have it all at will;
 Now you may well perceive
 If she could have it rightly.
 Now I will tell you my opinion;
 The mantle, which hangs behind,
 Shews that she gladly falls
 Willingly on that side;
 And the other, which rises so much,
 Shews that it grieves her very little
 To raise up her clothes;
 For she desires quickly
 That the business be done."
 The damsel was so provoked
 That she knew not what to do :
 So she takes by its silk tie
 The mantle, and threw it down.
 The vallet who had brought it
 She very thoroughly cursed.
 And Kay the seneschal said to her :
 "Beauty, be not angry;
 With damsel Venelas
 You shall sit, and with my mistress,
 For they have yet little company."
 The king called next
 The mistress of the Welsh youth
 Who was called Perceval.
 "Beauty," said the king, "now take
 The mantle; it will be yours at last,
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- Vous avez le cuer enterin ;
 Bien sai que li vous remaindra."
 Girfles de parler se hasta,
 Si dist au roi : " Sire, merci,
 N'afchiez nule riens issi,
 Tant que la fin aurez véue,
 Et com l'uevre ert aperçéue."
 La damoisele s'aperçoit,
 Et à escient set et voit
 Qu'ele n'en puet par el passer.
 Mès quant el le dut affubler,
 Les ataches en sont rompues,
 Et à la terre jus chéues,
 Avec le mantel tout ensamble ;
 Et li cors d'angoisse li tramble
 Si que ne se set conseilher.
 Molt l'escargard li chevalier
 Et escuier et jovencel ;
 Molt par ont maudit le mantel
 Et celui qui li aporta ;
 Quar jamès à droit ne serra
 A dame ne à damoisele,
 Tant soit ne cortoise, ne bele,
 Que jà por ce li scéist miex.
 Les lermes li chieient des iex,
 N'i a si petit qui ne l' voie ;
 Et Kex maintenant la convoie
 O s'amie et o la Gavain.
 "Tenez," fet-il, " je vous amain
 Que ne vous annuit compaignie."
 Mès nule si ne l'en mercie,
 Et il s'en retourne riant.
 Le vallet prist demaintenant
 Le mantel qui gisoit à terre.
 "Or i covient ataches querre,
 Biaus amis," ce li dist li rois.
 Et il en i mist demanois
 Unes q'il prist en s'aumosniere,
 Qu'il ne veut en nule maniere
 Soit destorbée la besoingne,
 Ne que nus hom i quiere essoinne,
 Mès affubler delivrement.
 Et lors li rois le mantel prent.
 Kex a par grant ire parlé :
 "Trop avons," fet-il, "jeuné ?
 Por qoi font ces dames dangier ?
 Que jà ne serront au mengier
 Tant qu'eles l'aient afublé,
 Et s'en pueent avoir maugré,
 Et si l'afubleront après."
 Girfles, qui fu fel et engrés,
 Li respondi : " Sire, ne l' dites,
 Bien les en poez clamer quites,
 Se il vous venoit à plesir.
 Volez les vous plus que honir ?
 Et quant eles le mantel voient
 Eles creantent et otroient,
 Oiant seignors, oiant amis,
 Que le mantel soit arrier mis ;
 Volez les vous chacier avant ?"
 Lors le lessast li rois atant,
 Por ce que avoit dit Girfles,
 Quant avant sailli li vallès,
 Et dist au roi : " Je vous demant
 Que vous me tenez couvenant,
 Si com vous le m'avez promis."
- You have a heart without reproach.
 I am quite sure it will be yours."
 Girfles spoke in haste,
 And said to the king : " Sire, thank you,
 Don't make sure of anything
 Until you have seen the end,
 And how the work will turn out." 530
 The damsel perceived,
 And knew and saw perfectly
 That she could not avoid the trial.
 But when she came to put it on,
 Its ties broke
 And fell to the ground,
 With the mantle altogether ;
 And her body trembles with vexation,
 So that she knows not what to do.
 The knights look much at her, 540
 And squires and youths ;
 They have much cursed the mantle
 And him who brought it ;
 For it will never fit well
 Either dame or damsel,
 However courteous or beautiful,
 That it will become her the better for that.
 The tears fell from her eyes,
 There is no one so little but sees it ;
 And Kay now takes her 550
 To sit with his mistress and Gawain's.
 "Come," said he, "I lead you
 Where the company will not annoy you."
 But no one thanks him for it,
 And he goes back laughing.
 The valet now took
 The mantle, which lay on the ground.
 "New ties must be sought,
 Dear friend," said the king to him.
 And he immediately put on 560
 Some which he took from his aunniere,
 Because he would that in no manner
 The proceedings should be interrupted,
 Nor that anybody should make it an excuse,
 But try it on immediately.
 And then the king took the mantle.
 Kay spoke in great ire :
 "We have," said he, "fasted too long :
 Why do these ladies make difficulties ?
 They will not sit down to dinner 570
 Until they have tried it on ;
 And they may have spite of it,
 And try it on after."
 Girfles, who was fierce and wicked,
 Replied : " Sir, say it not ;
 You can easily cry them quit,
 If it were your pleasure.
 Will you do more than shame them ?
 And when they see the mantle
 They consent and grant, 580
 In the hearing of husbands and lovers,
 That the mantle be put back ;
 Will you drive them forward ?"
 Then the king would have laid it by,
 For what Girfles had said ;
 But the valet stepped forward,
 And said to the king : "I ask of you
 That you hold your covenant with me,
 As you promised me."

- Li chevalier sont tuit pensis,
Nus d'ans ne li set nus mot dire.
Ydiers en apela par ire
S'amie qui lez lui séoit ;
Quar au matin de voir cuidoit
Que nule ne fust plus loiaus.
"Damoisele, li seneschaus
Me dist or que trop me hastoie.
Je dis que riens ne me doutoie ;
Mès je me fai en vous tant
Que je parlai séurement.
Mès molt le fetes lentement.
Or sachiez que je m'en repent
Por ce que je vous voi douter.
Alez le mantel affubler,
Quar je ne vueil plus delaier.
Por quoi en fetes-vous dangier,
Quant n'en poez par el passer ?"
Li rois li fist tost aporter
Le mantel, et ele le prent ;
Maintenant à son col le pent,
Que n'i osa essoine querre.
Li acor cheïrent à terre,
Si que plain pié li traînerent.
Li plus des chevaliers cuiderent
Que en li n'üst se bien non,
Puis regarderent le crepon
Qui trestoz descovers estoit.
Girflet, qui premerains le voit,
Li escrie demaintenant :
"Li acor en sont trop pendant,
Ne sont pas à vostre oés taillez ;
JamèsARRIER n'ert si moilliez
Qu'il puisse roons devenir."
Et Kex qui ne se pot tenir
De ce qu' Ydier l'ot ramposné,
L'en rendi tantost la bonté.
"Ydiex, que vous en est avis ?
Vostre amie n'a rien mespris !
Bien vous en poez or gaber ;
Vous n'en poez que .iij. trover
Esprovées de léauté.
Li siècles est si atorné
Que chascuns en cuide une avoir.
Vous cuidiez ja hui avoir
La léauté qui en vous ert.
Mal est couvert cui le cul pert.
Or vous en dirai la maniere :
El se fet cengler par derriere
Si com li mantiaus le devise."
Ydiers ne set en nule guise
Que il puisse fere ne dire.
Ele prist le mantel par ire,
Si le geta devant le roi.
Lors l'a prise par la main Qui,
Si l'a o les autres menée :
"Par foi !" fet-il, "ceste assablée
Ert ja, se Dieu plest, grant et bele.
Jà n'i remandra damoisele
Ne viegne en ceste compaignie ;
Por ce seroit grant vilonie
Se l'une aloit l'autre gabant."
Que vous iroie-je disant ?
Unes et autres l'afublerent
Et lor amis les egarderent.
Onques à nule bien ne sist,
- 590 The knights are all sorrowful, 590
Not one of them had a word to say.
Ydier called in anger
On his mistress who sat by him ;
For in the morning he believed truly
That there was none more loyal.
"Damsel, the steward
Told me just now I was in too great haste.
I said that I feared nothing ;
But I put such trust in you
That I spoke with confidence. 600 600
But you move very slowly.
Now know that I repent it,
Because I see you hesitate.
Go and put on the mantle,
For I will delay no longer.
Why do you make a difficulty of it,
Since you cannot escape it ?"
The king causes quick to be brought to her
The mantle, and she takes it.
Now she hangs it to her neck, 610 610
For she dared not make excuse.
The lappets fell to the ground,
So that they trailed a whole foot.
Most of the knights believed
That there was nothing but good in her,
Now they looked at her behind,
Which was all uncovered.
Girflet, who first saw it,
Now cries to her :
620 "Its lappets are too long, 620
They are not made for your use ;
Never the behind was so formed
That it could become round."
And Kay, who could not restrain himself,
Because Ydier had rallied him,
Soon returned the favour.
"Ydier, what is your opinion of it ?
Your mistress has not erred !
You have now a right to joke ;
You can find but three of them 630 630
Of proved loyalty.
The world is so turned
That each believes he has one.
You thought today to have
The loyalty which is in you.
One is illcovered who is uncovered behind.
And I will tell you the manner :
She lets herself be girded behind,
As the mantle intimates."
640 Ydier knows not anyway 640
What to do or say.
She took the mantle in anger,
And threw it before the king.
Then Kay took her by the hand,
And led her with the others.
"In faith," said he, "this assembly
Will soon be, if God please, great and fair.
There will not remain a damsel
But will come in this company ; [ners
Therefore it would be great want of man-
If one mocked the other." [650
What shall I say further ?
One after another put it on,
And their lovers looked on.
It never fitted one of them ;

Et Kex toutes voies les prist ;
 Si cōme il lor vit messōir,
 Si les mena en renc sōir.
 A la cort n'ot nul chevalier
 Qui drue i ēust ne moillier,
 Qui molt n'ēust le cuer dolent.
 Qui vēist lor contēnement,
 Com li uns l'autre regardoit,
 Mēs auques les reconfortoit
 Ce que li uns ne pooit mie
 Dire de l'autre vilonie,
 Que il mēismes n'i partist.
 Et Kex li seneschaus a dit :
 " Seignor, ne vous corouciez pas,
 Igaument sont parti li gas,
 Quant chascune en porte son fēs ;
 Bien doivent estre desormēs
 Par nous chieries et amēes,
 Quar bien se sont hui acuitēes.
 Ce nous doit molt reconforter,
 Li uns ne puet l'autre gaber."
 Mesires Gavains respondi :
 " Ici a mauvēs geu parti,
 Je ne sai le meilleur estlire,
 Que la meilleur en est la pire,
 Et ce seroit anuz et tort
 Se nostre anuz estoit confort.
 Ainçois nous en doit toz peser
 Li uns ne doit l'autre gaber."
 Kex li dist : " Ce n'i a mestier ;
 J'ai oī dire en reprovier,
 Grant piece a, que del de noient
 Sent acorer chetive gent.
 Maudehez ait qui ce juga
 Et qui jà le créantera,
 Que jà chevaliers soit honi
 Se s'amie fet autre ami ;
 Ainz le devons bien contredire
 Que doions estre de ce pire.
 Se de mauvestie est provēe,
 S'il l'avoit .ix. foiz esposēe,
 Si seroit-ce faus jugement
 Que il empirast de noient ;
 Que li doit nuire autrui meffet ?
 Sor celui soit qui l'autre fet."
 700 Ce dist Plators, li filz Arēs,
 " Cis conseus est assez mauvēs."
 " Certes," ce dist li seneschaus,
 " Veritez est qu'il font mains maus ;
 Bien sachiez que maint chevalier
 Est de cest meffet parçonnier,
 Et molt en a aillors que ci."
 Li vallēs dist : " Sire, merci ;
 Biaux sire chiers, ce que sera,
 Je cuit que il m'en covendra
 Mon mantel arriere porter.
 Fetes par ces chambres garder,
 Que n'en i ait nule mucie.
 Jà est vostre cort tant proisie
 Et par tout le mont renommēe,
 J'ai oī dire en ma contrēe
 C'onques n'i vint de nule part
 Aventure, ne tost ne tart
 Qui s'en alast en tel maniere.
 Hontes ert se s'en vait arriere,
 720 Vostre cort en sera blasmēe ;
 And Kay always took them ;
 As he saw it did not fit them,
 He led them to sit in the rank.
 There was not a knight in the court,
 660 Who had mistress or wife there, 660
 Who had not much grief at heart.
 Who had seen their behaviour,
 How one looked at the other ;
 But it always consoled them
 That one could not
 Say reproach to the other,
 In which he did not share himself.
 And Kay the steward said :
 " Lords, do not be angered ;
 670 The jokes are equally shared, 670
 When each lady bears her burden ;
 They ought well henceforth to be
 Cherished and loved by us,
 For they have well acquitted them today.
 This ought much to console us,
 One cannot mock the other."
 Milord Gawain replied :
 " Here is a bad game for all,
 I cannot choose the best part,
 680 For the best is the worst, 680
 And it would be grief and wrong
 If our grief were comfort.
 Thus we ought all to bear it ;
 One must not mock the other."
 Kay said to him : " There is no need ;
 I have heard say in proverb,
 Long ago, that grief for nothing
 Can kill wretched people.
 Cursed be he who judged that,
 690 And whoever will believe it, 690
 That ever a knight is shamed
 Because his mistress has another lover ;
 Therefore we ought to deny
 That we should be the worse for this.
 If she be convicted of naughtiness,
 Though he had married her nine times,
 It would be false judgment
 To think him any worse for it ;
 Why should another's offence injure him ?
 700 Be it upon the offender." 700
 Said Plator, the son of Ares,
 " This counsel is bad enough."
 " Truly," replied the steward,
 " It is a fact that they do less hurt ;
 You know well that many a knight
 Is sharer in this misdeed ;
 And there are many elsewhere."
 The valet said : " Sire, thanks ;
 Fair and dear sir, whatever may happen,
 710 I think that I shall be obliged 710
 To carry back my mantle.
 Cause the chambers to be visited,
 That there be no one concealed there.
 Your court is so much praised
 And renowned through all the world,
 I have heard say in my country [where
 That there never came there from any-
 Adventure, early or late,
 Which went away in such manner.
 720 It will be a shame if it go back ; 720
 Your court will be blamed for it ;

S'en ira en mainte contrée
 La novele, qui par tout cort.
 Et sachiés que en vostre cort
 En vendront aventures mains."
 "Par mon chief," ce a dit Gavains,
 "De ce dit a li valles voir;
 Fetes par ces chambres savoir,
 Que n'i ait petite, ne grant,
 Qui orendoit ne viegne avant."
 730 Li rois commande o'on i aut;
 Et Girflès i ala le saut,
 Dès que li rois le commanda.
 Une damoisele i trova,
 Mès ele n'estoit pas mucie,
 Ainz estoit uns poi deshaitie;
 Si se séoit seule en son lit.
 Et Girflès maintenant li dist:
 "Levez tost sus, bele pucele,
 740 Quar une aventure novele
 Est en cele sale venue.
 Onques tele ne fu véue;
 Si la vous covient à véoir.
 Vostre part en devez avoir,
 Quant toutes les autres en ont."
 La damoisele li respont:
 "G'irai volentiers orendroit,
 Mès lessiez-moi vestir à droit."
 Galeta s'estoit affublée,
 Vestue s'est et atornée
 750 Au miex et au plus bel que pot,
 De la meillor robe qu'ele ot;
 Puis est en la sale venue.
 Et quant ses amis l'a véue,
 Sachiez que il fu molt iriez.
 Devant estoit joianz et liez
 De ce que n'i avoit esté;
 Que s'il fust à sa volenté
 Ele ne l'affublait à nul jor.
 760 Quar il l'amoit tant par amor,
 Que s'ele éust de rien mespris
 Il vousist miex estre à Paris,
 Quar il en perdist son solaz.
 Ses noms ert Carados Briebraz.
 Or voit tantost le damoiseil
 Qui ot aporté le mantel,
 Et se li a dit et conté
 Du mantel toute la verté,
 Et por quoi il l'i aporta.
 770 Et Carados grant duel en a;
 Oiant tost dist: "Ma douce amie,
 Por Dieu ne l'affublez vous mie
 Se vous vous doutez de noient;
 Quar je vous aim tant bonement
 Que je ne voudroie savoir
 Vostre meffet por nul avoir:
 Miex en vueil estre en doutance;
 Por tout le roiaume de France
 N'en voudroie-je estre cert;
 780 Quar qui sa bone amie pert,
 Molt a perdu, ce m'est avis.
 Miex voudroie estre mors que vis
 Que vous fussiez orainz assise
 Où l'amie Gavain est mise."
 Lors parla Kex li seneschaus:
 "Et cil qui pert sa desloiaus,
 Dont ne doit-il estre molt liez?"

And in many a country will go
 The news, which travels everywhere.
 And know that in your court
 Will come fewer adventures."
 "By my head!" said Gawain,
 "The valet has said right in this.
 Cause to be known in the chambers
 That there be neither little nor big,
 730 But she come now forwards."
 The king commands it to be done;
 And Girflet starts to do it
 As soon as the king commanded.
 He found there a damsel;
 But she was not concealed,
 But only a little sad,
 And was sitting alone on her bed.
 And Girflet said to her forthwith:
 "Rise quickly, fair maiden,
 740 For a new adventure
 Is come into the hall.
 Such an one was never seen;
 So you must see it.
 You must have your share,
 As all the others have had."
 The damsel replied:
 "I will go willingly this moment;
 But let me dress fittingly."
 Galeta put on her things,
 750 She is dressed and adorned
 The best and most handsomely she could,
 With the best robe she had;
 And then she came into the hall.
 And when her lover saw her,
 Know that he was much vexed.
 Before he was joyful and glad
 That she had not been there;
 And if he had his will,
 She would never have put it on.
 760 For he loved her so much,
 That if she had done wrong in anything,
 He would rather have been at Paris,
 For he would lose all his joy.
 His name was Caradoc Briebraz.
 Then comes quick the youth
 Who had brought the mantle,
 And told and related to her
 The whole truth of the mantle,
 And why he had brought it there.
 770 And Caradoc had great sorrow;
 In the hearing of all he said: "My sweet
 For God's sake put it not on
 If you have any fear;
 For I love you so affectionately
 That I would not know
 Your misdeed for anything:
 I would rather be in doubt;
 For all the kingdom of France
 I would not be assured of it;
 780 For who loses his good love
 Has sustained great loss, I think.
 I would rather be dead than alive
 To see you now seated
 Where Gawain's mistress is placed."
 Then spoke Kay the steward:
 "And he who loses his disloyal one,
 Ought he not to be very glad?"

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| <p>Vous serez jà molt corouciez, Se vous l'amez tant bonement. Vez en là séoir plus de cent Qui se cuidoient hui matin Plus esmerées que or fin ; Or les poés toutes véoir Por lor meffez en renc séoir." Cele, qui point ne s'esbahi, Molt doucement li respondi : " Sire," fet-ele, " bien savon Que il meschiet à maint preudon, Ne je ne m'os mie vanter Que les doie toutes passer De léauté, ne de valor ; Mès se il plect à mon seignor, Je l'affublerai volentiers." " Par mon chief !" dist li chevaliers, " Vous n'en poez par el passer." Encor ne l' vout ele affubler Tant que ele en ait le congie De celui que molt a proisie. Molt à enois li a doné. Ele l'a pris et affublé ; Maintenant voient les barons Ne li fu trop cort, ne trop lons ; Tout à point li avint à terre. " Ceste fesoit molt bien à guerre," Fet li vallès, " ce m'est avis. Damoisele, li vostre amis Doit estre molt joianz et liez. Une chose de voir sachiez : Je l'ai par maintes cors porté, Et plus de mil l'ont affublé ; Onques mès ne vi en ma vie Sanz meffet ne sanz vilonie Nule fors vous tant seulement. Je vous otroi le garnement, Qui bien vaut plain uns val d'avoir, Et vous le devés bien avoir." La damoisele l'en mercie. Li rois bonement li otrie, Et dist que siens est par reson. N'i a chevalier, ne baron, Ne damoisele que l' desdie ; Et s'en ont-il molt grant envie Qu'el l'enporte, lor iex voiant, Mès n'en oesent fere samblant. N'i a chevalier, ne baron, Qui en ost dire se bien non ; * Quant nule n'i trove achoison Dont ele ost dire par raison. Lors si dist messire Gauvain : " Bele," fait-il, " je prain en vain Que vous n'en devez guerredon Se à vostre loianté non. Cil qui vostre loianté voient, Lo vos créantent et otroient ; Volantiers lo contredéissent, Se eles lor droit i véissent Que vos ne l' déussiez avoir. À escient poez savoir Que li plus en sont moult dolant." Li damoisiax lo congie prant,</p> | <p>790</p> <p>800</p> <p>810</p> <p>820</p> <p>830</p> | <p>You will soon be much angered, If you love her so affectionately. [790 See there sitting more than a hundred Who believed themselves this morning More refined than pure gold ; Now you may see them all Sitting in a row for their misdeeds." She, who was not abashed, Very gently replied to him : " Sir," said she, " we know well That it mishaps to many a man of worth ; And I dare not by any means vaunt That I ought to pass them all 800 In loyalty or worth ; But if it please my lord, I will willingly put it on." " By my head !" said the knight, " You cannot do otherwise." Still she would not put it on Till she had the leave Of him whom she had much prized. He gave it very unwillingly. 810 She has taken and put it on ; Then in sight of the barons It was neither too short nor too long, But fitted exactly to the ground. " It was well done to fetch her," Said the valet. " I think. Damsel, your lover Ought to be very joyful and glad. Know one thing for truth : I have carried it to many courts, 820 And more than a thousand have put it on ; But I have never once seen in my life, Without mishap and disgrace, Any one do it except you. I give you the garment, Which is well worth a valley full of wealth, And you deserve well to have it." The damsel thanked him for it. The king gives it to her graciously, And said it was hers by right. There was neither knight nor baron 830 Nor damsel who contradicted it ; Yet they have great jealousy Of her gaining it in their sight, Though they did not dare to shew it. There is neither knight nor baron Who dares disapprove it ; When no lady finds in it cause Wherefore she dare complain. Then said my lord Gawain : " Fair one," says he, " I assert That you owe the reward of it Only to your loyalty. Those who see your loyalty, Trust and give it to you ; They would willingly refuse, If they saw their right That you ought not to have it. You may know evidently That most of them are much grieved at it." The valet takes his leave,</p> |
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* The conclusion, from line 837, which is omitted in MS. No. 7218, is here added from the Berne MS., where the poem is most complete.

Onques n'i volt plus demorer.
 Ainz se hasta por lo disner,
 Ne vout en nule guise atandre,
 Car à sa dame voloit randre
 Son messaige delivrement.
 Et li rois et tote sa gent
 Asist maintenant au mangier.
 Sachiez que maint bon chevalier
 I sist plain de coroz et d'ire.
 De l' mangier ne vos voil plus dire,
 Fors que moult bien furent servi.
 Et qant li mangiers fu feni,
 Caradox si a congié pris,
 Si s'an ala en son país,
 Liez et joieus, o tot s'amie.
 En Gales, en une abaie
 Mistrent estoier lo mantel,
 Qu'i or est trovez de novel;
 Et si set-l'an très bien qui l'a,
 Et qui partot lo portera
 As dames et as damoiseles.
 Seignor, dites lor tex nouveles,
 Qui par tot lo fera porter,
 Si lo covandra afubler.
 Por noiant me travailleroie,
 Se je cest present lor faisoie,
 El m'en arroient mais toz dis;
 Si m'an porroit estre de pis,
 Se les requeroie de rien.
 Por ce me covient dire bien,
 Por mon besoing, non por l'onor;
 Et si n'i aurai fors enor.
 Or nos gart toz cil de laissus,
 Car de cest conte n'i a plus.

He would not remain there any longer.
 But he hastened for the dinner,
 He would in no wise wait,
 For he wished to deliver to his lady
 His message quickly.
 And the king and all his people
 Now sits down to eat.
 Know that many a good knight
 Sits there full of vexation and anger.
 I will tell you no more of the meal,
 Except that they were very well served.
 And when the dinner was ended,
 Caradoc took his leave,
 And departed to his country,
 Glad and joyful, with his mistress.
 In Wales, in an abbey
 They deposited the mantle,
 Which now is lately found there;
 And it is well known who has it,
 And who will carry it everywhere
 To ladies and damsels.
 Lords, tell them this news,
 Who anywhere will cause it to be brought,
 Must try it on.
 I should labour in vain,
 If I made them this present,
 They would hate me ever after;
 And so it might be the worse for me,
 If I sought any favour of them.
 Hence I must speak well,
 For my need, not for the honour;
 And yet I shall have from it not much
 Now may He above protect us, [honour.
 For there is no more of this tale.

Ci fenit Cort Mantel.

II.

THE ENGLISH BALLADS OF THE BOY AND THE MANTLE.

In the third day of May,
 To Carleile did come
 A kind curteous child,
 That cold much of wisdom.

A kirtle and a mantle
 This child had upon,
 With brouches and ringes
 Full richely bedone.

He had a sute of silke
 About his middle drawne;
 Without he cold of curtesye
 He thought itt much shame.

“ God speed the, king Arthur,
 Sitting at thy meate;
 And the goodly queene Guenever,
 I cannott her forgett.

In Carleile dwelt king Arthur,
 A prince of passing might,
 And there maintain'd his table round,
 Beset with many a knight.

And there he kept his Christmas
 Whit mirth and princely cheare,
 When, lo! a strange and cunning boy
 Before him did appeare.

A kirtle and a mantle
 This boy had him upon, 10
 Whit brooches, rings, and owches,
 Full daintily bedone. 10

He had a sarke of silk
 About his middle meet;
 And thus, with seemly curtesy,
 He did king Arthur greet.

- I tell you, lords in this hall,
I hett you all to heede;
Except you be the more surer,
Is for you to dread." 20
- He plucked out of his poterner,
And longer wold not dwell,
He pulled forth a pretty mantle
Betweene two nut-shells.
- "Have thou here, king Arthur,
Have thou heere of mee;
Give itt to thy comely queene,
Shapen as itt is al readye.
- Itt shall never become that wiffe
That hath once done amisee." 30
Then every knight in the kings court
Began to care for his.
- Forth came dame Guenever,
To the mantle shee her hied;
The ladye shee was newfangle,
But yett shee was affrayd.
- When shee had taken the mantle,
She stode as shee had bene madd;
It was from the top to the toe
As sheeres had itt ahead. 40
- One while was it gaule,
Another while was itt greene,
Another while was it wadded;
Ill itt did her beseme.
- Another while was it blacke,
And bore the worst hue.
"By my troth," quoth king Arthur,
"I think thou be not true."
- Shee threw downe the mantle
That bright was of blee; 50
Fast, with a rudd redd,
To her chamber can shee flee.
- She curst the weaver and the walker
That clothe that had wrought;
And bade a vengeance on his crowne
That hither hath itt brought.
- "I had rather be in a wood,
Under a greene tree,
Then in king Arthurs court
Shamed for to bee." 60
- Kay called forth his ladye,
And bade her come neere;
Sais, "Madam, and thou be guiltye,
I pray thee hold thee there."
- Forth came his ladye
Shortlye and anon;
Boldlye to the mantle
Then is shee gone.
- When she had tane the mantle,
And cast it her about; 70
Then was shee bare
All above her tout.
- "God speed thee, brave king Arthur,
Thus feasting in thy bowre;
And Guenever thy goodly queen,
That fair and peerlesse flowre. 20
- Ye gallant lords and lordings,
I wish you all take heed,
Lest what ye deem a blooming rose
Should prove a canckred weed."
- Then straitway from his bosome
A little wand he drew;
And with it eke a mantle
Of wondrous shape and hew.
- "Now have thou here, king Arthur,
Have this hew of mee, 30
And give unto thy comely queen,
All shapen as you see.
- No wife it shall become,
That once hath been to blame."
Then every knight in Arthurs court
Slye glanced at his dame.
- And first came lady Guenever,
The mantle she must trye.
This dame she was newfangled,
And of a roving eye. 40
- When she had tane the mantle,
And all was with it cladde,
From top to toe it shiver'd down,
As tho with sheers beshradde.
- One while it was too long,
Another while too short,
And wrinkled on her shoulders
In most unseemly sort.
- Now green, now red it seemed,
Then all of sable hue. 50
"Beshrew me," quoth king Arthur,
"I think thou beest not true."
- Down she threw the mantle,
Ne longer would not stay,
But, storming like a fury,
To her chamber flung away.
- She curst the whoreson weaver
That had the mantle wrought,
And doubly curst the froward impe
Who thither had it brought. 60
- "I had rather live in desarts,
Beneath the greenwood tree,
Than here, base king, among thy groomes,
The sport of them and thee."
- Sir Kay call'd forth his lady,
And bade her to come near;
"Yet, dame, if thou be guilty,
I pray the now forbear."
- This lady, pertly gigling,
With forward step came on, 70
And boldly to the little boy
With fearless face is gone.

- Then every knight
That was in the kings court
Talked, laughed, and showed,
Full oft att that sport.
- Shee threw downe the mantle,
That bright was of blee;
Fast with a red rudd,
To her chamber can shee flee. 80
- Forth came an old knight
Pattering ore a creede,
And he proffered to this litle boy
Twenty markes to his meede;
- And all the time of the Christmasse
Willinglye to feede;
For why this mantle might
Doe his wiffe some need.
- When she had tane the mantle
Of cloth that was made, 90
Shee had no more left on her
But a tassell and a threed.
Then every knight in the kings court
Bade evill might shee speed.
- Shee threw downe the mantle,
That bright was of blee;
And fast, with a redd rudd,
To her chamber can shee flee.
- Craddocke called forth his ladye,
And bade her come in; 100
Saith, "Winne this mantle, ladye,
With a litle dinne.
- Winne this mantle, ladye,
And it shal be thine,
If thou never did amisse
Since thou wast mine."
- Forth came Craddockes ladye
Shortlye and anon;
But boldlye to the mantle
Then is shee gone. 110
- When she had tane the mantle
And cast it her about,
Upp att her great toe
It began to crinkle and crowt.
Shee said, "Bowe downe, mantle,
And shame me not for nought.
- Once I did amisse,
I tell you certainlye,
When I kist Craddockes mouth
Under a greene tree;
When I kist Craddockes mouth
Before he marryed me." 120
- When shee had her shreeven,
And her sines shee had tolde,
The mantle stooode about her
Right as shee wold;
- Seemelye of coulour,
Glittering like gold.
- When she had tane the mantle,
With purpose for to wear,
It shrunk up to her shoulder,
And left her backside bare.
- Then every merry knight
That was in Arthurs court
Gib'd, and laught, and flouted,
To see that pleasant sport. 80
- Downe she threw the mantle,
No longer bold or gay,
But with a face all pale and wan,
To her chamber slunk away.
- Then forth came an old knight,
A pattering o'er his creed,
And proffer'd to the litle boy
Five nobles to his meed.
- "And all the time of Christmass
Plumb-porridge shall be thine,
If thou wilt let my ladye fair
Within the mantle shine." 90
- A saint his lady seemed,
With step demure and slow,
And gravely to the mantle
Whit mincing pace doth goe.
- When she the same had taken,
That was so fine and thin,
It shrivell'd all about her,
And show'd her dainty skin. 100
- Ah! litle did her mincing
Or his long prayers bestead!
She had no more hung on her
Than a tassell and a thread.
- Down she threwe the mantle,
With terror and dismay,
And, with a face of scarlet,
To her chamber hyed away.
- Sir Cradock call'd his lady,
And bade her to come neare:
"Come, win this mantle, lady,
And do me credit here. 110
- Come, win this mantle, lady,
For now it shall be thine,
If thou hast never done amiss
Sith first I made the mine."
- The lady, gently blushing,
With modest grace came on,
And now to trye the wondrous charm
Courageously is gone. 120
- When she had tane the mantle,
And put it on her backe,
About the hem it seemed
To wrinkle and to cracke.
- "Lye still," shee cried "O mantle!
And shame me not for nought,
I'll freely own whate'er amiss
Or blameful I have wrought.

- Then every knight in Arthurs court
Did her behold. 180
- Then spake dame Guenever
To Arthur our king,
"She hath tane yonder mantle,
Not with right, but with wronge.
- See you not yonder woman
That maketh her self soe cleane ?
I have seene tane out of her bedd
Of men fiveteene ;
- Priests, clarkes, and wedded men
From her bydeene : 140
Yett shee taketh the mantle,
And maketh herself cleane."
- Then spake the litle boy
That kept the mantle in hold,
Sayes, " King, chasten thy wiffe,
Of her wordes shee is to bold.
- Shee is a bitch, and a witch,
And a whore bold.
King, in thine owne hall,
Thou art a cuckold." 150
- The litle boy stoode
Looking out a dore ;
[And there as he was lookinge
He was ware of a wyld bore.]
- He was ware of a wyld bore,
Wold have werryed a man ;
He pulld forth a wood-kniffe,
Fast thither that he ran ;
He brought in the bores head,
And quitted him like a man. 160
- He brought in the bores head,
And was wonderous bold ;
And said there was never a cuckolds kniffe
Carve itt that cold.
- Some rubbed their knives
Uppon a whetstone ;
Some threw them under the table,
And said they had none.
- King Arthur and the child
Stood looking upon them ; 170
All their knives edges
Turned backe againe.
- Craddocke had a litle knive
Of iron and of steele,
He birtled the bores head
Wonerous weele,
That every knight in the kings court
Had a morseell.
- The litle boy had a horne
Of red gold that ronge, 180
He said, " there was noe cuckolde
Shall drinke of my horne ;
But he shold it sheede,
Either behind or beforne."
- Once I kist sir Craddocke
Beneathe the green-wood tree ; 180
Once I kist sir Craddockes mouth
Before he married mee."
- When thus shee had her shriven,
And her worst fault had told,
The mantle soon became her
Right comely as it shold.
- Most rich and fair of colour,
Like gould it glittering shone ;
And much the knights in Arthurs court
Admir'd her every one. 140
- Then towards king Arthurs table
The boy he turn'd his eye,
Where stood a boars head garnished
With bayes and rosemary.
- When thrice he o'er the boars head
His litle wand had drawne, [knife
Quoth he " There's never a cuckolds
Can carve this head of browne."
- Then some their whittles rubbed
On whetstone and on hone ; 150
Some threwe them under the table,
And swore that thay had none.
- Sir Craddock had a litle knive
Of steel and iron made,
And in an instant thro' the skull
He thrust the shining blade.
- He thrust the shining blade
Full easily and fast ;
And every knight in Arthurs court
A morsel had to taste. 160
- The boy brought forth a horne,
All golden was the rim :
Saith he, " No cuckolde ever can
Set mouth unto the brim ;
- No cuckolde can this litle horne
Lift fairly to his head,
But or on this or that side
He shall the liquor shed."
- Some shed it on their shoulder,
Some shed it on their thigh ; 170
And hee that could not hit his mouth,
Was sure to hit his eye.
- Thus he that was a cuckold
Was known of every man.
But Craddock lifted easily,
And wan the golden can.
- Thus boars head, horn, and mantle
Were this fair couples meed ;
And all such constant lovers
God send them well to speed. 180
- Then down in rage came Guenever,
And thus could spightful say,
" Sir Craddockes wife most wrongfully
Hath borne the prize away.

Some shedd on their shoulder,
 And some on their knee;
 He that cold not hitt his mouthe,
 Put it in his eye:
 And he that was a cuckold
 Every man might him see.

Craddocke wan the horne
 And the bores head;
 His ladie wan the mantle
 Unto her meede.
 Everye such a lovely ladye
 God send her well to spcede.

See yonder shameless woman
 That makes herselfe so clean;
 Yet from her pillow taken
 Thrice five gallants have been.

190 Priests, clerkes, and wedded men
 Have her lewd pillow prest;
 Yet she the wonderous prize, forsooth,
 Must beare from all the rest."

Then bespake the little boy,
 Who had the same in hold,—
 "Chastize thy wife, king Arthur,
 Of speech she is too bold:

Of speech she is too bold,
 Of carriage all too free;
 Sir king, she hath within thy hall
 A cuckold made of thee. 200

All frolick, light, and wanton
 She hath her carriage borne,
 And given thee for a kingly crowne
 To wear a cuckolds horne."

III.

THE WELSH TRIADS.

1.
 Tri diweirferch Ynys Pryd. Treul
 Difefyl ferch Llyngesawl Llawhael;
 Gwenfaddon[al. Gwenfronn] ferch Tutwal
 Tutclud; a Thegen Eurfron.*
Second Series, No. 54; Third, No. 103.

2.
 Tair rhiaïn ardderchawg llys Arthur:
 Dyfyr Wallt eured; Enit verch Iniw
 iarl; a Thegen Eurfron.
Second Series, No. 78.

1.
 The three chaste damsels of the Isle
 of Britain. Trail the Spotless, daughter
 of Lungessoc the generous handed;
 Gwenvron (literally white breasted),
 daughter of Tydwal † of Clydesdale; and
 Tegay the golden breasted.

2.
 The three exalted ladies of Arthur's
 court: Duv-ir, ‡ the golden haired; Enid, §
 daughter of Earl Inewl; and Tegay, the
 golden breasted.

* There is nothing further known of the two first named damsels. Lungessoc is probably the person named in the *Liber Landavensis* as a witness to a deed in the time of bishop Oudocens. He is named in the life of Saint Cadoc, as Ligessoc the long-handed, son of Eliman, and said to have been "a certain brave general of the Britons." He slew three soldiers of Arthur, the most illustrious king of Britain, and took refuge with Saint Cadoc. Arthur pursued him; the case was submitted to the arbitration of Saints David, Teilo, and Oudocens; and they decreed that Arthur should have one hundred cows for each person slain. But the king, being in a contentious spirit, demanded they should all be of two colours, the fore part red and the hind part white. No such cows being at hand, Saint Cadoc performed a miracle, and caused the cattle to be of these colours; but the cows, after having been formally delivered, turned to bundles of ferns in the hands of the captors. Arthur, seeing this miracle, entreated Cadoc to pardon him. Pardon was granted, and the miracle is still commemorated in the name of Rhedynog, or the Town of Ferns, in Monmouthshire.

† Tydwal was king of Strathclyde, and father of Rhydderch Hael, or Roderick the generous, who fought the battle of Airdrie, near Glasgow, in A.D. 574, when Christianity triumphed over Druidism, and Merlin "insanus effectus est."

‡ Duv-ir is not otherwise known.

§ Enid is the heroine of the Welsh romance of Geraint ab Erbin, and the subject of Tennyson's first Idyll.

8.
Tair gwenriain llys Arthur.
Third Series, No. 108.

8.
The three beautiful ladies of Arthur's
court. The same names as in the pre-
ceding Triad.

IV.

THE GAELIC POEM.

Laa zaane deach Finn di zoill in nalwe
is ner ymmit sloyg
Sessir bann is sessir far Iyn zhil is anneir
ucht zaal
Finn fayn is Dermoit gin on keilt is
ossain is oskir
Conan meithl gom maal er myg agus
mnan nin vi leith sen
Mygin is ban einn bi zane is annir ucht
zall mi wan feyn
Gormlay aolli is dow rosg neaof is neyn
enneiss
Nor a zoyf meska no mnan tugsiddir in
gussi raa
Nach royf er in doythin teg sessir ban in
goyth inrylk
A dowirt an nynnilt gyn on is Tulych
carnich in doythin
Ga maath sewse is ymmit ban nach
drynn fes ach re in ar
Gerrid er ve zawe mir sen tanik in van
dar rochtan

'Twas on a day Finn went to drink
In Alve, with his people few;
Six women and six men were there,
The women fair, with whitest skin.
Finn was there and guileless Diarmid,
Caoilte and Ossian too, and Oscar,
Conan the bald, slow in the field,
With the wives of these six men;
Maighinis the wife of dauntless Finn,
The fair-bosomed maid, my own dear wife,
Fair skin Gormlay, of blackest eye,
Naoif, and the daughter of Angus.
When drunkenness had the women seized,
They had a talk among themselves:
They said that throughout all the earth
No six women were so chaste.
Then said the maiden without guile,
"The world is a many-sided heap;
Though pure are ye, they are not few
Women quite as chaste as you."
They had been a short time thus,
When they saw a maid approach,

Tegen, sounded Tegay, was the daughter of Nudd or Needh the generous, one of "the thirteen kings" of North Britain in the sixth century. Nudd was one of several northern chiefs who paid a hostile visit to North Wales about A.D. 550; and his son Drywon was one of the allies of Rhydderch Hael in 574.

Caradoc Vreichvras, or the brawny-armed, is commonly said, on the authority of Geoffrey of Monmouth, to have been a duke of Cornwall and a contemporary of king Arthur. Some of the older Triads follow him in this respect, and attribute to Arthur a triplet, in which he says—

My three battle knights
Are Mened, Lud the loricated,
And Caradoc the pillar of Cambria.

Hence the king has been called one of "the three Cambrian poetasters."

Properly, however, Caradoc was, according to Welsh story, regulus of Radnorshire, and lived at the close of the sixth and beginning of the seventh century. He was one of the "threescore three hundred warriors" who fought and fell at Cattraeth (Catterick) in A.D. 603, and is thus commemorated by the bard Aneurin, who was himself in the battle:

Pan gryssyei Garadawc y gat
Mal baed coet trychwn trychyat
Tarw bedin en trin gormynyat
Ef Uithyei wydgnw oe anghat
Ys vyn tyst Ewein vab Eulat
A Gwryen a Gwynn a Gwryat
O Cattraeth o gymynat
O vrynn Hydwn kynn caffat
Gwedy med gloew ar anghat
Ni weles Wryen ei dat.—Verse xxxi.

When Caradoc rushed to battle, [land boar.
The gash of the hewer was like that of the wood-
He was the bull of battle, in the conflicting
He allured wild dogs with his hand. [fight;
My witnesses are Owen the son of Eylad,
Gwrien, Gwyn, and Gwryat
From Cattraeth, from the conflict,
From Heddon hill before it was taken,
After clear mead in the grasp,
Gwryen did not see his father.

Hence we may conclude he was slain A.D. 603.

Ein wrata wmpa gin alda agus e na iyn
 naygh
 Tanik neyn a wrata inn an vaenissa
 v'kowie
 Banichis din re gin non agis swis na
 arrygh
 Feafryth finn skail zyi din neyn lwchr
 lawzill
 A wan a wrat gin alda keid a rad ow is
 tein naygh
 As giss dym wrat gin alda ban ann ac na
 ennaygh
 Nocht chay naygh dein fame wrat ach
 ben in ir gyn ralocht
 Tawir ym brat dym wreith feyn do ter
 conane mor gyn chaele
 Go westmist im brear mir a twg na
 mnawe wo chanew
 Gawis ben chonnane ym brat is curris
 wmpa la rachta
 Gom bea sen an loyth locht dar lek rys
 wile a gall ocht
 Mir a chonnik connan meil ym brat yr
 caesyth fa teyf
 Tawris in chreisyth gin neaf agis mar-
 veis in neyn
 Gavis ben dermoit a zeil ym brat wo
 wrei chonnan meil
 Noch char farr a wassi zyi cassi ym brat
 fa keiyf
 Gawis ben oskyr na zey ym brad oco
 adda coyve ra
 Ga loyvir skayth a wrat inn noch char
 ally a hymlyn
 Gawis myghinis ga aal ym brad is di
 churri fa cann
 Di chass is di chwarr mir sen ym brat gi
 loa fa closew
 Tawir ym brata er m'raa dym wnessi is
 ne owss clae
 Go vestmist in ness gon non tres elli da
 hymlit dewe
 Di warynai brair riss agis ne brair
 eggiss
 Nach darnis di weiss ri far ach dol dutsi
 in neiss lenew
 Nochtis ben vek ree a teef curris umpi
 ym brat fer chei.....
 A sayth eddir chass is lawe na gi ley er a
 lwdygnane
 Ane phoik doaris in braed o wak o zwyne
 darmit
 Di reissi ym brad owm laar mor wea see
 na hynnirrane
 Tawrew mi wrat doyf a wnaa is me nein
 in derg zrana
 Noch cha dernis di locht acht fess ri finn
 fyvir noch
 Ber mo wallych is ymith woygin se der
 m'kowie gin boy
 A dagis fa mhaalych er mnawe na tyr
 huggin ane lay.

Lay.

Her covering a single seamless robe,
 Of spotless white from end to end;
 The maiden of the pure white robe
 Drew near to where MacCumhail sat.
 She blessed the king of guileless heart,
 And close beside him there sat down.
 Finn asks her to give them her tale,
 The handsome maid of whitest hand:
 "Maid of the seamless robe, I ask,
 What virtue's in thy spotless veil?"
 "Myseamless robe has this strange power,
 That women, such as are not chaste,
 Can in its folds no shelter find,—
 None but the spotless wife it shields."
 "Give my wife the robe at once,"
 Said the bulky, senseless Conan,
 "That we may learn what is the truth
 Of what the women just have said."
 Then Conan's wife does take the robe,
 And in vexation pulls it on;
 'Twas truly pity it was done,
 Her fair-skinned breast was all exposed.
 Then when the bald-pate Conan saw
 How that the robe shrank into folds,
 He seized in passion his sharp spear,
 And with it did the woman slay.
 Then the loved Diarmid's wife
 The robe from Conan's wife did take
 No better did she fare than she,
 About her locks it clung in folds.
 Then Oscar's wife seized on the robe,
 Which looked so long and softly smooth;
 But wide and large as were its wings,
 The robe her middle did not reach.
 Then fair Maighinis took the robe,
 And put it also o'er her head;
 The robe there creased and folded up,
 And gathered fast about her ears.
 "Give my wife the robe," said Mac Rea,
 "For the result I have no fear,
 That we may see, without deceit,
 Of her merit further proof."
 "I would pass my word for it,
 Though I claim not to be learned,
 That never have I once transgressed,
 I've been faithful aye to thee."
 Mac Rea's wife now showed her side,
 The robe was then put o'er her head;
 Her body was covered, feet and hands,
 None of it all was left exposed.
 Her bosom then one kiss received
 From Mac O'Duine, from Diarmid;
 The robe from her he then unfolds,
 From her who thus did stand alone.
 "Women, give me now my robe,
 I am the daughter of Deirg the fierce,
 I have done nought to cause me shame,
 I only erred with sharp-armed Finn."
 "Bear thou my curse, and quick away,"
 These were then the words of MacCumhail.
 On women he denounced a curse,
 Because of her who came that day.
 'Twas on a day.

ON

SOME NAMES OF PLACES IN SCILLY.

(Read at Truro, 29th August, 1862.)

As some of our body propose to pay a visit to the Scilly Islands before the Celtic gathering breaks up, I have thought it might not be uninteresting to occupy a little time with a few notes on the meaning of the Celtic local names still current in the isles, so far as my acquaintance with the old Cornish tongue would enable me to do so. I was accidentally led to consider these names by a remark of Borlase, that there were very few British names on the islands; and this he attributed to the influx of Englishmen in the sixteenth century, who found it, he says, "easier to call the lands after the names of the occupiers, than to retain the more uncouth, and, to the vulgar, insignificant old names." Now, on looking at the Great Admiralty Chart of Scilly, published in 1792, I saw that the British local names, instead of being few, constituted in fact one half at least of all those current in the islands. Intending to visit Scilly, I made out a list of these "uncouth names," as Borlase calls them, compared them with names of places in Wales and Cornwall, and amused myself with trying to find out their meaning; the paper in my hand contains the result of my attempts. Most of these names will, in all probability, have been given in accordance with the natural features of the country, and it would therefore have been, perhaps, more prudent to keep back my paper until I had seen the islands; but this, under the circumstances, was impracticable. The paper may be corrected hereafter, or notes added, if it be thought worth while:¹ in the meantime, should any gentleman present be acquainted with the islands,

¹ I have found a week at Scilly far too short to enable me to correct my paper. It would require a much longer residence to get a detailed knowledge of the natural features of the islands, and I can only supply a few remarks. (September 12.)

I shall be obliged to him for any remarks as I go on. Owing to the scantiness of the existing remains of Cornish, I am often—indeed, generally—compelled to have recourse to Welsh and Armoric for an etymology; and as I know little more of these languages than what is found in dictionaries, I will ask my Welsh friends, or any Bretons who may be present, to set me right when they find me tripping.

I would here observe, once for all, that I have no confidence in any etymology unless it be obvious, and, in the case of names of places, locally applicable, such as Bridgewater, Newcastle, Portsmouth, etc., in English names; or Chyandour, Pednvounder, Kynance, Peninis, etc., in Cornish. There are few towns in Britain of whose names several plausible origins may not be invented, and Cornwall has had its share of such: as examples we may mention Redruth, explained in guide-books and in works of greater pretension as the “Druids’ town,” the “red ford,” the “house on the river’s bed”; Marazion is made the “bitter Zion,” the “Thursday market,” the “Jews’ market.” The handsome town in which our Association has been so hospitably received is “the town of three streets,” the “castle on the water,” the “town on the road”: a better explanation, perhaps, is the “town on the slope,” from *trev* and *rhiw*, corresponding with the Welsh Trevriw, the name of a village on the Conwy similarly situated. A bold etymologist might suggest Trerhew, “frosty town”; but such a derivation would be at once rejected by all who know the position of the town or the character of its inhabitants.

Having said so much, it will be understood that I propose my etymologies as suited to amuse half an hour’s leisure, rather than as offering a scientific contribution to the objects of the Association.

I begin with the name of the whole group. It has been generally said that Scilly is derived from *syilly*, a conger-eel (Drama O. 136), because conger-eels abound on the islands; or from the Cornish *scylly*, “to separate,” because the islands are separated from Cornwall.

Now in regard to the first etymology, conger-eels are not peculiar to Scilly; and as to the second, it may be observed that islands generally are separated from some mainland or other, and the word would therefore be hardly distinctive enough for a proper name: moreover, I have not found in the remains of old Cornish such a meaning to this verb, though such is given in the vocabulary published by Pryce. But I do find such a verb, written *skoly* and *skuly*, in the dramas, meaning "to scatter," as in D. 341, where our Saviour is represented as scattering the merchandise in the Temple; and in D. 260, where the Jewish children scatter flowers under His feet. I think this likely to be the true derivation. *Sel*, "a distant view," might be suggested. The people on the mainland may have given the name before the islands were inhabited. I have also seen the improbable suggestion, *sul-léh*, "sun-rock,"—meaning rocks consecrated to the sun. It would be desirable to know the ancient pronunciation of the word. If one could shew this to be *skilly*, it would be decisive in favour of the "scattered isles." I should be glad if such were the case, and that it could be restored, as it would have spared us frequent undesirable repetitions of a not very brilliant pun.¹

Two only of the inhabited islands have Celtic names, Trescow and Bryher. Trescow will, of course, be divided into *tre* and *scow*. *Tre* is generally understood to mean "a town." It might seem singular to give this name of town to an island; but the word should really mean any abode, "a home." It is often so used in the ancient dramas,—as, for instance, where one of the actors, at the close of each piece, exhorts the spectators to go

¹ My friend, Mr. Pedler, of Liskeard, has recently communicated to me the extract from Snorro, printed at Copenhagen in 1786, relative to the baptism of Olaf in Scilly A.D. 993. Snorro spells the name Syllingar. I think, too, that the word is not found with *e* in the oldest Latin authors who have mentioned the islands. I see Sillinæ, Sorlingæ, Silures, without *e*; and I am told that such is the case in ancient charters also. I fear, therefore, that I must surrender my "Scattered Isles." (Sept. 12.)

home. I think I hear the word "town" so applied in Cornwall; and it is certainly so used in the south of Scotland. All readers of Scott will remember Dandie Dinmont's homestead, which he calls 'the town,' "as was usual," Scott remarks, "in the language of the country." As to the second syllable, we find the old Cornish *scovva* in the Drama, O. 1717, where Caleb says to Moses in the wilderness, "*ny a yl gul scovva*," "we may make a shelter," which was to serve until a mansion should be built. *Trescow* will thus be "a sheltering home." I hope to ascertain, in a few days, whether or not the name be applicable.¹

Bryher may be rendered "long hill" by a change of the vowels; which, however, must be somewhat forced, as an old variant form is *Brehar*. Another variation is *Bryer*, which might mean "eagle's hill." *Er* is found in the old Drama, O. 133. I do not know how far either name will suit the place.²

The chief town on the islands is called Hugh. *A-hugh*, in old Cornish, means "high," or, rather, "above." It occurs several times in the old dramas, as "*a-hugh y ben*," "above his head," D. 2794; and "*a-hugh an gweyth*," "high above the trees," O. 37. The same word is found without the initial *h* in the ancient poem of Mount Calvary,—"*a-ugh eglos*," "over a church" (13, 4); and at l. 46 of the more recent Drama of the Creation. This last may be the real form, as found in Welsh and Armoric; but the Germanic *hoch* and our English *high* may be allied. Hugh Town is certainly not so called from its own situation, but from the lofty promontory contiguous to it, which no doubt was called "The Hugh" before the town existed. Borlase's suggestion of *hue*, "colour," or the French *huer*, "to call out," is not admissible; though his conclusion that the

¹ The name is quite applicable. I learn from Mr. Augustus Smith that the island is called Iniscaw ("the island of elders") in an old charter, and the people of the islands certainly say *Trescow*; but I adhere to my first view. There is a Trescow not far from Marazion in Cornwall. (September 12.)

² Long Hill will suit the island "indifferently well." (Sept. 12.)

word means "a high piece of land running off into the water," is true without the limitation. Probably the name of the well-known Hoe in Plymouth may have the same origin with Hugh; and even the terminal *hoe* in the names of several lofty villages in North Devon, such as Mortehoe, Trentishoe, Martinhoe, may be allied.

Every one has heard of the famous Cornish triad, *tre*, *pol*, and *pen*. I have already mentioned *tre*, but have not quite done with it. Tremelethen is the name of a farm in St. Mary's; but I cannot explain *melethen*. Trevallies, a rock near Trescow, may be a corruption of *trev als*, "house of the cliff," but it seems an unlikely name. Two farms in St. Mary's are called Terengores. *Cors* is Welsh for a bog or marsh, and being a feminine word, would, with the Cornish article, become *angors* or *engors*: we should thus have Trengors, the "marshy dwelling." Trenemene comes under another heading.

I find no instance of *pol* in Scilly, but *pen* is frequent. Pen-innis, the bold and striking headland at the southern point of St. Mary's, is the "head of the island."—Penbrose, one of the smaller islands, is the "big head." *Brás* frequently occurs in the old dramas; and Lhwyd tells us that the *a* in this word was pronounced, in his day, as in the English words "fall," "wall," etc. Woodley gives very nearly the correct meaning; but he ludicrously derives the name from the corrupt Cornish *pedn brauze*; as though a man should derive the Latin *corpus* from the English *corpse*.—Pendrathen, a bay in St. Mary's, is the "head of the sand-bank." *Trathen* is Welsh, and *dreath* is found in the vocabularies; a Cornish friend tells me that the word is still in use among the miners.—Penaskin Bay, in St. Agnes, may have been named from some contiguous land covered with reeds; as *heschen* is found, in the ancient vocabulary, explained *canna vel arundo*; or it may have been so called from the borrowed word *ascen* or *asken*, "an ascent," which occurs in the old dramas.—Pentle is found in Trescow. If pronounced as in English, I have no notion of its meaning; if *pentle*, it would signify the "end of the place," as *pen lle* at

Mousehole, and near Mount Edgecumb, and elsewhere; or perhaps from *penleck*, the "head of the stone." It can hardly be the "lesser headland," as given in Pryce's dictionary.¹

Two names would seem to imply that the insertion of *d* before *n*, which disfigures such names as Landewednack, Bospidnick, Boskednam, etc., and which is found in documents above two hundred years old, had crept into Scilly before the language became entirely English. One of these is in Pednathias, among the Western Rocks; the other, Pidney Brow, in St. Agnes. I do not know that this singular corruption extends further; and even these may not have the origin here suggested.²

Several names begin with *per* or *por*. No Cornish word seems applicable here, nor do I know any Welsh or Breton equivalent; but I find that some of the names now written with *per* had formerly *porth*. Perkilla, in St. Agnes, is written Porthkillier by Troutbeck; Permellin, in St. Mary's, is made Porthmellyn by Borlase. Troutbeck wrote Porthcressa, and Borlase, Porthcrassou, where we find Porcrasa; and so of some other names: consequently *per* is equivalent to *porth*, "a cove"; and I think this occurs occasionally on the mainland also.

Perkilla, in St. Agnes, may signify a "hidden cove," from the root, *kil*, "to conceal." The word is found in O. 170,—"*Adam, ny yl vos kelys*": "Adam, it cannot be concealed." I believe there is a Porthkellis in Cornwall.—Perconger is half English.—Permellin is either the "mill-port" or the "yellow port," from the colour of

¹ I find it is pronounced as written in English; but this may be a recent corruption, as it is clearly the case with many names of places in Cornwall. (Sept. 12.)

² There is a bold rock near Bryher called Maiden Bower. I had supposed that it might be so shaped as to suggest the name; but I cannot see anything like it. The corruption mentioned in the text has converted Stones (*men*) to Maidens in several places in Cornwall; and it is not unlikely that we have in Maiden Bower the old Cornish *men vor*, "great stone." (Sept. 12.)

the sand there.—Pormorran may be the “woman’s port,” from the word *moran* (allied to the Welsh *morwyn*), which is applied in the Drama, R. 1044, to Mary Magdalen. But perhaps the Welsh *moran*, “a whale,” may afford a more probable etymology.—Pernagie, in St. Martin’s, is doubtful. *Ag*, in Welsh, is a “cleft” or “opening”; and from this we have *agenu*, “to cleave or crack,” and *agenog*, “full of cracks.” The word may signify a “broken port.”—Perpitch, in St. Martin’s, I cannot explain.—Priglis Bay, in St. Agnes, has been read *per eglis*, the “church port.” Troutbeck writes the name Pericles, copying Woodley, who seems to suppose the word to be Greek, and indicative of the early trade of the islands. He says it was also called Porth Nicholas. Mr. Pedler suggests, with some hesitation, *Perek les*, “wide sand-bank.” As there is a church very near this bay, the first-mentioned observation would seem to be the best.—Porthloo, in St. Mary’s, will be the “port of the pond.” Loo is the name of a remarkable pool near Helston; and the word is still used in Brittany, written *louc’h*. I suppose it is the Latin *lacus*, written *lough* and *loch* in Ireland and Scotland. In Welsh, *llwch* is “dust.” May the meaning be a “dusty port”? We may possibly decide on seeing the place.¹

Men, “a stone,” is found written *man* and *min* also. Tolman, a not uncommon name in Cornwall and Brittany, is found in St. Mary’s. The little isle called Menewethen, south-east of St. Martin’s, would be the “rock of the tree.” Perhaps there was a tree upon it at some former period. The island Crebawethen has the same termination.—Menawore, the “great stone,” said to be one of the most picturesque objects in Scilly, is naturally enough changed by our seamen to “Man-of-war.”² Troutbeck calls this rock Menanouth, which

¹ I landed there from a boat, but saw nothing indicative either of a pond or of dust. (Sept. 12.)

² Menawore, Menewethen, Crebawethen, Trenemene, Carnifriers, Carniwether, all having a vowel between their component parts, may be compared with a curious set of names found in and south of Exmoor.

must be a typographical error, though it occurs twice.—Mincarolo, a small islet west of Samson, may have been named from *carlon*, a “marten”; but this is mere guesswork.¹—Minalto, the name of two islands near Samson, is more probably derived from *alt*, a “cliff.” The word had already taken the form *als* when the Cornish vocabulary in the British Museum was compiled, at least five or six centuries ago; so that it may boast of great antiquity, if my conjecture be correct. A similar change took place subsequently in all Cornish and many Armoric words, such as *dans*, “a tooth”; *mols*, “a sheep”; *argans*, “silver”; *tas*, “father”:—instead of *dant*, *mollt*, *ariant*, *tat*, retained in Welsh. Where a vowel preceded *t*, the *t* was retained in the old twelfth century vocabulary, as in *bit*, “world”; *buit*, “food”; *davat*, “sheep”; *quit*, “blood,” etc.; which had become *bys*, *bous*, *daves*, *goys*, in the dramas of three centuries after.—Minmanueth, west of Annet, I would derive from a word meaning “scrub” or “brushwood”; in Welsh, *manwydd*. We have also Menfleming and Menpengrin, the latter word probably a corruption of *pilgrim* or *peregrin*, “a stranger.”

Vear and *Vean*, “great” and “small,” mutations of *mear* and *bean*, occur in the little islands of Rosevear and Rosevean, situated south-west of the inhabited group. The names imply “great rose” and “little rose”; but the import of *rose* is uncertain. Pryce gives, absurdly,

We find here, within a very few miles, fifty or sixty names with the vowel *a* in the position mentioned, *e. g.*, Westacot, Uppacot, Narracot, Punctaton, Garraton, Heckapin, Padaland, Langamead, within two or three miles of Winkleigh; Langabear, Dornaford, Beckamoor, near Hatherleigh; Cadaford, Clannaborough, Swanacombe, Chibbason, near Bow; Lovaton, Blagadon, Faggaton, near Okehampton. These are taken from a cursory inspection of a country map, out of a much larger number. I believe that the names of places throughout England may be found to run in classes in a similar way, and that they may point to the distribution of the Germanic tribes, who dispossessed their Celtic predecessors of the homes which they may have seized in like manner centuries before. (Sept. 12.)

¹ I heard this rock called *Mount Carlo* by the peasantry,—a striking instance of the facility with which a word of unknown value is exchanged for another of like sound, if the new word be in any degree applicable. (Sept. 12.)

“mountain” and “valley.” The Welsh *rhos* is “moorland,” and the Armoric *ros* is defined by Légonidec as “ground covered with heath and fern.” Perhaps these islets may be, or have been, so covered. The fact that *vear* and *vean* are in the changed form, and that *rhos* is feminine, may corroborate the suggestion. *Vear* occurs also in Holvear, on St. Mary’s. If *hol* be not the English word, I know not the value of the compound; but I expect to find a large hollow there.

Besides Rosevear we have, in St. Agnes, Castle Bean and Cove Bean, “little castle” and “little cove.” In the dramas the word is written *vyhen* (O. 1433) and *vyan* (O. 2305). I believe this to be the etymology of the Scottish *wean*, “a child,” and *wee*, “small.” It is known from the names of places in Scotland, such as Ecclesfechan, Abernethy, Troon, Aberdour, and the like, that a language akin to Cornish and Welsh must have been current in the south at least; and I cannot assent to the connection suggested by Diefenbach between *wee* and the German *wenig*, “little,” or Gothic *vainans*, “miserable.” I am also persuaded that we have these words in *Tamar* and *Tavy*, the “great Tam” and the “little Tam.” Some such word as *tam* or *tav* must have signified “river” in a British tongue. See, among other names of rivers, Taff, Teivy, Towy, in Wales; Tay in Scotland; and Thames in England,—*Tamesis*, the “lower Tam.”

Innis, “island,” is found in Peninnis, mentioned above, and in Innisvouls, near the *Mouls* rock, among the Eastern Isles; also in Innisvrnk, the “French island.” We have Inasidgen, in St. Mary’s, called by Troutbeck Inazigan; and the doubtful Inaswiggick, or Illiswiggick, south-west of Bryher; but these may have no connection with *innis*.

There are several “Carns,”—a Celtic word which is almost naturalized in English. Carnkimbra, in Gugh, is the “Welshman’s carn.”—Carn Irishman in Annet, and Carn Thomas and Carnifriars in St. Mary’s, require no translation.—Carn Morval, in St. Mary’s, may be “whale carn.” *Morval* would readily be corrupted

from *morvil*, which is found in the ancient vocabulary. Carnadnes, in St. Agnes, if not a corruption of Carn Agnes, may denote a carn set up for a "warning" or for "protection"; my Welsh dictionary explains *adnes* by "guardian" and "notice."—Carnethen, near Gorregan, will be "bird carn": *ethen*, "a bird," occurs frequently in the old drama.—Carniwethers is the name of a place on St. Martin's; but I do not know the value of *wethers*, which is found also in Helwethers, a rock south of Annet Island.

Creeb, a rocky islet close to the north-west shore of St. Mary's, is a "crest" or "comb"; in Welsh, *crib*. An island of twenty acres, near Rosevear, is called Crebawethen. The meaning of this is probably a "crest covered with trees," as in Menewethen. I cannot suggest any meaning of Crebinack, a rock near the Bishop's Lighthouse; unless the termination, *inack*, *inick*, etc., be adjectival, as I suspect it is in several of the proper names of Cornwall.

Biggal is a name affixed to no less than six different rocks, which are all in the immediate neighbourhood of shoals or low islets. One of these Biggals lies south-west of Mincarlo; another west of Scilly, a little island which is supposed to give a name to the whole group; a third is east of Menewethen, a fourth near the Great Arthur, a fifth south of Meledgan, and the last south of Wras, near the Hugh. Now as all these rocks lie in similar situations, and have the same name, it seems highly probable that one idea suggested that name; and I can find no other word in any way corresponding with the circumstances, than *bygel*, "a shepherd," which is found in the ancient vocabulary and in the dramas written *bugal*, while the recent orthography was *bygel*, as given by Lhwyd. A word of the same meaning (*bugail*) is so pronounced in Welsh. The Biggal then, standing as a defence between the shoals, or islets, and the deep sea, is likened to the shepherd, the guardian of his flock. If this conjecture be rightly founded, we may give credit to the old Scillonians for some imaginative powers.

Our English marine nomenclature has hardly advanced beyond Hen and Chickens, Cow and Calf, or Sow and Pigs; but the Shepherd with his flock is at least a more pleasing image.

Camber, or Kimber, "a Welshman," has been already mentioned. It constitutes a part of Camberdeney, which may signify "Welsh fortress," from *din*: likewise of Camberdril Point in St. Agnes, and Camberdown, a small rock close to Gorregan.

There is a Lizard Point in Trescow as well as in Cornwall. It implies a "gate" or "passage"; in Welsh, *lidiart*, or *lidiard*. The Welsh *d* or *dd* occasionally becomes *z* in Cornish and Armoric; as in *Lezou*, "Brittany," in Welsh *Llydaw*: *bleiz*, a "wolf," in Welsh, *blaidd*.

I have but a few more names to inflict on the patience of the meeting. Trenemene, an island south of Gorregan, I would make Tren men, a "headland of rock." *Tren* is found in the ancient Cornish vocabulary, and is allied to the Welsh *trwyn*, "a nose" or "headland."—Carrickstarne, a rock near Peninnis, is a "saddle-rock"; *careg* and *ystarn* are both common Welsh words.—Halangy, in St. Martin's, is "house of salt," from *halan* and *chy*.—Callimay Point, in St. Agnes, may be the Breton Kalamaé, a festival held on the 1st of May. It has not been unusual to name headlands and islands from festivals,—see Ascension, Christmas, and Easter islands; the name would hardly have been given from the Cornish *calamingi*, "quietness," which I find in Pryce's dictionary, and there only.—Damasinnas, the name of a shoal south of St. Martin's, is a word of no very obvious meaning, and is certainly not English. I would hazard the following conjecture: *dam* is a Welsh prefix signifying "around, about"; *synn* means "to observe." According to the Cornish practice, before mentioned, of inserting a vowel between the parts of a name, *damasinna* might signify "look about" or "look out"; the Spanish and Portuguese actually call such hidden dangers *abreojos* and *abrothos* in the respective languages, meaning "open your eyes." Now as English seamen frequently give to

hidden rocks a plural appellation, such as the Rennies near Looe, the Sisters near Tintagell, the Mouls not far from the same place, and many others, they might call the above mentioned rocks *Damasinnas*. This is a round-about etymology; but if such a Welsh compound as *damasynu* be admissible, it does not seem objectionable.

I add a few names of which I can make nothing. Ganilly, Ganinick, Nornour, Cadedno, Hanjague, among the eastern islands; Gorregan, Melledgan, Retarrier, Santasperry,¹ on the west. Gugh, east of St. Agnes; Teän, west of St. Martin's; Helwethers and Buccabu, south of Annet; Wras in Porcrasa; Tolsooth near St. Agnes; Guthers, south of St. Martin's; Thongyore near Teän.

Before concluding I would observe that a competent Celtic scholar with ample leisure might find, in the thousand names remaining in Cornwall, a means of recovering some ancient forms of the language not preserved in the oldest manuscripts, and thus might perhaps aid in the study of the inscribed stones which have been discovered in the territories of the old Gauls.

E. NORRIS.

THE LOST CHURCH IN THE SANDS OF GWITHIAN IN CORNWALL.

THE ancient British church discovered about thirty-five years since in the sands of Gwithian, on the north-west coast of West Cornwall, is probably coeval with that found in the sands of Perranzabuloe, on the north-east coast of West Cornwall; which latter I visited in Sept. 1835, soon after its discovery; and the then present condition of it, as well as its description given by Wm. Michell, Esq., in the Cornish newspapers, imme-

¹ The suggestion of Mr. Pedler, that this name is a corruption of Saint Esprit, is undoubtedly correct. Some French vessel so called may have been wrecked here, which would have induced the application of her name to this shoal.

diately before I saw it, I have recorded in the *Literary Gazette*.

Had Gwithian been within the Land's End district, I should have noticed its ancient church in my lately published work on that district.

It stands three or four furlongs from the sea, in the eastern part of St. Ives' Bay, and about the same distance northward of the present church, near the eastern side of the road leading to Godrevy, and close to a small tributary stream running parallel with the road.

Its roofless walls were, up to the time of their discovery, completely buried beneath the turf-clad sand; and this tumulus had nothing externally to distinguish it from the hundred other green mounds in its neighbourhood. The walls may still be seen, although externally the sand is level with their tops. They are very rudely built, without cement or plaster, and consist of small unhewn stones of slate, quartz, and sandstone,—all very abundant in that neighbourhood. The two or three old beams resting on them are, I grieve to say, the remains of a roof placed thereon many years since, when the building was used for a cattle-shed, by the farmer who owns it.

The chancel and nave, lying east and west, are very distinguishable from each other,—the former being narrower than the latter. The length of the building externally is fifty-three feet, nineteen of which are occupied by the chancel. The breadth of the chancel externally is sixteen feet; that of the nave, nineteen. The height of the walls from the ground, on the inside, varies from six to eight feet. The doorway is in the middle of the south wall of the nave; and midway between it and the chancel-pier was apparently the place of a window. There are vestiges also of a small doorway, now built up with stone, in the northern end of the eastern wall. The dilapidated stone altar, and the stone seats all round the chancel, are now covered with sand about a foot deep.

The farmer who discovered this ruin found several skeletons near it, as he stated to the Rev. Frederick Hockin, the rector of the adjoining parish of Phillack,

whose church is the mother church of that of Gwithian. Mr. Hockin, to whom I am indebted for the above description, saw it a few years after its discovery, when less dilapidated than at present.

There is a great similarity between the two old churches of St. Gwithian and St. Piran in the sands. Both were found without roofs, the worshippers having, in all probability, carefully removed their consecrated materials in order to use them again for sacred edifices less exposed to the drifting sands. Both were completely covered with calcareous sand, the Gwithian church having also a covering of turf,—the two coverings being striking emblems of death and resurrection. Both had cemeteries adjoining them. Each had an altar within, and a small rivulet or overflowing well close by it, testifying to the two sacraments; whilst the chancel and nave, distinguishable from one another, yet forming one church, represented the clergy and laity performing different offices as different members of the one body. The relative positions of the priests' door and the door of the congregation are the same in each church: in the Gwithian church, however, the stone seats are along the walls of the chancel only; in the other church they are also around the walls of the nave. The Gwithian altar, too, is against the middle of the eastern wall, whilst the Perran altar is midway between the priest's door and the south end of the eastern wall.

As Mr. Trelawney considers the Perranzabuloe British church, and would, no doubt, also have considered the Gwithian British church, "to have been built in the sixth century," although I am disposed to assign them a much earlier date, I may remark in conclusion, that to that century I have referred the monument found in 1843, three miles from the latter church, at Hayle, a creek of St. Ives' Bay. This monument, with its inscription, is represented in the *Archæologia Cambrensis* for 1857, and my work already referred to.

R. EDMONDS.

2, Portland-terrace, Plymouth,
18 August, 1862.

GRANT FROM RICHARD, DUKE OF GLOUCESTER,
TO REGINALD VAGHAN.—10 EDW. IV.

RICARDUS Dux Gloucestrie Constabularius & Admirallus Anglie, Omnibus ad quos presentes litere pervenerint, Salutem. Nos, pro bono & fideli servitio dilecti nobis Reginald ap Sir Gruff. Vaghan Armigeri impenso & impendendo, dedisse et concessisse eidem Reginaldo, quandam annuitatem quatuor marcorum, annuatim percipiendam, de exitibus & proficiis dominii mei de Chyrk & Chyrkysland, per manus receptoris nostri ibidem pro tempore existentis, ad festa pasche & Sancti Michaelis Archangeli, equalibus porcionibus. In cuius rei testimonium has literas nostras fieri fecimus patentes, quam diu nobis placuerit duraturas. Datum sub signato nostro, apud castrum de Hornby, vicesimo sexto die marcii, anno regni Regis Edwardi quarti post conquestum Anglie, decimo.

From Hengwrt MS., 213.

This manuscript contains a very interesting collection of transcripts and forms of deeds, mostly relating to places in Oxfordshire and in the Hundred of Bromfield and Yale and Chirkland. They are in a hand of the reigns of Henry VII and VIII; and a great number of them appear to have been written by an *Edward ap Rys*, who describes himself as auditor of Powis and clerk of the court of Bromfield and Yale. Unfortunately he has omitted to insert the dates of many of the deeds, ending them by an “&c.” In the Hengwrt Collection is a folio volume relating to Bromfield and Yale, in the same hand.

The foregoing grant is interesting as shewing that Richard, Duke of Gloucester (afterwards Richard III), held the lordship of Chirk,—a circumstance not mentioned by Pennant or any of our Welsh historians. It is also interesting in another view, as shewing that the statement of historians as to the time of the birth of Richard III is incorrect. It is said that he was born on the 2nd of October, 1452; if so, he could not have been of age when the above grant was made.

W. W. E. W.

Peniarth, Nov. 24, 1862.

*

PEDIGREE OF OSBORN WYDDEL,
ETC.

“It has been said that the three noblest names in Europe are—the De Veres of England, the Fitzgeralds of Ireland, and the Montmorencys of France.” (See *Quarterly Review* for April 1860, p. 335.) Of these families, the first is extinct, the second yet occupies its former high position, as we believe does the third, in France.

It is known to those who take an interest in Welsh history and genealogy, that a branch of the noble sept of the Geraldines, or Fitzgeralds,—Osborn, surnamed “Wyddel”, (the Irishman),—settled in Merionethshire in the thirteenth century, and was founder of some of the most distinguished families in that county. Of these, the powerful houses of Vaughan of Cors-y-gedol and Wynne of Ynys-y-maen-gwyn are extinct; the Wynnes of Peniarth and Maes-y-neuadd continue to flourish.¹

Some of the members of the Geraldine line settled in Wales, have been distinguished for their literary acquirements. Of these, Cadwalader Wynne, rector of Llanenddwyn, who died in 1684, translated from Latin into English a work, very scarce in its English form, entitled *An Antidote against Sorrow*, published in 1650. A more eminent literary member of this house was the well known “Bardd Cwsg,” the Rev. Ellis Wynne, rector of Llanfair-juxta-Harlech, who died in 1734; and since his time lived his relation, William Wynne, rector of Llangynhafal, a distinguished Welsh poet of the last century. Amongst the warriors of the house we may mention the celebrated David ap Ievan ap Einion, Constable of Harlech Castle during the Wars of the

¹ We may add that the Rev. J. Wynne, Vicar of Llandrillo, in Merionethshire, is lineally descended from Osborn.

Roses, who is so honourably referred to in the *Life of Lord Herbert of Cherbury*. (See *Life of Lord Herbert*, pp. 7, 8; Strawberry Hill edition; and Pennant's *Tour*, vol. ii, p. 131; edition, 1784, 4to.; also *Hist. of Gwedir Family*, 8vo. edition, p. 76.)

The following pedigree has been compiled, with some care, from letters of the late Sir William Betham, Ulster-King-at-Arms, and other authorities, writers of the best credit on the Geraldine history.

It may be added that it is extremely probable that Osborn Wyddel was much concerned in the building of the very interesting and beautiful church of Llanaber, near Barmouth.

Dec. 1862.

PEDIGREE,

Shewing how Osborn, styled by the Welsh heralds "Wyddel" (the Irishman), was connected with the Geraldines of Desmond, if the belief of the late Sir William Betham, Ulster-King-at-Arms, after a search among his voluminous Geraldine papers, was correct, that Osborn was a son of John Fitz Thomas Fitz Gerald de Windsor, the first Lord of Decies and Desmond. It is, indeed, improbable that he was a son of any other Geraldine of Desmond. He could not have been son of an earlier one, and it is very unlikely that he was of a later. Some generations have been added to the pedigree to shew the period at which the more immediate descendants of Osborn lived.

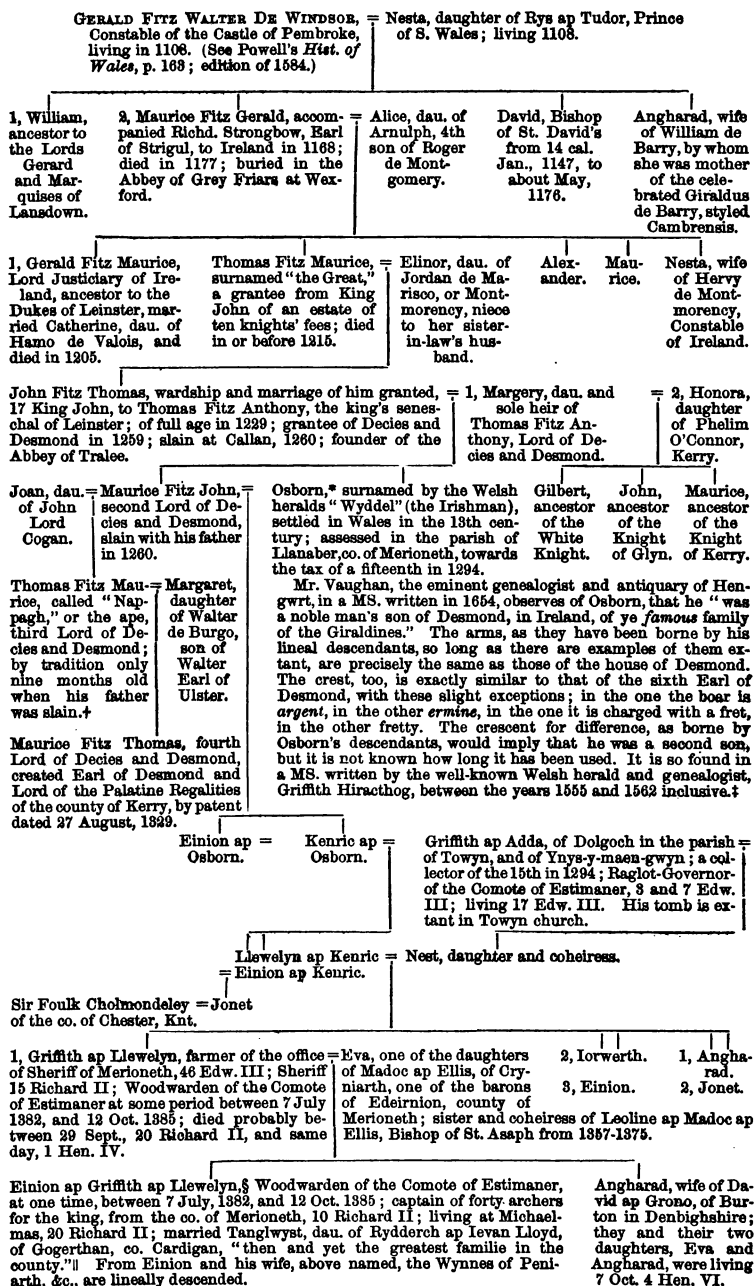
"Ye Geraldines! ye Geraldines! how royally ye reigned
 O'er Desmond broad and rich Kildare, and English arts disdained:
 Your sword made knights, your banner waved, free was your bugle-call,
 By Glyn's green slopes and Dingle's tide, from Barrow's banks to Youghal.
 What gorgeous shrines, what Brehon lore, what minstrel feasts there were
 In and around Maynooth's¹ strong keep and palace-filled Adare!
 But not for rite or feast ye stayed when friend or kin were pressed;
 And foeman fled when 'Crom a boo'² bespoke your lance in rest."

THOMAS DAVIS.

¹ Maynooth was one of the strongholds of the Kildare branch of the Geraldines.

² "Crom a boo" was the war-cry of the Kildare, "Shanet a boo" of the Desmond line of this sept.

PEDIGREE OF OSBORN WYDEL.



Notes to pedigree on previous page.

* Sir W. Betham did not think that he had the same strong grounds for his opinion that Osborn was a son of the *first* marriage, as for believing that he was a son of John Fitz Thomas; but he thought it more probable that he was so.

† The tradition is, that Thomas Fitz Maurice was only nine months old when his father and grandfather were slain at the battle of Callan. The child was at Tralee, and on his attendants rushing out alarmed at the intelligence, he was left alone in the cradle, when a tame baboon or ape took him up in his arms, and ran with him to the top of the tower of the neighbouring abbey. After carrying him round the battlement, and exhibiting him to the frightened spectators, he brought the infant back to its cradle in safety. Thomas was, in consequence, surnamed "Appagh" (in Irish), "Simlaciis", or "The Ape."—*The Earls of Kildare*, p. 21.

‡ We find from Gutyn Owen, a herald of the fifteenth century, one of the most eminent of our Welsh heralds, that Osborn accompanied from Ireland to Wales, Griffith, one of the sons of Ednyved Vaughan, minister to Prince Llewelyn; he being obliged to leave his country for a time, on account of some scandal regarding Llewelyn's princess and him, having emigrated to Ireland.

§ "The offspring or posterity of these bretheren" (the sons of Einion) "did so multiply, yt from yt time they are called *Tykyyth Enion*, yt is ye progenie of Enion."—Manuscript in the autograph of the antiquary, Robert Vaughan, written in 1654. *Wyth enaid Tykyyth Einion*, eight souls of the sept of Einion; a poem of the fifteenth century.

|| *History of the Gwydir Family*. By Sir John Wynn, Bart., who died in 1627.

BRUT Y SAESON.

TRANSLATION BY THE LATE REV. H. PARRY OF LLANASA.

WE publish the following translation of a portion of the *Brut y Saeson*, which has been kindly placed at our disposal by T. Duffus Hardy, Esq., Deputy Keeper of the Rolls. It was made by the late Rev. H. Parry of Llanasa, at the request of the Record Commissioners, and seems to have been originally intended to appear in the *Monumenta Historica*. Prefixed to it is a letter from Mr. Parry to the late Mr. Petrie of the Record Office.

MY DEAR SIR,—With your curious copy of the *Chronicon Wallie*, etc., I send a close English version of the *Welsh Annals*, as far as they go together. Before the year 681, we have nothing but Nennius and Geoffrey of Monmouth. It will immediately appear, that the Chronicle was written originally in Latin, the proper names being so misspelt, that without the assistance of the Welsh copy, it is not always easy to make them out. Had the Latin copy been a version from the Welsh, the original names would have been retained, and probably with Latin terminations.

The Pedigrees, though curious, are very common in Wales, and their authenticity never called in question. They form the foundation of the pedigrees of most of our gentry.

When I was a child, my father, who understood no language but the Welsh, often entertained me with wonderful accounts

of places, similar to those contained in the *Mirabilia*: many of them were interwoven with a romance called the *Grey Cow of Montgomery*; which always took up an hour in the narration.

Poor Peter Roberts, who had lately been preferred to the rectory of Halkin, near Holywell, by the Bishop of St. Asaph, died of an apoplectic fit on Holy Thursday. Though somewhat credulous, he possessed great knowledge of our antiquities and language; and his death will be a loss to Welsh literature.

Some of the events in the Welsh Chronicle tally pretty nearly with the events recorded in *Chron. de Mailros*.

Without the additions and corrections in red ink, the Latin Chronicle would have been hardly intelligible. The *death* of Cadwaladr, and not *his journey to Rome*, in the Latin Chronicle, is mentioned under the year 681. This is the more probable, as there was no connection between the British church and the church of Rome in the seventh century; the Saxon *Cedwalla* might have gone thither.

It will give me great pleasure to hear from you again, and to have your sentiments upon the Welsh Chronicle. The translation is quite literal.

Yours most sincerely,

HENRY PARRY.

Llanasa, May 30th, 1829.

BRUT Y SAESON.

AFTER the destructive plague and the sore famine mentioned above, in the time of Cadwaladr the Blessed, came the Saeson and subdued *Lloegyr* from one sea to the other, and governed it with five kings, as it had been before in the time of Horsa and Hengist, when they drove *Gwrtheyrn Gortheneu* from the confines of *Lloegyr*, and divided it in five portions amongst them. And then they altered the names of cities and towns, divisions, hundreds, and counties and regions, agreeably to their own language. *Caer Lludd* they called London; *Caer Effrauc* they called York; and so all the cities of *Lloegyr* had new names, which they bear to this day. *Cantref* was called a hundred, and *Swydd* was called a county; to remind future ages of what was done when all the nobility of Britain were destroyed on the mountain of Ambri,—that is, “draweth houre sexes.” (The division of the counties is omitted.)

Ifor fab Alan and his nephew Ynyr arrived, as was said

before, in the land of Lloegyr, having an army with them; that was 683 after the birth of God. And the Saxons came against them, and fought them a bloody cruel battle, like men of might; and in that battle multitudes were killed on both sides. At last Ifor was victorious, and subdued Cornwall, Devonshire, and Somersetshire. Then the Saxons collected all their strength to fall upon Ifor; but good men interceded between them, and peace was made. And then took he Ethelburga to wife; and caused the monastery of Glastonbury to be built at his own expense, and that under the management of Adelmus, a monk and saint of that name. And the second year after Ifor came to this island there was a great mortality in Ireland.

683.—And Ifor gave to the church of Winchester thirty hides of land, called Ewerlond, in the Isle of Wight; and fifty hides in a place called Vverdinges.

688.—In the fourth year after his arrival in this island was an earthquake in the Isle of Man.

689.—The year after, it rained blood in the island of Britain and in Ireland, and the milk and cheese turned of a bloody colour.

701.—The second year after that the moon changed into the colour of blood.

701.—Wrcardies (*sic*) king of Kent died, and Elbert was made king in his stead.

704.—Elfrig king of the Saxons died.

707.—Eldred king of Mercia died, and Kenred was made king in his stead.

708.—The night became as light as day; and Pipin, the most honourable king of France, died.

714.—Cenred king of Mercia died, and Scclered was made king in his stead.

716.—Osbrit king of the Saxons died.

717.—The church of St. Michael was consecrated.

720.—Was a very hot summer. Ifor fab Alan, having seen the futility of the things of this world, parted with his kingdom; and he and his wife, having taken secular dresses, went to worship God at Rome. And God performed a great miracle for them; for whatever city or town they went through, the bells set up a ringing without any body putting hand to them.

721.—Ethelward was made king of West Sex, and his queen was Frideswida; and she gave to the church of Winchester, of her father's estate, Cantonam; and her husband increased the gift out of his affection for her. And in that year died Beli vab Elphin; and there was an extensive war between Rhodri

Molwynawg and the Saxons in Cornwall, and the affair of Garth Maelawg and Châd Pencoed in South Wales; and in all these contests the Britons were victorious.

722.—Scclered king of Mercia died, and Ethelward was made king in his place.

728.—Was the battle of the mountain of Carno.

735.—Cuthred, the relation of Ethelward, was made king in West Sex; and he gave to the church of Winchester, in the Isle of Wight, forty hides of land in a place called Muleburnam, and twenty-five in a place called Bonewadam, and sixty-five in Wippingham, and the land called Drucham, and the palace called Clera. And in that year died Beda, the priest, and the best historian and the best scholar of his age.

736.—Owein king of the Picts died.

749.—Sigebert was made king of Westsex; his contemporaries drew nigh to him, and deprived him of his kingdom, and he was strangled by a plowman, being banished and poor.

750.—Cynewlfus was made king of the Saxons, who was betrayed and slain. In that year was a battle between the Britons and Picts, called Gwaith Metgadawc, and there was slain Talargan king of the Picts. And in that year died Tewdwr the son of Beli.

754.—Died Rhodri Molwynog the king of the Britons.

757.—Died Edpalt king of the Saxons.

760.—A battle took place between the Saxons and Britons, called Gwaith Henfordd, and Dyfnwal son of Tewdwr died.

768.—Easter was altered in Wales by the advice of Elbod, a man of God.

773.—Offa was made king of Mercia, and Brithrit king of Westsex; and Fermael the son of Idwal died; and that Brithrit Egbert sent from the island in his youth; and he went to France, where he applied himself to the art of riding and to carry arms.

774.—Died Cemoyd king of the Picts.

775.—Saint Enbert abbot died.

776.—The men of South Wales laid waste the island as far as Offa king of Mercia.

783.—The Welsh laid waste the kingdom of Offa; and so Offa caused a dike to be made between him and Wales, that he might the more easily resist the incursions of the enemy; and that is called Clawdd Offa to this day.

795.—The Pagans came first into Ireland and laid Rechreyn waste.

796.—Offa king of Mercia died, and Maredudd king of Dyfed, and then was the battle of Rudelan.

798.—Caradawc king of Gwynedd was killed by the Saxons.

800.—Egbiract was made king of Westsex, after the Brithrit mentioned above. And then collected he many of the boldest and strongest young men in his kingdom, and made them honourable knights, and taught them to ride and to bear arms, as he himself did heretofore in France, and to use them in peace as if they had war in contemplation, when necessary.

802.—Cenwlfus was made king of Mercia.

807.—Arthen king of Ceredigiawn died, and the sun was eclipsed.

808.—Died Rein king of Dyfed, and Cadell (king of) Powys.

809.—Died Elbod archbishop of North Wales.

810.—The moon turned black on Christmas day; Menevia was burnt; and there was a great mortality amongst cattle throughout all Wales.

811.—Died Owen the son of Moredudd, and Deganwy was burnt by lightning.

812.—There was a war between Hywel and Cynan, and Cynan was victorious.

815.—There was dreadful thunder, and many places were burnt. Gruffudd the son of Rein died, and Griffri the son of Cyngen was slain through the treachery of Elisse his brother; and Hywel of the island of Anglesey subdued his brother Cynan, and banished him and his forces to their great sorrow.

817.—Cynan, being banished from the Isle of Mon, died. The Saxons laid waste the Snowdon mountains, and deprived the Welsh of the sovereignty of Rywoniawc.

818.—Battle in Anglesey, called Gwaith Llanfaes.

819.—Cenwlfus lays waste Dyfed.

823.—Deganwy burnt by the Saxons, and Powys destroyed.

825.—Hywel king of Man died.

826.—Holy Cenelm was made king of Mercia.

827.—Ceolfus was made king of Mercia. (Here follows a long account of the battle between Cenwlf and Egbert. Egbert being made king of England, the language was called English, and his subjects Englishmen.)

840.—The bishop of Menevia was consecrated.

842.—Idwallawn died.

844.—The battle of Ketill, and the death of Merfyn frych.

847.—The battle of Ty nant, where Ithel king of Gwent was slain by the men of Brecknock. (Finnant in another copy.)

849.—Meuric killed by the Saxons.

850.—Cyngen slain by his own men.

853.—Anglesey laid waste by the Black Host.

854.—Cyngen king of Powys died at Rome.

856.—Died Cemoyth king of the Picts and Jonathan lord of Abergeleu.

857.—Edwlf king of the Saxons died, and his kingdom divided between his two sons; Ethelbald succeeded to Westsex, and Ethelbert to the county of Keint.

860.—Mael Talaehen died.

862.—Died Ethelbald of Westsex, and his brother Ethelbert took all the kingdom to himself, and reigned five years more. And in that year was Cat Gweitheu.

864.—Glywysig laid waste and alienated.

865.—Died Cynan naut (nawdd) nifer; and the body of S. Swithen taken up again.

866.—York laid waste, and the battle of Dubgynt.

867.—Ethelbert king of England died, and Edlred his brother took his kingdom to himself. And the men of Denmark came to fight him nine times in one year, and he overcame them, and killed two of their kings: that is, king Gnar, and Hwn unllam, and fourteen earls, and soldiers without number. And then S. Edmund was slain, king of East sex.

869.—Battle of Bryn onnen.

870.—Alclut was broken.

871.—Gwgan king of Ceredigiawn was drowned.

872.—Ethelred king of England died, and was buried at Winborne.

873.—Gwaith Bangoleu and Gwaith Enegyd in Anglesey. And the bishop of Menevia died.

874.—Limberth took the bishoprick of Menevia.

875.—Dungarth king of Cornwall was drowned.

876.—There was the battle of Sunday in Anglesey.

877.—Rodri and his brother Gwriat killed by the Saxons.

878.—Aed son of Mell died.

880.—Was the affair of Conway called Rodri's Revenge.

882.—Was Catgweitheu. (See above, 862.)

885.—Hywel died at Rome.

887.—Certull died.

889.—Cubin the wisest of the Scots died.

890.—The Black Normans came again to Cwiwn.

891.—Cenneth the son of Bledud died.

893.—Anarawd came with the English to destroy Ceredigiawn and Ystrad Tywi.

894.—England and Brecknock and Gwent and Gwennllwg were laid waste.

895.—There was want of bread in Ireland, and vermin fell down from the sky, having two teeth, like moles, which entirely destroyed the crops; but they were got rid of by fasting and prayer. (Omitted.)

897.—Elstan king of the Saxons died.

893.—Albryt king of Gynoy's died.

900.—The Pagans came to the Isle of Anglesey, and Maes Malerian was fought.

