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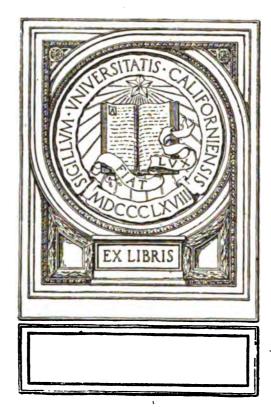
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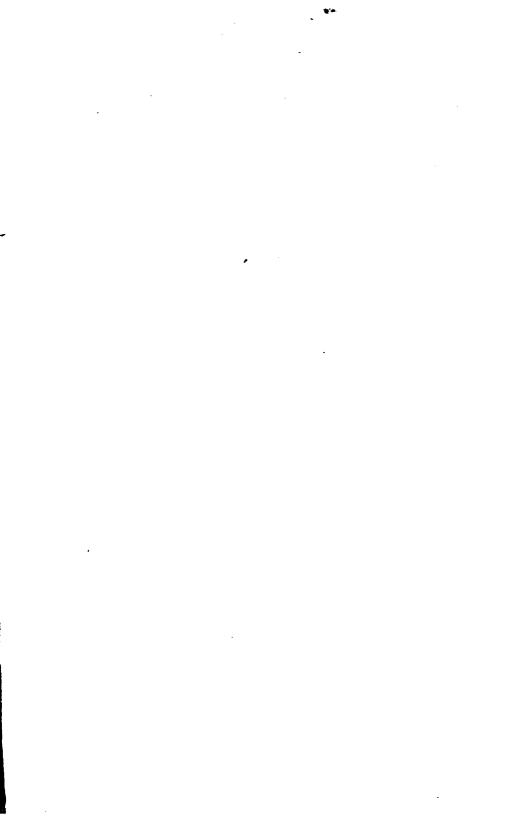
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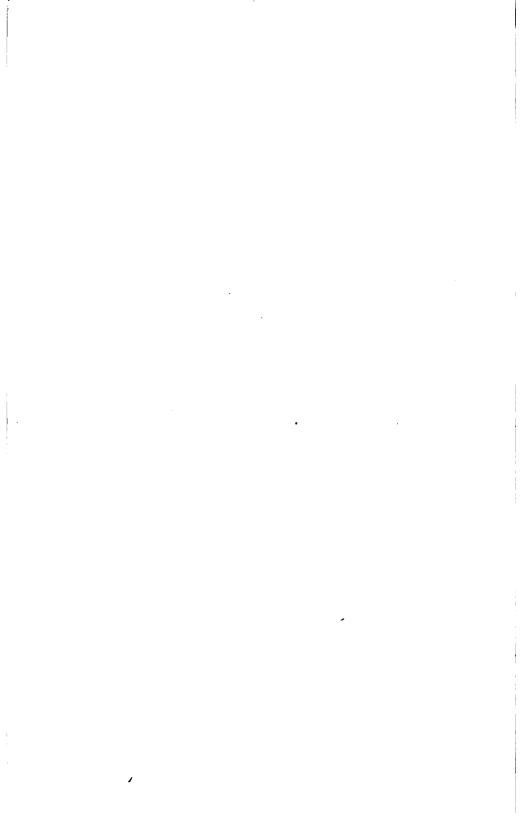


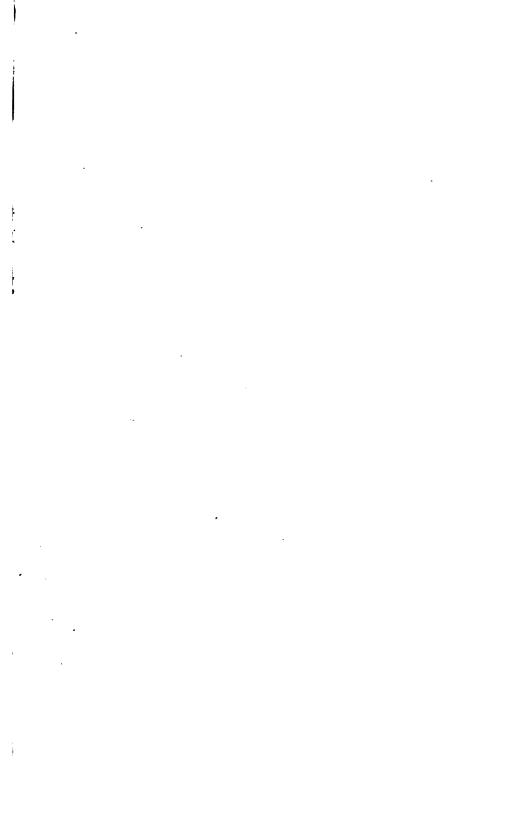


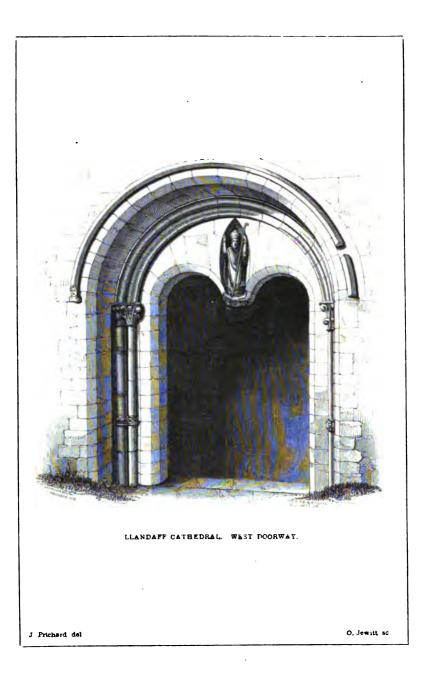












I Second Lanies Elysmarion 189? Archeologia Cambrensis, **RECORD OF THE ANTIQUITIES** OF WALES AND ITS MARCHES, AND THE JOURNAL OF

The Cambrian Archeological Association.



VOL. II., NEW SERIES. LONDON: W. PICKERING, 177, PICCADILLY. TENBY: R. MASON. 1851.



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PREFACE TO VOL. II.,

NEW SERIES.

In presenting another Volume to the public, we are glad to call the attention of Members of the Cambrian Archæological Association, and of Antiquaries generally, to the important nature of its contents.

Some remarkable excavations and examinations of Early British works have drawn forth several articles from the pen of Mr. Wynne Ffoulkes, and especially an elaborate Paper on the Site of the Last Battle of Caractacus. The controversy on this point may now be considered, if not completely settled, yet at least considerably illustrated,—as far, perhaps, as the long lapse of time will permit.

Mr. Westwood's remarks on the Early Inscribed Stones of Wales, illustrated by excellent designs, have been continued, and will, we hope, ultimately grow into a work of national importance.

Our readers will find much accurate information, and many valuable critical remarks on the Ecclesiastical Architecture of Monmouthshire in Mr. Freeman's Paper on edifices in that county,—itself one of the richest fields opened to the researches of Members of our Association. We are indebted to this gentleman for the woodcut of the doorway of Chepstow Church, engraved at his expense.

Several learned memoirs, illustrative of the early literature and history of Wales enrich this Volume. The dissertations of Mr. Stephens on the Poems of Taliesin are conceived in a spirit of sound criticism, and must be read with interest by all whose attention is turned to such subjects.

The History of Owain Glyndwr, and of the military movements of Llewelyn Bren, have received much elucidation from Mr. T. O. Morgan, and the Rev. H. Hey Knight, respectively, and we hope that these gentlemen will follow up researches so well commenced.

Various Miscellaneous Papers complete the Volume, and, with the hints or facts thrown out by our correspondents, will repay the trouble of careful perusal.

The account of the Meeting at Tenby, one of the most successful hitherto held by the Association, will show that a love for the science of Archæology is penetrating, by degrees, into the mind of the nation; and the long list of valuable objects of Antiquity exhibited in the Local Museum on that occasion indicates what rich collections might be made, if permanent Museums could be established for their reception.

The barrows, which were opened while the Members were at Tenby, give promise of future discoveries of an interesting nature in Pembrokeshire. The illustrations of the Paper containing the account of those openings have been presented at the cost of the earliest and most generous promoter of this work—James Dearden, Esq., one of our Vice-Presidents.

Archæologia Cambrensis.

NEW SERIES, No. V.-JANUARY, 1851.

CHEPSTOW PRIORY CHURCH.

Among the more attractive objects, both natural and artistic, with which its neighbourhood abounds, the poor fragments of the once Conventual Church of Chepstow have probably received less attention than they merit. Its stately compeer of Tintern-an expression less ludicrous three centuries back than it sounds at presentspeaks for itself, and impresses the most casual observer; but it is only the practised eye of the architectural student that can discern any claim to lasting attention in the patched and mutilated pile I am about to describe. Yet it is one deserving our notice on at least two grounds; as revealing no small amount of splendour, and yet more of singularity, in its original plan, and also as demonstrating the unpleasing proposition that, while the lowest depth of art and taste has been often assigned-by myself certainly till a few days past-to the Llandaff of a century back, a still lower depth may be discovered in the Chepstow of our own day. Ten years have not elapsed since the most irreparable barbarisms that ancient structure ever underwent were inflicted on a church which might have excited the reverence of all by its massive proportions and venerable antiquity, and the singularity of whose architecture might claim no mean place among the monastic remains of Wales and its Marches.

ARCH. CAMB., NEW SERIES, VOL. II.

CHEPSTOW PRIORY CHURCH.

. . .

Entering the town of Chepstow from the Gloucestershire side, the eye that can turn away from the surpassing grandeur of that feudal ruin which in other days might have forbidden a peaceful approach, may be struck by a massive tower of no great pretensions, though not devoid of picturesque effect. An attentive consideration readily refers this to the revived Gothic of the seventeenth century; attached to it is a huge pile which at first sight seems wholly referable to a nondescript style of the nineteenth; the "Anglo-Romanesque," as Mr. Cliffe calls it, of 1841. Transepts, by courtesy so called, of illimitable breadth; round-headed windows of no less illimitable height; all the conventional monstrosities of thirty, rather than ten years back, seem to be the "dominant facts" of Chepstow; a second glance reveals the existence of portions which must have proceeded from very different hands, and a little attention ascertains the truth that among these accumulations of successive periods of barbarism, there lies concealed the nearly perfect nave of no contemptible Norman minster. Choir, transepts, lantern, aisles, have disappeared one after another, but the massive arcades and triforium are still there; and, among additions and destructions of nearly equal enormity, we may still discern the remains of a west front which can have been surpassed by few of its own size and style.

The tale of destruction is briefly told. It must be remembered that the ancient portion of the present building consists of the nave of the old conventual church. We are told that the tower stood at the east end, from which I infer that it was a cruciform church, of which, as in so many other instances, the choir was destroyed at the dissolution, while the nave was allowed to remain as the parish church; the central tower would thus of course stand at the east end of the latter. This tower fell some time in the seventeenth century, and appears to have crushed the transepts, or whatever portions of them remained. It was not rebuilt in its old position, but over the western bay of the church; a belfry arch being

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thrown across the nave, and the west front carried up as the west wall of the new tower.

This work of two ages back I am not called upon to criticise; the addition of the tower of course ruins the west front-no slight loss-but it was probably thought more natural for a tower to stand at the west end of a church than the east. A detached campanile would have cut the knot. But what are we to say to the works of 1841? solemnly proclaimed as they are with the attestation of vicar, curate, churchwardens, and architects, "whose names knowing I will not speak," as I believe that some at least have lived to repent. But the fact must be told; nine years back-the Cambrian Archæological Association certainly did not exist in those days, but similar bodies did-it struck the people of Chepstow that the gigantic Norman piers of their nave prevented those of their number who were located in the aisles "from seeing or hearing the minister;" nothing certainly unlikely in this; the original architect probably never thought of any minister being seen or heard in any such position, and accordingly he did not think of making his masses of masonry permeable by either sight or sound. I confess it, a square pier in front of you does not improve your view of the preacher, and those who wish for that advantage had better not ensconce themselves behind one. So rightly thought the ecclesiological mind of Chepstow : whether its remedy for the evil was equally sound may admit of a doubt. First of all, as the aisles were no longer to be inhabited, a place was to be found for their former occupants; some might have suggested a second church as their best receptacle; Chepstow seems to have disliked absolute novelty, and to have preferred an old friend in a new dress. Eastward of the existing church ---involving however I believe the sacrifice of its eastern bay-was reared a portentous pile of that kind of architecture which borrows the use of the round arch from that of the twelfth century, and in other respects draws on its own resources. Its ground-plan is less easily described; it is very big, very well adapted "for seeing

and hearing the minister;" yet some traces of old superstitions were allowed to remain; a diligent examination will detect certain approximations to a choir and transepts, and, taking in the old nave, a remote resemblance to the form of a cross. Now room was wanted somewhere; if the good people of Chepstow preferred adding to the old church to building a new one-the scheme certainly had the merit of saving a new endowment-and really knew no better way of adding than this; why, all we can do is to give them the benefit of the old plea of "invincible ignorance." But what followed seems to show signs of a revengeful spirit decidedly to be condemned by the moral and theological systems of all persuasions. The aisles-the old offenders-were still there; the big pillars which had so long impeded sight and hearing still existed; no longer indeed impeding it, they were now helpless and harmless; they might have pleaded to drag on their dishonoured being, empty and unregarded, till they shared the common decay of all things human; but they had impeded sight and hearing in past times, they might even perhaps, in the cycle of events, impede it again; in any case, nobody wanted them, they cumbered the ground; they were better quite out of the way; βούλομαι μη είναι was the prevailing sentiment; sentence of death was pronounced against the aisle walls, sentence of perpetual imprisonment in fetters against the sight-impeding pillars. A blank wall might have served the purpose, but the vengeance of Chepstow was more refined; built up to the crown of the arch, with a window, conducing to sight, and not impeding hearing, placed in each, still the pillar was allowed to exist, and to proclaim its existence; arch and impost were still allowed to be distinctly visible as a trophy of the past, a warning for the future,-a perpetual triumph, exhibiting alike the offence and the punishment to generations yet unborn.

So much for destruction and renovation as understood at Chepstow in 1841; I must add a brief description of what has survived to 1850. The nave, in its fullest extent, consisted of six bays, but of these one was occupied by the tower, and one was sacrificed to the last instalment of destruction : I may add that, of the four which constitute the present nave, another makes a lobby below and a gallery above, an arrangement whose only merit is that of affording an opportunity of more closely inspecting the very singular triforium. The three that remain seem designed to form a more dignified approach to the spacious auditorium beyond. The whole of the original work is Romanesque, the arcades however being so extremely plain and massive, while the west front is of such extreme gorgeousness, that I am tempted to suppose the latter to have been completed at a slightly later period. The internal elevation exhibits the usual threefold division of height, but made in a manner the most purely horizontal I have ever seen; there being strongly marked strings, but no roof-shafts or other internal vertical lines, and hardly anything which can be called a division into bays.

The piers are enormous square masses, something of the type of those at St. Alban's, but far lower and wider in proportion, and not, like them, broken by the attached pilasters; the arch is of two orders, and the jamb follows the same section, except in the western respond, where a shaft, with a very rude cushion capital, is attached to the inner order. There is nothing beyond a plain impost, continued as a string along the piers. The round arch is employed exclusively throughout the original portion of the church.

A heavy string runs immediately above the arcade, below the triforium. This last feature is very remarkable; it does not form in any sense a range or architectural division of the building, but is merely an aperture pierced in the wall over each pier-arch. The arrangement is somewhat similar in the nave of St. Cross, near Winchester; in the neighbouring Abbey of Tintern it will be remembered that the triforium is not pierced at all, a blank space being left between the arcade and the clerestory, as in some examples of German Romanesque. The triforium at Chepstow differs on the two sides of the church; on the north we have a single aperture, like a narrow window, of a single order; on the south the more common arrangement of two arches, but without any internal containing arch; they are divided by clustered shafts of singularly rude character. On both sides the impost is continued as a horizontal string, singularly flat, like a Saxon strip; there is no string between the triforium and clerestory. The destruction of the aisles renders more conspicuous the arrangements properly hidden by their roofs; on the north side the aperture is rather wider than within the nave, having two orders; on the south there is a wide arch, embracing the whole couplet. Pilasters here, running up into the clerestory, divide the bays.

The clerestory itself has been tampered with on both sides; as far as I can make out, those on the south are original, with the exception of new joints without, which are sufficiently hideous. They are single lights, rather wide, with a considerable internal splay, but no passage. Those on the north side are now similar, but I was informed by the intelligent person who acts as guide to the church, that they were originally narrower, like the apertures in the triforium below. The present roof is of course a flat plaster ceiling; the old one, which however seems not to have been contemporary, having been destroyed in 1841.

We have finally to consider the west front. Of this the western doorway, the triplet above it, and the pilasters on each side remain; they are of the very best Norman work, and, with a gable stage, and aisle-ends to match, would produce a façade of extreme beauty. But the present outline of the front, carried up into a tower, and shorn of its aisles, verges on the grotesque. The west doorway is one of the finest I know; it is of unusual size, of six orders, richly adorned with the chevron and other decorations, some of them of an unusual form. I am afraid that the inner order and the shafts were tampered with in 1841. A small blank arch on each side the doorway fills up the front as far as the pilasters.

The west window is a beautiful Norman triplet, the central light being the largest and most enriched; it is of three orders, the two outer resting on shafts; they are adorned with the chevron, and with one of the forms intermediate between that ornament and the toothmoulding; the label, with the billet, is continued over the side-lights, and forms their only decoration, the jambs being quite plain and square. This triplet within is splayed away to nothing; two shafts, larger than is usual in such positions, supporting the rear-arches of elliptical form. The work here is plain, but much better finished than the arcades.

When the tower was added, a belfry-arch was necessarily thrown across the nave, and two small arches, in imitation of the original work, were inserted below the western pair of pier-arches. By the destruction of the aisles, these are now left open, forming a sort of open porch, as at Brading, Isle of Wight, and Newnham, Northamptonshire; a modern Norman doorway being placed in the—of course blocked—belfry-arch. It is odd that this tower, which, on the other sides, exhibits some attempt at ecclesiastical character, should be on its west face, decidedly cinque-cento, with pediments over its windows, and would-be Ionic pilasters. These of course produce a strange contrast with the splendid Romanesque work below.

I think I have said enough to show that this church, notwithstanding its unparalleled transformation, still retains much worthy attention. I should commend its history to the diligent examination of Monmouthshire antiquaries, as a curious question may be raised connected with it. The Chepstow guide-books tell us that "the Priory was founded in the reign of Stephen, by one of the Clares. It was an alien priory of Benedictine Monks, its patroness St. Mary; it contained three monks, and was valued at £32." How came so unimportant a foundation to be possessed of a church on such a scale, which, though far inferior in height, must have covered nearly, if not quite, as much ground as Tintern, and which possesses in all its fulness that conventual character so commonly absent from monastic churches in Wales?

To visitors to Chepstow who go out of the beaten track, I should also recommend a visit to Matherne. They will there be rewarded by a church of considerable merit the reputed burying-place of King Tewdric—containing both Early English and Perpendicular work of some value. Matherne is the Lamphey of Llandaff, though very inferior; there are some remains of the Palace, neither extensive nor of much architectural merit, but by no means wanting in picturesque effect. In this however they are perhaps exceeded by the neighbouring mansion of Moinscourt, erected in 1609 by the celebrated Bishop Godwin. It is a perfect specimen of a moderate sized Elizabethan house, with a singular gate-house of its own date, and almost as large as itself.

Edward A. Freeman.

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St. Arvan's, Chepstow, July 23, 1850.

[We are not surprised at Mr. Freeman's remarks upon the old church of Chepstow; for we find in so many places such ignorance and bad taste in architecture still existing—among professional as well as unprofessional persons—that to us it is always a subject of wonder and congratulation when we hear of any repairs or restorations being judiciously accomplished. As was observed by a contributor in a late Number, the architectural antiquities of Wales are in great danger of mutilation and destruction. Since that very Number was published, several glaring instances of both—of blind mutilation as well as of needless destruction—have come under our personal notice. The apathy that exists upon these points—the gross ignorance, the wretched taste—is incredible; and it is found in all classes of society, from the highest to the lowest.—EDD. ARCH. CAMB.]

TUMULUS, GORSEDD WEN,

AND THE REASONS FOR SUPPOSING IT TO BE THE TOMB OF GWEN, ONE OF LLYWARCH HEN'S SONS.

THE form of this tumulus was bell-shaped, or more strictly, according to Sir R. C. Hoare's classification, it belonged to the broad barrows. It measured about twenty-six yards in diameter, and six feet in height.

It was situated on the apex of an eminence, in a field forming part of a farm in the county of Denbigh, called Yr Orsedd Wen, belonging to F. R. West, Esq., about two miles west of the village of Selattyn. Offa's Dyke, traversing the field in a direction from north-east to south-west, and here defining the limits of England and Wales, lies about 150 yards to the south-east of it. Unusual interest attached to it, from there being ground for supposing it to be the burial-place of Gwên, one of the sons of Llywarch Hen, who was prince of the Cumbrian Britons during the sixth century. Having lost his patrimony and several of his sons (who were twentyfour in number) in wars against the Saxons, he became a refugee at the court of Cynddylan, a prince of part of Powys, whose residence was at Pengwern, or Shrewsbury. Gwên appears to have been the most valiant of his sons, for his royal father, who is to us better known as a bard than a sovereign, in one of his poems, in a passage of which the following is a literal translation, thus speaks of him :---

> " Four-and-twenty sons I have had Wearing the golden chain, leaders of armies; Gwên was the best of them.

- "Four-and-twenty sons there were to me Wearing the golden chain, leaders of battle; Gwên was the best son of his father.
- "Four-and-twenty sons to me have been Wearing the golden chain, and leading princes; Compared with Gwên, they were but striplings."
- He fell in the wars which at that period were per-ARCH. CAMB., NEW SERIES, VOL. 11. C

petually waging between the Saxons and the Prince of Powys; and his fall, which seems from the language of Llywarch's poem to have caused the deepest affliction to his father, we are told took place at the ford of Morlas:---

"On the ford of Morlas was slain Gwên."

And in the same poem, speaking of his son's grave, he says :---

"The shrine of the fierce overbearing foe,

That vanquished the circularly compact army of Lloegyr; The grave of Gwên, the son of Llywarch Hen, is this.

"Sweetly sang the birds on the fragrant blossomed apple tree, Over the head of Gwên, before he was covered over with sod."

And in another poem, called "the Stanzas of the Graves," we read :---

"The graves washed by the rainy shower,

Belong to warriors that were not treacherously slain, Namely, Gwên, and Urien, and Uriad."

So far of Gwên.

The next passage we find in Llywarch's poems which bears upon the subject, is from an elegy on Cynddylan ab Cyndrwyn:—

> "Have not my eyes gazed on a pleasant land From the Gorsedd Gorwynion ?"

In the last two words Mr. Williams, the author of the "Biographical Dictionary of Eminent Welshmen," himself an eminent Welsh scholar, assures me we may, according to the rules of Welsh etymology, identify the name "Yr Orsedd Wen."

The scene pictured to his eyes we cannot now behold; but, could the royal poet have cast his eye to the south-east and south of our tumulus, and have scanned the fertile plains of Shropshire, clothed, as we saw them, with the varied tints of the springing blade, extending from the brink of our foreground onward to the Wrekin's base, studded with woods and clumps—the trim tall poplar, the haughty oak, and bristling elm whose brown hue already gave promise of winter's speedy flight; could he have gazed to his right on the tapering spires of Shrewsbury; and beyond, as far as eye can reach to the left, upon the woodlands of Grinshill and Hawkestone, the rich pastures of Cheshire, with Beeston frowning in the distance; to the north upon the heights of Yale,—he could not have said otherwise than that his eyes beheld a pleasant land.

This spot, then, was probably a favourite resort of Llywarch Hen; while the term "gorsedd" clothes it with still greater importance, and points it out as a "place of assembly." Whether this term is ever applied to any but an assembly of bards, I do not feel competent to decide with certainty. My impression is that it is not. A full description of the bardic gorsedd is given in the Archæologia Cambrensis, No. I., New Series. Its purposes are stated to be four, of which the first is said to be "divine worship," and if it is not too fanciful, may we not discern some coincidence between this purpose of the gorsedd and Llywarch's description of Gwên's grave, be it metaphorical or local:—

"The shrine of the fierce overbearing foe,1

The grave of Gwen, the son of Llywarch Hen, is this."

For whether it be metaphorical, and only expressive of the great *renown* his son had acquired—so great, as to render his tomb a fit shrine for his countrymen—or local, and actually referring to the spot where his son's grave was, it may not be unworthy of notice, that we find a tumulus on a spot which, its name attests, was once used *inter alia* for "*divine worship*;" and this coincidence is rendered more remarkable by the fact, that the river Morlas, still so named, the scene of Gwên's fall, rises within 150 yards to the north-west of our tumulus. It is now a trickling stream, and, flowing past the tumulus, eastward, down a deep ravine called Craignant, joins the Ceiriog, near Chirk. A gentleman's seat on its banks, about three miles to the east, called Prysgwên, is said to receive its name from Gwên, and to signify

¹ I. e., of the Welsh.

"Gwên's resort," or "covert." There is, also, within a mile of the tumulus, to the north-west, a farm, called, on the Ordnance map, Ty'n y rhyd, or "the house on the ford." Beside this tumulus there was only one other sepulchral mound on its banks, which was a *carn*, composed entirely of stone, situated on an eminence of Selattyn mountain, about half-a-mile or rather more to the south-east of our tumulus, but at much greater distance than it from the Morlas, though sufficiently near to compete for the honour of being the tomb of Gwên.

In the *carn* twelve urns, each containing burnt bones, were discovered, while remains of a wholly different character were found in the tumulus.

Our worthy president, Mr. Wynne, having obtained the leave of Mr. West of Ruthin Castle, (whose constant readiness to afford every facility in his power to the members of the Association to carry out its objects we shall ever most gratefully acknowledge,) fixed upon the 5th of March for the commencement of our operations, and invited several of our members to join him in the interesting work. Our president, Mr. Dawes, and myself proceeded to the tumulus together, and were there met by Mr. Williams of Rhydycroesau, and Mr. Smith, Mr. West's agent; the latter brought with him two labourers, who, with two others brought by Mr. Wynne, formed the strength of our party.

On our arrival at the tumulus we found that, under the direction of Mr. Smith, a shaft had already been commenced at the apex. The outer covering to the depth of eighteen inches consisted of soil, in which we found at a few inches beneath the sward, on the southeast side, pieces of slate laid horizontally, as if for a covering; but, as slate was not found on the other sides of the mound, its presence on the south-east probably resulted from accident. There being, however, no slate in the neighbourhood, I think this circumstance should not be passed over unnoticed. After cutting through the soil we came to large pebble stones, among which we found ashes, and occasionally pieces of burnt stone; and,

observing that the largest stones lay on the north-west side of our shaft, I thought it prudent to cut a trench from the exterior of the tumulus in the direction of these stones, and thus our shaft was transformed into a trench, now extending nearly to the centre of the tumulus, in a southerly direction. We now ascertained that the interior was nothing more or less than a carn, composed of lime, sand, grit and other stones, with which much charcoal was intermixed. The outer stones of the carn were for the most part so large as to be as much as a man could lift, while the viscera consisted of small stones, scarcely larger than the broken stone now used for repairing high-roads. The slope of the stones to the north and north-west showed us that the apex of the carn was rather more to the south of what the external form of the tumulus led us at first to suppose it to be. The height of the tumulus, measured from the apex to the floor, was about six feet. Beneath the carn was a stratum of clay, with which a quantity of charcoal and some small stones were mixed. This stratum was three or four inches in thickness, and the clay of which it was composed evinced extraordinary tenacity, and resembled, to use the simile suggested not inaptly by our workmen, "cart-wheel grease." Underneath was a bed of limerock, which here appeared at the original surface.

In the meantime, under the superintendence of Mr. Wynne, a trench had been cut from the south-east side, in a direction to meet the original one at an obtuse angle. The new trench was sunk to the floor of the tumulus, and carried for several feet in length through mere soil, the substratum of clay appearing underneath it. At the commencement of it, next the floor, we found a layer of charcoal and burnt soil, to the depth of several inches, whence we inferred that this was the site of the funereal fire.

Nearly two days had now been spent in anxious search, during which our only prize was a piece of rusty iron, which Mr. Wynne suggested to be part of a sword or dagger-blade, near the hilt. Every little crevice created by the removal of the stones was anxiously peeped into. Each turn of the spade was closely inspected, the clay broken up, and even smelt, and our spirits, like the beams of the now setting sun, were growing chill, when some stones in the original trench at its southern extremity, and about the centre of the carn, imbedded in the clay, which now increased in thickness, and contained a greater quantity of charcoal, attracted our attention. They were speedily removed, and the result was the discovery of a fragment of a human skull. A large clasp-knife was now employed to remove the tenacious clay, and we soon discovered, a few inches to the south-west of the skull, the neck bone and one of the bones of the right fore-arm. It was, however, now too dark to proceed further, and other engagements prevented us from returning to our work the following day; the remains were covered up with inverted sods, upon which a heap of soil was piled, and the 9th was fixed upon for the renewal of our interesting investigation. Returning on that day, we found all just as we left it, and, in order to get a clear space round where the body lay, we ordered the men to complete the junction between the two trenches. While this was being done, we observed that the carn was steeper on the south-east side than on the north-west. Some of the outermost stones of the carn being removed, the men came to two stones lying transversely across the trench of such magnitude that each required the united strength of three men to remove it. Underneath and about them we found the bones and teeth of some animal, and a small piece of iron, much corroded. Charcoal and burnt soil still abounded in the south-eastern trench. The junction being effected at the spot where the skeleton lay, and sufficient space being cleared, the knife was again called into requisition. The skull and face, except the lower jaw, and part of the upper one, was literally smashed in. The ribs and bones had all disappeared, and in the clay where they had lain much decomposed matter was

observed. Over where the breast had lain, the bones of the right arm (remaining entire) were crossed to the left breast; and we must not omit to mention that the hinge at the elbow-joint was in its original position-the extremity of the upper bone of the arm actually resting in its socket at the elbow, the tendons only being wanted to keep the two parts of the arm together. We next, in searching for the left arm, discovered, just over where the left breast must have lain, and the right hand would, from the curvature of the arm, have been placed, part of a bronze dagger or spear-head," with the rivets remaining in it, with which it had been affixed to the shaft; the point, for about two inches, as we judged, had been broken off. We next searched for the left arm, and found pieces of bone, but not the arm itself; one piece was stained with the corrosion of the bronze. Then, proceeding in a straight line to the south-west of the spot where we found the right arm, we traced the bones of the *thigh*, reduced by decomposition to a paste, which was inseparable from the clay. Further on in the same line were the bones (both large and small) of the left and right legs, in a sloping position, as if the knee had been slightly bent at an obtuse angle upwards. The small bone of the former was almost entirely decomposed; those of the latter were also much decomposed, and did not lie parallel to those of the former, but pointed more eastward. Beyond these again we came to a mass of decomposed bone, which was probably the remains of the All these bones, though fast decomposing, were feet. in appearance firm and solid. Clay, quite black with charcoal, was rammed tightly about and among them, and pieces of pure charcoal were adhering to parts of the skull and lower jaw. The piece of rusty iron already spoken of was found in the carn, about fifteen inches above where the body lay.

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The body appeared to have been laid at length on its

² About October, 1849, some weapons of a type closely resembling this dagger were found at Ebnall, near Oswestry, a place about three miles in a direct line from our tumulus.

back, from the north-east to south-west, the head to the north-east.

The great intermixture of charcoal with the bones and the clay, and indeed throughout *the carn*, seems, I think, a convincing proof that the *fire* was contemporaneous with the interment. I should suggest *the process* of interment to have been thus :—

First, a grave was cut in the rock; the body was then 'deposited; the clay and ashes were then spread evenly over the whole surface of the rock, for the purpose perhaps of concealing the *exact site* of the grave. Upon this the carn was then raised, and the ashes that remained were thrown in with it. It was then covered with soil and sods; and thus, as decomposition took place, the *carn* would settle, and, by its weight, press down the clay into the grave.

I submitted a portion of the skull, with ashes adhering to it, part of the right fore-arm, and the animal bones, to Mr. Quekett. He said, neither the animal nor human bones had been burnt. The latter, he said, belonged to a man considerably above six feet—probably as tall as six feet seven inches—an opinion singularly coinciding with facts; for the skeleton *in situ* with the curved knees measured, from the head to the ancle-joint, six feet two inches—a fact I did not communicate to Mr. Quekett until after he had stated his opinion to me. He guessed, from the appearance of the teeth, the age to be between forty and fifty years. The animal bones were those of a deer and sheep. The charcoal was pure wood charcoal, probably oak, and contained no animal matter.

Now, although I do not attach any literal meaning to the language of poetry, I think the structure of our tumulus, and mode of interment, so far agrees with Llywarch's language as to be worthy of attention. He speaks of Gwên "being covered with sod," an expression which he also uses when speaking of his son Llyngedwy's grave :---

> "The ruddy grave, is it not covered with sods, The earth of Ammarch?"

For purposes of protection, the carn contained in our tumulus certainly would have been sufficient; and, if it were not, there was no lack of lime and other stone on the spot, that it could not have been made so—as witness the carn already mentioned, within half-a-mile of it. Yet rather than this, the carn was covered over with soil, a fact which I think is remarkable, when compared with the expression in the poem. We find a grave, and such is the expression applied to Gwên's resting place. His grave, too, is said "to be washed by rainy showers"-a very classic mode of expressing the idea of exposure or desertion; and our tumulus crowns a barren rocky eminence; and, I may add, the stature of the man whose skeleton we found curiously accords with the description of Gwên's brethren—that when compared with him they were but "striplings" (gweisionain)-a term which may indicate not only the intellectual superiority of Gwên, but also some Goliath-like bodily powers possessed by him. Here then we have an interment, bronze and iron weapons.

Now if it be admitted that the use of *iron* for weapons was first adopted by our forefathers about the time of the Roman invasion, and that the rite of interment succeeded that of *cremation*, the discovery of iron weapons will bring our tumulus within the æra of Roman occupation here, while the rite of interment may bring us to a still later period. For if it be reasonable to suppose that this rite was suggested to Romanized Europe by the practice of the Christians, we may reasonably take the date of the introduction of Christianity into this country as some guide to the date of remains exhibiting the use of that rite; and if so, it may suggest some explanation of the remarkable discovery of a funeral fire in this tumulus, evidently contemporaneous with the use of the rite of interment. For if it be probable that Christianity weaned the heathen Britons from their savage customs, rather by gradual than violent and sudden changes, then may it not be possible that the first step towards the abolition of cremation was the raising of the D

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funeral pyre, rather for the purpose of honouring than consuming the dead, and that thus the followers of this warrior, though still tenacious of their deeply-cherished ancestral rites, were content to honour their beloved and mighty chief with a funeral pyre, on which, perhaps, many a libation was outpoured, and offering made, for the repose of his immortal shade? Then I think internal evidence raises a strong probability that this tumulus is of comparatively a late period-later certainly than a carn enclosing twelve urns, each containing burnt bones—and further, that in all probability it belongs to a period within the Christian æra. Now Llywarch Hen is said to have fought under Arthur, at Llongborth, A.D. 530, and to have died at the great age of 150 years, A.D. 646, having outlived his twenty-four sons. The latter date, coupled with his age, places his birth in the year A.D. 496; and supposing that his son Gwên was born in the early part of the sixth century, say 516, or 520, he would have attained the age of forty or fifty, between the years 556 and 570. We moreover find an allusion to Gwên's prowess at the battle of Cattraeth, in the poem of Aneurin, who was himself present at, and one of the few who survived, that dreadful carnage,—

> "Like a hunter shooting with the bow Was Gwên;"

and Aneurin is said to have died, A.D. 570.

Then, assuming our dates respecting Aneurin and Llywarch Hen to be correct, it is clear that Gwên flourished in the sixth century, and that he must have fallen *prior* to the year 646, and most probably *subsequent* to the year 530; and if at the age of forty or fifty, between the years 556 and 570; and to suppose that the warrior entombed beneath our tumulus fell about this period is perfectly consistent with the evidence of time, derived from the tumulus itself. Then take the historic fact, that Gwên fell at the ford of the Morlas—the position of our tumulus within 150 yards of that river the name of the neighbouring farm, Ty'n y rhyd—the probability that he would be buried near where he fellthe absence of any other tumulus of similar character on the banks of the Morlas—the coincidence between the dates ascertained, and the internal evidence of time gained from the tumulus itself—the local nonemclature "Gorsedd Wen," and its historic associations; and, I ask, do they not form a strong cord of circumstantial evidence to prove our tumulus to be no other than the tomb of Gwên ?³

> W. WYNNE FFOULKES, Local Sec. Denbighshire.

ON THE REPARATION AND TENURE OF CASTLES IN WALES AND THE MARCHES.

(Read at Dolgellau.)

WE find the castles of Wales and its Marches held by a great variety of persons at the present day, and under various tenures; so that, before anything can be done towards promoting their reparation and conservation, it becomes a question of delicacy and difficulty to discover with whom the right, and therefore the duty, of reparation exists. By far the greater number belong, or are supposed to belong, to private individuals; some are leased out by the crown to various tenants, a few still remain in possession of the crown itself.

³ Camden, in his notice of Uriconium, gives an account of interments found there much resembling that at Gorsedd Wen:—" Their way of burying the dead bodies here (when they did not burn the corpse and put the ashes in urns) has been observed to be this:— First, they made a deep wide grave, in the bottom whereof they fixed a bed of very red clay, and upon that laid the body. With the same sort of clay they covered it, fencing the clay with a sort of thin slates against the earth or mould, which otherwise would have been apt to break through it to the dead body. Lastly, they filled the grave, and covered with great stones, sometimes *five* or *six* upon a grave, which are now shrunk into the earth. Some part of the bones thus interred, that have happened to lay dry in the dust or clay, remain pretty sound to this day."—*Gibson's Camden*, Edition 1695; *Addition to Cornavii*, pp. 551, 552. The only castles which I have seen, and about which an intelligent and effective degree of care has been exercised in their reparation are—with the exception of those inhabited by their owners—the castles of Caernarvon in North Wales, and Oystermouth in South Wales. In all the other uninhabited castles ravages, whether of the weather or of man, are now going on unheeded and unprevented, though in a great majority of instances the expenditure of small sums, judiciously applied, would remedy the evil; such are the instances of Beaumaris and Conwy, in North Wales; of Caerphilly¹ and Kidwelly, their rivals, if not their superiors, in South Wales.

I do not dwell upon the importance of repairing and preserving from further decay these castles. I should hope that no member of our Association would require any arguments to convince him of their value as historical and national monuments. I envy not the taste nor the feelings of him who can willingly neglect, or witness the decay of, those buildings which, though now in his possession, were once the habitations of his forefathers, or were the centres of royal and baronial power, conferring strength and dignity on the country. I conceive it to be the *duty*—the *public* not less than the *private* duty—of every one who owns a mediæval castle—I would say any mediæval monument of architectural or historical

¹ Since this paper was read to the Association at Dolgellau, the author has revisited Caerphilly Castle, and he is happy to state that Mr. Evans, of that place, is taking proper steps for keeping up the external boundaries of the castle precincts, so as to exclude boys, and other destructive animals, and is also making excavations in several parts of the edifice, in a highly judicious manner. Traces of *three* distinct and successive castles have thus been brought to light, and various interesting objects have been found. It may be as well to state, with regard to the question of expense, that Mr. Evans reckons *ten pounds* a-year sufficient to carry on the works alluded to, and to effect a great deal towards the preservation of the castle. It is now most strictly protected from all trespassers, and not a stone is allowed to be removed. When will the owners of Conwy, Pembroke, Carew and Beaumaris Castles lay down their annual ten pounds for the preservation of those magnificent edifices?—EDD. ABCH. CAMB.

importance--either to keep it in repair himself, or else to aid and to encourage the efforts of others to promote its reparation and maintenance, and at least not to allow others to injure it. Most of the owners of Welsh castles quietly allow time and bad weather to do their worst to these buildings, without any attempt at prevention; others allow man to join in the work of destruction; — bad taste and poor patriotism in either case ! But I believe that many would be willing to repair these buildings, or rather to let other persons do it for them, if they were not deterred by imaginary fears as to cost and trouble.

Now, to remove such fears where they exist, I would observe that architects and builders have in many cases done much harm to architecture and archæology by the extravagant and needlessly high estimates, which they are fond of making, whether for repairs or for constructions of castles and churches. It has been from this, perhaps, as one of the most fertile sources, that the apathy of castle owners has arisen. But, on the other hand, I would point to the instance of Caernarvon Castle, and there show how much has been done for a comparatively small sum of money, with the view of encouraging such persons not to despair of effecting so desirable an object with comparatively limited means. At Caernarvon extensive excavations and reconstructions had to be carried on-the works extended over several years-and yet the whole cost for such an *immense* pile of building, perhaps the finest in Wales, has been under £3,000. The works were indeed entrusted to an architect at the head of his profession, and hence their solidity and cheapness.

On the other hand, the comparatively small castle of Oystermouth, belonging to the Duke of Beaufort, has been put into a state which will ensure its existence for some centuries, at the moderate cost of only £200; but then the works were entrusted to a gentleman who thoroughly understood his subject, and who superintended all operations in person.

In most instances the most urgent requirements are

the stopping of cracks, the propping up of undermined portions, and the removal of ivy which has exceeded a certain growth. These are operations that need not be made very costly; excavations, though highly desirable, may be carried on at future periods; but at the present moment the expenditure of £100 or £200 upon castles of moderate size, such as Denbigh, Flint, Kidwelly, Carew, Manorbeer, Coyty, Cilgerran, &c., would, under proper management, ensure their existence for a very considerable lapse of time. Larger edifices would require Conwy, Harlech, Beaumaris, Pembroke larger sums. and Caerphilly might require £1,000 each. But even these sums might be distributed over a series of years. and the most urgent repairs in each instance might be effected at the expense of a few hundreds.

I would strongly recommend any owner of a castle to have the condition of the building carefully ascertained by some competent architect—all architects are by no means competent—and thus, by the application of his own good sense, and that of some of his archæological friends, to see how much would really be required for stopping at once the more threatening ravages of time, and for putting things on a footing that might admit of further works being carried on upon their basis, in future days. I confidently think that the result would be a determination, in many instances, to do something without loss of time, of the nature I propose, and I am sure that the necessity for it is becoming greater every day.

To single out a very few of the more prominent instances of necessity: I will mention Denbigh, Flint, Beaumaris, Carew, Kidwelly, Pembroke, where, unless something be speedily done, most valuable portions of these buildings will become shapeless masses of ruin.

Others of very high architectural and archæological value, such as Conwy, Harlech, Caerphilly, Manorbeer, should certainly be begun, and are each worthy of many careful years of restoration.

In cases where the absolute property of a castle is

invested in any private individuals or corporations, it is only by appeals to their good feelings, or their interests, that such a desirable object as the reparation and preservation of the edifice can be attempted; but when the property of the castle still remains in the hands of the crown, then it becomes a public right to inquire into the condition of that building, and to aid the crown in its wishes to have the building preserved. For, if I am not mistaken, the Board of Woods and Forests, with the express wishes of her Most Gracious Majesty, has declared itself willing to repair any castle in Wales of which the crown is the actual owner; and it is only some difficulty or other, arising from uncertainty of tenure, or the opposition of the beneficiary tenants, that has hindered this laudable decision from being carried into Thus Caernarvon was repaired, because the effect. right of the crown was clear. The Board of Woods and Forests is willing to repair Harlech in the same manner; and I cannot understand why this has not already been done, for I presume that the actual tenant would not offer any opposition to so good a work.

With the view, however, of strengthening the hands of the Board of Woods and Forests, and of encouraging the cause of castle repairing in Wales, as well as, most particularly, of promoting the scientific study of such buildings, I venture to recommend that some member or members of this Association, resident in or near London, be requested to search the public records, and to make further necessary inquiries, with the view of ascertaining upon what private conditions the several crown castles in Wales have been either granted or leased to the persons now in possession of them. It would then be seen how far these persons were performing the conditions of their grants or leases, and how far the Board of Woods and Forests might come forward, either to aid in, or to effect, the reparation of those edifices. Such an inquiry could best be carried on in London; and local inquiries in the country would then come in elucidation of the discoveries to be made in the central offices.

For it may be fairly asserted that the history of Welsh castle tenures is as yet but little known, and that were it once fairly brought out and investigated, the first step would be taken for setting a good example to private owners, by procuring the conservation of all the crown castles throughout the principality.

I have little doubt that such a member or members of the Association could be selected, who would undertake the duty just alluded to; and I am sure that he or they would be entitled to the thanks of the whole country for such good service done in the cause of national honour.

I beg leave, therefore, seriously to urge this point on the attention of the committee and the Association; and to recommend that steps be immediately taken for carrying it into effect.

The information so obtained might be communicated to the Association at its next annual meeting, and would form a most appropriate subject for the pages of its Journal. H. L. J.

HISTORICAL AND TRADITIONAL NOTICES OF OWAIN GLYNDWR.

No. I.

FROM the conquest of Wales by Edward the First, to the accession of Henry the Fourth, that country had continued in a state of submission, interrupted only by some partial outbreaks. Though more than a century had passed away since that event, the spirit of animosity which it had engendered might be said to be rather suppressed than extinguished. The annexation of the Principality to the crown of England was borne by the Welsh with the more reluctance, as English laws and customs were forced upon them, and English officers appointed to carry them into execution, who often acted with extreme rigour and partiality. In the reign of Richard the Second, an attachment to the person of that king seems to have sprung up amongst the Welsh, whence we infer they were sensible of an amelioration in their condition; but the deposition of Richard in 1399, combined with the previous loss of their national independence, prepared them to follow any leader who would head his countrymen against the usurping dynasty, and thereby afford them an opportunity of regaining the sovereignty of their native land. Historians generally dwell upon the injustice and insults offered by Lord Grey of Ruthin, to Owain Glyndwr, as the origin of this war in Wales; but the train was already laid in the spirit of independence inherent in the Welsh character, and their impatience of foreign rule; the spark only that ignited the train, was supplied by the resentment of Owain at his personal wrongs.

Owain Glyndwr, or Owain ap Gruffydd, as he wrote his own name, was the son of Gruffydd Vychan, tenth in lineal descent from Bleddyn ap Cynvyn, prince of Powys, head of one of the five royal tribes of Wales, by Elena, eldest daughter of Thomas ap Llewelyn ap Owen, by his wife, Elinor Goch, grand-daughter of Llewelyn, last prince of Wales. Writers vary in the account of the day of his birth; one manuscript fixes it on the 28th of May, 1354; that preserved by Lewis Owen fixes the event five years earlier. The place of his birth is likewise uncertain, but probably it was either at Glyndwrdy in Merionethshire, or Sycharth in Denbighshire. He received a liberal education, which he completed at one of the Inns of Court, where he studied till he became a barrister: whilst there he attracted the notice of Richard the Second, to whose household he became attached as one of the squires of the body. His forensic views seem to have given place to the more powerful attractions of a military life, whereby he appears to have ingratiated himself in a remarkable degree with Richard, whom he accompanied as his scutiger, or shield-bearer, in his wars in France and Ireland, and was in attendance on that king when he was taken on his return from Ireland, at the castle of Flint, by the means of Henry Bolingbroke. On the fall Е

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of his patron he acted as esquire to the earl of Arundel, and afterwards retired to his native country, lamenting the fallen fortunes of his royal master, to whom he continued faithful to the last. He married Margaret, daughter of Sir David Hanmer of Hanmer, in Flintshire, one of the judges of the King's Bench, by whom he had a large family, both sons and daughters, and would probably have ended his days in peaceful obscurity, but for a feud with one of his Norman neighbours, and the lowering aspect of public affairs.

A year had scarcely elapsed in this peaceful retreat when an altercation arose between Glyndwr and Reginald, Lord Grey of Ruthin, whose lands lay contiguous to the hereditary estates of Glyndwr. Some years previously Lord Grey had taken possession of a large tract of uncultivated ground which had always been claimed by Owain, and which the latter recovered from its illegal occupier by a suit at law. Lord Grey thus compelled to relinquish the property he had unjustly seized, nourished the most vindictive resentment against his opponent; and, since the dethronement of Richard had destroyed the influence of Glyndwr at the English court, he again took forcible possession of the land in question, and retained it in open defiance of the right owner, who in consequence presented a remonstrance to parliament, but the appeal was treated with neglect.

The enmity of Lord Grey did not stop here. In the year 1400 Henry the Fourth meditated an expedition against Scotland, and sent writs of summons to his several feudal barons and tenants *in capite*, requiring their attendance in that military enterprise. A writ of that nature was directed to Owain, and entrusted to Lord Grey for the purpose of being delivered to him. This however that nobleman vindictively neglected to do, and Glyndwr was not apprised of the royal mandate until it was too late to comply with it. His non-attendance was immediately ascribed by Henry to a spirit of disaffection, and the construction was rendered more plausible by some malevolent and unfounded representations of Lord Grey. The consequence was that Glyndwr was pronounced a traitor, and his property declared to be confiscated.

Wrongs such as these were sufficiently calculated to exasperate the feelings of any one not wholly insensible; but on the temper of Owain they operated in a peculiar and powerful manner, connected as they were with circumstances both public and private. The first act of Owain, resulting from the treatment he had experienced, was to repossess himself of the lands of which he had been so wantonly deprived; and having accomplished this, he proceeded to retort upon Lord Grey the consequences of his injustice, by seizing also a considerable portion of that nobleman's hereditary domains. Grey was at this time at the English court, and as soon as the news of the events arrived there, he was dispatched by Henry, with Lord Talbot, to inflict summary vengeance upon Glyndwr; and, such was the secresy and expedition with which the two noblemen executed the king's commands, that they nearly succeeded in taking by surprise the object of their pursuit. His house was almost surrounded before he was aware of their approach; and it was only by his superior local knowledge that he found the means of escaping to the adjoining wood.

The die was now cast. Glyndwr, proscribed and assailed as a traitor, had no alternative but to support the character with firmness and energy. He accordingly profited by a fair held at Ruthin in Denbighshire, on the 20th September, 1400, within the territory of Lord Grey, to subject that town to pillage and conflagration. Many of the inhabitants, as well as of the English merchants that attended the fair, were slain in the general confusion, and such as escaped this fate had to lament the plunder or destruction of their property. After this exploit, which may be considered as the first act of public hostility on the part of Owain, he made an open avowal of his designs, and was proclaimed Prince of Wales, and retired to the neighbouring mountains, for the purpose both of sheltering himself from his enemies, and of gaining time to prepare for

new operations. The rumour of the revolt in the meantime spread rapidly through all parts of Wales, and numbers flocked to the standard of the insurgent chief, some from a private dislike of Lord Grey, others from political hostility towards Henry, whom all the adherents of the late king denounced as an usurper.

As soon as Henry was apprised of these insurrectionary movements, he determined to attack the author of them in person, and if possible to crush in its infancy a rebellion which, he foresaw, might in his particular situation assume a dangerous character. Accordingly he entered North Wales with a large force, comprising the feudal levies of ten English counties, and proceeded as far as Anglesey, marking his course by blood and desolation; but he was unable to bring Glyndwr to an engagement. That wily chieftain, following the example of his countrymen on former occasions of a similar nature, took refuge amongst the recesses of Snowdon, and Henry was obliged to retrace his steps without having accomplished any part of his enterprise. As Owain's influence and interest lay both in North Wales and in South Wales, during the summer of 1401 he marched with a detachment of his army, consisting of one hundred and twenty men-atarms,¹ and posted them on Plynlimon, on the confines of Cardiganshire and Montgomeryshire.²

¹ The man-at-arms at that period was to consist of three archers and one swordsman, according to a French authority quoted by Pennant, which computation would make the force altogether four hundred and eighty men.

² Plynlimon, thus fixed upon for their summer quarters, is actually composed of three mountains, though frequently, but erroneously, spoken of as one. Yet, though only three mountains have been said to form the chain of Plynlimon proper, each of these may again be more properly described as the centre of a vast group of hills ranging one round another, extending from the vicinity of Llanfair Caereinion in the north-east, till they decline on the south-west into the abrupt cliffs which bound the bay of Cardigan, near Aberystwyth. A large portion of the hills which compose the centre of the group on the south and east spread into Cardiganshire, and thence branch out into extensive chains running through Radnorshire, Brecknockshire and Caermarthenshire. Plynlimon is one of the

The selection of this position by Owain as the basis of his future operations, offensive and defensive, evinced great foresight and policy, as from its central position it was admirably adapted for receiving succours from his vassals and friends in each part of the Principality. His small band of men, entrenched by the numerous and extensive turbaries which surround it, and are only passable at certain points, might have braved the whole power of his invaders for a long time, if supplied with provisions. The position also was well suited for the purpose of hostile excursions into the Marches; and from thence he ravaged such parts of the county of Montgomery as proved hostile; the county town of Montgomery was taken by surprise, and sacked; the suburbs of Pool were burnt; the abbey of Cwmhir in Radnorshire also felt his power. He next visited Maelienydd, or New Radnor, a place at that time of great strength, being fortified by the Lords-Marchers with a wall and castle. The garrison, consisting of threescore men, were all brought out and beheaded on the brink of the castle yard, and the town laid in ashes; and it has never recovered its former importance since that desolating visitation. This list of military operations

highest mountains in Wales, attaining an elevation of 2463 feet above the level of the sea; the ruggedness and inhospitality of its environs is in general so unrelieved that it affords little food for the picturesque enthusiasm merely of those who venture on the labours and perils of the ascent. All around is vast. Alps upon alps, Pelion upon Ossa, or any other swelling image the visitor may affect, would fail to exaggerate the scene. It is the most dangerous mountain in Wales to ascend, on account of the frequent bogs which intersect it, and hold out no warning, concealed as they are under a smooth and apparently firm turf; its ascent should never be attempted, even in our days, without the aid of a guide. A striking feature in the character of this mountain is its furnishing a head to three rivers, all celebrated among both poets and topographers-the Severn, the Wye and the Rheidol. To find the sources of two rivers, so long, so copious, yet so distant from each other as the Severn and Wye, with that of a third in a still different direction, of scarcely inferior beauty, though of less volume, all close together, supplied from the springs of a single mountain, is one of those unexpected occurrences with which nature delights to surprise the admirers of her boundless skill and power.

planned here might be much augmented, as the castle of Dinas, near Talgarth in Brecknockshire, was burnt, and those of the Hay, Abergavenny, Grosmont, Usk, the Bishop's Castle, and others, were all, either in part or wholly, the victims of his daring sallies.

Owain, perceiving the fidelity and attachment of the Flemish inhabitants of Pembrokeshire and the lower part of Cardiganshire to the interest of the English king, made them also feel his presence by incursions upon them from his stronghold of Plynlimon. These Flemings were the descendants of that people who had been planted as a colony by Henry the First at Rhoose in Pembrokeshire, to curb and harass the native Welsh. And Glyndwr in turn now so harassed them that, bent on retaliation and the removal of so dangerous an enemy, they assembled a body of fifteen hundred men, made a most expeditious march, and such was the celerity of their movements, that they succeeded in detaching Glyndwr from his main position on Plynlimon, and surrounded him and his men on a neighbouring mountain called Mynydd Hyddgen, to great disadvantage.³

Here Owain and his chosen band, which could not have exceeded five hundred men, were encompassed on all sides of the hill by the superior number of his opponents, thirsting for revenge, and eager for the fray. Like the lion taken in the toils, he made a long, vigorous and obstinate resistance; but when he found it impossible to retain his position any longer, cut off from all supplies, and that he had no alternative than to surrender or make some

³ Hyddgen, the scene of action, is an upland farm or sheep-walk in Montgomeryshire, and lies north from Plynlimon somewhat more than three miles, and is separated from that mountain by the river Rheidol and its channel. The top of Hyddgen, called Y'r Wylfa, or the Watch Tower, very characteristically, from the view it affords of the early channel of the Rheidol, and of the hills on each side, presents a circular area of firm ground, surrounded by a sharp declivity or sloping front, while the ground below is soft and yielding. The position therefore was one that might be tenable for a long time, by a force of determination and spirit, against another much superior in number, if not forced to surrender for want of supplies. desperate effort, he addressed his followers with a fervour excited by the occasion, telling them they must be prepared to die of famine, or cut their way through the enemy sword in hand; as, if unsuccessful, there was nothing to anticipate but death. Finally, he urged them, if death were to be their doom, at least to meet it with arms in their hands. Upon this he directed them to charge the enemy, and give no quarter; and they executed the command with such impetuosity, that the Flemings, thrown into confusion, took to flight in the greatest disorder, leaving two hundred of their party dead on the field of battle.

The approach of the Flemings from the south to surprise Owain was probably along the valley of the Rheidol, which, at its first descent from the hills, inclines to a southerly direction, and would thus far be their guide, till at the well known Falls of the Devil's Bridge, it meets with the Mynach, and takes a more westerly course to the sea. From the falls of the Rheidol river to the Teifi is but a few miles distance, whence that river might be their route from the borders of Pembrokeshire. This supposition, in the absence of regular roads, at least bears the marks of probability, and is strengthened by the vestiges of a strongly entrenched encampment on the Teifi, near Tregaron, called Castell Fleming to this day. Owain's access to his mountain fortress from Machynlleth, and the country well affected to his cause, might have been from Dolgaradog, at the foot of the Delefi mountain, either by the pass of Hengwm, Cyfeiliog, and Rhiwvyonoc, or else by that of Rhosygarreg, Cwmgwarchau and Rhaiadr Du. The names of Cwmgwarchau, or "the Guard's Valley," also, Y'r Wylfa, "the Watch Tower," Dinas, "the Fortification," and others in the vicinity, are all illustrative of military positions, and refer to military occupation of the country, when wars and rumours of wars frighted the propriety of the pastoral inhabitants of the land. One cairn, commanding the pass of Henbwlch on the Cardiganshire side of Plynlimon, still retains the name of Cairn Owain; whilst the names of

Cadogan and Cyfeiliog occurring in the district, awaken recollections associated with those names in British history. On Esgair y Ffordd, a mountain-ridge in sight of Plynlimon, and adjoining Hyddgen, is a round earthen tumulus, which may have been the place of sepulture of those who fell in battle on this occasion, and near it is a round cairn of grey mountain stones. On Trawsvynydd, another ridge, other tumuli exist. Indeed the numerous carneddau and tumuli that present themselves to notice on Plynlimon, can only be referred to this period of history, or to the still earlier and more unhappy intestine wars amongst our countrymen themselves in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.⁴

This gallant exploit, achieved against so great a superiority of forces, had the effect not only of extending the popularity of the Welsh chieftain among his countrymen, and of producing a considerable accession to the number of his followers, but also of awakening the apprehensions of Henry. He therefore entered the Principality a second time, about the beginning of June, 1401, for the purpose of quelling the insurrection. During this invasion, the venerable abbey of Strata Florida was destroyed by the royal troops, and the country around ravaged; but the king was compelled to make an inglorious and disastrous retreat.

Yet we find him soon afterwards meditating a fresh enterprise against Glyndwr, for which purpose he collected a large army; but the event was infelicitous as in the preceding instances; and Glyndwr found himself, at the commencement of 1402, in a formidable attitude. Partisans continued to crowd to his banners, and the smiles of hope grew brighter with his increasing numbers. Lord Grey was the first who felt the effects of

⁴ The idea here thrown out by the learned author of this paper, concerning the age of carneddau and tumuli on various mountains of Wales, is too valuable to be lost sight of. Antiquaries should bear it mind in their examination of such remains. We venture to call the attention of Mr. Wynne, Mr. Ffoulkes, Mr. Cliffe, and others, to this subject.—EDD. ARCH. CAMB.

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Owain's power. That nobleman, strongly attached to Henry, and impatient of the injuries which he and his friends had received from Glyndwr, raised a considerable army, encountered him, was defeated, and taken prisoner.

Historians differ as to the scene of this action; some say it was on the banks of the Vyrniew in Montgomeryshire, others that it was in the neighbourhood of Ruthin; the latter seems more probable, as the castle of Ruthin was the chief seat of Lord Grey, and Owain is said to have drawn his incautious adversary into the field, where he fell into an ambuscade, and being taken, was carried fast bound into confinement in the fastnesses of Snowdon.⁵ Lord Grey remained a long time in captivity, nor did he regain his liberty without paying a ransom of 10,000 marks.

Glyndwr's next operations were directed against some individuals of note in North Wales, adherents of the English, whom he proceeded to punish. He destroyed their houses and other property. It is probably to this period that we are to appropriate an instance of chastisement at once cruel and singular, which he is said to have inflicted upon one of his opponents, who was also his kinsman, Hywel Sele, who lived at Nannau in Merionethshire, and had rendered himself obnoxious to his relative by the zeal with which he espoused the cause of King Henry; the consequence was that an enmity, heightened perhaps by their consanguinity, had sprung up between them. The abbot of Cymmer Abbey, desirous of producing a reconciliation, contrived that the two cousins should meet. Hywel had the reputation of being an excellent archer, and as he and Glyndwr were walking in the grounds of Nannau, the latter pointed out a deer for the purpose of testing his kinsman's dexterity. The bow was immediately

⁵ Can Mr. Morgan supply any data for ascertaining the exact place of Lord Grey's imprisonment, and of the actual routes taken by Henry the Fourth in these two incursions under the king in person mentioned in this paper ?—EDD. ARCH. CAMB.

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bent, and the arrow discharged, but not at the proper object; Hywel had traitorously aimed it at the breast of Glyndwr, which it struck, but as the chieftain wore armour under his clothes, the purpose of the assassin was foiled. Hywel was instantly seized by the followers of his intended victim, and thrown into the hollow of a tree, where he was left to perish, and where his skeleton, tradition adds, was found about forty years afterwards.

According to another version of this narrative, Glyndwr and Hywel accidently met while the former was enjoying the pleasures of the chase on the domains of his cousin. An altercation ensued, and terminated in an appeal to arms. Hywel fell in the combat, and his lifeless body was thrust into the cavity of a tree-a circumstance that detracts much from the cruelty of the deed as above related. About forty years afterwards a friend of Glyndwr, who was present during the transaction, revealed it to Hywel's surviving family, and his remains were discovered as already described. Until that period it was not known what fate had befallen the unfortunate lord of Nannau, such was the mysterious secresy in which his death was involved. On this occasion Glyndwr burnt the house, and committed other devastations on the domains of his treacherous relative, and some traces of Hywel Sele's mansion were to be seen a few years ago, a mere compost of cinders and ashes.

The tree to which the above narrated tradition belongs, an aged oak, was standing until within a few years in the park at Nannau, the residence of Sir Robert W. Vaughan, Bart. It fell during the night of the 17th of July, 1818, when the weather was remarkably serene and sultry, which seems to show the extreme age to which it had arrived. It must have existed many centuries, and the superstitious attributes with which the traditions of the country had invested it, had made it as noted as it was venerable. Sir Walter Scott, in his "Marmion," says :--

> "All nations have their omens drear, Their legends wild of woe and fear; To Cambria look, the peasant see,

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Bethink him of Glyndwrdy, And shun the spirit's blasted tree."

It was known by the name of "Derwen," or "Ceubren yr Ellyll," or the goblin's hollow oak tree.

Owain, pursuing his resentment against all the chieftains unfavourable to his views, advanced with his army into Herefordshire, on the borders of South Wales, and carried fire and sword through the lands of his opponents. None suffered so severely as the vassals and tenants of Edward Mortimer, earl of March, a child of ten years of age, who with his brother Roger was in custody of the king at the time. Henry was conscious of the just title of this child to the crown in preference to himself, being descended from Lionel duke of Clarence, third son of Edward the Third; his title had even been acknowledged in Parliament. This increased the king's apprehensions, and made him consider the misfortunes of the house of Mortimer the strengthening of his own throne. Sir Edmund Mortimer, the uncle of the youth, collected a large body of his nephew's tenants and retainers out of the county of Hereford and the adjacent parts, particularly from Maelienydd in Radnorshire, and with them marched against the invaders. A bloody action ensued near Pilleth in Radnorshire, a little south-east of Presteign. Some writers assert that the archers of Mortimer's army bent their bows against their own party. Another says that March's Welsh tenants took to flight at the Victory declared in favour of Glyndwr, as first onset. the whole array of Herefordshire was routed on that field, and more than 1000 Englishmen were slain.