901.—Aelfryt king of England died. Aelfryt was buried in the Monastery erected by himself at Winchester; and in that year Mervyn the son of Roderic was killed by his own men, and Llywarch the son of Hyveid died, and Edward the son of Aelfryt was made king of England instead of his father. And after Edward was made king he became so strong, that the men of Denmark could not set a foot in his kingdom without permission. He had five sons and nine daughters. Of his five sons, three of them reigned successively after their father, that is Edelstan and Edmund and Adred. Of the nine daughters, three of them became nuns, viz., Aflede, Abbess in Romesi, and Saint Edburc in Winchester, and Edit was the third. And he gave to the church of Winchester four Palaces, that is Husseburnam, Wite Cherche, Overtonham, and Stockham the less.

902.—The head of Rodri, son of Huveith, was cut off in Arwystli.

903.—Was the affair of Dunneir, in which was slain Mayauc Cam, the son of Peredur; and Menevia was destroyed.

905.—Gorchywyl, the bishop, died, and Cormoc king and bishop of all Ireland. He was a man of great religion and great charity. Culennan was slain in that battle; and Kyrnallt, the son of Muregan, was slain in the end of the battle.

906.—Asser, archbishop of the Britons, died.

907.—Cadell the son of Rodri died.

909.—Other came to the island of Britain.

913.—Died Anarawd the son of Rodri, king of the Britons.

914.—Ireland was laid waste by the men of Dublin, and Queen Eldffled died.

915.—Anglesey was laid waste by the men of Dublin.

917.—Clydawc, the son of Cadell, slain by his brother Meyric.

918.—Bishop Nercun died.

919.—Was the battle of Dinas Newydd.

923.—King Edward died, and was buried in the monastery erected by his father at Winchester.

(Here follows a considerable portion of English history.)

926.—Hywel the Good went to Rome. Elen died.

933.—Grufud, the son of Owen, killed by the men of Cered-igiawn.

935.—Was the battle of Brune.

936.—Hymeith, the son of Clydawc, and Meyric died.

939.—Died Edelstan king of England, and was buried at Malmesburie.

940.—Abloyc king of Ireland died.

941.—Cadell, the son of Arthvael, poisoned; and Idwal, the son of Rodri, and his son Elissed, killed by the Saxons.

942.—Limberth bishop of Menevia died.

943.—Ussa, the son of Llaur, died, and Morcheis bishop of Bangor.

944.—Kyngen, the son of Elisse, was put in danger by poison; and the bishop of Menevia, Eneuris, died. Stratclwyd laid waste by the English. (Omission.)

948.—Died Hywel, the son of Cadell, the king and glory of all Wales; and Cadwgan, the son of Owen, killed by the English; and was the battle of Carno between the sons of Hywel and the sons of Idwal.

950.—Dyfed was twice laid waste by the sons of Idwal, Iago and Ieuaf; and Dungwallaun was killed by their men.

951.—Died Rodri the son of Hywel.

952.—A great slaughter between the sons of Idwal and the sons of Hywel in a place called Gurgustu, or the affair of Conwy *hir maur* (long and great), where Anarawd, the son of Gwry, was slain. And Ceredigiawn was laid waste by the sons of Idwal; and Edwyn, the son of Hywel, died.

953.—Hayardur, the son of Mervyn, drowned.

954.—Congalach king of Ireland killed.

955.—Was the hot summer; and Gwgan, the son of Gurgat, was slain.

958.—Owen laid waste Goryvyd.

960.—Idwal, son of Rodri, killed; and Adelwald consecrated bishop of Winchester.

961.—The sons of Gwyn slain, and Ty Gwyn destroyed; and Meyric, the son of Cadvan, died. The monks first entered the monastery of Winchester.

962.—Bishop Ryderch died; and the monks first came to the monastery of Hyde.

964.—Died Catwallawn, the son of Owen.

965.—The territories of the sons of Idwal laid waste by the English.

966.—Rodri, the son of Idwal, slain; and Aberfraw afterwards destroyed.

967.—Ieuaf, the son of Idwal, taken by his brother Iago, imprisoned and thrown into chains.

968.—Gwhyr destroyed by Einon the son of Owen.

969.—Pen Mon destroyed by the pagans, and Mact, the son of Harald; for the men of Denmark had leave from Edgar to dwell in this island as long as they pleased.

976.—Gwhyr again destroyed by Einon the son of Oweyn.

977.—Lleyn and Celynawc wawr laid waste a second time by Hywel, the son of Ieuf, and the English with him.

Brut y Saeson, as far as Parry's version extends, *i.e.*, to 984, is compounded of Ric. Divisiens' (*An. Wint.*) and the *Welsh Chron.*, Harl. 3859, etc., with a few additions not in any of the Latin copies, under the years 735-54-83, 810-18-73-90-1, 903-5-13-15-17-18-33-40-43-48-50-54-5-61-66-69.

From 704 the chronology agrees with *Harl.*, except 774-6, two years too soon; 812, one too soon; 815-23, one too late; 898-948, two too early. From 951-976 is four years ahead of *Dom.*, *i.e.*, three years too soon. Several of its notices, not in *Harl.* are in *Dom.*, and one or two in *Cott.*

It seems to borrow from *An. Wint.*, at least to the story of Emma.

CAMBRIAN ARCHÆOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION.

WE have great pleasure in stating that, at the request of our present excellent President, SIR GEORGE CORNEWALL LEWIS, Bart., M.P., will accept the office of President of our Association, when proposed at our next annual meeting at Kington.

We regret to find that several important mistakes exist in the reports of speeches made by Mr. Smirke at the Truro Meeting. They were occasioned by an erroneous understanding that the speeches of all the Cornish members had been corrected for the local press before they were communicated to the Editorial Sub-Committee; and we propose, therefore, to publish the necessary corrections as soon as they shall have reached us. Mr. Smirke's address and speeches were of such importance that the errors we allude to are doubly vexatious.

We would take this opportunity of requesting all members, who speak at any of our meetings, to be good enough to communicate either the text, or notes, of what they say to the Secretaries; so that the official reports may be checked and verified.

Correspondence.

VALLE CRUCIS ABBEY.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE ARCH. CAMB.

SIR,—I have just revisited Valle Crucis Abbey, for the first time these eighteen years! I had not set foot within those sacred precincts since the excavations had been made by Lord Dungannon and Mr. Wynne of Peniarth, and I was desirous of renewing my impressions.

I am sorry to say that I do not consider those excavations altogether satisfactory: they seem to have been done in rather a "botchy" manner; there is a good deal of the real Celtic want of tidiness and finish in them; and I doubt very much as to their completeness. I am aware that a good many years have now elapsed since they were carried out, and that turf and weeds have grown meantime; but I do not see sufficient evidence, nor could I collect it on the spot, that the real base-line, and that the whole of the floor-level, had been accurately determined. I did not observe that much in the way of excavation had been done on the outside of the building. Still I do not deny that a great improvement has been effected: I only wish it were more worthy of the commemorative tablet placed in the south aisle of the nave.

In this aisle I found a vast number of capitals of shafts piled against the wall. Now these remains deserve to be taken better care of: they belong to a most interesting period of national art, when the architecture of Wales had not been so far influenced by that of England as to have lost most of its distinctive peculiarities. These capitals, like all the details of this abbey and those of Strata Florida, Cymmer, Cwm-Hir, Talley, Whitland, etc., all demand careful study. They may be called types *sui generis*; and they ought to be, at least, sheltered from the weather.

I may here remark that our Association has been remiss in not properly illustrating the history of this abbey. The historical account of it which appeared in our first volume requires revision; or rather a fresh, separate, monographic account of the abbey,—not confined to the pages of our Journal, but constituting a distinct volume,—ought to be compiled; and it should be illustrated in a scientific and professional manner by some competent architect. I know of no ecclesiastical building in Wales, *in a state of ruin*, that offers a grander subject for a new and complete history. If Mr. Freeman and Mr. Basil Jones would take the matter in hand, we might hope to see as good a work produced as their excellent history of St. David's.

Before proceeding further, let me say that this abbey is exposed to peculiar danger, arising from the extreme beauty of itself and its site, and which it is difficult to prevent. It has become the fashion in

summer, not only for visitors of the middle and upper classes to flock hither in great numbers, but very often "excursion trains" from the manufacturing districts run to Llangollen, and vomit forth their miscellaneous crowds upon the abbey. The great beauty and the melancholy interest of the place invite its destruction. The honest folks who come hither in crowds, come indeed to admire, and go away unconsciously wiser and better than they came. They learn more of good-feeling, more of respect for the past, more of veneration for worthy men of old, more of the innate fitness of beauty, by one hour spent within the walls of Valle Crucis, than by years of close attendance at all the mechanics' institutes of Manchester and Birmingham. But these simple excursionists bring with them their households, their children great and small, their wives and their babies. The children play at "hide-and-seek" round the recesses of the abbey, climb what portions of its walls are accessible, handle its stones not too gently: in short, they run the place down. I need not say more. Ask that good lady who acts as guardian of the abbey, and she will confirm my meaning.

I also observed that the south coping of the magnificent west gable is in great danger of destruction: some of the coping-stones have given way, and are on the very verge of falling; and there are two in particular, which seem as if they would not stay as they are many months longer; and yet if they *do* come down, the whole of the coping, and perhaps a large part of the gable, will follow. It was pointed out to me on the spot, as the remark of an intelligent farming-man, that if the trees at the south-west angle of the gable were to die, or be cut down, the gable itself would yield to the first severe storm, and would fall all into ruin.

The truth is, that the whole building now requires repair,—*repair*, I mean, in that sense of the word which Mr. Salvin so rightly understood when he *repaired* the exterior of Carnarvon Castle, viz., that every existing stone should be secured in its actual place, and so secured as to last for as many centuries to come as it has stood hitherto. This is the true spirit in which the repairs of such an architectural gem as Valle Crucis should be undertaken.

The question is, who should be at the expense of it? The answer to which I consider extremely simple and obvious, though I postpone mentioning it for the present.

Not only, however, does the abbey church require greater care and respect paying to it than it now receives, but the conventual buildings want a thorough clearing, excavating, and repairing; these words being taken in their proper archæological sense, not in their vulgar acceptation. But here I may be met with an exclamation of surprise; for the conventual buildings have, ever since the spoliation, been turned into a farm-house, and are still so appropriated. Not only this; but a new tenant has lately taken possession of the farm, and talks of making extensive alterations and improvements in the buildings,—*suo jure*, of course. Now we all know what improvements in such hands may lead to. I would point out to the recollection of members,—specially of Mr. Wynne of Peniarth, if these observations

should meet his eye,—that the conventual buildings of this abbey are peculiarly interesting and architecturally valuable; that they are not extensive, and that the archæological repair of them would not cost much. I would also remark that they are not well adapted for a farmer's residence; but that they might be restored to their original condition (I mean merely the parts that remain), and that thus they might constitute a suitable residence for a permanent guardian of the abbey. It would not cost much to build a farm-house on the other side of the yard, and to cut off the conventual buildings by a wall.

I now come to the question of the expense; and here I am free to confess that, without any periphrasis or euphemistic apology, I consider it the duty of all holders of abbey lands to maintain the buildings, whether of the church or of the monastery, in repair *at their own cost*, out of the proceeds of those abbey lands, and to set them apart as *national monuments*;—not to be done with as they please, because they are their own, but as treasures, both of history and of art, confided to them originally through an act of great national sin, but now to be condoned if they be preserved for the good of the nation. I make no pretence to blink the question. I consider the spoliation of the monasteries and their confiscation as a great national crime. It was a robbery of what had been given to God for His service and the good of the poor. To seize upon it was as much a crime as the robbing of a church or an hospital would be in these days, or the confiscation by the state of the funds of savings' banks, or the taking away by one man of another's portion. If Ahab was guilty before God for seizing on Naboth's vineyard, so was the Tudor Nero answerable for the pillage of the monasteries; and so have all other despoilers of similar property been ever since. I doubt not they have their reward; and I am quite certain that our nation has long been reaping its own reward for its connivance in the iniquity, by the monstrous growth of pauperism, by the constant decline of charity, by the brutalizing of the lower classes, and by a gradual though slow preparation for social revolution. In France the sin and the avenging thunderbolt came almost simultaneously; and we know now how France has reaped its just reward. There is no one thing that the thoughtful men of that country regret more than the destruction of their monasteries; and everywhere the government is doing its best to proclaim all conventual remains national monuments, and to restore them.

My question, then, Who is to pay for the repairs of Valle Crucis? is shortly answered thus: The owner of the estate out of the rents of the abbey lands. I have not the honour of even knowing who the owner is; but this I do know, that any one ought to be proud to call such a building as Valle Crucis his own; that in the archæological, or even in the ordinary æsthetical market, such a building is of great value,—as much so as one of those Correggios in the National Gallery, as much so as one of the Raffaelles. It would fetch its artistic value in the London market if sold. It is worth, let me boldly say, £10,000. Now I maintain that, upon moral grounds alone, this fine old building—the church, the abbey, and all—ought to be repaired by its owner; and that, whoever the owner may be, he will never spend

money more satisfactorily, more honourably for his own name, more righteously toward God and his country, than in doing his duty by this grand relic of ancient architectural skill and religious taste. If he demurs to this, then I say the opposite of what Sterne said,—and I do *not* envy him his feelings!

But I will come down to a much lower line of argument, and will shew that the repair and maintenance of this building may be effected by a little common prudence and forethought, with hardly any expense to the owner. At Carnarvon, the present Constable, the Earl of Carnarvon, and his excellent deputy, John Morgan, Esq., have devised the highly sensible plan of making all visitors to the castle pay an uniform tariff of admission, 4*d.* per head for each individual, without any omission, neither less nor more. Now Carnarvon Castle, like Valle Crucis Abbey, has a widely spread and justly merited reputation. It is the grandest castle in Wales. Summer tourists come thither by *hundreds*: it is a perpetual going out and coming in at the castle gate all day. In former times an old man and his wife, put in as door-keepers from motives of charity, took fees from visitors by *shillings and halfcrowns*, not by fourpences. They were pitied for their extreme poverty; and when the new Constable dispossessed them, great was the clamour among the wise men of Gotham about the barbarity of the deed. Well, what has been the consequence? The four-penny tariff has ever since produced such a fund, that, after paying the door-keeper a salary of 18*s.* per week, there has been received a surplus fund of nearly £100 per ann.! With this fund the Constable and deputy constable have excavated the whole of the castle precincts; and, whereas the Board of Woods and Forests had previously “repaired” all the exterior, they have now repaired all the interior. They have rebuilt all the novel staircases, and put the vaults of the rooms in good order,—some they have almost made habitable; they have erected a pair of new gates at a cost of nearly £200: in fact, they hardly know how to get through their money!

Valle Crucis is not less popular, not less known, far more accessible than Carnarvon Castle. Let a similar plan be tried here; let the present excellent and most courteous guardian be installed in the conventual house; let her receive a fixed *honorarium*; let a tariff of admission be established; put it at 3*d.*, if you will. It will produce at least £50 per ann. clear, *after paying the guardian*; and this sum, coming in regularly every year, will amply suffice for all repairs needed.

Let the owner of Valle Crucis go to Fountains Abbey, or Netley, to see how the building ought to be treated; and then let him go to Carnarvon and consult with the authorities there about the tariff; and the thing may be done.

Between you and me, Mr. Editor, if I were a rich man, and able to call Valle Crucis mine, I would repair it myself *instanter*, and I would shut out the *profanum vulgus* for ever. But this is only an Utopian idea, fit for the moon; whereas the tariff, the “*three-penny go*,” is a positive and practical fact. And if the owner of the abbey were inclined to treat, and would speak to you or to me about it, why

perhaps we might take the speculation off his hands, and do it ourselves. But this is a whisper only for your own ear and the rushes!

I remain, etc.,

A TRAVELLER.

Wrexham, Oct. 1, 1862.

NAMES OF PLACES IN CORNWALL.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE ARCH. CAMB.

SIR,—I have much regretted that protracted indisposition during the last two years prevented my joining the section of our Association that visited Cornwall in August last; and observing my name mentioned, at one of the Truro meetings, regarding the etymology of Lostwithiel, as formerly communicated by me to Mr. MacLauchlan when on his survey in that county, I have to state that it differs materially from the suggestions I made at the time and which I now repeat, more diffusely, as to what I consider the most probable origin of the name.

Lost in Cornish is similar in meaning to *Lluest* in Welsh, for a collection of tents or a tented encampment, and *Gwythiel*, to *Gwyddel*, in Welsh for a *stranger*; consequently, *Lost-withiel*, as a compound name, would signify the *tented encampment of the stranger*, an epithet fairly applicable to the first settlers in that locality, who doubtless migrated thither over-sea, and like most venatic tribes without settled residence, dwelt in tents.

Gwyddel is a Celtic term of very *Protean* import, and is variously applied, but always bearing the radical ingredient of *Gwydd*, *i.e.*, simply wisdom or knowledge, as *Der-wydd*, a Druid or sage of the oak; *Gwyddon*, a man of knowledge, a philosopher, etc.

In the definition of Truro I partly coincide, but not as to the first syllable being derived from *Tre*, meaning *town* or a collective habitation, which in such names of places is always written *Tre* in Cornwall, never as *Tru*, which in Celtic means *three*, the *u* having nearly the sound of the vowel *i*. It would then mean *Tri-rhiew*, the three hill roads or streets, which were the original thoroughfares of that town, all of course ascending the hill to the north, the only way of ingress and egress at that early period when the town was first named: Camden also supports me in this etymology.

I wish our Associates, when at Truro, had visited Bodregan, a village about fifteen miles to the south-west of that town, which requires careful investigation, as the result might have proved more than commonly interesting. Borlase, the historian of Cornwall, has unfortunately gone wide of the mark in his attempt to etymologize the name. He derives *Bodregan* from *Bod*, a dwelling, and *Regan*, a perverted writing of *Druidion*; but the writing is not perverted, it is the attempt to mend it; for the word as it stands, *Bodregan*, is perfectly right, and would mean the abode or dwelling-place of *Rhegan*, one of the daughters of King Lear (in Welsh, *Llur*), who, we are informed by British history, was married to *Rhonwen*, one of

the early Dukes of Cornwall. In Shakespear's *Lear* she is associated with her two sisters, Goneril and Cordelia. Lear had another daughter, also, named *Bronwen* (the fair breasted), who had Anglesey given her as her bridal dower upon her marriage with an Irish prince, who neglected her; and she died and was buried on the banks of the river Alaw, in that island, in a *Carn (bedd petrual)*, as Welsh history informs us; and the urn containing Bronwen's ashes, found some years since in the locality mentioned, was sent to the British Museum by the late Dr. W. Owen Pughe.

Yours faithfully,

JOHN FENTON.

Bodmôr Lodge, near Glynymél, Fishguard,
24th Dec., 1862.

DOUBLE CROMLECH ON CARN LLIDI,

IN THE PARISH OF ST. DAVID'S, PEMBROKESHIRE.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE ARCH. CAMB.

SIR,—A few days ago, in walking over Carn Llidi, the picturesque rock which towers over Whitesand Bay, to the north-west of St. David's, I discovered the remains of a double cromlech on the northern slope of the hill, and near the western extremity of its rocky portion. The two cromlechs, which stood side by side, differ in size; the larger one being on the northern side, and the other standing close under the rock. The capstones of both are dismantled; that of the former is some eight or nine feet in length, and the other considerably smaller. Three of the supporters of the lesser cromlech are *in situ*, and stand close together, presenting the appearance of a wall. As I had no means of taking measurements, or other notes, at hand, I must leave it to others, who may have leisure to do so, to verify or correct these observations. The cromlech is not marked in the Ordnance Map, nor noticed in our *History of St. David's*; neither can I learn that it has ever been observed before. The entire region in which it stands is strewn with large boulders, which furnished ready materials for structures of this sort; and it is very possible that the remains of others may still be lying hid among them. The (so-called) Rocking Stone is within a very short distance of the cromlech which I have just described; and another, and somewhat larger, cromlech (described in our book under the name of Coetan Arthur) stands within half a mile of it, and a little to the east of St. David's Head.

I am, etc.

W. BASIL JONES.

Tenby, Oct. 3, 1862.

WRITINGS OF ROBERT VAUGHAN OF HENGWRT.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE ARCH. CAMB.

SIR,—In the last number of the *Archæologia Cambrensis* (XXXII, p. 293), one of your correspondents inquires if there is any list com-

piled of the writings of "Robert Vaughan of Hengwrt." The only work of this eminent antiquary which has been printed, is the *British Antiquities Revived*. If your correspondent were to see the MSS. of the antiquary, Robert Vaughan, preserved here, he would be convinced how difficult it would be to make a list of works—not many entire ones—of his own composition, but transcripts of MSS. of great value and interest, collections of pedigrees, and a great number of notes upon different writers, whose works are preserved in the Hengwrt Library here. It would be almost as difficult to make out a list of Vaughan's writings, as I find it to compile a catalogue of the Hengwrt MSS., including the contents of each volume.

I am yours obediently,

W. W. E. W.

Peniarth, Machynlleth. Oct. 29, 1862.

Archæological Notes and Queries.

Query 124.—ST. GOVAN'S WELL, KENSINGTON.—I am informed that, in Kensington Gardens, near the Palace, there is a spring and well of water called after St. Govan. Is this correct? And is the name old, or is it only one of recent and fanciful application? L.

Query 125.—ROMAN ROADS, MONTGOMERYSHIRE.—Can any correspondent state whether lines of Roman roads have been traced from the great station of Clawddcoch (which there is no doubt is the Roman *MEDIOLANUM*), near Llanymynach, towards Rowton (*RUTUNUM*), through Llandrinio, in one direction; and up into the hill country, towards Sarn Milltir and Caer Gai, near Bala, in another?

A MEMBER.

Query 126.—HENRY VII AND BOSWORTH FIELD.—What are the authorities for ascertaining the probable number of Welsh auxiliary troops brought by Henry of Richmond on to the field at Bosworth?

AN ANTIQUARY.

Query 127.—EARLY PAVEMENTS.—It has been lately stated that the earliest record of paving a street in England is one of 19 Edward I, when Master Geoffrey de Pakenham, Chancellor of Cambridge, began a pavement in that town. There is reason for believing that very early pavements—not Roman—exist in Wales. Can any approximation be made to their probable dates,—say within a century? B.

Note 74.—WREXHAM, TUMULUS.—A tumulus, not noticed in the Ordnance Map, is to be observed in a field just outside Wrexham, on the south, by the side of the road to Ruabon. It may be recognized by an enormous oak tree on its summit, which is probably not less than three hundred years old. There is no ditch round it; but on its eastern side the portion of ground scraped, or cut away, or

levelled, for heaping up the tumulus itself, may be clearly made out. There are traces of stones on the summit. The shape is rudely circular, about sixty feet in diameter, and the present height above the adjoining ground is not more than six feet; and supposing the tumulus to have been complete, its original height was probably not more than twelve. It does not stand near any water, nor in a position of defence: I therefore infer that it was not erected for the base of a mediæval fort or castellet, but that it is sepulchral, and that it contains the remains of persons slain in some battle upon this spot. Wat's Dyke runs about a quarter of a mile westward of it; and I *think* I can make out the traces of another tumulus, near a house, in a field to the eastward, at about two hundred yards distance. H. L. J.

Query 128.—OWEN (TUDOR) AP OWEN.—The third son of Owen Tudor, husband of Katherine, widow of Henry V, Queen Dowager of England, is stated to have been a monk. Information is requested concerning the Religious House in which he made his profession, and the date of his death. J.

Query 129.—DOLGELLY, A.D. 1769.—I find in the *Annual Register* for this year, under June, the following: "A letter from Dolgelly, in North Wales, gives an account of an earthquake at that place on the 15th instant, which threatened to bury the inhabitants under the projecting cliffs which hang over it. Torrents of water burst forth from the convulsed sides of Kader Idris, which deluged the little vale beneath. The Marian, where the militia are exercised, was covered with a kind of lava near three feet deep. But what is chiefly regretted is the loss of the admired bridge called Pont y Bendigion, which upon examination had no foundation, the lowest stone being above the surface of the earth." What does this refer to? J.

Note 75.—The *Annual Register* for 1769, under date of 30 June, 1769, says: "This day the first stone of a new bridge, to be built over the Severn at Shrewsbury, was laid by Sir John Astley, Bart. Was this the English or the Welsh bridge? J.

Query 130.—ROAD UNDER PENMAEN MAWR.—In the annual supplies voted by the legislature for 1769, occurs the following item: "April 20. To be applied for making a new road at the foot of the mountain of Penmaen Mawr, and thereby securing a certain communication between Great Britain and Ireland by way of Holyhead, £2,000."—Was this a single grant, or was it given for several years? And was it the road which Lord Bulkeley took so much interest in? J.

Miscellaneous Notices.

CHRONICLE OF THE 13TH CENTURY, ETC.—*Erratum.*—Through inadvertence, pp. 281, 282, of vol. viii, have become inverted: the first, as it stands printed, should be put second. This will be immediately detected, on reference, by the reader.

Reviews.

THE SUFFERINGS OF THE CLERGY DURING THE GREAT REBELLION.

By the Rev. JOHN WALKER, etc., etc. Epitomized by the author of the *Annals of England*. Oxford: J. H. and J. Parker. 1 vol., post 8vo.

THIS is an useful and timely republication of one of the most valuable works connected with the history of England. It is useful, because Walker's original book is rather bulky, not quite within reach of all students, and one that had come, most undeservedly, to be rather overlooked. Here we have the pith of Walker's researches put together in a really handy form, and at a moderate price; so that historical students may at once give it a place, not merely on their shelves, to be taken down at "some more convenient season," but rather on their library tables,—where it can lie ready for reference, and get well thumbed and dog-eared, as all useful books and manuals deserve to be.

We need not say much on the intrinsic value of the book, because it is as well known as Clarendon, or Fuller's *Worthies*, or old Holinshed, and other familiars of all studious men's libraries; but we may observe that it has a peculiar merit of its own, which should not be overlooked in times like these;—it was compiled by a very honest and painstaking man, and its veracity has not been impeached. In this respect it bears a favourable comparison with another book very popular in England, but which, like many other popular books and things, has an immense quantity of falsehood and exaggeration mixed up in it;—we allude to Foxe's *Martyrs*, which, like Macaulay's *History of England*, has as many lies in it as it has pages, and which has done no small damage to the real History of England, by concealing, perverting, and throwing back the cause of historical truth. So it is likely to be with all books written professedly by party men for party objects. Foxe wrote his book for the Puritans; Macaulay wrote his for his own party and for a peerage. They both gained their objects; and we can wish no better nor worse fate for their works than that, they may both meet with the same degree of reputation, one as the other, this time one hundred years hence. While speaking of Foxe's book we are tempted to remark that there is an opening for two special books, which might be made as popular, but we hope more truthful than his. One should be an history of all the capital punishments on the score of religious opinions, inflicted during the reign of Henry VIII. It would fill a good-sized volume to give a narrative of all the persons who suffered death for religion by royal authority in that infamous reign. The other would be a similar book on those who were also put to death for religion during the reign of the "bloody" Queen Elizabeth. That monarch allowed upwards of a hundred and eighty persons to be so sacrificed; and their sufferings should be put on record, though it might be exceedingly unpleasant

and inconvenient for some modern readers to take any note of them. Here is work cut out for any aspirant to "popular" literary fame.

We said, however, that this publication of an epitome of Walker's large book was *timely*; and we mean what we said; for though we are now noticing it some months after the event took place, yet it came out just at the very time when one of the most impudent and shameless historical frauds was being perpetrated on the more ignorant portion of the unsuspecting British public. That public, which prides itself on being the most energetic, the most wealthy, the most powerful, the most enlightened, the most moral, in the world, may be induced to believe anything—we might almost say, to do anything—however absurd, if only sufficient impudence be used in the concoction of the farce.

Rather more than two hundred years ago, *seven thousand* clergymen of the Established Church were illegally and violently dispossessed of their livings and preferments,—ejected from them; many of them having all their private property stolen at the same time, and some so cruelly maltreated in their persons that they died in consequence. This was a crying sin and a shame. It was effected by the revolutionary parliament of the day; and the injustice was completed by the thrusting of as many unauthorized and unqualified persons into their places. The sufferings of those seven thousand martyrs for conscience sake form the subject of Walker's book. When the nation came to its senses in 1660, and the acts of the revolutionary period were undone, and justice was endeavoured to be rendered to those who had suffered during the iniquitous times, the government behaved with very great moderation in respect of the parties who had been unlawfully thrust into other men's benefices, and simply ejected those who would not conform to the rules of the Established Church. What the government ought to have done, was to have ejected *all* the intruders without any further inquiry, and to have made parliamentary compensation to those of the lawful owners who were still alive (reinstating them of course), or, if dead, to their heirs. Here was a clear case of a great national robbery committed in times of revolutionary violence; and the receivers of the stolen goods were all found in actual possession of them. By all law and justice those receivers were liable to the *lex talionis*, both before Heaven and before man; whereas only about two thousand out of the seven thousand were made to disgorge their plunder; and, on their declining to conform, were most equitably ejected. No case of national wrong was ever more clearly substantiated than in the sufferings of the seven thousand clergy; no case of retributive vengeance was ever more righteously deserved, or more leniently administered, than in the removal of the two thousand usurping intruders.

Well; these two thousand men have been recently palmed off on certain portions of the Nonconformist world as the "Bartholomew confessors"! In commemoration of their punishment, the occasion has been improved into one of passing round the money-box, and considerable sums have been collected, to the profit of sundry secretaries, treasurers, and other parties interested in getting up a testimonial.

And all this has been greedily swallowed, and firmly believed, by men sincere, good, pious, and correct in all the charities and intercourse of ordinary life! Hence the "Advertisement" put at the beginning of this edition of Walker has no small claim on the reader's attention:

"The shameless perversion of history which made martyrs and confessors of the ejected Nonconformists of 1662, and ascribed their so-called persecution to the Church, caused the Rev. John Walker, a Devonshire incumbent, to draw up, more than a hundred and fifty years ago, some account of the Sufferings of the Clergy during the times of the Great Rebellion, as the first part of a full answer to the charge.

"A revival of the oft-refuted calumny at the present day, by the proposed Bicentenary Commemoration of the 'Bartholomew Confessors,' appears to render the publication of an epitome of Mr. Walker's work desirable. It is to be regretted that it should now be necessary to recall the memory of the calamities inflicted so long ago by one set of men, who called themselves Christians, upon another; but the conduct of her enemies leaves no choice to those who are not willing to betray the cause of the Church and of truth."

We consider the introduction so clear and satisfactory, that we give the following extract from it:

"The Act of Uniformity of 1662 removed from the ministry of the Church a large number of men who were destitute alike of the necessary learning and of episcopal ordination; a much smaller number who did possess one or both of these qualifications also went out rather than renounce the Covenant. To these last the character of sufferers for conscience' sake may be allowed by favourable judges; but it is quite certain that no such claim can fairly be urged for the rest. Writers, however, have been found who class them all together, under the title of the 'two thousand godly ejected ministers,' and seek to make the Church responsible for what is styled their persecution.

"Among these unscrupulous writers, Dr. Edmund Calamy is entitled to a bad eminence. He was the son and grandson of two ejected ministers, and the author of a *Life of Baxter*, one chapter of which was specially devoted to a notice of the Act of Uniformity. Dr. Calamy afterwards amplified this single chapter into three volumes, in which the charge against the Church of persecution was urged in much detail. He professed to give an 'Account of the Ministers, Lecturers, etc., ejected or silenced after the Restoration in 1660'; and he speaks of them as 'two thousand preaching ministers who were unwearied in their endeavours to spread knowledge, faith, and holiness.' Such a statement, whilst the facts of the case were comparatively fresh in the minds of Churchmen, could not be expected to go unchallenged, and accordingly Mr. Walker planned a comprehensive work, which was intended not only to shew the inaccuracy of the list, and the unfairness of the charge, but to recover and hand down to posterity an account of the 'hard measure' inflicted on the clergy by the very men (and their friends) on whose behalf the cry of persecution was raised. The task, however, was too great for one man's life, and he was only able to produce the first portion of his work, that, namely, which was meant to detail the fortunes of some seven thousand episcopally ordained clergymen of every rank, who had been driven from their homes, and treated worse than the worst of felons, until the majority of them sank under their miseries—men, too, whose only offence, in all but a few exceptional cases, was their steady refusal to abandon their sworn obedience to the Church and the king.

Being sensible that his list, in spite of all the pains that had been bestowed, was still far from complete, Mr. Walker styled his laborious undertaking merely 'An Attempt towards Recovering an Account of the Numbers and Sufferings of the Clergy of the Church of England.' Had he lived to carry out his whole design, no doubt he would have found many more sufferers to record; but what he has accomplished conclusively shews that those who gave a temporary overthrow to both Church and State, conducted themselves towards their vanquished opponents with the extremity of rigour.

"The sufferings of the clergy during the Great Rebellion, if at all generally known, would reflect indelible disgrace on all who caused or sanctioned them; and therefore, as many of the actors in the tragedy are popularly looked on as the champions of civil liberty, an attempt has been made by others than professed Nonconformists to bury the matter in oblivion. This attempt has had more success than would otherwise have attended it, from the circumstance that at the Restoration all papers relating to the persecution of the clergy were, as far as possible, destroyed by the guilty parties; and it is to be feared that subsequent writers have thus been emboldened to deny once notorious facts, because they believed they could not be legally proved. Modern research, however, has shewn that the destruction was not so complete as has been supposed: papers carefully concealed whilst legal proceedings might be founded on them, are now available to the historical student; and they may from time to time be expected to find their way into print, when it will be seen that the statements contained in *Mercurius Rusticus*, *Querela Cantabrigiensis*, *Persecutio Undecima*, and similar publications, are not rhetorical exaggerations, but are capable of proof in every material point, and even in very minute particulars."

It is not our intention to give anything like an account of the contents of this book, further than that we recommend the last chapter on "*The silenced Church—the Restoration*,"—and "*The Bartholomew Confessors*," to especial notice; but we will select from it the passages referring to the four Welsh bishops; because our readers will find in them points that may stimulate their archæological curiosity. Indeed, we hope that some member or other of our Association will follow out the inquiries which naturally suggest themselves, and will contribute the result of his researches to the Journal. The four bishops ejected were, John Owen of St. Asaph, William Roberts of Bangor, Roger Mainwaring of St. David's, and Morgan Owen of Llandaff. We quote the accounts of each in the order in which they stand:

"JOHN OWEN, bishop of St. Asaph, paid £500 as a composition for his private property, that of the see being seized as a matter of course. He retired into Wales, and died there, Oct. 15, 1651.

"WILLIAM ROBERTS, bishop of Bangor, beside suffering, like his brethren, the loss of his office and revenues, had his private property sequestered in 1649, and lived in extreme poverty until the Restoration, when he regained his see.

"ROGER MAINWARING, bishop of St. David's, was particularly obnoxious to the faction, for offence given to them many years before the rebellion broke out. When that event occurred, he was seized and imprisoned; and though after a time he was released, he was mercilessly plundered, and lived on a small estate in Wales, in continual apprehension of farther violence, until his death in the year 1653.

"MORGAN OWEN, bishop of Llandaff, after a four months' imprisonment in the Tower, was driven from his see, and died in poverty in March 1645.

He had been promoted to the bishopric through the influence of Archbishop Laud; and one work of his, which remains to the present day, was made a charge against the archbishop. Whilst the latter was Chancellor of the University of Oxford, Mr. Owen was by his means created doctor of divinity; in return for which he enclosed the south yard of St. Mary's church, in that University, with a freestone wall, and built a beautiful porch on the same side of the church. Among the other carvings of this porch was and is an image of the Blessed Virgin and Child, which occasioned one of the articles against his patron at his trial, in these words: 'That he did oblige the said Dr. M. Owen to build it, permitted him as Chancellor of the University, and connived at all when it was finished.' The bishop had, in consequence of the poverty of his see, been allowed to hold *in commendam* the rectory of Bedwas in Monmouthshire, of which also he was deprived,—a fate too common to excite remark, but for the vile profanation by which it was followed. One Reese John David, the agent and sequestrator, who lived in the parsonage house, managed the glebe and received the tithe, removed a very fine font of stone out of the church of Bedwas, and when himself and his man could not break it to pieces, he caused it to be placed under a tree, where it was used as a trough for his horses and cattle."

We cannot refrain from recommending the present worthy incumbent of Bedwas to look after this font. If still in his garden, he should get it replaced in the church, before he is himself ejected by some of the subscribers to the fund for a testimonial in memory of the "Bartholomew Confessors," to the glory of God and the benefit of the shareholders.

Archæologia Cambrensis.

THIRD SERIES, No. XXXIV.—APRIL, 1863.

SUSSEX IRONMASTERS IN GLAMORGANSHIRE.

THE early history of the iron-trade in Wales is involved in considerable obscurity; and the information that exists, relating to it, is very limited and unsatisfactory. We, however, possess ample evidence that the Romans, with the penetration that always characterized that enterprising and energetic people, had made considerable progress, during their occupation of the country, in developing its mineral resources; and even in Glamorganshire some of their operations in the production of iron may yet be traced. In the year 1752 a considerable deposit of iron cinders was discovered near Misquin¹ (which mansion was then possessed by the late W. Bassett, Esq.), and conveyed to some of the neighbouring ironworks to be resmelted,—the improved machinery and increased blast of more modern works rendering that measure practicable with considerable advantage. Beneath this bed of cinders were discovered a coin of Antoninus Pius, and some earthenware charged with greyhounds, hares, and other sporting devices, which the workmen unfortunately broke to pieces; but the character of the coin and ware, as well as their position *underneath* the bed of cinders, conclusively proved that they had been so placed by the Roman iron-makers.

¹ Archæologia, vol. i.

The very extensive nature of their operations in the contiguous county of Gloucester is well known; and it is more than probable that a district so rich in iron, and possessed of so many facilities for its production, as Glamorganshire, would not have been disregarded by that ingenious people. It is, however, probable that during several centuries subsequent to the departure of the Romans, the iron mines that had been opened by them, had fallen into neglect; and, if worked at all by their successors, the Saxons, were probably carried on at long and uncertain intervals, and to an extent so limited, as barely sufficed for the manufacture of such rude arms and simple agricultural implements as the more pressing necessities of the people required.

Nor does it appear from historical records that any of the early English monarchs directed much attention to the boundless mineral resources of the country, but rather limited their mining operations to explorations in search of the precious metals. The Plantagenet monarchs were generally so absorbed in the domestic conflicts that so frequently characterized their reigns, or engaged in foreign wars, that they seldom possessed leisure to cultivate the peaceful arts, or to develop the natural resources of the country. Until the commencement of the Tudor period, when the occurrence of more peaceful times, and the judicious patronage extended to manufactures, had led to a material extension of iron-works, the trade had languished greatly, and was extremely small and unimportant. Among other places possessed of extensive resources, and presenting desirable positions for the establishment of the manufacture and the economical production of iron, was Glamorganshire, which appears to have partaken of the impetus so generally given at that period to the trade, and to have induced numerous persons, possessed of fortune and enterprise, to embark their capital in those promising speculations. In the county of Sussex several of the most distinguished members of the landed aristocracy had become prosperous ironmasters; and many persons

had sprung from the class of yeomen, or of manufacturers, to that of wealthy landowners, wholly through the profits derived from the production and manufacture of iron. This extension of the iron trade, and the great consumption of wood consequent thereon, attracted very considerable attention; and even at that remote period created grave apprehensions of the rapid extinction of the trade: several acts of a prohibitory and protective character were passed during the reigns of Henry VIII and of the succeeding monarchs, both of the Tudor and Stuart races. The ironworks of that era had probably been established at Aberdare and Merthyr Tydfil in the reign of Henry VIII; and it is possible that the difficulty of obtaining supplies of fuel, together with the restrictions which its increasing scarcity in Sussex rendered it necessary to attach to its consumption, super-added to the manifest advantages which Glamorganshire presented as a comparatively unexplored district, rich in all the materials requisite for the manufacture of iron, and peculiarly adapted for the establishment of such works, induced some of the ironmasters of Sussex to direct their energies and capital to that locality, where they might hope to be relieved, for several years, from many of the restrictions enforced within the Wealds of Sussex, Kent, and Surrey, with respect to the consumption of fuel at ironworks. At that period it is nearly certain that Glamorganshire was a remarkably well-wooded region, and that abundant supplies of fuel could be conveniently and cheaply obtained therein. The mountain summits and the sides of the valleys were alike plentifully clothed with luxuriant woods, and the locality was intersected by numerous rivers and mountain streams, affording admirable sites for the erection of the water-wheels requisite for working the rude blowing apparatus that was then employed. The argillaceous ironstones of the coal-measures also had their outcrops at the heads of the valleys, and so afforded ready access to that important mineral, which in these valleys could be obtained at the surface either by the simple process of

“patching,” or possibly by the more ancient system of “scouring.”

The abundance of wood at that time in the valleys of the Taff and the Cynon is fully confirmed. We find that Rees Meyrick¹ speaks of the present Llwydcoed estate, on which the important ironworks of that name have been erected, as one of the forests of Glamorgan; and in all conveyances, notwithstanding the present absence of *wood*, it is still described as the “Forest of Llwydcoed.” He also mentions the forest of Glin Cynon, which doubtless possessed some importance, and probably comprised the tracts now known as “The Forest,” Cefn y Forest, Trocdirhiw Forest, etc., in the Cynon Valley. It is, indeed, clear that several places which are now called by names indicative of their woody character, are now completely denuded of wood, whether by the exhaustion produced by the ironworks, or from some other cause, and present a remarkably bleak and bare appearance. The sterile region of Cefn-coed-cymmer, above Merthyr, is also said to have been once clothed with wood; which is supposed to have been cleared away, and consumed at the ironworks of that locality. Other places also indicate by their names that extensive woods once existed there, but which are supposed to have been exhausted by the ironworks of the Taff Valley.

Those works are not to be confounded with any of the existing establishments of Merthyr Tydfil, none of which have been erected during a longer period than a hundred years; and have wholly sprung into existence subsequent to, and, it may be said, partially in consequence of, the general application of coke, instead of charcoal fuel, to the manufacture of iron. Though these works have now assumed stupendous proportions, they have arrived at that position slowly; and the greatest progress has been made within the present century. The district of Merthyr Tydfil owes the origin of the modern iron manufactures to the late Mr. Bacon, whose

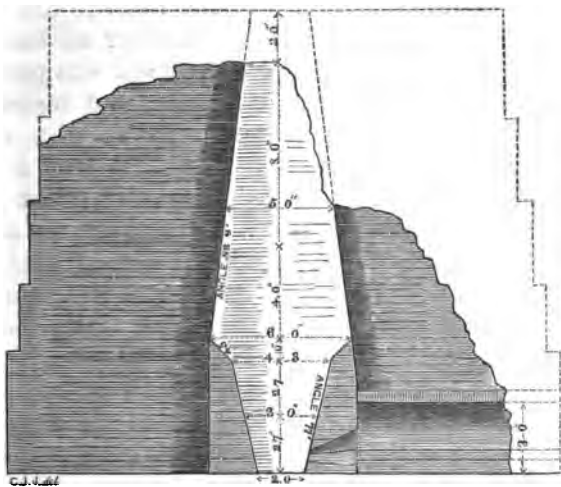
¹ A Book of Glamorganshire Antiquities. By Rees Meyrick, Esq. 1578.

attention seems to have been awakened to the importance and value of its minerals; and who had the foresight to secure a lease of an extensive tract, embracing an extent upwards of eight miles long, by a width of fully four miles, and comprehending the greater portion of the properties connected with the great ironworks of Cyfarthfa, Penydarran, Dowlais, and Plymouth. The rise and progress of those works, and of the populous localities of Aberdare and Merthyr, have, however, been so frequently written upon, that the subject has ceased to possess any features of novelty, or to exhibit any points of interest. I, therefore, purpose limiting my observations in this paper to the ironmaking operations of a considerably earlier period, that may probably be considered to have commenced and terminated with the Tudor era.

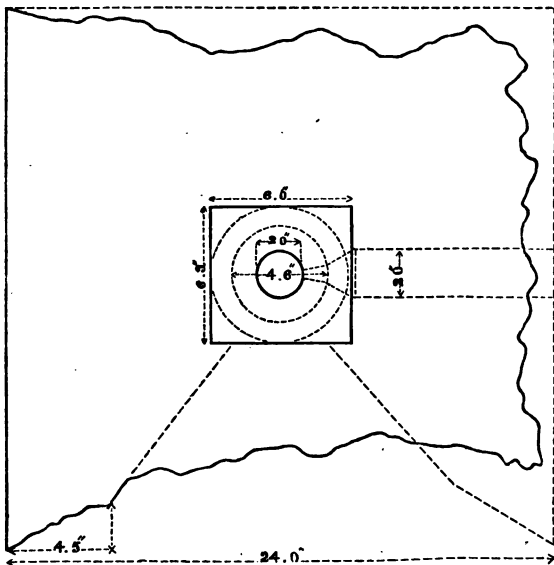
Irrespective of the interest which must necessarily attach to operations that preceded by several centuries the gigantic manufactures that have so long rendered Merthyr Tydfil pre-eminent throughout the world, those early ironworks of the valleys of Aberdare and Merthyr possess peculiar interest from the circumstance that they were apparently established and owned by distinguished ironmasters from the county of Sussex, which, at that period, formed the chief seat of the iron trade of the kingdom. Notwithstanding the changes which the extension of mining and manufacturing operations have effected in the districts of Aberdare and Merthyr, considerable remains of those ancient ironworks may yet be traced, and will still, in some instances, afford very accurate indications of their original extent and character. From the most satisfactory traditional accounts I find that, in the Cynon or Aberdare Valley, one of those ancient works, either a blast-furnace or a forge existed at Llwydcoed, where the occurrence of a forest presented facilities for the production of charcoal. The site of those operations has, however, been so completely obliterated, or covered over by cinders and rubbish-tips from the existing works, that no remains of them can

now be discovered ; nor have I succeeded in finding any of the ancient cinder, which, had I done so, would have enabled me to determine whether a blast-furnace or a forge had existed there. It is, however, my impression that the forge was alone erected here ; and that the pig-iron was produced at the blast-furnace that stood on the site of the Duffryn, or Aberpennar Mill, into which some of the old machinery of the works may subsequently have been converted. Large heaps of blast-furnace cinder still mark the spot where the furnace stood ; and the operations must have been considerable for that age. The old mill is situated within a short distance of the present Duffryn House, and on the property of John Bruce-Pryce, Esq. The position of the furnace, on the Aberpennar brook, leads to the inference that it was so placed to secure the advantage of water power to work the blowing machinery ; for, at another blast furnace, that still stands in the valley of Cwm Aman, (and here, also, on the property of John Bruce-Pryce, Esq.), we possess ample evidence of the existence, at one period, of a water wheel, as the remains of the water-course that communicated with the wheel, and conveyed the water from the adjoining brook, have not yet been wholly obliterated, and its traces are still distinctly discernible. Indeed, so well preserved was the furnace, that, with little labour, the ruins were cleared, and its original form and dimensions so clearly and accurately shown, that I was enabled to prepare an accurate sectional drawing of it, which will afford an interesting comparison with the enormous sizes to which some of the present coke furnaces have attained.

The furnace was built with sandstone, belonging to the Pennant series of the neighbourhood, which appears to have acted well for the purpose : it was also lined with the same material, and neither fire-bricks, nor the conglomerate usually designated as "plum-pudding stone," were employed. The extreme height of the furnace was about 16 feet to the *top of the chimney*,



C. J. V. 1887



Section of Furnace.

which itself must have been at least 2 feet high. The internal cavity, from the top of the bosh to the head of the furnace, is 8 feet high; its diameter at the top of the bosh was 5 feet; and the bosh itself was peculiar in form, being only 10 inches in height, and inclining to the top of the hearth at an angle of 45° , when it became diminished to a diameter of 4 feet 3 inches. The height of the hearth was unusually great in proportion to that of the bosh; it inclined at an angle of 77° , and was 5 feet 2 inches high, and diminished at the bottom to 2 feet. At its outer extremity, the tuyere opening was 3 feet in height, and 2 feet wide, and was approached by an arch, extending from the outer wall of the furnace. The hearth and bosh were circular in form, but the latter was then gradually worked off into a square, and so extended upwards. The square of the outer walls of the furnace was about 24 feet.

From these furnaces the iron was probably carried on the backs of mules along the course of the brook and river, either up to Llwydcoed, if, as I suspect, a forge existed there, or down to the forge, which then stood on Cwm Cynon farm, and of which considerable remains, as well as large deposits of cinder, still indicate the site of the old work. The ancient water-course, through which the wheel was supplied from the river Cynon, is still visible; and there are appearances of an old forge pond, that has now been converted into a horse-pond for the use of the farm.

It is probable that there may have been other furnaces and forges in this valley at various periods, but those to which I have referred were so evidently associated together, and it appears so probable that they formed the actual works possessed by the Sussex iron-masters, to whom I shall more particularly refer hereafter, that they naturally attract our principal attention.

In the Taff valley, the ancient blast furnace, which apparently belonged to the same parties, still exists at

a place called Pontyryn, opposite the Plymouth furnaces, though it has now become in a ruinous condition, and is gradually being undermined and carried away by the river. When I knew it first, about twenty years ago, the remains were in considerably better preservation; and its dimensions might at that time have been arrived at without much difficulty. Some traces of the forge, at which the iron produced at the Pontyryn furnace was supposed to have been converted, can also be seen at a place now called Pontygwaith, which is situated about two miles below the furnace, and a short distance only above the recently constructed viaduct that carries the Aberdare Extension of the West Midland Railway across the Taff Valley. A large quantity of forge cinders were discovered at this place about forty years back: the late Mr. Anthony Hill, of Plymouth Iron Works, near Merthyr, conveyed a considerable portion to his furnaces and remelted them. The water-course that conveyed the water from the river Taff to the water-wheel may yet be traced; and the wattled weir that diverted the water into that channel out of the river may still be discerned. Another forge, of smaller dimensions, appears to have existed at Cwm Gwernlas, a little valley, tributary to the Taff, and unites with it close to the present old Plymouth blast furnaces, and which probably possessed, at that period, the two important requisites for a forge of that age—wood and water: this, also, I believe to have been connected with the old Pontyryn furnace. It is very probable that the old house at Plymouth works, where the excellent proprietor, the late Mr. Anthony Hill, so long resided, belonged to one of the Sussex iron-masters, who had made his residence at Merthyr Tydfil; for it appears that, about forty years ago, Mr. Hill, in effecting extensive alterations in the house, discovered a remarkably beautiful old fire-back, which I conjecture may have been produced and cast at Pontyryn furnace by one of the early proprietors, as an ornament to his residence. The casting was presented

by Mr. Hill to the late Mr. David Mushet, the eminent metallurgist; and is now in the possession of his son, Mr. Robert Mushet, by whose courtesy I have been permitted to have a drawing made of it. It possesses considerable artistic taste, and greatly resembles some of the best examples of castings produced at that period in some of the principal works of Sussex, of which numerous specimens still exist in the possession of various persons resident in that county. The action of the fire has slightly obliterated a portion of the design upon the casting; but, on the whole, it remains in considerable perfection. The greater part of the motto of the Garter, ...Y SOIT QVE MALE Y may be distinctly read; and the royal arms, France and England quarterly, upon a shield, occupy the centre space within the garter. The garter is surmounted by a crown, while the two corners have the initial letters, E. R., probably those of Edward VI. In the two lower corners there are traces of



some ornaments that are greatly effaced by fire, but which appear to be fleurs-de-lis. In the works of Sussex

these formed a favourite device with the founders of that age; which is probably accounted for by the circumstance that many German and French founders were brought over to that county and employed at the works. The chimney-back is surmounted by the date 1553,¹ and is a singularly interesting casting. I have never yet seen in Wales so good a specimen.² It must have been run direct from the blast-furnace; and it may, at this time, be regarded in quality as strong forge-iron, mottled towards the edge, which gives hardness and great strength.

In Sussex similar castings are not uncommon. Various devices were employed by the early founders; but the royal arms and badges were of the most frequent occurrence. The castings that are now usually found are principally andirons and chimney-backs; but several monumental slabs also occur in some of the churches of Sussex.³

In addition to the works at Merthyr and Aberdare, the Sussex ironmasters also possessed a forge, which is described in the old papers as "Penbough," in the parish of Llantrissaint. This name at first considerably perplexed me, until I discovered a place called "Penbwch," where remains of ancient iron works existed; and which I felt satisfied was identical with the "Penbough" of the old Sussex ironmasters, to whose Saxon tongue the word "Penbwch" proved quite impracticable. The forge was situated in a small valley, extending

¹ The date upon the casting is 1553, and it has the initial letters, E. R. The king, however, died on the 6th of July in that year, when Mary succeeded.

² I have been informed by Mr. Jenkins of the Cefn Glâs Farm, near Pontygwaith, that an old casting existed in that neighbourhood a few years back, which had probably been cast at Pontyryn furnace, and had upon it the date of 1579. I was also informed by the same person that he had often seen an old fire-back in a house at Pontygwaith ornamented with a design of the temptation of our first parents, and having the representation of Adam and Eve, and the serpent creeping around the tree. The date upon the plate was 1629, which shews that the works were at that period in operation.

³ Lower, in *Sussex Archæological Collections*, vol. ii.

upwards by the mansion of Castellau, into the hills occurring on the north of Llantrissaint town. The position was apparently selected from its possessing considerable water-power in the brook that flows down this valley, and the occurrence of extensive supplies of wood for the use of the forge. The blast-furnace in Rhondda fach also belonged to the same parties; but the hearth has been removed, and the old work rendered a shapeless ruin. The difficulty of maintaining supplies of charcoal rendered it necessary to plant the works at considerable distances apart, and in well-wooded districts; and hence their distribution over so extended an area.

A highly interesting description of the mode of making iron that was adopted in Sussex in the seventeenth century, and which was probably practised, with little variation, at the Tudor period, is given by the eminent naturalist, John Ray, in the papers that are appended to his *Collection of English Words*.¹ This account of the process was supplied to Ray by "his learned friend, Walter Burrell, of Cuckfield, Esq.," who was one of the most eminent ironmasters in the county of Sussex.

"THE MANNER OF THE IRON-WORK AT THE FURNACE.

"The iron mine lies sometimes deeper, sometimes shallower in the earth, from four to forty and upward.

"There are several sorts of mine, some hard, some gentle, some rich, some coarser. The ironmasters always mix different sorts of mine together, otherwise they will not melt to advantage.

"When the mine is brought in, they take small coal and lay a row of it, and upon that a row of mine, and so alternately, S.S.S., one above another; and, setting the coals on fire therewith, burn the mine.

"The use of this burning is to mollify it, that so it may be broke in small pieces; otherwise, if it should be put into the furnace as it comes out of the earth, it would not melt, but come away whole.

"Care also must be taken that it be not too much burned, for then it will loop, *i.e.*, melt and run together in a mass. After

¹ Ray's *English Words not Generally Used*, published originally in 1672.

it is burnt they beat it into small pieces with an iron sledge, and then put it into the furnace, (which is before charged with coals), casting it upon the top of the coals, where it melts and falls into the hearth in the space of about twelve hours, more or less, and then it runs into a sow.

“The hearth, or bottom of the furnace, is made of a sandstone, and the sides round, to the height of a yard or thereabout. The rest of the furnace is lined up to the top with brick.

“When they begin upon a new furnace, they put fire for a day or two before they begin to blow. Then they blow gently, and increase by degrees, till they come to the height, in two weeks or more.

“Every six days they call a *founday*; in which space they make eight tun of iron, if you divide the whole sum of iron made by the *foundays*; for at first they make less in a *founday*, at last more.

“The hearth, by the force of the fire continually blown, grows wider and wider; so that at first it contains so much as will make a sow of six or seven hundred pound weight, at last it will contain so much as will make a sow of two thousand pound. The lesser pieces, of one thousand pound or under, they call pigs.

“Of twenty-four loads of coals, they expect eight tun of sows. To every load of coals, which consists of eleven quarters, they put a load of mine, which contains eighteen bushels.

“A hearth ordinarily, if made of good stone, will last forty *foundays*,—that is, forty weeks, during which time the fire is never let go out. They never blow twice upon one hearth, though they go upon it not above five or six *foundays*. The cinder, like scum, swims upon the melted metal in the hearth, and is let out once or twice before a sow is cast.

“THE MANNER OF WORKING THE IRON AT THE FORGE
OR HAMMER.

“In every forge or hammer there are two fires at least: the one they call the *finery*, the other the *chafery*.

“At the *finery*, by the working of the hammer, they bring it into *blooms* and *anconies* thus: the sow at first they roll into the fire, and melt off a piece of about three-fourths of a hundred-weight, which, as soon as it is broken off, is called a *loop*. This *loop* they take out with their shingling tongs, and beat it with iron sledges upon an iron plate near the fire, that so it may not fall in pieces, but be in a capacity to be carried under the hammer; under which they, then removing it, and drawing a little water, beat it with the hammer very gently, which forces

cinder and dross out of the matter: afterwards, by degrees, drawing more water, they beat it thicker and strong, till they bring it to a *bloom*, which is a four-square mass of about two feet long. This operation is called *shingling the loop*. This done, they immediately return it to the *finery* again; and after two or three heats in working, they bring it to an *ancony*, the figure whereof is, in the middle, a bar about three feet long, of that shape they intend the whole bar to be made of it; at both ends a square piece, left rough to be wrought at the *chafery*.

“*Note*.—At the *finery* three loads of the biggest coals go to make one tun of iron.

“At the *chafery* they only draw out of the two ends suitable to what was drawn out at the *finery*, in the middle, and so finish the bar.

“*Note 1*.—One load of the smaller coals will draw out one tun of iron at the *chafery*.

“*2*.—They expect that one man and a boy at the *finery* should make two tuns of iron in a week. Two men at the *chafery* should take up, *i.e.* make or work, five or six tun in a week.

“*3*.—If into the hearth where they work the iron sows (whether the *chafery* or the *finery*), you cast upon the iron a piece of brass, it will hinder the metal from working, causing it to sputter about, so that it cannot be brought into a solid piece.”

It is probable that some of the Sussex ironmasters had migrated into Glamorganshire so early as the reign of Henry VIII, for they were clearly located there in the succeeding reign of his son, Edward VI, and able to execute castings of superior character. The ancient fire-back found at Plymouth House was doubtless produced at the old Pontyryn work during the reign of that monarch, as the date of 1553 is found upon it. But the documentary evidence which I possess does not extend to a remoter period than the reign of Elizabeth, when, about the year 1586, one of the partners became bankrupt, and his affairs formed in consequence the subject of considerable litigation. Many of the legal documents are still preserved at the Record Office, among the proceedings of the Court of Chancery during the reign of Queen Elizabeth; and they chiefly relate to a gentleman of the name of Anthony Morley, who had fallen into embarrassed circumstances. The earliest proceedings that I have discovered were commenced in the

shape of a petition addressed by Morley's widow to Sir Christopher Hatton, who was at that time Lord Chancellor, complaining of numerous grievances, and representing that she had lodged a bill of complaint against Sir Edward Stradling, Knight;¹ Thomas Mansell, Anthony Mansell, Watkin Lougher, John Gwyn, and Griffith Williams, Esqrs.; and setting forth that her late husband, Anthony Morley, was, about three years back, the owner of certain freehold lands, tenements, and hereditaments, situated in the parish of Llanwonno in the county of Glamorgan, of the value of £200 or £300; and also interested in certain leases, of which several years were unexpired, in tracts of woods and underwoods called "The Forest"; and in other places in the parish of Llanwonno, of the value of £400 or £500. She alleged that he was likewise possessed of a forge and iron-furnace, together with a third share of an iron-Forge situated in the parishes of Llanwynno and Merthyr Tydfil, and assumed to be worth, with all the tools, implements, and materials connected therewith, "at least £1,000." By reason of bad debts and other "casual misfortunes," she represents that her husband had incurred debts to the amount of about £500, to some of his creditors; among whom were William Mathew, Esq.; Constance Relfe, widow; Nicholas Chatfield, yeoman; John Vyne, and others; and under the supposition that he would become a bankrupt, that they had preferred a petition and bill of complaint to the late Lord Chancellor, Sir Thomas Bromley, asserting that her husband, Anthony Morley, was indebted to them to the amount of £600, and praying that a commission might issue for the sale of all his goods, lands, and tenements, in order to satisfy those and other debts.

¹ These were gentlemen of the highest distinction in Glamorgan-shire. Sir Edward Stradling, Knt., was high sheriff during 1574, 1583, and 1596. Thomas and Anthony Mansell were probably the eldest and second son of Sir Edward Mansell of Margam Abbey. Watkin Lougher was of Tythegston, near Bridgend, and possessed of considerable estates. John Gwynn was one of the Lansanno family. Griffith Williams I am unable to identify.

A commission was accordingly granted, under the great seal, to Sir Thomas Stradling, Knight, and Thos. Mansell, Anthony Mansell, Watkin Lougher, John Gwyn, and Griffith Williams, Esqrs., authorizing them to dispose of all the lands, woods, and works, of the said Anthony Morley, for the purpose of discharging his debts; and in the thirtieth year of the reign of Queen Elizabeth the whole of those woods and works were sold to one Thomas Menyfee.

The commissioners, finding a clear surplus of £500, or £600,¹ made an allowance to the widow of £40 a year, for a period of eight years, out of the proceeds of the sale, to be secured by the purchaser, Menyfee, upon the property. The widow represented that, upon the faith of the commissioners' assurance, she had removed from the dwelling house attached to the iron-works, and had resigned possession of all the works to Menyfee, who, she asserts, carried on the works afterwards, and realised thereby at least £1000, beyond the debts owing by Morley. Shortly after the sale of the works and property, and about the year 1587, Morley died, leaving his widow and four children wholly unprovided for beyond the annuity so directed by the commissioners to be charged upon the estate, and which had been assigned by the widow to her brother Edmund Mitchel, as security for the sum of £140, that had been borrowed from him by her. In her application, she complains that the commissioners and Menyfee had disregarded their promise, and neglected to pay any portion of the annuity of £40 a year, and so deprived the widow and orphans of Morley of

¹ To estimate the amounts which these sums represented with any degree of correctness, the altered value of money must be considered. It may be roughly calculated as twelve to one. In those days the qualification of a county gentleman to be a justice of the peace, was only £20 per annum. Fat oxen were sold for 26s. 8d., and fat wethers and fat calves for 3s. 4d. each, and fat lambs for 12d. In 1570, beef could be bought in gross for a halfpenny a pound. The best pig or goose in a county market could be bought for 4d., a good capon for 3d., a chicken for 1d., and a hen for 2d.

their sole support. At the filing of the complaint, the annuity had continued in arrear upwards of a year, and the complainant confessed that she was unable to produce witnesses to prove the arrangement and promise made by the commissioners, who, she says, "were men of great worshipping, powre and reputacon in their countrey, such as your orators are not by suyte in lawe lykelye to prevaile agaynst:" she then prays the court to appoint another commission to examine the original commissioners on oath as to the facts she alleges. His lordship thereupon appears to have issued the required commission, which consisted of Thomas Lewis,¹ Miles Button, and Edmund Mathews, Esqrs., and Gabriel Lewis, gent., and Edward Jones, gent.; and they made an order, in which the widow of the late Thomas Menyfee, the deceased, concurred; but, inasmuch as she had not been a party to the several suits, nor her deceased husband, the widow of Morley prayed that Menyfee's widow, and administratrix, should be made a party to the cause, and so be rendered liable to fulfil any conditions imposed by the chancellor's decree.

To this complaint Elizabeth Menyfee replies, that the commissioners arranged the sale of Morley's land to Menyfee, and secured the annuity payable to Morley's widow and children upon the property: that annuity she was fully prepared to pay, provided the court would direct how, and in what proportions, the money should be paid, and give instructions for a proper discharge being given for the same, inasmuch as the annuity was payable for the joint benefit of the children and their mother, and that the children were still infants, and therefore unable to give a valid discharge. She further

¹ This Thomas Lewis, Esq., was probably of Vann, a gentleman of great wealth and distinction. He was high sheriff in 1570 and 1587. Myles Button was of Worlton; was high sheriff in 1571 and in 1589. Edward Mathews, Esq., was of Radir, and high sheriff in 1593. Gabriel Lewis was of Llanishan, and was under-sheriff when Lewis of Van was sheriff, in 1587; was high sheriff in 1615. Edward Jones was probably the same who was county clerk in 1579, when James Thomas, Esq., was sheriff.

proceeded to state that the commissioners last appointed to receive evidence and settle the case had made a final order that she should pay to the widow and children of Anthony Morley the sum of £138, in the following proportions, viz., £80 at the next feast of the purification of the Virgin Mary, £58 on the next feast day of Philip and Jacob, and £40 yearly, on every 1st of May, during four years next ensuing, "the saide paiment to be made upon the greate stone at Cardiffe, in the Countie of Glamorgan, in the high streete there between the hours of twelve and foure of the clocke." Elizabeth Menyfee expresses her readiness to fulfil those conditions, but alleges, with regard to the payment of the money, that "her abilitye is weake," and entreats that the court will assign longer periods for payment, and also determine the proportions in which the money shall be paid to the widow and children, and enable a sufficient discharge to be given to her (the widow of Menyfee), and secure her henceforth in the full possession of the property formerly belonging to Anthony Morley.

On the 16th of October, 1590, another case, relating to some of these ironworks, was again brought before the court of chancery, in the form of a petition to Sir Christopher Hatton, the lord chancellor. The petition emanated from Robert Martin, gent., of Aberdare, and Elizabeth his wife, the widow of Thomas Menyfee, and sets forth that Constance Relfe, the wife of James Hobson, gent., and widow of Wm. Relfe, gent., was possessed, as administratrix of the goods and chattels of her late husband, of a third share of an iron forge, furnace, and ironworks, situate in Llanwonno, Glamorganshire, late in the occupation of Anthony Morley, gent., Richard Waters, and John Watkyns, and of all the houses, lands, tenements, yards for charcoal and mine, cinder and iron, watercourses, and all the requirements of an iron establishment; and had agreed to sell to the late Thomas Menyfee her entire interest in those works for the sum of £600, of which the sum of £550 had already been paid, and the remaining £50 remained

to be paid at a day "yett to come." The sale included the entire interest of Constance Relfe, not only in the works, but in the implements and tools connected therewith, and which "she had, or ought to have had, in the saide Countye of Glamorgan, appertaining unto the saide forge, furnaces, ironworks, and all suche woods and underwoods, myne, good leases, chattells, libertie to cutte coole, digge and cary, and all the privileges and authorytyes as the saide Constance and Richard Chenye, of Crawley, in the County of Sussex, Esq., and Gregory Relfe" possessed; and also including her lease of Penbough Farm and lands, in the parish of Llantrissaint, and in all the woods thereon, she also undertaking to furnish to Thomas Menyfee various papers and documents relating thereto. It was, however, complained that those documents were withheld during the lifetime of Thomas Menyfee, and that Constance Rolfe had refused to furnish them up to this time, so causing considerable inconvenience and damage to Elizabeth Menyfee, and being likely to cause considerable further injury to her, if the documents in question were still retained. She, therefore, prays his lordship to order a "writ of subpena" to be directed to Jas. Hobson and Constance his wife, requiring them to appear before the court to answer this complaint: their reply was that, while admitting the representations of the complainants as to the sale of the premises mentioned to Menyfee, they utterly denied that Constance Rolfe entered into any agreement with him for the delivery of any papers relating to such premises and works, and declared that she did not possess any "muniments" relating to the property, or in "anye wise material thereto."

This answer elicited an explication from Robert Morton and his wife Elizabeth, in which they reiterated the statement that such an agreement as they had described positively existed between Thomas Menyfee and Constance Relfe, and that its purport was that he (Menyfee) should shortly have delivered to him sundry

papers and documents relating to the property sold to him, and which the said Constance Rolfe could then have obtained, and repeating that the defendants detained the papers, and refused to give them up to Martin and his wife.

The substance of the whole of the subjoined papers is embraced in this short abstract; and I have not succeeded in discovering any other documents relating to these old works, or their proprietors, at the Records Office. It appears that Constance Rolfe continued to reside at Aberdare after her second marriage, and the disposal of her interest in the ironworks to Menyfee; and it may be assumed that her second husband and herself had become connected with some other iron-making establishments in that neighbourhood.

As I have already stated, the parties concerned in those Glamorganshire works were chiefly Sussex ironmasters, and were, at that time, or had been previously, engaged in the manufacture of iron in that county, and allied to some of the best families therein. Anthony Morley was unquestionably a member of the wealthy and distinguished family of that name in Sussex; and I strongly suspect that he must have been identical with the "Anthony Morley," whose name frequently appears in some of the genealogical accounts of Sussex families, as living at the period when Anthony Morley was the lessee and proprietor of the works in Glamorganshire. The different accounts do not, however, quite accord; for in Berry's *Sussex Genealogies*, he is represented to have been married to Joane, daughter of — Fenne, and widow of Edward Shirley, while in the *Visitation of Sussex*, contained in the Harleian Collection, the name of his wife is not given, and he is simply described as having "died without issue." On the other hand, the Anthony Morley, who had removed into Glamorganshire, left a widow and four children, who were named respectively Herbert, William, Margaret, and Anne. His widow appears, after his death, to have married her late husband's

partner, John Watkyns. I am unable to prove indisputably that the "Anthony Morley," of Sussex, and he of Glamorganshire, were identical; but the supposition that they were so, is not without probability: my impression is that he was twice married, and that after the assumed death of his first wife, he proceeded into Glamorganshire, and, marrying and dying there, his subsequent marriage, and the particulars of his children, did not appear in any of the subsequent Visitations of Sussex. We find that John Morley, whom I suppose to be his third brother, made his will in 1563, and directed a hospital to be founded at Lewes, while it appears that Anthony Morley, our Welsh ironmaster, died about the year 1586, and may have been considerably advanced in life when he died. As, lending some slight additional probability to my view, I may mention that his eldest son was named Herbert; and that this was probably a family name, as the grandson of Anthony's supposed brother William was called Herbert, and was a colonel in the army, and M.P. for Lewes, during the government of Oliver Cromwell. If my impression be correct, and the two Anthonys were identical, this person must have been a member of one of the most distinguished families in the county of Sussex. The family is known as that of Morley of Glynde, which manor belonged, at a very early period, to the lords of Glynde; but, by the marriage of a heiress, Dionesia, to Sir Richard Whalley, knt., the property was carried into that family. It continued in their possession during five generations, when Joan, daughter and coheiress of Sir John Whalley, of Glynde, knt., married Nicholas Morley, of Winnington, Lancashire, and so carried the estate and manorial rights of Glynde to the Morleys. The property remained in the possession of that distinguished family until about the year 1680, when it passed in marriage, with the widow of Wm. Morley, to John Trevor, eldest son of Sir John Trevor, secretary of state to Charles II, since which its proprietorship has undergone numerous changes. Anthony Morley was the second son of Thos.

Morley of Glynde, who appears to have left six sons, whose names were respectively William, Anthony, John, Thomas, Edmund, and Ralph. The grandson of William, the eldest son, as I have stated before incidentally, was Herbert Morley of Glynd, a colonel in the army, M.P. for Lewes in the two last parliaments of Charles I and the last of Cromwell, and also one of the regicides. He died in the year 1667, aged fifty-two; and was then possessed of ironworks at Hawksden, which descended to his sons. The Morleys were a family of ironmasters; and, like many of the great landholders of Sussex engaged in the trade, had added greatly to their wealth by those operations.¹

The Morleys bore for their arms: *Sa.* three leopard's faces *or*, jessant a fleur-de-lis *arg.*; their crest being a man in complete armour, ppr. garnished *or*, in his dexter hand a baton of the last; across his body a sash.

The leopard's head jessant-de-lys was a peculiar bearing derived from the achievements of the English in France during the wars of Edward III, who is said to have bestowed those arms upon some of his followers, in commemoration of their having served under him in his victorious campaigns.

The person who may be considered next in prominence in this inquiry is Constance Relfe, who belonged to the distinguished family of Cheney, and was the sister of Richard Cheney, Esquire, of Cralle, who was an extensive ironmaster in Sussex, and possessed some interest in the Glamorganshire works. Constance Cheney married William Relfe, the second son of William Relfe, of Mayfield, in the county of Sussex; and, after his death, became the wife of James Hobson,

¹ The family of Morley has not yet become extinct in Glamorganshire, and several of the descendants may yet be found in the district. At one period some members of the family were connected with the old furnace at Melincourt, in the Vale of Neath. An old gentleman of the name of Morley lived, some years back, near Whitchurch; and his grandson is now residing at Blackwood as a highly respectable surveyor. Many of the descendants may be found in the Taff Valley.

described as of Aberdare, but most probably a native of Sussex or Kent. There were two families of that name in Sussex, one being of Shipley, and the other of Chichester; but they did not bear similar arms. I have, however, failed to obtain any particulars of the Hobson who married Constance Relfe. By her first husband, Relfe, she had one son and two daughters; but I can find no further traces of them.

Cralle is situated in the parish of Warbleton, and the ancient mansion of that name, of which there is a drawing¹ in the Burrell manuscripts, belonged to the Cheneyes. They owned the Cralle, or Crawley furnace and forge, and were wealthy and distinguished ironmasters, allied to many of the landed aristocracy. The Cheneyes of Cralle bore for their arms: *Erm.* on a bend *sa.*, three martlets *arg.*, with a crescent for difference. Crest: a bull's scalp *or*, attired *arg.* In that parish also resided the well known martyr, Richard Woodman, who, with nine other protestants, was burned at the stake at Lewes, in the year 1557. The site of his ironwork is still pointed out upon a brook in the parish. His operations must have been very extensive; for in one of his examinations before the bishop of Winchester,² he says, "Let me go home, I pray you, to my wife and children, to see them kept, and the poore folke that I woulde set aworke, by the helpe of God. I have set aworke *a hundred persons*, ere this, all the yeare together." Woodman is held in high respect, and mentioned as a worthy and pious man, most ardently devoted to religion, and conscientiously opposed to the popish system. He was unquestionably a most devoted martyr, who, for conscience's sake, and that he might remain true to his God, gave up his life by a painful and horrible death.

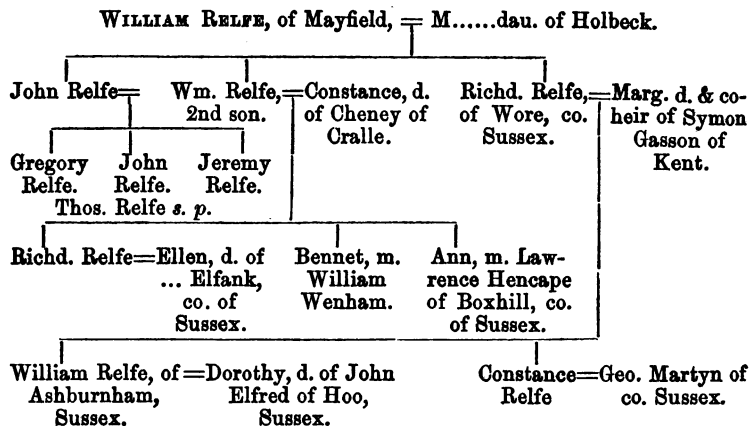
Gregory Relfe, again, whose name is mentioned as a proprietor of some of these works, was one of the sons of John Relfe, the elder brother of William Relfe, and

¹ Burrell MSS., British Museum.

² The merciless Gardiner.

consequently a nephew by marriage of Constance Relfe. The Relfes were Sussex ironmasters, and owned the works at Mayfield. They afterwards became possessed of the Ashburnham property, which was obtained by William Relfe, by purchase from Sir John Ashburnham; and were a family of considerable wealth and importance. The accompanying pedigree shows their relation to Constance Relfe, and the connection of the Relfe family with the Glamorganshire ironworks. Their arms were *sa.* two chef *erm.* between three greyhounds' heads erased *or* collared *gu.*

PEDIGREE OF RELFE.



The name of Monyfee is very uncommon. I have failed to learn any particulars of Thomas Menyfee, the successor of Anthony Morley, in the occupation of the works. The family was Kentish, and unquestionably of considerable respectability. They were probably connected with some of the numerous works at that period in operation in the wealds of Kent or Sussex. Originally, the family emigrated into Kent from Devonshire; and, so far as relates to that branch, appear in the Heralds' Visitations for that county, though I have failed to discover any trace of Thomas Menyfee.

In Glamorganshire, the name appears to have become quite extinct.

I have been equally unsuccessful in gleaning any particulars of Robert Martyn, the second husband of Elizabeth Menyfee; but it appears that he resided at Aberdare after his marriage. My impression is that he likewise was a native either of Sussex or Kent.

Edward Mitchell, the brother of Morley's widow, is described as of Weston, in the county of Hereford. He was probably an ironmaster also, as Weston is situated in the ancient iron district of Penyard, Bollitree, etc., and very near to the outcrop of the Forest of Dean coal-field, where very extensive operations were at one period carried on. The name of Mitchel occurs as one of the partners of Sir Richard Martyn in the wireworks of Tintern Abbey, nearly at the same period, 1594, and he may possibly have been the same individual.

John Watkyns, the second husband of Bridget Morley, has altogether eluded my researches; but his partner Richard Waters very probably belonged to the family that sold the Glyn, or Trosnant furnace, at Pontypool, to the Hanbury family, and who appear to have possessed several ironworks in that neighbourhood. One of the last descendants of the Waterses was an old man of the same name, who appears to have clung to the spot of his ancestors' prosperity, and to have always resided near the old Trosnant furnace. He possessed numerous traditions relating to these works, the recollection of which probably few have retained. He died about thirty years back, at a great age; and I can remember his long white beard and patriarchal appearance very distinctly.

I have failed to obtain any authentic information relative to the operations at these works, subsequent to the period to which my observations relate. It is, however, represented, by the tradition floating in the district, and generally credited, that they continued at work during a further period of about sixty years; and were then partially demolished, about the year 1645,

by some of the troops of Cromwell. The proprietors of the works at Pontygwaith and Pontyryn, if not of others also, are represented to have been, at that period, a Mr. Anthony Lewis, of Troedyrhiw, near Merthyr Tydfil; a Mr. Henry Cook, of Tyr Cook, on Cefn y Forest; and another gentleman, whose name I have failed to ascertain, but who resided at Ty Mawr, Pontygwaith. This Mr. Anthony Lewis is said to have been a warm adherent of the royalists, and hence the destruction of the ironworks by Cromwell; for we find that he adopted a similar policy in Sussex, by demolishing all the works that belonged to members of the cavalier party in that county.

W. LLEWELLIN, F.S.A.

Glanwern, Pontypool.
Nov. 1862.

APPENDIX.

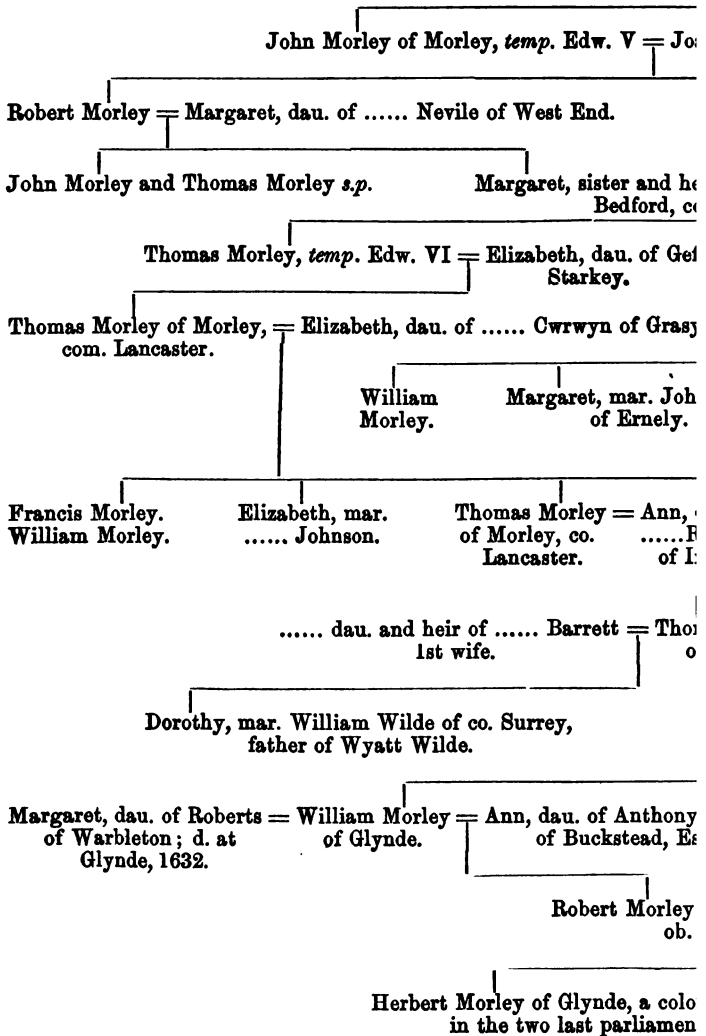
Among the records deposited in the Public Record Office, London, to wit, bills and answers in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, M.M. 6, No. 53, it is thus contained:

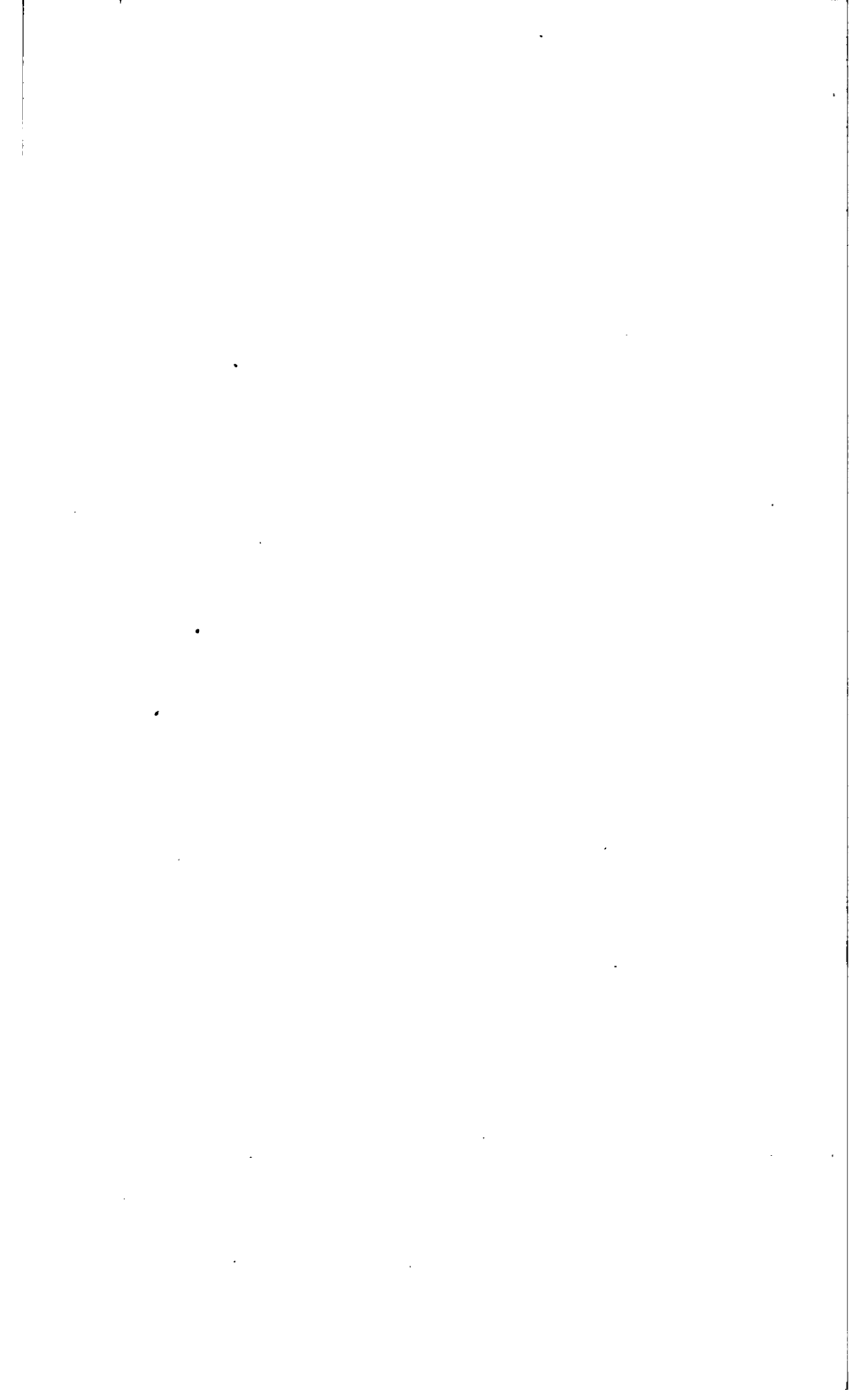
Novemb'r 1589.

To the Righte Honorable S'r Christopher Hatton of
the moste noble Order of the garter Knighte
Lord Chancellor of England

Moste humb.....wen unto your Lordeshipp' your daylie Orators Edward Michell of Weston in the countie of Hereforde John Watkins and Brigett his wyef aswell on their owne behalf as also for and on the behalfe of Herbert Morley Willyam Morley Margarette ...eley and Anne Morley the children and orphans of Anthonie Morley deceased begotten on the bodie of the saide Bridget late his wyef. That whereas before this tyme (that is to saye) in the terme of St. Michaell in the ...xth & xxxth yeare of her Ma't's raigne your saide orators did exhibit unto your Lordeshipp in this honorable Courte a bill of complaynte agaynste S'r Edward Stradlinge Knighte Thomas Maunsell Anthonie Maunsell Watkin Lowgher John Gwyn.... Griffith Williams esquiers, complayninge thereby, That whereas the saide Anthonie Morley deceased then of late (that is to saye) aboute three yeares then paste beinge not onlie seised in

RICHARD MORLEY, of Morley in Lanca





his demeane as of fee of and in certen freeholde ...des tenem'ts and hereditam'ts lyinge in the p'ishes of Llanwyn'o in the countie of Glamorgan to the valewe of twoe or three hundred pounds. But was also possessed as of his p'per goodes and chattelles of and in dyvers and sondrie leasses for ...me of sondrie yeares yet enduringe of and uppon sondrie woodes and underwoodes called by the name of the forest and by other names in Llanwyn'oe aforesaid beinge to the valewe of foure or fyve hundred poundes. And was also possessed of one ...on worke or forge and of an iron fornace & of a thirde p'te of an iron forge lyinge in the p'ishes of Lanwynoe & M'ther Tydvill in the saide countie of Glamorgan, wth saide iron workes forges and fornaces together wth the implem'ts furniture iron or iron stone and other necessaries thereof weare of the ...lewe of a thowsand poundes at the least. And soe beinge seised and possessed and beinge by trade an iron' mayster, and havinge by the meanes of badd debto's and other casuall mysfortunes fallen behynd hand wth some of his credito's to the ...ewe of fyve hundredreth poundes or thereabouts, yt soe happened that he the same Anthonie Morley grewe unable to make p'sente paym't of his debts aforesaide. By meanes whereof one Will'm Mathewe esquier Constans Ralf wydowe ...icholas Chatfyeld yeoman John Vyne and certen others beinge the credito's of the same Anthonie Morley supposinge the saide Anthonie to beco'me banckerupt did aboute the moneth of Marche in the xxviiith yeare of her Ma't's raigne ...ferr their petic'on and bill of complaynte to the Righte Honorable S'r Thomas Bromley Knighte deceased then Lorde Chauncello' of England declaringe the saide Anthonie to be indebted unto them and others in or aboute the so'me of sixe ...dred poundes and that he had become banckerupt and absented hymself, and therefore prayed a co'mission myghte be awarde for the sall of all his goods chattelles lands and tenem'ts towards the satisfacc'on of the debts aforesaid accordinge ... the statute in that behalf made and p'vyded. Accordinge to w^{ch} their requeste in that behalf unto the saide late Lord Chauncello' made, yt then pleased his Lordeshipp' to awarde furthe a co'mission under her Highnes greate seale of ...gland unto S'r Edward Stradlinge Knight, Thomas Maunsell esquier Anthonie Maunsell esquier, Griffith Willyams esquier, Watkin Lowgher and John Gwyn' and to so'me others directed authorisinge and enhablinge them or anie three of them to ... and execute all and whatsoever apperteyned by them to be don for and concerninge the sale of the saide lands tenem'ts goodes, chattelles and leases of the saide Anthonie towards the aunsweringe and satisfyinge of the saide

sev'all debtes and for doinge and ...ecutinge of all that w^{ch} by the saide statute of banckerupts was to be don' and executed as by the same co'mission awarded out of this courte playnlie appereth: By vertue of w^{ch} co'mission they the saide S'r Edward Stradlinge Thomas Maunsell ...nthonie Maunsell Watkin Lowgher, John Gwyn' and Griffith Willyams did aboute the xvijth of Maye in the said xxvijth yeare of her Ma't's raigne make p'sente sale unto one Thomas Menyffe as well of all and ev'y the saide freeholds landes leases iron'workes goods ...hattells and other things w^{ch} were the saide Anthonie Morleyes as then in the whole amountinge to the valewe of xvj^o. upon w^{ch} sale so made the same co'missioners findinge as then in s'plusage fyve or sixe hundred poundes de claro (all debtes beinge ...ischarged) they the same co'myssoners did for the relief succo' ayde and maynetenance of your saide oratrix Bridgitt Watkins then wyef of the saide Anthonie and of her foure poore desolate children w^{ch} shee had by the same Anthonie assigne ...ppoynte and allot unto her the said Bridgit the so'me of xlii. by yeare to be payde unto her ev'ye yeare duringe eighte yeres then to co'me oute of all the saide ironworkes leasses and woodes. W^{ch} yerelie allowaunce stipend and exhibition for and in ...onsiderac'on of the overplus of the value of the saide lands and goodes exceedinge the so'me of the debts. they the saide S'r Edward Stradlinge Thomas Maunsell Anthonie Maunsell Watkyn Lowgher John Gwyn' and Griffith Willyams the co'missioners before named did faythefullie p'myse assume and undertake to and wth the said Briget one of your saide orato's to answeare satisfye and paie unto her yerelie accordinge to the saide composic'on. And for their securitie and indempnitie in that behalf did inforce the saide Thomas Myniffe unto whom or to whose use the saide sale was made to enter into good and sufficient sev'all bondes unto the saide co'missioners in dyvers and sondrie greate so'mes of money aswell for theire savinge harmles in that behalf as also for the paymente of the same xlii. yerelie to the saide Brigett out of the premisses, w^{ch} bondes to this daie are remayninge wth the same co'missioners. In considerac'on whereof and upon an assured hope and affiaunce conceived by her the same Brigitt of and for the trewe and unfayned p'formaunce of the saide agreem't made by the same co'missioners in manner and forme aforesaid shee the said Brigett and all her familie did remove oute of her then dwellinge house & the grounds thereto belonginge and from all the saide ironworkes and other co'modities gevinge place to the saide co'missioners and to the saide Thomas Myniffe and to suche as they had made over the same premisses

by sale, whoe had & tooke the quyet and peaceable possession of the same accordinglie and ever sythence have remayned therein wthout interrupc'on to the benefit p'fitt and gayne of the saide Thomas Myniffe of a thousand pounds at the leaste over and besydes as muche as would satsfye all the due debts of the saide Anthonie Morley w^{ch} he justlie did then owe unto anie p'son or p'sons. Shortlie after w^{ch} sale made and thexecutinge of the said co'mission (that is to saie abouts xvj^{en} monethes then past, he the saide Anthonie Morley dyed leavinge nothinge at all for or towards the maynetena'nce supportac'on or stay of lyvinge of your saide poore oratrix or of her foure small children other then the hope of the true paymente of the said stipend of xl*li*. p' annu' duringe the saide eighte yeares. In respect whereof youre said oratrix Briget in her widowehood beinge urged wth extremetie of neede not havinge wherewth otherwyse to relieve or succo' herself did borrowe and take to lone of your saide orato' Edmond Michell beinge her naturall brother dyvers so'mes of moneye amountinge to vij^{xii} at the leaste and for the repayment thereof was contented and did agree that the moytie of the said an'uall payment of fortie pounds should be yearelie aunswered unto the saide Edmond Mychell untill the said seavenscore pounds shoulde be fullie aunswered, and the residewe thereof to be to herself. But so yt is Righte Honorable Lorde that the saide S'r Edward Stradlinge Knighte Thomas Maunsell Anthonie Maunsell Watkin Lowgher John Gwyn' and Griffith Willyams not regardinge theire p'myse and assumpc'on aforesaide nor yet respectinge thextreme myserie to the w^{ch} the saide Brigett and her poore orphans were by the meanes aforesaide broughte unto did by themselves or anie of them neyther by the said Thomas Myniffe nor by anie other satsfye content or paye unto your saide orato's nor to anie of them the saide an'uall payment of xl*li*. p' annu' nor anie p'te thereof, but the same dothe remayne behynd unpayde for this whole yeare nowe past ended in Maie last past. And albeyt they the saide co'missioners have bene joyntlie and sev'allie by all humble and gentle meanes of entreatie petic'on and desyre requested to make paymente of the saide arrereges past and to contynewe the paymente thereof in tyme to co'me accordinge to their owne voluntarie agreement made uppon greate and good considerac'on them thereunto movinge, yet that to doe they thabove named co'missioners and ev'ye of them have utterlie refused and denyed to doe and do yet refuse and wthstand contrarie to their saide p'myse and agreem't and contrarie to all righte equitie and good conscience and to your orato's extreme hynderaunce and utter wndoinge.

In tender considerac'on whereof and forasmuche as the saide an'ual paym't of xlii. is thonlie staye of lyvinge w^{ch} yo' saide orato's John Watkins & Brigett his nowe wyef have for and towards the mayneten'ance and bringinge up of the orphanes of the saide Anthonie Morley. And for that the same fortie pounds is all w^{ch} cometh in lewe recompence and satisfaction of the saide overplus of the goodes and landes of the said Anthonie beinge litle lesse worthe then a thowsand pounds at the leaste and for that your orato' as the case standeth are remediless by course of co'mon lawe for that they can not p'duce anie witnesses w^{ch} were p'sente at the tyme of the makinge of the said p'myse by the co'missioners to and wth the saide Brigett for the paym't of the saide fortie poundes p' annu'. And for that the said co'missioners are men of greate worshipp powre and reputac'on in their countrey suche as your orato's are not by syte in lawe lykelye to prevaile agaynste. And for y^t the trewthe of all the premisses can not anie waie be revayled or broughte to lighte more aptlie or more fullie in ev'y respect then by oathes of the saide co'missioners to w^{ch} oathe by course of lawe your orato's can not compell them soe as your poore orato's are utterlie remediles in and conc'ninge the premisses unles by your L. good ayde and favo' in equitie they be in these hard extremeties relieved uppon w^{ch} bill your said orato's then prayed p'ces of subpena agaynste the saide S'r Edward Stradlinge Thomas Maunsell Anthonie Maunsell Watkin Lowgher John Gwyn and Griffith Wilyams accordinge to w^{ch} requeste p'ces beinge graunted by your Lordeshipp and served uppon the same then defend'ts they the saide defend'ts thereunto answered and after replicac'on and rejoinder put in the p'ties therein descended to yssue and shortlie after a co'mission was awarded out of this honorable courte for the examinac'on of witnesses betwene the same p'ties unto Thomas Lewes, Myles Button and Edmund Mathewe esquiers and to Gabriell Lewes and Edward Jones gent. directed returnable into this courte this instante terme of St. Michaell. By mediac'on of w^{ch} co'missioners a finall end and order was taken by and wth the consent aswell of yo' saide orato's then p'sent as also of one Elizabeth Myniffe wydowe late the wyef and administratrix of the goods and chattelles of Thomas Myniffe deceased whom the whole cause and matter in the saide former bill declared doth cheeffie and principallie concerne, as by a certificate made by the saide latter co'missioners of their doinges in that behalf certefyed unto yo' hono' and remayninge of record in this honorable courte more at lardge appeareth w^{ch} finall end and order had and taken by consent of all p'ties is by them moste humblie desyred to be

decreed by your hono' and to be entred of recorde in this courte accordingle. Nowe so yt is righte honourable lorde that forasmuche as the saide Elizabeth Myniffe wyddowe beinge administratrix of the goodes and chattelles of the said Thomas Myniffe her late husband is neyther p'tie nor privie to the said former bill neyther yet was the said Thomas Myniffe her late husband made p'tie to the same albeyt the matter cheeffie concerned hym. And for that by occasion thereof the saide wyddowe is not to be in anie wyse bounde by the saide order and decree so to be set downe in the premisses by your com' notwthstandinge her voluntarie consent & submission offered to p'forme the same as is aforesaide, Therefore and to that intent and p'pose that shee the saide Elizabeth Myniffe shalbe made a p'tie in courte to the saide cause and that shee her executo's and administrato's shalbe lyable and bound to p'forme your hono's decree and order to be set downe in the premiss' accordinge to the tenor of the saide certificate & accordinge to the trewe meaninge of the same. May yt therefore please your Lordshipp' to graunte her Mat's moste gracious wryt of sub pena unto her the saide Elizabeth Myniffe to be directed thereby comaundinge her p'sonnallie or by her atturues sufficientlie authorised to appeare before your honor forthewth to aunswere to the premisses and to stand to suche order and direction therein as to your Lordshipp' in equitie shall seeme convenient. And your said orato's shall daylie prairie to God for your long lyef in healt he wth muche increase of hono'.

WA. WYNTER.

Among the Records deposited in the Public Record Office, London, to wit, Bills & Answers in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, MM 6, No. 53, it is thus contained:—

The Aunswere of Elizabeth Mynefee wyddowe defend' to the bill of compl' of Edmonde Mychell John Watkyns & Brygett his wyffe compl't' aswell for themselves as for and on' the behalfe of Herbert Morley Will'm Morley Margaret Morley & Anne Morley the children of Anthonye Morley deceased begotten on the bodye of the saide Brygett late his wyffe.

The advaunt. . of execept'on to the inc'tentye insuffycyencye and untruthes of the saide bill of Compl' unto this defend' nowe and att all tymes hereaft' saved, she the saide defend' for aunswere hereunto sayeth that true it is that the saide Anthonye Morley in the saide bill of compl' named beyng become

a bankrupt a comyssion' thereuppon was awarded out of this . . onorable Courte accordinge to an estatute in that behalfe made conc'nyng bankrupt', w^{ch} was directed unto the saide S'r Edwarde Stradlinge Knight Thomas Maunsell Anthonye . . aunsell John Gwyn' and Gryffyth Wyllyams Esquires and to certe'n others gevyng them or any three of them auctho-rytye to execute and do all and whatsoever was to be donn' and . . xecuted against the saide Anthonye Morley by force of the saide statute by reason whereof the saide S'r Edwarde Stradlyng Thomas Maunsell Anthonye Maunsell John Gwyn and Gryffyth Wyllyams (well knowinge and understandinge that the saide Anthonye Morley was a bankrupt and was to be used as a bankrupt accordinge to the saide estatute and that . . th. out the sale of his goods chattalls lands and tenem' his creditors to whome he was indebted could nott be paide no' satisfied of sutch detts as were due unto them by the said . . nthonye Morley. They the saide S'r Edwarde Stradlinge Thomas Maunsell, Anthony Maunsell John Gwyn and Gryffyth Williams dyd (for the satisfacc'on and paym' of the saide detts by and wth the consent and agreem't of the saide Anthony . . orley and of his saide creditors) b'gain and sell unto the saide Thomas Mynefee in the saide bill also named late husbnde of this defend' and to his heires executors and assignes all' the . . ods, chattalls lands and tenem'ts of the saide Anthony Morley w^{ch} by the saide S'r Edwarde Stradlinge Thomas Maunsell Anthony Maunsell John Gwyn and Gryffyth Williams . . ere valued att nyne hundred foure score and nyne pounds foure shillings and eight pence uppon the sale whereof the saide Thomas Mynefee became bounden unto the saide S'r . . dward Stradlinge Thomas Maunsell Anthony Maunsell John Gwyn and Gryffith Williams by his writinge obligatorye in a greate som'e of monye for the paiement unto the saide . . nthony Morley to the saide Brigett his then wyff and to the saide foure children the some of fortye pounds yerely for the t'me and space of eight yeres beinge the overplus, and . . hat w^{ch} remained over and above so much as was sufficient to paie the said creditors the first paim' of w^{ch} saide yerely paym' of fortye pounds shoulde begyn' att the Feast of the Purificac'on of the blessed Vyrgen Marye in the xxixth yere of her majesties raigne and was appoynted towards the mayntinance of the saide Anthony Morley his saide wyff and children. And the saide Thomas Mynefee dyd farder take order wth the saide creditors for the satisfacc'on of sutch detts as was due unto them by the saide Anthony Morley after w^{ch} the saide Thomas Mynefee (in his life time) paied unto the saide Anthonye Morley (in his liff time) the some of fortie

three pounds threttene shillings and foure pence of lawful monye of England of the saide yerely paym' of fortie pounds so appoynted to be paied as is aforesaide. And afterwards the saide Anthony Morley dyed and the saide Thomas Mynefee also dyed intestate after whose decease the administrac'on of all the goods and chattalls of the saide Thomas Mynefee was com'itted unto this defend'. And for that the saide yerely paym' of fortie pounds was appointed and limited to be paied unto the saide Anthony Morley and to his saide wyff and children towards there maintyn'nce and that after the decease of the saide Anthony Morley nether the saide Thomas Mynefee nor this defend' did or could understand or knowe in what sorte the saide yerely paym' shuld be made unto the saide Brigett and her saide children howe mitche to the saide Brigett or howe mytch to the saide children, and for that also the saide children then were and yet are infants wthin age and not able to geve anye discharge for the receypt of anye monye, the saide Thomas Mynefee (after the decease of the saide Anthony Morley) dyd forbear to paye any monye of the saide yerely paym'. And for that cause this defend' hath don' the lyke ever sythence the decease of her saide husband Thomas Mynefee, by reason whereof there rested to paye of the saide yerely paym' of fortie poundes att the time of the decease of the saide Anthony Morley the som'e of twoo hundred threescore threttene pounds sixe shillings and eight pence for wante of paim' whereof the saide comp'ts exhibited a bill of compl' into this Honorable Courte againste the saide S'r Edward Stradlinge Thomas Maunsell Anthony Maunsell John Gwyn and Gryffyth Williams whereunto they made aunswere and thereuppon they disended to issue and a com'yssion was awarded out of this Honorabell' Court for examinac'on of witness betwene the saide p'tyes dyrected unto Thomas Lewes Miles Button and Edmond Mathewes esquires and to Gabriell Lewes and Edward Jones gentlemen whereuppon by mediac'on of some of the saide com'ission's a finall end and order was taken by and wth the consent aswell' of the saide compts then p'sent as also of this defend' to this effecte folowinge that is to saie that this defend' her executors or administrators shall paie to the saide John Watkynes and Brygett his wyff twoo of the saide compl's and to the saide children the some of twoo hundred foure score and eightene pounds in man' and forme folowinge, videlit' foure score pounds att the feast of the Purificac'on of the blessed virgen Marye next com'inge fiftie eight pounds on the feaste daye of Phelipp and Iacobbe thapostles then' next folowinge and fortie pound yerely on everye first

daye of Maye for the space and t'me of foure yeres then next folowinge the saide paim' to be made att or uppen' the greate stone at Cardyffe in the countie of Glamorgan' in the high streete there betwene the howers of twelve and foure of the clocke in the after none of the saide dayes and feasts in full satisfacc'on and paym' of the saide former yerely paym' of fortie pounds limited and appointed to be paide unto the saide Anthony Morley his wyffe and children as is aforesaide w^{ch} end and order in forme aforesaide made and taken by the saide com'ysion's is by them c'tified into this honorabell' courte to thentent to have the same decreed and to be certenlye sett downe by this Honorable Court howe mutche of the said some of twoo hundred foure score and eightene pounds shalbe paied to the saide John Watkines and his wyff and howe mytche to the saide chyldren and to thentent also that this defend' myght be sufficiently acquitted and discharged of sutche paim's and might quietly enjoye sutche lands goods and chattalls (nowe in her occupac'on) as were the saide Anthonye Morleyes duringe her estate and interest therein as by the same c'tificat more att large it doth and maye appere. And forasmytche as this defend' is very willinge and desirous to be noe farder troubled touchinge the p'misses and to observe and kepe the saide order and ende as farr forthe as her abilytie will stretch she this defend' is contented and pleased to paye unto the saide John Watkyns and Brygett and to the saide chyldren the saide som'e of twoo hundred foure score and eightene pounds in satisfacc'on of the saide former yerely paym' of fortie pounds so as she maye be sufficiently discharged against the saide children butt for that her abylitye is weake she doth humbly beseche this honorable court that it will please the same to order for her longer dayes of paym' then by the saide comissioners is sett downe and she this defend' doth also most humblye desire this honorable court that it maye be decreed and ordered by the same howe mutche of the saide sum'e of twoo hundred foure score and eightene pounds shalbe paied unto the saide John Watkyns and his saide wyff and howe mitche unto the saide children and that she upon those paym'ts to be made accordinge to the order of this court maye receyve a sufficient discharge in that behalfe or be sufficiently acquitted thereof against the saide chyldren and this defend' doth moreover humblye praye this honorable court that it maye also be ordered and decreed by the same that she this defend' and her assignes maye quietlye have hold and enjoye all sutche lands goods and chattalls (w^{ch} sometime were of the saide Anthony Morley) as nowe are in her tenure manurance or occupac'on

duringe sutche estate t'me and int'rest as she nowe hath therein wthout lett or int'rups'on of the saide comp'ts and ether of them and of all other p'son and p'sons clayminge by from or under them or anye of them to wth decree (in forme aforesaide to be made) touchinge and cont'ninge the p'misses) this defend' doth most humblye submitt her selfe det'munge (wth all rev'ence) to obey the same wthout that that any other thinge or things matt' or matt's in the saide bill of compl' conteyned materiall or effectuall to be aunswere unto and nott in this aunswere sufficiently trav'sed and denyed or confessed and avoyded are true.

PYNB.

Among the records deposited in the Public Record Office, London, to wit, bills and answers in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, bundle M.M. 8, No. 36, it is thus contained :

Evelyn 16, Oct. 1590.

To the Right Honorable S'r Christofer Hatton of the noble order of the garter Knight Lord Chauncelor of Englande,

In most humble wise complayninge shewe unto yo' good Lordshipp yo' daylye orators Rob'te Marten of Aberdare in the countye of Glamorgan gentleman and Elizabeth his wiff administratryxe of the goods and chattalls of Thomas Menyfee gentleman deceased, That where one Cunstance Relfe late the wiff of one Will'm Relfe gentleman deceased and nowe the wiff of one James Hobson gent. was in her widowhedd lawfully possessed for div's yeres yett endureinge (as aministratryxe of the goods and chattalls of the saide Will'm Relfe) of and in the third p'te p'p'tye and porc'on of c'ten iron' forgs furnaces and iron' works scituate and beinge in Lanvuno in the saide countye of Glamorgan' late in the tenure occupac'on or possession of one Anthonye Morley gent. Richerd Waters & John Watkyns, and of all the howses lands tenem'ts places to laye cole myne seynder and iron' in water courses, water bayes, streames, weares, dam'es, fludgats, sluics, banks, bayes and other easem'ts and co'modities to the saide iron' forgs furnaces and iron' works belonginge. And so beinge thereof possessed by her dede indented made in the tyme of her widowhedd bearinge date the tenthe daie of Februarye in the eight and twenteth yere of the raigne of oure soveraigne ladie the quenes majesty that nowe is (for and in considerac'on of the so'me of sixe hundred pounds of lawfull' money of England unto her paid and to be paid by the saide Thomas Menyfee, his executo's administrato's and

assignes whereof the so'me of fyve hundred and fiftye pounds p'cell of the saide so'me of sixe hundred pounds is alreddie paid and fiftye pounds resydewe of the saide so'me of sixe hundred pounds is to be paied att a daye yett to come) did graunt b'gaine, sell assigne and sett over unto the saide Thomas Menyfee all the estate right title interest possission and t'me of yeres w^{ch} she the saide Cunstance Relfe as administratrixe of the goods and chattalls of the saide Will'm Rolfe o' otherwise then hadd o' of right ought to have of and in all or any the saide iron' forges furnaces or iron' works and of and in all other the p'misses wth ther app'ten'ces together wth all suche tooles implem'ts and necessaryes and all suche p'te porc'on and interest of tooles implem'ts and necessaryes as she the saide Cunstance then hadd o' ought to have in the saide countye of Glamorgan app'teyninge unto the saide forges furnaces o' iron works and all suche woods and underwoods myne goods leases chattalls lib'tyes to cutt coole dygge and carye and all other p'vilegs and aucthorityes as the saide Cunstance and one Richerd Cheynye of Crawley in the countye of Sussex esquire and Gregory Relfe o' any of them then hadd o' of right ought to have wthin the saide countye of Glamorgan and all her estate right interest and terme of yeres of and in the leases o' farme of Penboughe in the p'isshe of Lantryssyan in the saide countye of Glamorgan and of the woods growinge and renuinge in and upon the same. To have and to hold all and sing'ler the p'misses wth there app'tenanc' unto the saide Thomas Menyfee his executors administrato' and assignes from the daie of the date of the saide dede indented for and duringe all suche int'est t'me and tyme as the saide Cunstance then hadd o' of right ought to have of o' in the same, att w^{ch} tyme it was agreede betwene the saide Thomas Menyfee and Cunstance Relfe that the said Thomas Menyfee his executo's administrators... assignes should (wthin shorte tyme after) have (by the deliv'ye of the saide Cunstance divers evidenc' ded' writing' leases escript' ch'res and mynym'ts cons'ninge and touchinge the p'misses so bargained and solde w^{ch} she then hadd in her custodie and possession. Nowe so it is if it may please yo' good Lordshipp that when the saide Thomas Menyfee hadd payed p'cell of the saide so'me of sixe hundred pounds (and that the saide Cunstance stode assured for the paym't of the resydewe thereof she the saide Cunstance made litell reconinge o' accompte of the deliv'ye of the saide evidenc' ded' writing' leases escript' charters and mynym'ts no' of her p'mise or agreem't in that behalfe made and did nott onlye all the liff tyme of the saide Thomas Menyfee) denye and refuse to make deliv'ye of them unto him

althoughe he was thereunto often required and desired, butt also hath don' the like unto the saide Elizabeth one of your Lordshipp' saide orators whilst she was widowe, and to youre saide orators sythence there ent'maryage by reason whereof aswell the saide Thomas Menyfee in his liff tyme as your Lordshipp' saide orators sythence his decease have nott nor could nor yett can have and enjoye a greate p'te of the p'misses b'gayned, sold and graunted unto the saide Thomas Menyfee by the saide Cunstance in maner and forme aforesaide, by w^{ch} means the saide Thomas Menyfee in his liff tyme was (and your saide orators sythence his decease have ben') muche hurted hendered and damaged, and yett are like to receyve more losse, hurte and da'mage to there greate impov'isshem't unles your good Lordshipp moved wth pitye do ayde and assiste yo' saide orators in this behalfe. In tender consyd'ac'on whereof and for asmuche as the saide Thomas Menyfee in his liff tyme could nott and that your Lordshipp saide orators sythence his decease also have nott no' yett can have and enjoye a greate p'te of the p'misses b'gayned, sold and graunted by the saide Cunstance nor hadd not any remedye to come by the same for want of the saide evidenc', ded' writing' leases escript' ch'res and minym'ts by reason whereof they have susteyned and borne greate losse and hinderance and have ben' muche p'judyced thereby and yett are like to have more and can nott thereof be releived nor recompenced att the hands of the saide Cunstance by any course to be taken att o' by the co'mon lawes of this realme nor can come by or geate the saide writing' escript' leases ded' evidenc' ch'res or mynym'ts otherwise then by the ayde and helpe of yo' good Lordshipp in this behalfe w^{ch} your saide orators hope that your Lordshipp of your accustomed clemencye and goodnes will aforde and yeld them. May it therefore please your good Lordshipp the p'misses considered to graunt unto your saide orators the quenes majesties write of subpena to be directed unto the saide James Hobson and Cunstance his wife comaunding them and ether of them by vertue of the same p'sonallye to appere before your good Lordshipp in the quenes majesties honorable courte of Chauncery att a certen daie and under a c'ten paine by your good Lordshipp to be limited then and there to aunswere the p'misses and farther to abide suche order and direcc'on therein as by your good Lordshipp shalbe thought most meete and convenient and your Lordshipp' saide orato's shall dailye praie unto God for the prosperous estate and longe liff of your good Lordshipp longe to continue and endure.

Uterq juravit coram me Tho Legge 26° Novemb' 1590.

The answeare of James Hobson gent and Constance his wyffe Defend'unts to the bill of Complaynt of Robert Marten and Elizabeth his wiffe Compleyn'tes.
Huberd.

The sayd defend'ntes (savinge unto them and eyther of them att all' times hereafter all' advantage of excepc'on to the incertenty and insuffic'ency of the said bill of complaynt, and of all and ev'ry matter and thinge therin conteyned they thes defend'unts for so muche of the said bill as concerneth them joyntly say and eyther of them for so muche as concerneth them sev'ally sayth in manner and forme followinge. And first the sayd Constance sayth and the said James Hobson thinketh that trewe yt is that shee the said Constance did by the indenture menc'oed in the said bill' for the considerac'on therin conteyned graunt bargayne sell assigne and sett over unto Thomas Meneffee all the estate right title interest possession and terme of yeeres which shee the said Constance had in all or any the said yron fordgs furnaces or yron works menc'oed in the said bill and the said Constance denyeth that att the time of the makinge of the said indenture there was any agrement made betweene the said Thomas Meneffee and her the said Constance. That the said Thomas Meneffee his executors adm'strators and assignes should within shorte time after have by the deliv'ry of her the said Constance div'se evidences deeds, wrytings leases escriptes ch'res and munyments concerninge and touchinge the p'misses so bargayned and solde wth shee the said Constance then had in her custodie and possession as is moste untruly alleadged in the said bill. And shee the said Constance denyeth. That she the said Constance had att the time of the makinge of the said indenture or att any time since any wrytings escripts leasses ch'res evidences deeds or munyments concerninge or towchinge the p'misses menc'oed in the said indenture, without that, that this defend'unts or eyther of them, or any others by the p'curement of them or eyther of them do detayne any of the said wrytings or evidences as in the said bill is aleadged. And withoute that, that any other matter or thinge in the said bill of complaynt conteyned materyall or effectuell for thes defend'unts or eyther of them to answeare unto, and not before in this answeare sufficiently confessed and avoyded trav'rsed or denyed is to the knowledge of thes defend'unts or eyther of them true. All wth matters and things thes defend'ntes and eyther of them

are readie to averre and p've as this honorable courte shall award and pray to be dysmissed oute of the same with their reasonable costes and expences in that behalf wrongfully sustayned.

E. PELHAM.

Evelyn. The Replicac'on of Rob'te Marten and Elizabethhe his wiff Compl'ts to the Aunswere of James Hobson gentleman and Constance his wyff defend'ts.

The saide complaynants for replicac'on saie, and ether of them saiethe, as they in there saide bill' of complainte have alredie saide, that at the tyme of the makinge of the saide indenture, there was an agrement made betwene the saide Thomas Meneffee and her the saide Constance, that the saide Thomas Meneffee his executors administrators and assygnes should wthin shorte tyme after have, by the deliv'rye of her the saide Constance dyvers evidencs deeds, writings, leases, escripts charters and mynim'ts conc'rninge and touchinge the p'misses, so bargayned and solde, w^{ch} she the saide Constance then hadd in her custodie and possession as by the saide bill of complainte is verrye trulye alleged. And that she the saide Constance hadd or coulde have come by att the tyme of the makinge of the saide indenture dyvers writings escripts, leases charters, evidencs deeds or munyments conc'rninge or touchinge the p'misses mencioned in the saide indenture, and that they the saide defend'ts or one of them or some others by the p'curemente of them or either of them doo deteyne the saide writings and evidencs as in and by the saide-bill' of complainte is also trulye declared and alleged, and the saide complain-aunts farther saye in all' and everye thinge and things as they in there saide bill of complainte have saide and doo averr, mainteyne and will prove all and everye the contents of the saide bill of complainte to be true, in suche sorte maner and forme as by the same they are sett forthe declared and alleged. Without that that anye other thinge or things matter or matters in the saide aunswere conteyned materyall or effectuall to be replied unto and nott in this replicac'on suffycyently traversed and denyed or confessed and avoided are true in suche sorte maner and forme as in and by the saide aunswere they are sett forthe declared and alleged. All w^{ch} matters the saide complayn'unts are redye to aver and proue as this honorable courte shall awarde and praye as in there saide bill' of complaynte they have alredie praied.

PYNE.

BEEHIVE HUT, BOSPHRENNIS,
IN THE PARISH OF ZENNOR, CORNWALL.

DURING the Friday's excursion of the Truro Meeting last year, some of the most active members, under the guidance of Mr. Blight, separated from the main body for the purpose of examining this remarkable structure. To the Scotch and Irish members present such a relic of native architecture was not so great a novelty as to those from Wales; for although the principality contains numerous traces of such dwellings, yet these are almost universally confined to outer foundation stones or depressions in the ground. No instance of portions of standing walls of a house, much less any portion of the roof, are at present known to exist. Even Cornwall itself is said to possess no similar example; so that it is somewhat remarkable that this one appears not to have attracted any attention until the meeting of the Association. In anticipation of this meeting, the Royal Institution of Cornwall had prepared a list of antiquities in the hundreds of Kirrier and Penwith, with the assistance of Mr. Blight, whose attention was first drawn to this remarkable monument by Mr. Cornish, the gentleman who conducted, with no less personal activity than success, the excursions of Thursday and Friday. The same gentleman states that the place is spelt in some deeds in his possession Bos-porthennis, the meaning of which terms we must leave to our Cornish or Welsh scholars to explain. The two latter words apparently stand for "*gate*" and "*island*," though what traces of an island may still remain those best acquainted with the locality can best inform us. Bos is a common prefix in Cornwall. There are other remains of the same kind and rude enclosures to be traced in the vicinity, while about 500 yards to the north is the ruined cromlech of the same name; but whether this last mentioned monument may be considered as coeval with the hut is a questionable point.

Borlase, in whose time these monuments may have been more perfect, takes no notice of them, and was probably not even aware of their existence, as it is improbable that so zealous an antiquary would have passed them over in silence. As he would have called the cromlech a Druidic altar, he would probably have identified the hut as the residence of the officiating Druid.

Sir Gardner Wilkinson has described, in the *Journal* of the British Archæological Association, some huts at Brownwilly, in Cornwall; but these appear to be of much less interest than the one under consideration. The remains at Chysauster, visited on the same day, are very remarkable, and retain traces of the same kind of overlapping masonry as we shall find at Bosphrennis. The actual remains, however, of walls are very scanty.

As no similar remains, therefore, in the same perfect state are known at present to exist in Cornwall, it has been thought desirable to have as many of the details as possible of this beehive house committed to the pages of the *Archæologia Cambrensis*, so that when time and man have effected its entire destruction, some trustworthy record of its existence may still remain. Accurate measurements and drawings have been therefore taken by Mr. Blight, the Corresponding Secretary of the Association.

In Figure No. 1 we have the ground-plan, showing two chambers, one circular, the other rectangular, with a communication between the two at *b*. The principal entrance is at *a*, and is nearly perfect, measuring in height five feet six inches, and in width two feet. The lintel is composed of three large slabs of granite (see fig. 1). A smaller entrance exists, marked *c*, being only two feet seven inches high, and two feet three wide. One lintel stone remains. Whether there were more is uncertain; but Mr. Blight thinks that originally there were two or three.

Some difficulty is presented by this second doorway, of such inconvenient proportions. The small dimensions of the circular chamber preclude the supposition

that the sheep or goats of the owner were secured within it at night, and that this low opening was intended for their exclusive use. Those members who

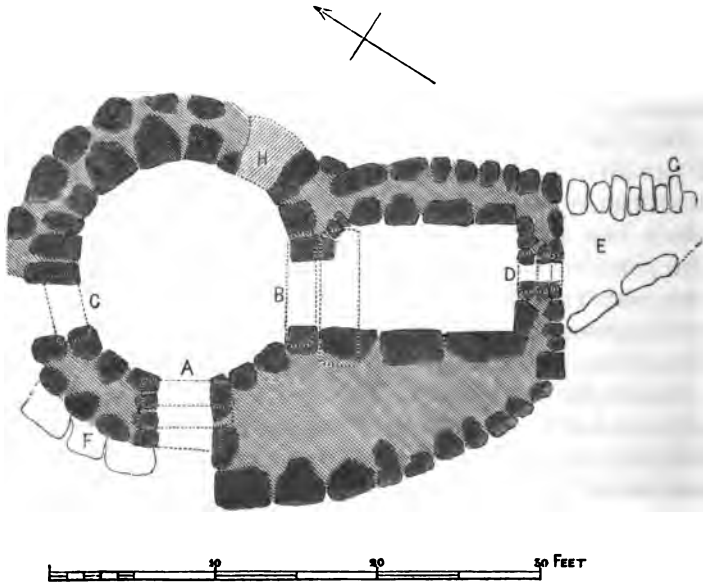


Fig. 1.

visited the stone works of Carn Goch, in Caermarthen-shire in 1855 will remember that in the thickness of the walls there were discovered low galleries, formed by horizontal and vertical slabs, which were thought to have been used for the passage of sheep or goats in leaving or returning within the works. If they were intended for concealed sallyports for the use of the defendants, they could only have been passed on the hands and knees.

In the present case, the small door, if not intended for the use of the sheep and goats, may have served as a means of egress, more easily defended than the larger door at A, which in case of danger may have been blocked up with stones, as already observed.

On reference to the plan, the great thickness of the outer wall, on the south-west side, will appear. At *r* and *ε* are low platforms of about eighteen inches in height. What object they are intended to fulfil is by no means apparent, unless we may be allowed to explain the difficulty by supposing that these platforms are but the remains of an outer casing, subsequently added, as it were, to the walls of the building, for strength and security. At *g* are three steps in the hedge, of which no account can be given, as the hedge is evidently of a much later date than the hut. Further investigation may perhaps throw some light upon these steps and platforms.

The inner chamber, measuring nine feet by seven, has its floor somewhat elevated above the level of the circular one. This difference may be the result of the accumulation of débris. It would be, however, an easy task to ascertain by digging whether this is the case, or whether the difference of levels is intentional. The doorway at *a* is smaller than the principal one at *b*, being only four feet high, although in breadth it exceeds the other by a foot.

Figure 4 gives an accurate representation of the ex-

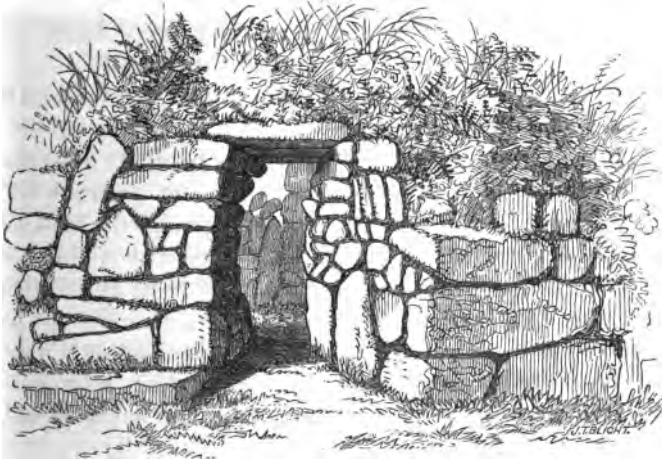


Fig. 4.—Exterior. Principal entrance to circular chamber.

terior of the main entrance at A. It measures five feet six inches in height, and two feet seven inches in width. The lintel is composed of three granite slabs, lying in the same plane. The exterior masonry on each side of the entrance is a fair example of this primitive style.

In the doorway itself no traces of grooves, or any other arrangement for a wooden door, can be made out; so that the entrance was probably secured by piling up stones, however clumsy and inconvenient such an arrangement may appear. In the March number of the *Revue Archéologique* of the present year is a very interesting account of the researches made at Murviel, in the department of Herault. During the excavations were discovered the original Gaulish walled defences of the town, consisting of the same rude Cyclopean masonry, and in them, near one of the main entrances, a very low and small passage, apparently a sallyport. From the entire absence of all traces which might enable the distinguished antiquaries, who superintended the excavations, to form any opinion as to the manner of closing it, they came to the conclusion that it had been blocked up with stones level with the exterior wall, which might be easily removed in case of any emergency. The same means may have been employed in the entrance of the Bosphrennis hut.

The interior views of the two entrances are well exhibited in figure 5. The lintel of the inner entrance is composed of one large slab, over which projects a second, itself surmounted in the same overlapping manner by a third. These two upper stones are probably the last remains of a stepped roof (see fig. 3), of the usual character, as exhibited on a much larger scale in the famous chamber of New Grange, near Drogheda, and the no less remarkable one, explored in 1861 by Mr. James Farrer, M.P., at Maes Howe in Orkney (see the admirably illustrated account of this discovery by the same gentleman).

In this latter case, however, the overlapping stones

forming the roof rise from the side, and not from the end walls as at Bosphrennis. The chamber at Maes Howe



Fig. 5.

is almost a perfect square, whereas the slightly shorter length of the end walls of the Cornish house may have induced the builder to prefer using them, as the overlapping stones would be shorter and easier to fix in their places. The end wall opposite the entrance, and containing the small window, presents us with masonry of a



Fig. 6.—Interior of end wall of oblong chamber.

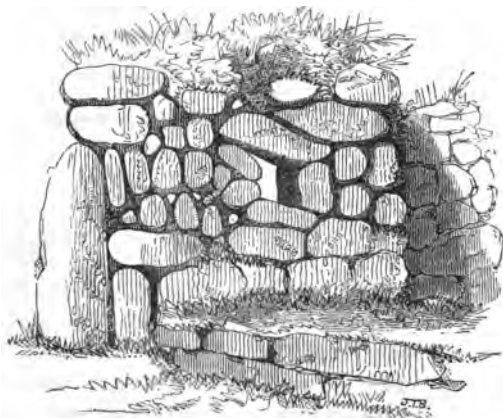


Fig. 7.—Exterior of ditto.

somewhat inferior kind to the rest of the structure, and at first sight was conjectured to be of much later, if not altogether modern, work. On a more careful examination this was found not to be the case, a view strongly confirmed by the subsequent examination of the exterior wall. That the whole of the inner chamber and the window are of the same date there is little doubt. The window is unique as regards England and Wales; for although Tref caerau, in Caernarvonshire, may still retain a doorway in the outer defences, yet no other instance of a window is known. Even in the more numerous and perfect specimens of such buildings in the west of Ireland [for an excellent account of which, see Mr. Dunoyer's article in the *Archæological Journal*, vol. xv] only one window is figured in plate iv of the article referred to, and it appears to have been much more carefully and neatly executed than the one at Bosphrennis.

Fig. 8 represents a portion of the north-east wall of inner chamber. On comparing the masonry with that of the wall in which the window occurs (see figs. 6 and 7), this portion appears executed with much more care and regularity. The height of the end wall is about eight feet, measured from the inside; while that of the walls of the circular chamber vary from five to six feet.



————— 16 FEET

Fig. 8. Interior; north-east wall of oblong chamber.

At H in the ground-plan the wall has been broken through, thus affording a good section, showing the mode of construction (see fig. 2). From this the height and construction of the ceiling of the circular chamber may easily be ascertained. The only portion of the original roof remaining is that over the division between the two

chambers. It is now covered with soil of some depth, but which might be easily removed and the

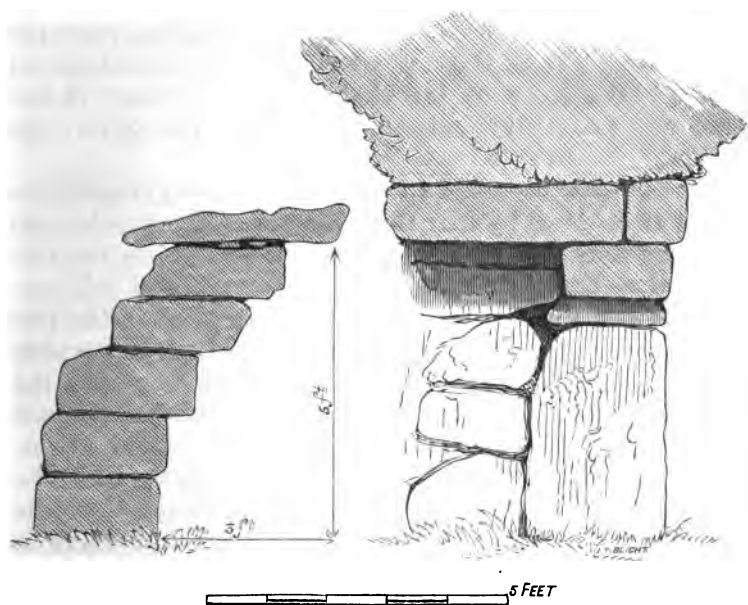


Fig. 2.

Fig. 3.

actual construction ascertained. As, however, the soil at present protects the masonry beneath from the weather and other mischief, we should strongly recommend its being carefully replaced if, at any future time an examination is made.

In most of the cloghauns referred to in Mr. Dunoyer's notice, second chambers exist, and in some instances three or more. Many of these second apartments are however mere divisions of the main or circular chamber. Sometimes, however, they are found externally, but still preserve a circular or semicircular form. One instance, indeed, occurs, and only one, where we have a similar arrangement to that of Bosphrennis. Mr. Dunoyer says (see vol. xv, p. 18), "This building occurs in the townland of Ballinloghig, on the north bank of the Feohanagh river. It consists of two chambers;

which lie north-east and south-west of each other, the former being circular, and the latter rectangular in plan, having a narrow connection between them. The doorway, which is in the rectangular chamber, faces the north-west. Both these apartments were doubtless enclosed under one roof, but that which is circular in the plan was probably dome-shaped, while the other was gabled."

By the scale attached to the cut, this inner chamber is about twelve feet by ten; the diameter of the circular one between nine and ten: whereas at Bosphrennis the circular chamber is thirteen feet in diameter, and the rectangular one nine by seven. The proportions of the two chambers in each group are then reversed, and for a very natural reason, namely, that in the Irish example the outer entrance is in the rectangular chamber, and not in the circular one, as at Bosphrennis, the inner chamber in each case being probably the sleeping and the smaller room. Mr. Dunoyer also conjectures that the rectangular chamber had a gabled roof; but there is no reason why it should not have been the same kind as that which in all probability existed at Bosphrennis, formed by the stones lapping over each other, as already mentioned.

On the Denbighshire mountains, south of Cerrig-y-drudion, and elsewhere in North Wales, are numerous vestiges of an early people, mostly consisting of ruined circles. In one or two instances there are traces of rectangular chambers having been attached. The greater portion, however, of these relics have undergone such mutilation and destruction that, until they have been more accurately surveyed and examined than they have been, not much light can be thrown on the arrangement of primitive dwellings in these wild and now uninhabited districts.

Much, however, as we regret the neglect and bad treatment the earliest relics of our domestic architecture in Wales have so universally received; yet, as Cornwall can claim the possession of a specimen of this architecture

as perfect as the Bosphrennis hut, we hope that effective measures will be taken for securing it against accident and violence as far as possible. If the hedge with which it is in now in contact were removed, and a good stone wall built around it to secure it from cattle, precautions also being taken against its more formidable enemies—the builders of stone walls,—the structure will probably remain many years, and keep its place as one of the principal lions of a district, that contains so many varied and important relics of an antiquity, the real age of which is still an undecided question.

E. L. B.

NOTES ON THE HOUSE OF NANNAU.

BY ROBERT VAUGHAN OF HENGWRT, 1649.

THE subjoined notes, extracted from the pedigree of “Colonel Jones the Regicide,” contain some particulars which I have not met with elsewhere,—*e.g.*, that Nannau, burnt by Glyndwr, “was the stateliest structure in all North Wales,” and “built by Cadwygan ap Bleddyn, Prince of Powys, about three hundred years before”; that Howel Sele was thrust *alive* into the hollow oak, etc.

The pedigree is on vellum, emblazoned with one hundred and eighty-six coats of arms, in colours and gold and silver. The upper part was cut off and destroyed by a servant many years ago. What remains, comprising the descents and alliances from Cadwygan ap Bleddyn to Colonel Jones, is more than thirty feet long. At the end it is thus described :

“This is the Pedigree and Atchieuvement of the honourable & truly noble Colonell John Jones Esquire, a Member of Parliament, & one of the honourable counsell of the state of England, declaring his descent, together with the descent of his vertuous consort, as well from the Royall blood of the Normans & Plantagenets, Kings of England, as from all the Royall races and nobilitie of Wales, taken and selected out of the Exchequer

rolles, and other records remaying at Caernarvon, and also out of antient Charters, Euidencies and works of the best approued Antiquaries, and Bards of Wales, vidlt. Caradoc of LLangarvon, Cwnddelw Brydydd Mawr: Iollo Goch: Lewis Glyn Cothi, Guttyn Owen; Gwilim Tew: Ieuā: Brechua, Lewis Morganwc: Gr' Hiraethog: Will: LLyn: Rys Cain: & Ieuā LLwyd Jeffrey gent. by the industrie and trauail of Robert Vaughan of Hengwrt in the County of Merionith Esquire and finished the 30th day of Januarie Anno Dom'i 1649."

Colonel Jones's first wife was an Edwards of Stansty, near Wrexham, his second, Catherine, eldest sister of Oliver Cromwell. He was one of the peers of Oliver's parliament. I have a deed of grant under the Great Seal (of which a perfect impression, in green wax, is appended), by Richard Cromwell, Lord Protector, to "John, Lord Jones," of very extensive domains in Ireland, which were, I believe, seized by the Crown at the Restoration. Colonel Jones was taken at Kilhendre, in Shropshire, and executed for high treason in 1660. There is a portrait of him at Llanerchrugog, and a very fine contemporary one of the Protector Oliver, and several Cromwell relics, preserved in the family since the Civil War.

T. J.

Llanerchrugog Hall, Wrexham.
Feb. 1863.

"C....Madoc ap Cadwogan had 3 sōnes, and he diuided his Inheritance among them, vdl. Meurig had for his part, the Lordship of Nanney and diuers other lands in the hundred of Merioneth.....Rhiwallon the 2 sonne had the lordship of and his fathers lands in Powys. Madoc hyddyam the 3 sonne had Cittalgarth, Cymysgadwy, Garn and Penmaen in y^o hundred of Pennlyn.

"D....Meurig ap Madoc was Lord of Nanney, and had a son called Ynyr that was also Lord of Nanney, who had 3 sonnes Ynyr Vaughan Lord of Nanney, eldest. Meuric Hēn 2 sonne and Enion called the Brawd dy o Nanney 3 sonne, who was Chaplain to K. Edward the .1st. and Bishop of St. Asaph.

"E....Ynyr Vaughan Lord of Nanney had 6 sonnes, amongst whom he diuided his Lands. Vdl. Meuric Vaughan had the Pallace & the Lands from thence to the riuier at Mouthech &c. Howel had the Lands bordering on the riuier Iddon; Enion

had Camerch, Gr' Llewelin and Ynyr (commonly called Enivs) had alsoe their part.

"F....Howel ap Ynyr Vaughan had 3 sonnes and divided his lands amongst them, Llewelin the eldest had y Ddwy, Boethug, Maestom, Arddyn, & twelve tenements more; Meredith the 2 sonne had all the Lands from Maesyllech to the riuer Iddon, hafod Meredith, Crosgarnedd and many other tenements. Howel Goz, the 3 sonne had Maesyllech and the remainder of his fathers inheritance whose lands were escheated to the crown. I finde in the records at Caernaruon a° xi of King Edw'd the 3d that Howel ap Ynyr was elected Coroner of Ardudwy, Talbont and Estimanner, and continued in that office until the 17 yeare of the same king, and then leaving the office, one Griffith ap Iorwerth was chosen in his roome.

"G....Meredith ap Howel ap Ynyr had 2 sonnes, Howel who had Hauod Meredith and the lands from thence to the River Iddon yr hafod fraith &c. Meuric who had Corsgarnedd, Buarth y Re &c. And Howel ap Meredith had a son named Ieuan LLoyd ap Howel, of whom mention is made in the Extent of N. Wales thus, 'liberi tenentes de Nanney Griffith Derwas, Meuric Vaughan, Ieuan LLoyd ap Howel &c. which said Iuan LLoyd ap Howel had many sonnes. Howel ap Ieuan LLoyd had the Lands by the Riuer Iddon, Enion ap Ieuan LLoyd had yr Hand Vraith Cymheision &c. Daudi ap Ieuan LLoyd sould to Howel Bedo.

"H....Meuric Vychan aforesaid eldest sonne of Ynyr Vichan Lord of Nanney had 6 sonnes, as Gutty Owen recordeth. Howel the eldest he left noe essue male, Meuric LLoyd of Nanney, Griffith LLoyd, Ieuan, LLeuellin, Ddr', and Ynyr LLoyd all these had their several shares of their fathers lands.

"I....Meuric LLoyd had also Howel Sele, Griffith Derwas, Rees (and as some say) LLeuellin Goch, who married an heir at Dar Owen in the county of Montgomery where his posteritie remaineth at this day and Ynyr. Of the two first are descended the noble and antient families of the Nanneys and Derwas of whom in their places. Meurig LLoyd dyed few yeares before the death of Richd. II, leaving his inheritance between his s'd children.

"K. L....Howel Sele being very powerful in means, kindred, and alliance stood stiffly for King Henry 4th against Owen Glendwr (although he had been proclaimed Prince of Wales) and refused to do him any homage. Whereupon Owen being much incensed came upon him with a great power of men spoyled and burned his house which was the stateliest structure in all North Wales (built by Cadwygan ap Bleddyn Prince of

Powys about 300 years before) and led him prisoner towards Ardudwy: which when Griffri ap Gwyn of Ardudwy heard (who had married one of the daughters of Howel) he assembled of his friends & kindred to the number of 200 tall men and came to the Bridge neere Llanelltyd thinking by the ayde of the men of Talabont on the one side with his men and himselfe on the other side to have rescued his father in lawe: but after a hot skirmishe, Owen got the passage, and Griffri after the losse of 60 of his men (who were all of them cousins and cosin-germans one to another) with the rest fled. It is said that Owen Glendwr caused Howel Sele to be lette down into a hollow oak where he ended his life leaving behind him a young sonne 2 years old called Meuric Vaughan. One of his daughters was married to Griffri ap Jenkyn of Powys Land of whom the Vaughans of Llwydiarth and Caergai are descended. Another daughter was grandmother to John ap Meredith of Caernar-unshire & the third was married to Griff ap Llewelin of Castell March &c.

“M....I finde in An^o 4 of King Henry 8th a Bill against William ap Jenkyn ap Ior’ of Dolgelly gent. (a younger brother of the house of Ynys y maen Gwyn) preferred by Humfrey ap Howel ap Jenkyn of Ynys ymaengwyn, his brothers sonne, for that he (without regard had to the statute of Combartha) had desired of about an hundred and twenty of his friends and kindred in Talybont, a benevolence, who all (as in the said is mentioned) gave him a bullock or two apeece, and among whom I finde this David ap Enion ap Ieuan LLoyd to be one: this David sold all his lands in Nanney to Ieuan ap Deio a Enion and went to his wiues friends who was the daughter of David ap Ior’ LLoyd of Ardudwy and lived there the rest of his days and a sonne that was called Hugh ap David ap Enion.

“N....Osburne Wyddel a younger sonne of the House of Desmond in Ireland came into Wales in the time of Llewelin the Great Prince of Wales and was soe much in his favour that he obtayned great possessions of the said Prince as Corsygedol G..... and other lands in the marches of Wales. His posteritye were very eminent in all ages by obtayning great marches whereby they became men of great estates and means, and diuers great houses yet in North Wales doe lineally descend from the said Osburne, which flourish even to this day.

“O....This Hugh David ap Enion married the daughter & heir of Griffith ap Ieuan ap Howel Boole of Cwmnancol and had good means by her.

“P....Meuric Vaughan of Nanney sonne of Howel Sele (before spoken of) had 2 sonnes David the eldest, and Griffith

who died in his father's lifetime, leaving only a daughter to inherit his part of his father's lands, and she was married to Robert ap Rees ap Howel Vaughan gent. of Caernarvonshire, who much contested with David ap Meuric for the said lands. At last in the 2nd year of King Henry the 7th the controversie was referred on Robert's side upon his brother Howel ap Rees of Bronyvoel in Caernarvonshire, and Griffith ap Jenkyn ap Rees of Trawsvynth gent., and on David's side on Howel ap Jenkin Ynys y Maengwyn and John ap Rees ap Griffith ap Aron of Pennsarth,¹ and Howel ap Griffith ap Derwas was to be umpire, and they made an end between them which lasted till anno 33 of King Henry 8th at which time there fell a difference againe between Rees Wynne the said Robert's sonne, and old Griffith Nanney commonly called Gr. Wynne ap Howel ap David ap Meuric of Nanney the which variance was likewise referred to the arbitrament of Hugh ap David ap Enion of Cwmnancol gent. for Rys Wynne and Griffith ap William ap Rees ap Iewan ap David of Dolgelley gent. for Griffith Nanney who awarded that in case Rys Wynn should not have the lands called Cwmfychan and 3s. 4d. rent out of another tenement called y Kaeglas in Llanvair parish, and Hendre Verwydd in Llanpedr, that then the said Rees was to have a tenement in Nanney called Buarth yre, to the said Rees and his heirs for ever, the which tenement from that tyme hitherto is held by the heirs of Gwaun Enion, the posterity of Rees Wynne, by force of the said awarde, a coppie whereof is yet reserved amongst the writings at Nanney.

"Gruffyth Derwas, Esqr., of the body of King Henry Sixth, became tutor and guardian to Meuric Vaughan, sonne to his brother Howel Sele, and was the chiefest man of command in our country all his tyme; he had two sonnes, Howel the eldest, and Gwillim 2 sonne whose mother was an heretrix of Kemes in the county of Montgomery, where his posteritie are very flourishing at this day: Gr. Derwas had many daughters whom he proffered to great houses, as Cwchwillan, Ynysy maengwyn, Plas du, Madryn, & Penllech &c.

"Howel ap Griffith Derwas lived in great credit all his tyme, he had a sonne called Griffith ap Howel, who had two sonnes, Tudor Vaughan and Elisse, he (having but one sonne that dyed without issue) sould all the land that came to his share.

"Tudor Vaughan was a valiant and stout gentleman, and of great command in his countrey, of whom Tudor Vaughan gent. that now liveth is lineally descended."

¹ Peniarth?

ON THE ENGLISH CONQUEST OF THE SEVERN VALLEY.

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Author and the Officers of the Archæological Institute.)*

PREVIOUSLY to the battle of Deorham, the whole basin of the Severn and a large portion of the Cotswold, that is of the high upland drained by the Thames, were in the possession of the Welshmen. Their great fortress to the eastward was Cirencester, and some of the later battles between them and their English neighbours had been fought on the line of country which lies between that town and Winchester. The marches separating the two races in this part of Britain, though they had been subjected to several changes, still remained on the whole much as they had been settled half a century before. But there is reason to believe that about the year 571 the kings of Wessex received an accession of strength, that enabled them to carry the war into the very heart of the Welsh territory. I do not stop to inquire whence came this increase of strength, but thereby they were enabled in the year last-mentioned to push their inroads as far north as Bedford, and six years afterwards to lead an army into the rich and beautiful valley, the conquest of which forms the subject of the present paper.

The nature of the country and the circumstances of the times enable us to point out with much probability the direction which the expeditionary force must have taken. It must have advanced along the Roman Road leading from Winchester to Cirencester, and then skirting the borders of Braden forest have reached the Fosse. Down this great highway they passed, ravaging or in the language of the times, *harrying* the country right and left. West of the Fosse, and on a chain of hills which commands magnificent views of the Severn-valley, lies the village of Deorham. Near it is an ancient earthwork, where as we may conjecture the men of the neighbourhood had retreated with their cattle and other valuables, and where our ancestors were preparing to attack them, when the Welshmen came to the rescue, and the battle of Deorham was the result. It is thus commemorated in the Chronicle.

A. 571. Now Cuthwine and Ceawlin fought with the Brits, and three kings they slew, Commagil and Condidan and Farinmagil in the place that is called Deorham, and they took three cities, Gleawan ceaster and Ciren ceaster and Bathan ceaster.

Various conjectures have been hazarded with respect to the three kings, whose deaths are here recorded. Sharon Turner and Villemarqué consider Condidan to be the same person as the Kyndylan whose death is bewailed in an old Welsh *marunad*, or elegy, which we shall shortly have occasion to notice more particularly. But it appears clearly enough from the elegy that Kyndylan was slain near Shrewsbury, and therefore could not possibly be the Condidan who according to the Chronicle was slain at Deorham in Gloucestershire. Equally unsatisfactory are the attempts which have been made to identify the other two princes Commagil and Farinmagil. But there is one conjecture with respect to these princes which seems to merit attention, though I do not remember to have seen it noticed elsewhere. When we read that three kings were slain at Deorham, and that the three cities of Gloucester, Cirencester and Bath surrendered, it is a natural inference, that the three Welsh princes were lords of the three cities, and that it was together with the men of these cities and of the dependent districts they fought and lost the battle of Deorham. It is matter of some little interest to know, that in all likelihood the last Welshman who bore rule in Gloucester was named Commagil, or—to give the name its latinised form, which may have been to *him* the most familiar—Cunomagilus.

The conquest of Gloucester, Cirencester, and Bath must have made the whole valley of the Severn, east of the river and south of Arden, English ground. It is clear from existing remains that during the Roman period Bath was a wealthy and flourishing town; Gloucester, as we know both from Ravennas and from an inscription found at Bath, was a Roman colony; and with respect to Cirencester, there was probably no town at that time in Britain—York, London, and Colchester excepted—which in importance either civil or military could rank before it. These towns must have represented the district. With the exception of some insignificant road-side stations between Bath and the Severn-ferry, there is hardly another place in this part of Britain, whose Roman name has come down to us. It is just possible that one of the Alaunæ and one of the Salinæ mentioned by Ravennas may have been intended for our modern Alchester and Droitwich, but they must have been places of little note, and quite unequal to stem the flood of invasion that had set in upon them. There was no spot where the poor Welshman could find a shelter till he reached the great forest-district which spread over the modern counties of Warwick and Worcester.

The southern limits of the new conquests may, I think, be

defined with much precision,¹ but in the north the limits can only be determined, and that vaguely, by a consideration of the topography and physical conditions of the country. Where there are so many elements of uncertainty, it would be idle to discuss the reasons which led me to lay down the boundaries as they appear in the map. But I am well acquainted with the district, and reasons more or less satisfactory can be given for all the apparently strange wanderings of the pencil. They were not the result of mere accident or caprice.

The possession of Gloucester would naturally tempt our ancestors to cross the river. If we may trust Welsh legend, they carried their inroads, even at the early period of which we are treating, as far westward as the Wye. But the history of the English conquests west of the Severn involves questions of great difficulty, and cannot be discussed incidentally. To avoid premature discussion, I have in the map marked all the country west of the river as Welsh territory.

Seven years after their first settlement in the Severn-valley, our ancestors made another inroad upon the Welshmen. This inroad and the battle it led to forms the subject of the following entry.

A. 584. Now Ceawlin and Cutha fought with the Brits in the place that is called *Fethan leag*, and there Cutha was slain, and Ceawlin took many towns and countless booty, and angry he turned him thence to his own country (*to his agenum*).

In their accounts of this battle Ethelwerd, Florence, and Malmesbury merely copy the Chronicle. Huntingdon tells us that Cuthwine (the Cutha of the Chronicle) fell overpowered with numbers, and that the English were defeated and took to flight; but that Ceawlin again brought the army into order, and inspiring them with a stern determination, at length came off the conqueror.²

I know not whence Huntingdon obtained his knowledge of these particulars, but there is so much that is probable in his story, that I would willingly receive it as true. Fordun labours hard to mix up Aidan King of Scots in all the leading events of this period. He makes him the ally of Maelgwn King of Gwynneth at the battle of *Fethan leag*,³ and the ally of Cadwallon at the battle of *Wodensburgh*,⁴ when Ceawlin was defeated. Unfortunately for the zealous Scotchman, Maelgwn

¹ Vid. *Journ. of Arch. Inst.*, vol. xvi, p. 105.

² ——— "rursus reparato exercitu cum fugam sui abjurassent, tandem prælio victores vicit." (*Hist. Ang.*, 2.)

³ *Scotichron.*, iii, 28.

⁴ *Ib.*, iii, 29.

died¹ nearly forty years before the battle of Fethan leag, and Cadwallon flourished in the seventh instead of the sixth century. According to Fordun,² the battle of Fethan leag was fought at Stanemore in Westmoreland. The motive which led him to fix on this locality is an obvious one. On Stanemore is the "Rie Cross," which certain Scotch writers maintain to be the ancient and proper *limes*³ between Scotland and England. It was accordingly selected as a suitable place for a meeting between a Scottish king and the invading Southron. But it would be waste of time to dwell longer on these fables.

Henry and Hume represent Somerset and Devon as the scene of Ceawlin's conquests, and therefore I presume would locate Fethan leag in one or other of these counties; while our later historians,⁴ almost to a man, identify Fethan leag with Fretherne near Gloucester. I know of no reason for fixing on this locality, except the resemblance supposed to exist between the words *Fretherne* and *Fethan*. But who can point out any known process of corruption by which Fethan could be transformed into Fretherne? Moreover, if we suppose Fretherne to be the place of the battle, where can we find room for the "many towns and countless booty" that were taken after the victory? What significance can we give to the statement that "after the battle Ceawlin turned him thence to his own country?" Frithern was situated in the very heart of the district conquered by the English seven years previously. It lay in the midst of the triangle dominated by the three great for-

¹ A. D. 547. Ann. Cambriæ.

² Scotichron., iii, 28.

³ Usher, whose great demerit is the deference he occasionally shews to our historical romancers, after describing the incidents of the battle of Fethan leag as he found them in the Chronicle and Huntingdon, quotes Fordun as his authority for fixing the locality at Stanemore. (*Ant.*, c. xiv.) Chalmers, whose great object is to bring his Scotchmen as far south as possible, tells us that, "coming to the aid of the Cumbrian Britons, Aidan defeated the Saxons at Fethanlea, at Stanemore in 584"; and he gives as his authority, not his countryman Fordun, but "Saxon Chron., p. 22; Usher's *Princ.*, pp. 870, 1147, which quotes the English Chronicles." (Vid. *Caledonia*, i, 282.) Frauds of the same kind may be found in every third or fourth page of Chalmers' *History*.

⁴ Sh. Turner, *H. of Anglo-Saxons*, 1, 3, 5; Lingard, *H. of Anglo-Saxons*, 12; Lappenburg, *Anglo-Saxon Kings*; B. Thorpe, *Flor. Vigorn.*, 8, n.; *Mon. Hist. Brit. Sax. Chron.*, p. 304, etc. I should mention that the editors of the last mentioned work append a query—"Fritherne?" Mr. Thorpe, who hesitates about "Deorham in Gloucestershire?" has no difficulty about Fretherne,—“the place of the battle was Fretherne in Gloucestershire.”

tresses of Gloucester, Bath, and Cirencester, and when they fell must necessarily have fallen with them.

Where, then, must we look for the place which has given rise to so much conflicting statement? Before we answer the question, it will be necessary to notice a law, which prevails very widely in English topography, and to which I have already on more than one occasion called the attention of the reader. Anglo-Saxon names of places are, almost universally, feminine nouns ending in *e* and forming the genitive case in *an*. When connected with other words, they generally appear as genitives, but sometimes combine with these words and form simple compounds. Thus the Welsh *Glou*,¹ which in Roman geography takes the form of *Glev-um*, was converted by our ancestors, according to the genius of *their* language into *Glew-e*, and they called the town sometimes *Glewan ceaster*, that is, the chester or city of *Glew-e*, and sometimes *Glewe-ceaster*, of which Gloucester is the corruption. Now, in Anglo-Saxon topography, the genitival form was used in the great majority of instances, but in modern usage the simple compound prevails almost to its entire exclusion. There are, indeed, a few names of places which still retain the genitive. Thus Cheltenham is certainly a corruption of *Celtan ham*, the hamlet of the *Celt-e*—*Celt-e* being no doubt the Anglo-Saxon name for the Chelt, the river, or rather brook, which flows through Cheltenham. Instances, however, of these genitival forms are now extremely rare. They have in almost all cases given way to the simple compounds.

The reader will now have little hesitation in recognising a genitive case in the first element of the name *Fethan-leag*, and, in considering such name as equivalent to The lea of *Feth-e*. If we suppose the place still to retain its ancient appellation, the name would according to analogy take the form of a simple compound, *Fethe-ley*. In certain of our dialects *th* in the middle of a word is often represented by *d*; thus, in the North of England, for *father*, *mother*, *another*, &c., they very commonly say *fader*, *modder*, *anudder*, &c. If the place we are in search of were situated in one of these districts, we might expect to find its name modified accordingly.

Now, just within the borders of Cheshire, at the entrance of the Vale Royal, and some three miles west of Namptwich, is a village called Faddiley. In the neighbourhood of this village I believe the battle of *Fethan leag* was fought.

Of course, identity of name does not necessarily prove identity of place. Let us, then, inquire how far the selection of

¹ Kair Glou., i.e., Gloucesteria. (*H. Hunt.*, lib. i.)

Faddiley, as the place of this battle, will meet the requirements of the story, as they may be gathered from the Chronicle.

If the battle were fought at Faddiley, Ceawlin must have advanced up the Severn valley, and entered Shropshire somewhere in the neighbourhood of Areley Magna. Thence he must have marched to the Tern, and up the valley of that river to the borders of Cheshire; and crossing the line of watershed, he would, a few miles further on, find himself at Faddiley. Such was the most direct route to Faddiley from the Vale of Gloucester, and such I believe to have been the only practicable route at the time in question. Now the valley of the Tern is the very heart of Shropshire, a district full of rich pastures and peopled villages, and abounding in ancient remains, both Roman and British, which show that its advantages were as highly appreciated in the sixth as they are in the nineteenth century. Here, then, we have a country, which might readily furnish the "many towns and countless booty" mentioned in the Chronicle; and as Faddiley is some ninety miles distant from Gloucester, the statement that after the battle Ceawlin "turned him thence to his own country," has an appropriate meaning. Even the strange statement that he returned in anger, seems to admit of explanation, on the hypothesis that has been started. If we suppose that in the ardour of success some of his officers pushed on unbidden into the Vale Royal, and so exposed themselves to an attack from Chester, we can understand the anger which Ceawlin must have felt at an act of imprudence, that led to the loss of a brother, and might, but for the energy with which he hurried to the rescue, have led to the destruction of an army.

Let us now see how far the conclusions we have arrived at agree with the revelations which are furnished us by the light of Welsh tradition. Unsubstantial forms they are, but they may nevertheless be the shadows of real and substantial history.

There is extant an old Welsh *marwnad*, or elegy, which bewails the death of a certain Welsh prince named Kyndylan. The poem is generally ascribed to Llywarch Hen, who is said to have lived in the sixth century. It was edited by Owen Pugh, chiefly it would seem from the Red Book of Herghest, a MS. of the fourteenth century, now the property of Jesus College,¹ Oxford; and was published by him, first, in the *Myvyrian Archaeology*, and secondly, with a translation in a separate vo-

¹ The courtesy with which this society have at all times made it available for the purposes of literature, is too well known to need any eulogy from me.

lume, which contains a collection of Llywarch Hen's poems. It was afterwards edited likewise with a translation by Villemarqué, in his *Bardes Brétons*, professedly¹ from the Black Book of Carmarthen, a MS. of the twelfth century. The first editor modernised the orthography, and frequently altered the wording of his MS.; and as one-third of his translation is open to question, these are liberties which a critical reader will be slow to pardon. But if the reader be dissatisfied with Owen Pugh's edition, the edition of Villemarqué is little likely to secure his confidence. The peculiarities of the language must, I should think, arrest the attention of every one that has studied the comparative grammar of the Celtic dialects; and the perplexities they occasioned me were so great, that I was at last driven to take a journey into Merionethshire, with the view of comparing the printed text with its supposed original. I went over the Black Book, page by page, but could find in it *no trace whatever* of the Elegy on Kyndylan. There were three poems in the MS. with which the name of Llywarch Hen was connected, but only in occasional stanzas did they exhibit any correspondence with the poems that appear in Villemarqué's volume. I mention the fact, but offer no explanation of it. When I add, that Owen Pugh in his edition of the *Marwnad* frequently gives us various readings, taken professedly from the Black Book (*Llyfyr du*), the reader will probably agree with me in thinking, that any attempt to unravel these difficulties had better be postponed to a more fitting opportunity.

As the copy of the poem in the Red Book is the oldest I am acquainted with, I have taken it for my text; and in so doing, have been anxious to give a transcript of the MS., which shall be correct, not merely to the letter, but also as regards the junction of words, and the punctuation, blundered though it may be. The only liberty I have taken has been in ranging the lines rhythmically, whereas the MS. has the lines in each triplet written continuously.

My translation is intended to be *literal*. In the versions of Owen Pugh and Villemarqué we frequently have the second

¹ "Comme les autres pièces de Liwarc'h celle-ci est tirée du Livre noir de Hengurt, confronté avec le Livre rouge de Herghest." (*Bardes Brétons*, p. 124.) The Black Book, generally known as the Black Book of Carmarthen, is the most valuable of the Hengwrt MSS. This celebrated collection, which formerly belonged to the Vaughan family, is now the property of Mr. Wynne of Peniarth, M.P. for Merionethshire. It is matter of public interest to know that these precious relics are now in the possession of a gentleman who most thoroughly appreciates their value.

person instead of the third, verbs inserted *ad libitum*, and the rendering in very many cases so loose, that it is impossible to say what construction they have put upon the original. We are sometimes at a loss to know what is the meaning they wish to convey by their translation, and even when the meaning of a triplet taken by itself is tolerably clear, it is often difficult to discover its relevancy, or its connection with the triplet preceding or succeeding. Some of these difficulties may be inherent in the poem itself, as it has come down to us. We know from Giraldus Cambrensis, and it might be easily shown from existing MSS., that many of these old Welsh poems were subjected to great alterations at the hands of successive transcribers. Triplets were transposed and interpolated, and it is quite possible that Llywarch Hen would only occasionally recognise his own handywork in the poem before us. Still, however, the transcriber of the fourteenth century must have seen a certain coherency between the several portions of the poem he was copying; and one part of the duty of a translator will be to point out such coherency as far as he is able. I trust that the present translation, literal though it be, will present to the reader a more intelligible and connected story than can be gathered from the preceding ones.

The poem is written in what is termed the *triban milwr*, or soldier's triplet, that is, in the oldest known form of Welsh versification. Its style is essentially lyrical. One of its peculiarities distinguishes all the poems of Llywarch Hen, or rather I would say distinguishes that school of poetry of which Llywarch Hen was the type—I mean the custom of beginning several consecutive stanzas or triplets, sometimes to the number of ten or more, with the same ejaculatory phrase, which forms as it were the key-note of the stanza. The same images often recur, and the same thought is often presented in slightly varying forms in these consecutive triplets, and owing to such parallelism, we may not unfrequently discover the meaning of a line, which might otherwise occasion us much difficulty. Sometimes the sentence proceeds in the second person, "Kyndylan, thou wert, &c.;" but more frequently in the third, "Kyndylan, he was, &c." In many cases no verb whatever can be discovered, and the triplet is made up of mere ejaculations.

I have appended to my translation copious notes explaining the grounds on which it rests, and affording the reader the means of correcting it when erroneous. A translation of one of these old poems without such accompaniment has always seemed to me to be little better than a fraud upon the reader.

In the opening stanzas, the aged poet imagines himself escaping with the females of his family from the scene of carnage. He has reached some eminence, and rests awhile to contemplate the ruin of his country. The mangled body of his slaughtered chieftain first rises to his view; but he shrinks from the image he has conjured up, and chooses rather to picture him at the head of his Welshmen watching the invaders from the mountain's slope, it may be from the sides of the Wrekin, till goaded by the cries and taunts of his injured countrymen, the fiery chief rushes down upon our ancestors, and meets his death at their hands upon the plain.

- Sefrch allan vorynnion(1) asylllch wer-
ydre kyndylan :
llys benn gvern neut tande :
gvaë ieueinc(2) aeidun brotre.
- Vnprenn agouit(4) arnav
odieinc(5) ys odit :
ac auynno(6) duv derffit.
- Kyndylan callon iaen gaeaf :
awant tvrch trvy y benn :
tu(8) arodeist yr cwrvf trenn.
- Kyndylan callon godeith wannwyn.
ogyflo(11) yn amgyueith.(13)
yn amwyn tren tref diffeith.
- Kyndylan befyrboet kywlat.
kadrynavc(14) kit(15) dynnyavc cat.
amucei(16) tren tref y dat.
- 1 Stand forth, maidens, and survey the land
of Kyndylan,
Pengwern's palace, is it not in flames ?
Woe to the youth that longs for good fel-
lowship!
- 2 One tree(3) with the tendril on it
Is escaping it may be—
But what God shall have willed, let it come!
- 3 Kyndylan, with heart like the ice of winter,
With thrust of wild boar(7) through his
head—
Thou hast dispensed the ale of Tren !
- 4 Kyndylan, with heart like the fire(10) of
spring,
By the common oath, in the midst of the
common speech,(12)
Defending Tren that wasted town !
- 5 Kyndylan, bright pillar of his country,
Chain-bearer, obstinate in fight,
Protected Tren, his father's town !

1 *Morwyn*, W. *ion* pl. The frequent absorption of the *w* is a marked feature in the language of this poem. Vid *amucset*, st. 5, *w*, st. 15, &c.

2 Both O. Pugh and Villemarqué make this a plural noun. But the plural form seems occasionally to have been used with a singular meaning. Vid. *Youonc*, *Norris' Corn. Voc.* The verb is certainly singular.

3 That is, himself and family. As Shropshire was an *argoad*, or woodland, these similes are characteristic and appropriate. Vid. st. 16, 45.

4 O. Pugh, without authority, substituted for this word *gwydd-vid*, the woodbine; and in so doing is followed by Villemarqué. I take the last syllable of *gouit* to be the same as the last syllable of *gwydd-vid*, and *go* to be the diminutive prefix we find in *go-bant*, *go-vron*, &c.

5 *dianc*, W. The Breton *o* prefixed to infinitives, gives them a participial meaning like the Welsh *yn*.

6 *myn-u*, W. 2nd future, 3rd pers. sing.

7 That is the English enemy. O. Pugh makes *Tvrch* a proper name!

8 This word is not clearly written in the MS. O. Pugh reads *ti*, but without authority. Vid. *peithuac*, st. 28. *Rhodd-i*, W.

9 The change from the third to the second person is remarkable. It seems to intimate a sudden change of feeling on the part of the poet.

10 The *goddaiith*, or fire kindled in spring to consume the dried gorse, was subjected to many regulations by the Welsh laws.

11 *cyflw*, W.

12 That is, in the midst of his Welshmen.

13 *gyfaith*, W. I have endeavoured to give the force of the prefix *am*.

14 *cadwrynanwg*, W.

15 The prefix *cyd*; in modern Welsh the compound would take the form of *cyndyneawg*. This form actually occurs in the next stanza.

16 *amurisg-aw*, W., to wrap round, to shroud. The *w* is absorbed, vid. st. 1, note 1, and the letters *sg.* are transposed.

- Kyndylan beuyrbvyll(1) ovri.(2)
kadvynavo kynddynnyavo llu :
amucei tren hyt travu.
- Kyndylan callon milgi
pan disgynei(3) ygkymelri(4) cat :
calaned(5) aladei.(6)
- Kyndylan callon hebave.
buteir(7) ennwir gynndeiryavo.(8)
keneu kyndrvyn kyndynyavo.
- Kyndylan callon gvythhwch
pan disgynei ymprifvch(9) cat.
kalaned yndeudrvch.
- Kyndylan gulhvch(11) gynnificat llev.
blei dilin(12) disgynniat :
nyt atuer(13) tvrch tref y(14) dat.
- Kyndylan hyt tra attat yd adei.
y gallon mor wylat :(16)
gantav(17) mal y gvrvi(18) y cat.
- Kyndylan powis borfor wych yt :
kell esbyt bywyt ior :(19)
keneu kyndrvyn kvynitor.
- Kyndylan wynn nab kyndrvyn :
ny mat(20) wise baraf am y drvyn :
gvr ny bo grell no morwyn.
- 6 Kyndylan, bright intelligence departed,
Chain-bearer, obstinate in the host,
Protected Tren as long as he was living.
- 7 Kyndylan with heart of greyhound,
When he descended to the turmoil of battle,
A carnage he carved out.
- 8 Kyndylan with heart of hawk,
Was the true enraged
Cub of Kyndruyn, the stubborn one.
- 9 Kyndylan with heart of wild boar,
When he descended to the onset of battle,
There was carnage in two heaps.(10)
- 10 Kyndylan, hungry boar, ravager, lion,
Wolf fast-holding of descent— [town !](15)
The wild boar will not give back his father's
- 11 Kyndylan! while towards thee fled
His heart, 'twas a great festival
With him, like the press of the battle!
- 12 Kyndylan of the Powis purple gallant is he!
The strangers' refuge, their life's anchor,
Son of Kyndruyn, the much to be lamented!
- 13 Kyndylan, fair son of Kyndruyn,(21)
No fitting garb is the beard about the nose,
Will a man be no better than a maid?

1 pefyr, W. pwyll, W.

2 obry, W.

3 discyn-u, W.

4 cymhelri, W. The *g* "eclipses" the *k* in *gkymelri*, as it does the *c* in *gcallon*, st. 17. In like manner we have the *t* eclipsed by *n* in *ntaravt*, st. 46. This orthographical expedient, though now confined to the Irish, was at one time very generally used in other languages. Vid. the author's paper on *Orthogr. Expedients* (*Phil. Trans.*, vol. iii, p. 1). Before a guttural, *yn* appears to lose its final *n*; *y-gkymelri*, st. 7; *ygoet*, st. 35, &c. Before a labial, *yn* becomes *ym*; vid. *ympriifvch*, st. 9; *ymbed*, st. 22; *ymbronn*, st. 52, etc.

5 celanedd, W.

6 ladd, W.

7 byddai'r, W.

8 cynddeiriawg, W.

9 priffvch, the first push, the onset;
hwch, W., a push.

10 That is, I suppose, right and left. *Tvrch*, W., means a cut, a thickness, a depth. Perhaps a better rendering would be, in two *svathes*.

11 *goulo*, Bret., empty; *gul* may be a connected word.

12 I consider this word to be the root of *dylyn-u*, to cleave to; just as *glyn*, adherent, is the root of *glyn-u*.

13 *adver-u*, W.

14 One difficulty in translating the

poems in the Red Book arises from the different words represented by this letter. Here it evidently represents the Welsh *ei*.

15 Stanzas 7, 8, 9, describe, it would seem, Kyndylan's rush down the mountain. From st. 10 we learn the result; the wild boar, *i.e.*, the English enemy, will not give back, &c.

16 *gwyllad*, W.

17 *gant*, Bret.

18 *gwrif*, W.

19 *eor*, Bret. *heor*, W.

20 *mad*, Bret.

21 In stanzas 11, 12, the poet describes the large heart and noble sympathies of his chieftain. The two following stanzas, according to my rendering, contain the taunts which Llywarch addressed to Kyndylan in order to induce him to rush down to his rescue. In stanzas 15, 16, Llywarch's better nature gets the upper hand, and he bids his chief watch for the general welfare, and leave him to his fate. Throughout the poem Llywarch represents himself as the cause of his chieftain's death. Vid. st. 46, 57. The association which connects the stanzas 13, 14, with the two preceding ones, is not very easily traced. The mention of Kyndylan's generosity seems to have reminded the poet of the circumstances under which he last claimed that prince's aid; and the past comes before him with all the vividness of present reality.

Kyndylan kymvyat(1) vyt:
ar meithyd(2) na bydy lvyt:(3)
andrebyll(4) tvll(5) dy ysgvyt.

Kynddylan kaedi yriv.
ynydav(6) lloegyrrwys hediw:
angeled am vn nydiv.(7)

Kyndylan kaedi ynenn.
ynydav lloegyrrwys drwy dren:
ny elwir coet o vn prann.

Gan vy goallon 'i' mor dru.(9)
kysyyltu ystyllot(10) du:
gvynn gnawt kindylan kyngran(11) can-
llu.

14 Kyndylan! a cause of grief thou art—
Set forward will not be the array, [shield]
Around the pressure of the covert of thy

15 Kyndylan, keep thou the slope
Till the Lloegyrrwys come to-day,—
Anxiety on account of one is not fitting.

16 Kyndylan, keep thou the top(8)
Till the Lloegyrrwys come through Tren—
'Tis not called a wood for one tree!

17 My heart has great misery
In joining together the black boards—
Fair is the flesh of Kyndylan, the common
grief of a hundred hosts!

Pengwern, as is well known, was the old Welsh name for Shrewsbury, and accordingly at Shrewsbury we must fix the *Llys Pengwern*. The attempt to identify the town of Tren will raise questions more difficult to answer, and which had better be deferred till we come to consider what is meant by "the White Town," of which we shall find mention made further on in the poem. *Lloegyrr* is the Welsh name for England, and that *Lloegyrrwys* meant the men of England, or in other words our own ancestors, seems clear enough, though even on this point Owen Pugh has contrived to raise a difficulty. In his dictionary he tells us "the English or the inhabitants of modern Lloegyrr are always called Saeson and never Lloegyrrwys after the name of the country." It would be easy to disprove this assertion from other poems which Owen Pugh has edited; but in truth there are always abundant means at hand of setting Owen Pugh at issue with himself. In the preface to his edition of this very poem, he describes the Lloegyrrwys as "probably Saxons and Roman Britons united;" and Villemarqué, following his lead, calls them "les forces combinées des Saxons et des Logriens." Neither of these writers advances a single argument to show there really was any such combination of forces, and I can see no good reason why the Lloegyrrwys who invaded Shropshire, might not have been as free from Welsh admixture, as their ancestors who landed ninety years before in Southampton water.

The triplets which follow those we have quoted furnish us with the sequel of the tragedy. They bring successively before

1 *cymhwyad*, W.

2 I have construed *ar meithyd* as if it were a derivative of *arfaeth*. This latter word is compounded of *ar* and *maeth*.

3 *Uuydd*, W.

4 *traffwyll*, W.

5 *twell*, W.

6 *daw*, W.; 3rd pers. sing. fut. of *daw*—

ed. The subst. aggr. *Lloegyrrwys* seems here to be put in agreement with a verb singular. Vid. p. 147, n. 23.

7 *quiw*, W. Vid. p. 142, n. 1.

8 That is, keep your post on the mountain till the enemy attacks you.

9 *droug*, Bret.

10 *estell*, W.

11 *grawn*, W.

us the ruined hall, the eagles sailing over the field of battle, the rescue of the body, and the secret burial.

- Stauell gyndylan ystywyll heno
heb dan heb wely:
wylaf(1) wers,(2) tafaf(3) wedy.
- 18 Kyndylan's Hall is dark to-night,
Without fire, without bed!
I'll weep awhile, afterwards I shall be silent.
- Stauell gyndylan ystywyll heno.
heb dan heb gannwyll:
namyn duv pvy(4) am dry(5) pvyll.
- 19 Kyndylan's Hall is dark to-night,
Without fire, without candle!
God except, who will give me patience?
- Stauell gyndylan ystywyll heno.
heb dan heb oleuat:(6)
elit(7) amdav amdanat.
- 20 Kyndylan's Hall is dark to-night,
Without fire, without light— [thee!
Let there come spreading silence around
- Stauell gyndylan ystywyll y nann.
gvedy gven gyweithyd:(8)
gvae nywna(9) da aedyuyd.(10)
- 21 Kyndylan's Hall! dark is its roof
After the fair assemblage!
Alas, it makes not well its end!
- Stauell gyndylan neut athwyt(11) heb-
wed.
mae imbed(12) dy yscvyt:
hyt tra uu(13) ny bu doll(14) glvyt.(15)
- 22 Kyndylan's Hall, art thou not bereft of
seemliness?
In the grave is thy shield!
As long as he was living, there was no
break in the shingle.
- Stauell gyndylan ys dygarvat(16) heno.
gwedy yr neb pienat(17)
—(18) a angheu(19) byrr ymgat.(20)
- 23 Kyndylan's Hall is forlorn to-night,
Since there has been no one owning it—
— ah! death will not leave me long!
- Stauell gyndylan nyt esmvyth heno.
arben carrec hytwyth:
heb ner. heb niner heb amvyth.(22)
- 24 Kyndylan's Hall is not pleasant to-night,
On the top of Carrec Hytwyth—(21) [feast!
Without lord, without company, without
- Stauell gyndylan ystywyll heno.
heb dan heb gerden:(23)
dygystud(24) deurud(25) dagreu.
- 25 Kyndylan's Hall is gloomy to-night,
Without fire, without songs—
Tears are the trouble of my cheeks!
- Stauell gyndylan ystywyll heno.
— heb deulu.
hedyl men yt gynnu.(27)
- 26 Kyndylan's Hall is gloomy to-night,
—(26) without family—
- Stauell gyndylan amgvan(28) y gvelet.
heb doeti(29) heb dan:
marv vyglyv.(30) buv(31) muhunan.(32)
- 27 Kyndylan's Hall pierces me to see it,
Without roof, without fire—
Dead is my chief, myself alive!

- 1 gwyl-aw, W.
2 gwors, W.
3 tav, W.; tav, Bret., silence. The
verb seems to be now obsolete in both
languages.
4 pvy, W.
5 dryo-i, W.
6 goleuad, W.
7 el-u, W.; imp. mood.
8 cyweithydd, W.
9 gwn-a, W.
10 dyfeth, W.
11 ath-u, W.
12 imbed. Vid. p. 143, n. 4.
13 This must be read *vu*, or in Welsh
orthography *fu*. Generally the *v*'s in this
MS. are to be pronounced as *u*'s, and the
u's as *v*'s.
14 tawl, W.
15 clawd, W.
16 digariad, W.

- 17 piau, W.
18 I cannot well make this word out.
Villemarqué quotes the Red Book as read-
ing *wi*. The word may possibly be *ywi*.
19 ankou, Bret.
20 ymgad-u, W.
21 This seems to have been the old
Welsh name of the Castle Hill at Shrews-
bury.
22 ammwyth, W.
23 cerdd, W. Pl. *cerddi*. Vid. p. 146, n. 1.
24 dygystudd, W.
25 deurudd, W.
26 Some words have been evidently
omitted in the MS.
27 I cannot construe this line.
28 gwan-u, W.
29 toad, W.
30 glyw, W.
31 byw, W.
32 myhunan, W.

Staeall gyndylan ys peithnac(1) heno.
gvedy ketwyr(2) uodave : (3)
eluan kyndylan kaeevc.

Staeall gyndylan ys oergrai(4) heno.
gvedy y parch ambuei : (5)
heb wyr heb wraged(6) ac atwai.

Staeall gyndylan ys araf heno.
gvedy colli y hinaf :
y mavr drugauc duv pawnaf.(8)

Staeall gyndylan ystywyll y nenn.
gvedy dyna ologgyrmys :
kyndylan ac eluan powys.

Staeall gyndylan ystywyll heno.
oblaat kyndrwyn :
kynon agviavn agvyn.

Staeall gyndylan amerwan(9) pobawr
gvedy mavr ymgynyrdan.(10)
awelets av dy bentan.

Eyr ely ban ylef(12)
llewsei(13) gvyr llynn :
creu callon kyndylan wynn.

Eyr ely gorelwi(14) heno
y(15) gvaet gvyr gynn novi : (16)
ef ygoet(17) trvm hoet ymi.

Eyr ely aglywaf(19) heno.
creulyt yv nys beidyaf.(20)
ef ygoet trvrm(22) hoet arnaf.

Eyr ely gorthrymet(23) heno.
dyffrynt meisair mygedave :
dir brochuael hir rigodet.(25)

28 Kyndylan's Hall lies waste to-night,
After warriors contented—
Elvan, Kyndylan, Kaeevc!

29 Kyndylan's Hall is piercing cold to-night,
After the honour that befell me—
Without the men, without the women it
sheltered!

30 Kyndylan's Hall is still to-night,
After the losing of its Elder—
The great ——(7) God! what shall I do?

31 Kyndylan's Hall! gloomy is its roof
Since the destruction by the Loegyryws
Of Kyndylan and Elvan of Powis.

32 Kyndylan's Hall is gloomy to-night
On account of the children of Kyndruyn—
Kynon and Gwiavn and Gwyn.

33 Kyndylan's Hall pierces me every hour—
After the great gathering din at the fire
Which I saw at thy(11) fire-hearth!

34 Eli's eagle, loud his cry :
He has swallowed fresh drink,
Heart-blood of Kyndylan fair!

35 Eli's eagle screams aloud to-night,
In the blood of fair men he wallows!
He is in the wood(18), a heavy grief to me!

36 Eli's eagle I hear to-night—
Bloody is he—I defy not(21)—
He is in the wood—a heavy grief to me!

37 Eli's eagle, let him afflict to-night
Meissir's vale(24) illustrious— [it!
Brochmael's(26) land!—long let him affront

1 *peithnac*, W. : *u* seems occasionally to take the place of one of the narrow vowels, *i*, *y*, &c. Vid. *muhunan*, st. 27; *tu* for *ti*, st. 8; *vgverin* for *et gwerin*, st. 54, &c.

2 *cadwr*, W. : *cedwyr*, pl.

3 *boddawg*, W. 4 *oergrai*, W.

5 *buai*, W. The pluperfect tense seems to have been used occasionally with the sense of the perfect. Vid. *llewsei*, st. 34.

6 *gwrwig*, W. : *gwreigedd*, pl.

7 Owen Pugh reads *drugarawg*, but I do not know on what authority; and Villemarqué, following him, has *trugarok*. These words of course represent the Welsh *trugarawg*, merciful. I cannot construe *drugauc*.

8 *gwma*, W. 9 *erwan-u*, W.

10 O. Pugh translates this word by "reechoing clamour;" Villemarqué by "tumulte." *Dyar* means a din; and supposing this word compounded with *cy*, the *d* would be changed to *n*, and we might account for the two middle syllables of *ymgynyrdan* : the prefix *ym* would further give us *ymgynyr*, a surrounding din. The last syllable is, I suppose, the Welsh

tan. If so, it should be written as a distinct word.

11 The change of person does not admit of an easy explanation.

12 *Uef*, W.

13 *llew-a*, W. : pluperfect, 3rd sing. Vid. *buei*, st. 29.

14 *goralw*, W. : 3rd sing., old form.

15 Vid. *ygkymelri*, st. 7.

16 *nofi-aw* : 3rd sing., old form.

17 Vid. *ygkymelri*, st. 7.

18 *i.e.*, in his coffin.

19 *clyw-ed*, W. 20 *beiddiaw*, W.

21 This and the twelve following triplets contain, as I construe them, a mere outpouring of despair. In his prostration the poet bids welcome to the evils that are overwhelming him.

22 I take this to be the same word as *trvm* in st. 35, though with a different orthography.

23 *gorthrym-u*, W. : imp. m. 3rd sing.

24 *Meissir*, as we gather from the latter part of the poem, was Kyndylan's sister.

25 *rhigodd-i*, W. : imp. m. 3rd sing.

26 This must be the celebrated Brochmael Ysgythrawg, king of Powis.

Eryr eli echeidv(1) myr.
nythreid(2) pyscavt(3) ynebyr.
gelvit(5) gvelit(6) owaet gwyrr.

Eryr eli gorymda coet.
kyuore kynyaua:(7)
ae llavch(8) llydyt(9) ydraha.(10)

Eryr penngvern penngarn llvyt.
aruchel yatles.(11)
eidic amgic.

Eryr penngvern penngarn llvyt.
aruchel y euan.(13).
eidic amgic(14) kyndylan.

Eryr pengvern pengarn llvyt.
aruchel y adaf(15)
eidic amgic agaraf.

Eryr pengvern pell galwv(16) heno.
arwaet gyrr gvyllat:(17)
ry galwir trenn tref difavt.(18)

Eryr penngvern pell gelwit heno.

arwaet gyrr gvelit:
ry galwir trenn tref lethrit.(19).

Eglvysseu bassa yorffvwys(20) heno.
ydiwedd(21) ymgynnvyv.(22)
cledyr(23) kat callon argoetwis.

Eglvysseu bassa ynt faeth heno.
vyntauavt(25) ae gvnaeth:(26)
rud ynt vy rwy vy hiraeth.

Eglvysseu bassa ynt yng heno.
yctued kyndrynn:
tir mablan kyndylan wynt.

Eglvysseu bassa ynt tirion heno
ygvnaeth eu meillyn:(28)
rud ynt vy. rvy vyngcallon(29)

38 Eli's eagle keeps the seas; [mouth(4)—
He will not course the fish in the river's
Let him call—let him look out for the blood
of men!

39 Eli's eagle traverses the wood
At dawn to feast—
His greed—may his boldness prosper it!

40 Pengvern's eagle with the grey horn-beak,
Very loud his echoing voice
Eager for the flesh, &c.(12)

41 Pengvern's eagle with the grey horn-beak,
Very loud his call of defiance,
Eager for Kyndylan's flesh!

42 Pengvern's eagle with the grey horn-beak,
Very loud his clamour.
Eager for the flesh of him I love!

43 Pengvern's eagle! from afar is his call to-
For the blood of men is his look out. [night,
Truly will Tren be called the ruined town!

44 Pengvern's eagle! from afar let him call
to-night—
For the blood of men let him look out—
Truly will Tren be called the town of flame!

45 Bassa's churches! there rests to-night—
There ends—there shrinks within himself,
He that was the shelter in battle—heart
of the men of Argoet!(24)

46 Bassa's churches are enriched to-night—
My tongue hath done it!
Ruddy(27) are they, overflowing my grief!

47 Bassa's churches are close neighbouring
To the heir of Kyndrynn— [to-night
Graveyard of Kyndylan fair!

48 Bassa's churches are lovely to-night—
Their clover hath made them so—
Ruddy are they, overflowing my heart!

1 *cadw*, W.

2 *treidiaw*, W.

3 *pysgod*, W.

4 The meaning seems to be, usually he keeps the seas; now he does not chase the fish, but looks out for the blood of men.

5 *galw*, W.

6 *gyliaw*, W.

7 *ciniraw*, W.

8 *llawg*, W.

9 *llwydd-aw*, W.

10 *traha*, W.

11 *adlais*, W.

12 Some words are here evidently omitted in the MS.

13 I have construed this word as if it were a derivative of *heu*. O. Pugh, in his edition, spells it *teuan*. There is an adjective, *teuin*, clamorous.

14 *cig*, W.

15 *aedd*, W., a din; *adaf* may be a derivative.

16 A derivative of *galw*.

17 A derivative of *gwel-ed*.

18 *difoed*, W. 19 *Uethrid*, W.

20 *gorffowys*, W.

21 *diwedd-u*, W.

22 *ymgynnwys-aw*, W.

23 *cledwr*, W.

24 The Welsh seem to have given to Shropshire the name of Argoed, or woodland.

25 *tafawd*, W. The *t* is here eclipsed by the *n*.

26 *gwm*, W.: pret.

27 That is, with blood.

28 *mellion*, W.; subst. aggr. Vid. *loegyrr-wys*, p. 144, n. 6.

29 Here *ng* eclipses the *c* of *callon*.

- Eglvysseu bassa collasant eu breint.(1)
gvedy y dyua o loegyryws :
kyndylan ac eluan powys.
- Eglvysseu bassa ynt diua heno.
ychetwyr(2) ny phara.(3)
gvyr awyr ami yma.
- Eglvysseu bassa ynt baruar(4) heno.
aminneu wyf dyar :
nid ynt vy rvy vyggalar.(6)
- Y dref wenn ymbrown y coet.
ysef yv yhefras(7) eiryot :
ar wyneb y gvellt y gvaet.
- Y dref wen nythymr(8)
y hefras yglas yvnyr:(10)
y gwaet adan draet y gvyr.
- Y dref wen yndyffynt [kat:
llbawen yvdeir(11) vrth gyvanrud(12)
vgverin(13) neurderynt.
- Y dref wenn rvng trenn athrodwyd.
Oed gnodach ysgwyt tonn :
yndyuoet o gat nogyt ych yechwyd.
- Y dref wenn rvng trenn athraual.
Oed gnodach y gaet:(15)
Ar wyneb gvellt noc eredic brynar.(16)
- Gvynn yvyt(17) freuer mor yv diheint(18)
gvedy colli keuneint:(19) [heno
oanfvt(20) vyntauvt(21) yt lesseint.
- 49 Bassa's churches have lost their privilege
Since the destruction by the Loegyryws
Of Kyndylan and Elvan of Powys.
- 50 Bassa's churches are to make an end to—
The warriors are not to continue. [night:
He knows who knoweth all things, and I
here know.
- 51 Bassa's churches are still to-night—
And I am to cry!
They(5) are not, overflowing is my lament.
- 52 The White Town in the bosom of the wood!
There has ever been of its lustyhood,
On the surface of the grass, the blood!
- 53 The White Town in the country side!
Its lustyhood, its grey thoughtfulness,(9)
The blood under the feet of its warriors!
- 54 The White Town in the valley!
Joyful its troop with the common spoil of
Its people are they not gone? [battle—
- 55 The White Town between Tren and Trod—
More common was the broken shield [wyd!
Coming from battle than the evening ox.(14)
- 56 The White Town between Tren and Traual.
More common was the blood
On the surface of the grass than the
ploughed fallow.
- 57 Alas, Freur! how sad is it to-night,
After the loss of kindred. [slain, &c.
By the mishap of my tongue were they

Freur, as we learn from the latter part of the poem, was Kyndylan's sister. I do not, however, intend to trace out the various members of this chieftain's family; nor shall I speculate as to the rank or power they possessed among their countrymen. All that we can know on these matters must be gathered from the poem; and, as we have no means of com-

1 *braint*, W.
2 *cadwr*, W.: *cedwyr*, pl.
3 *para*, W. 4 *parwar*, W.
5 That is, the warriors mentioned in the preceding stanza.
6 *galar*, W.
7 *evras*, W., means plump; and in his Dictionary O. Pugh makes the word a substantive, on the authority of the passage in the text. He there defines it the "plumpness of youth." Villemarqué reads *yroras*, but I believe without any authority.
8 *tymhyr*, W., properly means one's native district.
9 That is, its grey-headed seniors. O. Pugh construes "its blue sons of contemplation," and supposes that the bards are meant!

10 *myfyr*, W.
11 *byddair*, W.
12 *anrhaeth*, W., spoil; *cyfanrhaeth*, common or public spoil. O. Pugh and Villemarqué give us *cyvamug*, but I do not know on what authority.
13 *v* seems to be the same word as is generally found spelled *y* in the MS.
14 That is, returning from pasture.
15 This is evidently the same word as is elsewhere spelt *gwaet* or *gvaet*.
16 *braenar*, W.
17 *gvyn ei fyd* is still used as an adverbial expression in Welsh.
18 *dihawnt*, W.
19 *cyfmai*, W.; *cyfneiaint*, pl.
20 *anfawd*, W.
21 *tafawd*, W.; the *t* is eclipsed by the *n*.

parison, we have no sure ground whereon to base any critical inference. Such inquiries, moreover, would throw but little light on the subject immediately before us. Indeed, the latter part of the poem contains so little that is of historical interest, that it would hardly repay us for the time and trouble which must be spent in unravelling its difficulties. I shall not, therefore, proceed further with my translation.