One of the next acts of Owain was to obtain the sanction of his countrymen to his assumption of the royal authority, and for this purpose he convoked a national assembly or parliament at Machynlleth in Montgomeryshire. Of this assemblage no records have reached posterity, yet we are informed that the ceremony of coronation was performed, and Owain's title as Prince of Wales fully and formally acknowledged. The ancient senate house, wherein the nobility and gentry of Wales held their sessions, was situate in Maengwyn Street, the principal thoroughfare of the town. It stood till a very recent period, and had a most venerable appearance, exhibiting marks of great antiquity, being built of the perishable shale stone of the country. At the back was a flight of stone stairs leading into the great room or hall of state, and here beams and rafters of curiously carved wood, and other symbols of the pristine importance of the building, were to be seen. Having fallen into a dilapidated state, the greater part was a few years since taken down, and other buildings erected.⁶ A spacious arched porch or entrance is now the only external sign of the once honourable destination of the original edifice. An incident occurred on this occasion to mar in some degree the harmony of the meeting. Sir David Gam, a Brecknockshire gentleman, was present, under the pretence of uniting in its object, but really with very different views. He had plotted the death of his countryman and prince; but the scheme was discovered when on the point of being executed. David was seized and imprisoned, and would instantly have met with condign punishment, had it not been for the intercession of some of Owain's best friends and partisans. Party zeal, and the hopes of reward from the English court, probably incited him to attempt the unworthy deed.⁷

⁶ One of the many instances of that excessive apathy for the preservation of historical monuments, and dislike of antiquity, which prevails in Wales. There is abundance of *talk* about "national honour," "national dignity," "national independence," "ancient renown," "early provess," &c., &c.; but is it a question as to whether any venerable monument illustrative of, and proving the claims of the country to, such distinction shall be preserved ?—that monument is almost sure to be immediately demolished. Let anybody take the trouble to ask the Welsh nobility and gentry to repair and preserve their ancient castles—we will say nothing of their churches or their mansions—to prevent the carneddau, or cromlechau, or meini hirion, or camps from being destroyed—and to spend a few pounds for these objects; and let him see what answers he will get in by far the majority of cases ! Patriotic words are as abundant as patriotic deeds are scarce.—EDD. ARCH. CAMB.

⁷ Carte, the historian, says he was instigated by Henry, and describes him as holding his estates under him of the honour of Hereford, 1

Public events having about this time⁸ united the earls of Northumberland and Douglas in league against Henry, overtures were made by them to Glyndwr for an alliance, to which he readily acceded. In the following year the Scots invaded England with an army of twelve or thirteen thousand men, under the command of the gallant Douglas. The earl of Northumberland, and his son Hotspur, were engaged in collecting and organizing troops in the north, for the professed purpose of repressing the Scots, and of invading Scotland, as soon as the king should join them with his forces, but with the real intention of joining the Welsh and Scots. Hotspur, taking from these troops eight score horse, marched southward from Berwick at their head, and came through Lancashire and Cheshire, avowing his defection, and spreading his rebellious principles on every side. He proclaimed everywhere that their favourite Richard, though deposed by the tyranny of Bolingbroke, was still alive; many gathered round him, resolved to avenge the wrongs of their deposed lord, especially the gentry of Cheshire, a county ever affectionate to Richard. A body also of Welsh insurgents joined Hotspur, and marched with him to Lichfield, carrying the badge of the late king, the stag, as their party distinction.

and as having long been in the personal service of Bolingbroke, and firmly attached to his interest. Glyndwr kept him in close confinement, and the king, after repeated efforts to obtain the liberation of Gam, was under the necessity, in 1412, of issuing a writ, permitting his esquire, Llewelyn ap Hoel, father of David Gam, to make use of the services of Sir John Tiptoffe, seneschal, and William Boteler, receiver, of Brecknock, to treat with Owain about the redemption of his son, who is described as kept "in forti et durâ prisonâ," or in case of failure, to endeavour to seize some of Owain's friends, that might be exchanged for him. On the extinction of the revolt David obtained his liberty, after a tedious incarceration of ten years, and was cordially received at the court of Henry the Fifth, whom he accompanied in his wars in France, and fell at the battle of Agincourt, in the personal defence of his sovereign.-[Sir David Gam's mansion still exists close to the town of Brecon, in the same state of neglect as all the historical monuments of that town and county.-EDD. ARCH. CAMB.]

⁸ 1402 and 1403.

The king was on his march towards the north with the intention of joining the forces raised by the Percies, and of advancing with them into Scotland, and that expedition well ended, of returning to quell the rebels in Wales. When the king was at Higham Ferrers, we have it by a letter under his own hand, dated the 10th July, 1403, that he believed himself on his road northward to form a junction with Hotspur and Northumberland, (of whose allegiance he had not entertained any suspicion,) to make a joint expedition against the Scots. Five days only at the farthest intervened between the date of this letter, and the king's proclamation at Burton-upon-Trent (still on his journey northward) to the sheriffs, to raise their counties, and join him to resist the Percies, whose rebellion had then suddenly been made known to him. The proclamation is dated the 16th July, 1403, and the king decided instantly to grapple with this unlooked for revolt, and attack Hotspur before he was joined by his confederates; and Hotspur's impetuosity probably seconded the king's policy of hastening an immediate engagement. Henry of Monmouth was on the Welsh borders, and proceeded thence and formed a junction with his father; and the battle of Shrewsbury was fought on the 21st of July, only four days after the issuing the king's proclamation at Burton-upon-Trent, between the forces of the king and the prince on the one side, and those of Hotspur and his uncle Worcester on the other.

Owain Glyndwr is said by Leland to have promised Percy to be present at the battle of Shrewsbury. He is reported by Pennant to have remained as if spell-bound with 12,000 men at Oswestry. Tradition also points to the still existing remains of an oak at Shelton, into the topmost branches of which he climbed to see the turn of the battle, resolving to proceed or retire as that should be, having come with his forces to that spot time enough to join in the conflict. The question involving Owain Glyndwr's good faith and valour, or zeal and activity, is one of much interest, and deserves to be patiently investigated; whilst an attentive examination of authentic documents, and a careful comparison of dates, are essential to the establishment of truth; the result of the inquiry may be new, and yet not on that account the less to be relied upon.

That Owain gladly promised to co-operate with the Percies there is every reason to regard as true; that he undertook to be with them at Shrewsbury on the day of battle cannot, it should seem, be true; probably he never heard of any expectation of such an engagement; and the first news which reached him relating to it may have been tidings of Percy's death, and the discomfiture of his troops. That the reports have originated in an entire ignorance of Owain's probable position at the time, and of the sudden, unforeseen and unexpected character of the struggle to which Bolingbroke's instantaneous decision forced the Percies, will evidently appear if, instead of relying on vague tradition, we follow in search of the reality, where facts only, or fair inferences from ascertained facts, may conduct It appears then to be satisfactorily demonstrable us. by original documents, interpreted independently of preconceived theory, that four days only before King Henry's proclamation against the Percies was issued at Burton-upon-Trent, Owain Glyndwr was in the extreme divisions of Caermarthenshire, most actively and anxiously engaged in reducing the English castles which still held out against him, and by no means free from formidable antagonists in the field, being fully occupied at that juncture, and likely to be occupied for some time. It must also be remembered that the king published his proclamation from the north, as soon as he had himself heard of Hotspur's movements, and that even his knowledge of the hostile intentions of the Percies preceded the battle itself only by the brief space of five days. This circumstance bears so immediately on the charge made against the Welsh chieftain, that it seems to claim a full and minute investigation. The documents furnishing the facts are chiefly original letters,

preserved in the British Museum, and made accessible by having been published by Sir Henry Ellis, (second series). The first of the series of documents from which it is presumed that light is thrown on this subject, is a letter from Richard Kyngeston, archdeacon of Hereford, addressed to the king, dated Hereford, Sunday, July 8th, and therefore 1403, just thirteen days before the battle of Shrewsbury. It is written in French, but the postscript, added evidently in vast trepidation, and as if under the sudden fear that he had not expressed himself strongly enough, is in English; his eagerness for the arrival of the king in Wales, by forced marches, is expressed with an earnestness which is almost ridiculous :—

"Our most redoubted and sovereign lord the king. I recommend myself humbly to your highness. . . . From day to day letters are arriving from Wales, by which you may learn that the whole country is lost, unless you go forth as quickly as possible. Be pleased to set forth with all your power, and march as well by night as day, for the salvation of those parts. It will be a great disgrace, as well as damage, to loose, in the beginning of your reign, a country which your ancestors gained and retained so long, for which people speak very unfavourably. I send the copy of a letter which came from John Scydmore this morning. . . . Written in haste, at Hereford, the 8th day of July.

"Your lowly creature, "RICHARD KYNGESTON, "Archdeacon of Hereford.

"P.S.—And for God's love my liege lord, think on yourself and your estate; or, by my troth, all is lost else; but an ye come yourself, all other will follow after. On Friday last Caermarthen town was taken and burnt, and the castle yielden by Ro. Wydmor; and the Castle Emlyn is yielden; and slain of the town of Caermarthen more than fifty persons. Written in great haste on Sunday, and I cry you mercy, and put me in your high grace, that I write so shortly, for, by my troth that I owe to you, it is needful."

This ecclesiastic, Kyngeston, was much in the royal confidence. By commission dated June 16th, 1404, he, as archdeacon of Hereford, is authorised to receive the subsidy in the counties of Hereford, Gloucester and Warwick, and to dispose of it in the support of men-atarms and archers to resist the Welsh; and, three years afterwards, sums were paid to him out of the exchequer, for the maintenance of soldiers remaining with him in the parts of Wales, for the safeguard of the same. He seems to have been not only the dispenser of the money, but the captain of the men. The debt, however, had probably been due from the crown for a long time. He was for many years master of the wardrobe to Henry the Fourth, and during his time the expences of the court appear to have become more extravagant, and to have led to remonstrance.

This letter is the more valuable because, though the year is not annexed in words, the information that he wrote on Sunday, July 8th, fixes the date to 1403, the next year to which this date would apply being 1408, four years after he ceased to be archdeacon of Hereford.

T. O. MORGAN.

Aberystwyth.

BEDDAU GWYR ARDUDWY.

(Read at Dolgellau.)

It frequently falls to the lot of the antiquary to meet with memorial-stones, graves, and other ancient relics, about which the local traditions are obscure and mysterious. Experience however has taught us that, in most matters of that kind, tradition is not to be wholly rejected, any more than it is to be implicitly received as historically true. It has been the means, very frequently, of supplying the hiatus in many a historical narration, and of establishing many a doubtful point. In the present instance a tradition exists, more entire in its parts than many others, and it is of an interesting character; but, being enveloped in mystery, its genuineness cannot be vouched for. I shall advert to it presently.

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The graves which form the subject of our inquiry are known by the name of Beddau Gwyr Ardudwy; which, translated, would mean, the Graves of the Men of Ardudwy. Their site and condition I examined this day; and that they are places of interment I think there can be no doubt. They are situated in a remote and lonely part of the retired parish of Ffestiniog, about twenty-one miles from Dolgellau, on either side of the Roman road known by the name of Sarn Helen, and on the acclivity of the hill, up which this road winds. From a small elevation contiguous, the eye can command a considerable tract of country, though there is nothing in its features that is inviting, except towards the west. The Roman road here is in a tolerable state of preservation, and breasts, with a few windings, a steep defile, guarded on the north and east by rocks of stern and forbidding aspects. Turning to the west the scene, though confined, is beautiful and imposing, presenting all the essentials of a picturesque landscape. In the foreground, to the right, are the rocks and extensive slate quarries of Ffestiniog; immediately in front lies the much admired vale of Ffestiniog; in the mid-distance is the beautiful estuary of Traeth-bychan, with the Portmadoc embankment; while, in the extreme distance are the sea, and the blue promontory of Lleyn in Caernarvonshire.

Gibson's edition of Camden's "Britannia" contains the first allusion that I have seen to this spot, and to the tradition. In the notes to that work, the number of graves is laid down at thirty. Pennant describes the place, and gives the tradition. In his wake follow other tourists, who pretend to have visited the place, and state the graves to be thirty-six in number, distinguished by stones placed at the head and foot of each grave. There might, at the time when the notes for Gibson's "Camden" were being compiled, have been thirty or thirty-six in number; but, at the present day, two head-stones only remain, and no separate graves are distinguishable. An intelligent peasant who conducted me to them, and who had resided near the place for sixty years and more, informed me, that "he had been there hundreds of times, and taken notice of this particular spot, on account of the remarkable tradition connected with it; but never remembered to have seen many head-stones. At one time, long ago, there might have been a dozen—never more."

The graves—for such assuredly there had been—appear to have been enclosed within two spaces, each of an elliptic form, and surrounded each by a wall of stones. Nothing now remains of this wall, besides the few foundation stones which show themselves above the natural turf, barely serving to mark the ancient limits. That the graves were not placed without due regard to order, I think may safely be inferred from the two existing headstones, which project upwards of a foot above the ground, and mark separate graves, being placed at right angles with each other. There are at present no cairns, as some persons would have us to believe, nor are there many stones about, most having been carried away, apparently for building purposes. I am not prepared to say that there have been no cairns, but that there are no cistvaens I feel confident.

Some slight excavations appear to have been made here at no very remote time; but I failed to learn of any human remains having been exhumed, or the finding of any relics of art.

Such is the present state of these memorials. There is but little to arrest the eye; and it would be difficult, I think, for a stranger to discover the place, without good local assistance.

The tradition connected with the spot, though briefly told, is of romantic interest, and has nearly a parallel in the *rape of the Sabines*. It is reported that certain men of Ardudwy made an incursion into the distant vale of Clwyd, in order to steal away certain fair ladies, inhabitants of that vale. Their errand was so far crowned with success, that they not only bore away their prize in triumph, but gained the hearts of the damsels also. The friends and neighbours of the stolen ones, regarding this clandestine visit and conduct with dislike, resolved on a recapture, and, having gone in search of the fugitives, overtook them near the place under consideration. The *knights of Ardudwy* (if I may so term them) determined that arms should decide the question between their pursuers and themselves. An engagement accordingly ensued, during which the "ladies fair" retreated to one of the neighbouring heights, (still pointed out,) and, perceiving their new friends, of whom they had become enamoured, worsted, and eventually slain, they precipitated themselves into a lake that is at the foot of the hill, rather than return home.

The tradition has in it nothing to lead us to so much as a conjecture as to the age in which the event happened, if it ever did. For the present, it must rest amongst the obscure annals of the nation, to be resuscitated perhaps by a future Scott of Wales.

The lake is called *llyn y morwynion*, or the *lake of the maidens*, as it is said, from the above circumstance; and these graves are supposed to be the burial places of the adventurous but unfortunate men of Ardudwy. This is the *popular* belief.

These places of interment are referred by some to the days of druidism, and to a period anterior to the Roman conquest of Wales. Their druidical identity however is very questionable. The fact that they are so conveniently placed on either side of the Roman road alone would, in my opinion, fix their date subsequently to the subjugation of this part by the Romans, and the establishment of the said line of road. Neither can I be induced to assent to the popular belief—it is too vague and indefinite. The position and features of these relics appear to me to identify them with Roman, rather than with British, remains. My humble opinion therefore is, that these graves are the places of interment of Roman soldiers.

T. W. HANCOCK.

Penbryn, Dolgellau.

THE BRITISH AND ROMAN ENCAMPMENTS OF HEREFORDSHIRE.

An Abstract from a Lecture delivered before the Members of the Philosophical and Antiquarian Society of Hereford. By JAMES DAVIES, Solicitor.

THE subject of ancient military encampments is one which irresistibly carries back our thoughts to the contemplation of times long since past, and to the review of actions and characters appertaining to individuals long since departed, but which are recorded in history for the instruction at least, if not for the admiration, of posterity, and must ever possess a peculiar interest for the antiquary and philosopher, especially when viewed from the very scenes which, silent and deserted as they now appear, have alternately resounded with the shouts of victory, or the lamentations of defeat. We are thus enabled to obtain a clearer and more actual perception of the events themselves, and the research to which such contemplations lead is in itself productive of reward, by tending to a further development of the history of bygone ages.

The camps in our own county (Hereford) are mostly ascribed to the period of the invasion of the Romans under Ostorius Scapula, who was appointed by Claudius to complete the conquest of Britain; and such as appear of British origin are attributed to Caractacus, better known among his countrymen as Caradoc ap Bran, the renowned leader of the Silures, the inhabitants of these parts, and it was here he made his last stand in defence of the liberties of his country.

When Ostorius landed, he found affairs in great confusion, in consequence of the ceaseless endeavours made by the British to repel the Roman legions. To prevent further incursions, he first placed garrisons upon the Severn and Avon, and then proceeded to reduce the southern portions of the island to obedience. He next engaged with the Iceni, Cangi, and the Brigantes, in succession; but the Silures, relying chiefly on the courage of their leader, still offered the most determined resistance; and, although gradually driven into the more hilly districts of their country, continued, with unabated courage, the struggle for life and liberty.

The successive occupation of the Roman and British camps is, of course, in a great measure conjectural, but founded on these two assumptions :---

Firstly—From the historical fact that Caractacus was driven by Ostorius in a north-westerly direction ; and, Secondly—From the relative position of the several British and Roman camps with respect to each other.

The first station which attracts our notice is that of Doward, a British fortress, which I suppose to have been occupied by Caractacus, whilst Ostorius and his army were stationed on the adjacent eminences of Great Doward and Symond's Yat.

Camden, in his description of Herefordshire, says :----

"In the south limit of this county is Doward, a pretty high hill, on the top whereof, one would guess by the ditches, there had been an ancient fortification, and what makes it more probable is that, in digging there for iron ore and limestone, broad arrow heads have been found of late years; and not long ago the greatest part of the bones of a gigantic person were found here interred, in a place that seemed to be arched over. The length of all the parts were twice the length of others of this age."

These remains have been supposed to be those of a person of rank, who escaped from the battle of Ambresbury, in which Vortigern (king of Britain in the fifth century) was defeated, and who himself fled into Wales, and took up his abode in Dinas Emrys, in Caernarvonshire, where he built a fort.

From Doward Caractacus apparently steered his course towards the Herefordshire Beacon.

The camps at Gaer Cop, Eaton, Caplar, (so called from Scapula,) Dineder, anciently called Oyster Hill, or Ostorius' Hill, and Aconbury, and other places, such as Caradoc in Sellack, are no doubt connected with this movement, Ostorius taking up his position in order to bring Caractacus to action upon passing the river Wye.

Notwithstanding the close pursuit of Ostorius, the British leader seems to have succeeded in reaching the Beacon, the country around which offered natural impediments to the advance of the Roman legions. Here he established communications with the camps at Upperton, Netherton, Birdenbury, Thornbury and Risbury, forming a direct line, which began at Whitborne, a little north of the Malvern Hills, and crossed the country.

Ostorius seated himself on Wall Hills, near Ledbury, by which he could communicate with the road from the old Roman station Circutio,¹ (Stretton Grandison,) and by which he could pass into

¹ In making excavations during the construction of the Gloucester and Hereford Canal, which crosses the parish of Stretton Grandison, several Roman remains were found, consisting of several pieces of pottery, a small weighing balance, resembling in form our common steelyard, and other curiosities, which are now in the custody of Mr. Philip Ballard, Widemarsh Street, Hereford, civil engineer to the Canal Company. the Watling Street, at Wigmore, and the Ikenild Way, from Gloew (Gloucester). Upon part of this road he established a station, now unknown, called Black-caer-dun, from whence he could receive reinforcements.

We must now pause at the Herefordshire Beacon, and review this work of ancient art.

This camp is one of the strongest and most considerable in the island. The labour employed in its construction, from its amazing belts and ramparts, and great extent, must have been incalculable. Its situation, as well on account of the view it commands as of its occupying the only pass through the Malvern Hills, its singular form, different from the modes adopted by the Romans, Saxons, or Danes, all tend to establish the opinion of its being of British origin, and if so, that it was not constructed for mere temporary purposes, but as one of those permanent securities which the British possessed, where the inhabitants of an entire district may have sought an asylum from the invasion of any foreign or domestic foe. The occupation of such a spot by Caractacus may well be a subject of admiration; for no eminence in this neighbourhood could have afforded a better retreat, or have been better guarded and protected from such powerful enemies as the Romans.

The Rev. Dr. Card, (late Vicar of Malvern,) in his Dissertation on the Herefordshire Beacon, expresses himself clearly of opinion that this encampment is of British workmanship, and one of the forts of Caractacus. He says :---

"If it had been erected at any previous period, it could only have been for the purpose of defending the adjacent districts from the petty incursions of rival chieftains, or bandits, who were so often employed in mutually destroying and pillaging each other. It is, indeed, both an absurd and improbable conjecture that a fortification of such strength, capable of admitting an army of 20,000 men within its trenches, and the bastions of which contain an area sufficient for the stowage and pasturage of horses and cattle, and are of that construction that their firmness has not yielded to the effects of seventeen centuries, should have been erected for temporary purposes, when a handful of soldiers would have served to repel aggressions of this character. The remains, too, of a smaller camp, surrounded by a single ditch, and unquestionably of an earlier date than the great one of Caractacus, which are still visible about a mile and a-half from the latter, form a further illustration of my doctrine, and may be considered as the result of these intestine wars."

Caractacus appears to have been driven along the Malvern Hills to Whitborne, where there are the remains of a Roman and British camp, and thence to have pursued his course to Thornbury, Birdenbury, Netherton, Upperton and Risbury, whilst Ostorius took up a position probably at Berrington, northward of the above mentioned encampments.

As will be perceived, Ostorius now appears to have changed his position, and kept his army north of Caractacus, doubtless for the purpose of preventing his retreat to the hilly districts of Shropshire and Radnorshire.

The next station of the British chieftain was Ivington,² whilst Ostorius encamped at Cholstry, (a corruption of the ancient name Caer Ostruy, *i. e.*, Ostorius' fort,³) and at Carne Hill, vulgarly called Corner Cop, are remains of fosses and ramparts.

Here there appears to be an interruption in the direct line of camps.

The Rev. T. D. Fosbrooke, in a work entitled "Ariconensia," supposes that Caractacus encamped at Credenhill, whilst Ostorius threw up camps at Burghill and Eaton; from the former Caractacus removed again to Ivington, and afterwards to Croft Ambrey, whilst Ostorius still held him in check from another camp at Aymestry. The Roman general however still pressed close upon his retiring foe, until Caractacus found a temporary respite within the stronger fortifications of Wapley camp.

Here a difficulty arises as to the position taken up by Ostorius; but from the fact of there being a small square camp on Bradnor hill, contiguous to Wapley, though evidently westward of it, we may be allowed to conjecture that he occupied that station, his main object throughout being to prevent Caractacus from retreating to the mountainous districts.

The Rev. Jonathan Williams, in his "History of Leominster," thus speaks of Wapley camp:----

"The banks and ditches of it are five-fold, excepting on one side, where the steepness of the ascent is sufficient security; they are also

² Ivington camp is recorded as that in which Owain Glyndwr sought refuge after he had held the town of Leominster, from which he retreated before the army of Prince Henry, in which situation Henry endeavoured to attack him, but finding the works difficult to encounter, he stationed himself a distance off, where he awaited in expectation which afterwards followed—that the forces of Glyndwr would perish for want of provisions, and oblige him to abandon the fort.

³ Carne Hill is supposed to be the spot where the duke of Northumberland entrenched his army, in his endeavour to secure the throne for Lady Jane Grey. The inhabitants of Leominster, who were mostly in favour of the Princess Mary, procured assistance from Hereford, from forces then under the command of the earl of Arundel, and headed by Philip Hobby, Richard Walwyn, and Francis Throckmorton, made an attack upon the camp, where, after a severe struggle, the adherents of Lady Jane Grey were defeated. very deep and high. In front of the entrenchment an artificial terrace is cut along the brow of the hill, the slope of which is finely covered with wood, and its northern extremity is washed by a small river, which forms one of the sources of the Lugg. Its form is elliptical. Whoever examines and compares this camp, with all its appendages, cannot fail to discover a striking correspondence with the description which Tacitus has given of the encampments of Caractacus, and to infer that this was one of those posts which that illustrious Silurian occupied, and thereby endeavoured to save his country from the rod of tyrants."

The object of the British chieftain during the pursuit of Ostorius being to avoid close action, his last place of refuge was admirably adapted to the purpose, being a cluster of strong positions near the junction of the Clun and the Teme, where there is a number of hills adjacent to each other, all of which being fortified, he could retreat from height to height.

It is uncertain where the last engagement took place.⁴ Camden thought it was on a hill known as Caer Caradoc, three miles north of Coxwall Knoll. The Rev. J. Duncumb, in his "History of Herefordshire," agrees with General Roy, who, in his work on "Military Antiquities," expresses the same opinion. Coxwall Knoll, known also as Gaerdikes, is a large camp on the summit of a hill, accessible only in one direction, defended on the north side by very deep double trenches; on the east by the steepness of the ground; whilst on the south it has only one ditch. The west side, in which is placed the entrance, being fenced with double works. The side most accessible was further strengthened by a rampart of loose stones, and the bank of the river was lined with troops.

To animate their courage, Caractacus addressed his followers in these words :---

"Remember, Britons, this day is to decide whether we shall be slaves or free! Recollect and imitate the achievements of our ancestors, whose valour expelled Julius Cæsar from our coasts, rescued their country from paying tribute to foreigners, and saved their wives and their daughters from infamy and violation."

With loud exclamations the Britons defied the attack of the enemy, and even Ostorius hesitated; but at length the signal was given, the river was passed, and the Romans, under showers of darts, mounted the hill, burst over the rampart, and drove the Silures from the summit. Two camps at Leintwardine and Brandon,⁵ mark the station of Ostorious previous to the last attack.

⁶ The reader should consult the paper on this subject by Mr. Ffoulkes, read at Dolgellau.—EDD. ARCH. CAMB.

⁵ Afterwards a Roman station, called Bravinium, as appears by the Itinerary of Antoninus.

ARCH. CAMB., NEW SERIES, VOL. II.

The wife and daughter of Caractacus fell into the hands of the victors, and two of his brothers were also taken, and the chieftain himself, after having retreated to Pen-Gwer-Wyn in Denbighshire, was basely betrayed by his step-mother Cartismandua, queen of the Brigantes, under whose protection he had hoped to elude the vigilance of his pursuers.

In tracing the progress of Caractacus under the pursuit of the Roman army, his choice of encampment must be admired by all who possess any feeling of respect towards this brave and noble leader. His retreats and manœuvres were well adapted to baffle the Roman forces, and his courage and valour did not forsake him.

His conduct before the Roman emperor fully convinced his conquerors of the loftiness of his mind, and his speech on that occasion has been a theme of admiration by all historians. The whole history must be so well known to all that it needs no further comment.

To commemorate the virtues of Caractacus, a society of gentlemen formerly met annually on Caer Caradoc, near Church Stretton in Salop, where they recited the praise of this British patriot, either in prose or verse. In the year 1757, Dr. Sneyd Davis, rector of Kingsland, in this county, composed some excellent verses, which were afterwards recited by some one of the company at their annual meeting. These verses, after extolling the conduct of Caractacus before the Roman emperor, conclude with these pathetic lines :--

> "Brave Caradoc, applauded by thy foes, What shall thy friends, thy grateful Britons say? What columns and what altars rear of fame? Thrice told five hundred courses of the sun, Thy age is green, thy laurels freshly bloom; Yet on thy well fought hill, whose stony brow O'erlooks the subject plains, the generous youths Gladsome repair, with annual flowers and song, And festal music to record thy praise."

There are a few other camps in this county, independently of those which I have noticed, which do not seem to have been connected with the warfare between Caractacus and the Romans. Amongst these may be mentioned two at the end of the Black Mountains, near Trewyn House, one at Vowchurch, another at Walterstone, in which vestiges of a Roman tesselated pavement have been found, another above Mordiford, known as St. Ethelbert's camp, and the well known Sutton Walls, with some others.

These were probably temporary encampments thrown up in the time of some domestic skirmish, or small posts for the security of their cattle, or other purposes; or such of them as are bordering on Wales, as those near Trewyn House, and possibly that already alluded to on Bradnor Mountain, may have been connected with the contests between the British and the Welsh.

It is said that St. Ethelbert's camp was the resting-place of that personage on his way to the palace of Offa, king of Mercia, at Sutton Walls, where he was unsuspectingly murdered—

> "When to the unhallowed feast Of Mercian Offa he invited came, To treat of spousals."—*Phillips' Cider*.

There is little or no tradition connected with these encampments, and in the absence of any historical accounts of the cause and purpose of their erection, they must remain as the silent though striking monuments of past events. We may hope that, as the science of archæology advances, the day will soon dawn when new light will be cast upon these as upon other remains of antiquity, and that continued researches into these military relics will reveal to us the knowledge of circumstances which have hitherto lain concealed in the womb of ages.

A last point however remains to be noticed.

Upon these lofty heights and eminences to which we have soared, independently of their connexion with history and war, the lover of nature and the admirer of improvement can find scenes calculated to gratify the best feelings, and ennoble the mind. The poet and painter may here discover subjects for the pen and the pencil, as the antiquary seeks here a study which serves as a more agreeable relaxation to that of his closet, and amidst these romantic elevations can the man of meditative mind admire the varied beauties of nature and scenery; and, whilst he contemplates the events of former times, and reviews the valour and actions of his ancestors, silently recorded in the remains of these noble structures, he can at the same time congratulate himself that his lot has been cast in a brighter age, free from the turmoils of civil discord and invasion, and possessing the advantages of national security and domestic peace.

Here we close our observations, in the humble assurance that the importance of our subject justly entitles it to the regard not only of the antiquary, but of every student of history, who considers well the actions of those brave and noble minded commanders of olden times whose names are connected with the ancient bulwarks of our land, whose characters have ever been admired by every sincere historian, and whose memories, it is hoped, will ever be endeared to every faithful patriot.

LETTERS FROM AND TO EDWARD LHWYD.

FROM THE COLLECTION OF W. W. E. WYNNE, ESQ.

(Continued from No. II., New Series.)



Sootchburgh, or Sootsboro' House, near Tenby (1850)

Scochburgh, near Tenby, in Pembroksh. Febr. 28, 169.

Dear S^r

I writ to you several times since I left Oxford which is now almost a twelvemonth: but I suppose my Letters either miscarried or that I forgot to give directions where yours might meet me. I find many of my Letters this last year have miscarried, intercepted I suppose by the Country people who were very jealous of us & suspected us to be employed by the Parliament in order to some further Taxes, & in some places for Jacobit spies. We had taken as particular a survey as we could of our counties, & have had I think tolerable successe. In one letter I sent you copies of several Inscriptions to be communicated to S^r R^t Owen &c. to whom I also writ out of Monmouthshire, but know not whether he rec^d it. Ancient Welsh MSS. on velom are so scarce, that I have seen but four all last year. One large folio in Glamorganshire we borrow'd and transcrib'd; containing amongst many other things Lhywarch hên's Poems, w^{ch} you formerly mention'd as y^e oldest book seen at Hengwrt by Mr. Eub. Thelw. 'Tis certainly very ancient & valuable; but y^e Glamorganshire copy conteind onely 7 odes, y^e 1st complaining of his misfortunes, y^e 2^d of his old age, (where he has this Englyn

> Ym petwar prif-gôs *eir moet*¹ Yn gyvervydynt yn un oet : Pâs, a Heneint ; Heint a Hoet.)

And y^e death of his sons in battle, telling us where they lye buryed.

Bêd Pyll yn y rhiw velen; Bed Sawyl yn Llan Gollen; Gwercheidw Llamyr bulch Llowyen.