Bassa's Churches were no doubt a group of small churches, such as we find at Glendalough and other places in Ireland. The hallowed spot where the last Welsh Lord of Pengwern received a hurried and a blood-stained burial, may probably be recognised in Baschurch, a small town, or rather village, lying some seven miles north of Shrewsbury. Names of places on the Welsh border appear to be in many cases little more than loose translations of the Welsh names that preceded them, and Baschurch renders with sufficient precision the Welsh phrase *Eglwysau Bassa*.

It may help us to fix the locality of the "White Town" if we first ascertain what meaning was generally given to the phrase in the early times of which we are now treating. Withorn in Galloway, where St. Ninia the Welsh apostle of the Southern Picts fixed his episcopal seat in the fourth century, was by our Saxon ancestors termed *hwit ærn* or White Cell. Bede tells us that the place was commonly called "Ad candidam casam," because Ninia had there "built a church of stone after a fashion new to the Britons"—*Hist. Ecc.*, c. iv. From this passage it seems probable that the church was called *candida casa* as early as the fourth century, when Ninia built it; and it is clear it was so called when Bede wrote, that is, a little more than a century after Ceawlin's inroad. We may infer that in the sixth and seventh centuries the term *white* was applied to buildings of hewn stone, in contradistinction to houses built of timber or mere dry walling. Now Shropshire was an Argoed,¹ or woodland, and the vast number of wooden houses still to be seen in its towns and villages shows the kind of material which must always have been the most available for constructive purposes. Its ancient towns were no doubt mainly built of timber. There is but one place in the district which we know, or with any show of probability can suppose, to have been built after the Roman fashion; and I believe Uriconium to be the "White Town," whence issued the bands of warriors whose prowess is dwelt upon with such mingled pride and sadness by the poet.

That an ancient highway—either a paved road or a drift-

¹ Vid. st. 45.

way—ran alongside the Severn and entered Worcestershire, somewhere in the neighbourhood of Areley Magna, is almost certain: and equally so is it, that such highway crossed the Tern and passed through Uriconium. Through the same town ran the Watling Street. A traveller therefore from Pengwern, or from the upper part of the valley of the Tern, would pass that river immediately before reaching Uriconium; and when he reached the town might, as his occasions led him, either proceed further south, or pass eastward along the Watling Street. It was probably with reference to the two routes thus open to the traveller that the poet uses the phrases, "The White Town between Tren and Trodwyd," "The White Town between Tren and Traval." Traval and Trodwyd may have been noted places on the other side of Uriconium, on the line of these two highways—Trodwyd¹ being probably some forest-defile. That the poet considered Tren to be the name of a river as well as of a town appears from a triplet in the latter part of the poem, which speaks of the confluence of the Tren and the Tridonwy, that is, as I take it, of the Tern and the Roden.

If the river Tren was our modern Tern, we must look for the town of Tren somewhere in the neighbourhood of this river. In the topography of every country, towns and villages readily take the name of the stream that flows past them; and the reader will easily call to mind some brook that gives its name to more than one village on its banks—epithets such as *great, little, wet, dry*, etc., being used for distinction's sake. On this very river we have a village called Tern; but it certainly has no pretensions to represent the town of Tren we are now in search of. It is clear that Kyndylan of Shrewsbury must have been lord of the whole surrounding country. His usual place of abode may have been on Carrec Hytwyth, but the great town, "his fathers' town," which figures so largely in the poem under the name of Tren, must have been the capital of his district. There was but one place which in Roman times had any pretensions to be so considered; and I believe that Tren and the "White Town" alike represent the Roman Uriconium.

It may be asked, if Tren and Uriconium be the same place, how can we account for the difference of name? The objection is a very reasonable one, and requires on our part a very careful answer.

Most of our Roman towns have in their neighbourhood earth-works, supposed to be the remains of the more ancient British

¹ *Gwydd* (W.), trees; *trawd*, a journey, a passage: hence it would seem *Trodwydd*, the wooded pass.

towns which they supplanted; Colchester has the earthworks at Lexden, Dorchester the Maiden Camp, Chichester the Brill, and so forth. We are generally told that these Roman towns grew out of the camps which were constructed during the siege of the neighbouring stronghold. I believe this to be a mistake. Temporary camps may sometimes be traced near these strongholds, and that they were constructed by the besiegers is very probable. But such camps differ both in their character and in the circumstances of their position from the towns, whose origin we are now investigating. The latter are mostly situated in the valley near the river, and often two or three miles from the scarped heights, which generally represent the British fortress; while the temporary camps, at least such as have fallen under my notice, lie only just beyond flight-shot from the fortress, and were evidently constructed more for the annoyance of the besieged, than with any view to the convenience of the besiegers. The towns were probably erected as the different provinces, one after another, bent the neck to the yoke, and consented to receive the "præsidia castellaque,"¹ which the Proprætor for the time being might think necessary to secure their obedience.

For one of these garrison-towns Uriconium seems to have been originally intended; though it was probably inhabited in the sixth century by a population consisting for the most part of Romanized Britons. It lay about a third of a mile from the Tern, near its junction with the Severn, and about three miles from the Wrekin, on or near to which we have reason to believe was a native town, the old British capital of the district. This native town there can be little doubt continued to exist beside the Roman town, till the inroad of Ceawlin involved both in one common ruin.

We must not suppose that the British earthworks or "camps," as they are sometimes called, necessarily included within their circuit the whole of a British settlement. There are instances in which only scanty traces of habitation are found within the ramparts, while outside of them extend lines of hut-circles for a mile or more—showing clearly that the fortress was only used when the presence of an enemy made it necessary. The remains of an earthwork may still be traced on the Wrekin, and they represent no doubt the *dinle wrecon* or stronghold of the Wrekin of which mention is made in the latter part of the poem. It is probable, however, that the greater part of the British town lay at the foot of the hill to the westward, and that the space between

¹ Tac. Agric., 20.

it and the Roman town on the banks of the Tern was more or less thickly covered with buildings, cemeteries, tileries, etc., such as we find traces of near other Roman stations, Caister for example. The whole of this space, the Roman town included, seems to have taken the name of the British town, and to have been called Uriconium. But no doubt the people of the neighbourhood made nicer distinctions. As the Londoner distinguishes between London and Westminster, so would they distinguish between the *dinle wrecon* and the Roman town, to which they seem to have given the name of the river beside which it stood. In the British town was no doubt much of the old British rudeness, and much of Italian refinement in its Roman neighbour. The relations between the two may have been very similar to those that exist between the "Irish town" and the "English town" in some of our Irish cities.

A like case of confusion between the general and the special name occurs in the Itinerary. The 5th iter, which proceeds northwards from London, gives the distance between Cæsaromagus and Colonia as twenty-four miles; the 9th iter, which proceeds to London southwards, and according to our ablest antiquaries traverses the same ground as the 5th iter, gives us the distance from Camulodunum to Canonium as eight miles, and from Canonium to Cæsaromagus as twelve—in all twenty miles. That Colchester represents the Colonia of the 5th iter seems to be generally admitted; and that it represents the Camulodunum of Tacitus and of the 9th iter is maintained by writers of so much weight and by arguments so convincing, as to leave little room for doubt upon the subject. To account for the discrepancy of name we must suppose that the Roman town was specially called Colonia¹—*the Colony*—because it was the first and the most important colony founded by the Romans in the island; and that the entire settlement took the name of Camulodunum from the British town at Lexden, to which it owed its origin. Some of the difficulties connected with this iter remain to be explained, but the principal ones, and among them we must rank the difference in the distances, may be accounted for on this hypothesis.

"Pengewern's eagle" must have been a denizen of the woods, which, we may reasonably suppose, at one time covered the banks of the Severn near Shrewsbury. But the harbourage of

¹ If we might suppose that Colonia took its name from the river on which it stood (the Colne), the case of Camulodunum would be exactly parallel to that of Uriconium. But on this supposition I should expect, from analogy, that the town would be called Colonium, or Colinium.

“Eli’s eagle” is not so easily discovered. Villemarqué goes in search of it as far as Ireland, but we may, I think, seek for it nearer home with better hopes of success. Bede tells us, that Alcluyth, the old name for Dunbarton, meant the rock of the Clyde—*Hist. Ecc.*, xii; Helvellen, there is little doubt, meant the yellow mountain, as Rhiwvelen, that name so common in Welsh topography, meant the yellow slope—the different localities deriving their respective names from the yellow bloom of the gorse that covered them. It would seem, then, that *Al* or *Hel* was used in ancient British topography to denote a rocky height. Now, some twelve miles up the valley of the Tern there is a high and very remarkable ridge of rocks called Hawkstone. It runs towards the river, but dies away at Hodnet, shortly before reaching it. If this ridge were called¹ the *Hel* or *El*, the strong British fortress in front of it which goes by the name of Bury Walls might very well, according to analogy,² take the name of *Elig*, and as the final *g* is dropped in Welsh almost as freely as in English, we at once get the name of *Eli*. Here then we have two British strongholds, one in the valley of the Severn at Pengwern, some five miles from Uriconium, the other twelve miles distant up the valley of the Tern; and the picture of the two eagles, each sailing down his valley to the battle-field, seems to me to be no less true to nature than it is striking as a piece of poetry.

In triplet 37 Kyndylan’s country is styled the land of Brochmael. I think we may conclude at the time when the events took place which the poem refers to, a prince named Brochmael held the suzerainty in that part of Britain. There is reason to suppose that he was the same person as the prince of that name who, according to Bede, was present at the battle of

¹ There is some slight evidence that such was actually the case. Near to Hodnet is a place called Helshaw. We may surmise that, of several “shaws” in the neighbourhood, the one which approached nearest to Hawkstone took from it its name, and was called the Helshaw.

² *Elig* would really be an adjective, and would signify belonging to the *El*. But adjectives of this class are constantly used both in Welsh and in Breton as substantives denoting place. In modern Welsh, Shrewsbury is called *Tref Amwythig*, the moated or the merry town—Welsh scholars are not agreed as to the etymology—but the important point is, that the town is often called *Amwythig*, without the substantive. (*Phil. Trans.*, i, No. 6.) Avaricum (Bourges) lay on the river *Avar-a*, and Autricum (Chartres) on the river which was called *Atura*. (Walckenaer, i, 399.) The connexion between the names of the towns and the names of the rivers is obvious, and is noticed by Walckenaer, though he does not attempt to explain its nature.

Chester.¹ This celebrated battle was fought, according to the Saxon Chronicle, in 607, but, according both to the *Annales Cambriæ* and to Tighernac, in 613, which is probably the true date. If we follow this calculation, thirty-six years must have elapsed between the date of Ceawlin's inroad and Ethelfrith's advance upon Chester; and, though this interval might well be comprised within the reign of one prince, yet it is long enough to make some explanation desirable. The circumstances of the case readily furnish it. The *Annales Cambriæ* inform us that Selim, son of Cynan, fell in the battle of Chester. Now Cynan is always represented as the son of Brochmael, and accordingly it would appear that the grandson of Brochmael was engaged in the battle. It is clear, therefore, that the Welsh king must at that time have been a man in advanced life, a circumstance which explains the fact mentioned by Bede, that he took his station with the monks of Bangor, who had come to pray for the success of their countrymen. Brochmael, therefore, may very well have been King of Powis when Ceawlin attacked Uriconium; and it was probably under the leadership of this Welsh king that the Britons succeeded in arresting the further progress of the invaders at the battle of Faddiley.

I trust I have now advanced arguments sufficient to convince the critical reader that it was Ceawlin, King of Wessex, who destroyed Uriconium. He appears to have wasted the whole valley of the Tern, and perhaps we may say the whole of the district to which we now give the name of Shropshire. But the Britons were still powerful enough to prevent his penetrating either into the valley of the Weaver, or into that of the Dee. For thirty-five years after Ceawlin's inroad, the King of Powis kept his hold of Chester, till, in the year 613, he suffered at the hands of Ethelfrith the terrible defeat which Bede has commemorated. From that date the marches between North Wales and England have remained, with occasional variations, much as we find them at the present day.

Here it was my intention to have brought this paper to a close. But it has been suggested to me that I ought not to pass over without remark certain speculations, which have lately obtained a good deal of public notice, and which, it must be confessed, are altogether at variance with the conclusions which I have been endeavouring to establish in the present essay. These speculations were first brought forward by Mr. Thomas Wright, in a paper which appeared in the *Transactions* of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire (vol. viii, p.

¹ Hist. Eccl., 2.

141), and have since been maintained in other papers published in the *Archæologia Cambrensis*. His views have already met with formidable opponents in Mr. Basil Jones and others, and therefore my present notice of them may be the shorter.

According to Mr. Wright, "the popular story that the people who resisted the Saxons was the ancient Celtic population of the island is a mere fiction." The scanty remains of that population were the serfs who cultivated the land. The "Britons" who resisted our ancestors were "a mixture of races foreign to the island, and lived congregated in towns." After the open country was overrun by the invaders, the towns lying in that part of Britain which is now called England for the most part yielded "on composition," and still exist as English towns or cities. But in the west of Britain it was otherwise. "The strong town of Deva or Chester held its ground on the north, and Glevum or Gloucester survived, and a Roman town on the site of Worcester may also have been preserved, but the line of strong towns between Gloucester and Chester—Ariconium, Magna, Bravinium, Uriconium, etc.", with the other Roman towns in Wales, were "utterly destroyed." Who, then, were the people who wrought all this fearful ruin in the West of Britain?

Mr. Wright, in answer to this question, tells us that Armorica "was never completely Romanised." Its Celtic population, holding "fiercely to their own nationality, were accustomed to navigation and piracy,"—were indeed "no less piratical than the Saxons themselves." At the beginning of the fifth century they "resumed their ancient barbarism," and "were the heart and nerve of that formidable Bagauderie which threatened the safety of the Roman government in Gaul." When Aetius to a certain extent re-asserted Roman dominion in Armorica, they fled before him, and invaded the western coasts of Britain. It was "a fiercer invasion and conquest of the country, and much more destructive than the invasion of the Angles, Jutes, and Saxons in the other parts of the island." The new barbarians exterminated the Romanised inhabitants of the land, destroyed Uriconium, etc., and settling down in the desert they had made, became the ancestors of the modern Welsh—the old story that the Britons fled to the continent, and gave name to Brittany, being of course a fiction.

No authorities are quoted in support of these statements. They are only assertions and inferences, and may be treated accordingly. As far, then, as our knowledge goes, the people of Armorica had nothing to do with the *bagauderie*—if by this

Mr. Wright means the insurrection of the *bagaudæ* or peasants, of which Aurelius Victor and Eutropius make mention; and just as little had they to do with piracy. They exhibited a spirit of turbulence in their relations with the Roman government; but their country was intersected in all directions with Roman roads, and, as we have every reason to believe, was as thoroughly Romanized as the average of the Gallic provinces¹—certainly as much so as the western parts of Britain. As to the alleged disappearance of the Celtic element from among the British population, I will only remark, that every Briton who is mentioned either by Bede or by the writers in the Chronicle, as an opponent of our ancestors, bears a name of Celtic origin; and though some of them may have been of Roman descent, yet it is clear from the significancy of certain of the names, that the nationality with which they identified themselves was Celtic both in origin and in feeling. Of the circumstances under which the British towns came into possession of our ancestors we know but little. That little, however, directly contradicts Mr. Wright's statements. We know that they wasted many of these towns—Pevensey, Silchester, Verulam, Cambridge, Chester,² etc.—and good reasons may be given for the belief that even London itself for awhile lay desolate and uninhabited. The towns in the west of Britain which bore the first brunt of heathen fierceness, were for the most part sacked and burnt; those which lay more to the westward, and which our ancestors reached at a later period—Maridunum, Venta, Segontium, etc.—long continued to be peopled cities. According to Mr. Wright these last-mentioned towns should have been the first destroyed.

I hope that enough has now been advanced on this subject to show that Mr. Wright's settlement of its difficulties has made a re-opening of the question neither superfluous nor uncalled for.

¹ By this phrase I mean the provinces inhabited by the people to whom Cæsar more especially gives the name of Galli. The inhabitants of Aquitaine and of the valley of the Rhone had been long before distinguished by their adoption of Roman manners and customs.

² According to Mr. Wright, Chester was one of the British towns that were "preserved."

ANCIENT LORDS OF MECHAIN.

MR. YORKE, in his *Royal Tribes of Wales*,¹ informs us that Madoc ap Meredith, Prince of Powis Vadoc, gave to Owain and Eliza, two of his legitimate sons, Mechain iscoed in the Upper Powys, and lands in the neighbourhood of Chirk Castle. We know that Owen Vaughan ap Madoc was lord of Mechain Iscoed; and hence we may infer, perhaps, on Mr. Yorke's authority, that the portion which fell to Elis or Elisa was in the neighbourhood of Chirk.

All that I can learn of Elis ap Madoc is that, in 1202, he boldly refused to join with Llewelyn ap Jerwerth and the other magnates of North Wales against his cousin Wenwynwyn, the son of Owen Cyveilioc, and with all his energy endeavoured to bring about a peace between them.² For this good office he appears to have been shamefully rewarded; for we are next informed that "*therefore*, after the clergy and religious had concluded a peace between Wenwynwyn and Llewelyn, the territory of Elise ap Madoc was taken from him, and ultimately there was given him for maintenance in charity the castle of Crogen, with seven small townships."³

Castle Crogen was the ancient name for Chirk Castle; and I conclude that it was here that his estates lay, and not at Crogen in Merionethshire, which appears to have fallen to the share of his brother Owen Brogyntyn.

I can find no further mention of Elis ap Madoc; and since the lordship of Chirk reverted to the elder branch of his family, we may perhaps conjecture that he died without issue.

Owen Vaughan, the second son of Madoc ap Meredith and elder brother of Elise, is said to have had the lordship of Mechain Iscoed, in Upper Powys, for his portion of his father's inheritance.⁴ He was pro-

¹ P. 61.² Brut y Tywysogion, p. 259.³ Ib.

Powell's Chronicle, p. 153.

bably called Vaughan (or junior) to distinguish him from his illegitimate but more eminent brother, Owen Brogyntyn.

In 1165, in conjunction with his cousin, Owen Cyveilioc, he drove his uncle Jerwerth Goch ap Meredith from his people and his territory in Mochnant, which he shared with Owen Cyveilioc.¹ In this partition Mochnant uwch Rhaiadr fell to the latter, and Mochnant is Rhaiadr to Owen Vaughan ap Madoc.

In the following year he was content to partake of the spoils of his former companion in arms, and received the lordship of Caereinion at the hands of Owen and Cadwalader, the sons of Griffith ap Cynan, princes of North Wales, who had driven Owen Cyveilioc from his territory. The latter, however, was enabled to recover speedy possession of his lands by the help of the English, who broke down and burnt the castle of Caereinion, and put the garrison to the sword.²

The death of Owen ap Madoc was in keeping with the events of his life. He was slain by night at the castle of Carreghova by Wenwynwyn, the son of Owen Cyveilioc, and his base brother Caswalhon Maeleri in the year 1186,³ leaving issue two sons, Llewelyn and Owen Vaughan (II), who divided his lands between them.⁴

Llewelyn ap Owen must have been dead in 1241, when "*Llewelinus Waghham et Audoenus Waghham avunculus suus*" had fined £50, before H. Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry, S. de Segrave, W. de Cantilupe, and others at Shrewsbury, in order that they might have seisin of their lands in "Mogheinant & Ucerreader."⁵ (?) This would have been in March or the beginning of May 1241. On the 9th of May the king's mandate was issued to John l'Estrange, ordering him to give them such seisin as they ought to have in the said

¹ Brut y Tywysogion.

² Ib.

³ Ib.

⁴ Powell's Chronicle, p. 154.

⁵ Excerpta e Rot. Fin., 25 Hen. III. (A misreading, perhaps, for Mochnant Is Rhaiader.)

lands after he shall have first inquired into the truth of their claim according to the convention made before the aforesaid persons.¹ But they were precluded from taking possession by David ap Llewelyn, the reigning prince of North Wales, who was doubtless offended by their submission to the king's authority. This prince, who had succeeded his father Llewelyn ap Jorwerth on April 11 of the previous year, to the exclusion of his elder brother Griffith, had submitted himself to the King of England, his uncle, at Gloucester, on May 19, 1240, and done homage for his principality. He had afterwards treacherously seized his brother Griffith ap Llewelyn at a conference to which he had invited him, and thus brought upon himself the enmity of many of the lords marcher and several of the chief nobility of Wales, and given the king a pretext for proceeding against him. His repeated neglect and evasion of the king's summons produced an angry letter from Henry, dated at Marlborough, July 14 (1241),² wherein, among other matters, David is charged with having unjustly deforced Owen Vaughan and *his nephews* of the lands which had been adjudged to them in the king's court, and ordered not to impede them in the peaceful enjoyment and possession of the said lands.³ These lands were doubtless restored to the rightful owners on David's ample submission to the king at the close of the following August.

It would seem that Owen Waghm (or Vaughan), the uncle, did not live many years after this; for among the barons of North Wales who did homage to the king at the commencement of the year 1245 are "Lewelinus filius Lewelini de Methin" and the two sons of "Oweyn Wethan."⁴

The name of one of the sons of Owen Vaughan (II) I do not meet with, but in 1258, among the barons of Scotland and Wales who bind themselves not to make peace with the King of England, except by mutual

¹ Excerpta e Rot. Fin., 25 Hen. III. ² Hist. Shrewsbury, i, p. 116.

³ Appendix to Powell's *History of Wales*. ⁴ Rymer's *Fœdera*.

consent, are "Vechan Owem" (III) and "Mared filius Lweliner dominus de Methem."¹

In the accounts of Bogo de Knovill, the king's custos of Oswestry (which are preserved in the Pipe Rolls) is an entry of 32*s.* realized from the land of Mecheyn (which the king had conquered from Llewelyn his "rebel") between July 2 and July 20, 1277, when his custody was transferred to Roger le Strange.²

The frequent recurrence of the name of Llewelyn among the Welsh princes and magnates at this period renders it almost hopeless to trace the history of each individual with any degree of certainty.

We have seen that Llewelyn, the son of Owen Vaughan ap Madoc of Mechain, had been succeeded in 1241 by a son Llewelyn who fined in that year to have seisin of his lands from the King of England, to whom also he did his homage in 1245. Before the year 1258 I imagine this Llewelyn (II) of Mechain to have been represented by two sons, viz., Mared or Meredith ap Llewelyn, lord of Mechain (who took part with Llewelyn ap Griffith, Prince of Wales in 1258), and Llewelyn (the third of that name in succession), who occurs in 1281 and the following year as Llewelyn Vaughan of Mechain. But we have also living at this same period a *Llewelyn*, son of Griffith ap Madoc of Bromfield, who held lands of the seignury of the lord of Bromfield, another *Llewelyn*, nephew to the last-mentioned and son of his elder brother Madoc Vaughan, lord of Bromfield and Lower Powis, and yet a fourth of the same family, bearing the same name, in the person of Llewelyn, the second son of Griffin ap Wenwynwyn, lord of Upper Powis.

It is *Llewelyn Vaughan*, the son of Llewelyn ap

¹ Rymer's *Fœdera*. It would almost appear, from the repeated appellation of "de Methen" and "dominus de Methem," which is given to Llewelyn (II) and his family, that the one branch of the descendants of Owen ap Madoc had retained Mechain Iscoed for their inheritance, while the other may have been lords of Mochnant is Rhaiadr.

² Eyton's *Ant. of Shropshire*, x, p. 332.

Llewelyn of Methin, and great-grandson of Owen Vaughan (I) of Mechain Iscoed, that I take to be the person above described as Llewelyn the king's rebel, from whom he had conquered the land of Mecheyn in 1277. But we may be easily mistaken in this conjecture, for Llewelyn ap Griffith, Prince of Wales, is similarly described under the name of Llewelyn the king's rebel in this same year, and we know him to have been driven at this time from Kinnerley and certain possessions which he had lately acquired on the Borders.¹

Supposing the hereditary lord of a portion of Mechain, like most of his countrymen, to have sided with Llewelyn ap Griffith, Prince of Wales in these wars, it is very likely that the king, with a policy not unusual to the English Crown, may have granted his forfeited lands to Madoc Vaughan ap Griffith ap Madoc, representative of the senior line of the family, who, being the son of an English mother and (as I believe) the husband of an English wife, had most probably taken part with the King of England, as his father before him had done. I know not how otherwise to account for a claim to the land of Mechain which was afterwards advanced by the elder line. On the 4th of January, 1281, Margaret, the widow of Madoc Vaughan (who died about 1278), complained to the king that Llewelyn Vaghan had unjustly seized and occupied the land of Megheyn, which she asserted to be of the inheritance of Llewelyn and Griffin, the sons and heirs of the said Madoc, and which ought to have been in the custody of the said Margaret until her sons should have attained their majority. In answer to this complaint the king sent his writ to Roger de Mortimer and Walter de Hopton, ordering them to hear her complaint and to do her justice.²

But the question was doubtless settled by other means. In or about this same month the last war of

¹ Eyton's *Ant. of Shropshire*, xi, 27.

² Rot. Wall., 9 E. I, memb. 12 (dorso).

Llewelyn ap Griffith Prince of Wales broke out; and we may assume that he found a ready adherent in Llewelyn, the lord of Mechain. This war was terminated by the death of Llewelyn ap Griffith at the close of that year; and with it will have fallen the hopes of all who adhered to him.

On the 20th of May, 1282, Roger Mortimer has authority to receive to the king's peace the Welshmen of Lewelin Vaughan of Metheln Ischoit.¹ And by charter dated at Salop on the 2nd of June following, the king granted to Roger Mortimer the younger, the lands which were of the property of Lewelin Vaughan, the king's enemy and felon, together with the dowers belonging to the said property whenever they shall happen to fall in.²

I have not been able to trace the fate of the other descendants of Owen Vaughan ap Madoc of Mechain Iscoed; but we have a writ of the date of November 10, 1281 (while the war was still pending), directed to "Mereduco filio Lewelini de Megheyn & participibus suis," which, after reciting that the king had been credibly informed that Griffin ap Wenwynwyn has been seized of their homage and service and of that of their ancestors the previous tenants of the land of Megheyn as well after as before the late disturbance in Wales, orders the said Meredith and his coparceners to render their homage and service to the said Griffin for the future, as their ancestors had been wont to do in time past, saving the king's claim to the same in case he should wish to prefer it.³

It would be difficult to ascertain how this claim had first arisen on the part of Griffin ap Wenwynwyn to be chief lord of the fee. It had the effect of making the representatives of a senior line the vassals of a junior but more flourishing branch of the house of Powis. And I suspect that the latter, either by escheat or by some other means, eventually acquired a more solid interest in the land of Mechain Iscoed.

¹ Rot. Wall., 10 E. I, memb. 7.

² Ib.

³ Ib., 6, 7, 8, 9, E. I, memb. 5 (dorso).

On February 9, 1283, Roger Sprengheose obtained a grant to him and his heirs for ever of all the land of Megthgheyn Iscoyt which Griffin Vaughan, the king's enemy and rebel, had held.¹ After which I meet with no further mention of any of the descendants of Owen Vaghan of Mechain.

G. T. O. B.

1862.

INQUISITION ON THE EFFECTS OF KING EDWARD II.

IN a volume of minutes printed by the late Record Commissioners there are contained transcripts of four inquisitions taken before the commissioners appointed to inquire what became of the plate, horses, armour, and other goods, sent by King Edward II from Neath to Swansea, probably just before his surrender in November 1326. As this volume is of great scarcity, it has been thought desirable to place before the readers of the *Archæologia Cambrensis* an abstract of these documents in a translated form. They were copiously quoted by me at the Swansea Meeting.

They are sufficiently full to give a complete insight into the character of the record, though on another occasion it may be deemed advisable to reprint this curious inventory of the royal property in the original language.

In the Itinerary of King Edward II, which I have published in the *Collectanea Archæologica*, I have omitted to account for the residence of the monarch from the 10th of November 1326, when he was at Neath, till the 28th, when he was at Ledbury. The attention of Mr. Clarke, in his account of Caerphilly, was naturally addressed to the royal movements at this particular period; and his researches enable me to give his residence during this interval with more minuteness. He says, "as Edward is only certainly known to have been at Caerphilly on the 30th, and at Margam on the 4th,

¹ Rot. Wall., 11 E. I, memb. 3.

there remains an interval of not more than four whole days, and possibly a portion of two others, during which his wanderings are unrecorded." (p. 57).

"Walsingham makes him take water from Striguil. It seems, however, more probable that he went first to Caerphilly."

"He was seized on Sunday, 16th November, at Lantrissaint, gave up the Great Seal at Monmouth to Sir W. Blount 20th November; the next writ dated Ledbury, 13th November: finally the king was conveyed to Kenilworth on the 14th of November." (p. 59). The last writs signed by Edward occur on the fine and liberate roll, tested at Kenilworth, January 21, 1327.

INQUISITIO WALLENSIS DE SUBBOSCO.

To inquire what became of the plate, horses, armour, etc., sent by Edw. II from Neath to Swansea, just before his surrender in November 1326.

It is presented by Inquisition taken at Swansea on Monday next after the feast of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross in the second year of King Edward III after the Conquest, before Richard de Peshale and David de la Bere, assigned to inquire about the goods of the King Edward in the land of Gower in Wales, taken and carried away by the men of that land and parts adjacent, and the value of them, such as silver vessels, armour, and other things.

The First Inquisition states that King Edward, son of King Edward, sent from the castle of Neath to the town of Sweynes in the land of Gower 200 silver platters, worth £351; 100 silver saucers, worth 150 marks; 14 silver pitchers, 11 silver dishes, 9 silver basins, 5 silver cups.

It. 23 silver cups; 3 cups of maple, 8 haubergeons for the king's body; 7 haketons, and 2 haketons worked with a needle with fleurs-de-lys; 2 pairs of plates, gilt; 4 beds for the wardrobe of the king and his chapel; which goods and chattels were sent in the custody of John de Langton, then keeper of the aforesaid castle of Swansea and all the land of Gower.

Also some of the aforesaid goods were transported by Roger de Bosenho, Constable of Kidwelly, Walter Box, Cadogan ap Gre, Jevan Gallaved, and other men of the land of Kidwelly and Carnwaltham, by the consent of J. de Langton, to the value of —; and what remained were in his custody.

II.—INQUISITIO ANGLICANA PATRIÆ GOWERIÆ.

Second Inquisition taken before the same Richard and David, etc.

It is presented that William de Helpreston, Philip Laury, and William le Toukar had of the goods of our lord the king one sum of money, £200.

Also Skyrewyth le Tranter de Kerey had £10.

Also Philip Rees, £10.

Item. Res Drog has, as well from the payment of John de Langton as from his own individual caption, goods—to wit, armour, vases of silver, vestments, jewels, and other goods of various kinds, silver and gold, to the value of £400.

Item. William le Hunte had 1 robe, 1 sword, 1 bow and 12 arrows, and other goods of the value of £120.

It. John Langeton had, as well in silver vessels, noble vestments, choice armour, linen, money, etc., £300.

It. Robert Mauncel, 30s.

It. Hamundus Turbirvillus £20.

It. John ap Waltem Vaghan had 3 horses, 1 mule, and other goods to the value of £20.

It. David ap Waltham Vaghan, goods, £20.

It. Richard le Wolf, 1 dextrarius, 1 jaceraunt Regis, 1 capel de vinbrer, arms, etc., £100.

It. William ap Waltem Vaghan, goods, etc., 20.

It. John Testardus senior had 2 habergeons, 1 bacinet with an aventail, 1 capel de vinbrer, 1 pair of boots, 1 hood, 1 knife, 1 saddle, to the value of 103s. *iiid.*

It. Richard de Welles, armour, vests, money, and silver vessels, and other goods, worth £300.

Robert Penrigg, arms, vestments, etc., £25.

John Phelipp, 5*s*.

Then come horses, value 4*s*. and 8*s*. each, £12 4*s*.

John de Horton, 1 pair of gloves of plate, 1 silver pitcher, haketons, basinets, a pair of gauntlets, etc.

Robert Careman, 1 horn, of the value of 120*s*.

Which, with similar entries, make the sum of the Second Inquisition £2472 9*s*. 11*d*.

Afterwards Gilbert Talbot and Griffin de Cauntyagton, Arch^d. of Caermarthen were appointed to inquire more strictly concerning the particulars mentioned in the four earlier items in this Second Inquisition in the 13th of Edward III, Trin. term.

THIRD INQUISITION. Taken at Swansea before Richard de Peshale and David de la Bere on Saturday next after the feast of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross, in the 2nd of Edward III, by which it was presented that—

Roger de Bosenho, Constable of Kidwelly and Karnwatham, called the castle of Sweynes, entered and spoiled John Small, and others of his family, and took and carried away of the goods of our lord the king, viz. —Roger de Bosenho had 2 horses, armour, silver vessels, etc., to the value of £100.

The same Roger and Walter le Box had part of the chapel of the king, vests, vessels of silver, etc., £20.

Richard le Wolf had 3 capellæ de visura with their appendages, 1 gesceround, 1 hakeney.

Richard de Welles, 1 haketon, 1 habergeoun, 1 helmet, 1 aventail, 1 supertunic, 1 bel, 12 silver spoons, 2 gold rings, 1 saddle, 1 pair of gloves of plates, 1 zone of silk, 1 cross with two images of ivory, etc.

The same Richard had 7 horses, with caparisons and harness, worth £40.

Richard Wrench had 1 horn, worth 40*s*.

Robert Carman had 1 pair of knives, worth 40*d*.

John Quart, 1 horn, worth 9*d*.

John Testard, 1 saddle, 1 habergeon, 1 pair of gauntlets, and other goods, worth 40*s*.

Robert Carman had 2 horses, delivered by Henry Ditton, worth 16*s*.

Philip, rector of Penmagn, had 2 horses, one of which he restored, and the other he sold to John de Horton for 24*s*.

Thomas Eliot had 1 piece of silk furred with gryns, worth 6*s*., an ell long and wide.

Sum of Third Inquisition £661 7*s*. 7*d*.

FOURTH INQUISITION. Taken at Swansea on Tuesday, before the aforesaid Richard and David, of the goods sent by King Edward from the castle of Neath to the town of Swansea in Gower.

This recites first inventory, and states that these goods were under the custody of John de Langton, then keeper of it; but it is said that certain of the goods and chattels aforesaid were transported by Roger de Bosenho, Constable of Kedwelli, Walter le Box, Cadogan ap Gruffit, Jevan ap Gollaved, and other men of the land of Kedwelli and Karnwaltham, by the assent of the aforesaid J. de Langeton.

C. H. HARTSHORNE.

Obituary.

THE REV. JOHN JONES, M.A., Rector of Llanllyfni, Carnarvon.—The Association has been recently deprived of another of its earliest and most active members, in the person of the Rev. John Jones, M.A., Rector of Llanllyfni, near Carnarvon, who died on the 12th of February, 1863. He was born at Lleddfa'r Hall, near Machynlleth, in 1786, and had therefore attained the age of seventy-seven years, forty-three of which he spent at Llanllyfni as rector. He was educated at Bangor Grammar School, and from thence proceeded to Christ Church, Oxon, where he graduated in due course; and was inducted to his rectory in 1819. Of his early life, the following sketch is from the pen of the Rev. Morris Hughes, M.A., his old schoolfellow and college friend, now Rector of Llanbedr Goch, Anglesey :

“Pentraeth, Anglesey. 23 Feb., 1863.

.....“Our acquaintance was of more than sixty years standing. When at Bangor School he was always at the head of his class; and, as a proof of his superior acquirements in general composition, he was invariably called out to read his themes openly to the school, when the masters always complimented him. He was far advanced as a classical scholar, but was ignorant of mathematics when he left school for Christ Church. When at school

he was studious beyond any one I ever knew. He never allowed himself any recreation, only on Saturday afternoon; and then he would walk for miles together,—and he was an excellent walker,—and would never give in. He was a very early riser: if not up at four, never, I think, in bed at five. When at Oxford, mathematics became his favourite study. His tutor was a very kind, gentlemanly man; no great scholar, but of a high family; and he became chaplain to the House of Commons. There were no classes at that time, so as to record the real standard of his attainments; but he was publicly complimented for the high order of his general examination. This would have amounted to a first-class in both classics and mathematics in these days. At that time scholars only pursued literature from an innate love of knowledge; but now every student has an object of self-advancement in view; now, if the 'tide is taken at the flood,' it is almost sure to lead to fortune; but then it was all a blank hazard. Favouritism and good connections were 'The Go.' He had not attained the age of eighty-one: he could not have been more than about seventy-seven.

"M. HUGHES."

Mr. Jones was one of the very first who joined our Association; and his contributions to the *Archæologia Cambrensis*,—the *Antiquitates Parochiales*, the *Arts and Agriculture of Britain*, the *Segontiaci*, etc.,—are some of the most valuable papers with which our pages have ever been enriched. He had studied antiquities all his life, and hence he naturally took a leading position in it, as soon as a scientific society came to exist for the purpose of studying Cambrian archæology. It is not saying too much to assert that, in point of deep reading and unusual recondite research, Mr. Jones was second only to Mr. Henry Hay Knight; and, in fact, his knowledge of the antiquities of North Wales was on a par with that of his reverend and learned brother in respect of those of the southern portion of the Principality. Mr. Jones seemed to have read all those books of ancient lore that other men do not read; and as a particular instance, out of others, we may mention that he had all the writers of the Lower and of the Byzantine Empire thoroughly within the scope of his knowledge. In regard to local antiquities and traditions, his stores of observation and personal acquaintance were very extensive. He knew all about Carnarvonshire and Merionethshire most intimately. It was impossible to be with him for an hour or so, without his pointing out things and circumstances connected with the early condition of his own county that were perfectly surprising; and unless notes upon them are to be found among his papers, it is to be feared that an immense body of local history and tradition has perished with him. He possessed a clear judgment; and, though his historical opinions may not be all assented to, yet they were never extravagant. He treated archæology in the right manner, as a science; and he brought to bear upon it all the accurate habits of thought which he derived from his mathematical acquirements. Besides the papers mentioned above, he has left behind him the following, which, through the kindness of his heirs and executors, have been placed at the disposal of the Association:

Six vols. MSS.—*Extenta Temporalium Episcopatus Bangor facta Anno Sexto Regni Regis Ed. Primi & computus pro iisdem facta Anno xxii^{do} Regni Regis Ricardi Sec.* Notes, etc.

An Essay on the Language and Learning of Britain under the Roman Government, with particular Reference to the Testimony of Martial and Juvenal.

An Essay on the History and Character of the Real Arthur, King of Britain. Dated Ap. 25th, 1820.

MS. on the Affinity between the English and Welsh.

Extracts from Record of Carnarvon, *with Notes*.

Many Notes, etc., on Etymology.

Notes on Irish Missions.

Royal Grants, etc., relating to Wales. Edw. I, II, III.

MS. headed, On the Best Notices of the Primitive Christians by whom the Welsh Churches were founded, and to whom dedicated.

Many scattered Notes on archæological subjects, genealogies, etc.

The example set by Mr. Jones should not be lost on the younger antiquaries who are rising up amongst us. They should remember his laboriousness, his exactitude, his reflecting, logical, and searching methods of inquiry. Everybody may imitate him in his constant attention to the remains and the history of his own county and neighbourhood; and we know of no two members whose memory should be more venerated by Welsh practical archæologists, than Mr. John Jones and Mr. Henry Hay Knight.

R. PERROTT, ESQ.—One of our Breton friends has been called away at a ripe old age, but with mental powers vigorous as ever; in the full work of antiquarian pursuit, and at the very period when we could but ill spare him. We allude to Mr. Perrott of Nantes, who was among the first of the Breton antiquaries to join us, and whose contributions to the *Archæologia Cambrensis* are too recent and too well known to need any other than this passing allusion. He was an Englishman by birth, but had long been attached as English Professor to the University or *Académie* of Nantes; and here, amid the active duties of his position, he found the means of becoming most extensively acquainted with the antiquities of Brittany, of France, and of other parts of Europe. Mr. Perrott, as well as our other Breton members, had long been anxious to cooperate with his Cambrian brethren; and he with them commenced that system of mutual research and correspondence which will, we hope, hereafter be extensively and permanently developed. Mr. Perrott was a very minute and accurate observer, an indefatigable collector of notes, drawings, etc.; and we trust that many of his *reliquiæ* will find their way into our pages. Cambrian antiquities cannot be thoroughly understood without a good knowledge of those of Brittany; and although there are now, happily, many members in both countries prepared to carry on their archæological researches in common, yet the absence of Mr. Perrott will certainly long be felt by them. We shall miss his ready aid, his voluminous correspondence, his untiring patience; and we shall not readily fill up the exact space which he so worthily occupied.

Correspondence.

DATE OF THE DEATH OF OWEN GLYNDWR.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE ARCH. CAMB.

SIR,—In the Hengwrt MS. 133 (a manuscript of about the reign of Henry VIII, consisting of extracts from, or fragments of, the works attributed to Merddin and Taliesin), are inserted two vellum leaves of much older date, containing what appears to be a portion of a register of remarkable events. On one of these leaves is the following notification of the death of Owain Glyndwr: "Obitus Owain glyndwr die sancti mathei apostoli anno domini millimo ccccxxv."

Then appears a notification of an eclipse of the sun in 1433; and then one of the death of Hen. V.

All these entries appear to be contemporary with the foregoing events; and, if I recollect, it is the only authentic record which has come to light of the death of Glyndwr.

W. W. E. W.

Peniarth, 1863.

RUTHIN CHURCH.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE ARCH. CAMB.

SIR,—The following extract from Symond's *Diary* (published in 1859 by the Camden Society) gives some information regarding Ruthin Church not before generally known. The date, 1645, shews that the old chancel east of the tower arch was then standing. A fragment of its northern wall alone remains.

"Ruthyn Church, com. Denbigh.—East window. Chancel old. Under an arch, south wall of the belfray, between church and chancel, the statue (not described, and the portion of the inscription given not legible). Lowest north window. Chancel old. *Argent*, three bars *azure* in chief, three *tor-teaux* (Grey).

"(Grey) with a label of three points *gules*. West window. Church old and faire. Quarterly 1 and 4 *gules*. Three water bougets *argent* (Roos), 2 and 3 a fess between two *barrulets gules*.

"Quarterly 1 and 4 (Grey), 2 and 3 quarterly. 1 and 4 *gules* a maunch or (Hastings), 2 and 3 Barry.....marlles (Valence), *azure* a cinquefoil *ermine*.

"South window over the door. Quarterly 1, or a lion rampant *sable*; 2, *gules* a chevron or between three (blank) *sable* 3 and 4 (blank).

"Monument of Parry. *Sable* three boars' heads coupéd *argent*.

"Monument of Jones. *Argent* a chevron between three boars' heads coupéd *sable*."

Symond seems to have omitted the brasses of the Goodman family, as well as a slab to the memory of Thelwall of Plasyward, now inserted in the west wall, and somewhat defaced. The south aisle of the church was rebuilt about a hundred and sixty years ago; at which time the Sir Watkin of his day rebuilt the western wall of church, when, probably, the fair west window was destroyed. Churchill, I think, speaks of other monuments omitted in Symond's notice.

There used to be in the garden behind the cloisters a mutilated

statue, apparently of the later portion of the fourteenth century. This may be one mentioned in this notice. See the *Diary*, pp. 256, 257.

I am, Sir, yours obediently,

E. L. BARNWELL.

Archæological Notes and Queries.

Query 131.—KING.—The daughter of the Earl of Kingston (who was tried by his peers for the murder of her seducer) was sent to a clergyman's house in Wales, who was not informed of her name or history. Subsequently he married her, and the union was said to have been a very happy one. If there is no impropriety in asking such a question, may I inquire, if not the name, at least the residence, of the clergyman in question.

INQUIRER.

Query 132.—BRAGGOR.—Can any member of the Association, learned in such matters, inform another member of the nature of "braggor," a Welsh beverage of the time of Charles II? Howell, in his amusing letters, enumerates metheglyn, braggor, and mead, as the three native beverages; but adds, they only differ in potency. This statement seems to disagree with a somewhat general notion that the Saxon mead is only equivalent to the Welsh metheglyn. A MEMBER.

Answer to Query 125.—ROMAN ROAD, MERIONETHSHIRE.—The late Mr. Williams (ab Ithel) informed me some time ago that, in his wanderings over the hills in his district (Llanymowddy), he had found a Roman road which terminated in a fork: one branch leading towards Mons Heriri; and the other in a more northerly direction, towards Cerrigydrudion. This second branch is probably one of the four ancient roads diverging from the large camp or station opposite the hotel at Cerrigydrudion. If my memory does not deceive me, Mr. Williams thought the road he discovered led towards Oswestry—a line which would nearly take in Clawdd Coch.

M.A.

Reviews.

THE CASSITERIDES; AN INQUIRY INTO THE COMMERCIAL OPERATIONS OF THE PHŒNICIANS IN WESTERN EUROPE, WITH A PARTICULAR REFERENCE TO THE BRITISH TIN TRADE. By G. SMITH, LL.D., F.S.A., etc. 12mo. London: Longman & Co., 1863.

WE have just received this interesting little work, and read it with much satisfaction. Until recently it was generally allowed that the Phœnicians obtained tin from Cornwall, and supplied it to a large portion of the ancient world; but of late, eminent writers, such as Mr. Cooley in his *History of Maritime and Inland Discovery*, and especially Sir G. C. Lewis in the *Historical Sketch of the Astronomy of the Ancients*, have stoutly resisted that view, and hold that probabilities are strongly opposed to the idea that the Phœnicians ever traded with

Cornwall. They base their opinion upon the imperfection of ancient navigation, and the great distance of Britain from Tyre. That tin was an article of commerce at an exceedingly early date in the world's history, cannot be denied. It was used in the manufacture of bronze by the Egyptians, and all the civilized nations of extreme antiquity, long, apparently, before the discovery of iron. It was certainly used by the wild tribes of Europe, who had no knowledge of the latter metal. It is mentioned by Homer, and in the Book of Numbers. As far as can be learned, the civilized nations obtained it from the merchants of Tyre; but from whom the European uncivilized people derived it, is as yet, and may probably always remain, unknown. It is a remarkable fact that the proportion of copper and tin in the bronze articles used in Egypt, Greece, and by the wild people of the European forests and lakes, is always found to be very nearly the same. It is, therefore, exceedingly hard to believe that the knowledge of bronze was not in all these cases derived originally from some common source and some civilized nation. What people more likely than the active, energetic, and intelligent traders and navigators of Phœnicia? Mr. Cooley regarded the place from whence the tin was derived as certain. He believes that it came from India to Egypt. That the mines of Banca, in the East Indies, were the source of all the ancient supplies; and that it was only at a much later period that the mines of Spain and Cornwall furnished this metal.

Although we cannot now obtain much information concerning the course of trade in the very earliest ages, we nevertheless possess an exceedingly complete account of that from and to the Mediterranean and its coasts to the south and east of the Red Sea; between Alexandria and India and Africa. This is contained in the *Periplus* of Arrian, a merchant navigator of Egypt, who is believed to have lived in the reign of Nero. He must be carefully distinguished from the much more celebrated Arrian of Nicomedia, who wrote a life of Alexander the Great. He was simply an intelligent merchant and apparently skilful sailor; for he appears to have visited most of the places mentioned in his curious work. He gives catalogues of the articles in request, and to be obtained at each port; just such as a modern merchant might make for his own use in arranging the cargoes of his vessels. Mr. Cooley refers to his *Periplus* as an authority for the statement that tin came to Europe from India; but the contents of the book do not justify his allegations. Dr. Smith gives long and curious extracts from Arrian's lists of imports and exports, and shews from them that the trade with the east had then the same character as it has ever since retained. But as our author's subject is the trade in tin, he does not discuss the general question, but confines himself to his special object. According to Cooley, Arrian's book should shew that India was the source of tin; that this "metal has been in all ages a principal export of India"; and that "it is enumerated as such by Arrian." But no such information is to be found in Arrian. There is no trace of tin being carried *from* the east or the south to Egypt. Tin occurs in Arrian's lists as known and recognized as an *export from Egypt to India* and Arabia. Many articles, the produce of remote

parts of the east, even as far off as China, were brought from India, but no tin. It has been said that it probably came by land as a safer mode of transport; but gold, specie, and diamonds, were sent by sea, and not tin. If the more valuable and portable went by sea, surely the more bulky and less valuable would be so sent. If the east was able to get tin from Banca, it is not likely that merchants would take it from Egypt. It would be like "taking coals to Newcastle."

Tin was abundant in Phœnicia as early as B.C. 600, and was well known much earlier in Palestine. We are told that it came from Tarshish. Now the position of that place or country has been a matter of controversy; but as it is clear that the east did not supply tin, we have to look westwards for the place so called. All agree that the markets of Tyre distributed tin to the whole of the then known world, and we have to discover from whence in the west the Tyrians obtained it.

Dr. Smith then enters upon a most interesting discussion of the navigation and colonies of the Phœnicians; and shews that they were able and accustomed to make the long voyage to Gades (the present Cadiz), which was one of their colonies, established, as shewn by Mr. Kenrick, as early as the twelfth century before the Christian æra. But tin was abundant at Tyre much earlier than that time. Also it is clear that the establishment of the Phœnicians at Gades was preceded by extensive settlements on the islands and coasts of the Mediterranean, even as far as the Straits of Gibraltar, and that they were therefore even then highly skilled as navigators. There seems, thus, no difficulty in believing that the colonists of Gades, or even the seamen of Tyre and Sidon, could sail as far as Cornwall, which is nearer to the former place than that place is to Tyre. But we have not space to enter into the discussion of this question. We advise our readers to obtain and study Dr. Smith's book.

Dr. Smith shews that Spain is not likely ever to have produced sufficient tin to supply the ancient trade in that metal; and Sir Cornwall Lewis, although he does not believe that Phœnician ships sailed to this island, allows that "it cannot be doubted that Britain was the country from which the tin sold by the Phœnicians to the Greeks was chiefly procured." It has been said that the tin was landed on the north coast of Gaul, transferred by land to Marseilles, and taken from thence by the Tyrian ships. Now the trade certainly existed at least as early as 1200 B.C., and Marseilles not sooner than about 600 B.C.; also, the tribes of Gaul were rarely on friendly terms with that Greek city, the citizens of which had often as much as they could do to defend themselves from their warlike and hostile inland neighbours. Is it likely, then, that the tin trade should have passed overland under such circumstances, even at the period succeeding 600 B.C.? And is it not almost impossible that it could have done so in the prior ages of its ascertained existence? After Julius Cæsar had reduced all Gaul to dependence on Rome, it naturally took that course; but not sooner. Dr. Smith shews to our satisfaction, that it was carried in Phœnician vessels from Cornwall to Gades, and from thence to the Mediterranean. He has produced a work highly creditable to his

learning and research. We have stated enough to shew that this book well deserves the attention which, no doubt, it will receive; and conclude by cordially congratulating the author upon its publication.

WILD WALES. By G. BORROW. 3 vols. 8vo. London: Murray. 1862.

THIS book does not come altogether within the scope of such a publication as our Journal. It belongs rather to the romance genus: it is almost of the novel kind, although it purports to refer to Wales. It does not profess to be either an history of Wales, or a statistical or even a picturesque account of the country. It is simply a sort of record kept by the author, of his sayings and doings, as he made a pedestrian excursion in 1854. He came, however, into Wales with a purpose not far removed from archæology; for, being well read in the writings of the Welsh bards, he wanted to find out the localities where they lived, and those where they were buried. This took him into very remote and little known spots; but it also made him visit others of an opposite character, such as Valle Crucis and Strata Florida. Wherever the author went, whether by the road side, or on the mountain top, in the farmer's kitchen, or in that of the publichouse, he made it his practice to get into conversation with everybody he met; and nearly all that he said or heard is put down in one or other of these three volumes. These conversations are highly characteristic both of the author and of the people; many of them are highly amusing, but they are not archæological. We cannot, therefore, make observations on any of them; but will pass on to recommend our readers who are fond of bardic recollections, to hunt up carefully for the author's impressions when he visits such a spot as the dwelling of Goronwy Owen at Llanfair Mathafarn Eithaf, in Anglesey; or the burial-place of Davydd ap Gwilym at Strata Florida. He shews a laudable spirit to keep alive the recollection of men who have done honour to their country; and the mere fact of himself, as a stranger and a Saxon, coming into Wales, like another "OLD MORTALITY," to find out the graves of departed worthies, ought to be a lesson to ourselves to look after their graves on our own account, and to hand down all mementoes, and traditions concerning them, as carefully as we can, to posterity.

It is not a very common thing to find an English author troubling himself to learn Welsh: that Mr. Borrow has done so, is a compliment to the Principality; and we hope that his book may serve him as an introduction to our most celebrated *literati*, of whose existence, we fancy, he is totally unaware.

As a favourable specimen of Mr. Borrow's descriptive powers, we will quote the account of his visit to Plynlymon, in order that he may drink at the sources of its three rivers. He is accompanied up the mountain by an intelligent guide, with whom he carries on the conversation in the following passage:

"The source of the Rheidol is a small beautiful lake, about a quarter of a mile in length. It is overhung on the east and north by frightful crags, from which it is fed by a number of small rills. The water is of the deepest blue and of very considerable depth. The banks, except to the north and

east, slope gently down, and are clad with soft and beautiful moss. The river, of which it is the head, emerges at the south-western side, and brawls away in the shape of a considerable brook, amidst moss and rushes, down a wild glen tending to the south. To the west the prospect is bounded, at a slight distance, by high, swelling ground. If few rivers have a more wild and wondrous channel than the Rheidol, fewer still have a more beautiful and romantic source.

"After kneeling down and drinking freely of the lake, I said, 'Now, where are we to go next?'"

"The nearest fynnion to that of the Rheidol, sir, is the fynnion of the Severn.".....

"Very well," said I; "let us now go and see the fynnion of the Severn."

..... "I followed him up a narrow and very steep dingle. Presently we came to some beautiful little pools of water in the turf, which was here remarkably green.

"These are very pretty pools, an't they, master?" said my companion. "Now, if I was a false guide, I might bid you stoop and drink, saying that these were the sources of the Severn; but I am a true cyfarwydd, and therefore tell you not to drink, for these pools are not the sources of the Hafren, no more than the spring below. The fynnion of the Severn is higher up the nant. Don't fret, however, but follow me, and we shall be there in a minute."

"So I did as he bade me, following him, without fretting, higher up the nant. Just at the top he halted and said: 'Now, master, I have conducted you to the source of the Severn. I have considered the matter deeply, and have come to the conclusion that here, and here only, is the true source. Therefore stoop down and drink, in full confidence that you are taking possession of the Holy Severn.'

"The source of the Severn is a little pool of water some twenty inches long, six wide, and about three deep. It is covered at the bottom with small stones, from between which the water gushes up. It is on the left hand side of the nant, as you ascend, close by the very top. An unsightly heap of black turf-earth stands just above it to the north. Turf-heaps, both large and small, are in abundance in the vicinity.

"After taking possession of the Severn by drinking at its source, rather a shabby source for so noble a stream, I said, 'Now let us go to the fountain of the Wye.'

"A quarter of an hour will take us to it, your honour," said the guide, leading the way.

"The source of the Wye, which is a little pool, not much larger than that which constitutes the fountain of the Severn, stands near the top of a grassy hill which forms part of the Great Plynlimmon. The stream, after leaving its source, runs down the hill towards the east, and then takes a turn to the south. The fountains of the Severn and the Wye are in close proximity to each other. That of the Rheidol stands somewhat apart from both, as if, proud of its own beauty, it disdained the other two for their homeliness. All three are contained within the compass of a mile."

Perhaps it is not fair to criticize a literary and poetical tourist for faults of archæology; but when once they get into print, they become fair objects of animadversion. Thus the author believes in Hu Gadarn, Taliesin's poems, Prince Madoc, etc., etc. He cannot see, he says, why Monmouthshire should be reckoned an English county,—not knowing that it never formed a Welsh one. He declares that Edward II was born in Carnarvon Castle; and so forth.

One mistake would be too ludicrous, if it were really a *bonâ fide* one; but it occurred at St. David's College, Lampeter; and he did not

know that collegians there, as elsewhere, are fond of a joke,—just as they would be at Oxford, at the expense of a “freshman”; and so when he visits the magnificent library of that college, he records the following with all the simplicity of a real “Verdant Green”:

“The grand curiosity is a manuscript codex, containing a Latin synopsis of Scripture, which once belonged to the monks of Bangor Iscoed. It bears marks of blood, with which it was sprinkled when the monks were massacred by the heathen Saxons at the instigation of Austin, the pope’s missionary in Britain!”

Risum teneatis, amici? However, he had just come from Llanddewi Brefi, where he admits that he saw the sacramental cup of Queen Elizabeth’s time (the inscription on which he reads erroneously); but he never says a word about St. David’s staff, and the other ancient monuments and the early inscribed stones in the churchyard!

We shall not criticize him for his archæological blunders; but we shall warn our readers most decidedly against the bad taste which he displays in always abusing “Papists,” and in flinging at the monks even in such hallowed, soul-entrancing spots as Valle Crucis and Strata Florida. We do not envy any man his feelings who can visit such places with a single uncharitable thought. At Valle Crucis, too, the author has the misfortune of altogether mistaking the excellent guardian of the spot, whom he calls “a woman,” not a lady; and whom he treats evidently with very scant measure of civility. Throughout his book, unfortunately too, there reigns an evident spirit of vulgar, democratic feeling; so that when he goes to see the pictures at Chirk Castle, he has nothing better to say about them than to abuse the Stuarts! A writer of this kind, if he could be supposed to be in earnest, ought not to come into Wales till he has mended his manners and his principles.

Two little pieces of archæological service he has done us, unwittingly, for which we thank him. He is on his way from Llanarmon Dyffryn Ceiriog to Llanrhaiadr yn Mochnant, and wandering about along a road now little frequented, comes to a place which the occupiers tell him is called *Pen Street*. This we believe will serve to determine a point on a line of Roman road branching from the Clawdd Coch line to Caer Gai, and possibly forming a short cut to regain the main road from *MEDIOLANUM* to *DEVA*.

Again, when he visits *Sycharth*, Owen Glendower’s residence, near Llangedwin (now only a mound), he says that, in the foss going round it, he observed it to be full of *large red bricks*. If so, this proves the existence of a Roman station there before the gallant Welsh chieftain built on it, which has hitherto not been suspected.

Mr. Borrow shews such a kindly spirit towards Wales, that we recommend him to study the history and antiquities of the Principality as well as its poetical literature. He may then return to the country with better spirit; and as his pen is evidently a facile one (though it does not run here with all the *verve* of the *Bible in Spain*, the first work by which he became known), he may write another book on the ancient remains of Wales higher in tone, more genial in feeling, and more correct in statements of facts.

Archæologia Cambrensis.

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THE HOSPITAL OF ST. LAWRENCE DE PONTE-BOY, NEAR BODMIN.

It is with much pleasure that I here present to the readers of the *Archæologia Cambrensis*, and especially to such of them as reside in Cornwall, an engraving of the seal of the dissolved hospital of St. Lawrence at Bodmin. During the visit of the Cambrian Archæological Association to Cornwall we paid a visit to that town, and saw in the Guildhall the matrix of this seal. It is in excellent preservation, and well deserving of a place in some permanent museum. The seal is apparently the most ancient proof of the existence of the hospital that

is extant. It will be seen to be of a purely ecclesiastical character. The matrix was probably made in the fifteenth century, and even perhaps not long before the year 1500. In appearance it seems at first to be much older; but the rude character of the workmanship, and the fact that the legend was probably engraved by a man who did not understand its meaning,—the way in which the *BODMONIS* and *DE* are run together tend to shew this,—are probably proofs of its local execution in a district where art lagged much behind its progress in more accessible regions. The legend and devices are very clear. St. Lawrence, with his usual emblems, stands under a canopy; and one of the brethren kneels in prayer at the foot. The legend is *s(igillum) ✠ s(an)CTI: LAVRENCII: BODMON(i)s DE: PENPOY*. No further remark seems called for upon this seal, except to direct the attention of Cornishmen to the name “Penpoy,” which has a much more Cornish appearance than the form adopted in Queen Elizabeth’s Letters patent. Some remarks by them upon these different forms of the name would be interesting and highly acceptable. Probably an intimate knowledge of the district will supply an explanation of the seeming anomaly. This seal shews that the hospital existed as an ecclesiastical foundation for some time anterior to the Reformation, and perhaps for a hundred years or more before its Elizabethan incorporation. Doubtless its earlier condition was that of an ecclesiastical foundation, and then nothing more was requisite; but soon after the Reformation the inmates of the hospital appear to have discovered the insecurity of trusting to so frail a support, and accordingly succeeded in obtaining a legal secular establishment from Queen Elizabeth. This was a change through which many institutions had to pass: having lost the support of the pope, they obtained that of the crown; even the universities found it desirable to strengthen their position by an incorporating act of parliament in that queen’s reign, although they had been recognized as corporate bodies for centuries previously.

Nothing appears to be known concerning the history of the hospital either before or since this incorporation. There are no deeds nor any cartulary, no record of the names, nor dates of the founder, nor of subsequent benefactors. At the dissolution of the hospital some persons attempted to shew that they were the representatives of founders or benefactors; but the Court of Chancery decided that they could shew no such connection with the hospital. How, indeed, was it to be expected, since the names and dates of the benefactors have so long been totally forgotten? Leland merely states that he found "a poor hospital or lazar-house beyond the bridge, about a mile" from Bodmin (ii, 77, and iii, 2). Lysons (*Magna Britannia*) seems to have seen the account of the suit in chancery; and also to have learned that King James I gave the hospital a market, to be held on Wednesdays, and an annual fair, with a court of piepowdre on St. Luke's day. He says that the lands were worth about £140 per annum. There is no further information to be found in even the last edition of the *Monasticon*. Tanner (*Not. Monast.*, ed. Nasmith, 1787) says: "About a mile from Bodmin is St. Laurence, a poor hospital or lazar-house, on the east; well endowed for nineteen leprous people; two old men and women and a priest to minister unto them." This is apparently an addition of Nasmith, for it is not to be found in an earlier edition of Tanner's work. Thus meagre is the history of an ancient and once valuable institution.

Owing to the happy effect, under the kind providence of God, of better food, clothing, and habitations, leprosy has ceased to be a common disease in England; and with its decline in frequency, such institutions as this hospital have become useless. Much difficulty seems to have been found in filling up vacancies; and at length all attempt to do so appears to have been abandoned. Two or three persons were nominally admitted to membership, and they made the most that they could of the income for their own private advantage.

At the beginning of the present century these pro-

ceedings became notorious; and the alienation of the funds from charitable uses caused Lord de Dunstanville and Basset and Sir Christopher Hawkins to move the Court of Chancery for an inquiry into its state, in order, if desirable, to have a scheme devised by the court for the administration and application of the funds of the hospital. In all probability their object was to obtain the income for the County Infirmary, then recently established at Truro. If so, they were quite successful.

The suit was instituted by the abovenamed gentlemen against the "master, brethren, and sisters, of the hospital of Elizabeth Queen of England, of St. Laurence de Ponteboy: Thomas Hicks, Edward Howell, and Elizabeth his wife." It was commenced on 14 June, 1803; the first report made in June 1805; the decree declaring the corporation extinct was made 24 Feb., 1809. The court decided that neither the then nominal members of the corporation, nor the then lessees, nor the annuitants, had any legal claim upon the property. It appointed a receiver, and gave directions for a scheme to be prepared for the proper application of the income, after all the legal expenses and other charges had been paid out of it.

In Jan. 1810 a scheme was reported and confirmed for the transfer of the revenues to the Cornwall Infirmary; and in Aug. 1810 the governors of the Infirmary engaged to receive leper patients, whereupon the rents were assigned to the Infirmary. Litigation continued for some years after that last date, owing to persons making claims as heirs of donors, grantees, etc.; but they were all ultimately got rid of, and the rental is now paid to the Infirmary in accordance with the confirmed scheme.

The decree of Feb. 1809 contains an abstract of the royal letters patent of Queen Elizabeth, dated 9 March, in the twenty-fifth year of her reign (A.D. 1584); of which the original is not now to be found, although from a list of documents, it ought to be amongst the other papers. It was probably destroyed for the parchment upon which it was written.

We learn from this abstract that there had then existed for a long time, at a place called St. Laurence Deponteboy, in the parish of Bodmin in Cornwall, "a great company of lazar people, esteemed by the name of *prior, brethren, and sisters*," but never incorporated by the crown; that they possessed lands given to them by divers benefactors, as a corporation by that name; and then maintained thirty-six leprous persons. Queen Elizabeth therefore ordains that from henceforth and for ever the then prior, brethren, and sisters, and their successors, shall be incorporated as the *master or governor, and brethren and sisters* of the said hospital; also that the brethren and sisters be thirty-nine poor leprous people. She gave them the power of self-election to supply vacancies, and also to choose a new master or governor on the voidance of that office. She vests in free socage, in the incorporation, "the Mansion House Deponteboy, *alias* St. Laurence de Ponteboy," and the several lands and tenements (stated to be described in the original letters patent) which were possessed by the reputed corporate body of prior, brethren, and sisters. She ordered them to provide and maintain "a minister to say the divine service then used within the Church of England, within the chapel of the said lazar-house, and to minister the Sacraments there," as had formerly been done. Upon inquiry, the Master in Chancery "found that the said lazar or leprous people, under and by virtue of the said letters patent, became incorporate; but that there was not then [1809], nor had been for a long time past, sufficient or nearly sufficient number of lazar or leprous people to be found to constitute a governor and thirty-nine brethren and sisters of the said hospital." It also appeared that in 1803 and 1804 advertisements were made for persons claiming to belong to, or having claims upon, the funds of the hospital; and that several persons appeared and claimed annuities from it. The Master in Chancery, after examining these claims, states that none of the annuities were held by persons who could be considered as proper objects of

the charity ; that not more than three of them had been admitted as members of the hospital ; and that there were not then living any real members of the incorporation, nor persons entitled to become members thereof.

On a survey of the property it was found to consist of the ruins of St. Lawrence Chapel, a dwellinghouse, mill, several cottages and gardens, and land : in the whole amounting to about forty-three acres, and valued at a rental of £112 per annum. The clear annual value of the tolls at the two fairs belonging to the hospital is stated to be £20 per annum. These fairs are held on Aug. 21 and Oct. 29 and 30. The market seems to have vanished altogether many years since. The Prince of Wales claimed the estate as escheated to him as duke of Cornwall, but ultimately gave his consent to the proposed disposal of the revenues by the court.

Not having been able conveniently to visit the Tower of London, I have not examined the original letters patent, a copy of which, it is supposed, is preserved there ; for the abstract contained in the decree in Chancery seems to give all the material points contained in them. The original of the decree is preserved at Truro, having been discovered there after a considerable search. I am indebted to Charles Barham, Esq., M.D., for obtaining a transcript of this document for my use, and for assisting me to the utmost of his power in my search for information concerning the hospital of St. Lawrence.¹

C. C. B.

¹ The Association is indebted to Professor C. C. Babington for the woodblock which illustrates this paper.—Ed. A. C.

ROYAL GRANTS AND OTHER PUBLIC RECORDS
RELATING TO WALES.

THE following paper is one of those for which we are indebted to the kindness of the representatives of the late Rev. J. Jones of Llanllyfni. It appears to consist of extracts from various records and other documents, among which is mentioned the "Salisbury Chronicle." Conceiving this to be an erroneous description, we have consulted Mr. Wynne of Peniarth about it, and have received from him the following information, together with the notes appended:

"There is a MS. Chronicle here, Hengwrt MS., 225, *which, since the commencement of the present year*, I have seen reason to think, *may* be in the hand of William Salesbury, author of the Welsh Dictionary, of the reign of Henry VIII, and editor of the Welsh Testament of 1567. This Chronicle is certainly in the same hand as some additions to an edition of that dictionary here, and, I fully believe, the same as I find in another MS. here, which *is stated* to be his. The Chronicle, though it is mostly, if not altogether, taken from printed works, most of them, however, not easily accessible, such as Ralph Higden, Matthew of Westminster, Thomas of Walsingham, etc., etc., is one of the most minute (recording events, such for instance, as the death of a bishop) and interesting, relative to the affairs of Wales, that I know. It would, I think, be well worth printing."

It is important to ascertain precisely what Chronicle Mr. Jones consulted; and we shall be glad of further information upon the subject. We wish to call attention to it, because this seems to be one of the authorities upon which the statement of Edward II having been born in Carnarvon Castle has gone forth into the world. The note appended to the year 1284 by Mr. Wynne, and his previously published paper of some years back, shew that the statement about the creation of the title of Prince of Wales at that period is altogether erroneous; and, as Mr. Hartshorne reminds us, though Edward II *may* have been born within some part of the then town or fortified circuit of Carnarvon, he could not have been so within the present castle, because that was not built until he was king of England. We hope that the itineraries of Edward I., which are now compiling from the Records, will throw light upon this matter.

ED. A. C.

A.D. 1275 (4th Edw. I).—About the beginning of Nov. 1274, it appears from the Salisbury Chronicle that Edward I made a journey into the borders of Wales with the view of having a parley with Prince Llywelyn, who refused to give him the meeting except on condition of having hostages for the security of his person. This probably induced the English monarch, about the latter end of the following year, to take up his residence at Rhuddlan and Aberconway for the purpose of renewing a negotiation. Articles of peace were accordingly drawn up and agreed upon by William de Suthrey, prior of the Friars Preachers of England, Robert de Tybetot, and Anthony Bek, on the part of the king; and by Tudor ap Ednyfed¹ and Grono ap Heylin on the part of the prince; and signed at Aberconway on Thursday preceding the 10th of November.

1276 (5th Edw. I).—A general scutage was ordered to be levied this year throughout England, to carry on the war in Wales. Accordingly, about the festival of the Epiphany, Edward advanced into Wales at the head of a large army, and remained there till the Pentecost, having succeeded in compelling Llywelyn to observe the conditions of the peace which had been agreed upon. The principal public act of Edward this year was the appointment of the Bishop of Worcester, Radulph de Fremingham, Walter de Hopton, Archdeacon Mereduc, Howel ap Meredyth, Grono ap Heylin, and Rhees ap Griffith, as commissioners to hear and determine all complaints made in the marches and in Wales.

1277 (6th Edw. I).—Edward commanded another hostile expedition into Wales, and destroyed a large forest between Chester and the dominions of Llywelyn,² in order to facilitate the progress of his army. This year, according to the author of the Salisbury Chronicle, he erected the castles of Flint and Rhuddlan. He also sent a detachment of his army into Anglesey, and again forced Llywelyn to sue for peace, which he obtained upon very severe terms.

¹ Doubtless a son of the celebrated Ednyfed Vychan.

² Probably Coed Euloe.

1278 (7th Edw. I).—Edward made another hostile movement as far as the marches, in consequence of a refusal on the part of Llywelyn to attend the parliament then held in London. Upon his submission, and doing homage, he was married, about Michaelmas, to Eleanora Montford, in the presence of Edward and his consort, in the city of Worcester. The principal acts of Edward this year, in reference to Wales, were grants of safe conduct and entertainment to Llywelyn's ambassadors, who were sent to petition the king for the release of the Lady Eleanora and the settlement of her dowry.

1280 (9th Edw. I).—Among the public acts of Edward this year the following are worthy of notice:

March 3.—Grant of indemnification to Mr. Richard Bernard, rector of Rhuddlan Church, in compensation for his land occupied in enlarging the site of the castle of Rhuddlan.

March 3.—An act to authorize the guardians of the king's minerals in Wales to pay the tithe of the proceeds of the said minerals to the parochial churches of those parts.

June 6.—An act for maintaining the same laws and customs in Wales and the marches as were in force in the times of the king's predecessors.

1281 (10th Edw. I).—The whole of this year was spent by the British monarch in making the most active preparations for the entire subjugation of Wales on a scale of the most formidable magnitude. Edward arrived at his headquarters at Rhuddlan about the beginning of July, from whence, alternately with Flint, Ruthin, Llangerniw, and Denbigh, he issued his precepts for supplying his army with the most ample provisions and reinforcements, and remained there the whole year. From these precepts it appears that the whole body of the English clergy were ordered to provide money; the merchants of London, Warwick, and Leicester, to furnish victuals of all kinds; and a large supply of salt fish ordered from Scotland; carpenters, trenchers, colliers, masons, coupiators, and ship-carpenters, selected and

sent to Rhuddlan from all parts of the country ; military services required from every knight in the kingdom ; and every other person who possessed land of the value of £30 per annum ordered to provide one horse ; forests to be felled and roads formed, in order to facilitate the march of his army. While Edward was thus employed, Prince Llywelyn accidentally fell into the hands of Lord Mortimer, in South Wales, on the 21st of December, and his head brought in triumph to the king at Rhuddlan, according to the Salisbury Chronicle.

1282 (11th Edw. I).—According to the Salisbury Chronicle the king this year entered Snowdonia in triumph, and spent the Easter in the monastery of Abernnewith¹ (Aberconway), disposing of the whole principality according to his will and pleasure, excepting only the castle of Bere, which still held out against him. His recorded acts chiefly relate to the raising of supplies of money and provisions for his army. They are dated at Rhuddlan till the middle of April, then at Aberconway, and finally at Hereford in the month of November.

1283 (12th Edw. I).—The statutes of Rhuddlan were published this year, annexing the Principality of Wales to the crown of England, and containing a code of laws for the administration of justice and the regulation of the courts of law and equity. According to the author of the *Annals of Waverley*, King Edward this year began to lay the foundation of the castle of Caernarvon. This fact, however, is not noticed in any of his public acts, which now begin to assume a new character and are full of interest.

In order to observe the changes which he effected in establishing his regal authority and reducing the whole country into subjection, it would be most proper to notice the appointments made and privileges conferred in the order of time in which they occur, and under the head of places where the king then held his headquarters.

¹ This is from the Chronicle of Thomas Wikes. Query,—was Abernnewith Conway?

In the month of March of this year we find Edward issuing the following precepts at—

Rhuddlan, March 20, 1283.—Custody of the cantred of Meirionydd, commots of Ardudwy, Penllyn, and Edeyrnion, with their metes and boundaries, committed to Robert de Staundon.¹

Custody of the cantreds of Arvon, Arllechwedd, and Lleyrn, and commots of Eifionydd and Creuddyn, annexed to the county of Caernarvon, committed to Richard de Pulesdon.¹

Appointment of Roger de Pulesdon to the sheriffdom and custody of the county of Anglesey.

John de Havering appointed king's justiciary, subordinate to Otto de Grandisono, justiciary of Snowdon.

22.—Grant to the Friars Preachers of Rhuddlan of a right of fishery in the river Clwyd, with one net, without any impediment.

Caernarvon, April 20.—Appointment of Madog ap Ceynric, archdeacon of Anglesey, to the office of offeiriad teulu.

Grant of the lordship of the villa of Trefgarnedd to Margaret, widow of Rhees ap Griffith, for life.

Nenadarchlen,² May 9th.—Grant of the manor of Ellesmere to Thomas, son of Robert de Say, for life.

Baladaulyn, June 10th.—Pardon granted to Grono ap Griffin ap Tudur ap Ednyfed, for a breach of the peace in slaying David ap Gr. de Morton.³

17.—Grant to the prior and fraternity of St. John's Knights of Jerusalem of free chase, court leet, and correction of offences, in S. Wales.

23.—Grant of indemnity to the bishop of St. Asaph and others on account of the erection of the king's castle at Aberconway, at a place called Maenan.

28.—Grant to the abbot and convent of Maenan of the old church of Aberconway.—N.B. This grant was corrected at

¹ Robert de Staundon and Richard de Pulesdon were on the same day appointed sheriffs of the counties of Meirion and Caernarvon, with a salary of £40 per annum, payable out of the exchequer of Caernarvon.

² *Qy.*, could Nanadarchlen be Nant Llyn y dywarchen, near Baladaulyn. It must have been situated somewhere between Caernarvon and Nantyllef.

³ Another grant is recorded in Rymer as having been made under the royal sign manual at Baladaulyn, on the 17th kalends of June, i.e. May 16, viz., "A grant of restitution to the church of ecclesiastical goods taken during the war in Wales."

Caernarvon, July 16 following; by which it appears that this was formerly a conventual church, and the patronage therein vested in the abbot.

Caernarvon, July 20.—Pardon granted to Griff. ap Iorwerth.

22.—Grant to David ap Gr. ap Owen, Llywelyn Vaughan, Griff. ap Iorwerth, David ap Llywelyn, Heles verch Iorwerth, and Madoc ap Llywelyn, to hold their respective lands by right of barony.

Aug. 21.—Grant to Tudur Vaughan of the villa of Nantmawr with appurtenances.

Bangor, Aug. 22.—Grant to Griffith ap Tudur of forty marks for the custody of the castle of Dolwyddelan, out of the exchequer of Caernarvon, by the hands of the chamberlain.

Rhuddlan, Sept. 4.—Grant to the king's well beloved Reginald de Ludlow, of the lead mine in Snowdon beyond the river Conway.

Flint, Sept. 8.—Grant that the villa of Flint be a free borough, and that the mayor thereof, being sworn, shall faithfully preserve the liberties, etc., granted at the hand of the king.

That the villa of Rhuddlan be a free borough, and that the mayor thereof preserve the liberties granted by the king.

That the villa of Aberconway be a free borough, and that the mayor thereof preserve the liberties granted by the king.

Concerning the liberties granted to the burgesses of Caernarvon.

Chester, Sept. 10.—Grant to the burgesses of Flint, without purchase, of all things necessary from the wood, of every kind, in the villas of Northop, Leadbrook, Keldveston, Wolfyngton, Wepré, and Sutton, towards establishing a lead mine, and of a common pasture in the said woods.

14.—Grant of £20 to Adam de Wetenhal¹ annually for keeping the chancellorship in Wales.

Grant of £20 to Richard de Abington annually for acting as chamberlain at Caernarvon.

Aberconway, Oct. 10.—Grant to Anian, bishop of St. Asaph, of the advowson of the church of Rhuddlan, as a compensation for a grant of the advowson of the church of Eglwysfach granted by him to the abbot and convent of Aberconway.

Caernarvon, Oct. 18.—Grant of the villa of Rhosmawr to Gr. ap Iorwerth in compensation for forty oxgangs of land given to the abbot and convent of Aberconway.

¹ In 1320, Adam de Wottenhale, parson of the church of Wodechirch, was appointed chamberlain of North Wales, in which office he was succeeded by Robert Power.

21.—Grant to John de Havering of two hundred marks for the custody of the castle of Caernarvon.

Ditto to Walter de Huntercome of two hundred marks for the custody of the castle of Bere,¹ annually.

Ditto to Hugh de Wlonkeslow of £100 annually for the custody of the castle of Harlech.

22.—Grant to Meredydd grach and Gwrgenw Rudd of the villas of Glyn and Gronant, in compensation for two hundred and four acres of land and issues in Maenan granted to the monastery of Aberconway.

Grant to Tudur ap Karwet² of a hundred and forty-four acres of land in Coedeos, in recompense for one messuage and one parcel of land in Penlassog granted by him to the monastery of Aberconway.

23.—An acquittance of two hundred marks to the bishop of St. Asaph, which the king had assigned for carrying on the works at the monastery of Aberconway.

Grant to William Sikun of £150 for the custody of the castle of Aberconway.

Grant of the manor of Carnwylus, with the hamlets of Uchel-dref, etc., to the abbot and convent of Aberconway, in satisfaction for the lands and tenements which they had given gratis into the hands of the king.

Grant of the manor of *Rossaur*,³ with all its appurtenances, to Eleanor, queen of England.

¹ It appears to have been situated somewhere in the county of Meirion, the governors being allowed the privilege of hunting all sorts of wild animals in this county by a royal indulgence. It is described in the Salisbury Chronicle as being surrounded by an impassable morass, having only one causeway by which it could be approached": "Quoddam castrum, quod lingua eorum *Bere* dicitur, quodque palude quâdam intransmeabili circumcinctum difficiles et angustissimos habuit ingressus et egressus, per viam unicam et artificiose compositam."—*Chron. Salis.* (This is from the Chronicle of T. Wikes, printed in Gale's *Hist. Anglicanæ Scriptores*. The castle of Bere is in the parish of Llanfihangel y Pennant, near Cader Idris. See *Arch. Camb.*—W. W. E. W.)

² A brother, perhaps, to Tegryn ap Carwet, lord of Twrkelyn. (9, v. 46.)

³ In 1318 the manors of *Rhosseyr*, Dolbenmaen, Penychen, and comot of Menai, with appurtenances, then valued at £170 per annum, were assigned for the maintenance of John and Alianor, the king's son and daughter. (*Rot. Orig., Cur. Scacc.*) In 1337 an inquisition was ordered by the king to be held respecting the manor of *Rhosseyr* in Anglesey, and the reparation of the manor house and chapel within the said manor.

Llanpeter, Nov. 14.—An act for cutting down the woods and widening the passes in the county of Cardigan, for the security of travellers. A similar act was signed by the king at Westminster on the 8th May, 1286; and in the year following the king returns thanks at Westminster to the men of the commot of Buellt for their gratuitous services in this respect.

1284 (13th Edw. I).—The Salisbury Chronicle records that the queen of England was delivered of a son on the 25th of April this year, to whom Edward gave the title of Prince of Wales.¹ We are also informed by the author of the *Annals of Waverley* that Edward assembled all the nobility and many foreign princes to celebrate his triumph over Wales by tilts and tournaments at the Round Table at Nefin, which commenced on the first day of August this year.²

The royal grants this year are for the most part dated in South Wales, at the close of the year, among which are the following at—

¹ "Edwardus filius Edw. regis nascitur in Caernarvon vnde et nomen sortitus est 25 die Apr. Flor. hist. An. 1284 natū dicit hñe v'z die 8. Marci."—*Hengwrt MS.*, 225.

Upon referring to *Flores Historiarum*, I find the following, "Anno gratiæ m̄ccclxxxiii. die Sancti Marci Evangelistæ, apud Kaernarvon Snowdono natus est regi filius, cui nomē Edwardus, in cuius nativitate multi, & maximē London. gaudebant."

Edward of Carnarvon was not created Prince of Wales till he was nearly seventeen years of age. This is proved not only by contemporary "Ministers' Accounts," but by the original letters patent in the Record Office in London; though Miss Strickland, aware of the letters patent, in her *History of the Queens of England*, preferred the authority of Selden!—W. W. E. W.

² m̄ccclxxxiv. "Item convenerunt comites, barones, milites de regno Angliæ, ac etiam multi proceres transmarini, circa Festum Beati Petri quod dicitur *ad vincula*, ad rotandam tabulam apud Neubin juxta Snawdon præconizatam in choreis & pastiludiis ad invicem coludentibus, in signum triumphī contra Wallensium proterviam expediti." (*Annales Waverlienses*, pp. 238-9.) At p. 214 of the fourth volume of the *Arch. Camb.* will be found the grant of the custody of the castle of Bere to W. de Huntercombe, printed from the original roll among the public records.

In 1284 the revenues of the vacant archbishopric of York were given in charge to the king's justiciary, Otto de Grandisono, for the purpose of erecting castles in Wales. (*Rot. Orig. in Curia Scac.*)—W. W. E. W.

Cardigan, Nov. 22.—An act relating to the privileges granted to the burgesses de Bere.¹

Ditto to the liberties granted to the burgesses of Harlech.

Ditto to the liberties granted to the burgesses of Cricciaeth.

The custody of the castle of Cricciaeth was committed to William de Leyburn, and that of Harlech to John de Benelare, and that of Bere to Hugh de Tubervill.²

1285 (14th Edw. I), Jan. 7.—Office of treasurer of Wales committed to Robert de Belvere at Exeter.

1286 (15th Edw. I).—The acts of this year relate chiefly to the means used in suppressing the rebellion of Rhys at Meredydd, who laid waste the county of Caermarthen. His castle of Drosselan and all his lands were ordered to be seized into the king's hands, and a reward of £100 offered for his head.

1287³ (16th Edw. I), Dec. 6.—An act passed at Westminster for defending the king's men of Cardiganshire against Rees ap Meredydd and his abettors, and for saving that country.

1288 (17th Edw. I), Nov. 6.—An act for delivering up to the queen, the king's consort, the lands and tenements which Griffith Vaughan held.

1289 (18th Edw. I), Jan. 14.—An act for superintending and examining the costs and expenses incurred in the works of the castle of Llanbadarn fawr, in West Wales (Aberystwith).

Feb. 10.—An act for exempting the burgesses of Aberconway from toll throughout England.

July 12.—An act for superintending the works at the castles of Rhuddlan, Flint, and Chester.

Nov. 6.—An act to repay Robert de Staundon the sum of £20, which he expended in rebuilding the houses

¹ See the charter of Bere amongst the documents relating to that castle in *Arch. Camb.*, vol. for 1849.—W. W. E. W.

² In 1289 Hugh de Tubervill had a royal license granted him of hunting all kinds of wild beasts within the county of Meirion. He was also allowed £100 for the custody of the castle of Bere.

³ 1287. A royal commission was issued this year, of inquiry into the state and condition of the daughters of Llywelyn ap Dafydd, who had assumed the monastic habit "*in ordine de Sempingham.*" (*Rot. Pat.* 16 *Edw.* I.)

of Aber and Bala, which had been unfortunately destroyed by fire.

1290 (19th Edw. I), Sept.—Grants made in favour of the bishop of St. David's, etc.

1292 (21st Edw. I), July 15.—Grant for delivering the bailiwick of the woodward of Eifionydd to the custody of Richard ap Carvet,¹ a Welshman.

1293 (22nd Edw. I), June 13.—The custody of all the castles and lands in West Wales, and the office of justiciary, put in commission for the satisfaction of the debts which the king owed Robert Tibetot.

1294 (23rd Edw. I).—According to the *Chronicon Salisb.* Edward arrived in Anglesey on the 6th of December, to suppress the insurrection of one Madoc,² when he rebuilt the town and castle of Beaumaris, cut down the forests, and fortified the castles on the sea coasts.

In 1313 (7th Edw. II) a grant in perpetuity of three hundred and twenty-four acres and a half and one rood of land, near the castle of Beaumaris, was made to the burgesses of the same place at an annual rent of £7: 10: 10½. (Vid. *Rot. Orig. in Curie Scac.*)

*Chartered Boroughs in North Wales, recorded in the
Original Rolls of the Court of Chancery.*

1277.—Charter of liberties granted to Rhuddlan, which was again renewed in 1283. (Vid. 12 Edw. I, n. 12.)

1283.—First grant of a charter to the borough of Caernarvon. (Vid. ut supra).

1284.—Charter of liberties granted to Cricciaeth, n. 148. Ditto to Harlech, n. 149. The burgesses of Harlech, in 1315, had a grant of the said ville, and of all the mills in Arduwy, with all escheats, subject to a payment of £19: 18: 1 per annum.

1285.—Grant of charter first made to Conway, n. 12, which was again renewed in 1329.

1331.—Charter granted to the borough of Bala, the burgesses to pay an annual rent of £10: 12 for the king's ville there. Confirmations of charters were made to the

¹ Qy., Carwet of Twrcelyn.

² Madoc ap Llewelyn.

burgesses of Caernarvon, Beaumaris, Aberconway, and Llanbadern,¹ upon the payment of a fine of ten shillings.

Caernarvon Quay.—Mandate from Edward III, in 1327, to Robert Power, his chamberlain, of Caernarvon,—“Greeting. Inasmuch as we are given to understand that the quay (*kaiā*) of Caernarvon is so dilapidated and out of repair, that, except it be speedily repaired, the greatest danger may happen to our castle there; and inasmuch as we are bound to repair and maintain the said quay,—we command you that, if such is the case, you improve that quay with such reparation and renovation as it stands in need of, from the revenues of your bailiwick. (*Rot. Orig. in Curia Scacc.*)

In 1323 the same Robert Power was ordered to supply the castle of Aberconway for the support of a hundred men for six months, with the following articles, “frumento, braseo, melle, grossis, carnibus et pisce, ferro, acero, et plumbo.”

Chamberlains of North Wales.

1299, Hugh de Leominster.

1309, Thomas de Esthall.²

1312, Thomas de Chedworth.

1315, William de Duyn.

1318, Henry de Shirokes.

1320, Adam de Wettenhall.

1326, Robt. Power.

1327, John de Chiverdon.

1329, Nicholas de Acton.

1330, Adam de Wichiford, cler.

1331, Robert de Hanbury, cler.³

1340, Richard de Hanbury.

1341, John de Ellerker, cler.

} These were also
escheators to the
king at Caernar-
von.

¹ Llanbadarn, Aberystwyth.

² A mandate issued to him to deliver up two cables and two anchors to Simon de Monte Acuto (Montague), admiral of the fleet in the expedition to Scotland.

³ In 1333 Robert Hanbury is desired to repair the houses within

Justiciaries of North Wales.—1284, Robert de Staundon; 1243, John de Havering, with a salary of £400 per annum; 1307, Roger de Mortuo Mari de Chirk; 1310, John de Grey; 1330, John de Wisham; 1337, Richard, Earl of Arundel, for life; 1387, John, lord of Charlton and Powys.

Sheriffs of the County of Caernarvon.—1294, Robert de Lond; 1315, John de Sapy; 1320, Egidius de Bello Campo; 1329, Thomas Ace, appointed for life in reward for his services; 1337, Stephen de Pulton; 1339, Richard, Earl of Arundel, for life.

Sheriffs of Anglesey.—..... Roger de Pulesdon; 1294, Thomas de; 1299, John de Havering; 1310, John de Sapy; 1315, Einion bach; 1329, Gilbert de Ellesfeld; 1334, William Trussell for life.

Miscellaneous Appointments and Grants.

1338.—Bailiwick of the Ringild of Uwchgorfai and the fishery of Aberglaslyn granted to Richard de Strayngham at an additional rent of 10s. 8d. (*Rot. Orig. Cur. Scac.*)

1339.—Grant of the manor of Aberffaw, etc., to Roger de Heyton, the king's surgeon, for life; subject to the payment of £29 : 1 : 0 $\frac{3}{4}$ per annum, which was afterwards remitted as a discharge for the supply of medicines.

1332.—Bailiwick of the Ragolotria of Aberffraw given to Thomas de Whitchurch, the porter of the gates of the king's villa of Caernarvon, and the mace-bearer ("officium portandi macem in eadem villa").

1330.—The burgesses of Newborough, in Anglesey, paid a fine of 20s. for a confirmation of certain letters patent; and from an inquisition held in 1332, it appears that they held certain lands and tenements in Caermarthen.

Governors of Caernarvon Castle.

1289.—Adam de Wettenhall.

1307.—Roger de Mortuo Mari de Chyrk. His lands, the castles of Caernarvon, Conway, Beaumaris, Cruciett, and Harlech; and to complete the king's barge, then building at Caernarvon, from the proceeds of his bailiwick.

etc., at Chirk were escheated in 1331, for his having engaged in a rebellion against the king.

1326.—William de Shaldeford. He soon after obtained a grant of the villa of Nant mawr, in Anglesey, in perpetuity, to him and his heirs, subject to a rent of £5 per annum. He had also a grant of the mill of Eithinog on condition of his making two appearances every year before the sheriff in his turns for the hundred of Uwchgorfai.

1339.—Richard, Earl of Arundel, for life.

Governors of Conway Castle.—1296, William de Arllechwedd; 1316, William de Crealawe; 1326, Roger de Mortuo Mari de Wymore; 1327, Henry de Mortuo Mari; 1330, John Lestraunge, had a grant of the ville of Nefin; 1337, Edward de Sco. Johanne le Neuen.

Governors of Cricciaeth Castle.—1309, William Trumwyn; 1320, John de Swennerton; 1321, Thomas Jay; 1326, William de Shaldeford; 1327, Richard de Monmouth, king's valet; 1333, John de Allespach; 1335, Richard de Holland for life; 1340, John Lestraunge de Muddle (Middle, near Ellesmere, in Shropshire).

GLEANINGS ON LEGENDARY MYTHOLOGY.

(From the MSS. of the late R. PERROTT, Esq., of Nantes.)

THE *Revue Germanique*,¹ in its number for December 1858, contains an article on "Legendary Mythology" so full of interesting details and useful information and instruction, that the following notice of it may not, perhaps, be unacceptable to the readers of the *Archæologia Cambrensis*.

The article consists of an analytical review of a work published in 1857 under the title of *Schweizersagen aus dem Aargau gesammelt und erlautet von Ernst Ludwig Rochholz*; or, "Swiss Legends of Argovia collected and explained by E. L. Rochholz." The analysis is due to M. J. Hunziker, one of the many able contributors to the valuable periodical just referred to. The original work we have not seen. The few notes belonging to the review are introduced into the text: thus, for the notes subjoined and for the supplementary notes of the following paper, we are alone responsible. We could have wished to give a translation of the entire article; but its length will only admit of an abridgment, following as closely as may be the language of the original, and without any addition.

The Canton of Argovia reckons scarcely two hundred thousand inhabitants scattered over about twenty-six square miles, of which no less than sixteen are covered with forests, many of them remarkable for their extraordinary beauty. Its vast basin is traversed by numerous rivers and streams, and contains, moreover, two lakes. All these figure in the Sagas treating of the sacred waters, the dragons, the bulls, and the other symbolical animals referrible to the waters. The forests are haunted by the Wild Huntsman (the god Wnotan); and the flanks and chasms of the mountains conceal caverns filled with hidden treasures under the guardianship of dragons, and inhabited by pigmy workers in gold.

The two volumes contain about two hundred and fifty Sagas of various length, each followed by brief but sound explanations. In the same year (1857) M. Rochholz also published "Nursery Sports and Songs of German Switzerland" (*Alemannisches Kinderspiel und Kinderlied aus der Schweiz*). Other volumes are about to make us acquainted with the culture, manners, and usages; feasts, songs, and proverbs; farces and

¹ *Revue Germanique*, publiée par MM. Ch. Dollfus et A. Neffter à Paris, chez A. Franck, 67 Rue Richelieu. 40 francs per ann.

tales and superstitions, with the many other disjointed details ordinarily comprised under the latter denomination. And all these treasures are derived from a single one of the twenty-two cantons of Switzerland.

The canton appears to have been completely occupied by the Romans, who constructed in it numerous towns, military roads, stations, and *castella*. But before the Romans there were *Celts* in possession, traces of whose habitations, tombs, and flint utensils, have recently been discovered. (See "Dissertations" of Mr. F. Keller in vols. vii and ix of the *Mittheilungen der antiquarischen Gesellschaft in Zurich*.)

The author classes his Sagas under twelve heads comprised in so many chapters: 1st, Holy Waters; 2nd, Sacred Trees; 3rd, The Wild Huntsman; 4th, Treasures and Caverns; 5th, Sagas of Dwarfs; 6th, Symbolical Animals; 7th, *Ignes Fatui* and Ghosts; 8th, Law Sagas; 9th, Sorcerers and Witches; 10th, Pagan and Roman Monuments; 11th, Legends and Tales; 12th, Historical Sagas. For greater facility of analysis, Mr. Hunziker ranges these Sagas under three heads:

I. Elementary Mythology; or that which treats of the phenomena of nature, the most ancient of all.

II. Mythology of Pagan God-Worship, the next in succession, and existing up to the time of the introduction of Christianity.

III. The Historical Legend, which is blended with the origins of history, and is, by far, the youngest of the three.

After having thus characterized the three principal divisions of legendary mythology, Mr. Hunziker proceeds to pass each in review separately, selecting such examples as may serve for models of the kind.

I.—ELEMENTARY MYTHOLOGY.

Legend of the Oak of Egliswil.—"On an eminence at the back of the village of Egliswil rises an oak; a golden ring, concealed in the depth, encircles its roots. This ring is heavier than the biggest house, but no one can reach it. 'Tis well; for were it touched by mortal hand, both it and the oak would disappear in the abyss; and from the opening would burst forth a torrent that would inundate the valley, cover it with water, and form anew the lake which anciently constituted the whole of Argovia.¹

"This Saga, under different forms, is one of the most ancient and one of the most transparent that is known.

¹ See the Legends of N. D. du Guéodet and of Is. Supplementary Notes.

"In the *northern myths* it is the *Mitgardswurm* of the world which embraces all the earth, and, one day rising to the surface, will submerge it.

"The *Eddas* speak with yet greater exactitude,—the *serpent Nidhöggr* is hidden beneath the roots of the *ash Yggdrasil*, whence gushes the spring *Hvergegnir*.

"Thus in the *Iliad* a plane-tree rises, the Greeks assembled under its shade make their sacrifices there, whilst a spring gushes forth at its foot; a *serpent*, which has devoured the nine young birds with their mother, hidden in the foliage of the tree, is a presage of the ten years' war and the fate of Troy.

"The *Indian* myth informs us that, between the successive destructions of the world, the god Vishnou reposes on the *serpent Sesha* in the midst of the waters which cover the earth.

"Similar recitals might be multiplied without end. It is the picture of the world surrounded, according to ancient geography, by the sea rolled in form of a serpent. Such is the groundwork; the details vary. Thus the Greeks and Germans represent the world under the form of a tree; whilst the Indian legend does not mention it, at least under this circumstance. On the other hand, the notion of the serpent, the symbol of the sea, seems to lose itself, or to become obscured, by degrees amongst the Greeks and also amongst the Germans. In Homer the notion of the serpent as the symbol of the sea still exists, but without its original signification being apparent. The Swiss legend is altogether ignorant of it: the ring of the world replaces it, and the spring is substituted for the sea.¹ The

¹ With respect to the sea, as such, M. Max Müller, in his *Comparative Mythology*, observes that the primitive Arians occupied in Asia a central position; whence it would result that, before their separation, they could not have known of the existence of the sea; that if so, the name "sea" must have been of posterior formation, and have varied in the different Arian languages. He then states that the fact is so; that identical names are indeed found in Greek and Latin, but neither in the northern nor in the southern branches of the Arian families; that the Sanscrit *salila* proves no more than that they knew the use of *salt*. The Latin *mare*, he adds, is the same, word for word, as the Sanscrit *vari*,—which, however, signifies *water in general*; and that, although they had not yet reached the sea, they practised navigation [on their rivers]. This, however, does not affect the general tradition of the deluge, when "all the fountains of the great deep were broken up," however it may touch on the symbolical signification. Is there not an appearance of a belief that the earth is founded upon the waters, or rather that the waters occupy its centre? From the earliest antiquity, too, heaven had been regarded as the one supreme being; and the earth, an inferior deity, as his wife whom he

idea here is, and prevails generally, that the water in rising submerges the world. A second and alternative idea, peculiar to the Germans, is, that the tree of the world may be consumed by fire: a note adds, '*Muspili* is the name of a German poem of the ninth century, which treats of this subject.'

"The myth is, from its nature, eminently productive and vivacious..... Each element of the first link becomes, in its turn, the starting point of a new series of legendary tales. Thus the symbol of the world is a tree; but, moreover, it is the tree of life, the genealogical tree of the gods, and of men, who are born and grow up under its shade. Thence the multitude of beliefs and of Sagas connected with trees. Mr. Rochholz's collection alone furnishes thirty. Some of the most remarkable of these are selected in order to observe the filiation of ideas which links them together so logically.

What more natural than to attach to the tree of life the fate of a country, a town, etc. The Ruminal fig tree at Rome had no other signification. From the time of Romulus to our day—from Rome to Switzerland—there is but a step, and the belief still exists. There it was a fig tree—here it is a magnificent lime tree, famed for its age and size, and crowning the heights of the Bötzeberg. The popular adage says—"The day on which the lime tree shall rest its head on the house of Rodolph will be the end of the world."

"This house of Rodolph of Hapsburg, mentioned in Division III, is separated from the Bötzeberg by a deep valley. The end of the world will arrive when the shadow of the lime tree, clearing the valley, shall cover the castle on the opposite mountain. But the legend does not stop there: the tree, before becoming the sign of Fate, had served as the symbol and the abode of the gods; and before them it had sheltered and covered, in the same manner as the rock, the first men—the ancestors of us all. The saga reminds us of it, placing the

embraces. With the New Zealanders, this embrace is so tight that the separation is only effected by great force. The deluge is there occasioned by the breaking of the vault of heaven. (See Suppl. Notes.)

¹ In the Legend of N. D. du Guéodet there is merely a spring without either the tree or the serpent. According to the prose Eddas there existed in the south a world called *Muspell*, so light and hot as to be impervious to those who were not indigenous there. Its guardian, "Surtur," bears in his hand a flaming falchion; with which, at the end of the world, he is to sally forth, vanquish all the gods, and consume the universe with fire. (Mallet's *Northern Antiq.* (Bohn's edition), p. 401, note; and p. 514, note H H.)

most ancient inhabitants of the country under the darkness of the secular forests."

For a similar reason, certain trees continue to represent *boundary marks*, whose destruction brings ill luck.

The Legend of the Three Brothers of Shilwald. "These three brothers had to divide their inheritance. All went right, and the partition was effected as far as a solitary cherry tree, which lay exactly at the point where the fields of the three brothers abutted together. Each of them wished to have the tree, but neither of them would pay the price set upon it by the two others. They therefore resolved to make the tree useless to all. For this purpose, they rooted it up and replanted it, with the branches in the ground and the roots in the air.¹ But the tree was more generous than the men; its branches took root, and its ancient roots became branches, bearing leaves, flowers, and fruit. On the other hand, the fortunes of the three masters declined visibly: they died poor; and from that time no man has touched the fruit of the tree: it withers and dries up, in the air.

"Man grew up under the shadow of the forest, and his earliest food was the fruit of the tree. The myth goes farther: it teaches us that mankind was created from the tree, and sometimes from the rock. Ashr and Embla,—the ash and the elm,—say the Eddas, were the first men; and Lodhr, the god of light, gave them life and heat. The same belief was current in antiquity. The names of trees in Greek and Latin, almost without exception, and frequently notwithstanding their termination, are feminine. Why? Because, in the eyes of the ancients, trees were women and mothers."

"Quercus laurique ferebant
Cruda puerperæ, ac populos umbrosa creavit
Fraxinus et fœtâ viridis puer excidit orno."

(Papin. Statius, *Thobais*, iv, 276.)

"Rocks and trees, whence proceed children, are known in all the villages in Southern Germany. In the Saga of '*The Virgin of the Keys*,' in a future page, we shall find described the interior of a child-rock."

Legend of the three Child-trees of Erlisbach, and of the hidden Treasure. "In the wood of Erlisbach, in Argovia, are frequently heard cries resembling those of a child. At the head of the forest are three trees, and between them lies a treasure hidden underground. The child, whose voice we hear, casts a charm over it, and prevents its being removed. Some

¹ See Supplem. Notes, *Theogony of New Zealand*.

young men, passing that way and knowing nothing of this legend, heard the wailing of a child, at the same time three whistling sounds issued from the tops of the trees; and one of the young men, turning his eyes in that direction, saw a child there, but on the instant three drops of blood fell on his face.

“The three drops of blood gave occasion to numerous celebrated miracles in the Middle Ages. This, however, is not to be wondered at, since it is the trees themselves which bleed. We are referred to the bleeding forest in *Jerusalem Delivered*, lib. xiii, and to the myrtle of Polydorus, *Æneid*, lib. iii.

“A certain forest in Switzerland, protected from the axe by this belief, has formed a rampart against inundations and avalanches for many centuries.

“The tree of Destiny and the tree of Life, those twin ideas, are united in the custom of planting a tree on the birth of an infant. This tree is sacred; in some parts of Germany, prayer is made under it. The Destiny of the child, bound up in that of the tree, is not always happy. Then nothing but devotedness can avert the evil hour.”

An Indian Legend of Devotedness. Mr. Rochholz cites an Indian legend in which the Princess Savatri, knowing her husband's destiny, never quits him. The fatal hour arrives—Satyavan, the husband, goes into the forest to cut the sacrificial wood, as usual. Being soon fatigued, he falls asleep on his wife's knee. Then comes Yama, the God of Death, seizes the soul of the sleeper and carries it off. But Savatri watches, follows them through the forest, and, by her prayers and devotedness, so touches the heart of Death, that finally her husband is restored to life and to his spouse.¹

He then gives the following

Legend of the Swiss Peasant's Daughter. On the night of the child's birth, an aged woman in distress was hospitably received into the house. On her departure in the morning, she thanked her host, wished health and happiness to the newborn infant, and urged all present to be very watchful over her. “For,” said she, “during the night, I saw in a dream a large fir tree of the forest; and when the child shall have attained the age of twenty, she is to die on this tree. There is but one way to save her. Let her commence all she does in the name of God.” All went on prosperously till the appointed age. On the fatal day the father roused her at an early hour, and himself conducted her into the forest whither

¹ It is scarcely necessary to recall the love and devotedness of Orpheus towards Eurydice.

she was to go. She halted before the first tree, a magnificent fir. "Oh, father!" she exclaimed, do you perceive the beautiful tree; let me ascend to the top." The father, who knew the danger, refrained himself, and replied—"In the name of God, go!" But at the same instant the child turned and said—"I cannot." The father embraced her: she was saved!

The gods themselves have their birth tree, which blossoms on certain feast days, and which bears the blessings of the world.¹ To this wishing-tree went Cinderella to seek her fine clothes.² Even in our own times, on Christmas day, and with all nations, from the Baltic to the Thames, and thence to the Alps, the trees bear flowers and fruits for good children: the flowers are the shining tapers; the fruits are presents which bend the branches. For those who have been naughty, birch tree switches are all ready to make them feel the contrast.

"Tree worship preceded image worship. When images made their appearance, they were placed, sometimes in the hollow of a tree, as with the gods of Greece, and nowadays, with the images of the Virgin and the saints (the oak of St. Fiacre, in the forest of St. Germain, is here referred to), sometimes on the branches or on the trunk of the tree: this is what was called an *Irminsul*. Adam of Bremen, I.S., states that this name signifies 'Column of the Universe.'—'*Truncum ligni non parvæ magnitudinis sub die colebant, patria enim lingua IRMINSUL appellantur, quod Latine dicitur 'UNIVERSALIS COLUMNA' quasi sustinens omnia.*' However this may be, it is certain that the god *Irmin* or *Herman*, the ancestor of the German tribe '*Herminones*,' and of whom Pliny and Tacitus speak, had his temples and his worship, which have left numerous traces collected by Mr. Rochholz on occasion of the legend of Comte Irminger, supposed to have beaten the Huns. The resemblance of the *Irminsuls* with the *Hermes* caused Tacitus to say (*Germania*)—'*Deorum maxime Mercurium colunt.*' But in reality this form of image was not exclusively proper to any particular god; on the contrary, like the *Hermes* of the ancients, the *Irminsuls* of the Germans might bear the image of any god whatever. The latter were iron busts, enshrined (emboîtés) by means of a pivot in the *trunk* of a tree or

¹ See Supplem. Notes for St. Wilfred's staff, and for votive offerings in trees.

² The tree which Cinderella planted on her mother's grave, and watered with her tears till it became a tree wherein a little bird did build its nest, and brought her all she *wished* for, was a *hazle*, a sacred tree. (See extracts from Grimm's *German Mythology*, and the legend of "Dame Hazle" in the Supplem. Notes.)

in a *column*.¹ None of the ancient authors enter into these details; but however strange it may appear, these images of stone, of wood, of metal, are discovered in our day, not in small numbers, but by hundreds, in Switzerland and elsewhere. (The following note is subjoined. Mr. F. Keller is preparing a work on a certain number of these idols found by him in Switzerland. Reference is also made to Bavaria—Pauzer, *Bairisch Sag.*, ii, 390).

“It would be too long to recount how these images could have been preserved during a thousand years, built into walls, covered over in churches and houses, or sunk in lakes and rivers. More tenacious still is the popular belief which they reveal. As an example:—

The Alms-box of Strisslingen. “In the church of Strisslingen (Soleure), it sometimes happens that the consecrated bread is strewn about the floor, that the mass-books are torn, the tapers thrown down—nobody knows how. It is currently rumoured, however, that these disorders originate with a spirit shut up in the alms-box or trunk; but none dare aver it before the canons, because the spirit-thief had also been a canon.”

“These alms-boxes or trunks may be classed amongst the sacred beams, last remains of the sacred trees, and which served as talismans to churches, houses, and even to entire towns and villages. The alms-box of the pagan priests at Klotten, near Zurich, was still shewn in the last century. It was a hollow oak, thirty-three feet in circumference, and capable of holding four horses within it. *Bluntschli Memorab. Tigur.*, 1747-69.”

“The bed of Ulysses rested on the cut-down trunk of an olive tree. *Odyss.*, xix, 185, etc. Sacred beams were more or less common everywhere: in Greece (Plutarch, *De Fraternal. Amor.*, 1); at Rome (*Tigillum Sororium*, Tit. Liv., lib. i, 76); in the North, even in our churches and houses. Mr. Rochholz has discovered a dozen of them. We only cite that of St. Burkhard, in a grange near Muri, at the spot where the saint dwelt, an abode of which the beam is the last and precious relic.”

“We are now, says the writer, drawing towards the end of that filiation of ideas which is propagated from the tree of the world, to the tree of life, of fate, of birth, of good fortune, of evil fortune, even to the tree of worship, and to the last broken remains, where the spirits themselves, tired of life, come to

¹ In the Supplementary Notes will be found extracts from Pellou-tier's *Histoire des Celtes*, relative to the *irminsuls*; and some observations by Professor Lee on “*the shrine and its idol*.”

seek a place of rest. When the legend has run through such a space, extending from the cradle to the coffin, every moment reminding us of the close affinity which unites our life to that of nature, it then itself reposes, it falls asleep, and there remains of it but a sport of the imagination. What had been a talisman becomes an object of superstitious fear, and we gather from it tales like the following:—

“*Legend of the Cottage at Ramstein.* The ruins of the castle of Ramstein lie in a desert part of the Jura. Anciently there existed a few cottages near it, of which one alone remains, and that abandoned for the following reason. Being about to repair the cottage, in pulling down a wall the workmen met with a beam, which they extracted. Thereupon appeared a woman with a *little dog*.¹ She earnestly entreated the workmen to take the beam and make of it an altar, for the saving of her soul. ‘I am,’ said she, ‘the daughter of the lord of the castle, and this little dog was the chasseur who eloped with me. During our flight I fell asleep under a tree; my father pursued and surprised us there, and, by his curses, inclosed us therein. It is the beam which you have just removed.’ Terrified, the workmen knew not how to proceed: in their perplexity they crossed themselves and restored the beam to its place. The woman and the dog immediately vanished with a noise like thunder. From that day the cattle in the cottage pined away, the country was abandoned: the beam was left behind, in order that the evil might not spread.”

“Elementary mythology is the first-born, continues the writer; and, therefore, wherever a real kindredship is discovered between two or more peoples, it must be most perceptible in those notions which are the earliest and simplest of all.”

II.—MYTHOLOGY OF PAGAN GOD-WORSHIP.

Without myths, says Mr. Hunziker, there are no gods; to discover the one is to disclose the other. But as the pagan gods have been degraded and disguised—sometimes as sorcerers,

¹ The dog reappears in the *Mythology of Pagan God-Worship*, in the legend of the “Virgin of the Keys”; but his relation to the myth, here as well as in the other legends of Argovia, does not appear on the surface. This relationship is more evident when, as with Cerberus, we find him the guardian of Hell’s mouth; or when, as in Brittany and India (older legends, perhaps), he acts as shepherd’s dog to the souls on their passage. (See notes 15, 18, 20, and the Supplement Notes.)

sometimes as saints, as demons if requisite, and sometimes as heroes—so their myth, on quitting the tranquil regions of epic poetry, has conformed itself to the accidents of ground and history, and been dismembered into an infinite number of detached tales, forming so many psychological pictures. Occasionally, the string which threads these tales together, without apparent order, is lost, and hidden even, from them who relate them. But the people, with a marvellous instinct, as soon as it ceased to understand them, began to create anew; and this combination of the *naïve* sentiment of modern times with the antique remains of a pagan imagination, produces an effect analogous to that of the old castles of the middle ages, entirely dilapidated, but restored to youth by a luxuriant vegetation, which seeks to cover the ravages of centuries. It is for science to lead us through the windings and the thousand perplexities of these ancient mazes—to break the charm which keeps enchained these mysterious spirits; and when, from under the white robe, peeps the goose's foot, she will pronounce her "*favete linguis*," in order to warn us that we are in presence of a goddess!¹

The Virgin of the Keys. The road leading from Tegerfelden to Zurbach passes near a rocky elevation crowned with the ruins of the castle of Tegerfelden. Anciently, whoever by night was on his way to Tegerfelden, and was fearful of losing himself in the meadows, among the streamlets that water them, might steer by an infallible sign. Afar, in the ruins of the castle, he would perceive a light gleaming through a large arched window, the only one which still remained entire. Ere long, soft and plaintive sounds would descend into the plain: the traveller, knowing that he was near the Sourb, and a few paces only from the village, would exclaim—"Ah! the Virgin of the Keys!" and thanking her for having shewn him the way, he would turn to the left and disappear behind the houses.

The lofty window has since crumbled away; but the Virgin still lives in the remembrance of the people. She was, say they, the daughter of the lord of the castle, and was celebrated for her beauty. But in all the bloom of youth she died of grief, occasioned by the loss of a young man who had gained her heart, and whom the pride of her family had doomed to a frightful death. In snow-white robe and with dishevelled hair, as she had been laid in her coffin, she wanders, sometimes over the rocks, sometimes along the banks of the Sourb.

¹ For the goddess Bertha with the goose's foot ("La Reine Ped-auque"), see the end of this, No. II.

Thus has she continued her course through many centuries: Although the stream has been diverted nearer to the hill, she has not deviated from her ordinary path. With all this she is kind and amiable; and her treasures, buried in the mountain, increase with time: only on the day when all these riches shall be divided—when some brave man, seeking nought save glory, shall make his appearance—then, and then only, will she be saved.

She principally addresses herself to children, because they are innocent and without covetousness. Not long since she met with a little girl gathering lilies near the water; she gave her presents, and told her some of the longest and prettiest stories in the world.

The White and Yellow Beans. Another time, a poor little shepherd boy kept his goats at the bottom of the hill. On climbing to the top of the old tower in search of strawberries, he perceived a woman with her back towards him laying out, amidst the ruins, two linen sheets of dazzling whiteness. Beside her were placed two little bags. When she had finished spreading out her sheets, she poured upon them the contents of the bags. The first was filled with white beans, the second with yellow. She exposed them to the sun. Thereupon, a *little black dog*¹ issued from a crevice in the wall, and seated himself in the middle, between the two sheets. But at the same moment he caught sight of the little boy, and ran barking towards him. The boy, remembering that his father used to say—"Cast a piece of bread to dogs which bite," adopted this advice, and threw the dog a bit of his brown crust. By accident, it fell on one of the sheets. The virgin immediately turned round, and holding out her hand to the boy, said—"My good boy, know that thou hast advanced me towards heaven by a hundred years.² Go quickly! call thy father and mother, and tell them to come with two barrows. It is the Virgin of the Castle who sends them this message." The boy did not tarry, and soon returned with his parents and the two barrows. They gathered up the beans, the husband taking the yellow, and the wife the white; having filled their two bags, they loaded them on the barrows. However trifling the good luck, they were content with it, seeing that the half-bushel of beans had arrived so unexpectedly. But at the moment of entering under their roof, the two bags became as heavy as stones, swelled out, and burst the tie-strings. The husband's barrow was filled with pieces of gold streaming all about the

¹ See the black dog in notes 10, 15, 18, 20.

² See Supplem. Notes, and *infra*, note 23.

floor, whilst that of the wife was overflowing with white crown-pieces. They were become the richest people in all the country. In gratitude they founded two masses for the soul of their benefactress the Virgin. These were celebrated every year in the village church until the time of the Reformation, when the property was seized by the Protestant party, and the masses, with many other pious usages, were discontinued.

The Gipsies. A gang of gipsies had established itself near the Sourb, not far from the spot where the beans had been transmuted into gold and silver. A young man of the troop went to cut some alder branches, in order to make fruit and flower baskets; all of a sudden he heard a female voice calling him by name. It bade him return on the morrow at the same hour, in order to perform a good deed, and make himself a child of heaven. The young man did not refuse; as to heaven, he replied that he desired with all his heart one day to arrive there, but that, meanwhile, he wished to live as long as it might please God to let him. On the morrow he returned to the spot. He then perceived a woman's hand issuing from underneath a rock, and the same voice said to him—"Only give me thy hand, and it is done." Hereupon a sudden fear seized him, and he replied—"No, I will not give my hand, but there is the flap of my coat," which, at the same moment, bent under the weight of the gold which pressed upon it. The gipsy hastily gathered up the treasure and retired. Henceforth all prospered with him and his descendants.

The Infants' Oak Trough in the Mountain. "The Virgin was now reduced to some other means whereby to overcome the weakness, the cupidity, and the prejudices of men."

In the spring, when the trees bud, she issues from her subterranean habitation, plucks, with her own hands, the delicate catkins of the willow, and strews them on the waters of the Sourb. Then do the fishes in the streamlet, and the birds from under the foliage, gather round, obedient to her. The trout in shoals rise from their deep pools to catch at the dainty food prepared for them. Stooping over the waters, she hears all things. The rail and the young woodcock tell her what men think and say of her.¹ At dusk the night moths hasten

¹ The rail and woodcock remind us of Odin's two talking ravens who went "to and fro on the earth" collecting news for him from all parts; and the squirrel, continually running up and down the tree of the world, the ash (*yggdrasil*), to bring news. As to the crow, it is the generally received opinion in Brittany, says M. Souvestre in his *Derniers Bretons*, that two crows preside over every house. They are attached to the existence of the heads of the family; and if death

to her from the crevices of the old wall, and a crow has been seen perched on her shoulder. She then waters the plants salutary for man and beast. The anemonies, which bear their flowers before their leaves, shoot under her hand; the bitter-sweets, with their curious perfume, are more especially cherished by her. Others would seek them in vain, since she requires them for the little children whom she nurses in the mountain. There, in an oak trough, in the centre of an immense cavern, are to be found the children yet unborn. Whenever the midwife wishes to obtain one for a neighbour, she must inform the Virgin of it some weeks beforehand, communicating to her the names of the parents who are desirous of a child. If these parents are deserving, the midwife will procure the golden key which opens the trough. But the little ones are so accustomed to the Virgin, that they seldom consent willingly to a separation from her, and this is why they cry so much on coming into the world. Should the infant die before baptism, it returns to the same trough; if it dies later, or if the Virgin reclaims it, because mankind is unworthy of it, another trough receives it, much larger and set deeper in the mountain.¹ The swarms of bees, which fly to the mountain-oaks, deposit their honey there in order to feed the children.

The Fisherman and the Golden Hair Line. One day the Virgin was disposed to look to her flowers, whilst a farmer, who was possessed of small means and a large family, was fishing further down the stream. All at once he perceived a little ring floating on the water, shining like pure gold. He drew it ashore with his hook, but on examining it more closely, he found that it was only a golden-coloured hair. Deceived in his expectation, he threw it back into the stream; at the same instant the Virgin appeared beside him. "Take it out again," she cried, "or you will ruin us both, unlucky wight." The fisherman, without stopping to reflect, ran after the hair, drew

threatens one of them, you will see the ominous bird perched on the roof uttering its lugubrious summons. It will remain there until the moment when the corpse, placed on the bier, has passed the threshold. You will then see it fly off, never to return; for it was the genius attached to the destiny of the deceased. The swallows under the eaves, and the cranes on the house-top, are but repetitions of the myth.

¹ An exact portrait of "our Virgin of the Keys" might be produced by simply reengraving the picture of Goody *Two-Shoes* with Ralph on her shoulder. It will be seen in the story of the "Frizzle-headed Shoemaker," that our Virgin never wore *shoes*.

² See note 24.

it out again, and presented it to the unknown Lady. She took it, and with her fingers unrolled it. 'Twas a single golden hair, but so long as to reach to her feet. She fastened it to his line, and on quitting said to him—"I give it to thee because thou hast been submissive; but do not forget to repeat a paternoster for us both every week." At these words she disappeared. As soon as he had recovered from his astonishment, he tried his luck with the line. No sooner had it reached the water than he felt a jerk, and on lifting it out, a trout as big as his leg lay struggling at his feet. A second throw brought him the same good luck, and so on with many others. Every day produced the same sport. At market, 'twas who could get hold of his fish, and he always returned home with his pockets full of money. At the end of three years, the farm which he had hitherto rented became his own. Nothing, indeed, failed him but himself. Alas! how hard it is to bear our wealth. This man, before so moderate that he expended nothing, now indulged in gambling and drink. Soon he spent his whole week at the inn. Of course, he thought no more of God, the Virgin, or the paternoster. At length, poverty knocked at his door again, and reminded him of that which his good fortune had led him to forget. He had carefully hoarded the precious hair, and now thought to restore his broken fortune with its aid. He revisited the Sourb; but this time he was to be punished. Scarcely had he unrolled the golden hair and cast his line, when, to his utter stupefaction, he saw it carried off by a little *black dog*, who shewed himself upon the surface only to disappear again immediately. Not the smallest fish could he take; the poor man felt that he was lost. This would not have been the case, had he acknowledged his fault; but his coarse nature thought not of his debaucheries, or of his ingratitude, only of the neglected paternoster. He is supposed to have soon after drowned himself, his body having been discovered in the river. Folk say that he has since been seen fishing there.

The Frizzle-headed Shoemaker. Another young man lost himself by his vanity. He fancied that the Virgin, who had pitied him on account of his poverty, wished to keep him to herself out of jealousy, and on account of his personal merit. His poor brain discovered the mistake too late. He was journeyman to the village shoemaker, and was commonly known by the name of *Kronsli*, from his frizzled head.

One evening, when returning home from a walk, he suddenly found himself confronted by an unknown lady, most fantas-

tically dressed. In one hand she held a bunch of keys, in the other a little wand; on her head was a magnificent glass crown, with a golden key. She addressed him in the kindest tone, and asked him if he was a native of the country. Finding that he was a journeyman shoemaker of the parish, she told him to make her a pair of shoes, to be finished by Saturday evening at the latest. "To be sure; why not?" replied he. "But, please you, madame, shall I come to your house to measure you; for it will not suit"—and he pointed to the stony ground.—"Another time," said she with a slight movement of the hand, "you may perhaps come and see me. For the moment, thou wilt make me a pair of shoes with red heels and red ears, but the leather must not be polished." The young man now prepared to take the measure; but she replied gravely—"I have never in my life worn shoes, and these which thou art going to make for me will be the first." She was about to add something else, when the shrill voice of a nightingale was heard from the summit of the castle. "Some one calls me," said she, and in a moment she disappeared behind the trees. On the Saturday evening the young shoemaker attended with the shoes at the appointed hour and spot. The Virgin of the Keys was already there. "In eight days," said she, "thou wilt bring me the brush to make them shine." She put one piece of gold into his hand, and was about to add another, when the nightingale's voice broke forth, and the Virgin suddenly vanished, as before. On the following Saturday the shoemaker had brought his brush. This time the Virgin told him to lay it down, and in a serious voice she said—"Doubtless, thou canst not guess the service which thou hast rendered me within the last two weeks; for thou dost not know who I am, nor how many things I have yet to demand of thee." After this she related to him her whole story, adding—"Probably it is for the last time that you now see me; for after having worn out this pair of shoes, I shall return no more. Shouldst thou, however, be in difficulty, return here and blow this flageolet, which thou wilt find on the spot; I shall then reappear, though dumb. Shouldst thou, in an extreme emergency, require advice, thou hast but to turn the golden key in my crown, and I shall recover my voice."

Our journeyman had frequent occasions for money, and as frequently went to the Burgsten, blew the flageolet, and found the piece of gold. This facility was his ruin. He began to waste his time, and to run about after the young maidens of the village. Soon the piece of gold did not suffice, his affairs went on badly, and he was in the way of being disgraced. He

therefore determined to lay his case before the Virgin, though not without some scruples. As soon as the Virgin appeared to his summons, he laid his hand on the golden key, as she had instructed him, and turned it round. But, oh horror! it changed to a fiery serpent, which wound itself round his body, and threatened to stifle him. With great difficulty he escaped with a paralysed hand; all his dreams of greatness vanished, and with them the rich heiresses of the village. He died a bachelor.

The Spindle or Prickwood Tree and the Carpenter of Dættingen. Beside the castle ditch were some shoots of spindle or prickwood tree, unusually large. People said that to one of these shoots was attached the fate of the Virgin. To save her, the branches should be cut on a Good Friday, in such manner as that the shrub might wither gradually. On the same day, in the following year, the shrub was to be cut down and made into a cradle. In this cradle was to be nursed a boy, born on a Sunday, and under a certain constellation. He would grow up a man of courage, who would undergo every ordeal and brave all dangers for the sake of the Virgin.

Some years ago the carpenter of Dættingen went stealthily to cut down and carry home one of these spindle trees. Suddenly the Virgin presented herself before him. Caught in the very act, for the wood did not belong to him, the carpenter was somewhat frightened; but he put a bold face upon it, and said nothing. The Virgin told him to return on the following Saturday, and hear what he would have to do. On that day both were punctual. The Virgin was now accompanied by her *little black dog*, which she conducted in a red ribbon. Without uttering a word she beckoned the carpenter to follow her, and led him to an iron door, which she opened with one of the keys in the bunch. A subterranean corridor led into the interior of the mountain; on traversing it the stars shone overhead as if there had been no vaulting. They next entered a magnificent hall, whose walls were lined with mirrors, and lighted up with a multitude of tapers reflected without end. All round were seated, apparently asleep, a large number of old men. Opposite the door was a trough of vast dimensions. No sooner had the little dog entered than he leaped upon it. "First," said the Virgin, "thou wilt have but to kiss the little dog." The carpenter did so without hesitation, and the little dog, as if to prove his gratitude, licked his forehead. At the same moment the old men opened their eyes, and seemed to smile.

They passed on into a second hall. This contained young men and maidens likewise asleep; the latter in all respects resembling the Virgin with the keys, only their hair was not so long or so gold coloured. This hall was lighted like the last, and a yet larger trough was at the bottom of it. This time the Virgin herself took her seat on the trough, and called upon the carpenter to kiss her. Half affected, half afraid, he obeyed; but not without shuddering, for the lips of the Virgin were icy cold. Hereupon the other sleepers awoke, and a gracious smile spread itself over the countenances of the young maidens. The Virgin alighted from the trough, praised the young man for his courage, and conducted him to the third hall.

The third hall was by far the most beautiful, and illuminated, not with tapers like the others, but with a whitish, shadowy atmosphere, which in its soft light shrouded an infinite number of children wrapped in sleep. At the extremity appeared a trough similar to the two first; but a monstrous serpent, coiled like the cable of a ship, lay before it. At the approach of the young man it roused itself and rested on its tail, forming an immense circle and vomiting flames. The young man had sufficient courage to stride over this hideous beast which barred his passage, and at length reached the trough. A colossal toad was seated thereon. It resembled a vintager's tub, and was of all colours; whilst two great eyes, as big as plates, protruded from its head. To break the charm, it must be kissed; but when the young man stooped to accomplish this task, he perceived the skin of the ugly beast all cracked, like the bark of an oak, and blotched as with bunches of green walnuts. At this sight he recoiled a step. Oh, fatal step! This time the infants opened not their eyes, but a plaintive cry ran through the hall. The Virgin, uttering a shriek, wrung her hands; and in the twinkling of an eye her robe, but just before of dazzling white, became black as coal; the brilliancy of the walls faded, the thunder growled on the summit of the mountain, and the young man became insensible. On awaking he found himself in a ditch at the foot of the mountain. It was midday. With difficulty he crawled home; his hair and beard had become white; a fever seized him, and he became delirious. Left alone for a moment, he leaped out of bed and ran towards the mountain, where they found him unconsciously haranguing the air. He raved to be conducted to the iron door. The following moment he was a corpse.

The Miller of Tegerfelden.—When the new year arrives the young men of Tegerfelden assemble together to celebrate Bercht-

hold Day. Disguised as vine-dressers and vintagers they dance and sing and offer their new year's congratulation in front of the principal houses. It is customary at this *fête* to fill their wine-pitchers, the contents of which they afterwards distribute amongst the poor, in order that they also may partake of the general festivity. At the end they assemble before the communal council, singing the compliments of the new year to them, and offering them an immense pie hot from the largest oven in the village. In return, and as the prize of honour, the council vote half a hogshead of the communal wine to be drunk out the same evening. At this moment each of the young men sends a delegate to fetch him his partner, who on such occasions receives some little token.

At one of these Berchthold evenings, Jean, the miller's man, having put on his best apparel, and pocketed his last three months' savings, started for the dancing-room; but not being of the Berchthold Society, he had no partner, and those to whom he addressed himself all refused. "Today we do not dance with foreigners," answered one of the proud village lasses. In truth, Jean was born in the Black Forest, and was consequently regarded as a foreigner. "Humph!" cried he a little piqued, "must I then go seek one such as is not to be found here?" Thereupon he quitted the room, and bent his steps towards the Castle. He believed himself to be a Sunday child, therefore he did not fear spirits.¹ Arrived at the Castle he cut three twigs of willow, and threw them over his left shoulder, so that they might fall into the water. The "Virgin of the Keys" stood before him. He detailed his griefs to her, and undertook that, if she would accompany him to the dancing-room, and dance three waltzes with him, and thus revenge him of the contemptuous villagers, he would reconduct her exactly at eleven o'clock, and submit to undergo any three ordeals she might select. The Virgin consented. On their entrance into the room all eyes were fixed upon them: the young men even took off their hats,—a thing unknown on Berchthold Day, on account of the bunch of roses which all wear on that occasion. Having danced the three waltzes, the youthful pair left the room as they had entered it, in silence. Jean was revenged. Arrived at the Castle again, the Virgin conducted the young man through three halls,—of the old men, the young folk, and the infants. At this last she stopped, and said:

"Behold the effects of pride. These children, so beautiful,

¹ Sunday children are believed to be in communion with the world of spirits. This is what the French call "to be born with a cap on."

so desirous of life, have not yet been awakened. Our family, now known only by tradition, should equal in number the young men and maidens whom you have just seen sleeping. The old men at the entrance were all pretenders to my hand. Our blindness precipitated them into the jaws of death. It gratified my vanity to see fresh pretenders, haughty knights, enter the castle daily; and my relations, in their arrogant pride, rejoiced to see me refuse all those who had not made three rounds on horseback upon the rampart walls enclosing the castle. They all essayed, and, falling from the top of the rock, found their death in the waters at the foot of the mountain. At last arrived a youth beautiful as the light of day, gentle of look, but without a name. He made the round thrice without once failing. My mother herself presented us the nuptial cup, but she felt shame at her plebeian son-in-law. In the wine she mingled a narcotic; and at night, whilst I slept, powerless, they stole him from my arms, and precipitated him over the walls to the bottom of the rock. I am here to guard all these victims; and if thou failest in thy engagement, I shall have no one to deliver me. Now these are thy instructions: first kiss this little black dog; and then lift me up beside him; next pluck a hair from the head of each of the young maidens, and one from the beard of each of the old men.¹ Carry these away, one after the other, to the brook which runs at the foot of the castle. Thou must have carried the last before the village clock strikes twelve. Haste thee, for at the first stroke the iron gates will close again."

The miller set to work. He succeeded in kissing the dog, after the latter had adopted various changes of form to prevent him. The Virgin herself became heavier and heavier as he lifted her; but by redoubling his efforts, he placed her on the great trough beside the black dog. He then proceeded to pull the hairs out, and carry them to the brook. There remained only two; and he had just passed the door with the last save one in his hand, when the village clock struck twelve. He felt himself heart-stricken. Exhaustion, grief, the piercing January night, cold and despair, conducted him home he knew not how. But he never saw another Berchthold Day. One morning he was found dead in his mill.

¹ Can this have any relation to the opinion of some of the ancients, that no one could die till Proserpine, or Atropos as her minister, had cut off one of the hairs of the head? Whence the custom of cutting off some of the hair and strewing it at the door, as an offering to Proserpine.

The honest Father of a Family.—“An honest father of a family at Tegerfelden, returning from Waldshut market one moonlight evening, along the banks of the Sourb, and under the shadow of the ruined castle, fancied that he heard a rustling in the thick of the trees. He halted, and having pushed aside the branches of a poplar, perceived a small white cloud issuing from the gloom of the forest. It was the Virgin, clad in white from head to foot. A bunch of keys hung at her girdle; in one hand she held a nosegay, rose-coloured, like the flowers of the willow, and in the other a little silver flageolet, on which she began to play an air, so beautiful, so melancholy, that the good man was affected almost to tears. The very beasts seemed touched. From the other bank of the river swam across a magnificent stag, perfectly white, who laid himself down at the feet of the Virgin. She offered him the willow roses, which he ate heartily. She next gathered from the tree some hop-bind, which she wound about the antlers of the animal in guise of reins. Then, taking a switch of valerian, she mounted on the back of the stag, who immediately rose and bore his beautiful rider towards the hill. Having reached the summit she turned him to the right, and disappeared for an instant behind a piece of wall belonging to the old tower, only to reappear and ride, peak by peak, point by point, all round the dilapidated ramparts of the castle...She made the round nineteen times; the last time she launched the stag at full speed, and descended right down the cliffs to the banks of the Sourb. There the stag lay down, and she alighted, took off the bridle, and broke in pieces what remained of it. All this, together with the valerian switch, she threw into the river. The stag did not move...to dismiss him, she tapped him gently on the back, and the animal, flattered by this caress, at a single bound disappeared in the wood. The Virgin then began her toilet. Having loosed the frontlet which encircled her forehead, her golden tresses floated in the breeze; each time that the golden comb passed through them she anointed them with honey, which she gathered from the flowers of the alder, her favourite tree. More than once she approached the stream to see, in its moonlit waves, whether her hair reached to the points of the grass. Our good man, dazzled and fascinated with such magnificence, thought not of the part which the Virgin destined for him. He had forgotten that by simply throwing into the magic circle a small piece of the biscuit which he was carrying home to his children, the golden comb, the flageolet, and the frontlet had been his own. But before the thought struck him, she glided gently, as on a liquid path, to

the surface of the water, and, whilst disappearing, sang an air, of which his emotion prevented his retaining more than the first stanza—

“Beloved alder! beloved alder!—A hundred years shall pass away,—my golden hair shall reach the ground,—
Shall reach my ankle. I shall enter heaven. I shall find my repose. Thou shalt perish in the furnace.

The last words mean that the tree in which her fate was bound up would be cut down and burnt within a hundred years, and that then she should be saved. But, although more than a hundred years have run out, although the melody and song are no longer heard, the tree continues to thrive, and the poor spirit is not yet in her rest.

The Goose-foot—La Pèdaque. Not long since a poor lad of Døttingen, who was returning home at night, saw the Virgin once more. She took her ride, said he, round the walls of the castle, thence she descended to the river, laid aside her white robes, and bathed in the waters of the Sourb. “She was,” said he, “much more beautiful to look upon than any other woman, save in her feet; for as far as could be distinguished in the waters, lighted by the moon, they resembled—God forgive me!—*the feet of a goose!*”

“In order to know the origin of all these stories, to seize the key of the enigma, we have been obliged to wait until the last—until the *Goose Feet*: we now understand why this virgin wears no shoes, and we know at the same time that she is the goddess *Berchtha Perahta*, the *Brilliant*, the *White Lady*, abjured by our ancestors a thousand years ago, but who has not yet ceased to occupy the poetical imagination of the people.” The proofs of this explanation, says Mr. Hunziger, are condensed into six pages, under the form of citations; he then gives the principal results.

The goddess *Perahta*, *Perchta*, *Bertha* (the pretended mother of Charlemagne, who bears this name, is no other; the myth is become history here as elsewhere) presides, according to the belief of the ancient Germans, over domestic and rural life; she protects the wife, the children, the cultivation of corn and flax, the distaff and the plough, she makes marriages, gives children, and takes back the new-born infant, whenever they die soon after their birth. Her fête was celebrated by processions in carriages and on horseback; the people drew ploughs¹ and executed simulated combats; races were held,

¹ See *Archæologia Cambrensis*, vol. iv, 3rd Series, pp. 171-72.

the prize consisting of a piece of cloth. It was a worship essentially gay and peaceable. Other elements were added to it at a later period, either because she inherited attributes of one or more goddesses sooner forgotten, or for some other reason.

Still, in order to explain the legend of *The Virgin of the Keys*, we must address ourselves, not only to the myth of *Bertha*, but also to that of *Frigga* and of *Freyja*. *Frigga*, wife of *Odin*, holds the keys of heaven; she manages the house of the gods, situated in a mountain: in the same manner, the *Virgin of the Keys* opens and shuts the halls, not only of the infants, but also of the chevaliers, who are one day to awake. *Freyja* is at the same time the *Venus* and the *Proserpine* of the North;¹ her abode is called "Volkswang" [or Fólkváng], i. e., "Assembly of the Souls." She is not married to a god, but to a man, who has deserted her, and whom she seeks throughout the world, shedding golden tears; for this reason she is also called "*the Weeping Beauty*." She wears a girdle ornamented with pearls, which charm every eye. The *Virgin of the Keys* also laments her bridegroom, and guards the souls of three generations. She is pleased to lose, in order that they may be found, her objects of dress—her ring, her frontlet, etc.; she is the goddess of love, and can only be released by the bravest. She possesses the double character of goddess of life and of death; sometimes her robe is white, and sometimes black, when she is mourning.

Again, the objects consecrated to the Virgin of the Keys are sometimes salutary, at others pernicious. Her favourite trees are the alder and the willow, the earliest which announce the return of Spring. But her evil fortune is bound up in the spindle tree, which the Greeks, under the fear of pronouncing its veritable name, called the "Tree of good Presage" (*euonymos*.) Yellow and white beans are symbols of fecundity (see the legend, *supra*); blue and black beans are the sign of death.

The shoes with red ribbons remind us, first, of the red shoes of the bride and bridegroom; and next, of the shoes buried with the dead, and those demanded by spirits—in a great number of legends—in order to undertake the grand journey in the valley of the dead.

The flageolet is the flute which hails the Spring in the month of the Greek Fauns, as in that of our children; but it is also the flute on which plays the God of Death in the Dance of Death—la Danse Macabre.

¹ *Freyja* was also the *Lucina* of the north.

We pass over some more general traits, says the writer; such as the order of drawing out the hairs from the head and beard, which refers to divination, as well as the birds, with which the Virgin is surrounded.

As to the children guarded in the mountain, we know already that the German mythology, in accordance with the Greek poet, makes men the issue of the oak and the rock.

The last trait of our legend is the most significant of all; this is the stag, the symbol of Winter and death. Anciently, when the feast of the Spring was celebrated, a stag, the representative of Winter, was hunted and pursued into the forest. Many legends exhibit the god of death in form of a stag, and so he appears in the "Danse Macabre." Bertha, the goddess of the Spring, is put in relation with the stag because she hunted him—drove him away—at the end of Winter; but once the exact signification of the symbols forgotten, they became confounded, and thus the goddess of the Spring and of love became the goddess of death. This confusion dates very far back: the particular pastry prepared in all the provinces of Southern Germany, for the 2nd January, is called sometimes "the Bread of the Stag," sometimes "the Bread of Bertha."

III.—THE HISTORICAL LEGEND.

There remains but little to say on the Historical Legend. It scarcely ever furnishes any novel hints; it merely reproduces the elements of elementary and religious mythology, in blending them with an historical fact. The transformation of the religious myth into the historical legend, when to be detected, is in itself one of the most interesting facts.

Foundation of the Castle of Hapsburg. "The family of the Counts of Hapsburg, say the chroniclers, came originally from Rome. One of them was Bishop of Strasburg; he had brought his brother with him. One day, when hunting, the latter had been led as far as Argovia. There he lost his falcon, but on the following day he found it perched on a beautiful mountain. Pleased with the spot, he erected on it a castle, which, on account of the bird, he called "the castle of Hapsburg" (from "*habicht*," falcon, and "*burg*," castle).

Mr. Rochholz observes that the castle was built on the foundation of a Roman castle, which may perhaps explain why the Counts of Hapsburg are said to have come from Rome. The foundation of towns, etc., on a spot indicated by a bird or other sacred animal is reproduced everywhere.

The second part of the story is rendered famous by Schiller's ballad—"The Count of Hapsburg."

One day Count Robert was hunting, and heard in the distance the bell of the Holy Sacrament. Turning his horse in that direction, he discovered a priest on the bank of a little river, taking off his shoes in order to wade across. In answer to the Count's inquiries, the priest replied—"I am carrying the Holy Sacrament to a sick man in great danger; in order not to arrive too late, I have chosen the shortest path: thus, having reached this rivulet, where is neither bridge nor plank, I am reduced to cross over barefooted." The Count now alighted from his horse, knelt down and worshipped God, and told the priest to seat himself on the horse with the Sacrament, and proceed with his duty. When the priest came back and wished to return the horse, with thanks, the Count exclaimed—"God forbid! that I or any one of my dependents should ever ride the horse which has borne my Lord and Creator; if you think that of right and conscience you ought not to keep it, consecrate it to the service of God, since I have given it to Him of whom I hold my life, my soul, my honour, and my goods." The priest replied—"May God grant you honour and dignity here and in eternity!" The priest, who was a wise and learned man, subsequently rose to rank and dignity, and through his instrumentality the Count was elected King of the Romans.

It is known that horses kept for the service of the Church were common in the Middle Ages, and even in modern times, both in Switzerland and in Germany. This Christian institution might, then, in strictness, explain the historical legend; but, in truth, it has need of being explained itself. The popular legends which are connected with it belong, for the most part, to the myth of the Wild Huntsman, *i. e.*, the myth of the god Wuotan. They are confirmed by the testimony of the historian Amion (i, 22), who relates that Chlodowig, King of the Franks, consecrated his horse to St. Martin. We are all aware that St. Martin is no other than the god Wuotan himself, all of whose attributes he possessed—in a word, the sword which renders him invincible, the cloak or hood which carries him wherever he wills (the Capetians, who preserved St. Martin's hood, derived their name thence); in fine, the White Horse, the sacred horse, the "*Sleipner*" of the Eddas. To ascend to the primitive source, which makes us acquainted with the sacred horses of the Germans, we read in Tacitus (*Germania*, 10)—"Proprium gentis equorum quoque præsgia ac monitus experiri. Publice aluntur iisdem nemoribus ac lucis, candidi

et nullo mortali opere contacti; quos pressos sacro curru sacerdos ac rex, vel principes civitatis comitantur, hinnitus ac fremitus observant.”¹

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES.

EXTRACTS FROM JACOB GRIMM'S "GERMAN MYTHOLOGY."
(Second Edition. Gottingen, 1844.)

“In a poem of the Middle Ages, mention is made of the sanctity of the ancient forests. It is entitled, ‘Of the Olden Sacred Forests.’ It speaks here and there, if not of the sacrifices which are offered to the sacred trees, still of a continuing uneradicated veneration, and of the opinion that on isolated trees dwelt spiritual beings. In like manner, in another book it is said that ill-luck is like a demon seated on a tree; and in another speaking of a *hollow* tree,

| | |
|-----------------------------|-------------------------------|
| “Der sint heiligen inne, | Therein be saints |
| Die hærent aller liute bet. | Who hear the prayers of all.” |

The German is said to be of the thirteenth century. The following note is subjoined—

“It is observable that into Christian legends the Pagan notion of God-images has penetrated, so deeply amongst the people was tree-worship rooted. I refer the reader to the relation of the Tyrolean miraculous image, which grew in a tree of the forest [*Deutsche Sagen*, No. 348, which we have

¹ Who would have thought of a relationship between Jack the Giant-Killer, the god Wuotan, and St. Martin? But so it is; and the Cornishman was even better endowed, for he had,—1st, a sword of sharpness; 2nd, an invisible cloak; 3rd, a news-bearing cap; and 4th, a pair of shoes, which rendered him as swift as Wuotan's (the Wild Huntsman's) horse, *Sleipner*.

The following text relative to *consecrated horses* will be found in II Kings, xxxiii, 11: “And he Josiah) took away the *horses* that the kings of Judah had given to the *Sun*, at the entering in of the House of the Lord, by the chamber of Nathan Melech, the chamberlain, which was in the suburbs, and burned the *chariots* of the Sun with fire.” This leads us to observe that we do not find the Bible once referred to either by Mr. Rochholz or Mr. Hunziker, and yet it contains more information on the worship of trees, stones, high places, columns, and pillars, than any one of the ancient books referred to; and perhaps as much as all put together.

copied below]. In Carinthia was seen an image of the Mother of God affixed against a tree in an awful forest.—*Sartoris Reise*, 2, 165. No less remarkable seems the apparition of the marvellous image of the youthful Lady, seated in a hollow tree.—*Marienkind hausmarchen*, No. 3; *Romance de la Infantina*, p. 259. Reference respecting heathen trees is made to *Acta Sanctorum*, 31 July, p. 202, and to the *Golden Legend*, cap. 102. Huic (Marti) prædæ primordia vovebantur, huic truncis suspendebantur exuvia.—*Jornandes*, c. 5. (The miraculous escape of St. Martin on the cutting down of a pine tree is narrated in the *Acta Sanctorum*, Nov. 11, p. 136, Paris edition, 1704).

EXTRACTED FROM THE "DEUTSCHE SAGEN" (POPULAR TALES OF GERMANY) BY THE BROTHERS GRIMM. Berlin, 1816. Vol. i, No. 348, p. 347.

Tree image of "the Great Lady in Heaven," in a hollow LARCH tree. "In the year 1392, the 'Great Lady in Heaven' sent an Angel to the Woodrest (Waldrast) of the Serlesberg, in the Tyrol. He proceeded to a hollow *larch* tree, and said to it, in the name of the Mother of God,—'Trunk, thou must produce an image of the 'Lady in Heaven.'

"The image immediately grew in the trunk of the tree, and two devout herd-boys, Jack and Peterkin, of the village of Mizens, were the first to discover it, in the year 1407. Awe-stricken, they ran down to the husbandmen, and exclaimed—'Go to the top of the mountain—something wonderful stands in the hollow trunk there; we dared not trust ourselves to touch it.' The Holy Image was now recognized, *sawed out of the trunk*, and, for awhile (temporarily), brought to Martrey.¹

"There it remained till an appropriate church was erected for it on the Waldrast itself, for which purpose our dear Lady made use of a poor woodcutter, of the name of Lusch, dwelling at Martrey. As he lay sleeping in his bed one Whitsun-night, there came a thrice-repeated voice and said—'Sleep'st thou, or wak'st thou?' At the third time he awoke, and exclaimed—'Who art thou? What wilt thou?' The voice replied—'Thou must erect a chapel, in honour of our dear Lady, on the Waldrast.' Hereupon, the woodcutter answered—'That will not I do.' The voice returned on the second

¹ Here we seem to have a veritable *irminsul* unwittingly transformed into a Notre Dame.

Whitsun-night, and spake to him as before. 'I am too poor for it,' said he. On the third Whitsun-night the voice again came to his bed, and repeated as before. Thus, during three nights, was he kept anxiously awake. He [this time] answered—'What dost thou mean, that thou wilt not let me alone?' The voice replied—'Thou must do it.' 'I will not do it,' exclaimed he. He was now seized and heaved up in his bed, the voice saying—'Do it thou must: advise thee of it!' 'I, poor man,' thought he; 'alas! how can I be advised after what manner to execute it rightly!' He answered, however,—'I would do it, wist I only the right place where.' The voice replied—'In the forest is a spot all green with moss; there lay thee down and rest—so will the right place be duly made known to thee.

"The woodcutter arose, and went and lay down there on the moss, and rested; whence the place is called 'the Rest-in-the-Forest—Wood rest.'

"He heard in his sleep two little bells, whereupon he awoke, and there gleamed before him, on the spot where the church now stands, a lady in white robes, having an infant in her arms. 'Almighty God!' thought he: 'there—there is surely the right place!' He then proceeded to the spot where he had seen the figure, and marked it out, according as he had it in his mind to build a church. The little bells rang until he had completed the marking out, after which he heard them no more. 'Blessed Lord!' he exclaimed; 'how am I to bring this about? I am poor, and have no means that I such a building may erect.' Again the voice spake to him—'Go to devout folk, who will give thee as much as will enable thee; and when it is completed, so as to be consecrated, it will remain [stationary] thirty-six years, after which it will progress, and great miracles will come to pass there throughout all time.' When he would begin the chapel, he went to his father confessor and made him acquainted with it, whereupon the latter caused him to be brought before Bishop Ulrich, at Brixen. He went five times to Brixen, in order that the bishop might give him permission to erect the building and the chapel. That the bishop did, and it was finished on the Tuesday *before St. Pancras, in the year 1409.*"

(MSS.) Between Colmar and Ste. Croix lies the forest of Ste. Croix, one part of which belongs to the Hospice de Colmar, and the other to the town. The forest is called "Holy-Cross

Wood," and also the "Wood of the Tablet," from the circumstance that, attached to the most ancient oak in the forest, is a painting on wood representing the Trinity. Two brute stones at the foot of the tree serve as prayer stools, and close adjoining is a bound stone dividing the portion of the Hospice from that of Colmar. The belief of the country is that this altar or tablet tree has existed from the most ancient times. On Trinity Sunday, after vespers, the neighbouring country folk resort there, not in procession, but in groups, to redeem some vow, or to offer up their aves. The present tablet dates 1777, with a "renewed in 1826."

(MSS.) Priory des trois Epis, or three ears of corn. This chapel is situate in the department of the Upper Rhine, not far from the village of Niedermorschirk, in Baroche, on the slopes of the Vosges. Two legends are attached to it, neither of which has any reference to tree-worship. But a note made on visiting it says—"There was anciently here a 'Doloureuse Mère de Dieu' in the *trunk of an oak*, as appears by a painting in the chapel. Underneath an image of Notre Dame, we read—"Cette image a été trouvée intacte au milieu de l'incendie de cette église, 1635." Underneath a picture representing the image of Notre Dame and the Infant Saviour *in an oak*, and a procession wending towards it is the following legend:—"A crowd of people, represented on this picture, came on the mountain to visit 'la Doloureuse Mère de Dieu' *dans le chêne*, pour l'honorer," etc. Hunekler's *History of Alsace* relates the first of the two legends noticed above, and adds—"A pious inhabitant of Orbey, going to the market at Niedermorschirk, knelt for a few moments before an image of the Holy Virgin, *placed in the hollow of a tree*," etc.

The forest in the neighbourhood of Haguenau is called "the sacred forest." About the year 1220, Albert de Wangen erected a cell here, "whither he was wont to resort to offer up his prayers to God, before an *image of the Holy Virgin set in the hollow of a tree*." A monastery was subsequently erected, and "the image of the Holy Virgin" was much pilgrimized.

Notre Dame *du Chêne*, Gærdsdorf (Bas Rhin). Hertzog, a chronicler of the end of the sixteenth century, says that it was so called after the pagan priests of Germany called *Druids*. "Anciently there existed here only a thatched roof covering an *altar cut in an oak*." Later a chapel was erected here.

In the history of the saints of Alsace—life of Ste. Brigide—it is said that "she erected for herself" a little cell *under a large oak*. This was in the sixth century. We are here re-

minded of the text in Judges iv, 5—"And she (Deborah) dwelt under the palm tree of Deborah, between Ramah and Bethel in Mount Ephraim: and the children of Israel came up to her for judgment."

Another Deborah, Rachel's nurse, was "buried beneath Bethel *under an oak*: and the name of it was called Allonbachuth" (*the oak of weeping*). But we shall have to speak of Scriptural trees more at length hereafter. Joshua xxiv, 26 may be referred to here however. Under one of the subjects in the life of St. Martin, depicted on the painted glass of the cathedral of Tours, is, or was, the following legend—"By making the sign of the cross he miraculously escapes from the fall of a *tree consecrated to idols*, in the village of Leroux." The window is of the end of the thirteenth century.

To proceed with the extracts from Grimm's *Mythology*, vol. ii, he says—"For a long while after their conversion, the people continued to light torches and bring little offerings, under particular hallowed trees, in the same manner as they now crown them with flowers, and lead the dance around them, which, in the prohibitions of the Church, is named, 'vota ad arbores facere, aut ibi candelam seu quodlibet munus deferre'—'arborem colere'—'votum ad arborem persolvere'—'arbores Dæmonibus consecratas colere, et in tanta veneratione habere, ut vulgus nec ramum nec surculum audeat amputare.' The *Acta Bened.*, sec. 2, p. 841, says—'Adest quoque ibi' (at Leutosa, now Leuge) 'non ignoti miraculi fagus, subter quam, luminaria sæpe cum accensa absque hominum accessu vidimus, divini aliquidi fore suspicamur.' The Church turned this superstition to account for its miracles; on the site of the tree a convent was erected. A few years since, in the parish of Harjel, on the night of St. George, St. John, and St. Michael, offerings were made under certain trees, *i. e.*, a black hen was slaughtered." In a note to this last it is said—"According to a superstition of the Lusatian 'Wender' (Vandals), there are trees which annually claim a human offering, like certain rivers." Reference is then made to the hallowed oaks of the Thunder God, mentioned in numerous preceding pages. From the Longobards, he continues, is derived the adoration of the blood tree or hallowed tree, particularly described in the life of St. Barbatus.—*Acta Sanctor.*, Feb. 19, p. 139. "The saint lived at Beneventum, and the Kings Grimoald and Romald; but the Longobards still clung to their superstitious customs:—'Quin etiam non longe a Beneventi mænibus devotissime sacrilegam colebant arborem, in qua suspenso corio cuncti qui aderant terga vertentes arbori celerius equitabant,

calcaribus cruentantes equos, ut unus alterum posset præire, atque in eodem cursu retroversis manibus in corium jaculabantur; sicque particulam modicam ex eo comedendam superstitione accipiebant, et quia stulta illic persolvebant vota, ab actione illa, nomen loco illi, sicut hactenus dicitur, votum imposuerunt.' Barbutus preached against it in vain; but, seizing an occasion, cut it down." He refers also to a custom with the Ossetians and Circassians of erecting poles with skins of beasts suspended on them, in honour of their divinities, according to Jornandes, "exuviæ truncis suspensæ" by the Goths to Mars; probably, also, this tree was hallowed by some special votive offering: the whole place is thence distinguished by the title of "ad votum". What signification the spear lancing through the suspended hide had, is not now clear. In the North, also, they took great pains to dart through raw suspended ox hides; it was regarded as a proof of skill and strength: that it was performed backwards increases the difficulty, and is altogether ancient.¹ Why was the little piece taken out of the hide eaten? It is difficult to say. Was it recognized as the allowed participation in the offering? A note adds—"So must the best head be touched on the back part"—"So is it offered with averted head, and backwards over the head cast."

Not only were trees—under which offerings were made, and from which the heads or hides of the slaughtered beasts were suspended—accounted sacred, but also the poles supporting the sacrificial victims, and the willow poles to which a colt or calf was attached for slaughtering. Are not these clearly the "arborea ex morte vel tale immolatorum divinæ" of Adam von Bremen?

Amongst the hallowed trees, at a later period of the Middle Ages, addressed by the name of "dame" (*frau*), stands pre-eminent the *oak*; an oak or beech is the "arbor frugifera" of the Lot (Tac. *Germ.*, 10). After the oak came the *Holy-ash*, which the myth of the creation of men shews. The wolf, the meeting of which promises victory, stands under the ash. The common people believe that it is dangerous to break a bough from the ash to this very day. Robert Plot's *Staffordshire*, p. 207. A variety of the ash is the roun tree, *rowantree*, which is held in magic (note "Esculus Jovisacra"), Plin., 16, 4.

"Our popular songs also make mention of *Dame Hazel*;² and

¹ Is it possible to connect this backward scene with the willow twigs thrown backward by the miller to procure the attendance and aid of the Virgin of the Keys? It will have been remarked that the willow was a favoured tree,—and see the next paragraph.

² The *chanson* of "Dame Hazel and the Country Lass," from the

hazel served to inclose the ancient jurisdiction, in like manner as the cornfields now-a-days. Oestgoetalag everyone shall have right to cut without penalty in the common wood, except oak and hazel, which have peace. It is said that oak and hazel, like the white and the black thorn, have an aversion to each other." The *elder* and the *broom* enjoyed a marked veneration. The canons of King Edgar, cap. 16 (Thorpe, p. 396), speak of the magic carried on "under the elder and different other trees."¹ Arnkiel, i, 179, says—"In like manner, our forefathers held sacred the 'ellhorn' (black elder); but in case of being obliged to undercut the same, they first made this prayer: 'Dame Elder, give me some of thy wood; then will I also give thee some of mine, when it grows in the forest'; which prayer it was customary in part to make with bended knees, uncovered head, and folded hands, as I in my younger days have heard and seen."

The *juniper* plays a prominent part in certain fables or tales. A knight in Sudermannland was about to cut down a juniper, when a voice exclaimed—"Cut not down the juniper." He took no heed of the warning, and on the second cut blood flowed from the roots, when the knight returned home, sickened and died.

Under a *Klinta fir* or *pine* in Westmannland dwelt a sorceress (*hassfru*) or maleficent spirit. A snow-white animal was seen to issue from the lake, and proceed across the meadow to this tree. Nobody ventured to meddle with its branches.

An Austrian tale makes mention of a lofty *fir*, wherein sits a fairy whom dwarfs serve, and who succours the innocent, and vexes the guilty.

A Servian song speaks of the "Maiden in the *fir*," the bark of which the boy split with a *gold and silver horn*.²

Incantations or magical formulæ conjure the "cold fever" or "ague" into Dame *Pine*. Cut an *alder*, and it bleeds and weeps, and essays to speak.

Knaben Wunderhorn, may be added. Pitre Chevalier (*La Bret. Ancienne et Moderne*, p. 46) says that in the Celtic traditions the hazel is the symbol of defeat. From an old traditional song he quotes: "Eleven armed Druids come from Vannes with their swords broken, their robes bloody, and with *hazel* crutches: of three hundred only eleven remain." M. de la Villemarqué attributes it to the defeat by Cæsar.

¹ "In Ireland the *elder* is regarded as unholy,—the cross of elder; and Judas hanged himself on an elder tree."

² Pliny says (in his *Nat. Hist.*, lib. xvii, ch. 44) that a Druid in a white robe climbs the oak, and with a *golden pruning-hook* cuts off the mistletoe, which is received in a white sagram.

Trees are also sacred to particular elves, wood-spirits, and house-spirits. In Sweden and Denmark they are common. But not only are particular trees appropriated to elves, even whole orchards and forests are so.

“The life of the Grecian Dryads and Hamadryads is bound up in that of trees; with the decay and death of the trees do they sink and come to an end. Every hurt of the boughs and branches do they feel as wounds.”—Refer to the fine expression of Erisichthon in Ovid’s *Metam.*, viii, 742.

“This belief in sprite-inhabited trees was no less indigenous with the Celts.”

R. FERROTT.

The above paper (which we have printed in the fragmentary form in which it was left by its author), though referring chiefly to traditions current in Germany and other parts of Europe, is interesting to the Celtic antiquary because it suggests so many topics and points of comparison in respect of his own mythology. The traditions of one country ought always to be compared with those of another; because they afford clues to historic distinctions which might be otherwise forgotten, and point to ethnological affinities which ought not to be disregarded. Without attaching too much weight to them, it may safely be said that traditions are useful in the elucidation of ancient national history, and that they give ready means for arriving at a knowledge of the bent of the national mind in remote epochs.

We could wish to see the subject taken up by some competent scholar, and our chief Welsh traditions laid down by the side of others from Europe or from the East. Mr. Wright and Mr. Stephens (like the author of this paper, the late M. Perrott) are quite able to undertake the task, and we would recommend it to their notice. There is such a large amount of myth mixed up with current popular history, that the sooner it can be winnowed away from the solid grains of truth and fact the better.

ED. *Arch. Camb.*

THE ROCK DWELLINGS IN LE VENDÔMOIS, FRANCE.

THOSE who have not examined for themselves, will be surprised to hear how large a portion of the population of France at the present time puts, like the Kenites of old, their nests in the rocks. Wherever, in fact, the nature of the locality and of the rock admits, such excavations are invariably found, and used as abodes or storehouses or offices. Nor are such habitations so inconvenient and undesirable as might be thought, as they are invariably dry, cool in summer, and so warm in winter as to be unaffected by the frost, which binds up the outer world. Residences, therefore, possessing such advantages, and sometimes the important one of immunity from rent, must always have been in such requisition that it is no matter of surprise to find miles of rocks through a large portion of France thus honey-combed out. While, however, ordinary structures of stone or other material vanish in the course of time, these rock dwellings remain; but as all architectural features are wanting, it is almost impossible to assign to them even an approximate date. This difficulty is increased by the circumstance that successive occupants have altered them by enlarging or by other means, while new ones are being constantly excavated, where circumstances permit or emergencies require. For these reasons, in the great majority of cases, it is impossible to tell, without an intimate knowledge of the local history, not only which of these rock dwellings are more ancient than others, but which can be called ancient at all in any sense of the word. Many French antiquaries assign to some of them a Gaulish, if not an earlier period. Others may be of mediæval origin, or at least modified during that period. Many are un-

doubtedly comparatively modern. In some instances, as at Chateaudun (Eure et Loir), a town of some size, they appear as furnishing additional accommodation to the poorer classes. In one instance, that of Les Roches, they occupy one half of the town, which consists of a long street running between the Loir and a line of precipitous rocks, excavated to the very summit by dwellings in tiers one above the other; so that by far the larger portion of the inhabitants are accommodated in these caves. In such cases as these, as already stated, it would be almost impossible to form even any conjectures as to their real age. But, fortunately, there are others, so far removed from inhabited districts as to have long ceased to be tenanted; and it is to these more particularly the antiquarian's notice will be directed.

Such is the case between Lavardin and Montoir, on the banks of the same river—the Loir, where several of these caves remain. A few occur near the town, but being near enough to be inhabited as a kind of suburb, need not be here noticed. Soon after passing these, the traveller finds a quarry on the right hand, which, according to M. De Petigny, the author of the *History of Le Vendômois*, has nearly destroyed a group, consisting of a winding passage leading to an inner recess, in the floor of which is a hole. This again communicated with a hall of considerable size, lighted by a large opening in the face of the rock. In a lower storey was a kind of *oubliette*, and a small polygonal chamber, which he calls a prison.

At some little distance is another of these groups, which he calls the Hermitage, entered by some broken steps, which lead into a large chamber. Near the entrance is a fireplace. At the opposite end is a passage lighted by irregular openings. On the left is an arched entrance, the grooves or jaggings of which mark the place of a door hung on hinges. This doorway leads into a small chamber, called also the Prison, and which, by a still narrower opening, leads into a small circular chamber, having a stone bench running

round it, and commanding a fine view from a semi-circular aperture or window in the rock.

Next to the Hermitage is a third example, but of smaller dimensions, and containing only a chamber, which has one of those curious circular holes in the floor, the object of which is yet unexplained. In this instance, in particular, a narrow ledge runs round the mouth, on which, probably, a stone or wooden cover rested.

Another group occurs about 200 paces further. A large archway opens into a chamber to the right, having a circular depression in the floor similar to that already mentioned. On the left is a passage, lighted by three openings, and gradually rising with a curve to the mouth of a kind of small tunnel, or *soupirail*, leading in an oblique direction to an upper chamber.

Next succeeds, at some little distance, a series of small square cells, the last of which, larger than the rest, receives light and air by means of two passages. Here also occur the remains of stairs, which probably led to an upper chamber.

The last of these structures is known as La Chapelle des Vierges, consisting of two storeys, the upper one being reached by fourteen steps. This leads to a spacious chamber, lighted by a semicircular opening, near which is the hearth of a fireplace, and one of the above-mentioned circular depressions. Two steps lead into a dark apartment, said to have possessed an altar. The entrance to this second chamber was only effected by a wooden bridge, the ledges on which it rested being still visible in the rock. In the chamber called the Chapel are two or three small niches or ambries, in which are still deposited offerings of flowers, etc., by the peasants.

On retracing the road back to Montoir, and turning to the left, the tourist falls into the main road leading to La Chartre, on the confines of the department. Between this place and Montoir is the very remarkable village of Trôo, the population of which is divided into

three sections, one being located on the level ground, between the rock and the river Loir; the second in various dwellings in tiers one above the other in the almost perpendicular face of the rock; and the third occupying the plateau on the summit, where stands an interesting church of late Romanesque character in its principal details. Close to the church is an enormous tumulus; another tumulus, of less proportions, is close to, and nearly opposite, the north gate of the mediæval wall. This latter tumulus is so inconveniently placed near the wall, that unless it were occupied as an out-work by the inhabitants, it must have been of great importance to the attacking party. The west gate and other portions of the wall are said by De Petigny to be of Gallo-Roman construction. Of this statement, however, no satisfactory proof could be ascertained by the writer of this notice. A portion of the walls in this part present what might be thought by some approaching to *petit appareil*, but which may be of much later date than that assigned by the author of the *History of Le Vendômois*.

The more remarkable feature, however, of this plateau is the fact that it covers many subterranean passages a short distance beneath the surface. The passages have been found so choked up by débris as to preclude examination. More than halfway down the hill, however, is the entrance to a work, which is said to extend so far upwards as to enable the filaments of trees on the plateau to penetrate to the roof of its present termination. It is perfectly true that numerous filaments of roots do project through the rock, as described; but the distance traversed from the entrance of the cave to its extremity does not appear sufficiently long or steep to have reached the level of the plateau.

Access to this work may be procured on application to the baker, who is entrusted with the guardianship and occupation of it; for the entrance of it serves as a bakehouse large enough to supply the whole district. On entering, the visitor finds himself in an immense

dark chamber, the original extent of which has been much curtailed by modern walls of rough rubble masonry on each side from the ground to the roof; so that the present entrance-hall, in one corner of which is the oven, and in another a vast heap of faggots, is, as it were, only a slice cut off from the centre of the original chamber. At the farthest end of this apartment is a narrow dark passage, which, after proceeding some way in a straight direction, turns off to the right, and leads to some rude steps cut in the rock. These steps conduct into an upper apartment of smaller dimensions, lying over the passage just traversed. Not far from the top of the stairs is a square hole in the floor, pierced through the rock communicating with the passage below. It has been at one time fitted with a trap-door, which rested on ledges cut in the face of the rock, and still remaining. As the difference between the two levels is very inconsiderable, it is not easy to pronounce on the use or intention of this trap-door, unless for hoisting up heavy articles which could not have been conveniently carried up the stairs. This upper chamber, still continuing in the same direction, becomes narrowed into an ordinary passage, having a somewhat rapid inclination upwards, getting smaller as one advances. After following this for some time, still mounting upwards, the visitor arrives at what is the present termination, now stopped up by stones and rubbish which have fallen from the roof; and it is at this spot the fibres or filaments above-mentioned occur.

A few feet short of this termination two small galleries branch off, each in opposite directions, still ascending; but they are so low and blocked up by rubbish, that they cannot be traversed except on the hands and knees, an unpleasant operation at all times, and particularly over heaps of stones. They have not yet been traced to their extremities, which, however, cannot be very remote if the galleries continue to contract in the same degree as in the ascertained portions.

There are many other similar excavations in this

mass of rock, which is, in fact, pierced in all directions with labyrinths of galleries, ascending, descending, and intercommunicating with one another. Popular belief even extends them as far as Bressé, about six miles distant—an evident exaggeration; although it is not impossible some may have had an external communication with the upper ground at some distance into the lands in the rear of the hill. The average height of these galleries is about six feet, and their breadth about four and a half. They are of the rudest construction. At intervals occur large central spaces, generally of a circular form, where several of these galleries, of low height, not exceeding eight or nine feet, unite in a common centre. These galleries all open into the southern face of the rocks, and in many cases form the residences of the present inhabitants. It is remarkable, that during the Prussian occupation of this part of France, in the year 1815, the inhabitants withdrew with their families and movable wealth to these retreats, where the soldiers, who occupied the village below, did not dare to follow them. Sometimes springs of water are found in this chalk rock. One such occurs at this place, another in the rocks between Lavardin and Montoir, already mentioned. Baraillon, in his *Celtic Monuments*, pp. 308-309, describes a locality in Limousin, which bears a striking resemblance to Trôo. This, also, is an isolated hill, defended by a triple *enceinte*, and covered with Gaulish and Roman remains. The whole hill has been apparently scooped out in passages, and though once a place of importance is now a poor hamlet, known as that of Poull, apparently the Welsh *Pwll*, or hollow; while Trôo is merely another form of the French *trou*, a hole.

Besides the chambers and galleries already known to exist at Trôo, there are strong indications that many more yet remain to be discovered. A short time previous to the visit made by the writer of this article, the son-in-law of the baker already mentioned, who also shares his father-in-law's dwelling-house in the rock,

pierced from curiosity the rock-ceiling of his bed-chamber, when he discovered a dark chamber above, the existence of which had not previously been known. This chamber, which did not communicate with the external air, had been hewn out of the chalk, as evinced by the marks of tooling on the sides and roof. The discoverer, however, did not appear to have continued his researches, or even to ascertain the actual entrance.

On retracing our steps from Trôo to Vendôme, after passing Montoir, we arrive at Les Roches, the village already mentioned, consisting of one long street, one side of which is bounded by the face of a perpendicular rock, thickly tenanted by the inhabitants, living in tiers over one another. In many instances, it is very difficult to discover the means of access to chambers, the windows of which are pierced through the face of the rock. Here, as already noticed, however ancient these excavations may have been, they have been so altered and adapted in more modern times, that it is almost impossible now to form any opinion on the subject. Beyond the remains of the mediæval wall of the town, on the east side, there is a picturesque group of chambered rock, called Le Château de Saint Gervais, and a modern figure, representing that or some other saint, is perched upon a ledge cut in the face of the precipice. In this group, M. De Petigny sees the grave of the Druids placed apart from the dwellings of the common people; but whether Druids ever occupied them or not, the labours of the quarrymen have nearly destroyed the ancient chambers and galleries of the castle of Saint Gervais.

After leaving Les Roches, we proceed to the rocks at Breuil, separated by the Loir and two or three fathoms from Thoré. Here, as in the caves near Lavardin, the present population exists; so that we have the best opportunity of examining the arrangements of these dwellings, which seem to have been carried out on a tolerably uniform system. The accompanying engraving



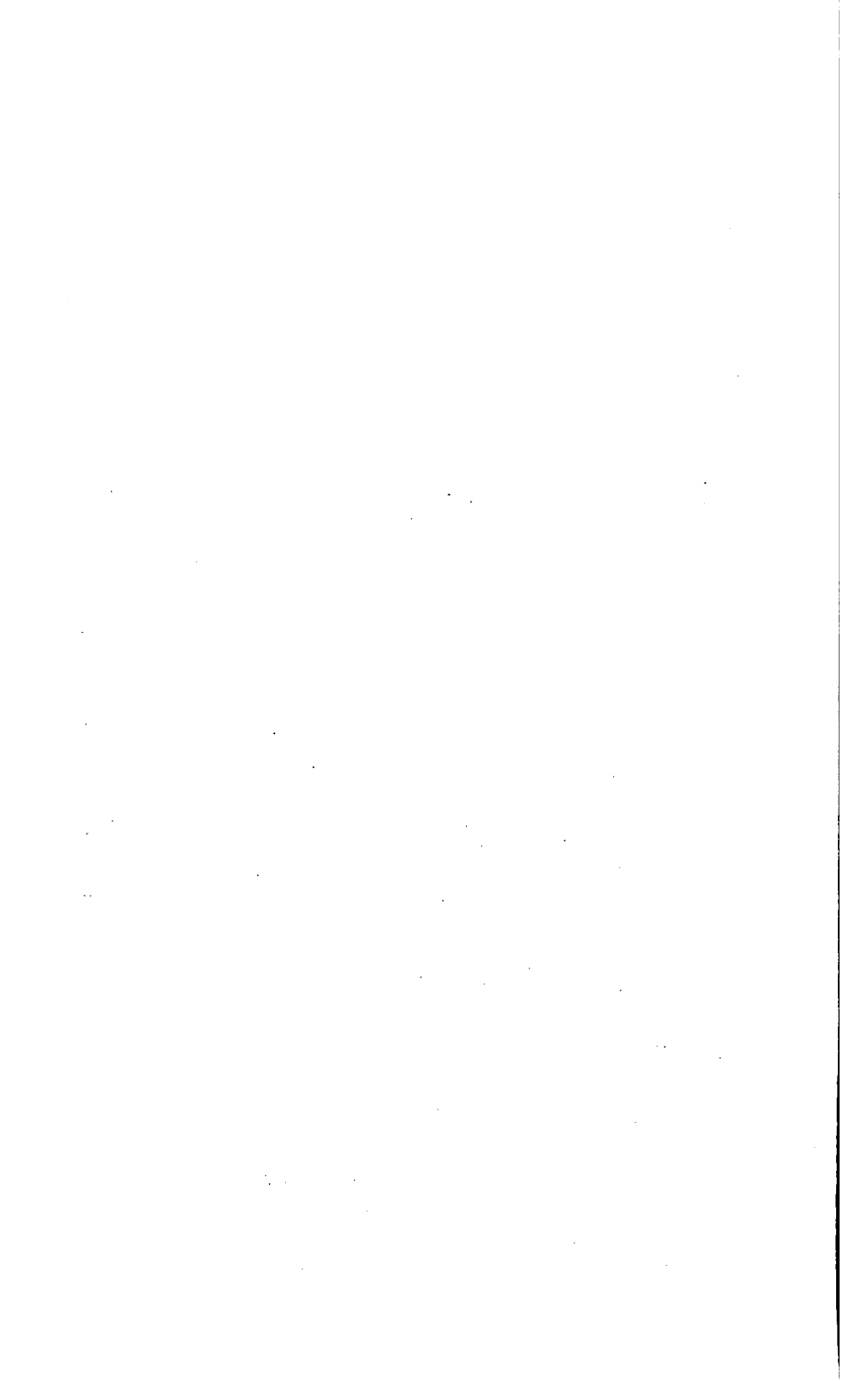
EXTERIOR VIEW OF CAVES OF BREUIL, NEAR THORÉ, LOIR ET CHER, FRANCE.



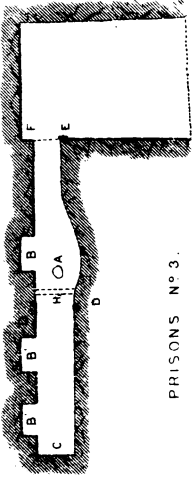
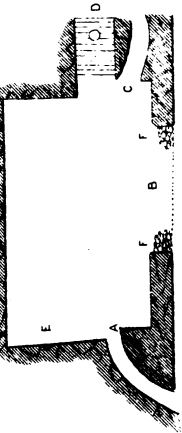
Chapin du Parc del.

J. H. de la Roche sc.

INTERIOR OF A CAVE AT BREUIL, NEAR THORÉ, LOIR ET CHER, FRANCE.



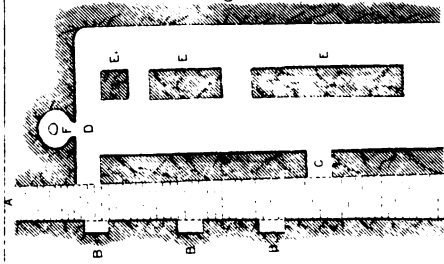
LOWER CHAMBER, N° 1.



PRISONS N° 3.

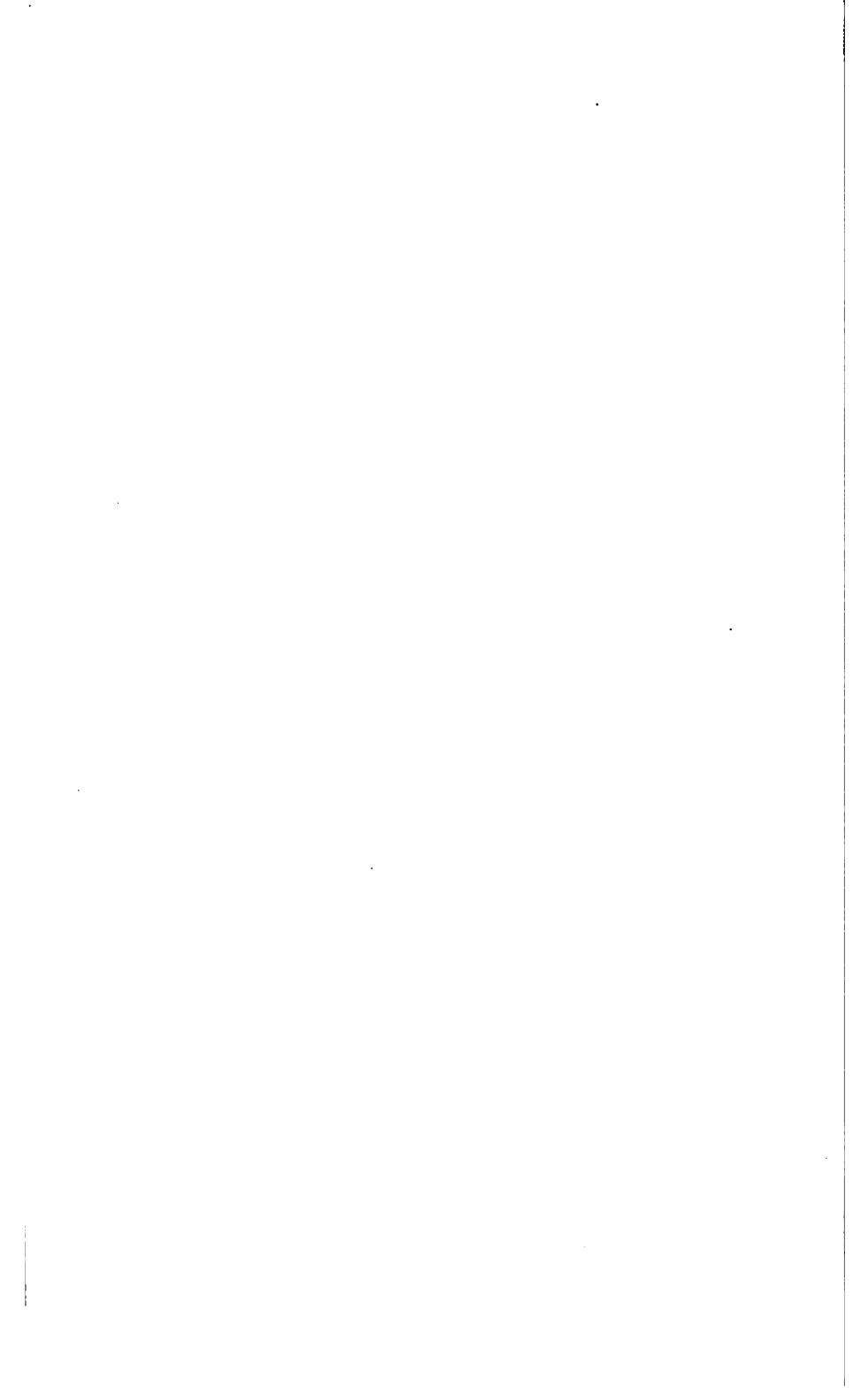
C

UPPER CHAMBER N° 2



GALLERIES AT AMBOUISE
N° 4.

CAVES AT BREUIL,
PLANS OF VARIOUS CHAMBERS.



ing will give an idea of the exterior of a portion of these rocks, which extend some distance parallel to the river. The portion, however, here represented is not the most elevated.

In the middle of the level ground, on the summit of the rock, is a large carn, formed of small boulder-stones, from the summit of which the tumuli of Trôo are visible. From Trôo, again, the two tumuli of La Chartre are clearly seen, as if these elevations had served for beacons along the valley of the Loir.

We now proceed to describe one of the most remarkable of the Breuil chambers, or rather group of chambers.

The present entrance is effected by some rude steps, which do not appear to be original, through the open space at B (see ground-plans, fig. 1). On the left hand is a small, slightly-curved passage at A, leading to the outer face of the rock, and which may have been an original entrance, if not the only one. At E, about four feet from the ground, is a small ambry or locker, excavated in the wall, without any traces of having been ever closed by a door or shutter. These lockers, which are of frequent occurrence, uniformly at the same elevation, are much too small to have answered any domestic purposes, but may have served as niches for lamps or images. Some are rectangular, others with circular heads.

Opposite to A is a passage, C, leading to a second chamber similar to the first one, except that it is provided with a fireplace, which fills up, in a slanting direction, the right-hand corner as you enter by the passage C. In the corner diagonally opposite is a small orifice, large enough to admit a stout arm, which descends in an oblique direction through the rock, but the termination of which has not yet been reached by probing with long rods. Two similar instances occur in another chamber to be presently noticed. What their use is, is difficult to guess. They appear too small for drains, presuming that the original occupants of these

chambers had so far advanced in civilization as to make use of such conveniences; and for the same reason they may be considered unfit for air pipes or *soupiraux* to other rooms not yet discovered. This inner chamber has no other outlet except the passage c, and the open space in the face of the rock similar to b, and which, unless subsequently enlarged, seems to be of unnecessary dimensions for the mere purpose of a window.

On the lintel at b there are remains of rude rubble masonry (F F), in which good hard mortar has been employed. The presence of this masonry seems to indicate that subsequent tenants wished to reduce the opening of b to a more convenient size.

Parallel to the passage at c, a well-worked flight of steps, cut in the solid rock, leads to the upper chamber (see fig. 2). About halfway up the stairs, a narrow shaft runs perpendicularly through and up to the top of the rock, tapering gradually as it rises. The shaft itself is nearly square, and has been worked with care and neatness. It is difficult to explain its presence in such a situation, as there is abundance of light and air from the upper and lower chambers. The position of this shaft is marked by a small circle on stairs (A, fig. 2, D, fig. 1). We shall have occasion to allude to another shaft of the same kind, but in a situation where it was evidently intended for a *soupirail*.

The upper chamber is situated partly over the second of the lower chambers, but of more spacious dimensions—namely, about thirty feet long, by twenty-four broad, and about eight or nine feet high. This chamber is given in the engraving. On entering at A (see ground-plan, fig. 2), a small window or opening in the rock occurs at B; at C is a rectangular depression in the floor in front of the fireplace, the chimney (R) running at an angle through the rock, and terminating in the exterior face at about the same level as the interior height of the chamber. One end of the rectangular depression appears in the engraving. A large

opening at *D* effectually lights the interior. At *F* is the entrance to a small curved gallery, leading to the outer face of the rock, which must have received its light from a small window, *G*, when the door at *F* was closed. This small window is remarkable for having on the faces of its jambs a rude triple moulding, the outlines of which are given in the plan. It consists of three plain semicircular mouldings or beadings, touching each other, and of very rude character.

Proceeding along the narrow gallery, a seat has been cut out of the rock at *I*, close to two grooves (*J*), which correspond to each other on each side of the passage. Other indications exist of there having been a door, which closed the passage, the seat being probably intended for the accommodation of the doorkeeper. Whether the passage beyond led to a small chamber in the rock, which has since disappeared, or whether it was originally intended as a kind of upper sallyport to the work seems doubtful. There can, however, be no question as to the passage having been closed at *J*.

On retracing our steps, we find a narrow straight passage cut through the rock opposite the window *G*, leading into an irregular-shaped apartment, which is provided also with a more important entrance into the large chamber at *L*. In one corner of this apartment is one of those curious circular depressions (*M*) already alluded to in the Lavardin chambers at Montoir. A similar circular cavity, but larger, exists near the ruins of a dolmen at Gozo, near Malta, attributed to the giants. By a certain section of antiquaries they are said to be receptacles for receiving blood of the victims. Those, however, that occur in these rocks could hardly have retained any liquid, from the porous nature of the chalk. At *L* and *L'* the doorways still retain undoubted indications of having been closed with doors, not only from the grooves remaining in which they fitted, but from traces of the sockets of hinges; so that when both doors were shut, the chamber must have been deprived of air and light. Hence,

probably, it is called the Prison, and may have perhaps been used as such. The double access to it is remarkable. At o o are two of the small ambries previously alluded to, and which are given in the engraving. Another exists in the south wall, between R and A. The recess at R may have been used to hold a bed. No reason can be assigned for the irregular projecting portions in the western wall.

To the right of these chambers, as you face the rock, there are other galleries and chambers, which can only be reached from the outside by a ladder, as the lower portion of the face has given way. Here a single chamber exists, with the small narrow aperture in two of its opposite angles, similar to the one described in the second of the lower chambers of the last-mentioned group (p. 235), as well as one of the circular depressions. Connected, also, with this chamber are one or two others, apparently unfinished, of such dimensions that they can hardly be called chambers. If they are in a finished state, they may have been used as sleeping-places. The original entrance to the principal chamber of this group was probably from a long corridor which ran along the face of the rock, the part communicating with the chamber having fallen away, but left its continuations on each side, presenting an appearance not unlike the remains of a similar corridor at a lower stage, and which is given in the left hand of the group represented in the engraving. The remains of this upper corridor can now be only reached by means of long ladders; but if examined, there is little doubt but other chambers would be found connected with them.

To the east of this group of chambers, and on the level ground, exist what are called the Prisons. These are entered by a large well-proportioned rectangular hall (G, fig. 3) at right angles to the line of rocks. At the other end, on the left hand side, is a small low doorway cut in the rock (at F), and which formerly had masonry added to it, the remains of it still existing at E. From this doorway, a narrow passage at right angles

to the central hall, gradually widening as one advances, leads to the interior prisons. This passage at its entrance is so low, and so blocked up with rubbish, that the explorer is compelled to drag himself through in a prone position for a short way. Having passed this difficulty, he finds himself in a vaulted passage of considerable height. A small oblong recess is seen on the right at B, scooped out of the rock, having a barrel-shaped roof. Close to this is another instance of the singular shafts (A) already mentioned, running up perpendicularly right through the body of the rock. On looking upwards, the opening of its upper extremity appears hardly large enough to admit the body of a stout man. This was probably intended to supply air. A little beyond this are two deep groves in the wall on each side (H), where a door once cut off all access. On passing this doorway, two square ambries of the usual character, opposite each other, have been cut in the rock (D D). Then succeed on the right hand, two more recesses exactly similar to the one on the other side of the door (B' B'), while the end of the passage ends in a similar recess, except that its roof is semidomical, not barrel-shaped.

On a reference to the plan, it will be seen that the occupants of the inner chamber are cut off from all light and air by the doorway at H, which was, therefore, probably fitted with gratings to admit the latter. It will be observed also, that the shaft or *soupirail*, for such it seems to be, as there are no traces of smoke, is placed exactly at the other side of the door; otherwise, it might have furnished means of escape to those confined in the inner chamber. The recess at B would, on the supposition of our having here a veritable prison, have held the bed of the jailor; and those at B' B' and C, the beds of prisoners in the interior chamber. It will be seen that the interior and exterior chambers received no light but through the doorway at F; and as the accumulation of débris at its entrance is considerable, the place is nearly in total darkness; and

would have been completely so when the door at F was closed, the shaft at A being too long and narrow to render any assistance in this respect, however indispensable it must have been to furnish air when the outer door at F was shut. These circumstances seem to confirm the local tradition, that the chambers are prisons; and the suggestion that the shafts are intended to supply air, and are not ordinary chimneys.

Near the same spot, the upper end of a similar shaft has been lately discovered by the quarrymen; and which must communicate with some subterranean chamber not yet discovered. As the rock is disappearing under the labours of the workmen, it is probable that many similar constructions may be brought to light.

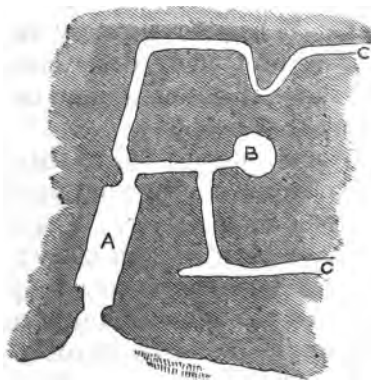
The object of the large hall at the entrance, is not so clear. The entrance at G is arched over with a plain semicircular arch, in masonry of modern character.