 3^{d} Marwnad Urien Reget, whom he tells us was Prince of y^e Countreys of Rheged & y^e Bryneich or Bernicii, his cousin german &c. The 4th is an Exhortation to Maenwyn to defend his rights against his bordering enemies. The 5th Marwnad Gereint ap Erbyn : at whose birth he says the gates of Heaven were open : that he was Prince of Dyvneint which must be the Danmonii ; and that Arthur sustein'd a great losse by this Hero's death who he says was slayn at Llongberth, w^{eh} Mr. Camden tels us (but on what Authority I am yet to learn) is London. The 6. is Cadwalhawn's Elegy : whom he makes a brave Prince : telling us he fought fourteen battles, and had 60 skirmishes

> Pedeir prifgat ar dec, am brif dec Ynys Prydein ; a thrugein kyvarvot.

Reckoning up his places of encampment he names most of our great Rivers of Wales, & several which I suppose are in England : As Keint Ydon, Kowyn, Tufyrd & Meirin. The 7. is a very elegant Marwnad on Cyndylan, Prince of Powys, & is as long almost as all the rest. If y^e remaining fragments of his cotemporaries Taliesin & Myrdhin wylht be as considerable as these they well deserve publishing with a Latin Comment : but my hands are already fully employ'd.

We have discover'd many undescribed Zoophyts by dredging here, & in Glamorganshire: and several new sorts of figured fossils; amongst which y^e enclosed figure of some flat fish represents one of the greatest rarities hitherto observ'd by y^e curious in such enquiries. We found plenty of them (thô few fayr specimens) in a stone pit near Mr. Gr. Rice's (w^m you remember

¹ I. e., er fy oed.

at y[•] College) in Caermarthenshire. At Eisleb in Germany there are found figures of fish in y[•] Quarries, but very different from this & rather finer: for Dr. Rivinus of Leipzig, whose Epistle you find at y[•] end of Mr. Ray's Synopsis, sent me one of them. I have never heard of any more in Europe; but Dr. Huntingdon brought some to England from M^t Sinai. I am just goeing out with some friends & have onely time to give my humble respects to Mr. Robinson, S^r Rob^t Owen, Mr Richard Mostyn, &c. &c. &c. I shall impatiently expect to hear of your welfare; therefore pray write at your first leasure (according to y[•] directions at the date) to y^r most affectionat Fr^d

whilst E. LHWYD.

If I have any Subscriber in Denbighshire besides Mr. Edisbury, I wish they would return y^e money (according to y^e Advertisement at y^e end of y^e Queries) to Mr. Williams of y^e Museum in Oxford. I wish y^e Queries be answer'd in-y^r parts as well as they have been in one or two of these counties.

My hearty service to Mr Rich^d Roberts, Pedro, Dick Jones, our Wrexham friends, &c. &c. I sent Mr. Jones a copy of a large L^r from his Brother Hugo and another from him to his Father w^{ch} I enclos'd to y^e Parson of Dolgelleu. Ned Humfrey's Broth^r has it seems quite forgot me.

For y° Rev^d Mr. John Lloyd at Gwersylht near Wrexham in Denbighsh

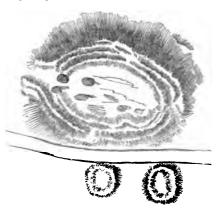
N. Wales.

Mr. Jⁿ Lloyd's lre to Edw^d Lhwyd.

Ruthin, Dec. 29th, 93.

As you come f^m Bala towards Ruthin or Wrexham you shall meet with a Tumulus call'd Tomen Gastell near Llanfawr in Penllin; w^{ch} I have not seen of late and so I shall say no more to it. 3 miles further upon y^e top of a larg mountain call'd Cefn Corwuni—Crwuni,—or more comonly Creini by y^e neighbours, we meet wth a larg fortification above 300 paces in length & ab^t 80 in breadth; our paces meting more yⁿ a yard apiece, or thereab^t. I mention'd this before, and Mr. Thelwal's conjecture y^t it was f^m one Corvinus a Roman, f^m w^m likewise Castle Dinas Brân might have its name. For y^e Brittains are observ'd to have alter'd names not onely f^m y^e sound but also f^m y^e sence of y^e Latine; as Ganlliw-Góch f^m Centauriũ, as if Centaurium had been derived f^m Centũ &c. I will add my Brother's conjecture, y^t y^e Mountain had its name f^m y^e Caer. viz. Cefn Caer Heini, or such a name wth Caer; for Cefn is comonly applied to any such Mountain as y' is. But I believe y' truth of it, is, y' it lies as Dinas y Wig, Caer Ddynod, Pen y Gaerfawr and y' rest of our neighbour Fortifications upon y' Boundaries of Powys Fadog: Betwene Penllyn & Edernion. fm this bank we had a larg prospect of y° vale by Dee & Alwen side containing² most of Edernion & some of Glyndowrdy. I thought it a pleasant Prospect, comprehending 6 Parishes, 3 of web yield ye value of £400 p. an. in Tythe; Corwen, Gwyddeler & Llandrillo & yo other 3, Llangar, Llan St. Ffraid, & Bettws, considered wth ye skirts of Llanfawr & Llangwn, w^{ch} make up y^e vale, are not so contemptible. And if y watering of Rivers Springs & Rivulets wth varieties of hills & mountains terminating ye Prospect abt can recommend it, it may contend wth yo fairest Vallies. I am sure they live very plentifully in it. The I canot deny but most places of it have been improv'd by Liming & good husbandry since Camden's days, as much as any Countrey in England. But to return f^m this digression to give you a draught of y^e Caer.

The Entrance of y^e North End is 8 paces over. y^e Ditch looking toward y^e Vale, & y^t towards Bala but 2 paces & a half at most. The little circles at y^e Entrance are so many rising 2 or 3 paces f^m one another. The Deliquium in y^e Ditch on y^e one side is a steep Precipice, below w^{ch} lies a plowed field call'd Llwyn 'r Erir, whether f^m y^e Roman Eagle you are to judg. The 2 middle stones are 2 larg stones,



one seems to be natural to y^{*} place, having y^{*} appearance of a Rock hard by it, & perhaps a rock itself, y^{*} other seems to have been remov'd thither, both I daresay above 3 tuns in weight. The lesser gaps are occasion'd by rocks w^{ch} I design'd to express by y^{*} strokes in y^{*} Ditch by it. Beyond y^{*} Highway y^{*} 2 Buarthydd lie, where they kept their Cattle. This is one of y^{*} greatest Roads in our countrey. The Township next to it is

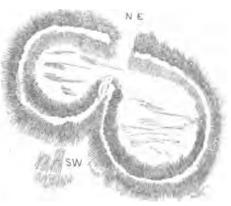
² Take it sano sensu: for y° next hill intercepted our sight of all y^t pleasant & fruitfull ground on both sides of Dee f^m Llandderfel to Llangar. But f^m y' same Hill we saw it all: *i. e.*, f^m Llandderfel to Llan St. Ffraid 7 miles in length on Dee side, & about 2 miles on Alwen's sides &c.

call'd Bettws y Coed, f^m a Chappel y^t was there in time of old : y^e Ruins almost defac'd, but they call y^e field Ffridd y Cappel still. Bettws is not from Beuno or yo like, nor fm Beadhouse &c. as we disputed before : but f^m Locus Beatus, Chapel of Ease, or such little places, depending on some other Churches, as still they generally do. For to Beatifie was a lower degree of Canonizing. So Garnett was beatified wⁿ his Picture appear'd on yº Bloody-Straw, but not consecrated a St, as it were, in yº Highest Degree. This I owe to Mr Wyn of Caer y Dryidion, who pleaded for Gwyddfa's being a burying-place: for we comonly say dyma y Ngwyddfa for one's burying-place in Church. And Tir Gwydd fⁱⁿ its lying unplow'd. Sub judice lis est & esto per me. All Bettwees are dedicated to y. Virgin Mary, & y. Feasts or Wakes are kept upon Gwyl-fair-gyntaf in August. Not far f^m hence near Plas issa where Ken Eyton lives (who was with me this journey, as you shall hear f^m him) is Rhyd y Saeson, where a battle was fought, but I know not when. The English fought on one side of y° way & y° Welsh on yo other. y' field is called Bryn Arthur, & yo next behind it Maes y Llaes & not far off Llwyn Cadwgan or Caewgan. Some say Dyma lle doed ô hyd ir Saeson, as if they were pursued so far. You must take notice of places where yo Welsh have given signal overthrows to y° English, if you can conveniently, as upon Berwyn & by Glyn Keiriog &c. Abt 2 miles fm Cefn Creini lies Rûg, ye greatest Family in our Country, & in ye Garden thereof is a larg Tumulus, tho' now adorn'd for an ornam^t but it was of y[•] same kind wth y^e rest : for ^a_i a mile forward on y^e left hand there is another call'd Tomen Gastell, & Caer Drewyn on ye right hand, w^{ch} seems to be the latest of y^m all. The man y^t was our guide, was 83 years old, whose father in law was able to move wⁿ 100 years old, & died ætat-suæ 116 viz. Hugh ap Rees Mattin. At Llan St ffraid Dee turns to yo right hand & waters Glyndowrdy properly so call'd, where y. Ruins of Owen Glyndwr's house are very apparent. I took notice y^t our Country people, upon any clamerous broils & scuffies, cry out, hi aeth yn Rhyfel Owen, as if y^t had left y^e deepest impression upon y^m. And w^m they curse (as they have many most passionate phrases for it) they say, Croes neu Garnedd ar dy wyneb, a chroes gôch ar ei chrys gwyn, wob shews yt those are monumts of persons yt came to an evil end. And I hear of Maen Owen abt Llanrwst, web is a Red square Stone set on end, but I want authority to say any more of it. I told you before abt ye two Carchar y Dryidion in Cerrig y Dryidion, abt web I refer you to Mr Wyn's letter yt is with Mr Aubrey for ye exactest Acct. I heard this night, y' at y[•] bottom of Carneddwen near Bala such another place was to

be seen but lately. My author (truely none of y^e best) assur'd me y^t they were 4 artificial stones but not above a yard long, w^{ch} mar'd y^e matter. Tis one of y^e most remarkable of our Carneddau, & if you think it material I shall enquire further.

W^t is written above I compass'd last night in my studie, and this draught of Castell yr Hudwydd or Tomen Rhydwydd you shall have f^m y^e original, for I am writing on y^e top of it. Costell Badarick, sour

Castell Roderick, says my Guide, a conceited fellow; & there is a field hard by call'd Acre 'r Rhydwydh. The Township is call'd Bodigre 'r Yarll; 2 Earls, says my Guide, liv'd there; one Rhaglaria & Presbeturia y^e other, quoting his Grandfather for it, w^{ch} is allways suspicious. The great ditch around y^e highest mount is 16 or 17 yards f^m y^o Bot-



tom to ye top & as steep as earth and rubbish can stand; ye Area is 20 vards Diameter & round. At ye East end is ye entrance of 6 or 7 yards bredth & abt as many arising steps. On ye East End betwene ye 2. Area, ye upper tomen falls 12 yard to the lower Area w^{ch} contains abt 50 yards diameter. The S.W. entrance I can make nothing of, being not discontinued in ye outwork of y^e Ditch, & yet open on y^e inside in a ditch-wise with some little rising bank cross y^e Ditch. All y^e rubbish of y^e lower Area's ditch is thrown up to y^e inside w^{ch} makes y^e lower Area's ditch as steep and high as ye other. Hard by it he shew'd me Gwaen 'r Ymryson, & Mynydd Deuwydd, w^{ch} is the boundary betwene Yale and Dyffrin Clwyd. The other end of it, abt a mile further, is call'd Moel y Crogwydd, perhaps Crigwydd, & yt there are some Tumuli on ye top of it, weh you shall know in my next. Ab' a quarter of a mile further I call'd at Cwrt 'r Abbat, viz. of Valla Crucis, as yo fellow call'd it, situated in Bodigre 'r Abbat; twas a Quaker's house who shew'd me yr Hen dre boeth, where nothing in y^e world was to be seen beside y^e name, lying exactly upon ye foremention'd Road fm Bala to Wrexham, Llyn Rhug a brook in y^e Bottom was y^e middle of it, as he s^d wth reservation, before; Pysugard was one end and Pen y Groes y° other & both a quarter of a mile f^m y° field call'd y Dre boeth. ARCH. CAMB., NEW SERIES, VOL. II.

He shew'd me also Carreg y dre newydd, near Llandegla y' now is. This is y' fruit of my travell for 2 days, w^{ch} I have written in a confusion, like y' rubbish treated of, & if y' be not decorum, I am sure y' laws of familiarity & freedome will acquit

y^r fr^d

JOHN LLOYD.

For Mr. Edward Lloyd, at y[•] Musæum Ashmolianũ in Oxford.

Correspondence.

ST. CADVAN, ARTHUR, CAERFILI.

To the Editors of the Archaelogia Cambrensis.

GENTLEMEN,—Having for many months past devoted the whole of my leisure hours to the study of ancient Kymric literature, I have been somewhat inattentive to passing events, and have, I am sorry to say, left many valuable papers in the Archæologia unread; but having recently given it more attention, the perusal of the articles of your numerous able contributors has afforded me much pleasure and instruction. In future I trust we shall not be so strange to each other; and if you deem the following notes on the Stone of Cadvan, King Arthur, and Caerfili Castle, to be worthy of publication, they are at your service.

Having for the illustration of a line in the "Gododin" referred to the excellent papers of Mr. Westwood and the Rev. J. Williams on the Stone of Cadvan, I found much reason to thank the former for his industry and ingenuity, and the latter for his learning and philological skill; but was compelled to differ from the interpretation there given of the inscription. I do so however with much diffidence and reluctance, being a mere novice in antiquities, while they are distinguished veterans; and it will give me much pleasure to learn their opinions of my version, so that I may be confirmed in my intended application of the monument, or abandon my error if found to have gone astray. Mr. Williams reads the side c as a continuation of A, and D in continuation of B; and is, I think, right in so doing. His reading is as follows:—

- A + CYNGEN CELEN
- C ARTERUNC DUBUT MARCIAU.
- B + TEN GRUG CIMAL TED GUADGAN MARTH
- D MOLT CLODE TUAB TRICET NITANAM.

Which he interprets thus :---

" CYNGEN CELAIN AR TU RHWNG DUBUT MARCIAU."

"The body of Cyngen is on the side where the marks will be."

"TAN GRUG CYVAL TEDD GADVAN MARTH MOLL CLOD Y DDAEAR TRIGED NID ANAV."

"Beneath a similar mound (or in the retreat beneath the mound, in reading Cinmael for Cyval) is extended Cadvan, sad that it should enclose the praise of the earth. May he rest without blemish."

The Kymric interpretation of \blacktriangle c appears to me quite correct; but not so the English version. With respect to B D, I differ from him very widely. Gibson and Pennant agree in filling up the first blank with D, though in Jones' "History of Wales" it looks more like an I; but as tedd occurs in Cyn-tedd and Annedd, with a meaning not inappropriate here, we may assume TED to be correct. Add to these eis-tedd; but it is probable that, though the dd was not then in existence, the d was not really intended to have the dd sound. An intelligent friend, who is a native of Wigtonshire, and whom I sometimes call a Novantian Briton, informs me that the word ted is still used in southern Scotland, to express extension, display, and prostration, in such phrases as "ted the claes on the hedge," "do not ted the books about the house," and "gather the sheaves, they are all *ted* about the field." The word *tidy* is probably derived from this For MARTH there is no sufficient data; the fragment root. of a letter appears to me to be the fore part of an A, such as is found several times on this very stone; nor does there appear sufficient reason for reading the A immediately after the M, instead of placing it last of all. I should read the letters thus :---

M an

A;

but unless it be MAN A, I cannot afford even a conjecture as to what the word really was; MOLT appears to be an abbreviated MOLET, a conjecture seemingly warranted by the crowded state of the letters, rather than MOLL; CLODE, is CLOD E; and NIT-ANAM, I should read NID A NAM.

The inscriptions should be read in a different order, beginning with B instead of A; and as it may be laid down as a rule that ancient monuments are more laconic than loquacious, we may almost invariably conclude that a terse version will approach nearest to the truth. I read the letters thus:—

+ TEN GRUG CYMAL TED GUADGAN MAN MOLT CLOD B TUAR

▲

TRIGET NITANAM.

In modern Kymraeg thus :---

TAN GRUG CYNFAEL TED GYADFAN (MAN A?) MOLED (ei) GLOD E DAEAR TRIGED NID A NAM.

And in English I should read the whole inscription thus :---

- B BENEATH THE MOUND OF CYNVAEL LIES (OF 15 STRETCHED) CYADFAN WHERE (?)
- D THE EARTH EXTOLS HIS PRAISE. LET HIM REST (OF HE RESTS) WITHOUT A BLEMISH.

A THE BODY OF CYNGEN (also?)

C AND BETWEEN (THEM) WILL BE MARCIAW (or marks).

If your readers will consult the map of ancient Wales made by the late Dr. Owen Pughe, they will find that CASTELL CYNFAEL stood near Towyn. If there be a mound there, let it be searched, and I doubt not the bones of two persons will be found, while the Stone of Cadfan will become a still more interesting relic than it now is. Who is Marciau? Most probably the same person as the Marco of the "Gododin;" but who is he? Mr. Williams can probably answer the question better than I can.

The words "Arterunc dubut Marciau," admits also of a translation resembling that of Mr. Williams, viz.—

"And between (Cadvan and Cyngen) there (are or) will be marks."

And the fact that there are but two crosses, renders this a more warrantable version than the preceding. It is not however without its difficulties. The word marc, though its Kymric parentage may on consideration be admitted, is not of frequent occurrence, and may be said to want the warrant of bardic sanction. But this is not all. Mr. Williams has acutely remarked that the ancient plural termination is eu, and not au; and it is somewhat unfortunate, in my view, that the lines brought forward as an early authority for a supposed exceptional practice, should be taken from "Cadair Ceridwen," a poem which I had previously said to be comparatively modern. (Literature of the Kymry, p. 28.) Nevertheless there are exceptional instances to be found, *i. e.*, if we admit the Myv. text of the "Gododin" to be early; and some of them here follow:—

"Rac ergit cadfannau catwyt."-Myv.

In the MS. of the Rev. T. Price, however, this word ends in *an*. The other instances are,—

"Gwrawl amddyvrwys gorvawr y lu

Guryt vron gurvan gwanan arvau

Y gynneddyf disgynnu rac naw rhiallu

Ygguyd gwaed a gulat a gordiynau."-Myv., i., p. 12.

An argument in favour of the conclusion that both Cadvan and

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Cyngen are buried in the mound of Cynvael, near Towyn, or at least that Cadvan is so, may also be drawn from the lines of Llywelyn Vardd :—

> "Gwynn y uyd a uyt o nothaed Men y tric gwledic gwlad ednywed."

Which may be thus translated :---

"Blessed is his fate who will be of the protected, Where dwells the ruler of the land of reanimation."

Of whom is "gwledic gwlad ednywed" here predicated, Cadvan, or the Saviour of mankind? In answering the question we must be careful not to project our own theology into the past, or we cannot suppose that Cadvan would be designated, to use Mr. Williams' translation, "sovereign of the region of reanimation." On the other hand, the localization of the object spoken of is opposed to the other conception. It is easy to conceive that in the twelfth century, when the saints were so much revered, and their intercession at the throne of grace implored, this language might be used, and be in harmony with the theology of the age; and, therefore, we may admit the import of the passage to be in favour of the opinion that Cadvan lies buried at Cynvael, near Towyn. I use this phrase, in the belief that Cynvael is not identical with Towyn-a belief which I have been led to form from the objectivity implied in the expression "ten grug Cimal;" but of its correctness I am unable to form any opinion, as mine is only map knowledge of that country. This conclusion is therefore another argument in favour of the opinions advocated in the preceding remarks; and it is but fair to admit that I owe this argument to Mr. Williams' article.

An incidental illustration of the same view is afforded in the following passage from an ancient writer :---

"The Britons raised mounds of earth on certain bodies of the saints which had been reverently entombed, that they might not be exposed to the profanations of the infidel (Saxons)."—Wendover's Flowers of History, vol. i., p. 52. Bohn's edition.

This in itself is not conclusive; but as an element in a cumulative argument it merits attention. Hiding the bones of saints was a common practice.

There is however a grave obstacle in the way of this conclusion. Professor Rees has given an adverse opinion; and the author of the "Welsh Saints" is one of those critical and accurate men whose conclusions can seldom be disputed with safety. His words are :—

"There were some years ago, in the churchyard of Tywyn, two rude pillars, one of which, of the form of a wedge, about seven feet high, and having a cross and inscription upon it, went by the name of St. Cadfan's Stone, and was thought to have been a part of his tomb. Engravings of the inscription, as copied at two several periods in the last century, (by Lhuyd before 1709, and by Dr. Taylor in 1761,) are given in Gough's 'Camden,' from which it appears that the letters resembled those used by the Anglo-Saxons, but the only word legible was the name of Cadfan. As there is a tradition that the saint was buried in Bardsey, which an obscure passage from the poem just quoted would seem to confirm, it may be judged that the stone was merely a rude cross, of which similar specimens, bearing the names of sainted persons, may be found in other parts of the Principality."— Welsh Saints, p. 215.

This tradition, when unsupported, can have but little value, as it is easy to show a double reason for its formation, independent of the supposed fact recorded; and the argument based upon the following passage

> "Kyn noe dreghi—ydoet Yn cadw rac kyhoet anlloet enlli," *Llywelyn Vardd.* Myv., i., 362.

rests upon a misconception. The meaning of the bard is clear enough, and only became obscure when that acute critic supposed it to mean that which it evidently does not; and in an English dress might be safely represented thus :---

> "Before his death, he was Protecting from the public the riches of Enlli."

This passage is very clearly explained by the fact that Cadvan "is known more especially as the first abbot of a monastery, founded by him in conjunction with Eineon Frenhin, in the isle of Bardsey (Ynys Enlli), off the western promontory of Caernarvonshire."—Welsh Saints, p. 214. The poet here speaks of his life, not of his death—of Cadvan the living abbot, not of the buried saint. In other passages, such as these,—

"Vnllogawd yssyt herwyt heli

Lleudad a chaduan yny chedwi."-Myv., vol. i., p. 362.

"One church there is beyond the sea

Lleuddad and Cadvan keeping it."

"Deu gefynderw oetynt

Caduan y gadw llan ef a lleudad."-Ibid., p. 361.

"Two cousins they were,

Cadvan keeping a church, he and Lleuddad."

The bard uses the same expression in the same sense, as appears from the history of the latter :---

"Lleuddad ab Alan, a member of the college of Illtyd, after the death of Cadvan, was appointed abbot of the monastery of Bardsey, in consideration of which dignity he was also styled a bishop. Next to his predecessor, he has been esteemed the guardian saint of the island; and there are poems extant (Myv., i., p. 360, and Cambrian Register, vol. iii.), in praise of the protection which he afforded to pilgrims on their passage to the sacred cemetry."—Welsh Saints, p. 221.

There is therefore no solid foundation for the belief that Cadvan was buried in Bardsey; and the fact that there is no reason to believe that he was buried anywhere else, affords another argument in favour of the conclusion that he was buried at or near Towyn.

What object was there in saying that there were marks between Cyngen and Cadvan? Were they buried in haste, and the *Welsh* inscription intended for concealment? Was there any intention, at some (then) future period, to take up their remains?

Mr. Westwood assigns the stone a high antiquity. He will be glad to learn the following confirmation of his opinion. In the Myv. text of the "Gododin," p. 6, occurs this line :—

"Noe ac Eseye carreg vawr y chyhadvan

Ni mwy ysgogit vit vab Teithan."

And at the foot there is a various reading from the MS. of Paul Panton, Esq. :---

"Noc ac escyc carec vyr vawr y chahydfan Nid mwy gysgogit uit mab peithan."

In Probert's ludicrous translation, the first is thus rendered :---

"Noe and Eseye by the great rock of Cyhadvan

Did not stir more than the son of Teithan;"

but instead thereof I offer the following :---

"Than moves the great stone of Cyadvan

No more moved Wid the son of Peithan."

If I am right in referring this line to the Stone of Cadfan, that monument may be as old as the beginning of the seventh century, but is certainly not later than the first half thereof. Is there any propriety in the epithet "short" occurring in MS. P. P., in the line "carec vyr vawr y chahydfan," which literally translated would be, "the short, great stone of Cahydfan," in reference to this ancient stone ?

In conclusion, let me add an instance wherein Cynfael and Cadvan *seem* to be connected. Cynddelw, in his ode to Howel the son of Gwynedd, has these lines :—

" Gal ysgwn ysgwyd agkyvan

Garw esgar yn ysgor gaduan."-Myv., i., 261.

" The foe with uplifted shield unentire,

He furiously scattered at the rampart of Cadvan."

Dr. Pughe sub voce "ysgwn," translates the two last words, "the field of Cadvan;" but though that version supports my views, ysgor will scarcely admit of such a rendering. These lines may at first sight appear to admit of a different explanation. We are told in the Ystradfflur Chronicle :—

"A.D. 1149.—Cadwaladr (the brother of Owen Gwynedd) built the castle of Llan Rhystyd (Ceredigion), and gave it with the lands which he possessed in that country in charge to his son Cadwgan."— Myv., ii., 426.

And soon afterwards we find that,—

"Howel ab Owen captured his nephew Cadvan the son of Cadwaladr, and took from him his castle and his lands."—Myv., ii., 427.

From this it appears that it is Cadwan ab Cadwaladr, and not the saint to whom the reference is made; but there are strong reasons for doubting the correctness of such a conclusion. Another document, *Brut y Sueson*, after stating that Cadwaladr had built this castle in 1148, and given it to his son Cadwgan, states that,—

"A.D. 1149.—Howel ab Owen captured Cadwaladr his cousin, and took from him his lands and his castle."—Myv., ii., 564.

We have no other reasons for believing that Cadwaladr had any sons so named; and from the following account of the affair in *Brut y Tywysogion*, it will appear probable that in both cases the name should be Cadwgan. In this Chronicle there is no notice of these persons in 1149; but we are told that,—

A.D. 1148.—The castle of Llan Rhystyd was built by Cadwaladr ab Gruffydd, and he gave the castell with lands to it, to his son Cadwgan. And the latter did not do what was right in his country; and therefore his men went to Howel ab Owen, and desiring him to become their leader, said they would give the property of Cadwaladr to him. And so it was."—Myv., ii., 563.

After that we need scarcely state that the absence of any warlike action in these accounts is also at variance with the language of the bard. May we not therefore conclude that the passage receives its best exposition from the following fact ?—

"A.D. 1146.—The property of Cadwaladr was ravaged by his nephews Howel and Cynan, the sons of Owen Gwynedd. They came against the castle of Cynfael, (which according to both the *Strata Florida MS.*, *Myv.*, ii., 426, and *Brut y Saeson*, p. 563, was in Merioneth). This was held for Cadwaladr by Merfyn abbot of the White House on Tav, who defended it resolutely; and preferring death to treachery, refused to sell the castle, or deliver it up for reward. On that account they undermined it, and pulled it down, and slew all the men that were in it except Merfyn, whom they released, he being a foster son of the church; but they ravaged the lands of all who opposed them, and returned with much spoil."-Myv., ii., 562.

This was a great event, and was the most important siege in which Howel was engaged. Cynddelw devotes a special verse to its celebration in the early part of the ode :---

"Tumultuous as the wave was the torqued prince,

Heavy it was to hear Cynvael's towers fall,

Forked flames were crackling,

And there was vehemence, and weapons in the hand."

"Twrwf tonn torchawc hael trwm oet y glywet

Twr kynuael yn kwytaw

A flameu odrum yn edrinaw

Ac angert ac ongyr yn llaw."-Myv. i., 259.

The bard in summing up probably used the term "ysgor Cadvan," in order to prevent the repetition of Cynvael.

Some time since, I read with much interest a paper read by T. Wakeman, Esq., of the Graig at Caerleon, in which a very ingenious explanation was given of the name Riothimus, viz., Rhi Wrthevyr. In the same paper was a sweeping remark, to the effect that Arthur was a fabulous character; but as I am firmly convinced that in the whole range of early history there is not one character more historically real, I could not permit such an opinion from an intelligent antiquary to remain unchallenged. If we strip the Arthur of romance of the idea of absolute sovereignty which with our modern notions we persist in giving him, we shall find a warrior, elected by many kings as independent as himself, to be their common leader in war. He was in fact a British Gwledig, (Anglice, Bret-Walda,) elected in emergency to be the leader, dominator, or emperor of all the kings of Britain ; but in his own absolute right was only king of a small principality. Such in fact were all the British kings, from Owen ab Maxen Wledig to Cadwaladr, who was nominally king of the whole country from Cumberland to Cornwall; but in his own right only king of Gwynedd. The reality of Arthur is proved from the poems of the bards; the following was probably written about 519 or 530, when Geraint ab Erbin, prince of Devon, was slain in fighting against the Welsh Saxons :---

"Yn Llongborth llâs i Arthur

Gwyr dewr cymmynynt a dur; Ammherawdyr llywiawdyr llavur."

Translation.

"At Llongborth were slain to Arthur

Emperor and conductor of the toil (of war)

Valiant men; they hewed with steel."

Llywarch Hen's Elegies, p. 9. ARCH. CAMB., NEW SERIES, VOL. II.

CORRESPONDENCE.

The battle of Llongborth I take to be the conflict of Charford on the Avon, near Fordingbridge (Hampshire).

In the poem attributed to Taliesin, called Gorchan Maelderw, the antiquity of which I see no reason to doubt, occurs the following line :---

"Y ar orthur maur mur onuyd."-P. 61.

"Arthur the Great, the tower of spears."

And in a various reading, at p. 84, it occurs in this form :---

"Y ar orthur teith teth a thedyt

Menit e osgord mawr mur onwyd."

And again, in a fragment which must have originally formed part of the "Gododin" of Aneurin, another warrior is compared to Arthur :---

"Ef Arthur rug ciuin uerthi ig difur

Ig Kynnor guernor guaur."-Myv., i., p. 87.

From these facts, the conclusion appears to me irresistible in favour of Arthur's personality.

Mr. Clark, in the historical part of his very able and interesting paper on Caerphilly Castle, has fallen into several errors, in consequence of having followed Wynne, and confounded the Senghenydd Castle of Gower with that of eastern Glamorgan. Their respective histories run thus :---

SENGHENYDD (MORGANWG).

The first notice is the following :----

"A.D. 831.—The Saxons of the Marches came at night unawares, and burnt the monastery of Senghenydd, which was then where the castle is now, and from thence they came to the castle of Treoda, (Gwaun Treoda, Cardiff,) which they burnt also. From thence they escaped across the Severn sea with a great quantity of spoil; and at that time there was a covenant between the men of Gwent and Glamorgan, and the Saxons of the Marches."—Myv. Arch., ii., p. 477.

"1089.—After the defeat of Iestyn ab Gwrgant, his land was divided among the Norman conquerors and the native chieftains. According to Caradoc, Einion ab Collwyn had the lordships of Miskin and Senghenydd; but Sir Edward Mansel of Margam states, with greater appearance of truth, that Senghenydd was given to Cadivor ab Cedrych ab Gwaithvoed. It was probably Cadivor who built the first castle of Senghenydd, and probably on the site of Castell Coch."

1094.—The Normans under the earls of Arundel and Gloucester, with Arnold Harcourt, Nigel le Viscompte, and other earls, with the partizans of Robert Fitzhamon, came against the men of Gwent :—

"From Chepstow's tower at dawn of morn,

Was heard afar the bugle horn;

CORRESPONDENCE.

And forth in banded pomp and pride, Stout Clare and fiery Neville ride."

The Kymry fled before them to the mountains of Brecknock, and then turned upon them. The Normans were defeated at the battle of Gelligaer; and retreating *thence* were intercepted by Griffith and Cydifor (the sons of Llewelyn Brenn) of Senghenydd, and nearly annihilated :—

"The sun arose,

And Rymney's wave with crimson glows; For Clare's red banner floating wide, Roll'd down the stream to Severn's tide !

"The trampled green Showed where hot Neville's charge had been; In every sable hoof-tramp stood,

A Norman horseman's curdling blood !"

(Llywelyn Brenn, who lived in 1316, could not have been the father of Griffith and Cadivor. Another MS. calls them Griffith and Ivor, the sons of Idnerth ab Cadwgan.)

1145.—Ivor ab Cadivor, sometimes by mistake called the son of Meuric, took William the son of Robert earl of Gloucester prisoner in Cardiff Castle.

1174.—Griffith, the brother—says one MS. of Ivor Bach, but the son more probably, went to Gloucester with the lord Rhys of South Wales to make peace with Henry II.

1179.-Morgan ab Griffith ab Ivor Bach was assassinated at Gloucester.

This is, I believe, the last occasion when the Glamorgan Castle of Senghenydd is mentioned in history. The above Griffith was probably the person beseiged in Castell Coch by De Clare; and the Red Castle was probably the Morganwg Castle of Senghenydd.

SENGHENYDD (GOWER).

"A.D. 1215.—Rhys Ieuanc took the castles of Kedweli and Carnwyllawn (in Caermarthenshire), and from thence drew towards Gower, first taking the castle of Llychwr. From thence he went and fought against the castle of Hu (Hugh de Myles of Talybont), which he took. Next morning he nent to Sein Henyd, from which the garrison withdrew in fear, and burned the town. Thence he went to Ystumllwynarth, which he also took. And at the end of three days he had subjugated all the castles of Gower."—Myv. ii., p. 448.

1216.—Reynold de Bruce (of Brecon), contrary to the engagement entered into between him and his father-in-law Llywelyn ab Iorwerth, had been induced by Henry III. to forsake that alliance; for which act of treason Llywelyn took Brecon Castle, and Rhys leuanc took the castle of Builth. From thence Llywelyn went towards Gower, and at *Llanginc* was overtaken by the now penitent Reynold de Bruce, to whom the prince gave the castle of Sein Henyd, which Rhys Gryg was to keep for him."—Myv., ii., p. 542.

In order to understand who these Rhyses were, I subjoin the following table:----

The Lord Rhys of South Wales had sons

Griffith, (eldest,) and Rhys Gryg.

Rhys Ieuanc was Griffith's son.

1217.—Henry III. made peace with Lewis king of France, with which the Kymry were displeased. In consequence William Marshall, the king's guardian, took Caerleon Castle. On hearing of this declaration of war, "Rhys Gryg took the castle of *Sein Henyd*, and all the castles of Gower, and drove all the Saxons from that country, and placed Kymry in their place."—Myv., ii., p. 452.

"1221.—John de Bruce, Reynold's successor, repaired the castle of Sein Henyd, with the advice and consent of Prince Llewelyn."— Myv., ii., p. 454.

"1255.—Llywelyn ab Griffith, prince of North Wales, Meredith ab Rhys, his brother Rhys Vychan, and Meredith ab Owen, lords of South Wales, came to Rhos (in Pembrokeshire), and ravaged the whole country except Haverfordwest. From thence they came to Glamorgan, (*i. e.*, Gower,) and after taking Llan Geneu Castle returned home."—Myv., ii., p. 460.

Llangennydd in Gower, the modern form of the old Sein Henyd, is always written Llangenei in the "Liber Landavensis."

From this examination it must now be apparent that the two castles have hitherto been confounded.

This confusion of the Senghenydds has led Mr. Clark to suppose that the castle of Caerphilly came to the earls of Clare through the De Braoses; but he is here in error, as the Braoses never, that I can see, had any connexion with the eastern Senghenydd. Caerfili came through marriage with the daughter of Fitzhamon to Robert duke of Gloucester, the natural son of King Henry I.; from Robert to his son William; and from William to the De Clares. This appears from one of the publications of the Record Commission; but I cannot now lay my hand on the passage.

I am happy to find such excellent confirmation as Mr. Clark's discoveries afford of a conjecture of mine, in the "Essay on the History and Etymology of Caerphilly Castle," to which Lord Bute's Prize was awarded at Abergavenny in 1848,—that Caerphilly Castle had no existence prior to 1270.

There are some documents in the British Museum which none of our writers on Caerfili appear to have consulted. They are thus noticed by Sir Henry Ellis, in the first series of his "Historical Letters:"---

"(In the Cotton MSS.) there is a French letter of Hugh le Despenser as early as 1319, giving orders for the defence of his castles; and several occur in the same language, relating to the affairs of Edward the Third."—Vol. i., p. xx.

I have written to inform Mr. Clark of their existence; and it is possible that they may in some future Number form an interesting supplement to his article on Caerfili.

In the same volume of Ellis' "Letters" occurs a most interest ing and unique letter from one "R. Gruffithe to my Lorde Legatis moost noble grace" Cardinal Wolsey, relating to an immigration into Pembrokeshire of twenty thousand of "Irysshe Raskells," in 1523. There is no other account of this important event; and, as Ellis' work is not to be seen every day, I should be glad to see the letter, with the Editor's notes, transferred to your pages.

Merthyr Tydfil.

THOS. STEPHENS.

To the Editors of the Archaeologia Cambrensis.

GENTLEMEN,—The armorial bearings of which I have made an Ordinary, are derived from the "Elizabethan MSS.," &c., referred to at pages 353 and 437 of the Archæologia Cambrensis, vol. i., first series. Their record in this shape may serve for future reference, and may induce others to add to it.

Proof of any one having been known at an earlier date would be interesting. I have referred to such proof in a few cases. I have not observed a Welsh bearing of earlier date than 1330, and as the lions on the 1195 seal of Richard I. are the earliest undoubted hereditary bearing in England, it is not probable that heraldry was known in Wales ante 1200-1250, if so early.

There can be no doubt of the antiquity of the ravens alluded to in vol. i., 318, but they cannot be considered to have been *heraldic* until the *chevron between three* is found, and I would suggest that the words, *arms*, and *armorial bearings*, there stated to be met with in the Triads, are themselves evidence of the age of those chronicles. The seal of lorwerth ap Madoc, of the thirteenth or fourteenth century, (*Arch. Jour.*, vol. vi.,) shows no pretension to arms, the cross is similar to that on a grave-stone.—*Arch. Jour.*, iv., 49.

I give the names of those who are said (in the Elizabethan MSS.) to have been the original bearers, many of whom were different generations of the same family, and from whom most of the

Welsh families now bearing arms claim descent; so that, in fact, there are but few such families of distinct origin, and arms are thus confined to but a few; whereas, in England, all classes of gentry inherit their own distinct bearing, though often derived from those of their leader or lord, but with a well marked difference. The different branches of these Welsh families having adopted different hereditary names, causes a difficulty in at once identifying arms on memorials. Many of these supposed original bearers lived at a time when such bearings could not have been known; and, granting the correctness of Welsh pedigrees, it is most probable that particular branches of their descendants adopted these arms at various dates, and that zealous chroniclers of a later date assigned them to too early a generation; thus some assign their inherited arms to Marchudd. who lived in the ninth century ! others to his descendant, Grono y Penwyn, time Edward I.-the latter probably do so correctly.¹

The names in parenthesis are those of families who claim the arms or descent; and the marks (1), &c., are placed against those of the same origin, who would have borne the same name if such had been hereditary; according to the pedigrees published in Burke, from which it would appear that, by maternal descent, almost all families in Wales are related.

It would not be much trouble to your correspondents to examine the churches in their neighbourhood, and thus add to my list all arms found, of a date prior to 1700, with the colours, if possible; if they know not the date, a tracing of the shape of shield should be forwarded.

A. C.

So, in England, the arms attributed to the Saxon kings are altogether apocryphal; and devices of the twelfth century, that might be heraldrically described, were probably not so intended at the time, but merely as ornament; thus the Fitzwilliam seal of 1117, Richard of Chester, 1140, G. de Magneville, at the Temple Church, 1144; see (and compare the dates) Fairholt's Costume, p. 87, 53, 54, 442, 149.—Arch. Jour., ii., 285; v., 8. Henry I. is said to have given Geoffrey Plantagenet a shield ornamented with golden lions in I127, (Planché). The latter's shield 1149, (see Old England,) has the same ornament as that of G. de M., but also four or eight lions rampant, that of his son H. II., (of Wm. I., II., H. I. and Stephen), has no device. Richard I. has, in 1189, two lions combatant. On the helmet of the latter, and of his grandfather, is a lion (not a crest); a similar allusion may be seen in Fairholt, p. 149, and Arch. Jour., vol. ii., p. 383, before and after the introduction of heraldry, about 1120, 1280. If arms had been hereditary, those on the shield of Geo. de P. would have become of England, as has been observed by Mr. Hallam.

Annulet.

Gul. 1 or, between 3 lures arg.—John Newport of Shropshire, whose heiress married Richard Hilton, about or before 1300. (See Cross and Lion Rampant.)

Bars.

Arg. 2 sab. (some 3).-Brereton.

Or, 2 gul.-Sully, known in 1341, see vol. ii., 18.

Az. 2 arg. (some 3, 4,) on a bend gul. 3 arrows arg.-Done of Utkinton.

Gul. 2 ermine, on a canton sab. a fer de moulin, arg.-Panton of Bagilt.

Gul. 2 arg. in fesse point a Φ vel Λ or.—Foxhole, heiress married Henry Rosindale, about 1300.

Barry.

Arg. and az.—Grey, on seal of 1301, with a label. (See Caerlaverock.) Battle-Axe.

- Sab. 1 between 3 fleur de lis arg. -(7.) Sir Howel y Fwyall, he descended from Collwyn ap Tangno (see Chevron), was knighted at Poictiers 1356, and had probably the axe granted as a difference. "His sovereign conferred on him a mew of meat to be served before his poleaxe." (See Burke's Landed Gentry, under Nanney, Wyne of Gwynfryn, or History of Gwydyr family.)
- (-) 3 in fesse (-) (Taken in with a lion rampant, supposed Vaughan of Llannerch, at Henllan, Denbigh, 1601, sculpture.) Query, Hall of Yorkshire?

Bees.

Arg. 6 sab. 3, 2, 1.—Trahern of Emlyn (Caxton Jones, l. 1637, Harl. MS., 1971.) (At Heallan, Denbigh, 1697, supposed for Marmaduke Lloyd of Trenewydd, Whittington, with Goodman. See vol. i., p. 351, n.) (Wynne of Garthmellio, Denbigh.) (John ap Ievan Lloyd, of Tan y fyrt, in Nantglyn, Denbigh, 1619.)

Bends.

Arg. 1 sab.—Dutton. (see Quarterly.)

- Az. 1 between 6 covered cups or .- Butler.
- Arg. on 1 between 2 fleur de lis sab. 3 standing cup with (-) arg.-Rigston.
- Arg. on 1 sab. 3 leopards' faces arg.-Gwerydd ap Rhys Goch (lived at Henllys, Anglesea), (with a leopard's face crest, on seal, 1743, names on deeds, Rob. Foulkes, Lumley Williams.)
- Arg. on 1 sab. 3 horse shoes arg.—Ferrers, (quartered by Rosindale, probably brought in with Biskham).
- Arg. on 1 vert, 3 wolves' heads arg.—Pothan Vlaidd (8.) (Myddelton Brass, Denbigh. See Chevron. On application of Sir Hugh, the bend was altered to a pile by Clarencieux (Canden) 1622. Crest, out of a ducal coronet or, a dexter hand proper. Gent. Mag., 1792, p. 784.)
- Arg. on 1 sab. 3 mullets arg.-Puleston

Arg. on 1 sab. 3 pheons arg.-Adan of Gwent.

- Sab. on 1 arg. cottised ermine, 3 roses gul.—Conway. (A seal, 1736, John Conway, a rose between 2 annulets, a crescent in sinister chief, base of shield and crest imperfect.)
- Gul. on 1 arg. a lion pass. sub.—Kynvrick Evell, (living 1200). (1.) (Davies of Gwysanney, of Marington of Eton House, Eyton of Leeswood, Wynne of Tower, Parry of Plas Newydd, Williams of Arddynwent, Wynne of Heartsheath, Broughton of Wrexham, Roberts of Nerquis, Lewis of Hendrebiffa.)
- (-) on 1 or, 3 lions pass. sab. quartering 2 choughs.—Myddelton Brass. (Query, Myddelton?)

Bezants.

3 in chief.-Vol. ii., 276.

10, on a chief a lion pass.—(Itton Court, Chepstow. Query, Bridgman or Money ?)

Vert, 5 in saltire or.-Myvod.

Birds.

Or, 3 surgerant, bordure vert.-Sir Rhys Hên, Caernarvonshire.

Eagles.

- P. pale, ermine and sab. 1 displayed with 2 heads or, on a canton az. a martlett or, crest, out of a crown, an eagle as in arms, ermine.—Gawen Goodman, given 20th Nov. 1573, by Rob. Cooke, Clarencieux.
- Arg. 1 displayed with 2 heads sub.—Meuric Lloyd. (Llwyd of Llyn y maen?) Same—quartering arg. 1 man, 3 ragged sticks gul. on an escutcheon of pretence arg. a man's leg sab.—Cilmin Droetdu. (Sir Thomas Wynn of Glynn?)

Az. 1 displayed or.—Philip ap Ivor, l. about 1300, (11.)

- Vert, 3 displayed in fesse or.—Owen Gwynedd, died 1169. (2.) (Wynn of Gwydyr, of Wynnstay, of Llwyu, of Berthddu, Lloyd of Rhiwaedog, Maurice of Clennenneu, Brynker of Brynker, Anwyl of Park.)
- Arg. on 3 lozenges in fesse vert, bordure gul. 3 displayed or.—Einion ap Caradoc of Penychen, 4th from O. G. (2.)

Arg. 3 legs erased meeting in fesse point sab. Owain ap Ievan ap Madog. Falcons.

- Or, 1 surgerant az. beak or.-Carwed of Llwydiarth.
- Ravens.
 - Arg. 1 proper.--Corbet.
 - Gul. 1 proper, in a garb arg.—Watkin ap John Hir.... (Laugor, Brecknock ?)
 - Arg. 1 head erased proper, quartering barry of 6 arg. and az.-Bowld.
 - Arg. 3 heads erased proper, neck gul.—Rhiryd Voel, 11th century. (Blodwell of Shropshire ?)

Sheldrake.

Gul. 1 arg.—Langford. Sengulls.

- Barry wavy arg. and az. in fesse 3 (-). Yswittan Wyddel.
- Az. 3 arg.-David Llwch.
- Cocks.
 - Arg. 3 gul. cres. and watt. or.—Einion Sais. (Query, son of Bleddyn ? See Wolf.)
- Boars.
 - Arg. 1 passant, head gul.-Meuric Goch of Dyved.
 - Arg. 1 sab.-Brytaen.
 - Az. 1 chained to a tree arg.—Llwch Llawen Vawr.—(All proper, crest of Lloyd of Bronwydd.)
 - Sab. 1 passant between 6 fleur-de-lis arg .-- Meredydd Gam of Dyved.
 - Gul. 3 heads erased arg.—Y Penwyn, living 1283.—(3.) (Wyone of Melai, of Garthewin, Foulkes of Eriviat, Lloyd of Brynestyn, Prices of Maentrog, Vaughan of Plasneuadd, Llanfair; John Lloyd of Plas Newydd, Denbigh, and Hays, Oswestry, d. 1732, he is called cousin by the supposed daughter of M. L.—See Bres.)
 - Arg. 3 heads couped sub.—Cadwgan, l. 1000.—(4.) (See Lion R. R., Elystan Glodrudd.)
 - Az. 3 heads arg.-Jonas ap Grono.
 - Az. 3 between 9 cross crosslets arg.-Sir Matthew ap Caradoc.

Bow and Arrow.

Az. 1 partly downwards, arg.-Madog Hyddgaru.

Bulls.

Arg. 1 passant sab.-Meredydd Bwl.

On a bend engrailed 3 heads, crest out of crown a head.—Heaton (also seal, 1741.) See Stags. (Supposed from Lancashire, and followers of H. de Lacy. The arms of Heton, in Gregson's Lancashire, p. 258, are vert a llon R. arg.

Checky.

Or and gul., saltire ermine, (sometimes saltire countercompony, arg. and sab., also gubinated ermine and ermines,) Checky arg. and gu., saltire ermine.—Peek, Peke, or Peake, one of the English families in Lleweny in 1334, and supposed to have been followers of H. de Lacy, to whom the Lordship of Denbigh was granted in 1284. . . . Some were in Conway time Henry VIII. They probably derived their name from the Lancashire part of the Peak.1 (See vol. iv., 69.)

Chevronella.

Gul. 3 arg.-Iestin ap Gwrgant, living 1090. (Known in 1330. Vol. ii., 18.2) Chevron.

Gul. 1 between 3 lions R. or .- Hwfa ap Cynddelw, 1150. (5.) (Ellis of Bodychau, Owen of Porkington. of Orielton, of Bodean.)

Arg. 1 between 3 bulls' heads sab.-Llewelyn ap Bledri.

Sab. 1 between 3 bulls' heads arg.—Bulkeley. Az. 1 between 3 dolphins arg.—Trahaern Goch of Llyn.

Gul. 1 between 3 Englishmen's heads proper.—Ednyfed Vychan, living 1250. (3.) (Morgan of Golden Grove, Williams of Cochwillan, of Meillionydd, Lumley Williams, Bulkeley Williams, the Lord Keeper W., of Vaenol, Owen of Penmynydd, Sir William Griffith of Penrhryn, Hughes of Prestatyn, Lloyds of Nant, of Gydros, of Plymog, John Griffith of Llanbedr y Trennau, Lewis of Glanrafon.) (Chevron ermine on seal of Lumley Williams, 1736.)

Gul. 1 between 3 mullets or.—Rotpert, 1370. (3.)

Sab. 1 between 3 mullets arg.-Rhys ap Rotpert. (3.) (Lloyds of Kymmel. Bishop of Chester, 1604.)

Sab. 1 between 3 goats' heads or .- Ithel Velyn of Yale, 1. 1000. (Madoc ap Bleddyn, l. 1440, of Leeswood.)

Arg. 1 between 3 crescents gul.-See Bare, quartered by Brereton.

Gul. 1 between 3 roses arg.-Einion ap Geraint.

Gul. 1 between 3 torteaux arg .- Mader Gloddaith.

Gul. 1 between 3 stags' heads, arg.-Iarddur. (Query, Jones of Ystrad, Caermarthen?)

1 In Glover's Ordinary, (ante 1588,) Peke of Yorkshire.- 3 cross crosslets on a chevron, which was also borne afterwards by Pecke in Derby, and Sergeant Peck of Norfolk, time Charles II., and in 1655, by John Peck, at Scole, and which with three lions added became the arms of Peake of *Lincolnshire*, &c., known in the 1562 Visitation. In Glover, gyronny of 4 or and gu. 1 or 4 griffins' heads, to Peke (possibly of Stafford), where the name is now common, and was existing ante 1350, as well as in Hereford, York and Denbighshires. 1186, Bolden Book, Durham, is the earliest date of name, but as The Peak was spelled Pech-e, ante 1200, Peche had probably the same origin, and the Yorkshire arms might have been founded on those of Peche of Warwick, 1250. A pedigree and arms of Peake of Kent, up to about 1450, is recorded in 1619 Visitation. Arg. a saltire gul., is given in Berry's Ency. Suppl., to the name, and may have been borne in Devon, where the name is now common, and whence it has been of standing in the navy since James I.; but to whom, and to a family in Bedfordshire, are ascribed in a MS. of that reign, the Deubigh arms, with a variation; but there is no record of the two latter families.

2 Nisbett states that the seal of David I. (1125-35) had a crest. On fourteen seals of the barons of England, in 1301, the owners are represented on horseback, three only have a crest on the heimet, only one of whom was not connected with the blood royal, the others terminating in a plume, or perfectly plain. On the seels of others are several examples of animals over and on the sides of the shields of their arms, from which we may suppose that the modern custom of using crests is thus derived, and not from crests worn on helmets in the field ; the helmet of H. de Bohun is without one, but on the reverse and over the shield is a swan, which became the family crest, as did the boar on the top of the shield of Hugh de Vere. (Archeologia, vol. xxi. See also Archeological Journal, ii., 285; iii., 75, 153.) The ornament not having been afterwards always used as a crest strengthens this supposition. A wyvern on helmet of Roger de Quincy, (1216-64,) on the reverse appears under the horse's feet. (See Winchester Vol. Archeological Institute.) Perhaps the earliest undoubted crests on seals are those of Scrope and Creting. (Scrope and Grosvenor Controversy, and Caerlaverock, 1347 and 1348.) In 1347 there was a commission to judge debates "d'armes et heaulmes," (*Caerlaverock*, 336); and Lord Campbell (*Lives of Chancellors*) states that this crest of Scrope was disputed in that year.

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 \mathbf{L}

Az. 1 between 8 cocks arg.-Meuric, king of Dyved.

- Arg. 1 between 3 boars' heads sab.--Ednowain Bendew, l. 1015. (1.) (Hanmer of Caervallwch, Griffith of Pant y Llonydre, Lloyd of Wygfair, Davies of Denbigh, Jones of Sandford.)
- Arg. 1 between 3 boars' heads gul.-Cowryd. (Jones of Hartsheath and Cefn Coch.)
- Same.--Iddon ap Rice Sais. (6.) (Davies of Doddleston, of Middleton, Ed-wardes of Kilhendrie, of Shrewsbury, Vaughans of Burlton, of Shrewsbury.)
- Or. 1 between 3 boars' heads gul.-Trahaiarn of Rhôs.
- Az. 1 between 3 spears' heads arg .- Howel Coetmore. (Field sab. Watkins of Pennoyre, Brecknock; also on a canton by Powel of Nanteos. See Cross flory.)
- Arg. 1 between 3 choughs ermine in bills sab.-Llywarch ap Bran, 12th century. (Hughes of Plas Coch, William Griffith ap Jenkin.)
- Or. 1 between 3 choughs (-)—Knowsley. Sab. 1 between 3 fleur-de-lis arg.—Collwyn ap Tangro, 12th century. (7.) (Wynne, Lord Newborough, of Gwynfryn, Vaughan, Lord Lisburne, Byans of Tan y Bwlch, Sir M. Caradoc, Ellis of Bronbwil, Prytherch of Tregaian, Vaughan of Aberkain, Bodwrdar of Bodwrda.)
- Arg. 1 between 3 owls az.-Hookes, Denbigh.
- Sab. 1 between 3 owls arg.—Griffith ap Jenkin. Arg. 1 between 3 moles sab.—Twistleton, Denbigh?
- Vert 1 between 3 wolves' heads arg.-Rhirid Vlaidd. (8.) (Myddelton Brass, 2nd quarter; 1st see Bend, P. Vlaidd; 3rd see Bend, Myddelton; Wynne of Hazlewood, Sligo, the chevron ermine.)
- Gul. 1 between 2 fleur-de-lis, a lion in base or .- Rhys ap Meredith of Tywyn.
- Gul. 1 between 2 love-knots, a lion rampant in base or .- Sir Jamys ap Owain.
- Az. 1 or. between 3 horses' heads arg.-Rhys ap Marchan.
-) - * Arg. 1 az. between 3 nags' heads sab. Meirion Goch of Llyn. (Sir William Jones of Castellmarch ?)
 - Gul. 1 arg. between 3 sea-birds sab, bellies arg.-Here.
 - Sab. 1 or. between 3 roses arg. Dewi Fabsant?
 - Arg. 1 gul. between 3 pheons sab.—Cadwgan of Bachan (quartered by Watkins of Pennoyre.)
 - Arg. 1 sab. between 3 ravens.—Llywarch Rhirid ap Urien. (9.) (Known in 1424, vol. ii., 248.) (Rice, Lord Dynevor, Bowen of Lechdwyny, Rees Kilymaenllwyd.)
 - Az. 1 or. between 3 cocks arg.-Jenkin ap David. (Pengwern, Flint?)
 - Az. 1 or. between 3 garbes or.-Hatton.
 - Sab. on 1, between S ragged sticks or, a fleur-de-lis az., between 2 choughs proper.-Cadafael Ynfyd, l. 1200. (9.) (Meyrick?) Query, granted to Einion Sais, the descendant, time Henry V.
 - Arg. on 1 between 3 cocks' heads sab., a rose between 2 mullets arg.-Llewelyn ap Madoc ap Einion.
 - Sab. on 1 between 2 handed cups arg. 3 martlets sab.-Whyte.
 - Sab. on 1 between 3 swans' heads out of d. coronet prop., 3 pellets sab.-Troughton of Bodlew.
 - Arg. on 1 gul. 3 fleur-de-lis or.-Madoc ap Hendwr.
 - Arg. on 1 sab. 3 angels kneeling or .- Maeloc Crwn. (Chaloner.)
 - Arg. on 1 sab. 3 mullets arg .- Tegwared y Bais wen, (natural son of Llewelyn the Great.)
 - Gul. 1 or, chief ermine.—Sir Griffith Lloyd, l. 1284. (3.) (Sir Isvan Llwyd, Davies of Caerhen, T. D., Bishop of St. Asaph, 1561.)
 - Ermine, 1 or, on a chief arg. a lion pas. gul.-Cadivor ap Selyf.
 - Gul. 1 or, charged with 3 trefoils vert, between 3 boars' heads arg. (Some 1 arg. 3 sab. and gul.)-Thelwall, (see Fesse.)
 - Arg. 3 sab. and arg. alternate, between 3 drakes, backs sab., bellies arg .--Ynys Enlli yn Llyn.
 - Arg. 1 p. pale gul. and or, between 3 falcons sab., heads arg.-Modoc Goch e Voruddwy. (Treveiler?)

1.

P. pale arg. and gul. on 1 arg. between 3 oak branches, a rose between two pinks.-Llanthony Priory, vol. i., 237.

Chief.

Arg. on 1 gul. 3 trefoils slipped proper.-Bonville.

Crescent.

1 (-) between 3 escalops (-)-Dacres.

CTOSS.

(Ermine ?) 1 bottomée (sab ?) Query, Norris of Penllyne.--(Itton Court, Chepstow.)

Arg. on 1 sab. a leopard's face or .- Bridges.

Arg. on 1 sab. 5 crescents or, dexter canton a spear's head gul.-Griffith ap Elidyr.

Arg. 1 moline, between 4 lozenges arg.-Mael Melienydd.

Arg. 1 flory engrailed sab. between 4 choughs, on a chief az., a boar's head arg.-Idnerth Benvras, l. 1100. (2.) (Griffiths of Brongain, of Caerbyn, Lloyd of Llanarmon, Humphreys of Llwyn, Davenport of Bramall, Owen of Woodhouse, Owen of Condover, of Llunllo, of Tedmore.) (See Lion R.)

Arg. 1 flory engrailed sab. hetween 4 choughs .--- Edwin ap Grono. (2.) (Tudor ap Ithel Vychan, Powell of Nanteos.)

Or 1, and 3 roebucks' heads or, in bend.-Roydon.

Or, 1 patée gul. on a canton sab. a cinquefoil or .- De Brierley, heiress married John Newport, before or about 1300. (See Annulet and Quarterly.) Arg. 1 huniette coupe, quarterly arg. and gul.—Howel arf Finiog.

Az. 1 flory or.-Einion ap Llywarch. (Query, son of Llowarch ap Bran; Chevron.)

Vert 1 flory or.—Braint Hir. Arg. 1 flory sab. flowers or.—Newton.

Az. 1 pattee fitchee or .- Kadwalader Vendigaid, last king.

Gul. 3 cross crosslets fitchee or, on a chief engrailed or, an escalop sab.-

Arderne. (Quartered by Rosindale as Whitacres, probably brought in with the latter, not identified.)

Crowns.

Az. 3 open in pale or.-Severus of Cadivor, 10th century.

Fesse.

Or, 1 between 3 covered cups, 3 choughs. Query, Butler de Pen Rawyer. (Itton Court, Chepstow.)

Gul. 1 between 3 drakes argent.—Phillip ap Rhys. Az. 1 or, between 3 horses arg.—Rice ap Marchan.

Gul. 1 arg. between 3 boars' heads arg. tusked or .- Thelwall of Bathafarn.

Fish.

Az. 3 heads meeting in fesse point arg .- Twnkyn of Shocklidge. Fox.

Arg. 2 countersalient in saltire gul.-Cadrod Hard, l. 920. (10.) (Williams of Wynnstay, of Bodelwyddan.)

Fleur-de-lis.

Sab. 3 arg. hordure gul.-Tegwared ap Rotpert.

Gul. 6 arg. 3, 2, 1.-Ireland.

Arg. on a fesse gul. 3 bezants, in chief 2 (or etoils?) gul.-Biskham, quartered by Rosindale.

Arg. on a fesse gul. between 3 sab. a fret or.-Iorwerth Voel ap Ieva Sais, (Mechain, Montgomery?)

Garbes.

Or, on a feese az. 3 or.--Vernon.

Az. a chevron or, between 3 or.-Hatton.

Gauntlets.

Sab. 3 dexter arg.-Gunter.

Goats.

Az. 3 salient arg. dexter base, rising sun or.-Merioneth County, vol. ii., 123.

Sab. 1 arg. armed or .- Celynin, 18th century. (Lloyd of Dolobran, Davis of Elmley.)

Sab. 1, head arg. armed or.-Trahaiarn ap Binion. Greyhounds. Arg. 3 couchant sab.—Iorwerth Sais. (Hanyny, Denbighshire ?) Arg. 3 sab. collared arg. -- Arglwydd y Bryn. (Bryn of Shropshire ?) Sab. 3 arg .--- Gwion Benarw. Griffin. Gul. 1 surgerant or.—Llawdder. Or, 1 surgerant gul.—Griffith Goch of Rhôs, 1. 1400.)3.) (Conway of Nant of Bryneurin, Llwyds of Diserth, Pugh of Cefn y Gartheg, Lloyd of Dol yn Eideirnion.) Arg. 1 surgerant vert.-Elfin ap Gwyddno. Arg. 1 surgerant sab.-Llewelyn ap Ivor ap Bledri. (12.) (Gweat?) (Morgan of Tredegar.) (-) 1 surgerant (-)-Query, Morgan. (Itton Court, Chepstow.) Helmet. Sab. 1 between 3 pheons arg.-Dolben. Horses' Heads. Sab. 3 nags arg.—Brochwel Ysgythroc, l. 620. (Lord Blayney, Davies of Llivior.) (Lloyd of Powis?) Arg. 1 gul. bridled arg .- Grono Goch. Ladders. Gul. 3 arg.—Cadivor ap Dinawel. (2.) (Owen of Cefn Havod, of Glansevern, of Llanddulas, Lloyd of Millfield, of Foes y bleddied, of Pound Devon, of Llanllyr, of Maes y Felin.) (Castle Howel?) Leopard's Face. Gul. in mouth an arrow proper, flighted or .- Crest, Peake ; from being unlike the arms, and full-faced, probably granted in this reign, though recorded as then inherited. Lions. Or, 1 rampant purpure.-H. de Lacy, Earl of Lincoln ; as borne at Caerlaverock in 1900. Or, 1 rampant az.-Cadwgan of Nannau. (1.) (Nanney of Nannau, Lloyd of Cwm Vychan, Rev. Ino and Angharad L., Vaughan of Wengraig, of Rug, of Dol y melynllyn, Oliver Cromwell, Jones of Trewythen. The Bishop of St. Asaph, 1268, whose nephew's (Meuric Vychan) effigy in Dolgellaa Church has on his shield a lion unheraldic, placed as if rampant, but by itself is a rude lion passant guardant.) Or, 1 rampant gul. crowned or.-Bleddyn ap Cynfyn, (1.) Arg. 1 sab.—Madoc ap Meredith, d. 1160. (1.) (Kynaston (from Meredith), Rhys of Rûg, Maesmore, Powys, Lord Gilford, Lloyds of Crogen, Maurice of Bryn y Gwalie, Barons of Pale yn Edeirnion, Wynne of Plas Issa, Branas, Foulks of Cilain, of Pentre Morgan, Owen of Plas Issa, Vaughan of Duddlestone, Lloyd of Edrnal, Hughs of Gwerclas.) Same.—Madoc ap Ievan. (2.) Descendant of Idnerth Benvras, and quartered with his. See Cross. Same .--- Idio Wylt, ante 1100. (Lloyd of Glansevin, Lloyd Williams of Gwernant.) Same.-Lodlow. Arg. 1 gul.-Ieuarn Gadarn. Arg. 1 az. a bordure gul.-Klare, also Clare. Arg. 1 gul. ?—Query, Morgan ap Meredith. See Bezants, Cross, Fesse, Griffins, Unicorns; does this sculpture refer to a descendant of Phillip ap Morgan of Langston, and Gwenllian Norris of Penline, impaling Bridgman or Money? Arg. 1 rampant gul. 8 mullets gul. (some sab.) 3, 2, 3.-Hilton of Lancashire, known in 1441, (vol. i., 348,) heiress married Peake, about 1300. The descendants of the head of this family, Hulton of Hulton, bear this lion without the mullets. The lion was sometimes crowned. Arg. 1 rampant or, and broom slips .- Sandde Hardd. (10.) (Powell of Horsley, Ievan Iorwerth of Llanywilyn.)