Such are the principal features of the Breuil rock chambers. It will be seen that they differ in some respects from that at Trôo, and from those on the road between Montoir and Lavardin. One point, however, of dissimilarity, is the remains of masonry, and the long shafts of Breuil. The latter are certainly cotemporary with the chambers; the former is probably an addition by subsequent occupiers. The internal arrangements, moreover, of Breuil, are more complicated in details, and evince a more advanced civilization than the rude galleries at Trôo. Great caution, however, is requisite in receiving French estimates as to their real antiquity, which, as already stated, by some is extended not only to Gaulish, but even to pre-Gaulish, times. But, whatever may be their real origin, it is by no means improbable but that the custom of selecting such places of residence continued, from a remote age, for a considerable period, and received various additions and improvements from time to time.

That these are not the dwellings of the Druids, as assumed by M. de Petigny, most antiquaries will agree. That they may be the works of the early Gauls, few will

deny. Cæsar, in his 7th book of the Gallic war, states of the Gauls, that they were well acquainted with mining operations, "Apud eos ferrariæ atque omne genus cuniculorum notum est."

The castle of Vendôme stands on the crest of a high ridge commanding the town. Tradition states that similar subterranean works exist to a considerable extent; but little of them is at present actually known. About fifty or sixty years ago, however, chance led to the discovery of a gallery excavated in that part of the hill which borders on the faubourg of St. Lubin. In digging out a cellar in the ancient inn of St. Jacques, situated at the entrance of the faubourg, the lower opening of this gallery was discovered. Passing under some dark vaulting, and turning to the right, the explorer reached a reservoir of subterranean waters, the overflow of which escapes at the foot of the rock, and runs into the Loir a little above St. George's bridge. The cutting of the gallery leading to the basin is remarkably well done. The width of the gallery itself is nearly a yard and a half, the height about two yards at the lower part, gradually increasing to four yards. The principal, or what appears to be the principal gallery, continues ascending into the body of the hill—turns to



the right, and proceeds for some distance—about fifty yards from the entrance. On referring to the cut a

small deflection to the right is noticed, the object of which, unless for some defensive purpose, is doubtful. At c, the passage is blocked up by débris. Another gallery starts from that leading to the basin or reservoir, and turns again to the right, following the side of the hill by St. Lubin. This passage, after running a short distance, is also stopped up from the same cause. B is the reservoir; A, the modern excavation which led to the discovery. Some have thought these works connected with the feudal castle above, and of mediæval character; but no mention or even hint is given of them in charters, chronicles, or other authentic documents; nor even do any local traditions, so frequently connected with mediæval remains of the kind, exist. The Vendôme caves may, therefore, probably be referred to the same class as those at Trôo.

Immense numbers of similar excavations exist in various other parts of France, such as in the Limousin, Berry, La Marche, etc., notices of which will be found in Baraillon's *Recherches sur les Monuments Celtiques*. There is, however, one, which is well known to tourists through the pages of Murray, whose account, though on the whole correct, is somewhat brief. These are the caves, on the north side of the castle at Amboise, known as Cæsar's granaries, and now occupied by a wine merchant. Whatever mystery may be attached to the excavations previously described, there is little doubt but that these, if not of Roman construction, were certainly used by that people.

This work originally consisted of three huge vaulted long chambers, over one another, cut out of the rock, and opening on the face of the river. The crowns of these vaulted arches have been broken away; so that in the first storey it has been necessary to place a wooden floor. Fig. 4 gives the plan of the chamber thus furnished with a floor. The masses of rock, E E E, may have been left standing to assist in supporting the vault above, the openings between them being perhaps intended for the more expeditious moving and storage of corn, etc.

By the side of these galleries or chambers runs a well-made staircase, cut through the rock, and opening into the ground above, at *A*. A few of the original stairs are left, the greater part having been recut. The reader will understand that, although the plan exhibits the stairs and chamber on the same level, yet the former rises at a considerable inclination, with openings at various heights on the right hand, as at *c*, admitting to the different chambers one above the other. At the end of the chamber represented in the plan is a small circular room (*D*) lined with good Roman brick, having a circular aperture (*F*) in its centre, also lined with the same kind of brick, which communicates with the room below; while exactly above it is a similar hole communicating from the chambers above. Through these holes must have been poured down the grain, collected from the high ground above, and thus passed on with great facility to the Loire for embarkation. Vestiges of a camp exist on the hill above, on which the flight of stairs opens at *A*. If these galleries were connected with the camp, they would afford a direct and easy access to the banks of the river, thus avoiding the circuitous routes through the hollows on each side leading down to the Loire.

On the left hand of the stairs are, at different elevations, small recesses, marked in the plan *B B B*, now walled up with late masonry, but which communicate with other chambers not easy of access to strangers. They are, however, described as being large ordinary chambers, with no remarkable features. The walls of the long chambers or the galleries are plastered over, but the mortar is of very inferior and soft character, crumbling easily between the fingers. The bricks, however, which line the walls of the small circular chamber and aperture are certainly of Roman manufacture; and there can be little doubt that these galleries were used, if not actually excavated, by that nation, as stated by tradition.

Such are the more remarkable features of the Rock Dwellings in that portion of France, which once formed

the ancient Vendôme. To examine carefully even a small portion of them would require more time, and certainly more local knowledge, than generally falls to the lot of the ordinary tourist. Enough, however, may have been here stated to direct the attention of such of the members of the Cambrian Archæological Association, both in this country and France, who may have the opportunity of inspecting for themselves, and who, it is hoped, will avail themselves of the pages of the *Archæologia Cambrensis* in making known the personal results of their examinations.

E. L. B.

Ruthin.

ACCOUNT OF AN ANCIENT SEAL FOUND NEAR
ST. BEUNO'S COLLEGE, ST. ASAPH.



THE seal, of which the above is a representation, was discovered on Thursday, April 16th, 1863. On that day Mr. J. Eastham, the bailiff employed upon the property belonging to St. Beuno's College in Tre'r-Maen Efa, and in the parish of Tremeirchion, near St. Asaph, whilst walking along a newly-ploughed field observed lying upon the soil a white object, which upon inspection and examination proved to be an ancient leaden seal. The field had never before, so far as is known, been ploughed so near to the hedge, even the path having been turned over; and it was upon this part that the object we are speaking of was found.

It measures an inch and a quarter in diameter, and is round, except where a small piece has been broken off. When cleaned, in spite of the lead being much oxidized, the border presented the following legend, the letters of which are exceedingly well formed,—S' IThELFIL'kVN-[V]RICI (“Sigillum Ithel filii Kun[v]rici”). The V is not by any means so distinct as the other letters, but the bottom part of it is plainly discernible.¹ The letters are Roman, with two or three of Saxon or Gothic form, namely H, E, and K. A peculiarity is that the extremities of the letters are much more deeply sunk into the metal than the other parts, which at first sight makes the legend look as if formed of a number of triangular caves or hollows,—those belonging to the same letter being connected with each other by a sort of raised channel; and in the impressed seal, as we should expect, these extremities form so many triangular pyramids. The centre part is composed of a circle or wheel divided into eight sections by as many lines drawn from the circumference to the centre. Both the circle and the lines are of rude formation. The angles of the letters have been formed with such fineness, that it is difficult to suppose the seal to have been either struck in a die or cast in a mould. It would rather seem as if the letters had been punched into the metal part by part, and the uneven surface afterwards rubbed to a level. The deeply-sunk extremities, and the comparative shallowness of the connecting lines, can hardly be accounted for under any other supposition. In fact, this conjecture may be looked upon as certain.

On the surface of the back there is the broken remnant of a shank three-sixteenths of an inch in breadth. When found the shank was still attached, but was afterwards accidentally broken. It is not in the centre, and may have served as a catch by which to pass a thread. This might lead to the supposition that the seal had

¹ In the figure at the head of this notice, the resemblance to the lower part of an I is very great. In the original seal it can hardly be taken for anything but V.

been pendent as a bulla to a deed or other legal document; but the reversed position of the letters brings us back to the conclusion that it was intended for use as a seal from which to take impressions.

The age of the instrument may be determined in two ways, by the form of the letters, or by historical knowledge of the original owner whose name it bears. The form of the letters and the whole appearance of the seal would lead us to assign it to the thirteenth century. Probably a later date would have presented us with the scutcheon and arms of the owner, of which there are here no traces.

Accompanying this account are given two genealogical tables, each containing an Ithel ab Cynwrig; both, however, living about the year 1400. They have been kindly supplied by J. Youde Hinde, Esq., of Rhyl, who from the beginning took great interest in the discovery, and thought that possibly the seal might have belonged to one of the two therein mentioned, especially as the ancestors of both held lands in the district in which the College is situated. There is another Ithel spoken of as living in the twelfth century, whose estates in Nant-clwyd would have extended from St. Beuno's College to Rhagatt, and into Salop, and who possessed Castell Meirchion in Tegeingl. But he was Ithel, son of Llewelyn.

On the two following pages are the pedigrees of—
Ithel ap Cynwrig, Esq., of Sychdyn¹ in the parish of Llaneurgain (Northope), in the lordship of Tegeingl; and of Ithel Fychan ap Cynfrig, Esq., of Llaneurgain (now called Northope) in the lordship of Tegeingl.

C. B.

St. Beuno's College.

¹ Sychdyn is now called Soughton, and is still in the possession of the heir of the family, the Rev. Benjamin Conway Conway of Lower Soughton.

PEDIGREE OF ITHEL AP CYNWRIG, Esq.

ITHEL GAM AP MEREDYDD AP UCHTRYD, 2nd son of Edwyn =
ap Goronwy, Prince of Tegeingle. *Argent*, a cross flosy engrailed *sable*
inter four Cornish choughs ppr.

Itihel Llwyd of Mostyn =

Itihel Fychan of Mostyn. He did homage for his land to
Edward, the English Prince of Wales, at Chester, A.D. 1301.

Itihel Anwyl.¹ He lived at Euloe Castle, and was one of the captains of =
Englefield, to defend it against Edward I, king of England, 1272-1307.

Itihel Llwyd of Sychdyn =

Bleddyn ap Itihel Llwyd of Sychdyn =

Sir Harri Salusbury of Llyweni, Knight of =
the Holy Sepulchre, ob. 1399; buried in the
Church of the White Friars at Denbigh.

John Salusbury,
Master of the Horse
to Edward III. Suf-
fered death in 1388.

Cynwrig ap Bleddyn of Sychdyn =

ITHEL AP CYNWRIG, of Sychdyn, =
about 1400 to 1430.

Cwnnws ap Itihel of Sychdyn =

Thomas Salusbury of Llyweni =

Sir Thomas Salusbury, of Llyweni, ob. A.D. 1505;
buried in the Church of the Carmelites at Den-
bigh. He was knighted after the battle of Black-
heath (against Perkin Warbeck), A.D. 1497.

John aer Conwy, Esq., of Bodrhyddan =

Jane Salusbury = John aer Conwy
of Llyweni. of Bodrhyddan.

David ap Cwnnws of Sychdyn =

2nd son, James Conwy = Gwenhwyfar,
of Rhuddlan and of sole heiress of
Sychdyn *jure uxoris*. Sychdyn.

Harri Conwy, Esq., of Sychdyn. He is witness to a deed dated 14th March, 1559.

¹ Itihel Anwyl bore Party per pale, or and *gules*, two lions salient adorsed counterchanged.

PEDIGREE OF ITHEL FYCHAN AP CYNFRIG, Esq.

EDNOWAIN BENDEW,¹ founder of the seventh Noble Tribe of North Wales and Powys. He lived at Llys-Coed y Mynydd, in Bodfari, A.D. 1102.

Madog ap Ednowain =
 Iorwerth ap Madog =
 Riryd ap Iorwerth =
 Iorwerth ap Riryd, A.D. 1301 =

Rotpert ap Iorwerth = Adeliza, d. of Ithel Fychan of Mostyn, ap Ithel Llwyd ap Ithel Gam of *Llaneurgain*, now called *Northope*. Ithel Fychan did homage for his lands to Edward, the English Prince of Wales, A.D. 1301.

Cynfrig ap Rotpert =

ITHEL FYCHAN AP CYNFRIG of Northope and Ysceifog. About A.D. 1400. =

David ap Ithel of Northope = Cynwrig of Ysceifog. John aer Conwy of Bodrhyddan, Esq. =

1, Ithel of Northope Hall, Esq. = Gruffydd of Caerwys = Margaret.

Evan ap Ithel of Northope Hall = Margaret, d. of James Conwy of Sychdyn. Richard of Northope = Pyers Gruffydd of Caerwys, Sergeant-at-Arms to Henry VIII. This family is extinct.

Elis Evans, of Northope Hall, Esq. The estate and mansion of Northope Hall continued in the possession of this family till 1760, when they were sold by the heiress of the family, who married Edward Pryse Lloyd, Esq., of Glansein, co. Caermarthen; whose grandson, Edward Pryse Lloyd, Esq., of Glansein, is now the representative of this family.

Margaret, sole heiress, married John Breton, Esq., of Borasham, by whom she had a son, Owen Breton, Esq., of Borasham, High Sheriff for Denbighshire A.D. 1580. (See *Memoirs* of Richard White.) This branch of the Breton family, which descends from William, second son of Sir Randle Breton of Malpas, is now represented by J. Youde Hinde, Esq., of Clochfaen and Plas Madoc.

¹ The arms of Ednowain Bendew are, *Argent* a chevron inter three boars' heads coupé *sable*.

ON LLYWARCH HEN AND THE DESTRUCTION OF URICONIUM.

THE following remarks on the character of the poem of Llywarch Hen, relating to which so learned a paper has been contributed to the last number of the *Archæologia Cambrensis* by Dr. Edwin Guest, and on the date of the destruction of Uriconium, may perhaps not be uninteresting to our members. They are merely extracted from my work on Uriconium, which is still in the press; and were, I need hardly add, written before the appearance of Dr. Guest's paper. The Red Book of Hergest, which contains the oldest known copy of this poem, presents (to judge by the fac-simile published in the Government edition of the *Brut y Tywysogion*) all the characteristics of a manuscript of the first half of the fifteenth century,—I should say, probably of the reign of Henry V. That is about the period to which most of the spurious bardic poetry seems to be traced; and I suspect it was created amid the excitement of the insurrection of Owen Glendour: intended probably to remind the Welsh of traditional independence and glory, and to exasperate them by wrongs supposed to have been received from the Saxons; among which such a charge as the burning of Uriconium would present its still visible memorials to their eyes.—T. WRIGHT.

“The time at which Uriconium was destroyed, the manner in which it perished, and the people who destroyed it, have also been in turn subjects of dispute. The last of these questions cannot, with our present amount of knowledge, be answered with any certainty. Our excavations have proved beyond a doubt that the town was taken by force, that a frightful massacre of the inhabitants followed, and that it was then plundered and burnt. Remains of men, women, and children, are found everywhere scattered among the ruins, and the traces of burning are not only met with in all parts of them, but the whole of the soil within the walls of the ancient city is blackened by it to such a degree as to present a very marked contrast

to the lighter colour of the earth outside. Discoveries made during the excavations seem to clear up satisfactorily the more important question as to the period at which Uriconium was destroyed. Early in the course of the excavations the skeleton of an old man was found in one of the hypocausts of the Baths, and close to him lay a heap of coins, which had been contained in a small wooden casket, and which the man had evidently carried with him when he fled from the massacrers. These coins, all copper but one, and in number a hundred and thirty-two, belonged to the following emperors:

| | | | |
|---------------------------------|----|----------------------------|-----|
| Tetricus | 1 | Theodora | 1 |
| Claudius Gothicus | 1 | Urbs Roma | 24 |
| Constantine the Great | 13 | Constantinopolis | 34 |
| Constans | 1 | Valens | 1 |
| Constantine II. | 36 | <i>Minimi</i> | 6 |
| Constantius II. | 5 | Decomposed | 6 |
| Julian | 1 | | |
| Helena | 2 | | |
| | | Total number | 132 |

All this was, of course, money in circulation in Uriconium at the time it was destroyed. On a subsequent occasion, another small heap of thirty-eight coins was found at the entrance of what appeared to be the shop of a worker in metal, or perhaps of enamel, where they had evidently been dropped by a citizen in his eagerness to escape. They had been placed in a small vessel of earthenware, the fragments of which were scattered around. These coins were—

| | | | |
|---|---|-------------------------------------|----|
| Caracalla (a Silver Denarius) | 1 | Claudius Gothicus | 2 |
| Severus Alexander (a Plated Denarius) | 1 | Carausius | 1 |
| Maximus (Second Brass) | 1 | The Constantine Family | 12 |
| Gallienus | 2 | Valentinian | 1 |
| Salonina (Copper, washed with Silver) | 1 | Gratian (A.D. 375 to 383) | 1 |
| Postumus | 1 | A <i>Minimus</i> | 1 |
| Victorinus | 8 | Decomposed | 2 |
| Tetricus | 3 | | |
| | | Total number | 38 |

From these lists it will be seen that the mass of the money in use in the city of Uriconium at the time of its destruction consisted of the coinage of the emperors of the Constantine family, and, as most of it appears to have been very fresh from the mint, it cannot have been long in circulation. It has been supposed that the dies of this coinage were kept in Gaul, and that quantities of it continued to be imported into Britain down to the time of the withdrawal of the imperial government, for

they are found in abundance in all parts of our island formerly occupied by the Romans. A more interesting class of coins are those to which, from their general diminutive size, numismatists have given the name of *minimi*, and which were evidently in circulation, though not perhaps in large quantities, in Uriconium. They are very rude imitations of the Roman coinage of the Constantine family, and, as they do not resemble the Anglo-Saxon coinage which soon followed that of the Romans and at first consisted also of imitations of the coins of the family of Constantine, they are believed to have been struck by the towns soon after the withdrawal of the Roman government, to supply the want of a small coinage. They are found in the Roman towns in the south of Britain, under circumstances which leave no room to doubt that they are rightly placed between the coins of the Romans and those of the Saxons, and therefore they cannot have ranged over any long period of time; and we are justified in concluding, from this and other circumstances, that the city of Uriconium was destroyed at some period between the withdrawal of the Roman Government from the island and the commencement of the Anglo-Saxon period, that is, probably between about the year 420 and the middle of the fifth century. It may be added that, with the exception of the *minimi*, no object has yet been found among the ruins of Uriconium which is not perfectly Roman in character.

Other opinions have, however, been held on the date of the destruction of Uriconium, and one of these is supported upon what appears at first sight to be very direct evidence. According to the Welsh annals, there lived in the sixth century a prince of Powis named Cynddylan, whose supposed brother-in-law,¹ Llywarch Hen, one of the princes of Cumbria, was, according to the Welsh authorities, one of their bardic poets. Driven from his home in Cumbria by the conquests of the Angles, Llywarch is said to have taken shelter at the court of his brother-in-law, and among the pretended relics of this early bard, there is an Elegy on Cynddylan ascribed to him. According to this Elegy, the Saxons invaded Shropshire in the time of Cynddylan, who had his residence at Shrewsbury, and that prince was slain with his brothers in defending Uriconium against the invaders, who defeated the Britons, took the town,

¹ I quote from Mr. Joseph Morris's paper on Llywarch Hen, printed in the *Archæologia Cambrensis* for 1859, for it was he who first pointed out the real events intended to be described in this Elegy, namely, the destruction of Uriconium. I have also used William Owen's edition of the poems of Llywarch Hen.

and burnt it. He calls Cynddylan 'the protector of Tren,' the name the bard gives to Uriconium, and laments that 'Cynddylan has been slain, as well as Cynvraith (one of his brothers), in defending Tren, a town laid waste.—Great is my woe, that I survive their death!'

Llâs Cynddylan, llâs Cynwreith,
Yn amwyn Tren, trev ddifaith.—
Gwae vi vawr araws eu llaith!

'Henceforth,' he adds, 'Tren shall be called the flaming town.'

Rhy gelwir Tren trev llethrid.

Uriconium, according to this bard, was remarkable for its ale, for he speaks of the liberality of Cynddylan in giving 'the ale of Tren' (*curuw Tren.*) All this, and much more in the poem itself, appears so circumstantial, that if it were written by a Llywarch Hen, who lived at the time and was present at the events he relates, we must necessarily accept it as historical truth; but, unfortunately, whoever composed it has been too eager to enter into particular details, and his blunders have thus betrayed the forgery. I will not dwell upon the fact that the whole Elegy is written in a form of verse which was only introduced by the Normans in the twelfth century, but let us proceed at once to the details of the story. The Elegy tells us that Cynddylan, thus slain in defending his territory, was buried at Baschurch.—'The churches of Bassa afford space to-night to the offspring of Cyndrwyn; the gravehouse of fair Cynddylan.'

Eglwysau Bassa ynt wng heno,
I etivedd Cyndrwyn;
Mablan Cynddylan wyn.

Now, as Mr. Eyton has already observed,¹ Bassa is an Anglo-Saxon name, and Bassa's church was an Anglo-Saxon foundation, and, as Christianity was only established in Mercia in the year 655,² this church could not have existed within a hundred years after the period at which Llywarch Hen is supposed to have written. Again, the bard speaks of Withington as the scene of one encounter with the Saxons, and calls it 'the white town in the cultivated plain,'—

Y drev wen yn y tymmyr,

and 'the white town between the Tern and the Roden.'

Y drev wen rhwng Tren a Throdwydd.

¹ Antiquities of Shropshire, vol. x. p. 130.

² See the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle under this year.

Here we have again a purely Anglo-Saxon name, which could not therefore have existed in this locality in the time of Llywarch Hen, and there is moreover a blunder in the interpretation of it. The name has no relation whatever to *white*, for Withington simply means in Anglo-Saxon the *tun*, or residence, of the family of the Withingas or Wittingas, and the blunder of our poet could not have been made until after the middle of the twelfth century, when the Anglo-Saxon language began to be broken up, and the rage for ingenious derivations began to come in. The writer of this Elegy further tells us that, 'the sod of Ercall is on the ashes of fierce men, of the progeny of Morial.'

Tywarçen Ercal ar âr dywal
Wyr, o edwedd Morial.

This is also an Anglo-Saxon name, and the bard seems not to have been aware that the modern name Ercal was only a corruption of the original name of Ercalewe, or Arcalewe, meaning of course Erca's-low,¹ and this name is constantly found from the time of the Domesday Survey to near the end of the fourteenth century, before which period the corrupted form of the word could hardly have been used. A writer of the age ascribed to Llywarch Hen, could not have known the name at all, and if he had written at any time after the name existed, and before the fourteenth century, he would have known it better. The elegy-writer had a hostile feeling towards another people, besides the Saxons—in commemorating the pride and courage of one of his heroes, Garanmael, he says—

Ni çafai Franc tanc o'i ben,

which William Owen, who edited Llywarch Hen's poems, translates, 'From his mouth the Frank would not get the word of peace.' Owen was puzzled with this passage, and sought to get over it by supposing, rather innocently, that a body of Franks had come over with the Saxons to help to destroy Uriconium; but there can be very little doubt that the Franks here spoken of were the Frenchmen or Anglo-Normans, and that the enemies whom the minstrel would deprive of peace were simply the Norman lords marchers. I go on to a still stronger proof of the ignorance of the writer. Had Uriconium been in existence at the time when Llywarch Hen flourished, it would no doubt have been well known by its proper name,

¹ [It is probable, from the name, that there was a large "low," or sepulchral tumulus, at Ercal, which gave rise to the minstrel's notice of the "fierce men" having been buried there; but in all probability it was a Roman barrow.]

but the writer of the *Elegy* was entirely ignorant of its name, and perhaps because we cross the Tern and not the Severn in going to it from Shrewsbury, he seems to have thought that it stood upon the banks of the former, and he called it Tern, or Tren, after the smaller stream, from which it is distant more than half-a-mile, not aware that it really stood on the banks of the much larger and more important river Severn. In fact it is evident that this *Elegy* was composed by some Welsh minstrel, who knew something of the country as it appeared in the fourteenth or fifteenth century, and of the names by which the places were then called, and who was aware that on the other side of the river Tern from Shrewsbury there existed the remains of a great city, which, according to the tradition, had been captured by enemies and burnt, but knew nothing more about it. The rest he probably invented, and his authority on the question of the date at which the town was destroyed, or on the manner in which that catastrophe was brought about, is therefore worthless.

We are informed in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, that, in the year 584, the West-Saxon kings Ceawlin and Cutha 'fought against the Britons at the place which is named Fethanleag, and Cutha was there slain; and Ceawlin took many towns, and countless booty; and wrathful he thence returned to his own.' An antiquary, who identifies Fethanleag with Faddiley in Cheshire, has suggested that it was on this expedition that the West-Saxons advanced into Shropshire, and attacked and destroyed *Uriconium*. But this is a mere hasty conjecture, improbable, unsupported by any evidence, and contrary even to the spirit of the account given by the *Chronicle* itself, from which it is clear that the taking of the towns was the consequence of and followed the battle, and had the Saxons in their way to Fethanleag destroyed a vast town like *Uriconium*, it is hardly likely that the chronicler, who remembered so well the name of an obscure place like Fethanleag, should have forgotten so great an exploit as the destruction of *Uriconium*."

EARLY INSCRIBED STONES OF WALES.

THE PENMACHNO STONE OF CARAUSIUS.

I AM enabled, by the kindness of Miss F. Wynne of Voelas Hall, to lay before the members of the Cambrian Archæological Association a drawing and description of one of the most interesting of the inscribed stones in the Principality. It is comparatively of small size, and plain in its appearance; but it contains three peculiarities which give it a peculiar claim upon our attention. From the subjoined engraving it will be seen that, with the exception of the conjunction of the letters A and V in the first line, an unusual angulation of the upper part of the letter S thrice repeated, and a rather peculiarly formed G, the whole inscription is written in tolerably well made Roman capitals, and is to be read—

**CARAVSIVS
HIC IACIT
IN HOC CON-
GERIES LA
PIDVM.**

preceded by a compound mark which is intended for a contraction of the name of Christ, written in Greek letters, XPI; the X being made upright, and the I formed of the lower part below the cross-bar. This peculiar contraction is almost equally common with that borne upon the *labarum* of Constantine, on which the X is of the usual form; but generally the lower part of the vertical stroke is more elongated, so that it assumes the appearance of a cross surmounted by a semicircle, which forming the Greek letter *rho*, and constituting a portion of the monogram, more clearly proves it to be but a modification of the other form. It is also of equal antiquity with it, instances of its use occurring both on the wall-paintings and inscriptions of the Catacombs of Rome, and upon the small lamps found in the graves of the early Christians.

Now this contraction of the name of Christ, with

which so many early inscriptions, charters, etc., commence, occurs nowhere else, to my knowledge, throughout Wales, although several instances are found in Cornwall. I regard this peculiarity, then, as evidence of the great antiquity of this inscription.



In the next place, the name *CARAUSIUS* will attract attention as that of one of the Roman rulers of Great Britain—*Marcus Aurelius Valerius Carausius*. Historians are divided as to the place of his birth, which was either in Belgium or Britain: he is, however, styled a "Menapian," some of whom were settled at *Menevia* (St. David's); and under his reign we see for the first time Britain figuring as a naval power, the head station of which was in the British Channel. He is said to have been slain at York, in the year 297, by *Allectus*, a Briton. Supposing *Carausius* to have been a *Menevian*, we may conceive the possibility of his body being carried to Wales, and that the stone now before us marks his burial-place. There is nothing either in the form of the letters, or in the mark of Christianity which the stone bears, to militate against such a supposition; the death of *Carausius* only preceding the commencement of the reign of *Constantine*, the great Christian emperor, by nine years. Still, however, this point is invested with uncertainty, especially from the want of the imperial titles and the locality of *Penmachno* itself.

In the third place, the burial is stated to have taken place under a mound of stones ("in hoc congeries lapidum"); the only instance, I believe, on record of the statement of such a fact; and proving that the raising of cairns and mounds of stones is not necessarily evidence of the paganism of the person interred beneath the mound. This stone is only twenty-two inches high and eleven inches wide. It was, until the late rebuilding of the church, lying on a heap of stones in the churchyard, north-eastward of the chancel; together with some others, which will be noticed on a future occasion. They are now all placed within the church, but not altogether in a position where they may escape injury; for they are against the western wall, between the seats; where, as the space is not very wide, they may readily be injured by the heels of rude persons. The proper place for them is inside the vestry.

BROKEN INCISED STONE AT LLANLLEAR, CARDIGANSHIRE.

During the meeting of the Cambrian Archæological Association at Cardigan, a stone was brought to the



temporary museum from Llanllear, which had been split down the centre, where it had evidently been partially

incised with the upright bar of a cross within a circle, half only of which remained on the portion exhibited; which also bore four lines of an inscription, of which, although I here furnish as careful a copy as possible, made with the camera lucida, I regret to say that I am unable to give the reading. The letters are for the most part minuscules of the rude Hiberno-Saxon form. The second line commences apparently with the word **MAC-LONIN**; and in the middle of the third line the word **FILIVS** is clearly to be made out. There are several longitudinal cracks on the surface, especially in the upper line, which add to the difficulty. I trust that some one more versed than myself in deciphering early Welsh inscribed stones, may be able to make out more of this curious stone.

J. O. WESTWOOD.

MONA MEDIÆVA.—No. XXIX.

LLANIDAN. (SUPPLEMENTARY DETAILS.)

In one of the early numbers of this series we gave a description of the old church of Llanidan, then unfortunately in process of demolition, accompanied by various illustrations. The Right Hon. Lord Boston having kindly furnished us with good drawings of the font, the reliquary, and some details connected with the spot, we now add a few supplementary words on them, referring members to the accompanying plate.

The western portion of the ancient edifice still stands, and serves as a kind of mortuary chapel: in it are preserved the font and some of the other things here represented. This font is one of the most interesting as a work of art (not later than the thirteenth century) extant in Anglesey. It is not so good either in design or in execution as that at Llangeinwen, which is similar

in feeling ; but still it is a highly valuable specimen of mediæval taste.

The Reliquary is unique, as far as Wales is concerned ; and, though the front enclosure has been rudely broken, enough remains of the whole to convey a correct idea of its original condition. A large and good drawing of it exists in that great storehouse of illustrations of Welsh antiquities, the Pennant Library at Downing.

The sculptured head observable in the annexed plate was brought from Bodowyr, where a chapel is stated to have once existed ; and it seems to have been the upper portion of a monumental figure, probably, from the ornamentation on the coronet, of the thirteenth century.

The two shields of arms, bearing the dates of 1561 and 1563, are from the same spot. We refer to the description of the remains of Plas Bodowyr already published by us at the time above alluded to.

The key is not very old, and we should not assign an earlier date to it than the sixteenth century.

To the same period, the Elizabethan,—that of the shields mentioned above,—we are inclined to assign the stone ; which, no doubt, adorned some building in the gardens. The first line is intended to read as *HOMO LOCATUS IN HORTO* ; and the allusions of the whole inscription to Adam and the Saviour are too obvious to need any explanation.

It is a source of great pleasure to us to find these remains so well cared for and preserved by the noble owner of Llanidan. We wish we could have found them in the old church still intact, instead of having to witness the existence of that hideous pile, the new building near Bryn Siencyn,—a painfully impressive example of architectural bad taste.

H. L. J.

Stone with Arms & date

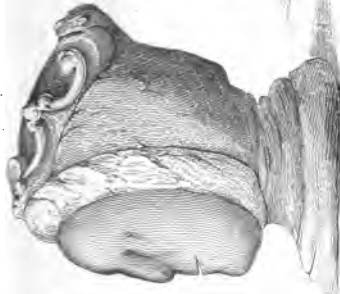


Found in Llanidan; Church
supposed to be of the
Fraser of Beddwy

Shield with Arms.



Supposed to be of the
Meredith family
found with the Head.



Head of Female Crowned
from Old Plas, Beddwy



Font in Llanidan Old Church

12
10
8



Original key of
Llanidan, North
J.H. & A. 1882

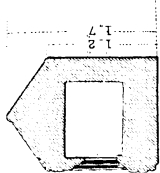
Inscribed stone found in a wall at Llanidan.



The Reliquary of St Aidan found under the High Altar



2
2
Front View



Section

PENMON PRIORY, ANGLESEY.

LLANLLYFNI MSS.

WE find among other MSS. from Llanllyfni, the following transcript of a very late document connected with the Priory of Penmon. It tends to complete the account of that religious house published long since in our pages. We conjecture that the original may be found in the Registry at Bangor. Appended to it is an oval seal bearing the effigy of a bishop mitred and chasubled, with a crozier in the left hand, and the right raised in benediction. Round the effigy runs a corona of stars. The legend is defaced, and the letters B O are alone legible. If this seal can be discovered, it will be engraved.

H. L. J.

1524.—Venerabilibus in Christo Patribus universis Episcopis Regni Anglie catholicam grām sedis apostolice ac execucionem officiorum suorum obtinentibus Johannes Godfrey permissiōe divinā Pōr Monasterii Sancti Siriolis Priestolme alias de Penmon Bangoreñ Dioč et ejusdem loci conventus reverenciam et honorem. Noverit Universitas vestra quod nos dilectum nobis in Christo Edmundum ap Geffrey accoliř Bangoř. Dioč. latoremque presencium cuilibet vřm volenti sibi sacras imponere manus per has literas nostras ad domus nostre titulum presentamus rogant hñlit et devote quatenus eundem Edmundum ap Geffrey divine caritatis intuitu ad omnes sacros ordines quos nondum est assecutus per sacrarum manum vestrarum impositionem ad eundem titulum dignemini misericordit' promovere oñre (?) sue presentacionis (?) in nos et successores nostros recipient'. In cujus præsentionis testimonium Universitati vestre reverend' literas nostras transmittimus has patent. Dat. in domo nostra capitulari de Penmon predict' decimo die mensis Augusti anno Dñi millmo īīīī^{mo} vicesimo quarto.

INSCRIBED STONE WITH OGHAMS AT
LLANARTH, CARDIGANSHIRE.

IN the churchyard of Llanarth, near the south doorway, used to stand a stone bearing an inscribed cross, of which we append an engraving. It was observed by



Meyrick, and engraved in his *History of Cardigan* (a book of much greater utility than is commonly sup-

posed), but not with sufficient accuracy. Even in his day the incised letters had been partially effaced by the scaling off of the surface of the stone; and he did not profess to give a satisfactory reading of it. Since then,—indeed, within the last few years,—this stone, at the instance of one of our members living in that county, has been removed within the walls of the church, and is now placed under the tower, near the western entrance into the nave. We have carefully drawn and rubbed this stone, and we believe that our engraving is as nearly as possible correct; but we confess our inability to read the name in its entirety. The first letter appears to be an s of the Cornish type; the second is v; the third R, partly mutilated in the lower portion. Then comes the slanting stroke of some letter, concerning which we shall be glad of conjectures from members, who study such matters; afterwards occurs a gap, where there is room for another or fifth letter, but where the surface has utterly perished. The sixth letter may be either n or R, and the last is evidently T. The form of this last letter, taken with that of the cross itself, induces us to assign it a date not earlier than the tenth century, possibly later.

On examining the stone minutely, we have found on it some Oghamic characters, which had altogether escaped Meyrick's notice. They occur as four contiguous strokes on the dexter arm of the cross; but there are no other incisions of this kind observable anywhere else about the stone. They appear to form one letter; and, if read from the bottom upwards, and from left to right,—according to the analogy of other Oghamic inscriptions in Wales,—they stand for c: but if taken in the inverse order, from top to bottom, they stand for s, which is also the first letter of the name cut on the stone of the cross. We are inclined, therefore, in the absence of anything more plausible, to suppose that they refer to the same personage, whoever he might have been.

The font of the church is of the peculiar Cardigan-

shire type observable at Llanina, close by, and Henfenyw; being a square basin truncated octagonally beneath, and resting on four lions. A large drawing of it was exhibited among the other founts of Wales in the Museum at Truro; and we would readily give the same date to it as to the cross.

The tower of the church is remarkable for having its battlements, like those of Llanbeblig and Llandrillo in Carnarvonshire, cut into three steps, of the type so common in Ireland, but rarely seen elsewhere.

Connected with this church is a charter, temp. Edward I, which is preserved among the Harleian MSS., but is here reprinted from the last edition of Dugdale's *Monasticon*.

CARTA THOMÆ MENEVENSI EPISCOPI DE APPROPRIATIONE
ECCLESIAE DE LANNARCH.

MS. HARL. 1249, FOL. 123.

Universis sanctæ matris ecclesiæ filiis præsens scriptum visuris vel audituris, Thomas permissione divina Meneven. episcopus et ejusdem loci capitulum, salutem in Domino sempiternam. Ad memoriam jugiter reducentes et jugi resolutione ac deliberatione provida ponderantes paupertatem et maximam egestatem ecclesiæ collegiatæ de Landewybrevy, adeo quod propter exilitatem et penuriam ipsius non habeat receptaculum in quo senes vel orphani, pauperes vel peregrini, imbecilles vel languidi, advenæ vel transeuntes valeant hospitari, vel eis de die seu de nocte possit aliququaliter subvenire (sic), seu in quo caritatis opera exercentur, ecclesiam de Lannarch cum capella de Lannyna in com. Cardygan nostræ dioceseos decanatu reddentes ecclesiæ collegiatæ de Landewybrevy de consensu et assensu magnifici principis Edwardi regis Angliæ illustris duximus assignandum seu potius annectandum. Ita quod ipsam ecclesiam de Lannarch cum capella de Lannyna in comitatu memorato decanatu assignatam ut præmisimus et annexatam in proprios usus licite valeat retinere. In testimonium cujus rei sigilla nostra presentibus duximus apponenda et impressione sigilli domini nostri regis prædicti similiter procuravimus hiis appendi. Dat. apud Westm. in fest. Ascensionis Domini anno domini millesimo cc^{mo} nonagesimo et anno regni regis nostri prædicti decimo octavo.

CAMBRIAN ARCHÆOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION.

KINGTON MEETING.

IN consequence of the death of the lamented Sir G. Cornwall Lewis it has become necessary to name another President for the year 1863-4, and for the Kington Meeting. We have the satisfaction of stating that Sir John Walsh, Bart., M.P., and Lord-Lieutenant of Radnorshire, has consented to accept the office; and his election will accordingly be proposed and confirmed as soon as the members are assembled.

The Kington Meeting is fixed for Monday, Aug. 24, and we refer members to the programme of arrangements, etc., appended to this number of the *Journal*.

We have only to add that, by means of the Leominster and Kington railroad, members will have every facility of reaching the place of destination; and we need hardly remind them that the district to be visited is one of great beauty as well as high antiquarian interest.

IN consequence of the press of matter, we are compelled to postpone all Reviews and much "Miscellaneous" matter for a future number.

Correspondence.

WELSH BADGES.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE ARCH. CAMB.

SIR,—A common belief exists among persons little acquainted with *real* Welsh history, that the leek is a kind of heraldic badge, or at least a national emblem, of Wales. I cannot myself find any earlier warrant for this supposition than that contained in Shakespeare; and I should be glad if any Welsh antiquary could point out evidence on the subject. For my own part, I believe that this myth,—for such, as at present informed, I am induced to term it,—does not date earlier than the Tudor period, when that other myth of the “Prince of Wales’s plume” likewise arose. My expectation is that the former will receive the fate of the latter, and become, like it, finally exploded. The early part of the sixteenth, and the latter portion of the fifteenth centuries were times when much spurious Welsh historical matter was concocted; just as a similar dissemination of false tradition took place in the days of Iolo Morganwg, and is still accepted by the multitude.

The question about the leek and the plume has regained some importance of late, because, on occasion of the Prince of Wales’s marriage, the Feathers (to which no special heraldic title can be adduced by His Royal Highness which is not also common to all the princes his brothers) and the leek (which has been adopted by some ladies more or less connected with Wales in the jewelled present to the Princess) have been injudiciously brought forward into notice.

There are many false notions prevalent concerning Welsh history, and I believe much false heraldry. It is time that all this sort of thing should be carefully sifted.

I am, Sir, etc.,

AN ANTIQUARY.

June 1, 1863.

W. OWEN’S MAP OF WALES.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE ARCH. CAMB.

SIR,—I remember that in the temporary museum formed at the Bangor Meeting of our Association, a map of Wales was exhibited, which was neatly drawn and coloured by hand. Attached to it was a notice that this map had gained a prize of £10 at the Llangollen Eisteddfod, which had been offered for the best map of Wales shewing the ancient divisions of the principality. I presume that the patriotic persons who offered the prize intended the map to be an original one; but I rather doubt its having been so, for it seemed nothing more than a good copy of William Owen’s map, engraved by

T. Conder, and published April 3, 1788, by J. Johnson, St. Paul's Churchyard, London. This map of W. Owen's is, however, so useful to the Welsh antiquary, that I would strongly recommend the Association to have it re-engraved and distributed among members.

I am, etc., GWLADGARWR.

Aberystwith, 1st May, 1863.

SYMONDS'S DIARY.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE ARCH. CAMB.

SIR,—The few notes that Richard Symonds has given us, in his *Diary*, of some of the Welsh churches, should be transferred to the pages of the *Archæologia Cambrensis*. I have already communicated those connected with Ruthin.

"Llanrhaidr church.—East window chancel. Or a lion rampant between three crescents *argent*. 'Laus Deo' about in scrolls. A male effigy in armour, and having a surcoat with these arms upon the breast and sleeves, viz. *gules* a lion rampant; facing the sinister, ye lyon ramp; turned over head a scroll bearing this inscription, 'Jesu, degne on us sinners have mercy.'

"Thomas Salisbery. *Gules* a chevron *sable* between three 'old womans heads' *argent*.

"Sir Edwin Lloyd lives in this parish. The effigies of Sir Thomas Salusbury, Knight Banerent (banneret), son of Thomas Salusbury, Esq. He lived in the time of Edw. 4, Richard 3. He was dubbed knight banerent by Henry 7 at Black Heath Field. Obiit 1505.

"A man in armour; the surcoat edged with 'furr' and embroidered on 'velvet,' with a lion rampant between three crescents. Motto, 'Sat eat prostrasse leoni.' This picture is in the house of the Lady Salusbury, in the parish of Henllan. This is a surcoate of velvet over his armour, and so written on it as above. Some monuments of the family of Salisbery are in the church of Whitchurch by Denbigh.

(P. 260.) "St. George parish, com. Denbigh.—Against the north wall hangs coate armour, mantle, helme, and creast, of one of the family of Holland. *Azure* a lion rampant guardant between six fleurs-de-lis or (Holland). £700 per annum *inter* two sisters. Colonel Price lives in this parish, at Kinmill. He married the heire of David Holland, the son of Piers H.

"St. Asaph cathedral, com. Flint.—Quarterly, Mortimer and Ulster. *Gules* three cushions or (Redman). Bishop Robert Redman, consecrated 1471. The same coate is carved upon the organ-loft. There was formerly the picture of a soldier, and these [sc. cushion]. This quire is pretty handsome, but poore in respect of others. Upon the flore, near the north wall, at the east end of the quire, lyes the statue of a bishopp cut in stone; an arch over his head, a foot above the ground, with mitre and crozier. The body of the cathedral is rude and slovenly. Clay flore. Only a scurvy stone walk in the middle. No other monuments in the church.

"Another church here, called St. Asaph Church. South window. Quarterly France and England.

"The bishop has a howse here. A good parsonage howse in England.

"On Friday, 7^o Nov. (1645) the headquarters was at Llanraydor, Sir Evan Lloyd's howse.

(P. 256.) "Oct. 26, Munday. We marched to Llanannis (Llanynys), Mr. Thelwall's howse, com. Denbigh. In the chamber window—old—*gules* a spoonbill *argent*—legged *sable*." [Langford, E. L. B.]

"*Argent* a bugle horn *sable*, stringed *gules* on a chevron between three boars' heads coupé *argent* as many trefoils *sable*. [Thelwall.]

(P. 243.) "1645. Thursday, 25 September. The king left Chester, passing through Hawarden, where he stayed 3 hours, and went that night to Denbigh Castle."

The journal then continues :

"Denbigh Castle is governed by Mr. Salisbury; repaired by him and his kindred at their own cost. Had his commission from the king two years since.—Upon the top of the tower this old.—Mortimer.—Lower over the same gate.—Mortimer.—Quarterly Mortimer 2 Ulster.—In the church without the walls of the Castle at Denbigh, called the Chapel of St. Tillio (St. Hilary), round about the borders of the east window, this single feather on a black field.—An ostrich feather *argent*, a scroll *or*.—These two very large—same window.—Quarterly Mortimer and Ulster; but two first quarters gone.—On a lion rampant 'purple.'—Badge of the fetterlock *or*.—South window. A shield with the emblems of Christ's wounds. A shield with the instruments of Christ's passion.—*Sable* two battle-axes in *saltire*; handles *argent*, crowned *or*.—The parish church where they bury is a mile off.

"Saturday 27 was a general rendezvous, three miles from Denbigh.

"Sunday 28. About one of the clock in the afternoon the king marched through Ruthin."

The Parish Register of Cyffylliog, near Denbigh, confirms the *Diary*, and mentions the exact place. The entry is as follows : "Sat., Sept. 27, 1645. Bee it remembered that King Charles was this day and year above written making his rendezvous in the parish of Cyffylliog, in a place called Cefn Feusydd." Symonds seems, therefore, to have been accurate in the distance, as no part of Cyffylliog parish comes within three miles of Denbigh. The exact situation of Cefn Feusydd has, however, not yet been ascertained. The king must have traversed the upper and mountain road between Denbigh and Ruthin, the present road in the valley not then existing.

In the "Iter Carolinum," given in the *Collectanea Curiosa* (vol. ii, p. 446), we find that on Monday the 28th (not Sunday, as stated by Symonds) the king dined at Denbigh, and had a late supper at Chirk Castle; the distance given being eighteen miles. From the same source,—on Sunday the 21st the king dined with N. Price at Llanfyllyn. The next day he was at Chirk. On Tuesday, the 23rd, he was at Llangollen, on his way to Chester, where he dined on Thursday the 25th; and proceeded *vid* Hawarden, where he halted. He went on the next day to Denbigh *vid* Northop, Ysceifog, and Bodfari. He remained there three days, and passed through Ruthin at one o'clock, as Symonds tells us. As he dined at Denbigh on that day, the dinner-hour must at least have been about eleven.

Where this Sir Edwin Lloyd was, that is said to live in Llanrhaidr, is at present not known by gentlemen long resident in the parish; but he may have been misnamed for Sir Evan Lloyd, of Yale, who married a Salusbury, heiress of Llanrhaid Hall. He was a man of some importance, and of tried loyalty, and high sheriff more than once during these troubled times.

I am, Sir, etc.,

Ruthin, May 20.

E. L. BARNWELL.

MONACHI TURONENSES.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE ARCH. CAMB.

SIR,—In the notes to Dugdale's *Monasticon*, vol. iv, p. 128, edit. 1849, we read: "Tanner says the order of Tiron was established by St. Bernard, who was born in the territory of Abbeville, in the province of Ponthieu, A.D. 1046, and became a disciple of Robert d'Abrissel (the founder of the order of Fontevraud), yet set up a different sort of monks, who took their name of Tironenses from their first monastery at Tiron, about 1109. They were reformed Benedictines, whose habit was at first light grey, which was afterwards changed to black." He adds, "I find no house of this order in England, and only one abbey in Wales, viz., St. Dogmael's, with its dependent priory of Pille, and a cell at Caldey." (Note †, *Monast.*, pref., x.) Rymer, vol. i, p. 160, says that there were four abbeys of this order in Scotland; Kelso, Londross, Aberbrothoc, and Lunewer. He says they were called in the royal charters Black monks of Tiron (see Stevens, vol. ii, p. 257). Tanner says, "The *Monasticon*, old edition, tom. i, p. 704, mentions the Monachi Savignienses and Tyronenses as of the same order; but others, as Rymer and Stevens, will not admit of it. In the ancient catalogue of religious houses published in Stevens, vol. i, p. 38, the monks of Tyron at St. Dogmaels are called Monachi albi, whereas those of Savigne were called Monachi grisi. Stevens's information concerning the Tyronenses was principally obtained from the *Histoire des Ordres Monastiques*."

Whether the habit of these monks was white, grey, or black, cannot be determined. The manor of Monachlog ddu—the *black monastery*—comprising part of the parish of St. Dogmaels, and the whole of the parish of Monachlog ddu, belonged to the abbey of St. Dogmaels.

In several lists of the monastic orders which I have consulted, neither the name of St. Bernard of Abbeville nor the order of Turon occur. If any of your learned correspondents possess some further information on the subject, and will kindly communicate it through the medium of our Journal, I shall be deeply indebted to them for their courtesy. Is there anything known of the order of Turon in Normandy or elsewhere, except what has been already quoted? Martin, the founder of the abbey of St. Dogmaels, has been variously called Martin de Turribus, Martin de Tores, Martin de la Tore, and Martin de Turnonibus. Did the monks of St. Dogmaels derive the name of their order from the last mentioned title of the founder of the abbey, or did he derive that title from them?

Yours faithfully,

HENRY J. VINCENT.

St. Dogmaels, Cardigan, March 26, 1863.

[We believe the "Monachi Turonenses" were so called because they came from Tours on the Loire.—Ed. *Arch. Camb.*]

ROMAN COINS AND SEPULCHRAL REMAINS NEAR CORWEN, MERIONETH.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE ARCH. CAMB.

SIR,—A brief notice appeared in a late number of the *Archæologia Cambrensis*, concerning a large discovery of Roman coins and a sepulchral deposit,—both near Corwen. The only particulars that have been ascertained, are, that the coins were found about half a mile from the Goat Inn, near Maesmore, on the right hand of the lane leading from the inn to the village of Bettws Gwerfyl Goch, in a field called Gwaun yr Allt. The deposit was discovered about a foot below the present surface; but about two years previously a high earthen bank had been removed from the same place, so that they must have been buried under the bank. The lane leading from the Goat to Gwerfyl Goch was once the only high road from the north of Wales to the south, leading direct from Caerwys and Holywell to St. David's, in Pembrokeshire, and is probably one of the oldest lines of roads in the Principality. Although there are no indications of its being of Roman construction, yet there is little doubt but that this line of communication was used by that people, if not by the earlier inhabitants. The number of coins is said to have been about seventeen hundred (!) and were, without exception, as far as has been ascertained, third brass, of the latter part of the reigns of Constantine and his son, and all of the ordinary types. They were enclosed in an earthen vessel, which was broken to pieces by the natives; but a portion was secured by Captain Taylor of Colomendy, Corwen, who has kindly furnished these particulars. He states that the pottery is undoubted Roman ware, though not of a very superior kind.

The carn which enclosed the kistvaen alluded to was situated on a rising ground about a quarter of a mile from the farm called Rhyd-y-Fen, a mile to the east of the place where the coins were found. Amid the loose stones which composed the carn, the position of the kist can be easily made out by the fresh fractures of the slate stone of which it was composed. Unfortunately the ignorant peasants had broken up the skulls, and carried away the fragments as curiosities. According to the farmer's story, there appeared to have been at least two skeletons; but no implement of any kind is known to have been found.

I am, Sir, yours obediently,

Ruthin, 18 May, 1863.

E. L. BARNWELL.

We here reprint, from Dr. Thurnam's circular, the following hints, which cannot be too earnestly recommended to the attention of all our members:

HINTS FOR COLLECTING AND PRESERVING THE BONES OF ANCIENT SKULLS.

THE remains of the skeletons, and especially the skulls, of the early races of men inhabiting the British Islands, have become objects of interest to those who have made them their particular study. It un-

fortunately, however, happens that persons engaged in opening barrows and making excavations for antiquities, even those well instructed in other respects, generally fail in procuring skulls in such a state as to be of any use for purposes of science. Attention to the following brief instructions will prevent that destruction, and the loss of such objects which too usually prevails. It must be recollected that it is the whole of the bones of the head and face, including lower jaw and teeth, which the anatomist requires for his researches; not a few fragments, or the mere brain-case. At the same time, where the bones are fractured or disjoined, if every fragment, or nearly every fragment be recovered, he will be able to rejoin them, and reconstruct the cranium.

Whether it be a barrow, cairn, or cemetery that is undergoing examination, as soon as a proximity to the skeleton is ascertained—and it is always advisable to proceed from the feet towards the head—the pick-axe and shovel should be laid aside. The stones and soil must be carefully removed with a garden trowel, the digger employed by entomologists, and the hand, so as to expose the head perfectly.

No attempt should even now be made to lift up the skull, until the earth has been cautiously removed all round it, so as to make it entirely free. It may then be gently raised up, and placed upon a sheet of soft paper, the superfluous soil picked out, the bones wrapped up immediately, and the package tied with string. Where the skull has been fractured by the pressure of the earth, and the bones of the face crushed and displaced (for it is these which yield first, yet in most cases they are merely dislocated, not destroyed), every fragment, however small, and every tooth should be diligently gathered up, and the whole wrapped in a sheet of paper as before.

“All, all have felt Time’s mighty wand,
And, brought again to light,
Defaced, despoil’d, can scarce withstand
The touch, however slight.”

It is best immediately to inscribe on these packets the name of the barrow, and a number to distinguish each skull disinterred, which may at first be done with a pencil; as soon as possible afterwards this should be written in ink, and the same number marked with the pen upon the skull, or on two or three of the fragments, where it is broken.

In all cases the position in which the skeleton lies should be accurately observed and noted down; whether extended on the back or side, or flexed, *i. e.* with the knees drawn up; and the direction as to the compass in which the head is laid. The relics accompanying the body, whether urns, implements, weapons, lamps, coins, etc., should always be carefully preserved, as they frequently indicate the people and the period to which the interment has belonged.

The safest mode of transmitting ancient skulls is to pack gently and neatly any number of the parcels, made in the manner above directed, in a box with a little hay. The elasticity of this substance is a perfect protection to the fragile bones during carriage.





Mer-Haus Glamorganshire.

P.L. Jones del.

Archæologia Cambrensis.

THIRD SERIES, No. XXXVI.—OCTOBER, 1863.

SKER HOUSE, GLAMORGANSHIRE.

ON the sea-coast of Glamorganshire, not far from the ancient Castle of Kenfig, and the site of the old town, stands the House of Sker, which is here represented in an engraving. This mansion has been erected on the site, and embodies portions, of what was a large farming establishment of the Abbey of Neath; some of the barns and out-buildings having till lately presented traces of work anterior to the Reformation. At the southern end of the actual house, as will be observed in the left hand corner of the engraving, the windows with foliage in the spandrils of the lights under the drip-stones, also seem of a period before the sixteenth century. The main part was probably put up after the property passed into lay hands; and much of what we see is not older than the time of Charles II.

It is now tenanted by a farmer, and belongs to the Margam estate; but it was inhabited by gentry within record, and certainly was so in the latter portion of the seventeenth century. Natural causes and the encroachments of the sea have destroyed the trees and covered up much of the good ground which formerly met the eye here; otherwise it would be difficult to conceive that the community of Neath should ever have erected large farming buildings in what is now such a remote and exposed situation.

Connected with its former history is a curious document, kindly communicated by J. Joseph, Esq., F.S.A., from his valuable collection, which we have here reprinted from the original paper issued by the House of Commons. It refers to the infamous proceedings adopted against Roman Catholics in the time of Charles II, and bears on it the name of one of the worst tools of the party, which afterwards brought about the revolution of 1688.

The large drawingroom of the old mansion, richly ornamented, but now used as a storeroom, is still called "The Chapel" by the tenants; and a tradition exists on the spot, that two brothers dwelt here about the end of the seventeenth century—one of them a Roman Catholic, the other a Protestant; that they could not agree together; that they separated, and abandoned the house; since which time the condition of the old fabric has been one of constantly increasing dilapidation. It might still be repaired, and made a goodly residence; but the whole of the surrounding land would have to be replanted and protected from sea-blasts and sea-sand. As it stands, however, it is still one of the more notable among the ancient houses in which Glamorganshire is so rich.

"The Information of EDWARD TURBERVILL of Skerr in the County of Glamorgan, Gent. Delivered at the Bar of the House of Commons, Tuesday the Ninth Day of November in the year of our Lord 1680. Perused and signed to be printed, according to the Order of the House of Commons, by me WILLIAM WILLIAMS, Speaker.

"Who saith, That being a younger brother, about the year 1673, he became Gentleman Usher to the Lady Molineux, daughter to the Earl of Powis; and by that means lived in the house of the said Earl about three years: and by serving and assisting at mass there grew intimate with William Morgan¹ Confessor to the said Earl and his family: who was a Jesuit, and Rector over all the Jesuits in North Wales, Shropshire and Staffordshire. And he during the three years time often heard the said Morgan tell the said Earl and his Lady, That the kingdom was in a high fever, and that nothing but bloud-let-

¹ We should be glad of some biographical notes concerning Father Morgan here mentioned.—ED. *Arch. Camb.*

ting could restore it to health ; and then the Catholick religion would flourish. Whereunto the said Earl many times replied, It was not yet time ; but he doubted not but such means should be used in due time, or words to that effect. And he heard the Lady Powis tell the said Morgan and others publicly and privately, That when religion should be restored in England (which she doubted not but would be in a very short time) she would perswade her husband to give three hundred pound per annum for a foundation to maintain a nunnery. And this informant was perswaded by the Lady Powis and the said Morgan, to become a fryer, the said Lady encouraging this informant thereunto by saying, That if he would follow his studies, and make himself capable, she questioned not but he might shortly be made a bishop, by her interest in England : because upon restauration of the Catholick religion, there would want people fit to make bishops, and to do the business of the church. And thereupon she gave this informant to carry him to Doway ; where this informant entered the monastery, and continued about three weeks, and with much difficulty made his escape thence, and returned for England. For which the said Earl and his Lady, and all the rest that encouraged him to go to the monastery, became his utter enemies ; threatning to take away his life, and to get his brother to disinherit him ; which last is compassed against him ; and Father Cudworth who was then Guardian of the Fryers at Doway some days before his escape thence, told his informant, That if he should not persevere with them, he should lose his life and friends. And farther added, That this king should not last long ; and that his successour should be wholly for their purpose. And Father Cross Provincial of the Fryers, told this informant, That had he been at Doway when this informant made his escape thence, he should never have come to England. And this informant finding himself friendless, and in danger in England, went to Paris, where one of his brothers is a Benedictine Monk, who perswaded this informant to return for England. And in order thereunto, about the latter end of November 1675, he was introduced into the acquaintance of the Lord Stafford, that he might go for England with his Lordship. And three weeks he attended his Lordship, and had great access, and freedom with his Lordship, who gave him great assurances of his favour and interest to restore him to his relations' esteem again ; and said, he had a piece of service to propose to this informant, that would not onely retrieve his reputation with his own relations, but also oblige both them and their party, to make him happy as long as he lived. And

this informant being desirous to embrace so happy an opportunity, was very inquisitive after the means. But the said Lord Stafford being somewhat difficult to repose so great a trust as he was to communicate to him, exacted all the obligations and promises of secresie, which this informant gave his Lordship in the most solemn manner he could invent. Then his Lordship laboured to make this informant sensible of all the advantages that would accrue to this informant and the Catholic cause. And then told this informant in direct terms, That he might make himself and the nation happy, by taking away the life of the king of England, who was a Heretick, and consequently a rebel against God Almighty. Of which this informant desired his Lordship to give him time to consider; and told his Lordship, That he would give him his answer at Diepe where his Lordship intended to ship for England, and to take this informant with him. But this informant going before to Diepe, the Lord Stafford went with Count Grammont by Calais, and sent this informant orders to go for England, and to attend his Lordship at London, but this informant did not attend his Lordship at London, but went into the French Service; and so avoided the Lord Stafford's further importunities in that affair. And this informant farther saith, That one Remige a French woman, and vehement Papist, who married this informant's brother, lived with the Lady Powis all the time this informant resided there, and some years since; and was the great confidant of the said Lady. And the said Remige was for the most part taken with her Ladyship into Morgan's chamber, when the consults were held there; where he hath often seen Father Gravan, Father Fowers, Father Evans, Father Tylliard, Roberts, White, Owens, Parry, and the Earl of Castlemain, and other Priests and Jesuits meet and shut themselves up in the said Morgan's chamber, sometimes for an hour sometimes for two hours more or less; and at the breaking up of the said consults have broke into an extasie of joy, saying, They hope ere long the Catholic religion would be established in England; and that they did not doubt to bring about their design, notwithstanding they had met with one great disappointment, which was, the peace struck up with Holland: saying, That if the army at Blackheath had been sent into Holland to assist the French king, when he was with his army near Amsterdam, Holland had certainly been conquered; and then the French king would have been able to assist us with an army to establish religion in England. Which expressions with many others, importing their confidence to set up the Rhomish religion, they frequently communicated to this informant. And the said Morgan went

several times into Ireland, to London, and several other parts of England, as this informant hath just cause to believe to give and take measures for carrying on the design. And the said Remige and her husband, having first clandestinely sold their estate, are fled into France, about May or June last for fear of discovery. This informant by many circumstances being assured, that the said Mistress Remige was privily to all or most of the transactions of the plot. And he saith, That about May last was two years, he was present at mass with the Lord Powis in Vere Street,¹ when the Earl of Castlemain did say mass in his priestly habit after the rites and ceremonies of the Church of Rome.

“ EDWARD TURBERVILL.

“ Sworn the ninth day of November, 1680, before

“ THOMAS STRINGER,
WILLIAM PULTENEY,
EDMUND WARCUPP.”

We also append a touching poetic memorial of a tradition belonging to the same spot, and for which we are indebted to J. Thomas, Esq., the eminent composer.

“ Y FERCH O'R SCER.” (THE MAID OF SKER.)

“ Mab wyf fi sy'n byw dan benyd
Am fanwylyd fawr ei bri,
Gwaith ei charu fwy na digon
Curio wnaeth fy nghalon i;
Gwell yw dangos beth yw'r achos,
Nag ymaros dan fy nghur;
Dere'r seren att'ai'n llawen,
Ti gai barch a chariad pur.

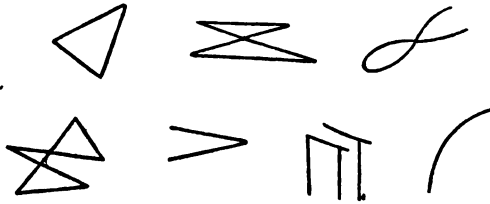
Pwylla'r bachgen gwyllt ei anian,
'Rwyf dan ofnau rhwymo'm llaw;
Gwaith cael digon o rybuddion
Wrth gariadon ymma a thraw;
'Rwy'n rhy ifanc etto i ddianc,
Cym'rai bwyll cyn myn'd rhy bell;
Pan bwy'n barod ryw ddiwarnod,
Ti gai glyw, os byddi gwell.”

[The melody of this is said to have been composed by a harper who was jilted by his sweetheart in consequence of having lost his sight.]

¹ This refers to Vere Street, near Lincoln's Inn Fields. Is there any house still standing in it, where the personages here specified can be supposed to have assembled? It is at present one of the worst streets in London.—ED. *Arch. Camb.*

ROMAN REMAINS AT MAENHIR,
LLANGEINWEN, ANGLESEY.

DURING the operation of cutting drains in a field on the farm of Maenhir, in the parish of Llangeinwen, in December of the year 1862, the workmen came upon a layer of wood-ashes mixed with fragments of pottery. Being informed of the discovery, I went to the spot; and with the assistance of Mr. Rowland Evans, the present occupier of the farm, dug up the ground carefully. In the course of this proceeding we found numerous pieces of Roman flanged roofing-tiles, as well as portions of the semicircular tile used to cover the point of junction of the flanged ones. In no instance was a tile found entire: the longest piece is a foot in length, and the broadest nine and a half inches across. The flange varies slightly, but never exceeds one inch in height and breadth. There are on the upper surface of many of the fragments rude marks, made apparently with the end of a trowel or some pointed instrument, of which I subjoin examples. The ground being very wet, many



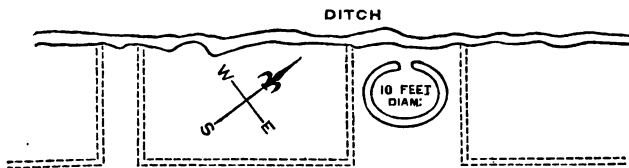
Marks on Roman tiles, Llangeinwen.

pieces of tile had become exceedingly soft; and the fragments of Samian ware, of which we found four, had, from the same cause, lost nearly all their glaze.

We found three bits of a hard, blueish coloured pottery (probably Upchurch ware), one of which is somewhat coarser than the other two, but has a moulding of good character round the rim; also the bottom and three other fragments of a vessel of a more fragile sort,

of fawn-coloured pottery, which had been covered with a brown glaze. There was no trace of walls; but numerous loose stones, some of considerable size, lay around in all directions. There were, however, below the layer of tiles and charred wood, flat stones laid horizontally, forming a kind of floor, at the depth of about two feet below the surface of the ground. No vestige of any metal implement or coin was discovered; but there were abundant traces of animal remains. The layer of charred wood was generally found under the tiles, and lying immediately upon the flat stones. Pieces of roofing-slate, with the peg-hole, and a portion of an iron nail in one of them, were found at the same time.

Soon after this, the only circular foundation, or *cwt*, which remained entire was removed. It was situated on a piece of waste land which was being brought into cultivation, about five hundred yards to the south of the place we excavated. There were traces of foundations near it of the accompanying form. It was ten feet in



Ancient foundations, Llanginwen.

diameter, having the entrance facing north-west. Within the area were found numerous pieces of tile and wood-ashes, also fragments of "slag," or some vitrified substance, an iron nail, and bits of concrete. A paved way, leading from Talyvoel and Rhyddgaer, following the course of the road called *Lôn-caerau-mawr*, came nearly to this point, when it turned off at right angles towards the south-east.

The whole of the bank, upon which the farms of Maenhir and Treana stand, occupies the site of an extensive village, as is amply testified by the remains constantly turned up. There are in my possession fragments

of Samian and other ware, mortaria, querns, and stone-mortars, that have been found there. One of the stone-mortars was discovered *in situ*, the mouth on a level with the surrounding land; and the rest of the stone, which was of oblong shape, buried firmly in the earth.

There appear to have been within a distance of about three miles from this place, five or six villages of a similar kind; which, at whatever period they may have been originally founded, were certainly, judging from the character of the remains found in them, at one time occupied by Roman or Romano-British inhabitants. In the year 1859 a well preserved third-brass coin was found in the garden of a cottage in the village of Dwyran, situated on the same bank, about half a mile to the south-west of Maenhir. It is of Postumus, and of the following type: *obv.*, IMP. C. POSTVMVS. PF. AVG., head to the right; *rev.*, PAX. AVG., Peace standing.

W. WYNN WILLIAMS, JUN^r

Menaifron, June 2nd, 1863.

LLANLLYFNI PAPERS.

THE following papers are from the MS. collections of the late Rev. J. Jones of Llanllyfni. They appear to have been transcripts of documents connected with the diocese of Bangor, etc., and are evidently only fragmentary. Some of them, too, are injured by the attacks of mice, and other accidents. It will be observed that in one of these papers the word "Sir" is put in the original as the translation of "Dominus," which would now be rendered "Reverend." We prefer, however, making no alteration in this; partly because we feel that we have no right to make alterations in such documents, and partly because we are thereby reminded of our old Shakesperian friend, "Sir Hugh Evans."

Interrogatoria ministrat ex Officio per Reverendum in Christo Pat. et Dom. Dominum Rolandum Permissione Divin. Ep'um Bangoriens' Auctoritate Metropolitae predict' Presbiteris infra nominatis. Ad quæ respondeant. Circiter A.D. 1559 et 1561.

1.—Imprimis whether they and every of them have preached in there cures accordyng to the order prescribed in the 3 & 4 articles of y^e Queen's Injunctions.

2.—Item, whether they and every of them have the New Testament in Englishe and in Latten (and the Paraphrase of Erasmus upon the same) of their owne, and to their owne severall proper use.

3.—Item how many Chapiters of y^e new testament in English or in Laten have they and every of them canned and labored by harte sithen the Queen's visitation, and let them and every of them be examyned in that behalf.

4.—Item how many of them be resident and keep houses, and where doth the absent remayne.

5.—Item how many of them be concubynaries, or be suspected for such, by meane of reseive of suspicious women to their houses; and how many of them are notoriously known to be maried.

6.—Item whether the Parsons and Vicars do serve their own Cures, or els they have Curates, and what be the names of such Curats.

[*N.B.*—In 1547 Cranmer laboured to introduce the Homilies and the Paraphrase of Erasmus into the service of the churches, every parish being enjoyned to procure the same. Vid. *Life of Cranmer.*]

Responcio D. Hugonis ap Dd. Vicarii de Llan Raider ad interrogativa predicta.—A. 1. Respondet, that he and his Curat redeth and homelyes and and doth purly declare God's word to his Parishioners according to his knowledge and Doctryne. 2. Resp. affirmative. 3. Resp. that he can theffcte of diverse of theym. 4. Resp. affirmative &c. 5. Resp. negative &c. 6. Resp. that he kepeth resident & serveth his Cure and a Curat besyd called S^r George Smythe.

Responcio d. John Edwards Vicarii de Llanynis ad interrogativa predicta.—1. He saith that he is not lycensed to preache, but he saith that he hath redde thincions quarterly and the homelies accordinglyd. 2. Resp. affirmative. 3. Resp. that he can saye by harte sixe or seven Chapters. 4. Resp. that he is resident. 5. Resp. negative. 6. Resp. that he servythe the

Church of Llanynis himself, and Sir Robt. of Madock ys his Curat in Ygyffyllyoge &c.

Responsio D. Fulconis Lloid Rectoris de Llangoyven ad Interr. pred.—1. Resp. that he redeth thinjunctions and the homelyes accordingly. 2. Res. affir. 3. Res. that he can saye certen of them by harte. 4. Res. that he ys resydent. 5. Res. neg. 6. Res. affir.

Responcio Mg. John Hughes Rec. Llanpeder et Llankynhavel ad interrog.—Omitted.

Resp. D'ni Galfridi John Rec. de Clokaynok &c.—1. Res. that he redeth the injUNCTIONS quarterly, and the Homelyes he hat not; but he declareth God's word to his knowledge sincerely. 2. Resp. affirmat. 3. Resp. 2 or 3 or more. 4. Res. affir. 5. Resp. that he ys married. 6. Resp. that he servyth his owne cure.

Resp. D'ni Thom. ap Jev. comportionarii de Llan Elidan.—1. That he redeth thinjunctions & homelies accordingly. 2. Resp. aff. 3. Resp. that he can saye 2 or 3 or more. 4. Resp. that he ys resident & that his comportionarie remayneth at Llan-doge. 5. Res. that he ys married. 6. Res. that he serveth his own Cure.

Resp. D'ni Georgii Robynson R. Derwen.—Not apparent.

Resp. D'ni Edwardi Salisbery Rect. Llandyrnoke.—1. Res. that he redeth theomelyes & injUNCTIONS accordingly. 2. Res. affir. 3. Res. that he can saye theeffecte of 2 or 3. 4. Res. affir. 5. Res. neg. 6. Res. that he serveth his Cure.

Resp. D. Lodowici Gethyn Vic. de Llanvaer.—1. Res. ut supra. 2. Res. ut sup. 3. Ut supra. 4. do. 5. Res. that he ys married. 6. Res. aff.

Res. John Edward R. Evenechtid.—1. Res. ut sup. 2. do. 3. do. 4. do. 5. Res. that he is married. 6. Res. aff.

CHARLES R.

To o^r trustie and well beloved the Deane and Chapter
of our Cathedral Church of St. Asaph, &c.

This contains an order that the Chapter shall not convert leases of years into lives, nor grant any leases of lives upon any account, as it impoverishd the Revenues of the Church, and left not a sufficient maintenance for the encouragement of Residence and Benefices.

Dated at o^r Manor of Greenwich, June 22.

In the 10th of o^r reign.

A Breviat of all the Presentments against the Clergie of the Dioces of Bangor, in the Visitation of the Reverend Ffather in God LEWIS LORD BP. OF BANGOR, held in Julie 1623.

ANGLESEY.

Llan Saint y Katherin.—The Curate there serveth three Cures. Sir Leweis Richard Curate there.

Llanvair pullgwingill et Llandesilio.—They have had but two sermons in their Rectorie the last twelvemonth before the visitation, and those by their Rector preached: whether he be licensed or noe, they knowe not. Sir John Cadwalader Rector there.

Penmon an impropriaçon.—Noe sermon preached there this 5 or 6 years last past. Dame Sydney Coverley holdeth the same impropriaçon.

Llanddona.—Noe service readde there but every other Sundaie, that Church being the Mother Church, althoughe service every Sundaie hath bene ordered unto them. The s^d S^r Lewis Richards serveth there.

Penmynith.—Noe service there Wednesdaies and Fridaies but in Lent. The house uppon the glebe land there is an inne. Sir Wm. Thomas Curat there.

Llanddyfnan.—Noe quarterlie Sermons; noe service on Wednesdays and Fridays but in Lent.

Llanygrad et Llanallgo.—Llanygrad Church was without service 2 or 3 Sundays by the default of Mr. Griffith, Parson. The s^d parson for not going in perambulation these 2 last years. The s^d parson for putting beasts to defile the churchyard, and not making the same cleane againe. Mr. Robert Gruffith parson there.

Llangwyllog, an impropriation late belonging to S^r Ric. Bulkeley.—Noe Sermons at all.

Llangefni.—No service on Wednesdays and Fridays but in Lent. Mr. Owen Jones Rector there.

Llanvihengel Esceiviog.—No service on Wednesdays and Fridays but in Lent. Sir Richard Hughes Curate there.

Llanedan.—No service on Wednesdays and Fridays but only in Lent time. Sir Wm. Jones Curate.

Roscolyn.—They have not the Lettanie read unto hem uppon the Wednesdays and Fridays but only in Lent. Sir Robert Gruffith Curate there.

Llanvechell.—The parson there is presented for not *releeving the poor*, being non resident; and for want of Sermons. Mr. Rowland Chedle parson there. Sir John Owen Curate there.

Llanddeusant et Llanvairynghornwy.—The Curate here is presented for not reading service in due time, and for not reading of homelies. The s^d Curate is presented for omitting the registrye of Christenings, Weddings, or burials. They had but three sermons here since Whitsuntide last was twelve moneth. The s^d Curate often tymes omitteth to read the Psalm, "O come, let us sing unto the Lord, &c.," in the beginning of service. The s^d Curate is presented for haunting of alehouses, and for being often overseen in drink. Also for omitting to read the Lettany most commonly, and also for brawling and quarrelling with his parishioners and others. The s^d Curate is presented for not going in perambulation about the meares of the parish. Sir John Edwards Curate there. [*Notandum*, the Bishop is Rector.]

Llangoyven & Chappell of Trefdraeth.—The Curate is presented for reading service there two yearlie & out of due season. Sir John Prichard Curate there.

Llanvorog & Chappel of Llanvaythley.—But 2 sermons here this twelvemonth; no service on Wednesdays & Fridays, saving in Lent; the Sacrament not administered at marriage.

COM. CARNARVON.

Llandegai.—Sir David Morgan, Curate there, doth not dwell in that parish.

Llanllechid.—The Churchwardens and Sidesmen there do present that the churchyard is defiled by Mr. Doctor Williams horses, and no bodye maketh it cleane; and they had but three Sermons the last year. Sir John Payne, Curate there.

Llanvairvechan.—No service on Wednesdays and Fridays but in Lent. Mr. Robert Wynne Rector there.

Caerhun.—They had but 3 Sermons within the last twelvemonth, and they very seldom have homelies; and they been upon one Sunday within this twelvemonth without service. Mr. Hugh Robins Vicar there.

Llanbedr y Kennin.—They have not had past 2 or 3 sermons here this last twelvemonth. The s^d Mr. Hugh Robins Rector.

Trefriwe.—No perambulation used here.

[*Returns of Bettws y Coed and Llandyndno destroyed by mice.*]

Dolwythelan.—No Sermons. The same is an impropriation belonging to Sir John Bodvell.

Penmachno.—The Lettany not read on Wednesdays and Fridays saving only in Lent tyme. Sir Wm. Jones Curat there.

Dwygyvylchi—Sir Edward Jones Vicar here presented for carrying and making haie & corne in the church yard. Item for putting his saddle and hives of bees in the Church to be kept. Item that there was no *Comunion* here Easter last.

Aberdaron.—Sir Gruffith Piers, Vicar, is presented. A dead child of Hugh Thomas laid unburied from Saturday to Sunday, for that Vicar c^d not be found to bury the same. Item that y^e s^d Vicar came to read on prayer uppon a Sunday, & was not well; but seemed to be overseen by drinke.... Evening prayer went the alehouse. Item that y^e s^d Vic. being warned upon Saturday to come and bury one upon a Sunday, did not come at all neither to bury the dead body nor to read service here that day.... (*Much damaged.*)

Llanpedroke.—No service on Wednesdays and Fridays but only in Lent. Sir John Prichard Curate there.

Llan Gan.—Sir Robert Gruffith, Curate, for not ministering the Communion to the sick, being requested; & also for leaving dead coarses unburied, and for not christening children being weak, but die before they be christened. No quarterlie Sermons.

Llanpeblic.—No quarterlie Sermons.

COM. MERIONETH.

Llanteckwyn.—They had but one Sermon in Llanvihangel y Traethey & 2 or 3 in Llandeckwyn; and that their Parson has not allowed anything to the poor of their parishes.

[*Returns of Festinioke, Llanenddwyn, and Llanddwyey, destroyed by mice.*]

Llanegryn.—But 2 sermons there. Impropr., Mr. Herbert, being farm there. No perambulation on Rogaçon week.

Tallylyn.—No perambul' used there in Ro'n week. Sir John Llewelyn Curate there.

Pennal, a Chap. of Towyn.—They have but seldom Sermons here.

Trausvynyth.—They seldom used to go in perambul' in Ro'n week; and it is usual there to lay down dead coarses at cross ways, and to say a prayer or two. Sir Robert Lloyd Parson there.

COM. MONTGOMERY.

Llanwonog.—They present the comporconaries of Llandinam for not finding Sermons in the Church of Llanwnog, they having 2 partes of the tiethes of Llanwnog aforesaid. Mr. David Vaughan, Mr. Paul de ra voier, Comport.

RUTHIN SCHOOL, &c.

Sal. in Xto.

MY VERY GOOD LORD,—I here enclosed send you a l^r which I received from the L^d B^p of Glosces. together with a petiçon of the Schoolmaster of Ruthyn lately deprived as is suggested. And because I hear that things are very much amiss both in the School and Hospital there, I shall hartily pray your L^d throughly to examine all particulars, and to give me such an account of the true state of that ffoundation as you will abide by upon your credit, y^t thereupon some order may be taken for y^r rectifying of the place. And concerning this person's Complaint, in the first place I shall desire y^r L^d to take some course that his arrears may be truly and fully satisfyed to his content; and for his Deprivaçon, that you will examine it, and doe for him as you shall find to be most just and fitting, wherein I shall wholly leave him to y^r judgment and the meritts of his cause.

[Then follows an intimation for his Majesty to discontinue the ffast.]

(Signed) Your loving Friend and Brother,
W. CANT.

Lambeth, Jany. 24, 1636.

[*Remainder of MS. destroyed by mice.*]

EARLY INSCRIBED STONES OF CORNWALL.

THOSE members of our Association who were present at the Trúro Meeting, will not have forgotten the early inscriptions which were brought under their notice, whether on the ancient stones themselves, or in the copies with which the walls of the Museum were enriched. Many points of similarity with Welsh inscriptions were at the time pointed out; and sufficient instances of dissimilarity were noticed to stamp the palæography of Cornwall with marks peculiar to itself. On the whole, however, the inscriptions were considered to be of a cognate kind; such as might have been expected to be found in a country peopled by men closely connected in blood and descent with the Cymry of old.

To revive the reminiscences of what was seen by members in Cornwall, and to give some idea of the subject to those who were absent, we have selected three of the more notable inscriptions; and we append illustrations carefully reduced to the scale of an inch to the foot.

We should premise that, from the material commonly used in Cornwall being granite, the surfaces of the stones are in general much more worn by weather, and much more uneven or rough, than the porphyritic stones so generally found inscribed in Wales. They are, indeed, sometimes so greatly indented and worn away, that the inscriptions might escape any but a practised eye and a careful hand. Rubbings of Cornish stones are, for this reason, not often satisfactory. Casts ought to be taken; but in general the sight and the touch will be found guides of sufficient accuracy. Few things grow so much into favour with him who pursues and studies it, as palæography: few branches of antiquarian research carry with them a surer reward. Whether on the stone, or on the parchment of some early manuscript, the study of early characters rarely fails to become exciting; and, from the very circumstance of its attendant difficulties, it is almost certain to carry the observer along, and to reward him for his patience.

THE VITALIS STONE, ST. CLEMENT'S.

This stone, which is upwards of seven feet high, stands at present within the Rectory garden at St. Clement's, where it is duly valued and carefully preserved. We believe that, in former times, it did the usual duty of a gate-post; and, indeed, the left hand part of the present gateway is part of a crossed stone, but not bearing any inscription.¹ The cross on the head of the Vitalis stone is of an oblate form, and may have been carved out more recently than the letters; and the letters them-

¹ We know of more than one stone of this kind now used as a gate-post near Truro.—Ed. *Arch. Camb.*

selves seem of two dates,—those preceding the name of the person commemorated being of the minuscule character, and later in general appearance, though greatly mutilated. It will be observed that the stone, which is one of the roughest pieces of granite we have met with, has a large portion knocked out from one of its edges. This injury seems to have nearly destroyed one or more of the letters; otherwise this part of the inscription is sufficiently legible:

VITAL.... FILI TORRICI.

From the latinized form of the first name, we should say that two letters, *is* (?), must have occurred as its last syllable; if so, then the incision now visible, which has been rendered by the engraver with scrupulous fidelity, indicates a contraction which is unusual, and which may become valuable in deciphering other inscriptions. The remaining letters are all of a good form, hardly at all debased; but the shape of the *r* is rather remarkable, and, as far as we know, peculiar to Cornwall, from the lower part of the right hand curve being converted into a detached straight and horizontal line.

With regard to the characters coming just under the cross, the three last may be assumed as standing for *loc*, the first for *i*, and the second for *s*; and without attempting to read them, we rather guess at their being intended for some contracted mode of indicating the *locus*, or place of burial, of *Vitalis* the son of *Torricius*.

THE QUENATAVUS STONE, GULVAL.

This stone is at present placed erect at one end of a small bridge called Blew Bridge, in the picturesque village of Gulval, close to Penzance. It is in good preservation; but we have to recommend that it should be removed to the neighbouring churchyard, for we fancy it stands on the bridge merely because it once formed part of the causeway. There are several peculiarities in the lettering. The lower part of the *e* is unusual: there



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is a contraction at the end of the first line which we do not profess to decipher: the *n* in the second line is of a later kind than that in the first; and the final *s* is reversed. It should be remarked, too, that the last word is in the nominative case, and that it is not usually found placed *after* the word which it governs in these early British inscriptions. The letter *q* also occurs,—a letter very seldom met with except in pure Roman inscriptions.

We believe that a difference of opinion exists among Cornish antiquaries as to the reading of the second name: some considering the contraction at the end of the first line to form part of the name in the second; but, omitting this contraction, then the letters run thus:

**QVENATAVI... IC
DINVI FILIVS.**

We commend these names to the care and research of students in early British history.

THE CONETOCIUS STONE, ST. CUBERT'S.

In the western side of the tower of St. Cubert's church is embedded this stone, which was found when some repairs and reconstructions were lately carried on there. The stone is a very hard and unusually fine grained granite; and the inscription seems to have suffered no injury whatever. It reads off easily:

**CONETOCI
FILI TEGERNO
MALI.**

This inscription is not cut so carefully as the one just described; and yet, from the nature of the stone and the great smoothness of its surface, no manual difficulty ought to have been experienced by the person who incised the characters. The irregularities, therefore, mark a time of declining art, and possibly of trouble; and no doubt the inscription was the work of hands found on the spot where it was first erected. The careless *n* and *r* in the first line shew this, and the general

want of parallelism is another indication. The circumstance of the *i* being placed horizontally at the end of the first and third lines, points to an analogy between this inscription and several in Wales. The form of the *a*, too, is common to this stone and to one found near



St. Cubert's.

Cwmdu in Brecknockshire. The *m* is found also on Welsh stones; but the *r* presents the peculiarity of the horizontal bar already observed in the inscription at St. Clement's. There appears to be no contraction on this stone, and the most recent of the forms shewn by the letters are those of the *g* and the *m*. Very probably some of our members, known for their researches into the early history of these islands, will be glad of these new names added to the list of early British appellatives.

We have arranged the stones as above, in accordance with what seems to us the order of their ages; but with regard to their actual or approximate dates, we are not able to do more than conjecture them to lie between the sixth and ninth centuries,—a very wide interval, certainly; but in the absence of more positive grounds of knowledge, it is safer not to pronounce too absolutely.

It would be easy for us to give other instances of early Cornish inscribed stones; but we would rather leave this task to the diligence of Cornish antiquaries.

H. L. J.

SOME ACCOUNT OF THE IRON AND WIRE- WORKS OF TINTERN.

Few situations can be found more favourable to calm contemplation and religious serenity, or possessed in a higher degree of the elements of picturesque beauty, than Tintern. The magnificent and venerable ruins of the Abbey form a source of attraction to innumerable tourists, not only from every locality throughout the kingdom, but also from the remotest portions of Europe; for, surpassingly beautiful as the ruins of the Abbey unquestionably are, no pencil, however accomplished, can fully represent, nor language adequately express, the extraordinary variety and exquisite loveliness of the scenery amidst which its founders had the good taste to place it. Situated in one of the most interesting localities on the Wye, the charms of wood and water, combined in harmonious proportions, contribute to render Tintern a scene of exquisite beauty.

Yet in this secluded and sequestered spot, where solitude and silence should have reigned supreme, and no rude sound have been permitted to invade the tranquillity of a scene once consecrated to prayer and praise, the turbulence and distractions of manufactures, with all their disagreeable concomitants, had intruded at an early period. At a short distance from the venerable Abbey two manufacturing establishments of considerable extent and importance, (one for the production of iron, and the other for its subsequent manufacture into wire,) existed at Tintern. The wirework still continues in prosperous operation; but the iron-smelting operations have been wholly suspended.

It is probable that the production of iron at Tintern commenced at a remote period, and may possibly have first begun soon after the occupation of Britain by the Romans. Situated on the borders of the Forest of Dean, and in close proximity to the western extremity of that

coal-field, it can scarcely be supposed that this observant and intelligent people had overlooked the admirable position and numerous advantages of Tintern for carrying on the operations of iron-making. On the opposite side of the river we find abundant indications of operations that once rendered this district the seat of extensive manufacturing works, and caused it to be regarded as the Dudley or Birmingham of Roman Britain. The facilities afforded by the river for the transport of the iron either up the Wye, to the works of *Ariconium* (now Weston-under-Penyard, near Ross), or down the river into the Severn, and thence up to Worcester, where the Romans possessed extensive forges and smithies associated with the smelting-works of the Forest of Dean; or, on the other hand, across the Severn, and along the Avon to Bath,¹ at which place the *fabrica*, or great military forge, was established,—were indisputably very great; the advantages of which were most probably perceived, and soon rendered available, by so astute a people as the Romans.

In several places along the banks of the Wye abundant evidences present themselves of the presence of the Romans and of their connexion with the ironworks, not only by deposits of imperfectly smelted “cinder” so enormous in extent as to have afforded, during several centuries, an ample supply for the consumption of the ironworks that were subsequently established there, but more conclusively still by the occurrence of immense numbers of coins belonging to various emperors, and also of numerous articles of utility or ornament that unquestionably belonged to the Romans. This inquiry

¹ Bath was well situated for the establishment of such a manufactory, being contiguous to Monmouthshire and the Forest of Dean, where the crude iron existed in profusion, and whence the arms could be conveniently distributed throughout the kingdom. The *fabrica* was a college of armourers, where the weapons used by the Roman soldiers were manufactured, and was governed by a peculiar code that is well known to all persons acquainted with the arts and manufactures of the Romans. This was probably one of the largest in Great Britain.

is peculiarly interesting in connexion with the first iron-producing operations in Britain, and I would gladly pursue it further. At this time, however, I propose to limit my attention to operations that are referrible to a later period; but am not without a hope that greater leisure and more extended information may hereafter enable me to offer some further observations on the manufacturing operations of the Romans within the limits of Wales and its marches.

We possess no evidence of the early prosecution of the works after the departure of the Romans from Britain; and it is probable that the devastating incursions of their fierce neighbours, the Picts and Scots, and the continual encroachments that were made upon the country, terminating eventually in its subjugation by the Danes and Saxons, left the Britons little opportunity to cultivate the peaceful arts. It is, however, probable that, after the Saxons had in their turn reduced the country to comparative subjection and quiet, they would have directed their attention more extensively to the abandoned mines and works of the Romans; but the extent to which that course was pursued, and the operations of the Romans were continued, or extended by the Saxons, is still unknown; but it may yet be established by some future discoverer in the path so ably followed by explorers like Mr. Roach Smith and others, whose researches in similar fields of observation have so greatly extended our knowledge of Roman and Anglo-Saxon antiquities.

We, however, possess distinct evidence that the works of the Forest of Dean were resumed and carried on very shortly after the Norman conquest; for we find that William I¹ required a contribution from the inhabitants of Gloucester of thirty-six "dicars" of iron, every "dicar" to consist of ten bars, or rods of iron, for the making of bolts and nails for the fleet. Giraldus Cambrensis, again, who lived in the twelfth century, says that "the noble Forest of Dean amply supplies Gloucester with

¹ *Papers on Iron and Steel*, by David Mushet, p. 398.

iron.”¹ Among the Tower MSS.² there exists a letter which appears to me to prove incontestably that the ironworks of that district were well known, and in active operation, prior to the resumption, after the departure of the Romans, of those which subsequently assumed so much magnitude and importance in the county of Sussex. The letter was addressed, between the years 1233-1244, to Ralph Bishop of Chichester, by his steward, Simon de Senliz, informing him that an order had been sent to one H. de Kynard for the purchase of iron (“*x marcas de minuto ferro, si inveniri potest, sive autem v marcas de grosso, et v marcas de minuto ferro*”), to be procured in the neighbourhood of Gloucester, and thence conveyed to the *domus hospitis* at Winchester. But, so far as expressly refers to the early operations on the Monmouthshire side of the Wye during the mediæval period, we learn that a charter³ was granted by Badaron of Monmouth to the monks and prior of the priory in that town, giving them in exchange for Hadnock (then called Hodenack) three forges in the town of Monmouth; while the iron manufactured therein should be free from all kinds of tolls or tax, and all the charcoal free from forestage. Badaron is believed to have been living in 1168;⁴ but the precise date of his death does not appear to be known.

I have failed to discover any further reference to the production of iron on the western banks of the Wye, from the period when the charter of Badaron was granted until the early part of the reign of Elizabeth. At the same time it is clear that the operations must have extended over some centuries, and were probably, for that period, of an extensive character, in order to account for the enormous deposits of “cinder” that exist at Monmouth. One of the streets is called “Cinder-Hill,” and is said “to derive its name from the quantity of cinders

¹ *The Itinerary of Archbishop Baldwin through Wales*, by Giraldus Cambrensis, vol. i, p. 102.

² Tower MSS., No. 677.

³ Dugdale's *Monasticon*, vol. iii.

⁴ *Priory of Monmouth*, by Thos. Wakeman, Esq.

(the refuse of ancient bloomeries) which peculiarly mark the spot, and afford convincing evidence of the very early establishment of the iron manufactory in this part of the kingdom.¹ It is also stated by the same author, that in that street the road was formed originally with "cinders"; and even at this time the gardens and banks of the roads and river are strewn on all sides with them to a considerable depth. He likewise states that, on the occasion of a great flood that occurred in 1795, when the road was overflowed and torn up with great violence, the original surface became exposed, and in several places exhibited the foundation upon which the cinders had been deposited.

But, while we possess extensive indications that iron was manufactured in the vicinity of Monmouth during several centuries, and probably long after the death of Badaron of Monmouth, I have failed to discover any further evidence of the fact prior, as I have already stated, to the reign of Elizabeth. Under her prosperous government a spirit of considerable enterprise was developed, which the queen with much judgment and foresight sought in every way to encourage and promote. Persons skilled in the knowledge and discovery of metals and minerals, and in the manufacture of brass and wire, were encouraged to settle in this country; and various patents, securing to them peculiar privileges, were granted at various periods. Among those to whom such privileges were liberally extended, we find the names of William Humfrey and Christopher Schutz, the former being assay-master to her majesty's mint, and the latter described as a native of Annaberg in Saxony. Letters patent were conceded to them, which empowered them to explore for, and work mines of, gold, silver, copper, and quicksilver, and all other minerals and metals that might be discovered in England, Wales, and the English pale in Ireland; and also "all manner of fewres, oars, mixed or compounded, for latten, wire, or steel." An arrangement appears to have subsequently been entered

¹ Heath's *Monmouth*.

into, whereby Humfray and Schutz assigned all their interest in the patents which they had secured, to certain parties who proposed associating themselves together as a company. Accordingly an act¹ was obtained to incorporate "for ever" two societies, under the respective designations of the "Society of the Miners Royal," and the "Society for the Minerals and Battery Works." Both companies were established by similar persons, and comprised the same proprietors. They included among them the most influential and wealthy personages in the country, of whom the following may be named as examples: Sir Nicholas Bacon, Lord Keeper; the Duke of Norfolk, William Earl of Pembroke, Robert Earl of Leicester, William Lord Cobham, Sir William Cecil, Sir Walter Mildmay, Sir Henry Sydney, Sir Francis Jepson, Sir William Garrard, with twenty-nine other considerable persons, gentlemen, lawyers, and citizens. The "Society for the Minerals and Battery Works" established works in several parts of the country, and, among other places, selected Tintern as the site of a work for the manufacture of wire, which even at that early period was an article in considerable demand, and chiefly employed for making carding-combs for clothiers.