CORRESPONDENCE.

- Ermine 1 rampant sab.—Cynfrig ap Rhiwallon, killed in 1073. (6.) (Ed-wardes Lord Kensington, Eyton, Sonlley of S., Judge Jeffreys, Roberts of Hafod y Bwch. Jones of Llwynon, Davies of Denbigh.)
- Ermine 1 rampant az.-Elidyr ap Rhys Sais, l. 1050 (6.) (Eyton of Eyton, Denbighshire, Sutton of Sutton, Lewis of Galthorpe. Deckas of Knyton.)
- Ermine 1 rampant sab. bordure gul. semé of mullets arg.-Madoc Danwr.
- Az. 1 rampant arg. on canton arg. a pheon (. .)-Iorwerth Sais Marchog.
- Az. 1 rampant arg .- Cadwgyn of Ystrud Flur. Cadwgan ap Grono. Cadrod Calchfynydd. Baron Coedmore. (Owen of Penmynydd?) Az. 1 rampant ermine.-Gerard.
- Az. 1 rampant or, armed &c. gul.-Morgeneu of Dyffryn Clwyd, Evnydd ap Morien.
- Gul. 1 rampant arg. crowned or.-Howel ap Ieva.
- Gul. 1 rampant arg. crowned or. bordure engrailed or.-(Garnett, 1730, of of Nantwich, to Peake of Deubigh.)
- Gul. 1 rampant arg. bordure or, semé of annulets sab.---Madoc ap Maenyrch.
- Gul. 1 rampant arg.-Marchweithian. (Wynne of Voelas, Price of Foxley, of Rhiwlas, Ellis, Plas Yolyn (-) of Berain.)
- Gul. 1 rampant arg. between 3 rows arg.-Gwrgnnon.
- Gul. 1 rampant arg. crowned or, between 3 crescents or.—Salusbury. Sab. 1 rampant arg.—Maithiard. (Yadur, Glamorgan?)
- Sab. 1 rampant arg. bordure engrailed or .- Griffith ap David Goch, l. 1284, (Lloyd of Esclusham, Gethin of Tedwdeg.)
- Vert, 1 rampant arg. head, feet, and tail gul.- Gwaith Voed, l. 921. (1.)
- Az. 1 rampant, p. fesse or and arg. bordure arg. semé of annulets sab.-Caradoc Vreichvras. (Mainerch of Brecknock, Price of Brecon Priory, Byam.)
- Gul. between 3 cross crosslets fitchée or, 1 arg. charged with 3 bars sab.—Valle Crucis Abbey, known time Henry VIII., vol. iv. 24.
 P. bend sinister ermine and ermines, 1 or. Tudor Trevor, married 907. (6.) (Mostyn, Pennant, Edwardes of Chirk, Dymock, Davis of Denbigh, Trevor, Lloyd of Leaton Knolls, of Penley, Wynue of Eyarth.
- Same, bordure gul.-Madoc Llwyd, l. 1350. (6.)
- Paly of 8, gul. and arg. 1 sab.-Griffith Maelor, (1.) a son of Madoc ap Meredith. See ante. (Owain Glyndwr.)
- P. fesse sab. and arg. 1 countercharged.—Einion Evell, l. 1191. (1.) (Mere-dith of Abertanat, Roberts of Llangedwin, Kyffin of Bodiach, of Glascoed, of Maeuau, Tanat of Abertanat, of Blodwell, Wynne of Plas newydd yn Bodlith, of Plas yn Moeliwrch, Vaughan of Golden Grove, Vaughan Lord Carbery, Edwards of Ness Strange, Lloyds of Aston.)
- P. pale az and gul. 3. arg.-Herbert. (Jones of Llanarth, Evans of Hill Court, Vaughan of Court Field.)
- P. pale gul and or, a Φ arg. between 2 endorsed countercharged.—Ithel Anwyl. Gul. on a fesse dancette arg. between 6 or, 3 rooks proper.-Sir Rhys ap
- Gruffred, d. 1196. (Sir Morgan ap Meredith of Tredegar. Abermalis, Caermarthenshire ?) See vol. iii., p. 337.
- Quarterly, arg. and sab. 4 countercharged.-Cynvraig Sais.
- Lion Rampant Guardant.
 - Az. semee fleur-de-lis, 1 arg.-Holland.
 - Arg. 1 gul.- Sir Anon, (Glantywi, Glamorgan ?)
- Lion Rampant Reguardant.
 - Gul. 1 or.-Elystan Glodrudd, father of Cadwgan. (4.) L. 970, (Blayney of Esham, Lord Cadogan, Pryce, Morice, Lloyd of Ferney, Morris of York, Evans, Lord Carbery.)
 - Or, 1 sab.-Gwaithvoed Vawr. (11.) D. 1057. (Pryse of Gogerddan.) The effigy of Griffith, 4 generations after Gwaithvoed, is said to be in Towyn Church ; query, any sign of arms?

Lion Passant.

Arg. 1 gul.-Clare alias Clarke, (heiress married Peake about 1400.)

Arg. 1 sab.—Jenkin Llwyd. (Pwll du che?)

Same, fore feet fettered or .- Madoc ap Adda Moel.

Arg. 1 gul. between 3 fleur-de-lis sab.-Gwyddno Garan Hir. (Vaughan of Caethle, of Penmaen Dovey, Pryce of Gunley.)

Gul. 1 arg.-Howel ap Iorwerth o Von. (5.)

Gul. 2 arg.—Strange. Gul. 3 arg.—Gryffydd ap Cynan. (2.) D. 1136, father of Owen Gwynedd. See Eagles.

Az. 1 arg.—Ithel Vychan. (Northope ?) Sab. 3 (-)—Hwyfa ap Iorwerth, (heiress eventually to Puleston, thence to Cooke.

Quarterly gul. and arg. 4 countercharged.-Meredydd ap Cynan. Lion Passant Guardant.

Ermine, tail between legs gul.---Ednyfed ap Cynvrig ap Rhiwallon. (6.) L. 1073. (Broughton of B., Powell of Alrhay, Ellis of Alhray.)

Arg. 1 sab.—Cadivor Vawr. (12.) (Lewis of St. Pierre; rampant?)

Arg. 2 az. - Hanmer.

Quarterly gul. and or, 4 countercharged .- Llewelyn ap Iorwerth, slain in 1282.

Or, 3 lions' heads erased gul. bordure engrailed as .- Allo ap Rhiwallon. Lozenges.

3, 2, 1.-Vol. ii., 976.

S ermine, a bordure engrailed sab.-Pigot, Denbigh ; said to have been followers of H. de Lacy.

Mullets.

Paly of 8 arg. and az. on a fesse gul, 3 arg. Matthias Wyon. (Wogan of Pembroke ?)

Mon

Gul. a Saracen's head arg. wreathed or and sab.-Marchudd, d. 847. (3.) (Wynne of Bettws, of Llanelian, Hughes, Bishop of St. Asaph, 1573, Wynne of Dyffryn Aled, Lloyd of Forest, of Pontriffith, hence Lord Mostyn, Wynn of Treforth, of Coed Coch, of Kilgwyn, Pugh of Cren-thin, Morris of Bryn yr Odin.) (Heir of Richard Wynne, 1351, n., is now of Coed Coch.)

P. feese gul. and arg. 3 Egyptian's heads counterchanged.-Ashpool.

Paly

Of 6 arg. and sab.--Mada Ddu ap David. (2.) (Griffiths of Pengwern, of Garn, Lloyds of Treflownyd.) Of 8 gul. and or, semeé torteaux sab. bordure or.—Yngar of Yal. (10.) L.

1165. (Lloyds of Bodidris, of Hopedale, of Gloster.)

Phoon

(-) a garbe ? (-) between 3 (-)-Totenhall. Heiress married Richard Peake, about 1400, thence to Rosindale. (Vol. i., 347.)

(-) 1 (-) 3 estoils in chief (-) crest a boar's head.—Scal of 1735, query, whose? "Lumley Williams" on deed.

Quarterly.

Sab. and arg.-Coel ap Meuric.

Ermine and ermines, a fesse arg.-Gwalchmai ap Gwyar.

Arg. and gul. 2 and 3 a fret arg. Dutton.

Or and gul. a bend sab. bordure az.—De Pontefract, heiress married Robert Hilton of Lancashire, about or before 1300, father of Richard. See Cross, Annulet.

·- Roses.

Sab. 3 arg .-- Cunedda Wledic, (sab. 3 gul. quartered by Watkins of Pennoyre.)

Arg. 1 gul.-Howel Arglwydd Rhôs.

Saddles.

Arg. 3 sab. stirrups or.—Enion ap Gwalchmai. (Trevcilir?)

Saltire.

Arg. 1 sab.-Aeddan of Gwent.

Ermine, on 1 gul. crescent or.-Osborn Wydel (l. 1250,) (Wynne of Glyn, of

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Peniarth, Vaughan of Cors y Gedol, Yale, Rogers, Fitzgerald.) Query, any sign of arms? ante 1350.3

Snakes.

Sab. 3 children's heads couped at shoulders proper, snakes round their necks az.-Moreddig Warwyn. Vaughan, Talgarth ?)

Gul. 3 nowed arg.-Ednowain ap Bradwen. (3.) (Owen of Peniarth, Lewis of Abernant, Vaughan of Nannau.)

Spears' Heads.

Sab. 3 point down arg. imbrued gul.—Cynvraig Sais. (Inglefield ?) Arg. 3 erect sab. imbruel gul.—Nevydd Hardd.

Sab. 3 javelins point up (-)-Padarn Peisrudd.

Stage

Vert, 1 passant arg. attired or.-Llywarch Howlbwrch. (Trygarn?)

Sab. 1 passant arg.-Gwilim Twyaf.

Sab. 1 standing arg .- Hedd Molwynog. (Lloyd of Pale.)

Arg. 1 standing at gaze, gul.-Gryffydd Gwyr.

Vert, 1 passant regardant arg.-Cynvraig Vychan.

- Az. 1 arg. armed and a crown between horns or .- Owain Gethin. (Lewis of Gilfach, Prytherch of Abergele.)
- 3 bucks trippant 2 and 1, in chief a mullet, buck reguardant crest.-Seal 1678, query, whose ? names on deed, Mostyn of Caldecot, and Peake.

2 does countersalient .- Dryhurst, (Myddelton Brass.)

1 passant reguardant, bush in mouth .- See vol. iv. 66.

Vert, 3 stag's heads in bend, in canton a rose or.-Rodri.

Arg. on a bend engrailed sab. 3 bucks' heads arg.—Heaton (see Bulls.) In Harl. MSS., 1971, p. 67, 72, is a letter from John Heaton to Holmes, about his cousin Jane Chambre's, the coat of her father, &c.

Arg. on a bend az. 3 stags' heads or.-Stanley.

Quarterly, or and az. 4 roebucks passant countercharged .-- Rosindale, (known in 1441. See vol. i., 348.) William Harvey gave Humphrey Lloyd the antiquary (properly Rosindale) a bordure gal. for difference, and a lion passant, crest.

Swords.

Sab. 1 in pale point downward, scabbard and belt arg. on sinister side, a Catherine wheel arg .--- Garat Groch.

Talbot.

Az. 1 passant between 3 oval buckles or.-Caster of Kinmel.

Torteaux.

Arg. 3 gul. between 2 bendets sab .--- Quartered by Gerard. See Lion Rampant. Query, whose ?

Towers.

Gul. 3 triple turreted arg .--- Howell Caerleon.

Unicorn.

(Arg. ?) 1 (sab.)-Norris of Penline, query ? (Itton Court, Chepstow, sculpture on Tower of.)

Wheel.

Arg. 1 or, vert between spokes .-- Llês ap Coel.

Wolf.

Az. 1 rampant arg.-Henry Dwnn. (Lloyd of Bronwydd.)

- Vert, 1 passant, pierced with arrow point out of his mouth arg. Bleddyn ap
- Maenyrch, l. 1000. (Powell of Castle Madoc.) Or (-) az. 1 passant arg.-(8.) Blaidd Rhydd, 12th century. Vert, a chevron ermine between S, argent. Ririd Flaidd, of Pe llyn, 12th century. (Vaughan of Glanllyn. Wynne of Hazlewood, Sligo.)

³ Osborn Wyddel emigrated from Ireland about the middle of the 13th century, therefore the earlier instances of the armorial bearings of this house must be looked for in the heraldry of that country. Osborn was a scion of the great sept, "the Nation of the Geraldines."

To the Editors of the Archaelogia Cambrensis.

GENTLEMEN,—Under the title of "A Report from Oxford," is to be found in the Cambrian Register for 1796, vol. ii., pp. 299-304, the Ode to the Virgin Mary, which appeared in the Archaologia Cambrensis for October last. The account of the Ode given in the Cambrian Register is as follows, viz.:-" The readers of the Cambrian Register may be amused by reading the following translation (from the Welsh) of an Oxford anecdote, the original of which is in the note below, copied from volume I. of the Welsh School Manuscripts, (now in the British Museum). The piece of English poetry coming after it, and of which it was the occasion, is curious, and in some respects valuable, as it is very likely the best record existing of the pronunciation of the English at the period when it was composed, on account of its being chiefly written in Welsh orthography." The author of the Ode, according to the Cambrian Register, was IEUAN AB HYWEL SWRDWAL, 1450. The spelling of the two copies differ greatly, as verse the 6th,-

> Help ws prace for ws prefferring,—owr souls Assel ws at ending ; &c.—Arch. Camb.

Help ws pray for ws preffering our sowls Assoil was at ending

Make all that wee fawl tu ffing² &c.—Cambr. Reg.

Verse 8th,—

We aish wyth bwk, &c.—Arch. Camb.

We assh with bwk, &c.-Cambr. Reg.

The letter I in my opinion stands for ye, rather than for He, as in verse lst,—

I set a braynts ws to bring.

Ye set a branch us to bring.

Verse 3rd,---

Yn hefn blyss I had this thing.

In heaven bliss ye had this thing.

I am, &c.,

A. M.

To the Editors of the Archæologia Cambrensis.

GENTLEMEN,—In reply to the query of your correspondent "Silurius," respecting the Llanvair Waterdine sculpture, I beg to state that the subject has not been lost sight of, and no little pains have been taken therewith. It has engaged the attention of able antiquaries, both at home and on the continent; but as yet no satisfactory result has been attained. There is but little

² This seems to be the root whence the word *finger* is derived.—*Editor of the Cambr, Reg.*

doubt of the sculptured characters being ancient alphabetic notation, and it is probable that no person can now be found in this country competent to reduce the same into modern notation. However, we should not despair. Witness the mystery which so long hung around the inscriptions on the celebrated Egyptian stone which our National Museum contains.

1 am, &c.,

VIATOR.

October 20, 1850.

Miscellaneons Dotices.

KIDWELLY CASTLE.—We are glad to learn that the outer walls of this fine castle, the property of the Earl of Cawdor, have lately had considerable repairs effected in them by his Lordship's order; and that similar repairs are going to be set on foot in the interior. A portion of wall against the chapel has lately fallen down. Several of the towers, too, require their cracks, &c., to be filled up. About £200 judiciously spent now would preserve this building for as many years. We understand that complete plans, sections and elevations of this castle will be exhibited before the Association at the Tenby Meeting, and probably a Paper read upon it.

PENALLY CHURCH.—During the recent reparations, &c., at Penally Church, several fragments of Early crosses have been found, as well as some mural paintings, apparently of the early portion of the 14th century, near the chancel arch. We are indebted to a correspondent for carefully reduced sketches and descriptions of the above, but we reserve them until the Association meet at Tenby, when some of the members will visit Penally Church, and see what alterations have been effected.

IRISH ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY.—We have just received the "Macariæ Excidium," which, under the editorial care of J. C. O'Callaghan, now forms a splendid volume, enriched by a large body of valuable historical notes and illustrations, the more interesting as they relate to a portion of history so little known in many of its details. We are glad to learn the liberal offer of two members to print at their own cost "Primate Cotton's Visitation of the Diocese of Derry, in 1397," and "An Inventory of the Landed Property, Goods and Chattels, of Gerald Fitz-Gerald, Earl of Kildare, in 1518." For the former the Society will be indebted to the Rev. W. Reeves, D.D., of Ballymena, and for the latter to their Vice-President, the Marquis of Kildare. We hope to notice the "Macariæ Excidium" at length in our next.

ARCH. CAMB., NEW SERIES, VOL. II.

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EARLY WELSH INSCRIBED STONES AND CROSSES.—We have recently had an opportunity of examining Mr. Westwood's collection of rubbings and drawings of the Early inscribed stones and crosses in Wales. It is incredibly rich; and we recommend it to the special attention of Dr. Petrie, Dr. Todd, Mr. Love Parry, Mr. Wynne, Mr. Archdeacon Williams, and other gentlemen who are skilled in palæography, and who really do take an interest in the antiquities of Wales. There are upwards of *thirty* early inscriptions and crosses in the immediate neighbourhood of Brecon alone—a fact probably unknown in that county. One early inscribed stone near Llangenau, we were informed on the spot the other day, *has disappeared quite lately*! People in that part of the country do not care for this sort of thing. Mr. Westwood, we have reason to think, destines this valuable collection, in future times, for some public museum.

CAERWENT.—We are informed that a large discovery of Roman coins, to the number of about four hundred, has been made at Caerwent (VENTA SILURUM), near the churchyard, and between the roads leading to Newport and Usk. They are of debased metal, and all, so far as our informant had seen, of the reigns of Gordian III., and Philip the Arabian.

PARRY'S ROYAL VISITS.—Our readers will be glad to hear that this interesting and valuable work has at length made its public appearance, though not in time to enable us to review it in our present Number. We hope however to do it justice in our next. Meanwhile we beg to congratulate our country upon its acquisition of this new historical treasure, and trust that the talented and indefatigable author will meet with the due and speedy reward of his labours at the hands of a grateful people.

DISCOVERY OF A SEPULCHRAL URN OF THE ROMAN-BRITISH PERIOD.—A workman in the employ of A. W. Williams, Esq., M.D., of Caernarvon, recently discovered, in a field about 150 yards south-east of Llanbeblig churchyard, a sepulchral urn, or rather two urns, which evidently had been placed within each other when interred. The urns are a mixture of sand and clay of a bluish grey colour, without any lead glazing. They contained a considerable quantity of calcined bones; a few pieces of charcoal, besides two or three bits of iron; one piece very much resembles the head of an arrow, such as have been frequently discovered in the interior of Caernarvon Castle; also a small piece of pottery, which appears to be a fragment of Samian ware. The urns were unfortunately broken by the workman; but Mr. Williams took every pains to secure the pieces, and, with a very little trouble, they may be restored to their pristine symmetry.

Reviews.

REMARKS ON THE ARCHITECTURE OF LLANDAFF CATHEDRAL; WITH AN ESSAY TOWARDS A HISTORY OF THE FABRIC. BY EDWARD A. FREEMAN, M.A., late Fellow of Trinity College, Oxford; Author of the "History of Architecture." Price 8s. London: Pickering. Tenby: R. Mason. 1850.

The series of reprints from the Archæologia Cambrensis, which have appeared from time to time, has been the means of circulating the matter contained in our pages more widely than could have been done by the unassisted efforts of the Journal itself. It is obvious, however, that we have been precluded from noticing them by the danger of falling into that "self-praise" which is proverbially "no recommendation;" and we therefore willingly take the opportunity of noticing the first work in any way connected with our Journal, which is fairly open to our criticism.

Mr. Freeman's "History of Llandaff," though having a common origin with the reprints just alluded to, differs from them by containing a very large proportion of original matter, and by being thrown into a completely new form. In fact, although several important portions, especially of the historical chapter, have been reprinted verbatim, it is to all intents and purposes a new book.

"The present volume," says the author, "has grown up in a manuer which I may venture to call analagous to the history of the building of which it treats. Happening to be present at the Cardiff Meeting of the Cambrian Archeeological Association in 1849, when Llandaff Cathedral naturally formed one of the most prominent objects of attention, I was induced to make some remarks at one of the evening meetings on some of the more singular peculiarities of the fabric. This was after only a very cursory examination of the building, and was as much to point out a few of the many difficulties connected with, as to offer any solution of them. My casual speech next developed into a paper for the Journal of the Association, the Archæologia Cambrensis. This stage required a more minute and diligent investigation of the church, which I had the pleasure of performing in the presence and with the aid of Mr. Prichard, the architect of the restoration. The result of our inquiries was to bring to light much that explained previously existing difficulties, much also that did little more than start new ones, to some of which I fear I have not yet found the key. The subject growing upon me, as the speech developed into a paper, so the paper developed into a book ; and a casual visitor to Llandaff has gradually found himself in a position only too like that of the historian of its Cathedral."-Preface, pp. xi., xii.

"When a separate publication of the paper was thought of, in common with several others which had appeared in the same Journal, it struck me that an opportunity had occurred for supplying a desideratum in architectural literature. Instead of a mere reprint of a magazine-paper, I thought, if anything on Llandaff Cathedral were published at all, it should be something that might make some pretensions to the character of a descriptive and historical account of the building, a work which, as far as I am aware, has not previously been attempted in our times. A second sojourn at Llandaff, undertaken for the purpose, has enabled me to produce, in the present volume, an attempt to supply the deficiency."—Ibid., pp. xii., xiii.

We believe Mr. Freeman is quite correct in the supposition that no history of Llandaff had been attempted in our times. Browne Willis, in the Dark Ages, took upon himself to write the Welsh

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Cathedrals all round; but one of them, at least, he never saw; and the great progress of archæological science since that period, renders a new history of them all absolutely necessary. Probably there are no ecclesiastical edifices in Britain nearly so little known in proportion to their historical and architectural importance. What Englishman knows of Llandaff or St. Asaph, but as places giving titles to spiritual peers? What Irishman who whirls along the North Wales Railway, has ever heard of Bangor, until he hears it pronounced by the guards and porters at the station? What North-Welshman ever hears of St. David's, without mechanically asking, "Is there anything to see there?"

It is high time that this ignorance should be dispelled; and we have to thank Mr. Freeman for coming among us to do it. He has executed his task admirably. The book is divided into two chapters, of which the first is descriptive, and the second historical. The former enters minutely into the present condition of the fabric, and criticizes its several æsthetical excellences and defects. The following description of its present appearance will be acceptable to those who have never seen the fabric, and will serve as a fair specimen of the author's descriptive power :--

"The first aspect of the cathedral is not a little perplexing, and it requires considerable familiarity with the building both within and without, fully to grasp the principle of its arrangement, and to recognize its component parts. Looking down on the church from the rising ground to the south, the best point for obtaining a view of its whole extent, the aspect is confusing indeed; the appearance of the building resembles a perfect chaos. A deserted ruin at the extreme west; the eastern portions fresh from recent restoration; the centre reduced to the likeness of a conventicle or a third-rate town-hall—perhaps no more incongruous assemblance of discordant elements was ever brought together.

"But it is not merely to these accidental circumstances that the difficulties alluded to are owing. A thorough restoration would diminish, but it would by no means entirely remove them; they are inherent in the design of the fabric. Its groundplan, outline, and arrangement are altogether unique. It consists—speaking of the appearance which it presented when complete, and which we may fairly hope it will, before many years, present again—of a long unbroken body, comprising under an uninterrupted roof, nave, choir and presbytery, with a large Lady chapel projecting from the east end at a somewhat lower elevation. Aislee stend along the whole length of the main body and along one bay of the Lady chapel; the west end is flanked by low towers terminating the aisles; a square building, forming the chapter-house, projects from the south aisle of the presbytery, having somewhat the air of a low transept."—PP. 4, 5.

The general criticisms on the building (as it ought to be, for criticisms on its present state are perhaps superfluous,) are altogether excellent, and the author's taste stands him in great stead in the process of making out the development of the fabric. Perhaps, indeed, it has in some instances supplied him with premises for historical deductions, of a kind which persons of less refined perceptions might be little disposed to admit. We allude, for example, to Mr. Freeman's *à priori* objection against a double tier of windows in an aisleless church, which, taken *per se*, appears a little too dogmatic, especially as we meet with such arrangements, not only in the front of transepts, as he allows, but in aisles themselves, which is more to

REVIEWS.

the point. We are also disposed to criticize his description of a conjectural tower-porch, both as being somewhat obscure, and as being based on rather vague and uncertain evidence.

The book, however, is excellently written, displaying great critical and historical acumen, extensive architectural knowledge, and consummate taste, tempered with a sound and healthy tone, which makes it readable, even when it is occupied with the "dry bones" of archæology. We would particularly call the attention of antiquaries to the remarks on "Restoration" contained in ch. ii., § iv.; where the author discriminates accurately between a legitimate restoration and the contrary; the matter of these remarks is implicitly contained in the following words quoted from Mr. Petit's "History of Tewkesbury:"—

"An old church is not merely to be looked upon as a record of past ages, but as a valuable bequest for the use of the present."—P. 90.

The book is well illustrated by engravings, taken from drawings which were furnished gratuitously by the kindness of Mr. Prichard, the architect of the restoration. The wood-engravings are from the talented hand of Mr. Jewitt, and are beautiful specimens of the class : there are also some steel engravings. The illustrations are entirely new, except the ground plan, which has already appeared in our pages. The west doorway, which we insert by the kind permission of the author, is a fair instance of the engraver's skill.

It is perhaps to be regretted that a complete history of the See, as well as the Cathedral, of Llandaff, was not produced at once. We have, however, been in some degree indemnified for the want of this, by the earlier appearance of Mr. Freeman's account of the fabric, and still more so by the appeal which he makes to the "accomplished antiquary who now fills the office of Chancellor of the Church of Llandaff," an appeal which, we trust, will not be long unanswered.

NOTICES OF SEPULCHRAL MONUMENTS IN ENGLISH CHURCHES, FROM THE NORMAN PERIOD TO THE PRESENT TIME. With Illustrations. Price 3s. 6d. By W. HASTINGS KELKE, Rector of Drayton Beauchamp.

We have been much pleased with this little *brochure* on Sepulchral Monuments, the first fruits (as far as our own knowledge extends) of the Architectural and Archæological Society for the County of Bucks.

Although not able to claim much novelty, it is perhaps more valuable from the truth of its observations, its clearness, and the admirable manner in which it is adapted to attract the attention, and invite the research of the tyro in antiquarian pursuits.

In proof of our assertion, we will give the author's opening remarks :---

"The sculptor and the antiquary, the architect and the historian, know and appreciate their importance; but their value is not confined to such characters. They are replete with interest for all persons of taste and reflection. Their effigies impart a more correct and vivid idea than the most elaborate description can convey, of the various costumes and general appearance of ecclesiastics and military characters, of civilians and ladies, and of children in successive generations. Thus they constitute a connecting medium between the present and the past. They present to you feudal lords and ladies of bygone days; they make you the companions of great and renowned characters; they introduce you into various grades of society; and make you contemporary with every past generation.

"Their inscriptions often afford information that cannot elsewhere be found, and even when there is not a word upon them they may be the means, by the character of the sculpture, the costume of the effigy, by the armorial bearings or other devices about them, of establishing important facts. National events have been confirmed or illustrated; parochial interests have been adjusted; charitable bequests have been secured from spoliation, or rescued from total ruin; dormant titles have been resumed; and lost property has been recovered."

Our author now proceeds to inquire into the origin of monuments in churches, and subsequently points out the changes which took place at different periods. The fashions, as it were, are rendered clear by means of wood-cuts, which, although borrowed from other works, and inferior in point of execution, are sufficient to answer the purpose, besides forming an appropriate heading to the descriptive portions, which are classed in the following order, viz.,—stone coffins, c. 1070– 1400; effigies, c. 1100; altar tombs, c. 1200–1600; canopies, 1250– 1700; incised stone slabs and brasses, c. 1200–1770; cross-legged efficies, c. 1100–1350; diminutive effigies; monuments of children, c. 1300; emblematic monuments and devices; cenotaphs, c. 1100; memorial windows, c. 1400–1550; mural monuments, c. 1550; mural tablets, 1450; classic monuments.

Under each division references are made to various monuments worthy of notice; but, should a second edition be called for, we would wish the author to extend this list, so as to include the *most remarkable* of every æra, and thereby direct the tourist in his research.

Upon those monuments styled "classic" our author is justly severe, as well as on the wanton destruction which was caused during the civil wars of many really valuable memorials, although he admits that Cromwell and his fanatic soldiers no doubt are blamed for much which took place at a subsequent period, whilst we ourselves are liable to the imputation of sad neglect, in allowing many curious specimens to be removed, disfigured, mutilated, and in some instances, altogether destroyed.

These portions of his subject have however been so fully noticed by Mr. Markland, in his interesting and beautiful little volume on English Churches, that we willingly refer the reader to that work, which we cannot too highly recommend.

On the point of intramural sepulture we cannot quite agree with our author, nor do we understand how, under proper regulations, the dead can be said to offend the living; taking it for granted that a vault is properly constructed, and the body encased in lead.

To the rules which ought for the future to regulate the admission of monuments into all churches, we most cordially assent; and here we will close our comments on a book which, however unassuming in appearance, deserves attentive perusal and liberal encouragement.

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THE ANTIQUITIES OF RICHBOROUGH, RECULVER, AND LYMNE, IN KENT. BY CHARLES ROACH SMITH, F.S.A. Illustrated by F. W. FAIRHOLT, F.S.A. London : J. R. Smith, 4, Old Compton Street, Soho.

We regret we did not receive this volume at an earlier period, since it has claims upon our attention, to do justice to which would require more time and space than we can at present command, even if we could boast the requisite talent, combining, as it should do, an intimate acquaintance with classic literature, the science of the practical numismatist, and the research of the pains-taking antiquary. We can however strongly recommend it to the perusal of all who take an interest in the subjects of which it treats, and we will endeavour to afford a more detailed account of its varied contents in our next Numberpremising that the manner in which it is printed, and the numerous illustrations drawn and engraved by Mr. Fairholt, are everything which the most fastidious could desire.

A PLEA FOR THE FAITHFUL RESTORATION OF OUR ANCIENT CHURCHES. By G. G. Scott, Architect. Post 8vo. 1850. Pp. 155.

This is a spirited appeal to the good feeling and good sense of the country upon the Restoration of our Ancient Ecclesiastical Edifices. We find in it much that we approve of, much that we can corroborate; —in the spirit of it we altogether join. We recommend it to the perusal of all persons who find themselves compelled to join in the restoration and reparation of their parochial buildings. What the author says however concerning old churches, we would extend to all old buildings of any architectural character, or historical interest. "Preserve as much as possible, destroy as little as possible." This is one of the most essential architectural canons of the present day.

HYMNS TRANSLATED FROM THE WELSH. BY Mrs. PENDEREL LLEWELYN. London: Pickering. 1850. pp. 31.

We hail the appearance of this most beautiful and faithful translation of Welsh Hymns. The spirit, and in most instances the metre, of the original, are most faithfully and successfully preserved. The Welsh Hymns loose nothing of their fervour or originality by the translation now presented to the public. The author calls the present translations "specimens," and most pleasing specimens they certainly are; no one can read them without being highly delighted, if not enraptured, with them. As for ourselves we cannot but admire these specimens, and hope to see many more such like; and we cannot but encourage Mrs. Llewelyn to go on, and make the Welsh Hymns as popular in England as they are in Wales. We could say more in their favour, but we forbear doing so, in order to present our readers with one or two of these "specimens" taken at random; from which they may judge whether or not we have done our duty, as public men, in bringing them to their notice. And in doing so, we would at the same time advise Mrs. Llewelyh not to place too implicit a confidence in the Rev. D. Rees of Aberystwyth's version of the original Hymns, which he has almost throughout his collections most unwarrantably altered; as for instance,—

> Nis gall angylion pur y nef, A'u dawn rhagorol hwy; Fynegi byth anfeidrol werth, Ei ddwyfol farwol glwy'.

The original of which stands thus,---

Nis gall angylion pur y nef, A'u doniau aml hwy; Byth oeod allan werthfawr bris, Anfeidrol ddwyfol glwy'.

Having said thus much of Mr. Rees's Collection of Hymns, whose mutilations of the originals are unpardonable, and whose Hymns Mrs. Llewelyn purposed following in her future translations, but which, after this warning, it is to be hoped she will desist from doing, and go at once to the fountain-head. We cite the following as fair specimens of Mrs. Llewelyn's skill as translator:—

Cariad Crist a phechod Sion, Bwyswyd yn y glorian fawr; Ac er trymed oedd y pechod, Cariad bwysodd hyd y llawr; 'Gair Gorphenwyd,

Wnaeth i'r glorian bwysig droi.

(Translation.)

Jesu's love and Zion's sinning Were in Heaven's balance tried,

And the' grevious was the sinning, Love outweighed when Jesus died.

" It is finished," Turned the scale on mercy's side. —P. 12.

Efe ei hun a'm gwrendy fry, Efe a'm cwyd i'r lan; Efe ei hun yw unig Dwr, A nawdd fy enaid gwan.

(Translation.)

Though raised on high—He hears me call, He'll lift me from the dust; My tower, my strength, my God, my all !

To him my soul I trust.

Rho oleuni, rho ddoethineb, Rho dangnefedd fo'n parhau ; Rho lawenydd yn ddi ddiwedd, Rho faddeuant am bob bui : Triged d' Ysbryd Yn ei deml dan fy mron. Diagyn, Iesu, o'th gynteddoedd, Lle mae moroedd mawr o hedd; Gwel bechadur sydd yn griddfan Ar ymyloedd oer y bedd ; Rho i mi brofi, Pethau nad adnabu 'r byd. (Translation.) Oh ! bow down, thou mighty Saviour. From thy realms of peace and bliss ; Me, a sinner, eye with favour, Trembling on the grave's abyes !

Heavenly comfort-Let me, Jesu, taste of this !

Grant me light; thy wisdom give me; Heal with peace sin's poignant smart.

Every failing fault forgive me, And thy lasting joy impart.

Let thy Spirit Make its temple in my heart.

-P. 16.

-P. 8.

Archaologia Combrensis.

NEW SERIES, No. VI.—APRIL, 1851.

REMARKS ON QUERNS.

By THE REV. A. HUME, LL.D., F.S.A.

[On the Wednesday evening of the Meeting at Dolgellau, the President expressed a wish that some one would give the Association a little information on the subject of Querns, a very beautiful specimen of which had been exhibited to the excursion party that day. Dr. Hume expressed his readiness to do so on the following evening; but, having no leisure to write out his remarks in the interval, by the permission of the Meeting he delivered them orally.]

BREAD, "the staff of life," is used by all nations more or less; and therefore the mode of its preparation in various countries becomes a question of much interest. The history of the QUERN is accordingly engrafted on a more general subject, and a history may be read *geographically*, as well as *chronologically*. In other words, there are people in existence at this day corresponding to almost every grade of civilization; and thus, facts of a primitive kind, which are only traditional with ourselves, are illustrated by the actual circumstances of less civilized nations.

1.—The simplest mode of preparing grain for food is by boiling or roasting it; in the former case it is softened, in the latter it is made brittle. Both plans are practised at present by the aborigines of America, and of other countries. The Indians say that parched corn sustains ARCH. CAMB., NEW SERIES, VOL. 11. N

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them best upon long journies—the very food which, we have reason to believe, was given to Hagar when she was driven out by Abraham. By these modes of preparation, CORN and BREAD are almost perfectly synonymous terms; and as such we find them frequently used. Thus, when the Egyptians came to buy "corn," they said, give us "bread." The sowing of seed after irrigation is expressed by casting "thy bread upon the waters;" and the ordinary crop is divided into "seed for the sower, and bread for the eater."

2.—A degree of advancement is the trituration by stones. In New Mexico, the maize is beaten on a broad stone which is inclined to the ground at a small angle, by a smaller one like a painter's muller. The fragments are beaten again, if it be necessary to produce an unusual degree of fineness; then the dough is kneaded, and the cakes are baked. The same stone, therefore, is the "nether mill stone," the "bake-board," and the floor of the oven.

3.—Next in order come the pestle and mortar. The Israelites, as we find from the Mosaic narrative, in their preparation of the manna, "ground it in *mills*, or beat it in a *mortar*."¹ The "mills" of course were *querns*; and it is probable that they were used only by the more enlightened of the Hebrew people. It is not necessary or reasonable to infer that the pestle was used at a much later period, when the expression occurs, "bread corn is *bruised*."

4.—The next step in advance was the *common use* of the *quern*; and this is the chapter in the general preparation of food which is now to be read in some detail.

I.—DERIVATION OF THE TERM "QUERN."—In the Suio-Gothic, or ancient language of Sweden, the word is spelled as it is with ourselves; in the ancient Teutonic it · is *querne*. From this Teutonic root a provincial term used in Northumberland is derived, which in Mr. Brockett's "Glossary" is spelled *kern*. This is identical

¹ Numbers, xi., 8.

with the Scottish kirn, and the English churn. Not only is a relationship established between the quern and the churn by their etymology; the same term, kern, is also used in Northumberland to denote both. Mr. Huband Smith says—"It seems more than probable that the Latin verb 'cerno,' whose primary meaning is to separate or divide, took its rise from the operation of these very primitive implements of domestic economy."² The learned are aware that the c in *cerno* (from the Greek $K\rho i \nu \omega$) was pronounced hard (like k) as in the Celtic languages; the Latin word would thus denote the separation of meal from the husk, or milk from the butter. Capell supposes that, in the quotation from Shakespeare given at p. 98, Robin Goodfellow laboured at the churn; one would think that he did not know the meaning of the word "querne."

II.—STRUCTURE.—The machine consists of two stones, round or nearly round, about two feet in diameter, but varying from twelve to thirty inches. The upper is from two to seven inches deep; the lower may be of any size or depth, and it may be a perfect fixture. In general, however, its depth does not exceed nine inches, and it is of such a volume as to be easily removable. In some cases the top of the lower is convex, and the bottom of the upper concave; there is thus no danger of the stones sliding on each other, and the meal easily subsides to the edges. In some examples we find the two contiguous surfaces scored, to increase the action on the grain. The patterns are very varied.

The upper stone of the quern was usually turned by a vertical handle inserted in it; but sometimes it was inserted at the side. In a Saxon quern possessed by the Historic Society at Liverpool, obtained in cutting the Lancashire and Yorkshire Railway, there is reason to believe that a small crowbar was inserted at the side, and pushed round by a man, as a horizontal lever. Occasionally the upright handle was elongated, and placed in a

² " Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy," i., 391.

cross-bar above, to give a small amount of leverage, or "purchase," in the process of turning.

Sometimes a ledge of stone was left round the circumference of the lower, and within this the upper stone sat; or an imitation ledge was made occasionally of wood or metal. A quern of the former kind is in the collection of the Natural History Society at Belfast. In any of these cases it was necessary to have a hole at the side, or to have the upper stone removable, for the free egress or extraction of the meal. When the machine was small, it was worked on a table or bench; but the more usual plan was to spread a cloth on the floor to contain the meal, and to place the quern upon it.

The lower stone was sometimes made of a harder material, at least it was harder by supposition, and hence the expression in Job, (xli., 24,) "his heart is as . . . hard as a piece of the *nether* mill stone." One of the stones of the quern seen at Barmouth, on Wednesday, August 28th, was of harder material than the other.

The upper stone was usually provided with a bar across the hole, or "eye," and in the centre of this the pivot of the lower stone was placed. By wadding with small pieces of leather, any required degree of fineness could be given to the meal.

There is, however, a species of quern, midway between the pestle and mortar on the one hand, and that just described on the other. The ridge surrounding the lower stone gives to the whole the appearance of a basin, and it is mounted on tripod. This kind is very ancient, and now extremely rare.

III.—HISTORY.—We read that Abraham said to Sarah,³ "make ready quickly three measures of *fine meal*, knead it, and make cakes upon the hearth." Also, the patriarch having selected a calf, "gave it unto a young man, and he hasted to dress it." Here is the division of labour as practised in the East still; the man is the butcher, the woman the miller and baker. Sarah is directed both as to quantity and kind; and it is probable that she used the pestle, as we still find it in use in the time of Moses, or five hundred years afterwards.

We have evidence of two kinds that the quern was used by the ancient Egyptians. The one is, that the illustrations of domestic manners which have been brought to light by researches among the ancient monuments of the country contain the process of grinding in the manner about to be described. The other is, the evidence of Moses in an incidental allusion. The first-born were to be destroyed, "from the first-born of Pharaoh that sitteth upon his throne, to the first-born of the maid servant that is behind the mill."⁴

Subsequently, the same instrument was used by the Greeks; and it is said that Pittacus, king of Mitylene, one of the seven wise men, had been used to turn the quern handle. In after ages the women, imagining that that fact gave dignity to their employment, lightened their labour with singing,—

"Grind, grind away mill, Pittacus too was a grinder."

The Romans used the quern; and beautiful specimens of Roman workmanship are turned up from time to time in almost every part of the countries that they inhabited.

The ancient Britons and Saxons also made use of it, as numerous existing specimens testify. They are identified with one or other class of people, partly from construction, but mainly from locality. There is an interesting Scandinavian legendary ballad, called the "Quern Song,"⁵ serving to identify it with those countries also.

It is among the Celtic population that we find the quern still used in these countries. The Highlanders use it in Scotland; the Irish in Kerry, Connaught, and a

⁵ " Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy," i., 392.

few other places; nor is it quite extinct, though perhaps less known, in Wales. But even in purely Saxon districts, as the Lowlands of Scotland, and the North of Ireland, the generation is scarcely passed away that saw it in current use. The grey-haired chroniclers used to tell how an active housewife would reap the oats from the harvest ridge, separate the grain from the straw, winnow and dry it, grind and sift the meal, and make it into porridge, in time for the breakfast of the family and workmen.

IV.-LOCALITY.-Travellers tell us that hand mills of stone are used in China; and we know, in a similar way, that they are extensively used in India, in the preparation of the simple food of the Hindoos. In the countries which are called by way of eminence the East, as Egypt, Arabia, Persia, and Asiatic Turkey, its existence is well known. A manuscript which Colonel Leake preserved, in describing the miseries of the people of Maina, in the Morea, says, " at night they turn the hand mill, and weep, singing lamentations for the dead while they grind their ' In almost every country of Europe, probably wheat.' in all without exception, it is found either as an antiquity or as an existing implement. Among the negro nations it is common in Central and Western Africa. Thus we can trace it, without interruption, almost from Japan on the east, to Galway on the west. It is probably found in the American continent also.

The quern was used principally in the *hill countries*, for the two following reasons:—(1.) Where grain is small in quantity, there is economy of time and increased convenience in its use. The *quern* is to the mill what the spade is to the plough, the flail to the thrashing machine, the saddle horse to the railway train, the spinning wheel to the factory. There are many cases in which the simple instrument is decidedly the more desirable. (2.) The nature of the country. Loads of grain are not easily dragged over steep hills; and what must the difficulty have been in the days of bridle roads and pack horses? How great is it even now, when the floods are out, or the hills covered with snow. Dr. Johnson, in his "Tour in the Hebrides," says, "when the water mills in Skye and Raasa are too far distant, the housewives grind their oats with a *quern*, or hand mill."

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V.—MODE OF USING.—Two persons usually sat on the ground, with the quern between them; and while the right hand of each was used in turning, the left was used in filling the "eye," or hopper, of the upper stone. In pictorial illustrations of Scripture, the women are usually represented as kneeling, or leaning over the quern; but it is easy to see that in that position only a portion of the strength could be employed; it is therefore unnatural.

The process of grinding was usually regarded as heavy work—probably like turning a mangle or grindstone with ourselves—it was therefore reserved for slaves, or mere drudges. This was Sampson's employment after his capture by the Philistines—"he did grind in his prison house."⁶ The contrast between Pharaoh upon his throne, and the maid servant behind the mill, shows that the latter occupied the lowest social position. In the complaint of Zion, which concludes the Lamentations, it is said, "they took the young men to grind."

The Irish used two words to denote the quern. Bró is from the same root as our ancient English word bray (to bruise as in a mortar, see Prov. xxvii., 22); and clochoron means the "stone of sorrow." It is said that water mills were introduced into Ireland in the third century, by Cormac, son of Art, the chief monarch, in his anxiety to relieve a beautiful bondmaid called Ciarnad, who was obliged to furnish a certain quantity of meal daily from the bró. The bard O'Lochain, who died in 1024, says that a millwright was sent for across the sea, probably to Scotland, and that the mill was erected on a stream near Tara.⁷

VI.-LAWS AND CUSTOMS.-The Mosaic law prohibited

⁶ Judges, xvi., 21.

7 "Ordnance Survey of Londonderry," i., 215.

any one from taking "the upper or the nether mill stone to pledge, for he taketh a man's life to pledge." This was a humane enactment, and prevented any one from taking advantage of a man's necessity or thoughtlessness.

In modern times, kings monopolised the grinding of grain; and it was enacted in Scotland in 1284, that "No man sall presume to grind quheit, maishlock, or rye, in hand mylne, except he be compelled by storme, or be in lack of mills quhilk which sould grinde the samen; and in this case, gif a man grindes at hand mylnes, he sall gif the threllein measure as mulcture; gif any man contraveins this our proclamation, he sall type his mill perpetuallie." Subsequently this monopoly was granted to individuals; and within a certain district called the "sucken," or "soken," every one was obliged to grind, and to pay the usual toll, mulcture, or "thirliage." This law, however, did not prevent any one from grinding at home for family use.

To secure the entire trade, and literally "to draw grist to the mill," the millers waged a war of extermination against the querns. Some were purchased, and some obtained surreptitiously; and in every case the pair was destroyed by the breaking of the upper stone. Numerous fragments might be found upon the surface, or dug up in the neighbourhood of the older wind and water mills.

The miller was an important person in a rural district, or a small village. In our old English literature, especially in ballad poetry, he is generally represented as strong and hale, and not unfrequently he figures in connexion with the fair sex. The description of the miller by Chaucer, in the "Canterbury Tales," is so minute, and has such an air of individuality about it, that the poet must have had some person in view when he wrote it :—

"The miller was a stout carl for the nones,

Ful big he was of braun and eke of bones."

He bore away the ram in wrestling, could heave a door

off the bar, "or breke it at a renning with his hede;" he had red hair, a peculiar wart upon his nose, and his beard was dressed broad in the shape of a spade. He was also musical, for—

"A baggepipe wel could he blow and soune,

And therewithal he brought us out of towne."

The quern is still used in respectable families in Ireland as a curiosity. The first grain of the season is ground in it, and the servants who work it sing extempore stanzas, appropriate to the individuals of the family. The first refers to the master, the next to the mistress, and so on in succession to the children, guests, &c. Wooden querns, with or without pieces of tin grater attached, are still used for grinding spices; and small circular stones are occasionally seen, which appear to have formed portions of querns for the same purpose.

VII.—ALLUSIONS TO IT.—It is not a little curious that the original languages of the Scriptures distinguish between the two stones, where our less perfect translation gives the common term "mill stone." The upper was known among the ancients as the "rider," and the lower the "ass." Thus, we are told that "a certain woman cast a piece of mill stone (*rider*) upon Abimelech's head, and all-to (thoroughly) brake his skull;"⁸ and again, "it were better for him that a *mill stone* (*ass*⁹ mill stone) were hanged about his neck, and that he were cast into the sea."¹

A translation of the Scriptures by Wiclif, in the early part of the fourteenth century, contains the following version of a well known passage :²—

"Tweine wymmen schulen ben gryndynge in o querne, oon schal be taken and the tother lefte."

⁸ Judges, ix., 53.

⁹ Some say that this was the stone of a mill turned by an ass, but the contrast with "rider" shows that the other view is the correct one. Such a stone would be of a suitable size to be brought and to cause drowning. The drowning of Morris the guager, as recorded by Sir Walter Scott in "Rob Roy," took place in this way.

¹ Matthew, xviii., 6.; Mark, ix., 42; Luke, xvii., 2.

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² Matthew, xxiv., 41.

In the book of Revelation, desolation is shown by the silence of musicians and craftsmen; and it is added,—

"The sound of a *mill stone* shall be heard no more at all in her."

The passage in Job (xxxi., 10) which alludes to grinding, is usually supposed to denote degradation of another kind, figuratively indicated; some think, however, that it is an allusion to literal grinding or slavery. But Solomon's allusion in the book of Ecclesiastes (xii., 3, 4) is decidedly and beautifully figurative. "The keepers of the house (hands and arms) shall tremble, and the strong men (legs and back) shall bow themselves, and the grinders (teeth) cease because they are few, and those that look out of the windows (eyes) be darkened. And the doors shall be shut in the streets (lips with the cheeks fallen in) when the sound of the grinding is low."

The following are other illustrations from our own . literature :---

"Whereas they made him at the querne grinde;

Ah! nobill Sampson, strongest of mankind."—Chaucer. "For skant of vittale,

The cornes in quernes of stane they grand."

Douglas' Virgil.

"Robin Goodfellow, are you not he That fright the maidens of the villag'ry, Skim milk, and sometimes labour at the *querne*, And bootless make the breathless housewife churn?" Shakespeare.

The following is from Professor Tennant's translation of a Greek epigram, which was composed on the introduction of water mills:—

"Ye maids who toil'd so faithful at the *mill*, Now cease from work, and from those toils be still; Sleep now till dawn, and let the birds with glee, Sing to the ruddy morn on bush and tree; For, what your hands performed so long, so true, Ceres has charged the water nymphs to do."

An interesting anecdote, illustrative at once of the feelings of humanity, and of the use of the *quern* in

Africa, is that recorded by Mungo Park. When he had turned his horse loose for the night, and with his saddle and bridle had himself taken shelter in a tree, from wild beasts, he was prevailed upon by a poor negress to enter her hut, and was most kindly and hospitably entertained. During the evening, while her daughters spun cotton, they extemporized a song which was applicable to himself. It has been versified almost in Park's own words :---

> "The loud winds roared, the rains fell fast, The white man yielded to the blast; He came and sat beneath our tree, For weary, sad and faint was he. Let us pity the poor white man ! No mother has he to bring him milk, No wife to grind his corn."

Liverpool, January, 1851.

ON ARCHITECTURAL ANTIQUITIES IN MONMOUTHSHIRE.

No. I.

THE subject of the present inquiry will embrace so many of the architectural remains in Monmouthshire, both ecclesiastical and military, as I was able to inspect during a short stay in that county, and will be found to comprise a considerable proportion of those lying between the three towns of Chepstow, Newport, and Usk. Beyond this limit I cannot pretend to speak; but within the prescribed bounds I have seen a sufficient number of examples to comment with confidence on the general character of the buildings in that particular district. This contains a majority of the churches in the Deanery of Chepstow or Netherwent, and a few in those of Newport and Usk respectively.

In examining these churches, I was naturally led to compare them with those which I had previously exa-

mined in other parts of South Wales, chiefly in the counties of Pembroke and Glamorgan. The result of the comparison is what might naturally be expected from the closer proximity of Monmouthshire to districts of England which rank among the most favoured of all in an architectural point of view. The original local type of church, though very small and plain, is far from approaching that extreme rudeness which characterizes the strictly native erections of Pembrokeshire and Gower; and exotic forms have a far more extensive application. The imitation of Somersetshire models, of which such striking examples are found at Tenby, Cardigan, and Cardiff, is in Monmouthshire incomparably more common, and is applied to buildings of much smaller dimensions. Aisles, rare in Pembroke and unknown in Gower, are not unfrequent; the military type of tower, though often met with, is no longer the prevailing rule, and what is but another form of this same phænomenon, the tower is far more frequently absent. Where circumstances required it, every church had a tower, and that a defensive one; in a district where it was not found needful for every house of worship to be also a house of warfare, it naturally followed that, while the wealthier churches followed more purely ecclesiastical models for their steeples, the poorer were enabled to omit them Hence the bell-cot, by no means common altogether. in Glamorganshire, and which I never observed in the Flemish¹ district of Pembrokeshire, is in the Monmouthshire churches extremely frequent.

DATE OF THE CHURCHES.—There is but little Romanesque of any kind; Chepstow Priory Church and St. Wollos at Newport indeed exhibit the Norman style on a grand scale; but in the smaller churches it is all but unknown; some very small fragments occur at St. Arvan's and Caerwent; while of a better kind, and of a larger size, we have a doorway at Christ Church, and the lantern arches at Usk; which last example might be more fairly

¹ When I speak of Pembrokeshire in an architectural point of view, I must be understood as referring exclusively to this part of the county.

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classed with Chepstow and Newport. Of Early English there is a good deal, but for the most part plain, and often rude, and without anything distinctive. The plain trefoil lancet, both single and in couplets and triplets, is as common here as in Gower, and no form can be better adapted to these little simple churches; none better introduces a certain amount of finish without any departure from simplicity. I am however inclined to think that this form may very probably have been retained in use after the ordinary termination of the Early English style, especially as the arch is so often ogee.

Of Decorated in an early form Tintern Abbey is a most perfect example; but that superb structure has only a geographical connexion with the district we are examining, and exhibits none of its peculiarities. In the small churches it is, in its distinctive features, the rarest style of all. I shall however have to mention one or two individual portions of some value.

By far the greater proportion of the architectural features of these churches is Perpendicular. This style appears here in two forms ; the imitation of Somersetshire work already alluded to, in which case the detail is sometimes rather elaborate; and a plainer and less distinctive form adapted to the ruder churches. There is also a good deal of later repairing and patching; and, as I have elsewhere mentioned in the case of Gower, and as must always be the case where work is very simple and with little distinctive character, it is occasionally possible to confound ancient and modern work. In districts of this kind old traditional types naturally lingered on longer than elsewhere; churches were rebuilt or repaired much as they were before, with only the actual deterioration in point of skill, but without any formal introduction of antagonistic notions, or any affectation of modern finery. I am alluding more particularly to the little church of Llanfair-discoed; this consists of a nave and chancel with south porch, and a central bell-cot, a felicitous position which I have not remarked elsewhere in this neighbourhood. The proportions and outline, the

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walls and high roofs, leave hardly anything to be desired; the detail, it must be confessed, is poor; the doorway, with a depressed arch and single chamfer, would pass for seventeenth century work; the windows are unsightly enough, but are neither of the conventicle nor the churchwardens' Gothic type; they might be set down as poor Perpendicular ones mutilated. The general impression of the church is that of an ancient one, rough but not unpleasing, which had suffered a little from modern alterations. An inscription however over the porch proclaims that "This church was bilt in the ye y' 1746." Architecture was decidedly in a more flourishing state at Llanfair a century back than orthography; many a showy modern fabric will not compare to the eye of real taste with this rude and unpretending little structure of the darkest times.²

OUTLINE AND GROUND-PLAN.—A great number of the churches consist only of a nave and chancel, with generally a south porch, with or without a tower. Of this type, with a western bell-cot, we have examples at Gwernesney, Llangeview, Wilcrick, and Kilgwrwg, and the ruined church of Llangwm isha. At Llanfair I have just mentioned the bell-cot as central; at Tintern parish church, it is absent entirely, and the porch swells almost to the size of a transept. Similar buildings with western towers occur at Itton, Bishopston, Roggiett, and Newchurch; at Shirenewton the tower is between the nave and chancel; at Llangwm ucha it stands north of the latter, a Pembrokeshire arrangement of which I saw no

² Another inscription at Llanfair, graven on the stile by which the churchyard is entered, deserves to be perpetuated as exhibiting the churchwardens' usual proclamation against unlawful sports in a form drawing, to an unusual amount, upon the stores both of poetry and divinity, and bringing in a sanction quite different from the vulgar threat of "prosecution to the utmost rigour of the law." The "lex horrendi carminis" runs as follows :—

"Who Ever hear on Sonday Will Practis Playing At Ball it May Be be Fore Monday The Devil will Have you All."

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other instances. This church is larger than usual, and has a nave of remarkable length. At Panterry with a west bell-cot, and Llanwern with a west tower, no external distinction is made between nave and chancel. St. Arvan's has a modern western tower; I do not know its original arrangement.

Of the larger churches with aisles, the complete cross form seems to occur only in large conventual buildings, as Tintern, Chepstow, and Usk. In the latter example, owing to the destruction of the choir and transepts, the tower now stands at the east end, as it once did at Chepstow. There is only a north aisle to the nave. Ι saw no example of transepts without a central tower, an arrangement which sometimes occurs in Pembrokeshire. But the use of the central tower without transepts would seem to be a localism; at least I saw four examples of this comparatively rare form within a short distance of each other. One of these I have already mentioned; the others Magor, Undy, and Caldicott, have an aisle or aisles to the nave, but none to the chancel. Magor has two aisles, which are continued to the east face of the tower, forming false transepts internally. At Undy there was only a south aisle, now destroyed, but which appears to have been continued to the same point; Caldicott has a single aisle to the north, not continued beyond the western arch of the tower.

The other churches have an aisle or aisles with western towers, though not invariably terminating the nave. Matherne is a good example of the ordinary form of a parish church, Llanfihangel Roggiett has lost a north aisle, which seems to have extended some way along the chancel. At Caerwent the chancel had two aisles, and the nave one to the south, all of which are gone. Caerleon Church has a north and south aisle to the nave only; the tower standing engaged at the west end of the south aisle. The peculiar plans of St. Wollos, Newport, and Christ Church, I shall hereafter notice more at length.

It is remarkable that though aisles are thus by no

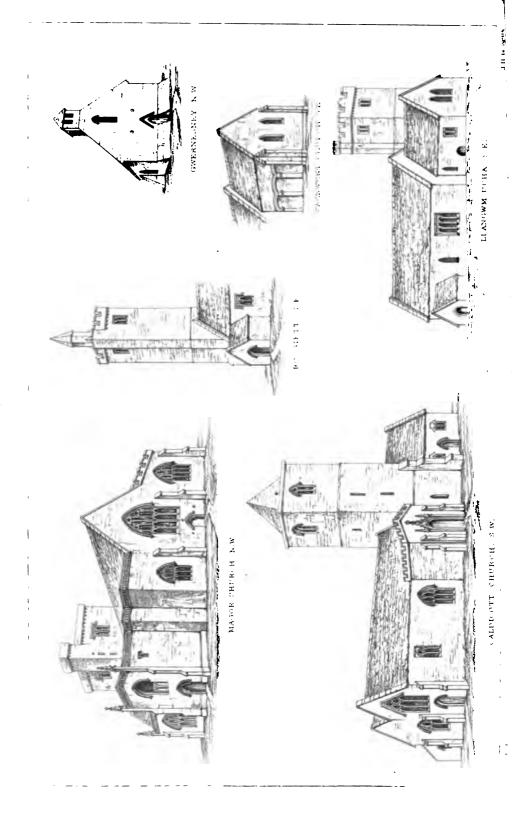
means uncommon, even in churches of no great dimensions-Undy and Llanfihangel being otherwise quite of the smallest type-the clerestory is exclusively confined to the largest buildings, as Tintern, Chepstow, and Newport, and of these the two latter are, still more remarkably, Norman. The aisles have either distinct gables, as at Caerleon, or are attached by lean-tos to the nave-roof, as at Magor. The roofs of nave and chancel are invariably of high pitch. The absence of the clerestory may perhaps have in some cases been owing to their being only a single aisle, in which case its presence, as in the nave of Kidlington Church, Oxon, cannot fail to be productive of great inconvenience. But most of the few aisled churches I have seen elsewhere in South Wales are without clerestories-the Cathedrals and Brecon Priory are the only exceptions I remember-and that the form was preferred on its own grounds will be made clear from the extraordinary history of Newport Church. Indeed, even in Somersetshire, the land of Perpendicular, the clerestory is by no means of so invariable occurrence as in Northamptonshire and elsewhere; it indeed exhibits the most gigantic developments of that feature in Bath Abbey and St. Mary Redcliffe; ³ but from many of the smaller churches it is absent.

The chancels are usually well defined architecturally, and of very considerable size; sometimes, as at Roggiett, Llanfihangel Roggiett, and Caerwent, as large or larger than the nave. On the other hand I have remarked at Llangwm ucha the great development of the latter, and the same may be observed at Caldicott.

Towers.—I have already remarked that the military type of tower is no longer, as in Glamorganshire, and still more in Pembrokeshire, the prevailing rule, but merely one form among others. And as its perfection is confined to the latter county, so we find in the Monmouthshire examples the idea still less thoroughly carried out than in Glamorgan. A strongly built tower,

³ With these we may class the choir of Christ Church in Hampshire.

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with a corbel-table under the parapet, and with buttresses either entirely absent or of but very little account, is common enough; but there is nothing like the full development of Gumfreston or Manorbeer. The corbeltable below the battlement occurs at Shirenewton, Usk. Llangwm, Magor, Llanfihangel, Roggiett, and Caerleon; and at Christ Church, where there is no battlement; at Llanfihangel, strange to say, like a Glamorganshire namesake, there are pinnacles at the angles. Most of them have a turret attached, in this agreeing with the Pembrokeshire towers, in opposition to those in Gower, where it is less usual, and less conspicuous when it This at Llangwm is octagonal, but is more occurs. ordinarily square, as at Shirenewton, Magor, and Roggiett, in the latter of which the square turret is crowned with a tall octagonal pinnacle, which has a singular and striking effect. One side of the turret, when square, is continued straight from the west wall of the tower. With this class of towers I may also fairly class the rude steeple at Newchurch, though the corbel-table is wanting. The saddle-back, common in Gower and other parts of Glamorgan, and often so oddly combined with the corbel-table and battlement, I have not observed, either here or in Pembrokeshire.

If I am ever enabled to make a further inquiry into the towers of the last mentioned county, I shall hope to be able to confirm my present belief as to their date; namely that they do not belong to any one style or period; the type originating in the thirteenth, or possibly the twelfth, century, but being continued, with little change, through all the subsequent epochs. The like I have already expressed as my opinion with regard to those in Gower.⁴ And I think that the same remark will

⁴ Our own observations in Pembrokeshire, Gower, and Caermarthenshire leads us to nearly the same inference. We recommend Mr. Freeman to examine carefully the tower of Llanbadarn fawr in Cardiganshire, and the church itself, (now, alas, doomed to remain for ever unrepaired!) before he finally decides on this point.—EDD. ARCH. CAMB.

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hold good in Monmouthshire. Certainly nearly all the towers I have mentioned are in date Perpendicular; but they have no Perpendicular character about them; compared with the more genuine Perpendicular steeples in the same neighbourhood, they have every appearance of being the mere retention of an earlier idea. And at Magor we have a genuine Early English tower of this type with clear Perpendicular alterations.

These are the most military of the towers I saw, but after all, their military character is very slight compared with those of Pembrokeshire. They are more architectural, much less rude both in design and execution, better divided by strings, and, in their lower stages at least, not altogether forbidden the use of buttresses. The Pembrokeshire towers, except from their height, might fairly stand as portions of a castle; those of Monmouthshire are decidedly campaniles, though built with some attention to defence. The Perpendicular belfry-windows are very unpretending, usually square-headed, but at Shirenewton they are single trefoil lights, a retention of an earlier form found also in the tower of the College Chapel at St. David's. The sloping of the wall at the base is found in these, as in many other Welsh towers, and extends itself moreover to many of those towers which have otherwise no military character, and even to the west fronts of the churches which have no western tower.