One of the shareholders was Mr. Richard Hanbury, of London, citizen and goldsmith; and, in consequence of his being so designated, it has usually been supposed that he had been engaged in the business of a goldsmith as it is understood in the present day. I am, however, perfectly satisfied he should more properly have been described as a "banker," and was simply a member of the guild or company of goldsmiths. He was evidently a person of considerable wealth and importance, possessed of great ability and enterprise, and descended from an ancient and distinguished family in Worcestershire.² His connexion with the Mineral and Battery Works

¹ In the tenth year of Elizabeth.

² It is stated by Coxe that, according to the *Red Book of the Bishopric of Worcester*, Roger de Hanbury was born there in the year 1125. (Coxe's *Monmouthshire*.)

naturally awakened on his part some degree of interest in the operations of the company; and in consequence of the losses and alleged mismanagement of the wireworks at Tintern, he appears, in a few years after their erection, to have made a journey there to investigate the position of the company's affairs. I am unable to ascertain whether this was his first visit, though it is my opinion that it probably was so; but certain it is that he had not then become in any way connected with the *ironworks* at Tintern. Whether he subsequently resided there continuously, or merely made occasional visits to the works, does not appear; but at all events he undertook, during a period of three or four years, the entire responsibility of managing the wireworks. That circumstance probably gave him an opportunity of making himself well acquainted with the district, and may possibly have first impressed him with the value and eligibility of Tintern as an establishment for the production of iron. My impression is that the ironworks existed there from a very remote period, and that the company were induced to establish the wireworks at that place by the circumstance of the previous existence of the ironworks, and the consequent proximity of the supplies of iron.

But be that as it may, Mr. Hanbury appears in a few years subsequently to have become possessed of the ironworks; for I find it stated, about the year 1577, by Andrew Palmer,¹ that he (Mr. Hanbury) had then "gott to his handes ij or iij iron workes there in Wales, whereat he made much merchant iron to greate gayne." One of those works may have been Pontypool, where he appears to have commenced operations early in the reign of Elizabeth, by the enlargement of the previously existing charcoal-furnace and forges.

It has generally been supposed that he was the founder of the distinguished family of the Hanburys of Pontypool Park; but that statement is clearly erroneous, inasmuch as I find on investigation that he had no son to

¹ Lansdown MSS.

succeed him ; and that his children consisted of two daughters only, one of whom was married to William Combes, Esq., of Warwickshire, and died without issue ; while the other married her father's partner, Sir Edmund¹ Wheeler of Reading Court, and left several children.

He seems to have become connected with the works of Tintern and of Pontypool about the same period. In seeking to establish the identity of Mr. Hanbury, and to make out his descent, I was greatly perplexed by finding that, in all the Visitations, John Hanbury of Elmeley Lovett was represented to have had *two* sons of the name of Richard. I learn from that experienced investigator, Mr. Wakeman, that this similarity of the Christian names of brothers frequently occurs in old pedigrees, and so causes very great inconvenience to the genealogist. The statement which represents the brothers to have had the same name, and to have both been called Richard, is unquestionably quite correct. The elder brother was the son of the first wife of John Hanbury, Elizabeth Broade of Elmley Lovett ; while the younger was the son of the second wife, whose name is unfortunately omitted in the MSS. The elder Richard appears to have removed early to London, and to have established himself in the City as a banker, where he attained considerable wealth and distinction ; while the younger Richard remained at Elmeley Lovett, and probably settled there as a country gentleman.

The example of the first mentioned Richard Hanbury appears to have influenced one of his nephews to direct his attention to mercantile pursuits, and particularly to the iron manufacture ; for I find that Philip Hanbury was resident at Trevethin prior to 1609, while Richard Hanbury, his uncle, the so-called "goldsmith," died in the year 1608, in possession of the Pontypool ironworks. That circumstance leads Mr. Wakeman to infer that Philip must in some way have been connected with the works of his uncle, as he left him at his death a legacy

¹ I call him Sir *Edmund* on the authority of my learned friend, Mr. Wakeman. In the Harleian MSS. he is called Sir Richard.

of £100, which at that period was a considerable amount, and formed no despicable sum. From this gentleman several families of Hanburys derive their descent, more especially the London branch. Richard, his eldest son, was born in the year 1610, and became one of the earliest followers of George Fox, who visited him at Pontymoile, where he resided in the years 1657 and 1667. This Richard died on the 20th February, 1695, and was buried at the old chapel belonging to the Society of Friends, which stood until recently at Pontymoile, and has now been partially covered by an embankment of the West Midland Railway. His second son, Philip, appears to have remained at Pontymoile; for he had a son baptized at Panteg, 15th August, 1630; but I am unable to state whether he had any connexion with the works there, though it seems to me extremely probable that such was the case.

On the death of the first Richard Hanbury, described as the "goldsmith," the various ironworks which he possessed became the property of Sir Edmund Wheeler, who either was his son-in-law or his grandson, I cannot ascertain which; and upon his dying, passed afterwards into the possession of Capel Hanbury, the fourth son of John Hanbury, and grandson of Richard Hanbury, the younger of the two brothers Richard, and who in reality was the founder of the Pontypool branch of the family. This Capel is described as of Gloster and of Whorestone in Worcestershire, and was one of the sons of John Hanbury of Fakenham, in the county of Worcester, by his first wife, Anne, daughter of Christopher Capell, Esq., of Capel House, Herefordshire, and one of the aldermen of Gloucester.

The Hanbury pedigree, so far as it relates to Richard Hanbury and the Pontypool branch, is here introduced.

When the Pontypool works first passed into the hands of the Hanbury family, a lease was secured by Richard Hanbury of a considerable portion of the enormous tract of minerals associated with the Blaenafon Ironworks, and now the property of the Earl of Abergavenny (but

at that time owned by his ancestors, the Nevilles), at an annual rent of 3*s.* 4*d.*; thus shewing very strikingly the altered value both of property and of money in the Hills of Monmouthshire.

To return to the operations at Tintern. We find that differences eventually sprang up between the Battery Works Company and Mr. Hanbury, which appear to have mainly originated in a feeling of jealousy, arising from the successful result of his operations at the iron-works, while those at the wireworks had proved singularly disastrous. In the Lansdown MSS.¹ I have found a letter addressed jointly by Sir Julius Cæsar and Sir Richard Martyn to Lord Burghley, dated the 23rd March, 1593, in which they complain of Mr. Hanbury, and assert that, "notwithstandinge the manye thousandes hee hath gayned by the saide workes, and the countenance of them in iron wier and yronworkes, wherein as wee are enformed he hath utterly wasted more than the one half of the woodes in Monmouthshire," he had insisted on the payment by the company of a balance of £200, which he alleged to have been due to him. On the other hand it was contended by Sir Julius Cæsar and Sir Richard Martyn that the accounts shewed a wholly different result; and they alleged that, so far from owing him anything, there was due to the company by Mr. Hanbury a sum of £900.

In their complaint to Lord Burghley they state that Mr. Hanbury had refused to perform his agreement with Mr. Chaloner, who at that time appears to have been the company's farmer at the works, "or to stande to indifferent judgement concerning the variance between him and Mr. Chaloner; or to deliver unto Mr. Chaloner, payinge readye moneye for the same, any Osmonde iron for the service of the wier workes, according to his covenantes made with Mr. Chaloner and his bargaine with the companye; but also to come to anye of the companyes courtes to yield us any reason for it, notwithstanding that he hath been of late warned to diverse,

¹ Lansdown Papers. C. Cæsar Papers.

unless the companye will firste paye unto him that w^{ch} he saith they doo owe him."

For the manufacture of the best kind of wire a particular quality of iron, called "Osmond iron," was required; and the company's works in that district were wholly dependent for their supply upon that produced by Mr. Hanbury at the contiguous ironworks, as becomes apparent in succeeding portions of the complaint: "And although by lawe he knoweth that bothe the companie and their farmer may recover their several damages sustayned by his default, yet knowinge also that the saide woorkes have no provision of good Osmond iron in that countrye but from him, bothe for that the best mynes in Monmouthshire for makynge of Osmond iron be his, and almost all the woodes within ten miles compasse thereof be his also; all w^{ch} it should seeme that he hath gotten into his handes of purpose to binde the companye, their woorkes, and farmer, to his purpose; and that it is not damage in longe tyme to be recovered; but the present use of his Osmond iron must uphold y^e woorkes."

Then, as affording an example of the operation of free trade principles in the reign of Elizabeth, let us quote the concluding paragraph of the complaint: "And therefore to helpe both ourselves and him" (meaning the farmer of the wireworks) "in this extremitye, we most humbly beseech y^r L^p to send a pursuivant to him, and cause him to attend *de die in diem* upon y^r L^p; or if y^r L^p shall think itt more fitt, before the lords of her Maj^{ties} most honourable Privie Counsell, to answer these matters, and to abyde such order as well for the makynge of Osmond or merchant iron, for the spendinge of his woodes, deliveringe of Osmonde iron to the woorkes, and accomptinge with the companye, as to y^r L^p or the said lordes shall seem most consonant to reason." Unfortunately this interesting letter appears to be the only document relating to those ironworks that has been preserved among the MSS. at the British Museum. I am consequently unable to shew how this notable dispute

terminated ; nor can I state whether Mr. Hanbury was actually conveyed by a pursuivant before Lord Burghley, and compelled to supply the company with the Osmond iron, from the absence of which they appear to have been reduced to such extremities.

The further progress of these ironworks can only be gathered from traditionary accounts. They appear to have continued in the possession of the Hanbury family, and, like the Pontypool and other works in Monmouthshire, to have eventually passed into the possession of Capel Hanbury, Esq., the youngest son of John Hanbury of Fakenham. He is the gentleman who is described as of Gloucester and of Whorestone in Worcestershire, and died on the 14th of January, 1704, in the seventy-ninth year of his age, and lies buried in the chancel of Kidderminster church. He was the father of the gentleman so well known as Major Hanbury, and who was first of the Pontypool branch of the family who permanently fixed his residence in Monmouthshire. Major Hanbury devised numerous improvements in the works and machinery, and among others invented the method of rolling iron plates by means of cylinders, and is said to have introduced the art of tinning into England. The city of Gloucester was represented by him in three successive parliaments, and he was selected by the great Duke of Marlborough as one of his executors. He subsequently represented the county of Monmouth in parliament during the reign of Queen Anne and the early part of the reign of George I.

At the death of Mr. Capel Hanbury, or very shortly previous thereto, the Tintern ironworks are said to have passed into the hands either of Mr. George White of New Weir, near Monmouth, or of his son, Mr. Richard White. The Whites were at that period extensive ironmasters, and possessed the works of Monmouth and Redbrook. After he came into possession of the Tintern works, Mr. Richard White resided permanently at that place. He died in October 1752, aged sixty-seven years, and lies buried in the churchyard of Chapel Hill, near

by. After his death the works passed into the hands of his nephew, Mr. Edward Jordan, who had been associated with his uncle for a considerable period in their management. He was a native of Prior's Leigh in Shropshire, and is said to have been a person of extremely benevolent and hospitable character. After spending about thirty years at Tintern he died there, and was interred at Ludlow, in his native county. His son, Mr. Edward Jordan, was living, and residing at Monmouth, in the year 1804; but the works had previously been let, in the year 1775, to the enterprising and speculative ironmaster, Mr. David Tanner. Mr. Tanner was a native of Monmouth, and at one period the occupier of some of the most important and extensive works in the district. The works of Lydbrook, Tintern, and Redbrook, on the Wye, were all in his possession at one period; and he likewise held the Pontypool, Blaendare, and old Llanelly furnaces and forges. His speculation eventually terminated disastrously, and he was compelled to abandon all the works; and, it is believed, left the country for India, where he died.

At the failure of Mr. Tanner, in 1799, the Tintern works passed into the occupation of Mr. Robert Thompson, who retained them until his death in the year 1822, after which they were taken by Messrs. Briggs and Rowbotham, and carried on by them in conjunction with the wireworks. Those gentlemen, again, subsequently disposed of their interest therein to Messrs. Brown and Co.; but the ironworks were wholly suspended by them about the year 1828, and I rather wonder that the blast-furnace, having been wholly worked with charcoal, should have continued in operation for so long a period.

Nearly the last operation that took place at this furnace occurred about the year 1828, just prior to its final extinction. The late eminent metallurgist, Mr. David Mushet, was desirous of trying some practical experiments in the smelting of "wootz," or Indian iron, and regarded the contemplated abandonment of the old blast-furnace at Tintern as a singularly favourable

opportunity of doing so. Its usual "make," when in full operation, was from twenty-eight to thirty tons per week of charcoal forge pig-iron; and, at that rate of production, consumed forty dozen sacks of charcoal, consisting of twelve sacks each, and assumed to consist of twelve bushels. It thus appears that, in the production of one ton of pigs, sixteen sacks of charcoal were consumed. This is stated by Mr. Mushet¹ to have been the first charcoal furnace in the county that was blown with air compressed in iron cylinders, and against the employment of which a great prejudice was always entertained by the workmen, and its introduction strongly opposed by them, and the effect alleged to be greatly inferior to that of air produced by the application of the bellows; so that any mishap or irregularity in the working of the furnace was always attributed to the newly introduced blast. Eventually, however, the prejudice was removed; and the "keepers" at last discovered that they were enabled, under the improved system, to make nearly double the quantity of iron that it had been found practicable to produce with the old bellows.

THE WIREWORKS.

I now proceed to furnish such particulars as I have been able to procure relative to the wireworks of Tintern. It has been already shewn that the formation of "The Company of Minerals and Battery Works" originally led to the selection of Tintern as a site for the establishment of the iron-wire manufacture. It appears that members of the company had previously travelled over a considerable portion of the kingdom in search of an eligible situation for the erection of such a manufactory. When they had determined to plant the works at Tintern, they secured from the Earl of Worcester a lease of a piece of ground suitable for the purpose, and several workmen were procured from the Continent to

¹ Mushet's *Papers on Iron and Steel*.

HANBURY

GEOFFREY DE

John Hanbury descended from Geoffrey and Henry =

William Hanbury = M

John Hanb

John Hanbury of Benhall

Sir John Hanbury of Kelmarsh, co. of Northampton, and other families issuing from

Elizabeth,
ux. Thos. Best.

Alice,
ux. William Strange.

Joanna,
ux. Thos. Hancock.

Richard Hanbur

Margery, dau. to Tyntax or Tynter =

Elizabeth, dau. of John Broade of Elmeley Lovett, 1st wife =

Richard Hanbury of London, =
citizen and goldsmith,
ob. 1608.

Alice, dau. of John Fisher,
one of the six Clerks, in
London, in Chancery.

Alice, ux. Francis
Barnard of
London.

Alice, ux. William Coombes, Esq.,
of co. of Warwick, ob. *s. p.*

Elizabeth, ux. Sir Edmund
Wheeler of Reading Court.

Ann Glen

John, d. about 1658.

William, d. 1653.

John, b. 1623,
ob. 1624.

Richard, b. 1618,
ob. 1661.

Christopher, b. 1623,
ob. ?

3rd wife, ...

Abbina, dau. of John Selwyn, Esq., = John Hanbury of Pontypool, =
of Matson, co. Gloucester. co. Monmouth, d. 1733.

Frances, youngest
dau. of Thomas,
late Earl of
Coningsby.

Sir Chas. Hanbury Williams, K.B.,
of Colebrook, co. Monmouth.
Assumed the surname of Williams
on obtaining the estate.

Capel Hanbury, Esq.
M.P. for Monmouth
b. 2nd Dec. 1707; m
2nd Oct. 1743; ob. 1768

John Hanbury, Esq., of Po

John Capel Han-
bury, Esq., b. 27th
Jan. 1775; ob. Dec.
1796; unmarried.

Emily, dau. of
Rous, Esq., Court
yr Alla, co. of
Glamorgan.

Capel Hanbury Leigh, Esq., = M
Lord Lieutenant of Monmouth-
shire. Assumed name and arms
of Leigh in 1797. Ne
Ro

John Capel Hanbury.

Emma.

the 1990s, the number of people in the world who are undernourished has increased from 600 million to 800 million (FAO 2001).

There are a number of reasons for this increase. One of the main reasons is the increase in the world population. The world population has increased from 5 billion in 1987 to 6 billion in 2000, and is projected to reach 9 billion by 2050 (UN 2000).

Another reason is the increase in the number of people who are living in poverty. The number of people living on less than \$1 per day has increased from 1.2 billion in 1987 to 1.6 billion in 2000 (World Bank 2000).

A third reason is the increase in the number of people who are living in rural areas. The number of people living in rural areas has increased from 2.5 billion in 1987 to 3.5 billion in 2000 (UN 2000).

There are a number of factors that contribute to the increase in the number of people who are undernourished. One of the main factors is the increase in the number of people who are living in poverty.

Another factor is the increase in the number of people who are living in rural areas. This is because rural areas are often less developed and have fewer resources available to them.

A third factor is the increase in the number of people who are living in poverty. This is because people who are living in poverty often do not have enough money to buy the food that they need.

There are a number of ways in which we can help to reduce the number of people who are undernourished. One of the main ways is to help to reduce the number of people who are living in poverty.

Another way is to help to reduce the number of people who are living in rural areas. This can be done by providing them with better access to education and healthcare.

A third way is to help to reduce the number of people who are living in poverty. This can be done by providing them with better access to food and other resources.

commence and carry on the works. Christopher Schutz, though generally mentioned as one of the earliest introducers of the manufacture into this kingdom, was wholly unacquainted¹ with the practical operations of wire-drawing; and the company appear to have sustained great loss and embarrassments in consequence of his inefficiency. They were likewise unable to procure Osmond iron of such quality as to be suitable for the manufacture of wire; so that with unsuitable materials and incompetent workmen, they are stated to have lost, during the first year's operations, fully £500,—a large amount for that period. The company then secured the services, and brought from the Continent one Barnes Keyser, who was really a very skilful wire-drawer. He caused all the machinery to be altered, and employed himself during the succeeding two or three years in instructing the workmen, who still proved so unskilful, and were "soe dull learners," that no good wire was produced during the whole of that period: indeed, through the incapacity of the workmen, the inferiority of the iron, the destruction of wire and of tools, further damage and loss were caused, which the company estimated at fully £800. To add to their mishaps, "one Crump, a clerke of the companie, ymbesiled from them above £300." I likewise learn that, during four years, Humfrey and Schutz, who superintended the works, with four servants, resided at Tintern, and entertained the gentlemen of the neighbourhood very sumptuously at the house which they had purchased at the company's expense.

On learning the unsatisfactory state of the works, the company² requested John Wheeler and Andrew Palmer, two of the partners in the adventure, to proceed to Tintern, and report on the condition and prospects of the concern. They found the stocks reduced extremely low, while the company had been involved in debt to a ruinous extent. Those circumstances, and the representations which on their return Wheeler and Palmer

¹ Lansdown MSS.

² *Ib.*, Cæsar Papers.

made to the company, caused so much dissatisfaction and discouragement that the entire abandonment of the works was seriously contemplated. It was, however, urged by four influential proprietors, (Sir Richard Martyn, Alderman Gamage, Francis Heton, and Richard Hanbury,) that a lease of the premises should be granted to Wheeler and Palmer; and those gentlemen expressed their readiness to join them in the speculation. Eventually a lease was granted for a term of seven years; terminable, however, at the end of any year of the period; to which Martyn, Gamage, Heton, and Hanbury, became parties, each having taken a sixth share in the concern. Under that arrangement no rent was payable during the first year; for the subsequent three years the rent was to have been charged at the rate of £150 a year; whilst in respect of the last period of three years, it was to have been increased to £200. Incidentally Palmer states that, prior to that arrangement, he had made two journies "into Wales, with some long abode there, yet he never meant nor hoped" to receive any personal advantage. Palmer appears to have been involved in pecuniary difficulties about the year 1570, and to have sold a moiety of his sixth share to Mr. Hanbury. In the course of the same year he was necessitated to dispose of the other moiety to John Eccleston, who, like Mr. Hanbury, is described as a "goldsmith," and was probably a banker also.

Shortly after the grant of the lease to which I have referred, Messrs. Hanbury, Heton, Palmer, and Wheeler, made a journey to Tintern, and found the works again in confusion: the stocks had all been consumed, while the plant and machinery had been so depreciated in value as to be barely sufficient to cover the amount of the liabilities. The management was then undertaken wholly by Hanbury and Wheeler, who continued to superintend the works during a period of three or four years, but without any favourable result: on the contrary, the operations shewed at their termination a considerable loss. Under these circumstances, and to

encourage the tenants to "further experiments," the company released them from the second, third, and fourth years' rents; and eventually, at a full court of adventurers, held 16th March, 1573, on finding the losses still continue, remitted the whole of the rent for the remainder of the term, upon condition that the works should be kept in operation.

In a short time afterwards Wheeler died, leaving Sir Richard Martyn and Mr. Hanbury his executors; so that, having acquired Heton's share, and purchased half of Palmer's, the latter gentleman now held the largest interest in the concern. Alderman Gamage declined to advance more money, and Eccleston refrained from any interference; so that, practically, the control remained wholly with Sir Richard Martyn and Mr. Hanbury, the latter of whom appears to have undertaken the active management of the wireworks until the termination of the lease. At its close Mr. Hanbury was desirous of surrendering the works to the company; but, after considerable discussion, he eventually agreed to give a yearly rent of £24 only; and appears to have held them, upon those terms, during a farther period of four or five years.

After the conclusion of Mr. Hanbury's tenancy the ironworks appear to have been rented by Sir Richard Martyn, who, at the close of his first year's occupation, shewed that he had paid his rent, and had realized a moderate profit by the operations.

About that period Cornelius Avenon appears to have in some way interfered in the affairs of the company, and sought to impress them with the great value of the wireworks, and the large amount that might be realized from them, if taken into their own possession and worked by the company. They did not, however, attach much importance to his representations, and again leased the works to Sir Richard Martyn in conjunction with Mr. Mychell,¹ at the yearly rent of £250; and as they

¹ This was probably Mr. Mychell of Weston, near Ross, who was himself an ironmaster, and whose sister was married to Anthony

had apparently become considerably more prosperous, they were eventually sublet at £400 a year. Subsequently Avenon, who has already been referred to, and who obtained altogether for his services, from the company, about £400, induced a Captain Fenno and Mr. Chaloner to offer an advanced rent of £1,000 a year. Upon this the company induced Sir Richard Martyn and Mr. Mychell to surrender their lease, and immediately granted another to Fenno and Chaloner. At the date of the MS. which I possess they held the position of farmers of the work; but they had then paid no rent during a period of three years, and had merely delivered some iron on account of their liabilities. At the termination of the current quarter, (the statement having been written in August 1594,) they would have owed for arrears fully £1,200.

Among the MSS.¹ in the British Museum I find a second letter written to Lord Burghley by Sir Richard Martyn and Sir Julius Cæsar, which shews that the misfortunes and difficulties of the company did not terminate with the selection of Mr. Chaloner as the farmer of the works, and the undertaking on his part to pay an advanced rent; for he neither paid the amount that he had promised, nor even kept the works in a state of repair, as will be seen by the letter which is here introduced:

“RIGHT HONORABLE,

“For as much as o^r predecessors Gov^{no^{rs}} of the Companie of the Miñall and battrye woorkes respecting the interē of her Ma^{tie} yo^r Lo. and other honorable psons therein have at all tymes refrayned to conclude any matters of greate moment concerning the same woorkes untill your L. good lykeinge thereof were made known unto them by your ho. l^{tes}, Wee lothe to varye from that commendable course therein held by o^r predecesso^{rs} have thought by theis o^r l^{tes} to give yo^r L^p to understand, as well that Mr. Chaloner nowe the Companies farmo^r of their Wierwoorkes at Tinterne complayninge of his losses by those

Morley, an ironmaster of Sussex, and lessee of works at Merthyr and Aberdare, about that period.

¹ Lansdown MSS. Cæsar Papers.

woorkes susteyned and tellinge us that wth out *abatement* of his rent to 400*li. per ann.* hee cannot be liable to hould them any longer, hathe from tyme to tyme by the space of theis xij monethes and more ben humble suitor to the said Companie almost at ev'ry courte houlden for the causes of the same Companie that hee mighte *surrender* his Leas of the same Wierwoorke into theire handes, as also that Mr. *Cachmays* of Bigweare a neere neighbour to the same woorkes doth also contynue an earnest suitor to the Companie to be their farmo^r thereof. And our case standinge betwene them as it doth, Wee are so irresolute what to do as makinge the same knowne to yo^r L^p wee are bolde to crave yo^r L^{ps} direc^on therein. And the case betwene us and Mr. Chaloner is shortly this. He is and shalbe indebted to the Companie for rent and arrearages of rent to them due at our Ladye-daye next for the said Wierwoorkes in some of *xj^c xxxijth iiij^s ix^d*; and he hath suffered the said *Wierwoorkes* to receive such *decayses* that as wee are informed e^m will not sufficiently amend the same. Mr. *Cachmays* suite to the Company is to have the said Wierwoorkes in farme for *xiiij yeres wth a stocke of 2000 m'kes* payinge therefore *yerlie* for the first three yeres thereof 1000 *m'kes* per ann., and for the residue of the saide terme 800*li. per ann.*, and also *repayinge* the saide stock of 2000 *markes* in the *end of the terme*, but wth *liberty* to leave his said farme at the first *iiij yeres* ende if he will makinge even wth us for our rent and stock and payinge us 200*li. noie pene*. The saide stock he is indifferent whether hee receive it all, or but half in hande and th'other half thereof by retayner of his first yeres rent. For th'assurance of the said rentes stock and noie pene, accordinge as shall please him to contynue, or determine his terme, hee hath made us twooe offers, *Viz.* either that hereinclozed are *landes worthe 200li. p^r ann.* to be conveyed in such manner and forme as by the Companies Counsell learned in the Lawe shalbe reasonable devised wth condi^on that payinge his saide rente, stock, and noie pene, if he shall leave it at three yeres ende, all suche conveyances thereof to be void. And himself and *his iiij sonnes* to be bounde to the Company *by statute* for the p^rfourmaunce of such conveyance. And upon all this matter shewed, wee most humble beseeche your L^p to deliv^r us yo^r opinion whether wee were better by abatement his rent to hould Mr. Chaloner o^r tennaunt, or to accept of his surrender. And if yo^r L^p shall advyse us to accept of his surrender then wee most humblie *crave yo^r L^{ps} ayde* for the speedier *recov'ye* of the said 1132*li. 4s. 9d.* out of his handes, and to inforce him to repaie *the decayses* of the saide woorkes that thereby we maye both be able to deliver to Mr. *Cachmays*

the stock that hee desireth, and alsoe the woorkes in such case as wee would be contented to receive the same againe at his handes in the end of his terme. And further, if it shall stand wth yo^r L^{ps} pleasure that we deale wth Mr. Cachmaye then wee most humblie beseeche yo^r L^p to lett us know whither of *the said assurance* yo^r L^p best liketh of, for wee would doo all thinges for the Companies moost good and yo^r L^{ps} best contentment. And so moost humblie beseeching yo^r good L^p to pdon both our lengthe and boldnes Wee most humblie take o^r leaves.

“ London this xjth daye of Marche 1593.

“ Your L^{ps} most humble at commandement,

“ RICHARD MARTYN.

“ JUL. CÆSAR.”

The information which we possess relative to the first introduction of the wire manufacture into this country is scanty and imperfect. The opinion is very generally entertained that wire continued to be manufactured in England wholly by hand prior to the establishment of the works at Tintern, when the art of “drawing” by mills was first introduced, as we have seen, by foreigners. It has been already stated that the method of drawing iron-wire by machinery was brought into operation in this country as early as the year 1565; but, although the merit of its introduction has been commonly and usually assigned to Christopher Schutz, as I have already noticed, it has been distinctly asserted by Andrew Palmer¹ that he was wholly unacquainted practically with wire-drawing; and that the successful application, in this country, of machinery to the drawing of wire was unquestionably due to Barnes Keyser. Prior to that time wire was exclusively drawn by hand; but that system was almost wholly discarded and superseded by the introduction of machinery. Still the English wire did not bear a high reputation; and a considerable quantity, more particularly of that employed for wool-combing, continued to be imported from the Continent. Improvements, however, were rapidly progressing; the legislature gave very great encouragement to the exten-

¹ Lansdown MSS.

sion of the trade; and the quality of the wire became so greatly improved, that it was at length regarded as materially superior to that of foreign production.

In the year 1630 a proclamation was issued by Charles I, which set forth "that iron-wire is a manufacture long practised in the realme, whereby many thousands of our subjects have long been employed; and that English wire is made of the toughest and best Osmond iron, a native commodity of the kingdom, and is much better than what comes from foreign parts, especially for making wool-cards, without which no good cloth can be made. And whereas complaints have been made by the wire-drawers of the kingdom, that by reason of the great quantities of foreign iron-wire lately imported, our said subjects cannot be set on work, therefore we prohibit the importation of foreign iron-wire and wool-cards made thereof, as also hooks and eyes, and the manufactures made of foreign wire. Neither shall any translate and trim up any old wool-cards, nor sell the same at home or abroad."

Prior to the introduction of grooved rollers, rods of iron, intended for conversion into wire, were hammered out to the requisite length and thickness; and this being the toughest and best iron that could be produced, was designated *asleom* or *esleom* iron, or, as in the act of Charles I, Osmond iron. It was hammered into rods about as thick as a finger, and, after being annealed, was sold to the wire-drawers in suitable bundles. Those rods, again, were still further reduced by an ingenious process termed "ripping" or "rumpling." The invention is mentioned by Beckman¹ in the following terms:

"The greatest improvement ever made in this art was undoubtedly the invention of the large drawing machine which is driven by water, and in which the axletree, by means of a lever, moves a pair of pincers that open as they fall against the drawing-plate, lay hold of the wire, which is guided through a hole in the plate, shut as they are drawn back, and in that manner pull the wire along with them. What a pity that neither

¹ Beckmann's *History of Discoveries, Inventions, and Origins*.

the inventor, nor the time when this machine was invented, is known! It is, however, more than probable that it was first constructed at Nuremburg by a person named Rudolph, who kept it long a secret, and by these means acquired a considerable fortune. Conrade Celtes, who wrote about the year 1491, is the only author known at present who confirms this information; and tells us that the son of the inventor, seduced by avaricious people, discovered to them the whole secret of the machinery; which so incensed the father that he would have put him to death had he not saved himself by flight."

This contrivance, important and valuable as it once proved, has now been superseded by modern improvements, and is only to be seen occasionally in some of the older mills, where the proprietors are either unwilling or unable to make the outlay requisite for the introduction of improved machinery.

It has been already indicated that the iron is now prepared for the manufacture of wire by means of grooved rollers, through which it is passed, and thus elongated to the requisite length and diameter. When thus prepared at the rolling-mill, where it is usually formed about the eighth of an inch in diameter, it is put aside in coils for sale to the wire-drawers, who work it to any dimensions that may be desired.

The power applied to the drawing of wire frequently differs in its character, and the process is either effected by hand, by steam, water, or other power. The operation does not, however, often differ, unless it be in the means employed to cause the revolution of the cylinder upon which the wire is wound after passing through the drawing-plate, and also in the construction of the drawing-plate itself. But as I am dealing with the history of the Tintern wirework, and not with the details of the modern appliances of the manufacture, it will be out of place to make any further observations on the machines employed at present in the manufacture of wire, as that would more appropriately form the subject of an article in some mechanical publication.

I have not succeeded in discovering any very important particulars relative to the wireworks, subsequent to

the reign of Elizabeth. Sir John Petturs,¹ writing shortly after the Restoration, refers to the Tintern works as being at that time in operation under the superintendence of Mr. Foley, the treasurer of the society of "The Minerals and Battery Works," and speaks of them as being productive of great advantage, not only to the interests of the society, but also to the nation generally. The trade in wire had, by that period, so greatly increased,² that the wireworks of Tintern, together with the ironworks, gave employment to a very considerable population, and had continued to do so during several years. We, however, possess no further particulars of an authentic character, and shall henceforth be compelled to rely very greatly on the best information that can be derived from tradition. Nor have I been able to ascertain at what period, and under what circumstances, the privileges of "The Mineral and Battery Company" ceased, and the works became wholly dependent upon private enterprize.

In the year 1704 the works are referred to as producing the best malleable iron in the kingdom, "that is here made into wire by water-mills and other ingenious inventions brought here by Germans many years since, whose posterity succeeds in their *seats* and employments. Here and at Whitebrook, near adjacent, are the only places in Britain for making this sort of wire, which hath proved so advantageous to this country and to the whole nation."³

An interesting description of the mode of making wire at Tintern has been published at the end of Ray's *Complete Collection of English Proverbs* (edit. 1763); and, as the work wherein it appeared has become scarce, its republication may possess some degree of interest at this time :

"THE MANNER OF THE WIREWORKS AT TINTERN
IN MONMOUTHSHIRE.

"They take little square bars, made like bars of steel, which they call *Osborn iron*, wrought on purpose for this manufacture,

¹ Fodinæ Regales, p. 32. 1670.

² *Ib.* pp. 32-36.

³ Secret Memoirs of Monmouthshire, p. 33. 1704.

and strain, *i.e.*, draw them at a furnace with a hammer moved by water (like those at the iron forges, but lesser) into square rods of about the bigness of one's little finger or less, and bow them round. When that is done, they put them in a furnace, and neal them with a pretty strong fire for about twelve hours. After they are nealed, they lay them in water for a month or two (the longer the better); then the rippers take them, and draw them into wire, through two or three holes.

"Then they neal them again for six hours or more, and water them the second time about a week. Then they are carried to the rippers, who draw them to a two-bond wire as big as a great packthread.

"Then they are nealed the third time, and watered about a week, as before; and delivered to the small wire-drawers, whom they call *over-house men*. I suppose only because they work in an upper room.

"In the mills where the rippers work the wheel moves several engines like little barrels, which they also call *barrels*, hooped with iron. The barrel hath two hooks on the upper side, upon each whereof hang two links, standing across, and fastened to the two ends of the tongs, which catch hold of the wire and draw it through the hole. The axis on which the barrel moves runs not through the center, but is placed towards one side, *viz.*, that on which the hooks are. Underneath is fastened to the barrel a spoke of wood, which they call a *swingle*, which is drawn back a good way by the calms or cogs in the axis of the wheel, and draws back the barrel, which falls to again by its own weight. The tongs hanging on the hooks of the barrel, are by the workmen fastened on the wire; and by the force of the wheel the hooks being drawn back, draw the wire through the holes.

"They anoint the wire with train-oil, to make it run the easier. The plate wherein the holes are is on the outside iron, on the inside steel.

"The holes are bigger on the iron side, because the wire finds more resistance from the steel, and is strengthened by degrees.

"There is another mill, where the small wire is drawn, which with one wheel moves three axes that run the length of the house, on three floors, one above another. The description whereof would be tedious and difficult to understand without a scheme, and therefore I shall omit it."

When the earliest of the modern improvements began to be introduced at Tintern, and manual labour materi-

ally reduced, the wireworkers became dissatisfied, and serious differences sprang up between them and their employers. The application of the ingenious apparatus employed at other establishments had placed their proprietors in a position to diminish the cost of production, and enabled them to undersell the wire manufactured at Tintern. That circumstance was well known to the workmen; but, nevertheless, it was long before they adopted the improved apparatus, or submitted to such a modification of their ancient prices and privileges as would enable their employers to compete successfully with the wireworkers of other districts. So bitter was the opposition of the men to the innovation, that the person who sought to introduce the improvement was in danger of personal violence, and compelled to conceal himself for some time from their fury. It is said that, at length the judicious counsel and discreet efforts of John Pitt, Esq., of Piercefield, who had once held the works, contributed materially to the adjustment of the difference, and the completion of an arrangement that proved satisfactory both to the workmen and to their employers. The terms of this settlement were embodied in an "Agreement," and it may prove interesting if introduced here :

" ARTICLES OF AGREEMENT

" Had, made, and concluded upon this fifteenth day of October, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and forty-seven, between Thomas Farmer and Rowland Pytt, jun., ironmasters, and lessees of the wireworks in Abby, in the parish of Chappel Hill, in the county of Monmouth, of the one part; and the several wiremen, or wireworkers, or blockmen, of the aforesaid works, whose hands and seals are hereto annexed, of the other part.

" Whereas the said wireworks are found inconvenient for the expeditious making of wire, and it being intended to alter the same into another method of working, we do hereby severally, and not jointly, each person for himself severally and apart, covenant and agree, to and with the said Thomas Farmer and Rowland Pytt, their executors, administrators, and assigns, to work from the time of completing the said intended alterations,

and during the term they, the said Thomas Farmer and Rowland Pytt, their executors, administrators, and assigns, shall hold the said work, at our several callings and employments of wireworkers, wiremen, or blockmen, at the following rates and prices, that is to say :

“That we shall and will draw the wire commonly distinguished by the name of ‘small nogg,’ at one shilling and four pence halfpenny by the stone weight.

“Wire commonly called or described by the name of ‘big nogg,’ at one shilling and two pence by the stone.

“Wire called and distinguished by the name of ‘superfine,’ at nine pence by the stone.

“Wire called and distinguished by the name of ‘fine fine,’ at six pence by the stone.

“Wire called and distinguished by the name of ‘coarse fine,’ at five pence by the stone.

“Wire called ‘bastard wire,’ at fourpence by the stone.

“That wire commonly called ‘clavant,’ at three pence by the stone.

“That wire known and distinguished by the name of ‘kleven,’ at two pence by the stone.

“And also to do and perform that part of the work called ‘ripping’ and ‘rounding,’ at the rate or price of one shilling and six pence by the hundred weight.

“And that part commonly called ‘slipping,’ at the rate of one shilling and three pence by the hundred weight.

“And that part of the work called ‘scaling of ripp wire,’ at two pence by the hundred.

“And that part called ‘breaking of round wire,’ at four pence by the hundred.

“And that part called ‘scouring of two-band,’ at eight pence by the hundred.

“And whereas James Fisher, John Fisher, Samuel Evans, James Pritchard, and George Williams, are to be employed in different branches of the said wirework, so that their wages cannot be ascertained in manner aforesaid, they do hereby severally covenant and agree to work at the said business or occupation, and at such part of the said works, as the said masters, or their agent or agents, shall from time to time think proper to set them upon, at the following manner, and at the following rates and prices, that is to say :

“The said James Fisher, John Fisher, and Samuel Evans, at the rate or price of eight shillings by the week ; and the said Samuel Evans to be allowed necessary firing.

“James Pritchard and George Williams at five shillings by the week.

“And we do hereby, as aforesaid, severally covenant and agree, truly and faithfully, to serve the said Thomas Farmer and Rowland Pytt, their executors, administrators, servants, agents, and assigns, from the time of compleating the said new works, for the term aforesaid, at the rates and manner aforesaid: and that we and every of us will faithfully obey their lawful commands, and work upon such part of our employment as they shall, from time to time, think proper to direct us to go upon; and truly and faithfully execute our business and employments, and draw out the wire to the same size as the same is drawn according to the several distinctions aforesaid at Pont-y-pool Wireworks, in the said county of Monmouth; and that we shall not at any time absent ourselves from our said masters’ service without his or their leave or consent, sickness or other casualties excepted, under the penalty of fifty pounds each person, and of being discharged from the said work.

“And the said Thomas Farmer and Rowland Pytt, for themselves, their executors, administrators, and assigns, do severally covenant and agree, from the time of compleating the said work, during the term they or either of them, their or either of their executors, administrators, or assigns, shall hold the same works, to find work for and employ the several persons whose hands and seals are hereunto set, in the said wireworks, at the rates and prices and in manner aforesaid; and to pay, or cause to be paid, the several wages aforesaid, as the same shall from time to time become due: and for the true performance hereof bind themselves and every of them, their executors, administrators, and assigns, in the penalty of one hundred pounds, payable to each person who shall be justly aggrieved at the non-performance of this agreement. And the said Thomas Farmer and Rowland Pytt do agree that, if either of the said workmen shall have a mind to quit their said service, that they will consent and agree therewith, upon condition that they or either of them will not work at the same branch of business elsewhere, notwithstanding anything herein before contained.

“In witness whereof we have set our hands and seals,

“THOMAS (L. S.) FARMER

“ROWLAND (L. S.) PYTT, JUN.

“Signed, sealed, and delivered, in the presence of us,

“CHAS. FISHER

“THOMAS GWIN.”

It will be seen that, at that period, the wireworks were in the possession of Mr. Rowland Pytt and Mr. Thomas

Farmer. Mr. Pytt appears to have resided at Newland ; and after his death the iron and wireworks passed, in the year 1775, into the occupation of Mr. David Tanner. The subsequent embarrassments of that gentleman have been already referred to ; and after his failure the works were let, as before stated, to Mr. Robert Thompson, who retained them until his death in the year 1822. Very considerable extensions and important improvements were effected by him ; and the neighbourhood generally derived immense advantages from his residence at Tintern. Subsequently the works passed into the possession of Messrs. Briggs and Rowbotham, and were by them disposed of to Messrs. Brown and Co., the present occupiers, by whom they are carried on with energy and success.

WILLIAM LLEWELLIN, F.S.A., F.G.S., etc.

Glanwern, Pontypool.

[The foregoing paper touches upon a subject—the ancient trading and manufacturing condition of Wales and the march districts, or, it may be said, of *BRITANNIA SECUNDA*—which cannot fail to be of interest to the Cambrian archæologist. It is to be desired that similar researches should be pursued in other parts of Wales ; and the mining operations of the Romans in North Wales might advantageously be considered in a connected and scientific treatise on the subject. The traces of Roman, or at least of very early metallurgic operations, are more numerous than is commonly supposed ; and we recommend the matter to the attention of members.

At the same time the completion of the survey of the ancient roads of the country, whether British or Roman, is much to be desired ; as also an examination of the ancient ports, and the probable condition of water communication, allowing for geological changes of coasts. If the learned paper read by the late Mr. Henry Hay Knight at Monmouth, could be recovered, it would serve as an introduction to an account of coast-lines of defence and trade all along the southern shores of Wales.]

BRETON LECHS.

I.—WHEN I first endeavoured, five years ago, to give in the pages of this Journal an account of Armorican inscribed stones of earlier date than the eleventh century, which till then had remained unknown, and certainly unexplained, the field into which I was adventuring was so new to me that I hardly felt confident of the readings which I then offered. In the second line of the inscription on the stone of LOCOAL MENDON,¹ I was satisfied that I had found the name of PROSTLON, wife of the Vannetan chief PASCUELON ; but I hardly dared to read the Latin word CRUX, so greatly had it been disfigured by the incorrect orthography of the carvers of the ninth century, by whose illiterate hands that singular obelisk was fashioned. At the present time, however, enlightened by new observations, I no longer hesitate to transcribe the entire inscription thus :

CROVX (*crux*)
PROSTLON

Not exactly knowing what appellation to give to monuments of this kind, I designated them, like the Cambrian, Scotch, and Irish archæologists, by the name of "Stone pillars"; the meaning of which was much too general, since it is as applicable to *menhirs* of the primitive æra, to ancient milestones, and to *stelæ* of all nations and all periods, as to the monuments of the three great families of Celtic race in the north-west of Europe. Seeking, therefore, to obviate this inconvenience by adopting a more precise kind of terminology, I think I may be allowed to propose the word LECH (*Ulech* in Welsh), no longer used in the continental dialect ; in which, however, it was employed in ancient times to indicate certain monumental and terminal stones, according to Dom. Le Pelletier, author of a *Dictionary of the Breton Language*, printed in 1752.

¹ See *Arch. Camb.*, October 1857.

In the *Chants des Anciens Bardes Bretons du VI^e Siècle* (published and translated by M. De la Villemarqué, of the Institute of France), I have not been able to find a single example of this word used in any other sense than that of a commemorative stone :

“ Diweret enn treuz lech ;
Dunod mab Pabo na tech.”

*They exclaimed from the foot of the lech,¹
Dunod, son of Pabo, flees not.*

“ Ha ken golo och dan e lech.”

Before that he (Budwan) was buried beneath the lech.²

“ Gweliz e gran greodik gan Urien
Pan amoueze gallon enn lech gwenn kaleston.”

*I saw the cheek of Urien inflamed with anger,
When he attacked with rage the strangers near the white lech (tomb)
of Kaleston.³*

When the ancient Cambrian bards wish to speak of ordinary stones or rocks they use exclusively the words *maen*, *carreg*, or *clegir*.

Although the Benedictine, Le Pelletier, has not applied this word to the kind of monument now before us ; and of which, indeed, he could not suspect the existence ; and though he has, on the contrary, applied it to a sort of construction of stones resembling rather what we on the Continent call a *dolmen*, and in England a *cromlech*,—yet he agrees with Davies, whose opinion he quotes, in assigning to it the limited signification of a stone commemorating a place under which something has been concealed. “ They give this name,” he says, “ to certain large flat stones somewhat raised above the ground, and under which shelter may be had ; which give rise to fables among the peasants.” Some years ago such an affirmation as this would have seemed to remove the idea of a commemorative stone ; but at the present day, when the sepulchral destination of dolmens has been demonstrated by the observations of archæolo-

¹ Chants des Bardes, etc. Gododin, p. 286.

² Ibid.

³ Battle of Gwenn Estrad. Ibid., p. 410.

gists throughout all Europe, it serves admirably, on the contrary, to give this idea support. Its simultaneous existence in the different branches of the great Celtic and Hebraic families would authorize us to look on it as one of those old words brought from the cradle of the human race by the first inhabitants of the Gauls and the British islands, and preserved through the migrations and revolutions of the populations, as if to attest their common and Asiatic origin.

I subjoin the opinion of the Cambrian lexicographer: "*Llech, lapis, scandula, tabula*; (Hebraicè, *luach,—tabula*). *Llechen*, diminutive. *Llech lafar*, lapis loquax (echo). *Llech*, latebra, latitatio. *Llechu*, latere, latitare. *Llechfan*, latebra. *Llechwedd*, clivus. *Llechweddiad*, acclivitas." The two last compounds (*llechwedd* and *llechweddiad*), adds Dom. Le Pelletier, indicate a place of falling, or at least whence a fall might take place. There is every appearance that the two words, *lech*, constitute only one word; and that the second is used only for a stone, because stones serve for marks of localities, property, etc.¹

One of the authors who are of the best authority in this matter, M. De la Villemarqué (*Barzaz Breiz*), distinctly recognizes the signification of a funereal memorial, which he applies as well to the dolmens. But he published his work several years ago, at a period when nobody amongst us had pointed out the existence of the sepulchral monuments of the Bretons belonging to the fifth, sixth, seventh, eighth, ninth, and tenth centuries. At that time, in the absence of ampler information, there might be assigned to these epochs the monuments termed Celtic; but these, for my own part, I prefer calling Primitive; in order to indicate, while more precise dates are wanting, their chronological place in the succession of archæological strata now recognized on our soil. At the present day, however, when we can bring forward in the two Britains stone pillars with well characterized inscriptions, still standing in the places where they were erected more than a thousand years ago, to mark the

¹ Dictionn. de la Langue Bretonne.

burial-places of our fathers, that author would probably modify his opinion.

I consider myself, therefore, as sufficiently warranted in adopting the word LECH (*Ulech*) to designate the memorials in stone which form the subject of the present article; and I intend using it for the future, until some one shall succeed in discovering a better.

II.—LECH OF KERVILI.

The hamlet of this name (Kaer Bili; Villa Bili; Habitation of Bili) is situated about four kilometres from the church and village of Landivant (Lan Telfan; ecclesia Sancti Tedfani), in the department of the Morbichan, but within the parish of Languidec, not far from the Imperial road from Auray to Lorient. It is on the slope of a wooded hill, where the smoke from a few poor hearths alone reveals the presence of some wretched habitations; such as probably I should never have thought of visiting, had it not been for information given me by a poor labourer whom I met with in one of my exploratory expeditions in the Vannetan country districts.

There is to be seen here a fine quadrangular lech, with its edges and corners rounded off, about 1.87 metres in height, let into the little enclosing wall of a place where they thresh corn. I here append a view of it drawn by the aid of a *camera lucida*, and afterwards reduced by a pantagraph. Its lower extremity is so much cut away that it cannot be doubted, should the wall be pulled down, that it would no longer remain upright; and this leads me to think that it has been brought to this spot from its original position, after the wall was built. No doubt, too, it owes its preservation to the respect of passers-by for the cross incised on the side fronting the road. This is of the Greek form, like most of those met with on analogous monuments; and it is furnished with an elongated shaft, upon the subject of which I have already expressed my opinion.¹ When the granitic surface is closely examined, we recognize

¹ See *Arch. Camb.*, October 1857.

on it the existence of an inscription in two vertical lines, parallel to the shaft of the cross; and, though it is much worn, we can easily read by means of a careful rubbing the following letters:

CRAX (*crux*) HAR EN BILIIB FIL(*ius*)
HER AN HAL.



Which I would render thus, "the cross of Bili, son of Hal, or Gal," without stopping to consider the incorrect spelling of the first word,¹ or the mixture of the Latin and Breton tongues,—circumstances less unusual than might be at first supposed, as will be proved further on.

The name of BILI enters into the composition of a great number of names of Breton places and families: such as, Lambili (ecclesia Sancti Bilii), Trevili (the Treff of Bili), Coalbili (the Wood of Bili), etc. It has also been borne by several personages mentioned in the oldest historic documents: a bishop of Aleth (St. Mâlo) in the seventh century, a bishop of Vannes in the ninth, etc. But the personage with whom we can, with the greatest degree of probability, identify our commemorative monument, is one whom we see in the number of the chief lords of Brittany, composing the court or parliament of King Erispoe (851-857), when they were summoned to assent to the charter confirming the rights of the Abbey of Redon, granted by that prince.² He is again met with signing different acts of the same sovereign concerning donations in the country of Vannes, and always associated with the most considerable chiefs of that period, such as Salomon and Paskwelen, each of whom was destined to wear the crown a few years later. There is every reason to believe that it is he who again figures with the title of "*Mactyern*,"³ in a charter by which a certain Comwal gives the soil of an ancient forest to St. Sauveur de Redon, in the lifetime of St. Convoyon, and during the reign of Salomon, king of the Bretons (857-868). The terms of these different acts allowing of the supposition that Bili exercised his authority in the district of Vannes, where the Lech of Kervili is also found, we shall not appear rash, perhaps, in conjecturing that it once marked the spot where he was buried.

¹ *Craz* for *crux*. We shall find elsewhere *croz* and *crouz*.

² Dom. Morice, *Hist. de Bretagne, Preuves*, tom. i, p. 294.

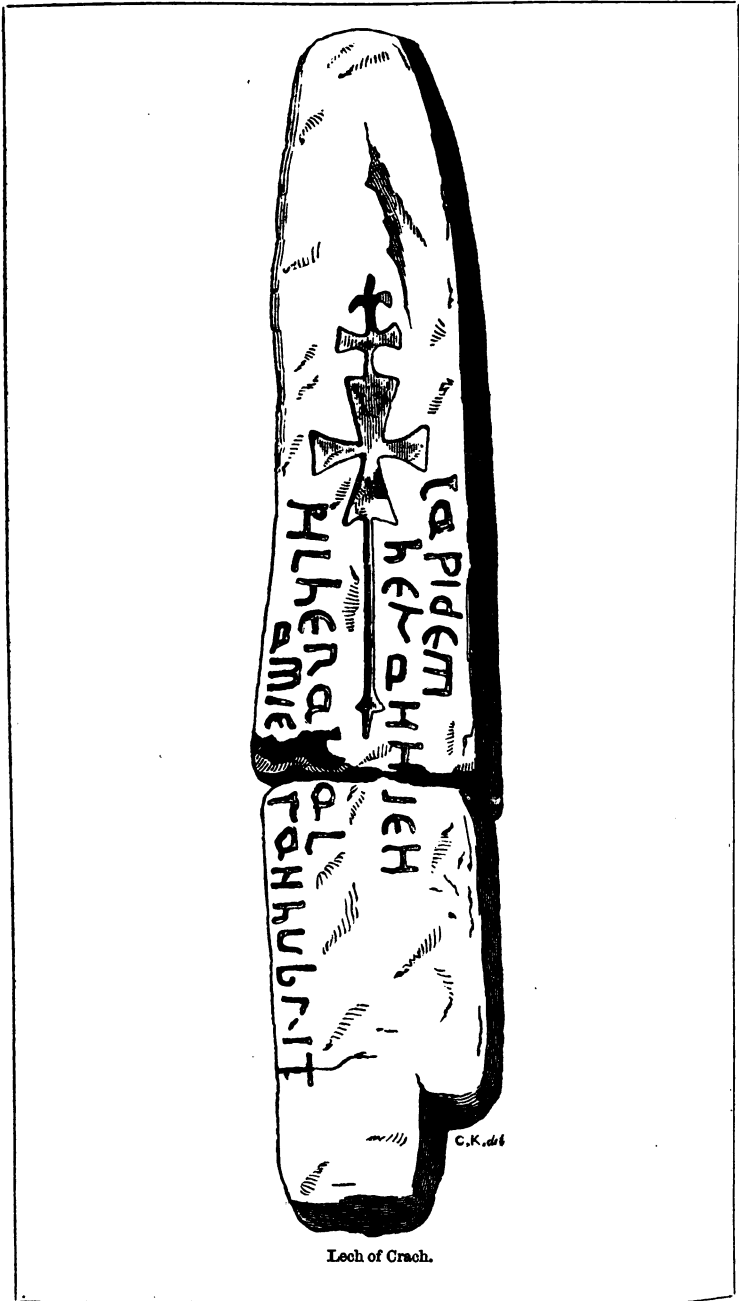
³ The *mactyern*, *mab tyern* (or son of the *tyern*), was the Breton chief next in order of dignity to the *tyern*, or sovereign chief.

The palæographic characteristics of this inscription clearly mark the ninth century; and a simple inspection suffices to prove their analogy with those of the monument of Locoal Mendon, published in the number of this Journal for October 1857.

III.—LECH OF CRACH.

On the road from Auray to Crach, in the Morbihan, and at the foot of an eminence commanding the country, called *Montagne de la Justice* (because there were still to be seen there, till the revolution of 1789, the gibbet-posts of the feudal jurisdiction of that locality), there existed four years ago, on some uncultivated and unenclosed sandy land, a sort of obelisk in granite, about 1.8 metres high; the shape of which, rudely cut, first attracted my attention in 1854. An attentive examination of this stone enabled me to discover on it the existence of an inscription arranged in four vertical lines on the two sides of the shaft of a cross, very similar to those of the *Pierre du Moine* at Locoal Mendon. It is, however, surmounted by a cross smaller than the other, and itself terminated by a figure not unlike a *hache d'armes*, with a cutting edge on one side and a curved point on the other, similar to those still used on board ships-of-war. We shall find the same figure, placed exactly in the same manner, above the cross of a lech; no doubt with the object of indicating the military profession of the Christian warrior, whose forgotten burialplace in a solitary corner of the Morbihan it has now marked for nearly eleven centuries.

As at Locoal Mendon, another cross is incised the same as the preceding one, on the opposite side of the stone. We could have wished to decipher forthwith this inscription, which no one, as far as we knew, had attempted to read. An unfortunate circumstance hindered us from doing this during several years, though by aid of an impression it was very easy to determine with exactness the value of the different letters. Some time after our



Lech of Craoh.

first examination of it, the stone having been overturned, we regretted to find, at the lower part of it, a fracture still bearing traces of the iron wedges which a mason had been using to cut off a portion to be used in some building or other. What we then had before our eyes, therefore, was but the upper part of the whole monument, retaining only a fragment of the inscription, absolutely unintelligible without the remainder, which the most determined explorer would certainly not have hoped to recover. We had completely given it up, when, several years after, one of the most zealous and intelligent searchers after antiquities in this part of the country, M. Rosenzweig, keeper of the archives of the department of the Morbihan, shewed us in his collection the drawing of an inscription taken by him from a block of granite which he had found at the gate of the ancient feudal Manor House of Plessix-Ker, in the parish of



Crach, where it served as a seat ; and close by which we had ourselves passed many a time without thinking of looking at it. The dimensions of the stone, the form of the characters, and the arrangement of the lines, made us suspect at once that it might be the missing fragment of the lech of the Montagne de la Justice.¹ On placing the two impressions close together, our conjectures were changed into certainties, as may immediately be seen on looking at the woodblock annexed to this article ; or, still better, at the two portions of the stone found in so happy a manner. They are now joined together, and preserved in the Museum of Vannes ; thanks to the liberality of the Countess Henriette de Gouvelle de Kerantrech, owner of the territory of the Montagne de la Justice ; and of M. Cazic, owner of Plessixker.

This almost miraculous concurrence of circumstances has allowed us to study one of the most curious monuments of Breton epigraphy anterior to the tenth century, and to recover the lost signification of the four lines of its inscription. The least practised eye will recognize, at first sight, a perfect analogy between the three lechs of Locoal Mendon, Kervili, and Crach. There is the same type of cross, varying only in ornamentation ; the same vertical arrangement of lines by the sides of the shafts ; the same forms of the letters. The latter are evidently those which the Benedictines have given as specimens of cursive writing in the eighth, ninth, and tenth centuries, in their *Nouveau Traité de Diplomatique* ; only the connecting lines are less fine, and the projecting parts more rounded, than in the MSS., on account of the rough texture of granite. The letters A, E, F, M, and R, are especially characteristic of this. The reading of the first three lines offers no difficulty. We read without hesitation,—

LAPIDEM
HERANNVEN
FIL HERANAL

¹ This latter fragment is 1.18 metres long ; and this gives, for the whole monument, a total height of about 3 metres, or nearly 9 feet 9 inches.

It is easy also to make out, at the beginning of the fourth line, the letters

A M I E

And at the end,

R A N H V B R I T

Unfortunately the mason's hammer has carried off two intermediate letters, which it is no longer possible to restore, except by conjecture and by aid of the interpretation of the general meaning. We find here, as at Kervili, the words **HER AN**, **HAR EN**, repeated; always placed after **FIL**, abbreviated from the Latin *filius*, and before another word which, according to the construction of the phrases, cannot be anything else than a proper name; so that they can be nothing more than an old form of the article, accompanied by one of the suffixes so commonly employed in the Breton language. We are of opinion, therefore, in the absence of fuller information, that we may adopt the following reading:

LAPIDEM HER AN NVEN FIL(ii) HER AN ALAM
IE....R AN HVBRIT

which may be thus translated: "Stone of Nuen, son of Alam, or Alamie, or Alamic, son of Hubrit." All these proper names are, moreover, in harmony with the genius of the Breton language. We find appearing in an act of the ninth century, of the Chartulary of Redon, given by Dom. Morice, **HEVEN**, son of **ALAN** ("Alan re bras," king of the Bretons), who, we may correctly suppose, was the personage mentioned on the lech of Crach, notwithstanding the difference in the orthography; for, during those barbarous times, scribes often indulged in much greater variations than this. In presence of such a jargon we ought not to be surprised at finding the word *lapidem* used instead of its nominative, *lapis*; and we can also explain it by supposing some word understood, such as *erexit* or *erexi*, referring to the person who set the monument up.

The mixture of the Latin and the Breton languages is not so unusual as might at first be supposed. There

are many other curious examples of it in monuments, the age and interpretation of which cannot be the subject of any doubt. The Celts and the Gauls allowed themselves a similar license: witness the medal referred to by M. Monin (*Mon. des Anciens Gaulois*), bearing on its obverse the legend, CISIAMBOS CATTOS VERGOBRETO; and on its reverse, SISMISSOS PVBLICOS LIXOVIO; which he thus renders, KISIAMBOS KATTOS VEGOBRET (DEMI AS of the LEXOVIANS).

M. Aurélien de Courson (*Hist. des Peuples Bretons*, tom. i, pp. 412, 413) gives an act of 3 Feb., 821, passed at Ruffiac in the district of Vannes, and of a much higher interest for our present purpose. We read in it the following description, partly in Breton, partly in Latin, of the boundaries of some land given to the Abbey of Redon:

“A fine Ran-Melan don roch; do fos Matmor; coihiton fos, do Imhoir; ultra Imhoir, per lannam do fois fin Ran-Dofhion; do fin Ran-Haelmorin; coihiton hifosan, do rudfos; coihiton rudfos, per lannam do fin Ran Loudinoc Pont Imhoir.”

This passage is the more valuable for philological purposes, because another charter from the same Chartulary, later than the preceding one by three years, contains an almost literal Latin translation of it:

“A fine Ran Melan¹ ad rocham; a rocha ad fossatam Matmor; a fossata ad ripam; a ripa per landam ad finem Ran-Dofhion; secundum finem ran Dohion et Sortis Sulwocon usque finem Ran Haelmorin per finem fossatellam, usque ad rubram fossatam; per rubram fossatam usque ad pontem Loutinoc.”

After these quotations, no one, I suppose, will be any longer surprised at the barbaric intermixture of the vulgar and the ecclesiastical languages; nor at the grammatical monstrosities of the Breton inscriptions described above, nor at those which we hope successively to lay before the members of the Cambrian Archæological Association.

C. DE KERANFLEC'H.

Nantes, April 1, 1863.

¹ The Breton *ran* or *rann* (Welsh, *rhan*) was the portion retained by a coheir in the division of the property of the common ancestor.

Correspondence.

MARKS ON STONES, CARNARVONSHIRE.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE ARCH. CAMB.

SIR,—It will probably be in the remembrance of members who attended the Bangor Meeting of the Cambrian Archæological Association, and especially of those who ascended Penmaen Mawr, that in a farmyard, on the eastern slope of that mountain, a stone was shewn, bearing incisions on its edges so peculiar in their appearance that the question was raised whether they might not be characters of some kind or other; or at least marks not made by chance. They might almost have been taken for Oghams; but they were not arranged according to any known alphabet, and some of them crossed each other diagonally. They were, however, thought sufficiently curious to warrant further search; nothing being known of the stone itself, nor of any use having ever been made of it.

Since that period there has been discovered on the *Wason*, or rough hill-side, above the new village of Glanogwen (or Bethesda), a large isolated block of stone,—not exactly a boulder, but one which has been detached from the crags above,—on which similar marks occur in abundance. Another stone also, in a neighbouring locality, now totally unfrequented, bears similar incisions. And there is a third stone, above the Penrhyn slate quarries, on the opposite side of the river Ogwen, similarly scarred.

These stones have been visited by an excellent antiquary, the Rev. J. Evans, M.A., of Llanllechid, well versed in early remains; and also by a member of the Association who has been much occupied with early incised stones and oghamic characters; and on their recommendation I send you a few notes upon the subject.

Taking the largest stone first,—and it is of considerable dimensions, about five hundred feet cubic, but split into two large fragments,—we find on it four sets of these marks: one set being arranged round a circular depression, or basin, on the upper portion of the stone. I took careful rubbings of them; and you will probably think them worthy of engraving, if only to set at rest what may otherwise remain an open question upon what is, in reality, a very simple subject.

As long as these marks are observable only arranged in lines, their purpose may remain uncertain, and they may even assume the character of letters, though the fact of their often intersecting each other would destroy the idea of their being oghamic. When, however, their occurrence round the circular depression is considered, the difficulty is removed. This depression, or basin, lies horizontally on the upper surface, and by its peculiar discoloration is evidently filled with water from the first rain-cloud passing over the hill. Nothing, then, would

be more convenient for the sharpening of weapons or tools than a thing of this kind; and, if the length and form of the incisions be studied, it will be found that they correspond to the length of the convenient play of a man's hand moving an edge-tool backwards and forwards. We tried knives upon the stone, and in some of the grooves, and found them answer the purpose; and the general impression conveyed from this circumstance, was, that however strange the localities of all these stones, they have been cut only by weapons or tools for purpose of sharpening them.

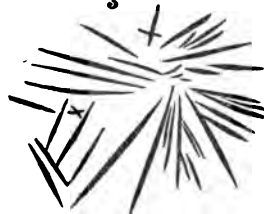
1.



2.



3.



A similar explanation may probably be given to some curious marks of a similar appearance, observed by Mr. Wynne of Peniarth, several years since, on a slate rock then laid bare from the superincumbent vegetation for apparently the first time, near Tal-y-llyn, in Merionethshire.

The question, however, remains, as to who were accustomed to sharpen tools in spots where now nobody goes except to look after sheep and cattle. It should be observed that just below the large stone in question runs an old road, leading from a ridge above the valley, in which the Aber waterfall is situated, down to the river Ogwen, and close to the curious cut in the hills called the *Ffos y Rhufeiniad*, or "the ditch of the Romans"; and that it is thought by some that this very road represents the continuation of the line of Roman road coming over the Bwch-y-ddeufaen from CONOVIVM to SEGONTIVM.

Be this as it may, the tradition connected with the stone is, that the old Welsh used it for sharpening their weapons. Higher up the valley there is a stone called *Carreg Farch*, which has nothing peculiar about it excepting its name; but it appears singular that two stones, not far distant from each other, should be so celebrated. There are other places in the immediate neighbourhood which bear strange names; and the inference to be drawn is that, in times past, the Waen was something more than what it is now,—the home of a few sheep and cattle.

Beginning with the peak to the left of the stone, which is called *Moelfaban*, and taking the circuit of the hills, the following names occur: *Ffos-y-Rhufeiniad*, or *Bwlch-y-nylchi*. Tradition says that there was a church near the west end of the Ffos. After passing the Ffos we come to the *Llefn* peak (smooth); and then to *Twllpantyreyr*, or, as it is called in the Ordnance Map, *Twllpantiriol*. It appears that the sides of the mountain, up to the latter place, were at one time under cultivation, as there are marks of the plough and the remains of stone walls. From *Twllpantyreyr* the *Gyrn* ascends. Between the *Gyrn* and *Drosgol* is an "hafodty" known by the name of *Hafodty Lowri*, near which is a well called *Ffynon Lowri*. Not far from this spot is *Hafodty-y-famaeth*. There is a tradition that *Twm-Shon-Catti*, the Welsh Turpin, was born in this Hafodty. The whole of the valley is called *Waengwysmai*. The top or eastern extremity of the Waen has the name of *Bog*. I have been told that, some years ago, a battle-axe was found in the bog, at a great depth from the surface. *Pipes* have been found twelve feet from the surface.

About six hundred yards from the stone is a *carneidd*. It appears to be the same as that marked in the Ordnance Map as *Pen-y-gaer*. It is round, and covered with grass. Within a stone's throw of *Moelfaban*, towards the hamlet of *Caellwynngrydd*, are a few heaps of stone which are said to be the remains of *Castell Goch*. The place is still called *Castell Goch*.

There are several *carns* in the neighbourhood, but they have been opened; there are likewise a good number of *cytiau* and old sheep-folds.

I am, etc.

E. OWEN.

Llanllechid, June 20, 1863.

[We are much obliged to our correspondent for his letter; and we hope that he will continue his researches among the mountains of his neighbourhood. The whole Snowdonian chain deserves, indeed, to be carefully and systematically observed in respect of its early antiquities; and we should be glad to hear of this work being undertaken by some of our members.—Ed. *Arch. Camb.*]

FETHANLEAG.—URICONIUM.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE ARCH. CAMB.

SIR,—In the last number of the *Archæologia Cambrensis*, Mr. Wright has favoured us with a long extract from his forthcoming work on Uriconium. It deals, for the most part, with subjects that were largely discussed by me in a paper that appeared in the *Archæologia* a few months back; but Mr. Wright informs us that the remarks contained in the extract were, as he “need hardly add, written before the appearance of Dr. Guest’s paper.” I have at present no concern with Mr. Wright’s theories, nor with the reasons by which he endeavours to support them; but there is one portion of his remarks which touches me nearly, and on which I could wish to make a few observations.

The extract which Mr. Wright has given us concludes with the following remarks :

“We are informed in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, that in the year 584 the West-Saxon kings, Ceawlin and Cutha, ‘fought against the Britons at the place which is named Fethanleag, and Cutha was there slain; and Ceawlin took many towns and countless booty, and wrathful he thence returned to his own.’ An antiquary who identifies Fethanleag with Faddiley in Cheshire, has suggested that it was on this expedition that the West-Saxons advanced into Shropshire, and attacked and destroyed Uriconium. But this is a mere hasty conjecture, improbable, unsupported by any evidence,” etc.

The hypothesis here referred to is precisely the one which was maintained in my paper. In that paper I proved, or at least I thought I proved,—1st, that the Anglo-Saxon name, “Fethan leag,” might at the present day be expected to take, in a northern county like Cheshire, the form of Faddiley; 2ndly, that, by assuming our modern Faddiley to represent the Anglo-Saxon Fethan leag, all the incidents of the story, as detailed in the Chronicle, became consistent and probable; and lastly, that on this hypothesis Ceawlin, in his journey northwards, must have passed by Uriconium. I then gave a long extract from an old Welsh poem, describing the ruin of a certain town; which, from the places mentioned in connexion with it, was probably Uriconium. This old poem attributed the destruction of the town to the Loegyryws,—that is, to the men of Loegyry, or England; and it called the adjacent district “the land of Brochmael.” As we have reason to believe that at the time of Ceawlin’s inroad there actually was a prince named Brochmael, who was lord of the district in which Uriconium lay, I considered myself justified in connecting the inroad of Ceawlin with the destruction of that town.

These speculations were brought forwards without reference to any one who had previously noticed them. The reader would naturally conclude they were then published for the first time; and I certainly myself entertained that opinion. It appears I was mistaken. Before my paper was printed, Mr. Wright, it seems, had elsewhere met with

them, and had already passed his judgment upon them. It might, therefore, be supposed that I had been guilty of plagiarism, or at least of parading as my own theories which had already been made public property. Under these circumstances it becomes my duty to offer both explanation and apology to the gentleman who anticipated me; and to enable me to do so, I must call on Mr. Wright to favour me with the *name* of the antiquary to whom he makes allusion in the passage I have quoted.

EDWIN GUEST.

July 1863.

Archæological Notes and Queries.

Note 76.—**LLYN LLYDAW. ANCIENT CANOE.**—Some years ago the waters of this beautiful lake were lowered several feet by an engineer, who was employed to build a bridge over the emptying stream on account of some copper mining speculations. This act of Vandalism has been stigmatized as it deserves—and not in the least too strongly—by Professor Ramsay in his admirable work on the *Glaciers of North Wales*. In consequence of this lowering of the level, an ancient canoe, hollowed out of a single tree, was found in the lake; and, as a matter of course, was sold to some one, instead of being placed in the Carnarvon Museum, or in the British Museum. The engineer stated at the time that he knew of another canoe lying in this lake; but it would require the water to be lowered many more feet before he could get at it. It is to be hoped that no further lowering will be permitted; but the circumstance is worth recording in case of any island dwelling, or *crannoge*, being hereafter observed in this, or other Welsh lakes. S.

Note 77.—**BEDD TWROG.**—On the hill forming the higher portion of the parish of Llandwrog, near Carnarvon, and on the road to the Cilgwyn slate quarry, there is still to be seen the circular trace of a *carneid* called *Bedd Twrog*. All the stones have been carried away for building walls,—there being absolutely no stone in the neighbourhood, except the solid mass of the hill itself, and all the surrounding mountains! The circumference may still be made out; but if any *cistfaen* occupied the centre, it has long since disappeared. *Stat nominis umbra!* J.

Note 78.—**VITRIFIED FORT.**—On the right of the road from Rhûg to Corwen is *Caer-Crwyn*, which in some portions has been subjected to intense heat. The clay and small stones have been completely baked, but the general appearance does not correspond to the walls of undoubted vitrified forts, such as exist in Scotland. The work, however, should be carefully examined; for, if it should be found to belong to the class, it would be, I believe, the only known instance in the Principality. A MEMBER.

Miscellaneous Notices.

THE CROSS OF TREMEIRCHION NEAR St. ASAPH.—The head of the cross in the churchyard of this place,—a work of the fifteenth century, with four canopies covering figures (of which I possess a good sketch),—used to lumber the ground, according to the opinions of the parties interested in its property and preservation. The parochial authorities, instead of reerecting it with a new shaft, have not long since sold this old cross-head. The fortunate purchaser is a Roman Catholic gentleman, who has removed it to a place of safety. There are some tombs inside the same church, which would probably sell well, if duly advertized.

A TRAVELLER.

NEWBOROUGH CHURCH.—The inhabitants of Newborough, near Carnarvon, have lately whitewashed the outside of their ancient church, roof and all. They are stated to have done this as a token of gratitude to their worthy Rector, and of their opinion of his habitual solicitude for their welfare.

J.

PLANS OF CHURCHES IN WALES.—The editorial Sub-Committee will be much obliged to members who will procure for them as many ground-plans as they can, with dimensions and bearings accurately quoted, of old churches in their respective neighbourhoods.

Reviews.

EGYPTIAN MYTHOLOGY AND EGYPTIAN CHRISTIANITY. By S. SHARPE. 1 vol. 8vo. London: J. Russell Smith, 1863.

THIS is a remarkable book in more senses than one. By some it will be considered an anti-Christian book; by others it will be esteemed as throwing much unexpected light, not only on Egyptian mythology, but also on the influence of that mythology on the creeds and practices of neighbouring nations; by most it will be granted the rare merit of condensing with lucidity and decision, into a small compass, the materials for many volumes. The author, who is well known for his *History of Egypt*, and for his account of Egyptian antiquities in the British Museum, which we reviewed some time ago, is evidently a thorough master of his subject; and what he knows intimately, he describes vividly and tersely, unconsciously realizing Swift's fundamental maxim of all composition. We recommend our readers to cast away the influence of preconceived opinions, and to read this book to the end. They need not be theoretically influenced by it; but they will have gained the clearest insight into Egyptian mythology, which they may hitherto have met with; and they cannot but rise from the perusal better informed than when they sat down to it. Let

ts at once add that it is most copiously and ably illustrated throughout; and, one more word, that we hope Mr. Sharpe will some day or other furnish us with a complete dictionary of Egyptian antiquities. The prefatory pages are good, and the following is a specimen:

"The following are the principal doctrines which are most certainly known to be common to Egyptian mythology and modern orthodoxy, as distinguished from the religion of Jesus. They include the Trinity, the two natures of Christ, and the atonement by vicarious sufferings.

"1st. That the creation and government of the world is not the work of one simple and undivided Being; but of one God, made up of several persons. This is the doctrine of Plurality in Unity.

"2nd. That happiness or the favour of the Judge of the living and the dead could scarcely be hoped for, either from his justice or his mercy, unless an atoning sacrifice had been paid to him on our behalf by a divine being; and that mankind, or some part of them, may hope to have their sins forgiven because of the merits and intercession of that Being, and to be excused from punishment because he consented to be sacrificed for them. With the Egyptians there were four such chief mediators.

"3rd. That among the gods or persons which compose the godhead, one, though a god, could yet suffer pain and be put to death.

"4th. That a god or man, or being half-god and half-man, once lived upon earth, who had been born of an earthly mother, but without an earthly father.

"It may amuse, while it will help our argument, to mention also a few of the less important Egyptian opinions which are still common among us. Trifles sometimes declare their origin more certainly than opinions and habits of greater importance, which may be thought common to the human mind. Among the most interesting is the wedding-ring. The Egyptian gold, before the introduction of coinage, had been usually kept in the form of a ring; and the Egyptian, at his marriage, placed one of these pieces of gold on his wife's finger, in token of his entrusting her with all his property. The early Christians, says Clemens, saw no harm in following this custom; and in our own marriage ceremony the man places the same plain ring of gold on his bride's finger, when he says, 'With all my worldly goods I thee endow.'

"It was one of the duties of the priests of Philæ to purchase of the river Nile a bountiful overflow, by throwing a piece of gold into the stream once a year; and hence, probably, the Venetians borrowed their custom of 'wedding' the Adriatic by throwing a gold ring into the sea. At the same time the Doge's cap was copied from the crown of Lower Egypt."

One of the principal features of this book is the exposition in a long series, briefly enunciated, of all the attributes and characteristics of the Egyptian deities. Nowhere else will the same information be found so satisfactorily and so shortly laid down. We give a few lines from the opening portion:

"First among these gods of the Egyptians was Ra, *the Sun*, or Amun-Ra, *the Great Sun*, whose warmth ripened their harvests, but whose scorching rays made his power felt as much as an enemy as a friend. His sculptured figure wears a cap ornamented with two tall feathers, and sometimes with the figure of the sun. (See fig. 1.) He was the King of the Gods. He was more particularly the god of Thebes.

"Over the portico of the Theban temple there is usually a ball or sun,

ornamented with outstretched wings, representing the all-seeing Providence thus watching over and sheltering the world. From this sun hang two sacred asps wearing the crowns of Upper and Lower Egypt. Every Egyptian king bore the title of Zera, *the Son of Ra*; and many of the Theban kings took the name of Amun-mai, *beloved by Amun*. This god was at times called Adon-Ra, from a word for Lord, known also in the Hebrew language.



Fig. 1.—Amun-Ra.



Fig. 2.—Mando.



Fig. 3.

“In the western half of the Delta the Sun was worshipped as Mando-Ra. Like Amun-ra, he wears the two tall feathers, and the Sun on his head; but he differs from him in having a hawk's face. (See fig. 2.) In our woodcuts these gods each carry in the left hand a staff with an animal's head, and in the right hand the character for life. A cow's tail, the ornament of royalty, hangs down behind from the waistband. After the fall of the kings of Thebes we find a violent attempt was made by the kings of the city of Mendes to introduce into Thebes the worship of Mando-Ra in place of Amun-Ra.

“Next was Hapimou, *the Nile*, whose waters were the chief source of their food, whose overflow marked the limits between the cultivated land and the desert. To him they owed nothing but grateful thanks. He is a figure of both sexes, having the beard of a man and the breasts of a child-bearing woman. (See fig. 3.) He carries in his arms fruits and flowers, and sometimes waterfowls.

“Another great god was their narrow valley, the country in which they lived, clearly divided from the yellow desert by the black Nile-mud, by which it was covered and made fertile; and hence called Chemi, the *Black Land*; or, when made into a person, Chem or Ham. He was the father of their race, called in the Bible one of the sons of Noah, and considered by themselves the god of increase,—the Priapus of the Greeks. Chem has a cap with two tall feathers, like that of Amun-Ra, so large that it was necessary to give him a metal support to hold it on the head. His right arm is raised, and holds a whip; his left arm is hid under his dress, which is the tight garment of the Egyptian women. (See fig. 4.) In consequence of the confusion arising from the Egyptian guttural, his name is in the hierogly-

phics usually spelled THM; as Champsî, *the crocodile*, becomes Tempsî on the eastern side of the Delta.

“Kneph, *the Wind*, or *Air*, or *Breath* of our bodies, was supposed to be the god of Animal and Spiritual Life. He has the head and horns of a ram. (See fig. 5.)



Fig. 4.—Chem.



Fig. 5.—Kneph.

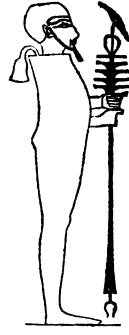


Fig. 6.—Pthah.

“Pthah, the god of Fire, was more particularly the god of Memphis, as Amun-Ra of Thebes; and the kings in that city were said to be ‘beloved by Pthah.’ His figure is bandaged like a mummy, and his head shaven like a priest.” (See fig. 6.)

Another highly interesting subject is thus treated :

“The gods were very much grouped in sets of three, and each city had its own trinity. In Thebes it was Amun-Ra, Athor, and Chonso, or father, mother, and son. Sometimes, however, they were arranged as father, son, and mother, placing Chonso between his two parents. In Abousimbel and Derr, in Nubia, the trinity is Pthah, Amun-Ra, and Horus-Ra and these are the three gods to whom Rameses II is sacrificing the Philistines in the sculptures at Beyroot. At Abousimbel the king also worships Amun-Ra, Horus-Ra, and Horus of Lower Egypt. At Wady Seboua he is seated in a group with Pthah, Kneph, and Athor. At Silsilis he worships Amun-Ra, Horus-Ra, and Hapimou, the Nile. At Philæ the trinity is Osiris, Isis, and Horus,—a group, indeed, common to most parts of Egypt. Other groups were Isis, Nephthys, and Horus (see fig. 7); or Isis, Nephthis, and Osiris; and with a national love for mysticism, the priests often declared that the three, in some undescribed way, only made one person. The above figures, indeed, do not declare that the three gods are only one; but we have a hieroglyphical inscription in the British Museum as early as the reign of Sevechus, of the eighth century before the Christian era, shewing that the doctrine of Trinity in Unity already formed part of their religion, and stating that in each of the two groups last mentioned the three gods only made one person. (*Egypt. Inscript.*, pl. xxxvi, 4, 5.)

“The sculptured figures on the lid of the sarcophagus of Rameses III, now at Cambridge, shew us the king not only as one of a group of three

gods, but also as a Trinity in Unity in his own person. He stands between the goddesses Isis and Nephthis, who embrace him as if he were the lost Osiris, whom they have now found again. (See fig. 8.) We further know

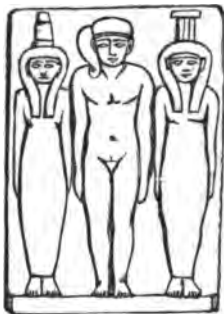


Fig. 7.



Fig. 8.

him to be in the character of Osiris by the two sceptres which he holds in his hands; but at the same time the horns upon his head are those of the goddess Athor, and the ball and feathers above are the ornaments of the god Ra. Thus he is at once Osiris, Athor, and Ra."

If our readers want a clear idea of the structural arrangements of an Egyptian temple, they will find it in the following :

"Every temple had its own hereditary family of priests, who were at the same time magistrates of the city and district, holding their power by the same right as the king held his; and as the king was at the head of the priesthood, the union between church and state was complete. To each of the temples was attached a large body of priests of lower rank, who assisted at the ceremonies and waited on their superiors. The temple of the Memnonium of Thebes is surrounded at the back and at the two sides by vaults built of unburnt brick, which would seem to be each a dwelling for one of the priests of lower rank. These cells were at least a hundred and thirty in number. (See fig. 9.) A smaller number of priests of higher rank, perhaps twenty or fewer, may have lived within the temple, in the small rooms around the sanctuary. The duty of these one or two hundred men, who were maintained at the public expense, was to make sacrifices and offer prayers on behalf of the nation, in gratitude for blessings received; and also in order to appease the gods, whom they feared as much as loved. In the temple on the Island of Philæ, built under the Ptolemies, the priests lived in cells within the two courtyards. Those of lower rank may have had the twelve smaller cells on one side of the inner courtyard, while the chief priest may have dwelt in the larger rooms on the opposite side of this courtyard. (See fig. 10.) When the outer courtyard was added to the same temple, fifteen more rather larger cells were built within it for the priests' dwellings. Thus, while the cells for the priests belonging to the Memnonium, in the

middle of the city of Thebes, were outside the walls of the temple; in this temple at Philæ, situated at the frontier of the kingdom, the cells were more cautiously placed within the walls of the fortified building. This temple



Fig. 9.

was one of the places in which Osiris was said to be buried (Diod. Sic., lib. i, 22); and here the priests every day made use of three hundred and sixty sacred vessels, as they poured out three hundred and sixty libations of milk in his honour, and in token of their grief for his sufferings. No oath was so binding as that sworn in the name of him that lies buried at Philæ, and none but priests were allowed to set foot upon this sacred island."

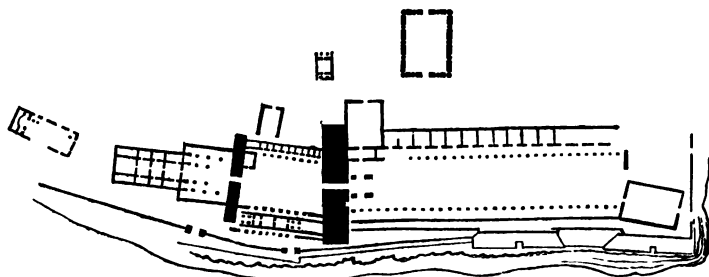


Fig. 10.

One of the most curious topics connected with the religious opinions of the Egyptians, is their system of belief in a future state; and we look for our information concerning it to the funereal papyri:

"It is to the later times of Egyptian history, perhaps to the five centuries immediately before the Christian era, that the religious opinions contained in the funereal papyri chiefly belong. The roll of papyrus buried with the mummy often describes the funeral; and then goes on to the return of the soul to the body, the resurrection, the various trials and difficulties which the deceased will meet and overcome in the next world, and the garden of Paradise, in which he awaits the day of judgment; the trial on that day; and it then shews the punishment which would have awaited him if he had been found guilty. The papyrus is five, ten, twenty, or even sixty feet in length. It is divided into chapters of hieratic writing, each headed with a picture. First we see the grief for his death; the men hold up their hands in prayer, the women throw dust upon their heads, and all beat their breasts; the mummy is placed in a boat and ferried across the sacred lake; the goddesses Isis and Nephthys, in the boat with it, hang over it in grief; the procession moves forward to the temple, in front of which stand two obelisks; the priests carry a variety of standards, each an image of a god on a pole, and lead with them an animal for the sacrifice. In front of the temple a bountiful offering is made of food, birds, beasts, fishes, fruits, bread, and wine. There the mummy is received with the honours due to such costly gifts, and is placed in its tomb, by the side of which stands the tombstone. Then begin the events of the next life. The deceased in the boat of Ra, on his knees before the threefold Horus, presents his offering to these gods. Again he joins his wife in worshipping the sun, while four apes worship another figure of the same god, and a priest presents to him and his wife fire and water as divine honours. Before his journey he addresses his prayers to the various gods, and then enters upon his labours. He attacks with spear in hand the crocodiles, lizards, scorpions, and snakes, which beset his path; and, passing through these dark regions, he at length reaches the land of Amenti, whose goddess is a hawk standing upon a perch. Here the sun's rays cheer his steps; and he meets, among other wonders, the head of Horus rising out of a lotus flower, the god Pthah, the phoenix, his own soul in the form of a bird with human head, and the goddess Isis as a serpent of goodness. The soul then returns to the mummy, and puts life into its mouth. He then enters upon his farm, floating upon one of the canals in a boat, and passing by the landmark at its boundary. In this farm he ploughs, he sows the seed, he reaps the corn, and presents his offerings to the god of the Nile, who fills the canals with water. Then follow his prayers to numerous gods and temples. At length arrives the day of judgment, and he is brought before the god Osiris and his forty-two assessors, to have his conduct weighed in the great scales, as described in page 50. After the trial we are shewn the lake of fire into which the wicked are to be thrown, and the gods of punishment (the Cabeiri) with swords in their hands. These, however, do him no injury. They are in his case overcome, and each safely imprisoned in a cell under ground, or under the river Nile.

"Sometimes the tree of life, with the goddess Neith in its branches, is one of the trees in the Paradise which the deceased enters. Sometimes he only reaches this happy land after his trial and acquittal, instead of being allowed to wait there until the day of judgment. Sometimes we see more of the punishment of the wicked: their heads are hanging from posts, their bodies imprisoned in caves, or they are awaiting their punishment with their arms tied behind them. Some papyri explain the transmigration of souls, as

before mentioned, and shew us the good man within the body of a ram, and the wicked man driven away in the form of a pig."

Mr. Sharpe treats of the results produced by the contact of Christianity with Egyptian mythology, and brings forward many valuable statements and unusual opinions which may startle some readers, though they cannot refrain from perusing them to the very end. Thus, in speaking of the Christian controversies, which convulsed Egypt in the time of Athanasius, he says :

"It was during these years of civil trouble and political agitation that Christianity, or at least a form of religion which called itself Christian, spread over the whole of Egypt. That large class of the population which a few years before formed the priesthood of the old temples, were now Christian monks. They were all zealous supporters of Athanasius, and all earnest against the Arian opinions of the Greeks. For their use three Egyptian translations of the Bible were made,—one into the language used in the Western half of the Delta, called Coptic; a second into that of the Eastern half, called Bashmuric; and a third into the Thebaic, for the use of Upper Egypt and Nubia. They readily fitted the old temples to the new religion. Their opinions had undergone but small change. On the rock-temple of Kneph, opposite Abou Simbel, they painted the figure of the Saviour, with a glory round his head, upon the ceiling; and thus it became a Christian church. The great courtyard of the temple of Medinet Abou, at Thebes, was used as a cathedral church, dedicated to St. Athanasius. In some cases they removed from before their eyes the memorials of the old superstition, by covering up the sculptures on the walls with mud from the Nile, and white plaster. In other cases they contented themselves with making a slight change in the sculpture, as at the temple of Seboua in Nubia, where they painted the figure of the apostle Peter over that of the old god of the temple; and the sculpture now represents King Ramses II presenting his offerings to the Christian saint. (See fig. 11.)



Fig. 11.

We conclude with the author's last pages :

"The book trade of Alexandria gave to the Egyptian opinions a great

importance in the Christian world. All the oldest and best manuscripts of the Greek Bible now remaining were written by Alexandrian penmen,—that of Paris, that of the Vatican, that of Cambridge, that of the British Museum, and that from Mount Sinai, now in Russia. In Alexandria were made the Ethiopic version, and probably the early Latin version. The Armenian version and the old Syriac version were corrected in Alexandria from the most approved and newest Greek text. These are strong proofs of the rank which that city held, and of its power to guide the opinions of foreign Christians. Nor were corn and books the only products which other countries received from Egypt, either as tribute or by purchase.

“About the middle of the fourth century there was a general digging up of the bodies of the most celebrated Christians of former ages, to heal the diseases and strengthen the faith of the living. The tombs of Egypt, crowded with mummies which had lain there for centuries, could of course furnish relics more easily than most countries; and Constantinople then received from Egypt a quantity of bones which were supposed to be those of the martyrs slain in the Pagan persecutions. The Archbishop John Chrysostome received them gratefully; and though himself smarting under the reproach that he was not orthodox, according to the measure of the superstitious Egyptians, he thanks God that Egypt, which sent forth its corn to feed its hungry neighbours, could also send the bodies of so many martyrs to sanctify their churches. And Gregory of Nazianzum a little before had remarked that Egypt was the most Christ-loving of countries; and adds with true simplicity that, wonderful to say, after having so lately worshipped bulls, goats, and crocodiles, it was now teaching the world the worship of the Trinity in the truest form.”

POSTSCRIPT.

CILGERRAN CASTLE.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE ARCH. CAMB.

SIR,—As one of the local secretaries of the Cambrian Archæological Association, I do not think I should be justified in letting much time elapse without informing you that, on Saturday, July 29, 1863, a large portion of the wall of Cilgerran Castle, 56 feet long and 20 feet high, forming a kind of breastwork, fronting the river, and abutting on the south-eastern tower, fell down. Symptoms of decay had been observed in it some days previously. On Friday morning the pathway above it was cracked; and about an hour after midnight the whole came down with a tremendous crash, much to the terror of the inhabitants of a neighbouring cottage, whose deep repose was so frightfully broken that they might have imagined an earthquake had taken place. This “untoward event” would have been a source of regret were it only *the work of time*,—

Out upon time! It will leave no more
Of the things to come than the things before.
Out upon time! who for sure will leave
But enough of the past for the future to grieve
On that which hath been, and that which must be.
What we have seen, our sons shall see,—
Remnant of things that have passed away,
Fragments of stone reared by creatures of clay.”

LORD BYRON'S *Siege of Corinth*.

But it is more to be deplored as it is *the work of man*,—the result of excavations made under it by quarrymen; which excavations have now extended to the base of the south-eastern tower; and the consequence will be, that, unless the force of public opinion is brought to bear upon those whose duty it is to preserve the venerable pile, one of its massive towers will soon be numbered among the things that were.

On the following Wednesday a great part of a garden above it fell. How much more may yet give way, it is impossible to say. It is singular that the week before a poor man lost his life by falling over the precipice into the quarry, near the said wall; and there can be no doubt but that the quarrymen are liable to be indicted for digging too near an ancient and perilous pathway without providing a proper fence. Will no species of destruction—not even the destruction of human life—put an end to this infamous proceeding?

From the Coedmore fields the fallen wall presents a most unsightly aspect. The quarry which was once opened immediately under the towers, is now closed. This is well as far as it goes; but unfortu-

nately the hoary rock on which the castle stands, has been covered with rubbish about one hundred feet wide and forty feet high; the *débris* of the quarry under the fallen wall, which has been wheeled into the river, impeding its navigation, and materially impairing the fine view of the castle by diminishing its apparent height from the river, and partially depriving it of one of the chief elements of its surpassing grandeur,—the abruptness of its ascent from the water; so that if the towers are permitted to topple, the whole will assume the appearance of a huge misshapen mass of rubbish.

Cardigan, from its isolated position, was formerly called the *Ultima Thule* of civilization. Whether it ever deserved this designation or not is at present beside the question, but it must be confessed that a more outrageous piece of Vandalism than that which is now going on in its immediate neighbourhood was never perpetrated in the darkest iconoclastic age, or among the most savage nations of the earth. Although the neighbourhood is not deficient in vestiges of prehistoric and mediæval antiquity, as the excursionists, during the meeting of our Association at Cardigan in 1859, can prove, and they saw but little of what might have been seen to advantage if time had permitted, still I am free to admit that objects likely to arrest the attention and admiration of the passing traveller are not very numerous here, and I am sorry to add, that they are getting rarer every year.

Among the most prominent of the latter description might well be classed Cilgerran Castle. It is situate on a lofty rock of schistose slate, with two projecting points and trees and copse wood on either side, reaching from the summit of the tall cliffs, and feathering downward to the edge of the water. On one of these points stands the castle, consisting of two large towers, with curtain walls, adapted to the sinuosity of the rock, which is insulated by deep ravines, and on the western side by a rill, which in winter swells into a mighty torrent. When seen from the village, the ruin, with its two huge drum towers, gives one the idea of a great and mighty fortress, answering the purpose for which it was erected, but not equal in grandeur and magnificence to some of the baronial mansions of the same date. It is only when viewed from the river, with its accessories of high rocks and wood and water, that it becomes an object of surpassing beauty. I have seen it towering aloft, amid foliage, clothed in the verdure of spring, or variegated with the thousand tints of autumn. I have seen it during a summer's sunset, when all the surrounding scene was swathed in lambent gold. I have seen it at the twilight, looming to an immense and inconceivable magnitude. I have seen the moonbeam's smile hanging on its sable brow, "like a rich jewel in an Ethiop's ear." I have seen it casting its gigantic shadow on the leafy surface of the opposite slope, and a more splendid and magnificent object mine eyes never beheld; indeed, I have heard travelled friends who were familiar with the Rhine and other celebrated rivers, whose practised eye could discern beauties hid from the uninitiated, and whose artistic taste well qualified them to form a correct opinion of light and shade, most loud in their commendation of Cilgerran Castle. And is all this

beauty to be demolished without one effort to preserve it, nor without a solemn protest against such a sweeping act of destruction? There is a plea for everything, and probably for the demolition of this majestic pile. What it is I am at a loss to discover. Some animadversions have been made on the late conversion into a modern residence of a neighbouring castle, which, for splendid design and elegant outline, must be admitted to have been superior even to Cilgerran Castle, taken *per se*.

The castles of this country were of two kinds. The first and most numerous, like Cilgerran, were built by Norman barons, and afterwards increased in number by Edward I, who connected the whole together by a threefold chain of fortresses, traversing and surrounding the principality to protect the invaders in the enjoyment of their unjust possessions. These, after the wars of Owen Glendower, became, happily, unnecessary. It is true that some of them were occupied during the parliamentary wars, but they could not withstand the force of gunpowder; and in this age of science, (when a shell can be thrown to the distance of two miles, and set a fort on fire, as in the late case of Fort Sumter) would be mere houses of straw. The walls of Lacedæmon were its inhabitants; and this may be said, in a great measure, of this country; yet national defences, carried on according to the principles of modern science, are not to be neglected. That "Britannia needs no bulwarks" may sound prettily in a popular song, but the greatest men of the age have thought otherwise.

Another class of castles consisted of the princely mansions of the said barons, whose power was at one time almost regal, until their privileges were gradually curtailed by the Crown, their possessions reduced, and their castles dismantled, as the owners were not able to retain their ancient splendour. The ruins of both kinds of castles present a very imposing appearance, as they here and there lift up their hoary heads above the plains, surrounded by a halo, which they scarcely possessed even in their pristine glory, out of which it is a pity to deprive them.

To decorate a ruin is like painting a lily, embellishing an ancient picture, or modernizing the antique costumes of family portraits in a picture gallery. The grand and stately tower and gateway of the castle referred to (undoubtedly the finest this side of Pembroke Castle) have certainly not been improved by the addition made to them; but this addition widely differs from the wholesale destruction of a fine old ruin; and, besides, the plea might, in this instance, be, domestic requirements, and the motive was certainly not a disregard for antiquity, but rather the reverse; the Puritans might plead enthusiasm, the sincerity of their motives, the purity of their creed, the fervency of their zeal for the glory of God, and their great anxiety to put down every kind of idolatry; and their admirers might plead the darkness and ignorance of the times in extenuation of the wanton and unscrupulous havoc dealt by them in our sacred edifices among the symbols of salvation, the works of art, and the gorgeous decorations of the middle ages. The man who cut down Shakespeare's mulberry-tree might plead that he merely destroyed what owed its importance to

uncertain tradition. The same might be said of the *religio loci* of many a place in this country. It might be pleaded in extenuation of the destruction of works of art and antiquity by the screeching, snorting, panting, smoke-emitting steam-engine, the annihilator of time and space, that such destruction is necessary in an age of progress, and that to it must be mainly attributed the commerce, the wealth, and the power of this great country. It might be advanced as a plea for the demolition of city churches, that such a demolition is necessary to clear off nuisances, widen the streets, and thereby contribute to the health and comfort of the fast-increasing population. But is Cilgerran Castle to be demolished for the purpose of carrying on a paltry, piddling trade in miserable slate stones which are more impervious to water conveyance when they are wheeled into the river, than to water when they are fixed in a wall. There is a tradition, that a dragon was once seen on the top of the castle at Newcastle Emlyn; and it would be well if a dragon were perched on the battlements of Cilgerran Castle, who, with his sting, would warn off the unscrupulous marauders who are endeavouring to sap the foundations of this time-honoured fortress. One of the cromlechs in this district is situate in a garden, and to this rock was some time ago attached a dragon, in the shape of an old termagant, who administered no end of abuse to any traveller daring enough to enter the garden and trample down her cabbages. There might have been an Andromeda chained to the rock, but I never saw her; but of the existence of the dragon I had ocular and auricular proofs. This garden could not be said to vie with the garden of the Hesperides, either in the beauty of its situation or in the deliciousness of its fruit; nor could the task of encountering the war of tongues in pursuit of the golden apples be deemed Herculean. The fangs of the animal were certainly not pleasant to look upon, but they contained no deadly poison. If any rabid antiquary were anxious to enter the garden, I dare say he might have done so without much difficulty. It is more than probable that a Cerberean sop, vulgarly called a tip, would have effectually done the business. It has often occurred to me that it would be well if all the antiquities of Wales had such a guardian. Shakespeare represents Fluellin as telling King Henry, "If your Majesty is remembered of it, the Welchmen did goot service in a garden where leeks did grow, wearing leeks in their Monmouth caps, which, your Majesty knows to this hour, is an honourable badge of the service, and I do believe your Majesty takes no scorn to wear the leek upon St. Tavy's Day."

In the garden of Hougoumont the Guards did good service at Waterloo, and this guard, who was in herself a host, did good service in a garden, more, I fear, from a regard for her leeks than for the stone with all its ancient traditions; but the act was in itself good, let the motive be what it might.

Forty years ago a boat excursion from Cardigan to Llechryd, by Cilgerran Castle, weather and tide permitting, was one of the most delightful treats which could be offered to a stranger visiting this neighbourhood. It is still so in a modified degree, though the scenery has been much vulgarized by rubbish. After passing Car-

digan bridge, on the left are Cardigan Castle, Priory, and Church, and on the right is a dilapidated cottage, which, as I gather from a very ancient document, occupies the site of a chapel, near which Archbishop Baldwin and Giraldus preached the third crusade, nearly seven hundred years ago. Imagination peoples the place thronged with thousands, hanging with rapture on the preacher's lips, drinking with avidity his words, and elbowing each other in their anxiety to embrace the sacred symbol, to be invested with which they deemed a greater honour than to be clothed in scarlet, and enrolled among the monarchs of the world. Mothers encouraging their boys to receive the cross, to leave their home and all its dear delights to brave the horrors of the deep, and to make every sacrifice for what they considered the best of causes. At the conclusion of the service one might imagine he could hear the tremendous shout of the immense mass, like that of the Athenians of old, when excited by the thunders which Demosthenes hurled at the head of Philip. "Let us go against Philip," said the Athenians. "Let us go against the infidel," said the Christians. "Let us drive him out of the Holy Land. Let not his unhallowed feet any longer pollute the sacred soil consecrated by the footsteps of the Saviour of Mankind. Let us go

"To chase those pagans in those holy fields
Over whose acres walked those blessed feet
Which fourteen hundred years ago were nailed
For our advantage on the bitter cross."

SHAKESPEARE.—*Hen. IV.*

Let us charitably hope that among this great multitude there were some at least who really embraced the doctrines of the cross, although many, if not the major part of them, were under the influence of blind superstition and engulfed in tenfold night. At that time, the scene just referred to, was frequently contrasted near the same spot, by one of a very different nature. The march of armies, the tramp of chargers, the sound of the battering-rams against the walls of the castle; the shout of conquest, the groans of the dying, and the heaps of the slain; the rapine and slaughter, and all the horrors accompanying the worst of wars.

The different reaches of the river are well described by Malkin— "The first reach of the river is through meadows, with the castle, the church, and Priory of Cardigan on the left. If you look downwards, you have the ancient bridge and the well planted banks beyond it seen through the arches; if upwards, a plentifully irrigated flat, with a bolder scenery of rocks and hanging woods at the extremity. These, on the approach, are attended with all that effect which such objects derive from an aquatic view. The second reach improves in beauty, and is altogether different from the obstreperous character of the Welsh rivers in general. The rocks rise abruptly from the shore and to a considerable height, but so well clothed with wood that their points are only now and then visible, breaking the continuity of the foliage without infringing on the composure of the scene. The bend of the river fades from the eye each way, and leaves

the gently gliding bark as if in the centre of an unruffled lake. The groves rise on each other, sometimes receding and sometimes overhanging the stream. On winding round the third and finest reach, the circumstances do not change, but receive a heightening to their effect by two new features. The hanging woods on the left draw back from the river's edge just far enough to make room for a narrow strip of green meadow, undulating from the eye in no formal or tediously protracted line; while the rich scenery on the right is grandly terminated by the overtopping towers of Cilgerran Castle. These, however, after the first glimpse, are wrested from the view by the intervening cliffs, and excite a feeling of regret that so classical an ornament should be so partially conceded to the spot, when, on clearing an angular position, the lofty ruin with the commanding rock on which it is placed, stands at once close upon the view, alters the face of the scene and calls up fresh ideas. In the centre of this extensive range, where wood is involved with wood, and hills melt continuously into each other, an insulated rock uncovered, but for a partial covering of moss, rises from the brink abruptly with its castellated honours on its brow, that vibrate on reflection on the surface of the water. Nothing can be more striking than this contrast of natural circumstances, nothing more consonant with them than these artificial accompaniments, mellowed and improved by time and decay, but still lording it over the peaceful scene it overlooks."

This description was more correct when written many years ago than at present. The remnant of the towers and curtain wall of Cardigan Castle had not then (like Napoleon the Great) been confronted by a nation of shop-keepers, neither had the navigation of the noble river been impeded to such a degree as it is at present by the *débris* of the slate quarries. The second reach of the river is of its kind equal to either of the three (the castle excepted), and not to be excelled by any other in the kingdom. It consists of a series of dissolving views blending with, and lost in each other, in such interminable variety as to render it one of the finest specimens of lake scenery that can well be imagined. On a fine summer's evening, when the tints of the foliage are gilded by the rays of the setting sun, and the boat moves gently on the glassy surface of the water, such a picture of stillness and repose, together with the most enchanting beauty, is presented, as to induce one to imagine himself in fairyland. Anyone taken there asleep, and placed in a coracle on the river, would, like the tinker in the play, fancy that he had well nigh taken leave of his senses. The rocks, however, are now becoming more disagreeably visible, and in a short time, are likely to "break the continuity of the foliage" in another sense, and in such a manner as not only to "infringe on the composure of the scene, but likewise on the composure of the tourist who remembers its former beauty." The regret of Mr. Malkin that the castle does not sooner make its appearance is not shared by me; for otherwise, many objects, admirable in themselves, would have scant justice done them. The moment the castle comes to sight, it is the cynosure of every eye, the observed of all observers. And well worthy it is of

such attention. A most stupendous edifice, seated on a lofty precipice, overhanging the river, "with its castellated honours on its brow," mellowed by time and decay, but still lordling it over the peaceful scene it overlooks; in fact, it is *par excellence*, the lion of this district, and as far as regards situation, the lion of South Wales. If, however, some means are not speedily adopted to prevent the Sappers and Miners from sapping and undermining its foundation, it will soon meet with the fate of Shakespeare's cloud-capped towers, "and leave not a wreck behind." Now, this would be a crying and burning shame, and a lasting disgrace to the neighbourhood. It will be observed that I have not considered the castle from an archæological point of view (which will be done hereafter), but simply as an object of popular attraction, the demolition of which would be a great public loss. No attempt is here made to enter into a minute description of its remaining parts, or of its probable extent and original formation; or to enumerate its historic traditions, and its claims on public attention as the scene of important events during the most stirring times upon record in the history of the principality, which no slate-splitting clodhopper can ever destroy. I have merely attempted to point out its beauties as a subject for the pen and pencil of the tourist, and as an object of admiration, not only to the learned *savant*, but to the unlettered admirer of any kind of fine sight, from a panorama to a street show. From the days of Giraldus downwards, Cilgerran Castle has been the idol of tourists, who, whatever places they omit to mention, make a point one and all to do it honour.

To those who feel no inclination to follow the example of Moses in the *Vicar of Wakefield*, and have a "touch at the ancients," an old religious house, like Peter Bell's primrose, is a house and nothing more; while to others, the pursuit of natural science appears to be a sad waste of time. But I question whether there are many, literate or illiterate, who, when placed for the first time in a boat beneath Cilgerran Castle, would not feel their minds impressed with feelings of veneration and awe. If, however, it is permitted to fall, the fine wood around it might likewise be cut down, or, like Birnam Wood, walk to Dunsinane, and the sooner the curtain is dropped the better, which might be easily done by wheeling a few additional loads of stone into the river below Rosehill, and then *exeunt omnes*. Should a railway be ever opened to Cardigan, then an unwary traveller, lured to the spot by a glowing description of Cilgerran Castle, might, after making anxious inquiry (like Lord Macaulay's New Zealander), find it among the *monumenta perditâ* of the district. It would be an incalculable boon to this country if any gentleman or gentlemen of property, position, and influence would bestir themselves in the business (not necessarily as archæologists, but as lovers of the works of nature and art), and, before adopting any public measures, set the matter in its true light before the proprietor of the castle, who having but lately attained his majority, is certainly not responsible for the mischief which has been done. To remove the rubbish around the castle would be a hopeless task, and, if practicable, would be scarcely desirable, for, unsightly as it is, it may probably be the means of preserving the south-

western tower. To rebuild the fallen wall, and stop the quarrying process, might easily be done, and, perhaps, little more could be effected. Should the worthy proprietor take the matter seriously in hand, he would merit the deep and lasting gratitude of the public in general, and of the Archæological Association in particular. Something must be done, and that speedily, or it will be too late. There is scarcely a work of any great architectural merit or magnitude in North Pembrokeshire, and most certainly we cannot afford to lose what we have. How earnestly do I wish I could enlist the sympathies of the Tivyside ladies on behalf of one of the few objects which they can with pride point out to their English visitors, being fully assured that it cannot but be interesting to strangers, particularly if they have the slightest pretensions to classic taste or refinement.

Yours faithfully,

HENRY J. VINCENT.

St. Dogmells, Cardigan, Sept. 7, 1863.

[We think that a formal remonstrance on this subject might well be made by the Association to the lessee or owner of the castle; and that the parties working the quarries should be required to rebuild the fallen wall, and repair all consequent damages.—*Ed. Arch. Cam.*]

Cambrian Archaeological Association.

KINGTON MEETING, 1863.

THE Seventeenth Annual Meeting, held at Kington, commenced on August the 24th, 1863.

The preliminary arrangements had been effectually carried out by a Local Committee, consisting of the following gentlemen:—

Local Committee.

R. W. BANKS, Esq., *Chairman.*

| | |
|--|--|
| Chas. Williams Allen, Esq., The Moor | Rev. Sir Gilbert Frankland Lewis, Bart., Harpton |
| R. Banks, Esq., Kington | Thos. Lewis Lloyd, Esq., Nantgwilt, Rhayader |
| R. W. Banks, Esq., Ridgebourne | Henry Miles, Esq., Downfield |
| Rev. W. L. Bevan, Hay | Rev. Henry Mogridge, Old Radnor |
| Rev. J. F. Crouch, Pembridge | R. B. Mynors, Esq., Evancoed |
| A. W. Davies, Esq., M.D., Kington | Geo. H. Phillips, Esq., Abbey Cwmhir |
| Rev. James Davies, Moorecourt | R. Green Pries, Esq., M.P. Norton Manor |
| Hon. Captain Devereux, R.N., Middlewood, Hay | Thomas Prickard, Esq., Dderw |
| Rev. G. Dowell, Gladestry | J. Percy Severn, Esq., Penybont Hall |
| Rear-Admiral Sir Thomas Hastings, K.C.B., Titley Court | E. D. Thomas, Esq., Wellfield |
| W. M. Perry Herrick, Esq., Beaumanoir, Leicestershire | Rev. W. Jones Thomas, Llanthomas |
| Sir Harford J. Jones Brydges, Bart., Boardbrook | Rev. G. R. Turner, New Radnor |
| John Jones, Esq., Cefnfaes, Rhayader | Rev. R. Lister Venables, Clyro |
| James King King, Esq., M.P., Staunton Park | Rev. J. N. Walsh, Kington |
| | Sir John J. G. Walsham, Bart., Knill |
| | J. W. Gibson Watt, Esq., Doldowlod |
| | Rev. H. Whately, Kington Vicarage |
| | Rev. F. Wyndham, Kington |

Local Treasurer.

E. B. PRICE, Esq., Kington and Radnorshire Bank.

Local Secretaries.

REV. JAMES DAVIES, Moorecourt; REV. H. T. WHATELY, Kington.

Curators of the Temporary Museum.

THE SECRETARIES.

Office for Reference.

MR. HURRY, Stationer, Kington.

MONDAY, AUGUST 24, 1863.

The proceedings were commenced by Mr. BABINGTON proposing that, in the unavoidable absence of the retiring President, H. HUSSEY VIVIAN, Esq., the Rev. Dr. JONES, V.P., should take the chair.

The Rev. Dr. JONES said he much regretted the absence of Mr. Vivian, who had been their President for the last two years, and a most valuable member of the society. He was pleased to see so large a collection of articles in the room, because it showed that the ladies and gentlemen of the town and neighbourhood had been cultivating archæology with very good intent; and ladies, whenever they took anything in hand, generally did it much better than gentlemen.

Dr. JONES then read the following letter from H. HUSSEY VIVIAN, Esq., M.P. :—

“Park House, 7th August, 1863.

“My dear Sir,—It is with much regret that I find myself compelled to forego the pleasure of attending the Meeting of the Cambrian Archæological Society this year. It would have afforded me great satisfaction to have been able personally to resign into the hands of Sir John Walsh the presidentship of the society, which I have held with so much pleasure to myself during the past two years. I must, however, beg you to be good enough to tender on my behalf my resignation of that office, and at the same time to offer to the members of the society my best thanks for the manner in which they have supported me, and the kindness they have invariably manifested towards me during the time that I held the position of President.

“I am, my dear Sir, faithfully yours,

“H. HUSSEY VIVIAN.

“The Rev. E. L. Barnwell, Ruthin.”

Dr. JONES then vacated the chair in favour of the President-elect. Sir JOHN WALSH, having taken the chair, proceeded to deliver his inaugural address. He said: Ladies and gentlemen,—It is, I am sure, with great pleasure that we welcome amongst us the representatives of this distinguished society. It is one of the remarkable characteristics of the present age that societies of this nature have been established, and that they have so powerfully contributed to the advancement of every one of those departments of science and of learning, for the promotion of which such societies have been instituted. We find the parent of these societies in the Royal Society of England, established in the reign of King Charles the

Second. It is not necessary for me to call your attention to the great and important benefits which that society has conferred upon every department of science: an example so happy in its commencement and so fortunate in its results has been very generally followed. It has been followed particularly in the present generation; and within our own memories we see on all sides proofs of the efficacy of the union of talent, of intellect, and of exertion converging upon some one particular subject. We see that the union of mind—we see that the excitement of emulation—we see that the contributions of different persons, brought from very different quarters, have so powerfully advanced so many different sciences, and have so greatly contributed by their cooperation to the advancement of so many of those branches of knowledge which in our own generation have so largely extended the sphere of human capacity. If we turn to the Agricultural Society, for example, we see how powerfully it has contributed to the advancement of that most practical and that most useful of human pursuits. If we turn, on the other hand, to the Geographical Society, we again see the very great stimulus which that society has afforded to the advancement and the promotion of that most important and most interesting branch of human knowledge. Wherever we turn we find that these societies have been most powerful instruments for the advancement of learning; and certainly the Geographical Society is not behindhand with the other societies either in the benefits which it has conferred upon the particular science which it has taken up, or in the improvement of that science to the advancement of human knowledge.

It is a striking and profound remark of Dr. Johnson, that “whatever makes the past, the distant, or the future predominant over the present raises us in the scale of thinking beings. Within the narrow circle of the present are comprised all our passions, all our appetites, all our selfishness, and all our vices: when you step beyond that circle, when you enter into the domain of the past, of the remote, or of the future, you at once step into the regions of pure intellect, of lofty imaginations, of noble aspirations. Once past that circle of the present, and you leave behind you all that is purely animal in our nature, and you enter into that province which belongs to the mental, to the spiritual, to the higher qualities of our being, to those which can link us with beings of a higher order, and with the parts of our more immortal nature.” Since these very remarkable and profound words of the great moral philosopher of the eighteenth century were uttered nearly one hundred years have rolled by. He uttered them in the consideration of what we may call an archæological subject, while surveying the ruins of Icolmkill in the Western Hebrides, which was the first edifice raised to the Christian religion in that distant sphere, and in the most remote and earliest ages of Christianity. Since that period has elapsed, during those ninety years which have rolled by since Dr. Johnson paid his visit to the Hebrides—for I think it occurred in the year 1773—what mighty revolutions have taken place in human science, what a vast development has occurred in every branch of human

knowledge!—how much and how great have been those bounds of the past and of the remote extended, which he considered at that time, with the wise prescience of philosophy, as the triumph of the spiritual and the intellectual over the merely carnal man. Let us just consider how many and how great have, in these ninety years, been the conquests of the human intellect. All sciences have been greatly extended; some—and some of the most important—have been absolutely created. Geology, as a science, did not exist at that period; geology was yet an unopened book, was yet a sealed page; and yet how mighty are the revelations which geology has now given to man. How much has it explored the unrevealed past; how certain are the conclusions at which it has arrived; how proud are the triumphs of human intellect which it has achieved! Geography—that certainly was not a new science, but how greatly have its limits been extended. Even at this time, even at the moment at which I have the honour to address you, the adventurous spirit of an Englishman has solved the problem which for 4,000 years has excited the curiosity and baffled the energies of mankind. Even now a man yet young—a man far younger than many whom I have the honour to address—has discovered the source of the Nile, which, in the days of Herodotus, was a subject of question, and which up to these times has never been satisfactorily settled. The flag of England has floated over the sources of the Nile. Let us, again, turn to the numberless discoveries in mechanics and in arts, to the wonderful power which steam has given us in our day, and which at that period when Dr. Johnson spoke was utterly unknown. What a key has been placed in our hands! What effect will that discovery produce upon the unexplored regions of Asia, possibly of Central Africa, and of America, which will probably be traversed in the course of the next century by rapid locomotives! How it will carry in its course civilization and improvement! And now, when I have thus briefly sketched, or indeed only partially alluded to, so many of those discoveries which have enriched the last century, and which perhaps have placed that century upon a level with that which has been so often cited before as the revival of civilization, when the compass, when printing, and when other great discoveries gave so vast an impetus to the human mind, I believe that when future generations look back upon this age they will consider it was at least equal in the importance of its discoveries to that which immediately followed the middle ages. Among these societies, among these sciences, certainly archæology takes no mean rank. Archæology is the twin sister, the faithful handmaiden, the useful *collaborateur* of other most important branches of science. Geology and archæology go hand in hand together. Archæology and ethnology are most intimately connected. Archæology is, as it were, the torchlight to early history. To all these different departments of human knowledge archæology lends a useful and ready hand, a most important auxiliary assistance. Now, in the classification of this science, I think there has been adopted very generally by archæologists a division into the age of stone or flint material, the age of bronze, and the age of iron. I have always

thought myself that this, although no doubt a useful classification, is a less general and less intelligible one than the classification into those two periods of archæology, the one of which altogether precedes all human records—the one which dives altogether into past ages, as geology dives into the past, entirely relying upon the evidence of the facts which it explores, without seeking any other aid—and that later period of archæology which rests on and is connected with extant records, written history, or tradition which may have a tolerable degree of credibility attached to it. In the one and the first instance archæology darts, as geology does, unaided into unexplored regions, trusting entirely to the facts which it may elucidate or the evidence which it may procure. In the other it becomes the assistant and the handmaiden for the illustration of history and of record, throwing light upon distant and difficult passages, and at the same time constantly corroborated by other sources of general knowledge and information. To illustrate the two branches, first of archæology solely unconnected with other sciences or with authentic records and known information, we will take the very remarkable ruins which have been discovered in Central America. In the midst of forests totally dissevered from any human races which exist, and which are inexplicable by any associations that we can find or trace with the tribes or with the natives that still exist upon that continent, there are found the most extraordinary and gigantic ruins and the monuments of races that have passed away and of empires that are extinct, without leaving any traces of their existence behind them. We find that these gigantic monuments still exist, that the archæologist explores them, and learns from their configuration, from their form, from their magnitude, and from the relics which they have left, some indications of the nature and the habits, of the intellect and the degree of civilization which those races had attained. But nothing more is known of them. History is silent respecting them. Tradition gives no clue to them. We find these gigantic remains in the midst of these solitary American forests; but we have no explanations from any available sources of what were the fortunes and the destinies of the empires, or the considerable extent of power, which these monuments evince to have at one time existed. Another instance occurs to me of a very recent discovery—I will not say a very recent date, because the date is very old, but of very recent exploration. I mean the villages and dwellings which have been discovered on the margin of the Swiss lakes. Here, again, there is no tradition to indicate what nations ever lived in those countries, what tribes of human beings ever inhabited them; but there the archæologist explores the ground and discovers, at the margin of these lakes and beneath the surface of the present water, traces of towns: he finds bridges connecting those towns, which were like little Venices, half-creations in the midst of the lakes; he finds implements of stone and iron, and in his explorations of these places discovers facts which demonstrate that nations have existed upon the earth, even in Europe, even in that Switzerland which we now travel over with so much pleasure and so much facility, of which no traces can be found, of which no records

are preserved of their nature, of their duration, of their civilization, or of anything concerning them, excepting these remains of their dwellings and their implements. These are two instances of archæology plunging altogether into the past. It is entirely a question for the speculation of the philosopher and the man of science when, how long ago, and under what circumstances these different races existed. They have disappeared from the earth; they have left no record behind them excepting those traces which the industry and the skill of the archæologist have discovered. Well, now we come to another and a later period. We come to a period in which the archæologist is no longer entirely dependent upon his own unaided exertions, but in which he calls to his aid the records which still exist—the records of the most remote antiquity, and the records which he derives from Scripture. And here, again, a most interesting study in the page of archæology offers itself to the reader. And here, too, I may remark, that within that period of which I have spoken—within that period when Dr. Johnson addressed those striking and noble words to the world—great discoveries have been made: the piercing and ever-active intellect of man has continued to unravel mysteries which have been sealed for ages, has continued to open new stores of knowledge which one would have imagined had been for ever buried in the oblivions of time. The labours of oriental travellers have disinterred the ruins of the past splendours of the Assyrian empires. Preserved by the peculiar dryness of those climates, the glories of Nineveh are revealed to the gaze of the modern traveller almost in their primitive freshness: colours and tints which have been for an almost incalculable number of years shut from the sight of man are opened and revealed again in all their primitive and glowing beauty. All the ornaments, all the forms of buildings, all the designs of those ancient Babylonian and Assyrian empires are made familiar to the modern observer; and if you have the curiosity to go to the Crystal Palace you may see in this the nineteenth century an exact representation of what might have been the council-chamber of Ninus or the apartment of Semiramis. If, on the other hand, you turn to another of the great ancient empires of the world—if you turn to Egypt, archæology has here again made most important conquests. It seems to be demonstrated, it is generally held, that the key to the hieroglyphics which cover the Pyramids has been discovered, and that, by the labour of modern orientlists, the histories of the Pharaohs, and of the inscriptions which contain the records of those far-distant times, have been laid open and are now become a part of history and of fact. These are wonderful and great achievements for archæological science to have effected. This is no little triumph for this generation, in which such mighty conquests of human ingenuity, and perseverance, and constant research have been realized. But enough, perhaps you will say, of these more distant, more general, and very grand but somewhat remote subjects. Perhaps you will think that, with Dr. Johnson, I am carrying you a little too far into the very remote and the very distant, and are desirous that we shall come to a narrower, a nearer, and a more home-circle. Well, I am very anxious to follow humbly, as far as I

can, in this path. We welcome with great satisfaction, with great cordiality, the presence of the Cambrian Archæological Society in this vicinity, and we hope that it may not be altogether unworthy the researches of men of science and men of learning. It does appear to us that these localities offer objects of some interest to the archæologist, because they are the seat, because they are as it were the battle-field of various different and succeeding nations who have in turn contended for supremacy in these islands. Here, within a limited locality, you will find traces of the Ancient Briton, and memorials of the conquering Roman. You will see an ever-memorable and striking work of the Anglo-Saxon kings; and you will find numerous remains of that great Norman conquest which affected so much and which has left so lasting an impression upon English history, society, and manners. Wherever you go, I hope, gentlemen, that your science and your practical knowledge will enable you to enrich our less practical acquaintance with these objects, and that many facts will illustrate the matters to which I have adverted. Offa's Dyke certainly is a most remarkable and interesting work and relic of the Saxons. Wapley encampment is attributed to the Romans. At Painscastle, at Radnor castle, and Ludlow castle, and in many other parts of this country are relics of the Norman conquest and of the constant war which they waged with the Celtic tribes of Wales. These, on examination, will be found to be most valuable means of archæological and antiquarian science. I have always thought that in these modern times there has been a word which has been generally introduced, and which I believe is of American origin, which gives to my mind a very false impression of the origin and of the history of the English race. We hear of nothing now in all the newspapers—we hear of nothing in many of the popular works of the day but the Anglo-Saxon—the Anglo-Saxon race and the Anglo-Saxon language, the pure well of Anglo-Saxon undefiled. There seems to be an attempt to resolve everything that is English into something which is called Anglo-Saxon. Now it has always appeared to me that such an attempt is very much a perversion of the known facts of history, and of that which has arrived to us from our knowledge of the past. The great British race, of which we are units, appears to me to be a sort of composite race, and to call us Anglo-Saxons is, I think, as unreasoning and absurd as it would be to call us gipsies. The real fact is that, representing as I do a Welsh constituency and a Welsh county, and standing here, as I do, almost upon Welsh soil, I cannot but remind this Archæological Society that an immense portion of the population of these islands is Celtic, and not Anglo-Saxon. If we go to that great index of the origin of races, to language, we find that half our English is Norman and not Saxon—that we have got an immense portion of our language, as well as a great portion of our laws and customs, from the Normans, and not from the Saxons. When we hear of “the pure well of Saxon undefiled,” I should like to know how people would speak English if the Norman element were entirely eliminated. Those words which represent abstract ideas, and perhaps a higher tone of thought, are very much Norman. All words ending

in "tion" such as affection, distraction, dissimulation, and many others of that very numerous class—are decidedly of Norman-French origin. And this is the case not only with words of a higher signification, which would be supposed to embody a higher tone, or a less familiar tone, of thought, but with more common words. The days of the week are all Saxon, but the names of the months are Norman—March, June, July, etc.; these are all derived from the Latin through the Norman. If we go again to very familiar and every-day expressions and thoughts, such for instance as our dinner—and nothing comes to people more frequently than the idea of dinner—we find that in general living animals are Saxon, but dead meat Norman: the ox and the sheep are Saxon, but beef, mutton, and veal are decidedly Norman. In the presence of gentlemen much more able than I am to follow this argument, and this train of thought, I need not continue these illustrations; but there is one subject which I think archæology will render patent, namely, that it will show that in many respects the ideas to which I have alluded are false, and that the English nation—the British nation I should rather call it, comprehending Wales and Scotland—is a composite nation; that it is a nation, the great merits and noble qualities of which have been the consequence of the amalgamation of different races, and the gradual production of the high English qualities from all (hear). I will not trespass longer upon your attention. We feel that this archæological question is a most interesting, a most important, and a most valuable one. We feel that its inquiries are calculated to promote to a very great degree many other sciences and subjects interesting to themselves. We rejoice that you have done us the honour, in turn with other Welsh counties, to give us the advantage of your presence and your inquiries. We most cordially hope, and we fully believe, that the result of your visit to this part of the country will be to afford to us much valuable information; and we hope also that your visit to a county which I think will not be found to be deficient in rural beauty and attraction, will not be wholly disagreeable to yourselves. I trust that this meeting will be one of mutual advantage, and at the same time of mutual pleasure. I thank you most cordially in the name of Radnorshire for the honour you have done us in visiting our county, and I can only hope that you may be fully recompensed for the trouble which you have taken in coming here.

The PRESIDENT then called on Mr. BARNWELL to read the following Report:

"After a period of many years, the Cambrian Archæological Association revisits the county of Radnor, after having visited every county in the Principality, as well as Cornwall. Those of the members who were present on that occasion do not require to be reminded of that very agreeable and successful meeting, as well as the genuine hospitality with which they were received.

"In the year 1856 the Association met at Ludlow, as the centre for excursions in Radnorshire, under the presidency of the late Hon. R. H. Clive, who, with other staunch supporters of the Association, such as Mr. Edward Rogers, of Stanage, and Lord Dungannon, who both

took so active a part in the proceedings, and, so very lately, Mr. Beriah Botfield, have since passed away. Deeply, however, as the Association regrets so many losses of old friends, there is one name which cannot be passed over in silence, namely, of that accomplished scholar and gentleman, Sir Geo. Cornwall Lewis, who had kindly consented to preside over this meeting. So irreparable did that loss appear to be, that at one time your committee hesitated as to the propriety of the Society holding its usual meeting. From this difficulty, however, they were relieved by the ready kindness of Sir John Walsh's acceptance of the presidential chair, under whose auspices your committee confidently anticipate that the present meeting will be as satisfactory and as useful as any of its predecessors.

"The progress of the Society still continues to be of a satisfactory kind as regards the number of members, but it is necessary once more to remind the members that another element is required if the Association is to continue in the work it has been engaged in for nearly twenty years, viz., the active co-operation on the part of all in supplying the editorial committee with notices or other communications of local history or antiquities. The Journal, now consisting of about twenty volumes, inclusive of the supplements, is styled *A Record of the Antiquities of Wales and the Marches*, a title it can only prove its right to by the general co-operation of those who, in widely-dispersed localities, are the only persons on whom the Society can effectually rely. Among the supplemental volumes of the third and present series are to be found the only history of Radnorshire, the work of the late Rev. Jonathan Williams, the *Gesta Regum Britannie*, the *Gwentian Chronicle of Caradoc of Lancarvan*, and the *Survey of Gower*, the second portion of which is completed, with the exception of the last sheet; and which, with the Chronicle, will be, without any delay, issued to the members.

"Your committee have had under their consideration the question, whether it would be desirable to commence the fourth series of the *Archæologia Cambrensis* with 1864, an arrangement by which new members would be so far accommodated, that they would be able to have a complete series without great inconvenience, more particularly as the impression of the two first volumes is not now easily procurable. They have, however, come to the resolution to continue the present series.

"Your committee announce with pleasure, that, although the Archæological Association of Brittany was, some years since, dissolved by the French Government, yet the leading antiquarians of that country still take a great interest in the proceedings of the Cambrian Archæological Association, to the pages of which they are not unfrequent contributors. M. de Keranflech' has commenced a series of valuable articles on early inscribed Breton stones, of singular interest as regards Welsh monuments of the same kind, the number and importance of which have been first made public by this Association in such a manner as regards the accuracy of the illustrations and descriptions, that even had the Association done nothing else, it would have been deemed to have deserved well of its country, and

worthy of the support of all, who can appreciate the importance of such monuments, most of which are believed to record the Christianity of this country at a period antecedent to the arrival of Augustine.

"The balance in the hands of the bankers amounts to £49 19s. 2d. It will be, however, remembered that the funds of the Association are now charged with an annual sum of £50 towards the editorial expenses, as unanimously agreed on at the meeting at Truro.

"It is unnecessary to remind the Association of the manner in which Mr. H. Hussey Vivian performed his duties as president for the last two years, and how much by his own personal exertions he contributed to the pleasure and success of the meetings at Swansea and Truro. In therefore recommending an especial vote of thanks for those services, your committee would suggest that his name be added to the list of Vice-Presidents. They also recommend the Dean of Bangor's name to be placed on the same list. Your committee regret that the engagements of Mr. W. L. Banks preclude his rendering the Society his assistance as general secretary, and would therefore propose that the Rev. Edward Powell Nicholls, of Llandough, be requested to accept the office. The retiring members of the committee are the Rev. William Basil Jones, T. Pryse Drew, Esq., and the Rev. R. R. Parry Mealy; and your committee recommend that the Rev. Basil Jones, T. Pryse Drew, Esq., William Llewellyn, Esq. (of Pontypool), and the Rev. John Edwards (of Newtown) be elected as members."

Mr. BABINGTON moved, that the report be received and adopted, and that it be ordered to be printed in the *Archæologia Cambrensis*. The report, he said, showed that the Society was in a prosperous condition, but it also showed that that prosperous condition could not be maintained without the exertions, not merely of active and influential members who were highly interested in its objects, but by the co-operation of the whole body of members scattered throughout the Principality. They had not, he was sorry to say, received quite so much of that literary support, as they could have wished, from the members, who were scattered pretty uniformly over the different counties of Wales. The speaker proceeded to enforce the necessity of this duty as calculated to strengthen the bonds of the Society, and to express his conviction, that the neglect of it arose from the fact of gentlemen undervaluing their power to impart valuable instruction by papers on subjects of interest in their own parishes or districts.

The adoption of the report having been unanimously agreed to, Mr. BARNWELL was called on by the PRESIDENT to read some notes on the late excavations of the great tumulus at Carnac, in Brittany, which will appear in the Journal of the Association.

Before commencing his paper, Mr. BARNWELL briefly alluded to the general character of these monuments, as of their dispersion in distant localities, none of the earliest kind (generally acknowledged to be the plain sepulchral chamber known by the names of "cromlech" in this country and "dolmen" in France) being found on the eastern side of France, while they are very common in the western and north-western districts, and more particularly near the coast. He

alluded to another general impression, that the Carnac monuments formed one large group, thought by some to have extended nearly a distance of eight or ten miles, whereas it seems more probable that they consist of four or five separate groups, extending at intervals between Carnac and the small arm of the sea that runs up towards Crach. Each distinct group commences with smaller monoliths, which continually increase in size, until they terminate in what is thought to be a kind of *enceinte*, either rectangular or semicircular. Then follows a void space without any remains of such monuments; after which commences another group, the first stones of which are also smaller than those they precede, which are again terminated by the *enceinte*; after which, at about the same distance as between the first two groups, another similar group occurs, and so on. In this manner along the whole coast, from the arm of the sea already mentioned, as far as Port Louis, these monuments exist in one continuous line, the most remarkable being those of Carnac, Erdeven, and Plouhinec.

In alluding to the suggestion of a French antiquary, that an approximate date might be ascertained for the stone chambers, by taking the mean of their various orientations, Mr. Barnwell thought that it would be necessary to assume the truth of the statement, that Bardic circles (which are now generally considered to be merely sepulchral enclosures), as well as the stone chambers, were invariably erected by their builders, so as to have the entrance exactly facing the rising sun on the day of the erection. As to the statement also, that the chambers always lay uniformly, more or less, east and west, he thought it desirable that, whenever the mutilated state of such monuments in this country permitted, care should be taken to ascertain how far this is really the fact. Mr. Barnwell also alluded to the circumstance, that, as regards Brittany, stone implements (with one exception, where two gold collars were found), were invariably the sole weapons discovered, bronze implements, which were not uncommonly discovered under other circumstances, not having as yet been found in these chambers. This would tend to indicate the greater age of this class of monuments, usually called Celtic, although they may have been erected by an earlier race.

Dr. JONES, in reply to Mr. Barnwell's observations, stated that the late Mr. Kemble doubted whether stone implements, which were found in the north of Europe, in conjunction with bronze and iron ones, were in reality so much earlier. With reference to the stone chambers in Brittany opening to the east, it was certainly not so in the case of the Pyramids, which had their entrances turned towards the north, while he had observed the same arrangement in some of the large tumuli of Asia Minor. He, therefore, did not think that much could be made out of the French theory. The only inference he drew from the position of the great Carnac chamber was, that it seemed to indicate that the work belonged to early Christianity.

The PRESIDENT thought it would be very difficult to obtain anything like correct information as to the age of these stone chambers from calculations based on the mean of the various orientations. The difference was so very minute in the precession of the equinoxes, that

it required the greatest mathematical accuracy in the observer to take any account of it; and he, therefore, did not think that any reliable conclusion could be drawn from such a source.

Mr. BARNWELL, in reply to Dr. Jones, stated, that the fact of stone, bronze, and iron being found together in certain localities, and under particular instances, only proved that the three metals were in use at the same time. But as it was probable that, as such implements in graves were placed out of honour and respect to the dead, so it was a legitimate conclusion, from the absence of metal implements, and the presence of stone implements only, that, at the time of such interments, the former were not in existence, and that the Breton chambers were anterior to the bronze and iron ages. As to the President's objection of the almost inappreciable data of calculation from the precession of the Equinoxes, he conceived that, if these monuments were of the great antiquity that some thought them to be, there would be no difficulty in ascertaining their date by the means suggested; but, unfortunately, the whole question depended on the Bardic authority as to the practice of this system of orientation, an authority of a very doubtful character.

The Rev. JAMES DAVIES having given a brief explanation of the intended proceedings of the excursion of the next day, the President broke up the meeting.

TUESDAY, AUGUST 25TH.

HERGEST COURT, an ancient seat of the Vaughans, was the first object visited. The principal remains consist of a long building of the fifteenth century, the upper part of which had been the residence of the inmates, the lower story probably being used as offices and stables. A connecting wall, now removed, ran below it, forming the main outer defence, the scanty remains of which consist of a low curtain, with a circular bastion at each end—the stonework of which is too rude and imperfect to assist any conjectures as to its date. It does not, however, appear to be much older than the building, and is probably of the same date. The building being full of straw and other farm produce, an examination of the interior was impossible. The position of the fire-places and chimneys common to the two stories was, however, made out.

The adjoining farm-house presented nothing remarkable. It appears to have been built in the early part of the seventeenth century. Some remnants of painted glass with armorial bearings may be earlier, as well as the fire-place in the kitchen, ornamented with a plain late Tudor arch. The farmer produced several specimens of what are usually called Danes' pipes—in one of which, according to his statement, he found some excellent tobacco. They appear to exist in considerable numbers, amid a large mass of bones and débris apparently the refuse heap of the inmates. A tumulus called Castle-Twt was to have been visited; but the rain prevented any attempt to

do so. From the distant view, however, of it from the carriage, it appears to be what is called a castle, as seems to be frequently the case with most mounds, designated by the name of Twt.

A short drive from this point brought the excursionists to the house of Major Robins, where they were most hospitably received at a very substantial breakfast. On the cessation of the rain, the excursion was renewed by a visit to the ruins of Huntington Castle, situated on the boundary between Wales and England. Of the stone defences and buildings formerly existing, only two inconsiderable fragments remain, the larger of them retaining traces of passages and staircase. The foundations of the outer wall indicate that it was carried across the height which forms a kind of second hill at the south-west angle, and not exterior to it so as to include the whole of this second hill within the stone defences, the defenders relying on the steepness of the acclivity on that side. Outer works surrounded the central defence, and are more complicated on the east and south-east. The church, said to have been lately rebuilt, and at some little distance from the castle, was not visited.

Gladestry Church, situated in a very picturesque spot, was next visited. The building, consisting of nave, chancel, and north aisle, appears to be generally of the same date as the pier arches, which are of late decorated character. Remains of a preceding structure are indicated by the piscina, which is of much earlier date. A plain unornamented stoup, in its original position, may be of the same date. The bowl of the font, which is, however, of small dimensions, may be late Norman. It is quite plain, and of a circular form. On one of the buttresses is inscribed, in letters of the same date as the church, the name of IONAB EY NON, the name of the builder probably—not the mason only. There has been some bungling in this execution, the name evidently being IOHN AB EYNON.

A very rough and steep road conducted to Old Radnor Church, remarkable for its magnificent screen stretching across the aisles as well as the nave, and of which an accurate engraving is given in the *Archæologia Cambrensis*, for 1858, p. 244. The church, like that of Gladestry, has been rebuilt on the site of an older one, and nearly about the same time. The pier arches are of late decorated character, if not even later. The windows are certainly later. The single lancet in the east end is a still more modern insertion. There appear to have been five altars, including the high altar; while the handsome proportions and extent of the whole building, seem to indicate that it was not a mere parochial, but conventual church. The still more remarkable organ case attracted considerable attention. With the exception of some of the panels, it is perfect, and presents us with an admirable example of the liner pattern, of the later form, of Henry the Eighth's time, having the peculiar twist. One panel, apparently of early perpendicular or late decorated, seems taken from some other furniture.

Another curiosity in the church was the extraordinary font, of the date of which it is impossible to form any opinion beyond the fact of its being a very early one, from the enormous dimensions of the bowl.

It stands upon four clumsy feet, the under portion of the original mass having been cut away, leaving these rude supports. The material is of a hard porphyritic rock, unlike any stone known in the vicinity, but said to be identical as to its character with the stones below in the valley, known as the Four Stones; so that if this is the fact, it is probable that it has been removed at some very early period from this so-called Druidic group, and converted to Christian use. A drawing was made of this very singular font; and will be shortly published in the *Journal of the Association*. The ornamented wood-work on the external face of the door is original, and of the same date as the rest of the church. The tower is remarkably well proportioned, containing windows of early perpendicular character.

As in the case of Gladestry Church, the piscina, of the thirteenth century, of the older church has been retained, together with certain small arches, which have been inserted in the exterior of the south wall and porch.

The remains of the castle close to the church consist of a low artificial tumulus, surrounded by a ditch. It must have at one time been much more lofty to have formed any sufficient defensive work, as its present appearance is rather more that of a low sepulchral monument. During the excursions, several examples of these more ancient castles in close contiguity with a church were seen, but none of them presented the same appearance as the one at old Radnor.

A short walk led to the "four stones" above mentioned, which stand in a field, and which are more remarkable for their mass than their height. As the ground, however, has, in the lapse of ages, been raised, it is probable that, on excavation, these stones will be found to be much taller than they at present seem, and so far better adapted for their probable purpose, namely, to support the covering-stone of a large sepulchral chamber, as well as to form the walls of the chamber itself. Three or four of the stones are missing, but which may still be lying somewhere in the locality. If the font in old Radnor Church was cut out of one, and if another large mass lying between the church and the supposed chamber is of the same kind of stone, two of the missing pillars will be thus accounted for. Excavation carried down to some depth in the centre of the chamber might probably reveal some traces of burial, which are sometimes found at a considerable depth beneath the actual floor of such chambers. In the immediate neighbourhood are numerous low tumuli, evidently of sepulchral character, some of which may be found to contain stone chambers, a result which would, in some degree, confirm the supposed character of the "four stones."

After passing through New Radnor, the excursionists dismounted to climb the hill on the top of which stands "Tomen Castle," an exceedingly perfect British work. It is circular, and defended by a single ditch, and a very steep escarpment, partly natural, partly artificial. The easiest approach to it is from the west, where the works were probably stronger at one time than they are at present. No traces of cyttiau were observed in the interior.

While one portion of the visitors returned to New Radnor direct, the remainder went round along the crest of Fron Hill, to the waterfall described in the programme as "Break-its-neck." Traces of early trackways could be made out along the top of the hill. The waterfall is more remarkable for the beauty of its situation and the curious contortion of the slate rock than the actual fall of water, noticed, which was of very modest proportion.

On the return to New Radnor, the curious dike or earth work marked in the Ordnance Map, about a mile to the west of the town, was no doubt intended for an outwork of the town and castle against the incursion of the natives. This work is built across the valley, reaching to the sides of the mountains on each side, thus entirely cutting off access from the west. The vallum is not too extended so as to preclude its being guarded by a moderate force.

The present church of New Radnor, a nondescript modern building, was not entered. The old church contained two coffin-lids—one of a knight, with large circular shield; the other apparently of an ecclesiastic—both of rude execution. They are given in the *Archæologia Cambrensis* of 1857.

The Castle at Radnor is very strongly situated on a height, above the town, and which has been artificially made steeper than it was naturally. It was defended on the west by an outer and inner entrenchment, and embraces a considerable space between them. No remains of the original masonry exist, though portions of the surrounding wall were standing within memory. The present town consists of a few houses, the large space originally contained within the town wall being now under cultivation. A plan of it is given in the *Journal* for 1855, p. 130.

This was the last object of the day's excursion.

In the evening meeting the Rev. Hugh Jones took the chair in the absence of the President, and commenced the proceedings of the evening, by calling on Mr. Babington to give an account of the day's excursion.

Mr. R. W. Banks followed Mr. Babington's remarks on the excursion with a paper on the Early History of the Forest of Radnor, with some account of Sir Gelli Meyrick, knight, one of its former possessors, and which will be printed in the *Journal*.

Mr. Babington succeeded with some notes of Mr. Longueville Jones on the more remarkable antiquities in the neighbourhood of the two Radnors. Short extracts were given from the Gwentian Chronicle of Caradoc of Lancarvan (lately printed by the Association, but not yet issued to the members), referring to battles fought between the Welsh and their invaders near various parts of Offa's Dyke not long subsequent to its erection, some of which must have taken place not far from Old Radnor and Kington. In alluding to the earthwork near Old Radnor Church, the writer infers the existence of a castle previous to the Norman period, when New Radnor was laid out in a manner not unlike that of Flint and other towns of the same period.

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 26.

Wapley Camp was the first object visited this day, and fortunately during a brief interval of fine weather, so that the beauty of the surrounding scenery was seen to great advantage. This grand work has been called Roman, whereas it has all the usual characteristics of a British one, and of a remarkably fine one of the class. The ditches and ramparts are in very fair preservation. The defensive works at the principal entrance are unusually interesting, as well as very strong. At the opposite corner similar works, but not so well defined, could be made out. On one side, where the natural scarp of the hill is very steep, the outer works were wanting, unless traces of them exist in the thick wood that covers that side. On the eastern face the lines were exceedingly strong, amounting to four or five in number, as if on this side the principal attack was expected. The interior has been ploughed up, so that no remains of huts or other dwellings seemed to be made out; and, probably, as wood was in that time more easily procured than stone, the more perishable material had been probably used. There is a spring in the north-west corner, or rather a small pool, which was said by the inhabitant of the cottage near the principal entrance to be unfailing, and which was probably the one used by the original inhabitants. Although this, as well as some similar works, are called camps, and thought to be mere temporary refuges for the natives and their cattle during sudden attacks, yet the enormous labour that must have been spent upon it appears to indicate that it was rather a primitive fortified town than a simple military work. It would be very desirable to have an accurate plan made of it. From thence the carriages proceeded to Rodd Hurst farmhouse, built in the early part of the seventeenth century, and furnishing a good example of a wealthy country gentleman's house of that period. The principal rooms, one over the other, are in the wing; the upper one, now used as a bed-room, has an ornamental ceiling of the period and a good carved mantelpiece. The mantelpiece in the room below is of plainer character. A great deal of good panel work remains in the house, that of the two principal rooms remaining as perfect as when first erected. Broadhurst, the next object visited, and associated with King Charles I, who is said to have slept there, retains but a small portion of the original structure. This portion is of the same date as that of Rodd Hurst, and contains little more than a lower apartment, with one above it, divided into two by wainscoat. This last is pointed out as the chamber occupied by Charles. The barge-board of the gable and the picturesque chimneys were noticed. The king's visit seems to have been paid on the 18th of September, 1645, when the king marched from Weobley to Presteign. This is confirmed by Symonds, in his *Diary*: "Thursday, 18. The rendezvous was over Wye, at Stokedye in Herefordshire. Marched thence over the river Aroe (Arrow), betwixt Morden

and Wellington (Marden and Wellington). This night to Prestayne com. Radnor.”

Having been hospitably entertained by Mr. Hunt, the incumbent of the parish, the excursionists proceeded to Presteign, which contains a good church of Decorated character, with subsequent alterations. The north aisle is original; that on the south side has been raised at a later period, perhaps about the time of Henry VI, which may be the date also of the chancel. There is a hagioscope on the south side. Some good tapestry, representing the entrance of our Lord into Jerusalem, now adorns the west end of the south aisle. In the exterior wall of the east end is a small opening, now blocked up, but which once communicated with the interior. The use of it was not explained. Some thought it might have been intended for lepers or others not allowed to enter the church. The coat of Mortimer of Wigmore, carved in stone, on one of the buttresses, commemorates the rebuilding of the aisle and church by that nobleman. Stapleton Castle was to have been visited, but owing to the lateness of the hour and indications of rain it was omitted. It was, however, stated to have been of the same character as the others visited in this district, consisting of a mound, originally surmounted with stone or wood defences, and connected with outworks. It was finally dismantled during the great civil war.

Burva Camp, crowning the elongated summit of the hill, was next examined. This work is apparently of the same time and character as that of Wapley, though inferior in some respects, being not equal to it in the number or extent of its external defences. Offa's Dyke runs close underneath it on the Welsh side, so that the occupiers of the camp had complete command of that portion of the dyke. As the work, however, appears to belong to that class of similar structures which are generally acknowledged to be of British or the earliest type, it was probably only occupied by Saxons, and not constructed by them. The dyke runs thence along the crest of the high ground, and was to have been examined, but the rain, which now descended with considerable violence, precluded the attempt.

There was no meeting in the evening.

THURSDAY, AUGUST 27.

The General Committee assembled in the morning for the transaction of the business of the Association and fixing the place of meeting for 1864. A letter from Mr. Wynne of Peniarth, recommending Towyn, was read. Other places were proposed, as Newtown and Oswestry. It was ultimately decided that the question should be left in the hands of a sub-committee. Among other resolutions passed, was one carrying into effect the resolution passed at Truro in 1862, viz., that, owing to the new charge of £50 a year on account of editorial expenses, such members as wished might contribute an additional sum of 10s. yearly to the editorial fund, to be paid at the

same time with the usual subscription, and that the same should commence in 1864.

Mr. Banks then received the members at luncheon, after which Kington Church, now under repair, was examined, under the guidance of the Vicar, Mr. Whately. The most remarkable feature is the beautiful Early English chancel, with its well-proportioned single lancets. The two western ones on the north side have been destroyed to make room for a later window. The whole of the south side has undergone more serious alterations, when the private chantry, now principally occupied by the fine monument of the Vaughans, was added. The decorated piers and arches of the nave are remarkably good examples, and of the same type that seems to have prevailed throughout the whole district. The tower, though low, is remarkable for its massive and effective proportions.

The grammar school, founded by Dame Margaret Hawkins, the wife of Sir John Hawkins, Treasurer of the Navy, a picturesque house of Elizabethan character, was next visited. On the side of the house facing the garden, some of the original windows have been destroyed, and replaced with very unworthy successors.

From the grammar school an adjournment took place to Lyonshall, where remains a short, but in some parts a fine fragment of Offa's Dyke. The castle adjoining the church retains but little of its stone building, the principal portion being the relics of a circular keep, of a date prior to the Edwardian era, but not so early as the time of Rufus, as stated on the spot. This keep was situated in one of the angles of a polygonal enclosure, parts of the walls of which remain here and there. Outside this were two additional courts. The inner moat remains tolerably perfect.

Lyonshall church was next examined. It is a church of considerable interest, and has one of those square low massive towers, of which the Kington one may be taken as the type. The tower is, however, so completely encased in ivy, that none of its details can be made out. The church consists of a nave, chancel, and two aisles—the northern one being a good example of early English, the southern one later. The font, at present most inconveniently placed, is at the same date as the earliest part of the church, and is of a character somewhat unusual. It will be engraved for the Journal. A mutilated effigy is in the porch, of which nothing satisfactory could be made out.

The evening meeting commenced at the usual hour. The President in the chair.

Mr. BABINGTON, on being called on for an account of the excursions made since the last evening meeting, explained at some length the distinctive characteristics of the two great camps, namely, those of Wapley and Burva, neither of which (and certainly not that of Wapley, as stated), had been originally constructed by the Romans, though they might have subsequently occupied it. Mr. Babington explained at considerable length the strong flanking works which protected the entrance, the principle of which was subsequently adopted by mediæval builders, as might be seen in the case of Beaumaris

Castle, and where the value of such an arrangement was so much greater, from the position of the castle in a flat meadow, without any defensive advantages from the conformation of the ground. He did not consider works like those they had seen were places of permanent residence, but intended as safe retreats in case of sudden attacks from neighbouring chieftains. As to the camp called Burva, he had not been able to trace the details so carefully as he had at Wapley. The interior also had been cultivated, so that no traces of habitations could be found. He considered, however, that both camps were of the same class, and by the same builders. As to the remains of the mediæval castle of Lionshall, he thought that, though the masonry was small and strong, yet it was much later than the early date assigned to it. The circular keep had hardly in those days succeeded the earlier square form. Such remains as existed were very interesting, and he hoped that they would be carefully preserved.

Mr. BURY followed Mr. Babington, with some observations on the more remarkable architectural details they had seen. The manor house at Rodd Hurst was an extremely good example of the mansion of a country gentleman of importance in the early part of the seventeenth century, when the old manorial houses, with their grand halls, were succeeded by buildings more adapted to the manners and mode of living of the day. The two principal rooms were—the pannelled drawing-room above (not a bed-room originally, as it now is), with its richly-ornamented ceiling and carved chimney-piece; and the room below, also pannelled, and provided with a similar but less ornamented chimney-piece. He (Mr. Bury) pointed out some peculiarities in the figures of Adam and Eve, which adorn the chimney-piece in the drawing-room, which, with certain good points, were executed in a barbarous style. He thought Presteign Church a very interesting one, the general work of which was as good as any work he had ever seen in Wales; nor did he know of a more beautiful chancel of the time of Henry VI. At the time the chancel was built the south aisle had been rebuilt, and is now nearly double the size of the north aisle, which has undergone little alteration. Externally, there was not much to notice except the tower, which is very good and well proportioned. As to Kington Church, with its beautiful chancel, he hoped money would be found to carry out the restoration, which was being carried out with great care and judgment. Lionshall Church he considered a pattern country church, as far as the actual arrangement of the buildings are concerned. The present wooden boxes should, however, be replaced by proper seats.

Mr. JAMES DAVIES read some extracts from the registers of Presteign Church, by the Rev. Dr. Davis, containing some curious notices of the plague during the latter portions of the sixteenth century, and the movements of Charles I. These notes will be published in the Journal of the Association.

Mr. BARNWELL read a paper of Mr. Llewellyn (of Pontypool) on Pembrokeshire Rathes or Earthworks, which will also be shortly printed.

Mr. BABINGTON objected to the use of the term rath to the sea-

coast fortresses, described by Mr. Llewellyn, who seemed to have confounded two things together, namely, these sea-forts and the strongly fortified works in the interior. The Irish raths did not correspond with those on the coast of Pembrokeshire, nor were they constructed by the Danes, but were probably the simple residences of native chieftains. It was possible that the forts on the coast were the work of the inhabitants of the island; but he thought it more probable that they were constructed by piratical invaders, and used as their winter quarters, as it was well known that the Northmen often wintered here, and set out in the spring on their marauding excursions.

Votes of thanks were then proposed, and carried, to the gentlemen and ladies who had contributed so liberally to the Local Museum; to the Local Committee, and more especially the Rev. James Davies, for their effective services; and to Major Robins, Mr. Banks, and Mr. Hunt, for their hospitable reception of the members at their houses.

Mr. JAMES DAVIES, on behalf of the Local Committee, acknowledged the vote of thanks.

The PRESIDENT then addressed the meeting. After a few introductory observations, showing the necessity of closing the proceedings on account of the labour and exertions which the excursionists had undergone for the last three days, he said: We have been much interested and gratified by the remarks made at this evening's sitting, whether we regard them in reference to the antiquities which are more immediately situated in this neighbourhood, which are more strictly local, or to more distant ones, such as the Pembrokeshire earthworks;—both have been exceedingly instructive to us. I think that this neighbourhood, as I mentioned on a previous occasion, seems to have been as it were the theatre of the different struggles of the nations who have contended for the mastery here; for we see here the remains of the Saxon, the Roman, and the Norman structure. In that respect this particular locality will have offered some objects of peculiar interest to the gentlemen who have favoured us with a visit on this occasion; and we can only hope that their visit will have proved as satisfactory to them as it has certainly been gratifying to us. We shall hope that on some future occasion we may tempt them to explore still further the antiquities which this neighbourhood presents, as they have already found, and which may be thought worthy of more lengthened investigation. In breaking up this evening, therefore, we will venture to hope that on some future occasion we shall again have the opportunity of meeting them, and of enjoying the benefit of the remarks and the information which they are so well calculated to impart. We thank them very much for having chosen this as the seat of the Cambrian Archæological meeting for this year, and we hope it will be the means of giving additional support to the association. All that we were able to do we have done to facilitate the objects of the meeting. I may only venture to say for myself personally the very deep regret I feel at the unfortunate death of the eminent person who was to have presided at this meeting, whose learning and acquirements in all branches of knowledge or investigation, more particularly in Saxon and English antiquities, would have

enabled him to preside with so much more dignity and so much more effect, and have imparted so much higher a character to the meeting than the feeble efforts I have been able to use to supply his place could possibly do. Thanking you for the indulgence with which you have met my efforts, and thanking also the gentlemen who have so kindly favoured us with their company on this occasion, I believe I may say that the public proceedings of this meeting of the association are now terminated.

FRIDAY, AUGUST 28TH.

The excursionists started at an earlier hour this morning on account of the length of the day's work, which commenced with a visit to Bollingham Chapel, a primitive building of the thirteenth century, if not older. The whole structure is of the rudest character, without the slightest ornament or moulding. A large, broad buttress without offsets, surmounted with a plain gable overtopping the roof of the church, occupies the greater part of the external east end, through which is pierced a small narrow deeply splayed single light, and which is probably one of the smallest east windows in existence. One or two more similar early windows are on the north side, the principal light being afforded by a large square modern opening above the pulpit. Close to the church is a small tumulus which from its size might be sepulchral, but is more probably, from its situation, the remains of a small castle. It is now surmounted with a building, the upper part of which is used as a pigeon-house, the lower as a domestic office, being probably an unique instance of such use of an ancient earthwork. From Bollington, the excursionists proceeded to Almeley Church, a rare specimen of a large country church of the fourteenth century, in excellent preservation, and not yet mutilated or disfigured by restorers. It was universally allowed to be the most interesting church, with the exception of that of Moccas, of all the buildings visited by them during the meeting. The sacristy, of large proportion, is original work, and is connected with the chancel by a door-way, having what is sometimes called the "Carnarvon arch," though it can hardly be called an arch at all. A similar window occurs in the sacristy. The piscina on the south side is a good specimen, while the sedilia have been cleverly cut out of the window-sill. The clearstory windows are large, and contain good decorated tracery. The wooden roof of the nave, the eastern part of which has been subsequently covered over with painted panels of the Tudor period, is of nearly the same date as the church. The transepts are very small, and are lit by handsome windows of excellent decorated work, rising above the wall plate—thus presenting the appearance of dormer windows. On the north side is an arched recess, which at one time was deeper than it is at present. The effigy that may have once existed is gone.

As usually is the case in this district, the remains of the castle

adjoin the church-yard. All that remains are the earthen mound that once supported the buildings, and the rectangular outerwork attached to it, the defences of which are very perfect.

Kinneraley Church and Castle were next examined. The former retains some small remains of a Norman building, as the west door, and some carved grotesques let in the wall near the chancel arch. Over the Norman door a very singular window has been inserted—remarkable for its length and narrowness. The tower is semi-detached on the northern end of the west side, and is a handsome well-proportioned structure surmounted with a plain saddle-back roof, or rather a common gable. The lower windows are small single lights. The two upper ones are larger. The date of the tower is probably of the thirteenth century. A doorway has been a few years since placed on the south side; the head of which interferes with the small light above it. The arch and shafts are modern clumsy work, in imitation of Early English. The oak reredos of the altar is a curiosity, and it is hoped will be most carefully preserved. The centre is occupied by three small figures of our Lord, the Virgin, and St. John. The pulpit also, of later date than the reredos, is curious. The panels are charged with reliefs, of tolerable execution, though not of very ecclesiastical character. Portions of the rood screen are worked up in the seats of the chancel, which has been lately and well restored. There is a small brass with only a head of one Dominus Willins, a former rector, who died 1421. A huge monument of the Smallmans, near it, is a good specimen of such a class. Of the original castle, on the site of which stands a spacious structure of the time of James the First, no traces could be discovered beyond one or two portions of a plinth in the cellars, which may be of the fifteenth century, and may be later. The view from the top of the tower which contains the staircase, however, made amends for the lack of architectural interest below.

Bredwardine Church was next examined—originally a small Norman church, but which has been subsequently altered and added to in such a manner that it is not easy to make out satisfactorily the original portions. A fine decorated window is inserted on the south side, and, from its great similarity to some of the windows at Almsley, was probably executed by the same workmen. The Norman font, with its plain circular basin, is curious from its great breadth, which is rather disproportionate to its depth, it being more shallow than usual. Two monumental effigies remain in a tolerable state of preservation. The oldest is of the fourteenth century; the other, a century later. The lintels of north and south doors are ornamented with various Norman patterns; the former has some grotesque animal. The under surfaces of the lintels are also ornamented. After admiring the garden of the rectory, and the extremely picturesque view from it, the excursionists, under the guidance of Mr. Cornwall, walked through the fields and park to Moccas, commencing with the remains of Bredwardine Castle, now reduced to the external slopes of the outer defence. This, like the other instances already mentioned, is contiguous to the church.

Moccas church is a little Norman building of the early part of the twelfth century, almost intact and perfect, with the exception of the windows in the nave, which still retain the remains of some good glass of the fourteenth century. The apse at the end retains its semidomical vaulting, while the presbytery no doubt will be found on investigation to have its original barrel-vaulted roof perfect. What the roof of the nave was, is doubtful. The chancel and apse arches have a slight indented ornamental moulding. The font is early Norman, coeval with the church, and is original in all its parts—base, shaft, and basin. In the presbytery is a handsome monument of the fifteenth century, which, in case the church is ever re-arranged, might be placed in the middle in front of the apse—if such a situation would not be inconvenient. There is a double piscina on the south side, one side of which may have been used as an ambry. The north and south doors are good examples of the style. The tympanum of the latter has figures of two animals apparently devouring a man between them, and above him a kind of plant. This peculiar arrangement is not uncommon in churches of the same period, especially in France, and seems to have been derived from an Eastern source. There are in existence very ancient tissues where two animals face each other with a tree between them, called *arbor vitæ*, and which may be probably connected with the not very dissimilar devices found over early doors. On what are called “Nummi Cistophori,” are representations of two serpents, face to face, with some mystic object between them; which may be in some way connected with the not very dissimilar devices on some ancient tissues from the East. No satisfactory explanation has been given, but they appear to be symbolical, and not mere unmeaning grotesques. One suggestion may be offered, namely, that they are intended to indicate man grasping the tree of life between sin and death. Some rude animal appears above the north door.

Moccas House, which, no doubt, stands on the site of the original castle, is a plain structure, built by a sensible architect, who did not think it necessary to spoil the interior arrangements for the sake of a picturesque exterior. In the garden is a complicated sun dial, probably of the latter part of the seventeenth century, and which was brought from some neighbouring locality.

After a long drive the Hay was reached, where the excursionists were received by Mr. Bevan, of Hay Castle, of which once important structure remains only a good gateway, about the time of Henry III, a considerable part of the curtain, and a ruined tower adjoining the house, which once contained good-sized apartments. The present house seems to have been built about the early part of the seventeenth century. The church is a modern structure, of very bad taste. The only remnant of its predecessor is the chancel arch, enriched with the toothed moulding. The font, also, is ancient. The curious chalice was exhibited in the museum. This church stood without the walls of the town, which contained another, now demolished, having its site occupied by the police-station. All that remains of the former structure are some gravestones in the cells. Portions of the town wall still remain. Near

the present church is a tumulus, the site probably of the original castle, before the larger one was built, within the town, unless it was used as a kind of advanced work.

Clifford Castle, commanding the Wye below, next detained the excursionists a short time. Considerable fragments of the stone buildings remain, and the defensive works of the principal entrance could be easily made out. The castle was approached, as it is at present, by a narrow causeway from the opposite hill, which also may have formed part of the exterior works.

On leaving Clifford Castle, the church being too distant to be reached, the excursionists proceeded to Eardisley Church, on their way home. It being dark at the time of arrival, candles were procured from the rectory, by the help of which the singular Norman font (an engraving of which was exhibited in the local museum) was examined. It is an exceedingly fine example of such Norman work of the twelfth century. The principal figures are—the Saviour dragging a man away from Satan; two soldiers in Norman caps, fighting, one of whom has pierced his antagonist's leg with a spear, etc. The church has been lately restored, at a considerable expense, and seemed to have been well done, as far as could be ascertained by the aid of candles.

At the evening meeting, Mr. Babington in the chair, members alone being present, the resolutions of the General Committee of the preceding day were confirmed and adopted. The other remaining business matters having been disposed of, the Kington meeting was brought to a close.

On Saturday morning a few of the members visited Uriconium, which had been fixed as the concluding excursion. No discoveries of importance have been made since the last published accounts.

TEMPORARY MUSEUM, KINGTON.—CATALOGUE
OF CONTENTS.

PRIMÆVAL.

A collection of bronze implements, fourteen in number, found near Welshpool in 1862, consisting of spear-heads, scabbards of swords, long ferules of javelins, a gouge, etc., with a small piece of fused copper.

Earl of Powis.

Small funereal urn and well wrought flint knife, found together with miscellaneous bronze coins of late Roman and early Byzantine,—all bronze,—in the parish of Llanelien, Breconshire, by Mr. William Davies of Aberenig Talgarth.

R. W. Banks, Esq.

Two copper hatchets of very early character;
Paalstab found in the parish of Glyn, near Llangollen;
Socketed celt found in the parish of Efenechtyd, near Ruthin;
Small ditto found near Pont-Mousson in Lorraine;
Socketed celt slightly ornamented,—locality unknown;
Ornamented ditto from Finisterre, France;
Three gouges said to have been found in Denbighshire;
Bronze knife found in Cyffylliog parish, near Ruthin;
Carved stone hammer found at Maesmore, near Corwen; for account of which see *Archæologia Cambrensis*, 1860, p. 307.

Rev. E. L. Barnwell.

Carved disk in bone, apparently used as a button.

H. Miles, Esq., Downfield.

ROMAN.

Portions of urns, calcined bones, pottery, etc., from Kentchester.

Mr. S. Williams, Rhayadr.

Brick turned up by a plough at Kaerau (*castra*) Farm, in the parish of Llangammarch, Breconshire.

Rev. G. Dowell.

A collection of amphoræ, urns, lamps, glass vessels, Samian and other ware, flanged and scored tiles ;

Pavement from an old building, on the site of which part of Cannon Street West now stands.

H. Miles, Esq., Downfield.

Cameo in ring (subject not yet explained).

Rev. E. L. Barnwell.

COINS, MEDALS, ETC.

Three specimens of wheel-money from Lorraine ;

British bronze and silver, examples of boar and horse types.

Rev. E. L. Barnwell.

Small brass (late Roman) and early Byzantine coins, found with British urn and flint knife at Aberening, Talgarth, as stated above.

R. W. Banks, Esq.

Roman brass, various, found at Kentchester.

Mr. Stephen Williams, Rhaiader.

Various Roman coins.

Mr. T. N. Lloyd.

Penny of Henry II found at Llanfaes, near Beaumaris.

The Rev. Dr. Jones.

Rose noble of Henry V ;

Various silver coins, from Richard III to George I.

Wm. Bevan, Esq., Kington.

Penny of Edward I.

Mr. T. Huntley.

Various silver coins, from Elizabeth to Anne.

Mr. Harper.

A collection of coins and medals.

Mr. Stephen Williams, Rhaiader.

A collection of gold and silver coins (English) from Edward I to Anne, including a farthing of Anne.

T. S. Rogers, Esq.

Various coins, silver and copper.

Mr. J. N. Lloyd.

Crown of Charles II and groat of William III.

Mr. H. W. Morris.

Sovereign, or unit (commonly called "sceptre"), of James I ;

Dutch gold coin, 1654.

Rev. E. L. Barnwell.

Various old copper money.

Mr. Thomas Parker.

ARMS, ETC.

Two helmets from the moat of Eardisley Castle.

Mr. Thos. Griffiths.

Arquebus, *temp.* Edward III ;

Two cross-bows ;

- Six ancient halberts ;
 Two ancient swords ;
 Bit used by Sir Edward Harley.
- Lady Langdale.
- Sword found in Kingsland field, the site of the battle of Edward Mortimer against the king, 1460. This sword appears to be of that date ;
 Sword worn by sheriff's attendants, 1669, when Roger Stephens was High Sheriff of Radnorshire.
- Thomas Stephen Rogers, Esq.
- Two ancient swords and brass pistol from the Stowe collection.
 H. Miles, Esq., Downfield.
- Ancient sword with silver-mounted handle.
 Mr. O. Humphreys, Kington.
- Ancient dagger.
 Mr. Thomas Luntly.
- Two pairs of stirrups, one of which is Spanish work.
 Mrs. Price, Lilwall.
- Swords of various dates, including a silver-mounted one taken from the Sikhs at Moultan ;
 Spur, probably of the sixteenth century ;
 Wm. Langston, Esq.

MISCELLANEOUS.

- Chalice from Hay church, with inscription, OVE LADY PABIS OF THE HAIA ;
 A very curious bijou in gold, in the form of a miniature pistol, containing ear, tooth, and nail, picks, and a whistle. This is stated, on good authority, to have been a love-token of Henry VIII to Anne Boleyn. A drawing has been made of it for the Journal.
 The Rev. W. L. Bevan, Hay Castle.
- Ivory tankard (Italian work) carved and jewelled, mounted in silver-gilt ; given by the Duchess of Portland to a member of the Harley family ;
 Ebony tray and box with cameos ;
 Enamelled snuffbox given by Queen Charlotte to Lady Harcourt.
 Lady F. Harcourt.
- Scold's bridle, 1688.
 Sir John Walsham.
- Curious gilt box with subjects from the *Acts of the Apostles*, found in pulling down St. Nicholas Church, Hereford.
 Mr. P. Pearce, Kington.
- Drinking glass with rose and oak-leaf, engraved with the motto "Audentior ibo," presented by Charles Edward Stuart to a member of the Davies or Powell family.
 Rev. James Davies, Moor Court.
- Tapestry from Lomore, Herefordshire.
 Rev. E. Coke.

- Chased antique gold watch. Mrs. Harper.
- Two scallop-shells as worn by pilgrims. Rev. G. Dowell.
- Pair of silver filters ;
 Bronze cup, gilt, found at Lilwall ;
 China formerly belonging to Queen Charlotte. Mrs. Price, Lilwall.
- Beaded purse with letters, "The gift of a friend, 1654";
 A glass bottle inscribed "John Taylor, Kington, 1735." T. E. Rogers, Esq.
- Ancient mining implement of opsidian, found in a Peruvian mine ;
 Engraved plate of the Elector Palatine and his wife, Elizabeth of England ;
 Wooden model of a short iron truncheon found at Yarmouth, inscribed "Henry Duke of Norfolk, Earl Marshal of England, 1682." Rev. E. L. Barnwell.
- Portion of quern found near Welson, Kington. Mr. Dacres Currier.
- Brass shrine picked up at Sebastopol. Mr. T. Cooper, Kington.
- Writing-table made of oaken floor from Ludlow Castle. Mr. M. A. Harper.
- Wooden bosses from Hergest Court, with arms of Vaughan, Baskeville, and others. W. Bevan, Esq., Kington.
- Domino-box carved in bone and wood by French prisoners at Peterborough ;
 Cut hunting glass bottle, mounted in silver, of the seventeenth century. Mr. Hurry, Kington.
- Small clay figure dug out of sand near one of the Pyramids ;
 Figures of Bramah and Braminathee ;
 Vestments from embalmed cat. Mr. Thomas Parker.
- Fragment from the Parthenon ;
 Carved fragment from screen or door of a temple in India ;
 Model of coracle. Rev. G. Dowell.
- Models of intaglios in plaster. Chas. Lingen, Esq., Hereford.
- Various models in composition. E. C. Culsha, Esq., Kington.

RUBBINGS.

- Heraldic crest from mutilated brass of fifteenth century (Newland, Gloucestershire) ;

Duplicate rubbings of John Pfirmers (?), archdeacon of Sudbury, fifteenth century (Bury St. Edmund's);

Rubbings of Burgess and his wife, fifteenth century (Bury St. Edmund's);

Rubbing of Sir Roger Trumpington (Northamptonshire).

The Rev. G. Dowell.

Rubbings of brasses from St. Sepulchre's, Northampton.

Mr. Lewis, The Firs, Lyonshale.

MANUSCRIPTS.

Well executed "Baronage of England" on vellum, bound in vellum, with a profusion of silver clasps. This work was probably executed for Arthur, son of Christopher Coke. He married Elizabeth, daughter and heir of Sir George Waldegrave, of Hitcham in Norfolk, Knight; the arms of Coke and Waldegrave being introduced in the border of title-page;

Pedigrees of Cavendish, Holles, and Harley.

Lady Frances Harcourt.

Richly illuminated pedigree on roll.

Rev. W. L. Bevan.

Pedigree of Rogers (Home, in Salop) from Henry III to 1761;

Pedigree of Mrs. Jane Corbet, Longmoor, 1642.

T. S. Rogers, Esq.

Deed of release of the Earl of March (Rich. II).

Lady Frances Harcourt.

Free pardon to Morgan Lewis of Nantmel, under the great seal of Charles I.

Messrs. Banks, Kington.

Stewards' Rolls (manors of English and Welsh Huntingdons), Henry V, Henry VII, Henry VIII.

J. T. Woodhouse, Esq., Leominster.

Radnorshire.—Grant of office of sheriff to John Walsham, Esq., under the great seal of the Commonwealth;

Ditto.—Discharge of John Walsham, Esq., from the office of sheriff, under the seal of the Lord Protector;

Ditto.—Grant of the office of sheriff to John Walsham, Esq., under the great seal of Charles II.

Sir John Walsham, Bart.

Book of Manuscripts with autographs relating to persons and places connected with Kington and the district of Old and New Radnor;

Patent of liberties and franchises granted to the monastery of Sion, within the manor of Isleworth, by Edward IV, in the fifth year of his reign, with his great seal, in good preservation, affixed;

Patent of office to Roger Stephens, sheriff of Radnorshire, 21st Charles II;

Marriage settlement of Anna, daughter of Roger Stephens, gentleman; and David ap Edward, son and heir of Edward ap Meredith ap Rice, in the parish of Llansantfred Comothoythur, in the co. of Radnor, gent. 36th Elizabeth;

Three letters from Lady Martha Harley (1761, 1762) describing the coronation of George III, presentation at the Drawingroom, and the music meeting at Hereford.

J. S. Rogers, Esq.

PRINTED BOOKS, ETC.

Exact accounts of the polls taken at New Radnor, 1754, 1761, 1768; List of the poll for electing two knights of the shire for Herefordshire, 1774.

Rev. James Davies, Moorcourt.

List of the poll for electing two knights of the shire for Herefordshire.

R. W. Banks, Esq.

Two playbills of the Kemble family in Kington, 1779;

Hollar's map of London, 1666;

A collection of various maps by Speed and others;

Map of ancient and present geography, by Edward Well of Christ Church, Oxford; dedicated to William Duke of Gloucester;

Black-letter Prayer Book, 1635.

J. S. Rogers, Esq.

Map of the county of Hereford (Isaac Taylor), 1786.

Rev. James Davies, Moor Court.

Atlas of 1663.

E. B. Price, Esq., Kington.

Three plans of London in the 16th, 18th, and 19th centuries;

Camden's *Britannia* translated into Spanish; Amsterdam, 1688;

Rev. George Dowell.

Bible, 1594.

Mr. O. Humphreys, Kington.

Another copy.

Mr. W. Wishlade, Kington.

Engraving of Erdisley font.

Rev. J. N. Walsh.

Four engravings after Le Brun (Meleager and Atalanta).

R. Banks, Esq.

Engravings, after Le Brun, of the victories of Alexander the Great.

R. H. Miles, Esq., Downfield.

Plan of Kington Church.

Mr. W. Ward, Kington.

DRAWINGS, PAINTINGS, ETC.

Water-colour drawings of Wigmore Castle and Brampton Bryars.

Lady Langdale.

Four sketches of Weobly, Herefordshire, taken before the removal of the markets and other old houses ;

Miniatures of John Harley, Bart., of Hereford ; of Edward, fifth Earl of Oxford ; and of the late Lady Oxford ;

A large collection of photographs, chiefly of foreign cities.

Lady Frances Harcourt.

Drawings of sepulchral urns found at Coolnakilly, Ireland.

A. W. Davies, Esq., M.D.

Plan of Castle Collen.

Mr. Stephen W. Williams, Rhaiadhr.

Drawing of Black Friars' Cross, Hereford.

Mr. Peene.

Curious painting on wood, formerly in the possession of a family named Olliet (?) residing at the Well House, Presteign. Date, Elizabeth or James I.

Mr. Parker, Knighton.

Old painting (artist unknown) ;
Painting on wood by Hogarth.

Mr. Culsha.

Portrait of Charles I on wood ;

Two octagonal oil paintings from Madrid.

H. Miles, Esq.

Old portrait, on wood, of the Countess of Suffolk.

Mr. Walder, Kington.

Oil painting of one of the early kings.

Mr. T. Huntley, Kington.

Photographs of Old Radnor, Almeley, and Pembridge churches ;
The chancel of Kington Church.

Mr. Barras, Kington.

Photographs, various.

Mr. Lloyd, Bridge Street, Kington.

KINGTON MEETING, Aug. 1863.

STATEMENT OF ACCOUNTS.

| <i>Dr.</i> | £ | s. | d. | <i>Cr.</i> | £ | s. | d. |
|-------------------------------|-----|----|----|-------------------------------|-----|----|----|
| By receipts for tickets . . . | 11 | 7 | 6 | Rent of rooms | 7 | 10 | 0 |
| By local subscriptions . . . | 27 | 11 | 0 | Attendance | 7 | 3 | 3 |
| | £38 | 18 | 6 | Gratuities | 7 | 15 | 0 |
| | | | | Tradesmen, carpenter, etc. | 3 | 4 | 6 |
| | | | | Postage, stationery | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| | | | | Carriage of parcels | 0 | 4 | 11 |
| | | | | By balance paid to the | | | |
| | | | | Camb. Arch. Assoc. | 12 | 10 | 10 |
| | | | | | £38 | 18 | 6 |

Examined and found correct.

(Signed) { E. B. PRICE, *Local Treasurer.*
 { JAMES DAVIES, *Secretary.*
 { C. C. BABINGTON, *Chairman of Committee, C. A. A.*

Local Subscription towards the Expenses of the Kington Meeting.

| | | | |
|---------------------------------|-----|----|---|
| G. R. Phillips, Esq. | £5 | 0 | 0 |
| Rev. R. W. Venables | 2 | 2 | 0 |
| H. Thomas, Esq. | 2 | 2 | 0 |
| Lady Frances Harcourt | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Lady Langdale | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Sir John Walsham | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| R. W. Banks, Esq. | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Rev. James Davies | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| H. Miles, Esq. | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| J. K. King, Esq., M.P. | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| T. L. Lloyd, Esq. | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Thomas Prickard, Esq. | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| H. Romilly, Esq. | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| J. P. Severn, Esq. | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| E. D. Thomas, Esq. | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| C. W. Allen, Esq. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| J. W. G. Watt, Esq. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Rev. W. L. Bevan | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| Rev. G. Dowell | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| Rev. W. H. Phillott | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| A. Temple, Esq. | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| Rev. F. N. Walsh | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| Rev. H. T. Whateley | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| Mayor of Leominster | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| | £27 | 11 | 0 |

ALPHABETICAL INDEX OF CONTENTS.

VOL. IX. THIRD SERIES.

- BADGES, Welsh, 267
 Bedd Twrog, Carnarvonshire, 335
 Bodmin, Hospital of St. Lawrence de Ponteboy, 177
 Bosphrennis, Cornwall, Beehive-Huts, 120
 Bosworth Field and Henry VII, 74
 Braggor, nature and composition of, 171
 Breton Lechs, 319
 Brut y Saeson, translation of, 59
- Caer Crwyn, Corwen, vitrified Fort, 335
 Cambrian Archæological Association, notice, 67
 ——— Statement of Expenditure and Receipts, 1862, 265
 ——— Kington Meeting, notice for, 266; Report of, 353; Catalogue of Museum at, 377; Statement of Accounts at, 384
 Canoe, ancient, Llyn Llydaw, 335
 Carausius, Early inscribed Stone, Pemachno, 256
 Carn Llidi, Pembrokeshire, Double Cromlech, on, 73
 Cassiterides, etc., G. Smith, LL.D.; Review of, 171
 Chronicle, 13th Century; erratum, 75
 Churches, Plans of, in Wales, 336
- Cilgerran Castle, 345
 Cornwall, Names of Places in, 72
 Cort Mantel, 7
 Corwen, Roman Coins and sepulchral Remains, 271
 Crach, Brittany, Lech, 325
- Dolgelly, Earthquake at, A.D. 1769, 75
- Early inscribed Stones of Wales :
 Stone of Carausius at Penmachno, 256; Stone at Llanlleir, 258; Stone with Oghams at Llanarth, 262
 ——— of Cornwall : Stone of Vitalis at St. Clement's, 287; Stone of Quenatavus at Gulval, 288; Stone of Conetocius at St. Cubert's, 289
 Edward II, Inquisition on Effects of, 163
- Fethanleag, 334
- Glamorganshire, Sussex Ironmasters in, 81
 Glanogwen, Carnarvonshire, Marks on Stones, 331

- Gleanings on Legendary Mythology, 196
 Glyndwr, Owen, date of death, 170
 Govan, St., Well at Kensington, 74
 Grants, Royal, etc., relating to Wales, 183
 Gulval, Cornwall, inscribed Stone at, 288
 Gwithian, Lost Church in Sands of, 52
- Henry VII and Bosworth Field, 74
 Holyhead Church, 1
- Ithel ap Cynrig, Seal of, 244 ;
 Pedigree of, 246
- Kervili, Brittany, Lech, 322
 King, daughter of Earl of Kingston, 171
- Lawrence, St., Hospital at Bodmin, 177
 Llanarth, Stone with Oghams at, 262
 Llangeinwen, Roman Remains, 278
 Llanidan Church, etc., 259
 Llanllear, early inscribed Stone at, 258
 Llanllyfni Papers, Responsions, and Presentments, 280
 Llyn Llydaw, ancient Canoe, 335
 Llywarch Hen and Destruction of Uriconium, 249
- Marks on Stones, Glanogwen, Carnarvonshire, 331
 Mechain, Ancient Lords of, 157
 Mediæval Literature, Influence of, on Welsh Literature (Cort Mantel), 7
 Monachi Turonenses, 270
- Mona Mediæva, No. XXVIII, 1 ;
 No. XXIX, 259
 Morley Pedigree, 106
- Nannau, House of, R. Vaughan's Notes, 129
 Newborough Church, Anglesey, 336
- Obituary Notices : Rev. John Jones, M.A., 167 ; R. Perrott, Esq., 169
 Osborn Wyddel, Pedigree of, 56
 Owen (Tudor) ap Owen, 75
 Owen (W.), Map of Wales, 267
- Pavements, Early, 74
 Penmaen Mawr, Road, 75
 Penmon Priory, Document, 261
- Responsions and Presentments, Llanllyfni Papers, 280
 Richard Duke of Gloucester, Grant to Reginald Vaghan, 55
 Rock-Dwellings in Le Vendômeis, 228
 Roman Coins, etc., near Corwen, 271
 Roman Remains, Llangeinwen, 278
 Roman Roads, Montgomeryshire, 74
 ——— Merionethshire, 171
 Ruthin Church, 170
 Ruthin School, 286
- St. Clement's Cornwall, inscribed Stone at, 287
 St. Cubert's, Cornwall, inscribed Stone at, 289
 Scilly, on some Names of Places in, 41
 Severn Valley, English Conquest of, 134

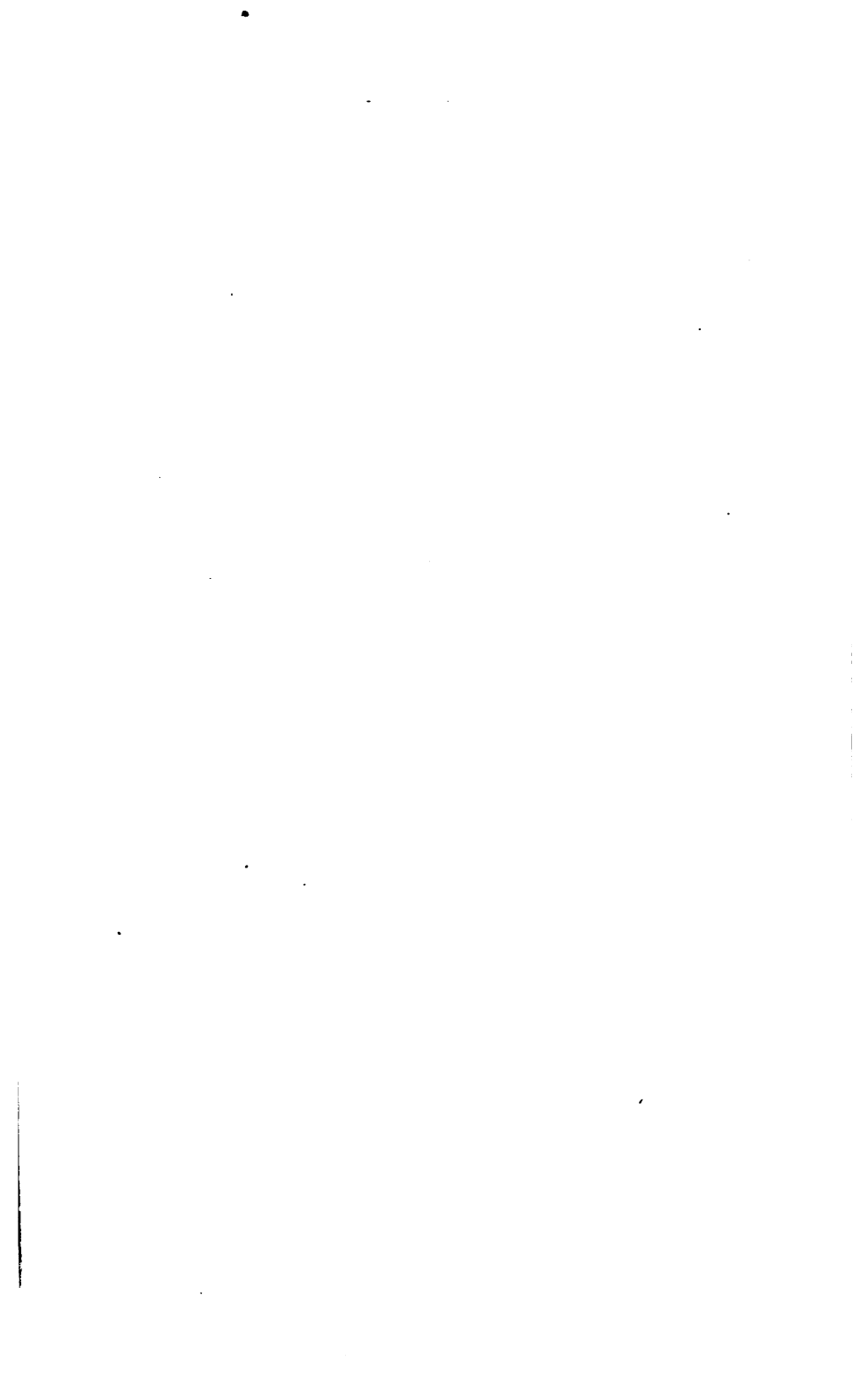
| | |
|--|---|
| Sharpe's Egyptian Mythology ; Review of, 336 | Valle Crucis Abbey, 68 |
| Shrewsbury, new Bridge, 75 | Vaughan (Robert) of Hengwrt, Writings, 73 |
| Sker House, Glamorganshire, 273 | Vendômois, Rock-Dwellings in, 228 |
| Skulls, ancient, Thurnham's Hints for preserving, 271 | Vitrified Fort, Caer Crwyn, Cor- wen, 335 |
| Sussex Ironmasters in Glamor- ganshire, 81 | Wales, W. Owen's Map of, 267 |
| Symonds' Diary, Extracts, 268 | Walker's Sufferings of the Clergy; Review of, 76 |
| Tintern, Iron and Wireworks at, 291 | Wild Wales, by G. Borrow; Re- view of, 174 |
| Tremeirchion, sale of Cross, 336 | Wrexham, Tumulus near, 74 |
| Turonenses, Monachi, 270 | |
| Uriconium and Llywarch Hen, 249, 334 | |

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS.

| | PAGE |
|--|---------------------|
| Rock-Dwellings in Le Vendômois | <i>Frontispiece</i> |
| Holyhead Church, plan | 2 |
| ————— S. Aisle, Window | 3 |
| ————— Pier | 4 |
| Severn Valley, Map | 134 |
| Beehive-Hut, Bosphrennis, plan | 122 |
| ————— Exterior View | 123 |
| ————— Interior ditto | 125 |
| ————— End Wall, Interior | 125 |
| ————— Exterior | 125 |
| ————— North-East Wall, Interior | 126 |
| ————— Sections of Walls | 127 |
| Caves in Le Vendômois, plans | 234 |
| ————— Gallery, plan | 241 |
| Llanidan Church, details | 260 |
| Seal of Hospital of St. Lawrence, Bodmin | 177 |

| | |
|--|-----|
| Seal of Ithel ap Cynrig | 244 |
| Carausius Stone, Penmachno | 255 |
| Llanlleir Stone | 258 |
| Llanarth Stone with Oghams | 262 |
| Sker House, Glamorganshire | 273 |
| Stone at St. Clement's, Cornwall | 288 |
| ——— St. Gulwal, Cornwall | 288 |
| ——— St. Cubert's, Cornwall | 290 |
| Lech of Kervili | 323 |
| Lech of Crach | 326 |
| ————— | 327 |
| Marks on Stones, Glamorgan | 332 |

. 24
. 25
. 26
. 27
. 28
. 29
. 30
. 31
. 32
. 33
. 34
. 35



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