The non-military towers are not very remarkable, nor have they any close resemblance among themselves. Those at Matherne and Newport are ordinary Perpendicular steeples of some merit, though the details of the latter are very late and Debased. By the far the best of the class is that of Matherne, a fair Perpendicular structure, without any local character at all. The central towers of Undy and Caldicott have a quadrangular capping and no battlement; the latter is remarkable for a height quite unusual in such a position, while the other is conspicuous for the reverse. Caldicott tower, though plain, is a bold and handsome structure, and the general outline of the church is striking, though there is a want of coherence among its parts. Itton is a low and plain western tower, with a massive octagonal turret; its present finish is a modern battlement and pinnacles, but, as far as I could gather, it formerly had a capping similar to that of the two last examples. Llanwern Church has a massive western tower, of very English Those of Bishopston and Caerwent may percharacter. haps be considered as intermediate between the military and non-military classes. In their sloping bases and in the want of buttresses they approximate to the former, but the corbel-table is absent, and their large west windows deviate much from the defensive type. Bishopston also departs more widely from it in its pointed belfry-windows, while the square form of those at Caerwent, unrelieved by a label or by buttresses, makes the whole tower retain much of the hardness of expression conspicuous in the military towers. Both have octagonal turrets, attached at Bishopston to the north-east, and at Caerwent to the south-east angle.

BELL-COTS AND WEST FRONTS.—The bell-cot, except in the modern, though not despicable, instance of Llanfairdiscoed, is placed, wherever it occurs, over the west gable, and is constructed for two bells. All the four examples at Gwernesney, Llangeview, Wilcrick, and Kilgwrwg, are of the simplest character possible—a mere pierced gable, not supported by any buttress or corbelling; but in all these cases a wooden structure has been erected to the west of it, and in the first examples the head of the gable has been cut down to allow of its conversion into a sort of square turret with a quadrangular capping. That at Panterry is quite different, and has something of a military air about it; the turret is oblong, without a gable, resting on a corbel-table, and, instead of open arches, it has slits like those in towers.

The fronts of these churches, with which we may reckon those of the aisleless churches with towers other than western, as Shirenewton, Undy, and Llangwm, are usually simple, but effective. Those at Panterry and Wilcrick are quite rough, but usually there is both a doorway and a window, affording, in the former, a striking confutation of certain baseless theories which have been propounded on this subject. It must however be confessed that the doorway is in several instances blocked. At Tintern it is absent, the west window being larger than usual. At Kilgwrwg there is a blocked door, but no window. Llangeview and the ruined Llangwm have west porches, the former very large, reducing the west window to a mere slit. The front at Gwernesney is an admirable example of a small and simple composition. Like most of the aisleless churches, its breadth is very considerable, and this idea of breadth has been well seized upon as the one to be carried out. The only light is a single lancet placed very high in the wall, quite in the gable; below, cutting, like so many others, through the sloping basement, is a small doorway, with a plain straight-sided projecting canopy over it, an ornament giving a high degree of finish, without any violation of simplicity. A similar doorway occurs at Llangwm ucha, but the other proportions of the front are very different; the window, an incipient Geometrical one of two lights, sadly mutilated, being placed much lower in the wall, and having a small quatrefoil over it in the gable. The west end at Undy is lighted by two tall trefoil-headed lancets, placed still lower, so much so indeed that a Perpendicular doorway, which has been inserted, is thrust to one side; the architect having, apparently, an unusual scruple against mutilating what he found. Shirenewton has a Perpendicular window and doorway, nowise remarkable. It may be noticed that in several of these fronts heads or other corbels occur above or beside the doors, the intent of which is not verv clear.

The larger fronts are perhaps hardly so well worthy of attention as the smaller. I do not allude to the splendid composition at Tintern, or that of which some relics still remain at Chepstow; but merely to those of the churches already mentioned which are furnished with aisles, Christ Church, Magor, Caerleon, and Caldicott. The two former churches I shall notice more at length; at Caerleon, beside the usual disadvantages of a tower terminating an aisle, its military character renders it peculiarly inappropriate as a member of a façade with high gables and large Perpendicular windows. Caldicott has nothing remarkable as a composition, though we shall have again occasion to refer to one of its windows. All four have western doorways.

ARCADES, &c.—The internal arcades of the churches are most usually Perpendicular; the details very fair, though the proportions are less elegant than is usual in their Somersetshire models, the pillars not being very lofty, and the arches occasionally broad and sprawling. The general type is a channelled pier with four attached shafts, the mouldings between being continuous. We find this, with some smaller varieties, at Caerleon, Christ Church, Magor, and Caldicott.

Of earlier arcades, besides the grand Norman examples at Chepstow and Newport, there are Early English ones both at Matherne and Usk. The former resemble some instances in Northamptonshire, round chamfered arches rising from clustered columns; one single arch is pointed, with a single chamfer and broad soffit, rising from a square pier. At Usk broad pointed arches rise from low clusters of little boldness. At Caerwent are some remarkable arcades, which will require to be treated more at length.

In no respect is the difference between the architecture of this district, and that of Gower and Pembroke, more conspicuous than in the chancel arches. I have elsewhere mentioned the extreme smallness and rudeness of those in Gower; and the Pembrokeshire examples are not much better. Those of Monmouthshire on the other hand differ but little from what would be found in any ordinary English church of the same scale and period; being commonly well turned, pointed, and chamfered. In some instances they rise from corbels, recalling the exceptional case in Gower, the beautiful lantern-arches at Cheriton. The arch seems in some cases to have been destroyed; but the only cases of great rudeness are at Llanfair, Undy, and Magor. In the first this arch is hardly up to the mark of the rest of the building, being very rough, though decidedly pointed. At Undy the western arch of the lantern is of no shape at all, but the lower part of this tower was so much tampered with at the destruction of the aisle, that it cannot be quoted with certainty as a genuine ancient example, especially as the eastern arch is rather ornate, with Early English shafts and mouldings. At Magor, the only certain instance, the original arches, though decidedly pointed, are of extreme roughness.

I have already spoken of the Norman lantern at Usk. Of other noticeable examples I may mention Caerwent, an Early English arch, just taken down! Llangwm ucha, an arch of four orders, rising from Decorated corbels; the ruin at Llangwm isha, where the arch has a continuous wave-moulding, without shafts; a moulding occurring also in the same position at Caldicott. At Christ Church the arch is good Perpendicular, like the rest of that church.

DOORWAYS.—Another point of superiority, no less conspicuous than the chancel-arches, which these churches possess over those with which we have all along compared them, is to be found in the doorways. Instead of the rough aperture, of which it is hard to say whether its arch is round or pointed, it is by no means uncommon, even in the simplest and plainest structures, to find a well-turned arch, with a considerable amount of Perpendicular moulding, very commonly a bowtell furnished with a base without a capital. I have already mentioned the elegant, though simpler, doorways of an earlier kind at Gwernesnev and Llangwm ucha. In the larger churches there is a tendency to large Perpendicular porches. At Usk there are two, north and west of the north aisle, and there is one very similar to them at Caldicott. These are of only one story, and the outer doorway is adorned with pinnacles and an ogee canopy,

an enrichment far better suited to the position than the square label with ornamental spandrils. At Caerwent and Magor we shall have to describe porches of still greater pretension.

WINDOWS.—Decorated tracery is very rare, partly perhaps, as I before hinted, from the ogee trefoil lancet being employed during that style as well as the Early English. That form is found in all combinations, alone, and as a triplet or couplet. At Gwernesney and Llangwm ucha the latter, at Llanfihangel and Itton the former, form appropriate east windows. At Caerwent is another variety. Llangwm isha has a single lancet, very deeply splayed, at the east end; Matherne an ordinary triplet.

The true form of the foil-headed window we are mentioning is without a label, or any relief or enrichment of any kind. At Roggiett is a cinquefoiled example, which leads us to a Decorated enrichment of the type in the chancel at Caldicott. Two cinquefoiled ogee lights are placed together under a label, following the shape of their outer sides, but with a square head. They are somewhat mutilated, but there can be no doubt but that this has been the original design.⁵

This leads us to the west window of the same church, one of the few examples of Decorated tracery in the district. Those few, however, are worthy of attentive study, as forming a class by themselves, of which I am not aware of any instances elsewhere. They may be described as the lights and quatrefoiled piercings of a Reticulated window standing quite free, without any arch over them. This occurs in a two-light window in the chancel at Magor, and in a three-light at the east end of Roggiett. These are without a label, and I considered the peculiarity as simply arising from roughness of work, till I saw the west window of Caldicott, which exhibits the same form as the last, but very elaborately wrought, and with a label following all the curves of the tracery, only cut off square at the top. It is evidently of

⁵ See "Essay on Window Tracery," p. 274.

a piece with the chancel-windows just mentioned. It struck me as analogous to the Geometrical windows at St. Mary's, Haverfordwest, and Chepstow Castle, where instead of the usual arch, is a trefoil label, following the form of the lights and circle in the head.

The Perpendicular windows are of two kinds. First, one which I conceive to be the local form, taking the place of the trefoil lancet, and perhaps in some degree analogous to it. It is square-headed, with two or three ogee lights between Perpendicular lines. This is both found in side walls, and forms a not unpleasing east window at Shirenewton and Llangeview.

The other form I conceive to be borrowed from Somersetshire. These are large pointed windows, including Perpendicular tracery of several varieties, but always of the very best character.⁶ I may recommend the east window of Christ Church and that at the east end of the aisle at Usk as among those most worth notice, though the latter is not among the most beautiful. I was extremely struck with the purity and vigour of these designs throughout a whole district; the tracery is always good, the arch always well proportioned. The depressed arch, and the unsightly vagaries by way of tracery too common elsewhere, seem quite unknown.

Roors.—As in Gower, there is very little worth notice in the way of roofs; the barrel-vault of Pembrokeshire is unknown, and I saw nothing like the timber roofs of Llanbadarn and Llanaber, except in one or two porches, as at Matherne, which I heard was threatened with destruction !

ECCLESIOLOGY, &C.—An observer more in the habit than myself of paying attention to ritual and antiquarian minutiæ might probably make out a longer list than I can. What most struck me was the presence of roodlofts at Llangeview and both Llangwms; that at Llangwm ucha being of a very enriched character. The greater width of the chancel arches precludes those

⁶ "Essay on Window Tracery," p. 229.

singular appearances north and south of them, which I have elsewhere mentioned as common in Gower. The general state of the churches, though far from satisfactory, is decidedly better than in that district. The most painful object is the ruined church at Llangwm isha. A ruin of some standing, with everything mellowed down by time, with the greensward for its floor and the sky for its roof, is not an offensive, though it is a melancholy, object. But there is something very repulsive in a church half ruined; left a heap of litter and confusion; its roof partly fallen in; its furniture scattered about; here a broken font, there a decaying roodloft. If the building cannot be restored to sacred uses, let it at least be cleared out, and its fittings, as far as may be, removed to some other church.

Edward A. Freeman.

HISTORICAL AND TRADITIONAL NOTICES OF OWAIN GLYNDWR.

No. II.

JOHN SKYDMORE'S letter, dated from the castle of Carreg Cennen, not only fixes Owain Glyndwr at Caermarthen on Thursday, July 5th, but acquaints us also with his purpose to proceed thence into Pembrokeshire, whilst his friends had undertaken to reduce the castles of Glamorgan. It is addressed to John Fairford, receiver of Brecknock :—

"Worshipful Sir,—I recommend me to you, and forasmuch as I may not spare no man from this place away from me, to certify neither the king, nor my lord the prince, of the mischief of these countries about, nor no man may pass by no way hence, I pray you that ye certify them how all Carmarthenshire, Kidwelley, Carnwalthan, and Ys Kennen be sworn to Owen yesterday, and he lay last night in the castle of Drosselan, with Rees ap Griffith, and there I was and spake with him upon truce, and prayed of a safe conduct, under his seal, to send home my wife and her

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mother, and their company, and he would none grant me; and on this day he is about Carmarthen, and there thinketh to abide till he may have the town and castle; and his purpose is hence into Pembrokeshire, for he feels quite sure of all the castles and towns in Kidwelley, Gowerland, and Glamorgan, for the same countries have undertaken the sieges of them until they be won. Wherefore write to Sir Hugh Waterton, and to all that ye suppose will take this matter to heart, that they excite the king hitherwards in all haste, to avenge him on some of his false traitors, the which he has overmuch cherished, and rescue the towns and castles in the countries, for I dread full sore there be few true men in them. I can no more as now, but pray God help you and us that think to be true. Written at the castle of Carreg Cennen, the 5th July.

"Yours,

" JOHN SKYDMORE."

The custody of Carreg Kennen (Karekenny) was granted to John Skydmore, 2nd May, 1402. Two other letters, which internal evidence induces us to assign to this year, the first to the 7th July, (two days only after John Skydmore's,) the second on the 11th of the same month, carry on Owain's proceedings with perfect consistency. They are written by the constable of Dynevor Castle, and seem to have been addressed to the receiver of Brecknock, and by him to have been forwarded to the king's council. The first gives no exalted notion of the constable's courage. "A siege is ordained for the castle I keep, and that is great peril for me; written in haste and dread." The second informs us of the extent of force with which Glyndwr was then moving in his inroads, when threatening the castle of Dynevor. He mustered "eight thousand and twelve score (8240) spears, such as they were." The first letter was written on Saturday, July 7th, (the feast of St. Thomas the Martyr); he seems to have posted it off immediately on the news reaching Dynevor that Caermarthen had surrendered to Owain, without waiting to ascertain the accuracy of the report; for, in his second letter, he tells us that they had not yet resolved whether to burn the town or no:-

"Dear Friend,—I do you to wit that Owen Glyndwr, Henry Don, Rees Ddu, Rees ap Gri ap Llewellyn, Rees Gether, have won the town of Carmarthen, and Wygmor the constable had the castle to Carmarthen, and have burnt the town, and slain more than fifty men, and they be in purpose to Kidwelley, and a siege is ordained at the castle I keep, and that is great peril for me, for they have made a vow that they will at all events have us dead therein. Wherefore I pray you not to beguile us, but send to us warning shortly whether me may have any help or no, and if help is not coming, that we may have an answer, that we may steal away by night to Brecknock, because we fail victuals and men, especially men; also, Jenkin ap Llewellyn hath yielden up the castle of Emlyn with free will, and also William Gwyn, and many gentles, are in person with Owen. . . . Written at Dynevour in haste and dread, on the feast of St. Thomas the Martyr.

"JENKIN HANARD, "Constable de Dynevour."

This letter was probably written on Saturday, July 7th, 1403, that is, on the translation of St. Thomas the Martyr. In this letter the constable says that Owain's forces were in purpose to Kidwelly; the second letter refers to Owain's purpose having been altered by the formidable approach of the baron of Carew toward St. Clare. This was probably on Monday, July 9th, the third day after the surrender of Caermarthen. The Tuesday night he slept at Locharn (Llaugharne). Through the Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday, the little garrison of Dynevor were negotiating with him, for he was resolved to win that castle, and to make it his head quarters. On that Wednesday the constable tells us that Owain intended, should he come to terms with the baron of Carew, to return to Caermarthen for his share of the spoil, and to determine on the utter destruction of the town, or of its preservation. By a letter sent from the mayor and burgesses of Caerleon, to the mayor and burgesses of Monmouth, the propriety of referring which to this very year can scarcely be questioned, we are informed that the baron of Carew was not so easily tempted from his allegiance as some other "false traitors" in that district, and that he defeated and put to the sword a division of Owain's army, on the 12th of July, 1403, the very day probably after the date of the constable's last letter.

This fact when admitted increases in importance, because it proves that, as late at least as July 12th, Owain Glyndwr, though generally successful in that campaign, was not without a formidable enemy there, and therefore by no means at liberty to quit the country at a moment's warning, or to leave his adherents without the protection of his forces and his own presence. The second letter from the constable of Dynevor is :---

" Dear Friend,-I do you to wit that Owen was in purpose to Kidwelley, and the baron of Carew was coming with a great retinue towards St. Clare, and so Owen changed his purpose, and rode to meet the baron, and that night he lodged at St. Clare, and destroyed all the country about, and on Tuesday they were at treaties all day, and that night he lodged him at the town of Locharn, six miles out of the town of Carmarthen. The intention is, if the baron of Carew and he accord in treaty, then he turneth again to Carmarthen for his part of the good, and Rees Ddu his part. And many of the great masters stand yet in the castle of Carmarthen, for they have not yet made their ordinance whether the castle and the town shall be burnt or no, and therefore if there is any help coming, haste them all haste toward us, for every house is full about us of their poultry, and yet wine and honey enough in the country, and wheat and beans, and all manner of victuals; and we of the castle of Dynevour had treaties with him on Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday, (9th, 10th, and 11th July, 1403); and now he will ordain for us to leave that castle, for that was the chief place in old time; and Owen's muster on Monday was eight thousand and twelve score spears, (8240) such as they were. Other tidings I not now, but God of heaven send you and us from all enemies. Written at Dynevour this Wednesday in haste.

"JENKIN HANARD."

The despatch from the burgesses of Caerleon after states, that 700 men whom Owain had sent forward as pioneers, and to search the ways, were to a man slain by the lord of Carew's men, on the 12th July. The question, for the more satisfactory solution of which an appeal is made to the foregoing original documents, is simply, did Owain Glyndwr wilfully absent himself from the battle of Shrewsbury, leaving Hotspur and his host to encounter that struggle alone; or are we compelled to account for the absence of the Welsh chieftain on grounds which imply no compromise of his valour or of his good faith? In weighing the evidence brought to light by these original despatches, it will be necessary to have a few dates immediately present to our mind. We have it under the king's own hand that, when he was at Higham Ferrers, he believed himself to be on his road northward to form a junction with Hotspur and Northumberland, and together with them (of whose fidelity and allegiance he apparently had not hitherto entertained any suspicion) to make a joint expedition against the Scots. This letter is dated the 10th July, 1403. Five days only at the furthest intervened between the date of this letter and the king's proclamation at Burton-upon-Trent, (still on his journey northward,) to the sheriffs, to raise their counties, and join him to resist the Percies, whose rebellion had then suddenly been made known to him. This proclamation is dated July 16th, 1403. Four days only elapsed between the issuing of this commission and the death of Hotspur, with the total discomfiture of his followers, in the field where the battle of Shrewsbury was fought, on the Saturday, July 21st, the very week on the Monday of which he had first heard of the revolt of the Percies. If the dates relating to Owain's proceedings—some ascertained beyond further question, and others admitted on the ground of high probability, approaching to certainty, with which the documents above quoted supply us-are laid side by side with these indisputable facts, the inference from the comparison seems unavoidable, that Owain was never made acquainted with the expectation on the part of his allies of so early a struggle with the king's forces in England; the conflict was evidently unexpected by Hotspur himself; that Owain was in the most remote part of South Wales when the battle was fought; and that, probably, the sad tidings of Hotspur's overthrow reached him without his ever having been apprised that the Percy needed his succour.¹

¹ This vindication of the character of Glyndwr, in reference to his absence from the battle of Shrewsbury, was not in the Paper as read

In the year 1404 a treaty, offensive and defensive, was formed between Glyndwr and Charles the Sixth, king of France. Owain dispatched ambassadors to that king for the purpose of arranging the terms of the treaty. The parties whom Glyndwr appointed as plenipotentiaries at Paris, were his chancellor Gryffydd Young, archdeacon of Merioneth, and Doctor of Laws, and John Hanmer, The instrument appointing his own brother-in-law. them ambassadors is dated from Doleguelli, "decimo die mensis Maii, anno millesimo quadrinagentesimo quarto et principatûs nostri quarto," and begins in right royal style, "Owenus dei gratia Princeps Walliæ," and authorises his representatives to treat with the French king. in consideration of the affection and sincere love which that illustrious monarch had shown towards himself and his subjects. The Welsh ambassadors met with a most cordial reception from Charles; and a league was made and sworn to between "our most illustrious and most dread lord Owyn, prince of Wales," and those of the king of France. That sovereign signed the commission on the 14th of June, 1404, and the league was signed on the 14th July following. The persons that acted on the part of Charles were James Bourbon, earl of March, and John, bishop of Claremont. Owain's representatives signed their part in the house of Ferdinand de Corbeys, chancellor of France, several prelates and persons of high rank attending as witnesses. Glyndwr himself ratified this treaty on the 12th of January, 1405, from his castle of Llanbadarn, as Aberystwyth Castle was then usually called. This alliance with the French king communicated additional importance to Glyndwr's cause.

Glyndwr had now reached the zenith of his career, and whatever successes marked his future course, he found by the fickleness of fortune that he was not destined exclusively to enjoy her smiles. The issue, in 1405, of the two successive battles of Grosmont, in Monmouthshire, and of Pwll Melyn, in Brecknockshire, proved before the Dolgellau Meeting, but added from Tyler's "Henry the Fifth." deeply injurious to the cause of Owain, and was followed by a state of great destitution on his part. The certainty of his defeat, and the rumour of his death, had caused almost all his principal followers to abandon his cause, and the chieftain was driven to the melancholy extremity of seeking an asylum in caverns and desert places, from which he occasionally issued forth to visit a few faithful friends, who supplied him with the common necessaries of life. It was at this period that he experienced those distresses which English chroniclers attribute to the latter period of his life. Tradition has commemorated two secluded spots as forming the gloomy residence of the chieftain during this period, one a deep ravine on the side of Moel Hebog, near Beddgelert, in Caernarvonshire, the other a cavern near the sea side, in the parish of Llangelynin, in Merionethshire, situate close to the old church, and now almost choked up with sand, which still preserves the name of Ogov Owain. Here he was secretly supported by Ednyfed ap Aaron, a descendant of Ednowain ap Bradwen, head of one of the fifteen tribes of North Wales-a family of distinction in that part of the country, as the ruins of their place of residence, called Llys Bradwen, or Caer Bradwen, still visible, indicate.

Owain's enterprises, as well as his sufferings, would here have terminated, but for the supply of French troops that arrived in South Wales, in conformity with his treaty with the king of France. Yet his alliance with that king does not appear to have given birth to one solid triumph, and the affairs of Glyndwr continued to His cause was, about this time, considerably decline. weakened by the defection of the inhabitants of Ystrad Tywi, or Caermarthenshire. Glyndwr however maintained the extensive mountain tracts that form the Alps of our country in safety, and from thence, by himself and his partisans, he made great devastations in the Marches; but he ceased to carry on hostilities on an extensive scale. Though his power was greatly reduced in the years 1410 and 1411, he was far from being subdued, and continued to act on the defensive. Thus

Glyndwr seems to have remained secure in his mountain fastnesses, unconquered in spirit, though greatly reduced in power, when, in 1413, Henry the Fifth, on the demise of his father, ascended the English throne. Owain maintained his situation and independence for two years longer, and his affairs bore so respectable an aspect, that Henry the Fifth condescended to treat with him, and deputed Sir Gilbert Talbot with full powers to negotiate with him, and to offer to Owain himself, and his followers, a free pardon, in case they should request it. The death of Owain, which happened on the eve of St. Matthew, on the 20th September, in the year 1415, in the sixty-first year of his age, probably interrupted the negotiation; but it was renewed on the 24th February, 1416, with his son Meredydd ap Owen, with what effect is not ascertained, though it is supposed successfully; and thus peace was restored to England, after an indecisive struggle of fifteen Owain himself died unsubdued, unfortunate only vears. in foreseeing a second subjugation of his country, after the loss of himself-the great supporter of her cause-the last champion of her independence.

Glyndwr's manor of Glyndwrdy, upon his attainder and forfeiture thereof, was sold by Henry the Fourth to a second son of the Salisburys of Bachymbyd, a younger branch of Llewenni, through the Salisburys, the Pughs of Mathavarn, and the Pryses of Gogerddan, it rests now in Sir Robert Williames Vaughan, Baronet. At Rug is shown a dagger, with a knife and fork, all in one sheath, but each in a distinct compartment, which Glyndwr usually carried about him. The sheath is richly ornamented with silver; the knife and fork are rather slender; the dagger is about seventeen inches long, twelve of which constitute the blade, which tapers to a point. At the end of the handle are his arms, consisting of a lion rampant, and three fleur-de-lis curiously en-The principal part of the handle is inlaid with graven. black and yellow wood, banded with silver, and the shield, at the top of the blade, a solid piece of the same metal, curiously wrought, but not much larger in circumference than a crown piece. The knife and fork must necessarily be sheathed first, which the shield covers; consequently the dagger must be drawn first.

Owain does not appear to have exercised the royal prerogative of coining money, as no coin of his is known to have ever been in existence.

Sir John Ellis has furnished the *Archæologia* with the following description of the great and privy seals of Owain Glyndwr, as prince of Wales. The original impressions to which these descriptions refer, are appended to two instruments preserved in the Hotel de Soubise at Paris, both dated in the year 1404, and believed to relate to the furnishing of the troops which were then supplied to Owain by the French king :---



GREAT SEAL.

On the obverse of the great seal Owyn is represented with a bifid beard, very similar to Richard the Second, seated under a canopy of Gothic tracery, the half body of a wolf forming the arms of his chair on each side; the back ground is ornamented with a mantle semée of lions, held up by angels. At his feet are

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two lions, a sceptre is in his right hand, but he has no crown; the inscription, "Owenus.... Princeps Walliæ." On the reverse Owyn is represented on horseback, in armour. In his right hand he holds a sword, and with his left a shield, charged with four lions rampant; a drapery, probably a "kerchief de pleasaunce," or handkerchief worn at tournaments, pendant from the right wrist. Lions rampant appear upon the mantle of the horse. On his helmet, as well as on his horse's head, is the Welsh dragon. The area of the seal is diapered with roses. The inscription on this side seems to fill the gap. Upon obverse "Owenus Dei gratia.... Walliæ."

PRIVY SEAL.

The privy seal represents four lions rampant towards the spectator's left, on a shield surmounted by an open coronet; the dragon of Wales, as a supporter on the dexter side, on the sinister, a lion. The inscription seems to have been "Sigillum Oweni Principis Wallie."

No impression of this seal is probably now to be found, either in Wales or England. Its workmanship shows that Owain Glyndwr possessed a taste for art far beyond the types of the seals of his predecessors.

THE SITE OF THE LAST BATTLE OF CARACTACUS.

(Read at Dolgellau.)

In the early history of Wales there is perhaps no event which carries with it so much interest and importance as the battle between Caractacus and Ostorius. Whether we review it with the patriotism of a Briton, or with a grateful sense of Roman benefaction, we must regard that event as the commencement of an important æra in the history of Wales, and the bursting forth of the first germ of that civilization among our countrymen, of which we are even at this distance of time yet harvesting the fruits.

Tribe after tribe had fainted before the onward march of the Roman arms. The numerous tribes south of the

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Thames were already numbered among the subjects of Rome. The Iceni, who had sought peace in ready submission, can no longer be passive witnesses of their country's fall; they bring their unscathed warriors to its rescue, and in one short campaign are they crushed—a wretched example to their struggling countrymen. The tide of conquest next overwhelms the Cangi. The Brigantes, like a smouldering flame again break out, and are suppressed. But, among the hitherto untried western tribes, the patriotic spirit of central Britain still lives. One struggle yet remains ere Wales is numbered among the provinces of the Roman empire.

The Silures, a hardy and warlike tribe, now take up their country's cause. No expedient is omitted by the Roman general to avert the coming contest; but neither cruelty nor clemency could divert them from their purpose. Their proud spirit could neither be daunted by the one, nor cajoled by the other; they were resolved to risk all in war. Against this tribe and their country the future Britannia Secunda of Roman dominion—are the arms of Rome now turned. Ostorius himself hastens to the scene of action.

Leaving the Brigantes, he marches, we are told, towards the Silurian territory.¹ The Silures are already in the field. Naturally fierce and daring, but now deriving an overweening confidence from their leader, the greatest of British generals, the renowned Caractacus, they take their stand to stem the tide of Roman conquest. But victory is not always the reward of untutored valour. The battle is fought; the Britons are routed with great slaughter; the wife, daughter, and brothers of Caractacus fall into the hands of the victorious Romans, and now commences a war long and bloody, which ere its close cost Caractacus and his family their country and liberty, and witnessed the death of the mighty Ostorius, worn out and jaded by its fatigues.

Such, shortly, are the events which led to this remark-

¹ Itum inde in Siluras.—*Tac. Ann.*, xii., 33. Ed. Tauch.

able action, and the consequences which it entailed upon the two nations. The scene alone is wanting to enable us fully to realize the difficulties under which it was fought, and rightly to estimate the victory which was achieved.

From the days of Camden to the present time antiquaries have set themselves to the task of finding out the interesting spot, and various are the localities that have been fixed upon; while to all, except one, objections have been found; of the one excepted, the author,² who draws attention to it, invites further examination. The spot is Cefn Carnedd, a mountain near Llandinam, in Montgomeryshire, and on the western bank of the river Severn; but I think, without further examination, it will appear from a comparison of Mr. Hartshorne's very clear and minute description of its characteristics with the relation of the historian, that at Cefn Carnedd, too, some material discrepancies are to be found. Among the various places which have been fixed upon as the scene of this memorable victory, those which have the authority of the best authors are—

Caer Caradoc,³ a hill lying between Knighton and Clun, in Shropshire.

Coxall Knoll, in the same county, near to Leintwardine.

The Breidden Hill,⁵ in Montgomeryshire, on the western banks of the Severn, not far from Llanymynech; and lastly,

Cefn Carnedd,⁶ already mentioned.

That the battle was fought in central Wales, or Shropshire, there can be but little doubt; and it is the opinion of an antiquary⁷ of considerable repute, "that the banks of the higher Severn, above Montgomery, those of the Virniew or Tanat, two of its most northern branches, or even the Dee itself, may afford vestiges of British works,

⁷ Roy's Milit. Ant., p. 175.

² Hartshorne's Salopia Antiqua, p. 64.

³ Gough's Camden, iii., pp. 3, 13.

⁴ Roy's Military Antiquities, p. 174.

⁵ Hartshorne's Sal. Ant., p. 61.

⁶ Ibid., pp. 63, 64.

which would better suit the relation of Tacitus than those do that are situated on the banks of the Teme." in the south of Shropshire. While one⁸ whose opinion is seldom questioned, writes, that "the river . . . where the battle was fought seems rather to have been the Severn than the Dee, and that part of it near the mountainous country which runs through Montgomeryshire;" an opinion which meets with the concurrence of Mr. Hartshorne, whose zeal and energy has led him to examine, in person, most, if not all, of the places named, and to discuss their rival claims more fully and with greater ability than perhaps any other living antiquary;⁹ and were it not that, at the close of his able chapter on this subject, he hints that the question still admits of doubt, and that my own conviction in favour of the Breidden Hill is grounded upon arguments differing in some degree from those hitherto brought forward, I should feel that further discussion upon the subject would be useless. In the words of Mr. Hartshorne,¹-"the question is a difficult one to settle, and whoever attempts its solution must exercise caution." In questions of this kind, where the data are scanty, and the field for conjecture is apparently wide, difficulties must ever arise; but let those data, such as they are, be attentively, diligently, and, I would add, critically, perused and digested-let us take those three brief chapters of the historian, and endeavour to expand his curt and emphatic words to their full and comprehensive meaning-and with the mind thus moulded for the investigation, many of the difficulties with which the subject appears to be shrouded will be entirely, or in a great measure, dissipated.

The Iceni, the Cangi, and the Brigantes, having been subdued, and their country garrisoned, Ostorius is summoned to the south-west. "Silurum gens," says Tacitus,² "non atrocitate, non clementia mutabatur, quin bellum

¹ Ibid., p. 59.

² Annal., lib. xii., cap. 32.

⁸ Horsley's Brit. Rom., p. 31.

⁹ Salopia Antiqua, p. 49.

exerceret, castrisque legionum premenda foret " "Itum inde," (i. e., a Brigantibus,) in Siluras, super propriam ferociam Caractaci viribus confisos; quem multa ambigua, multa prospera extulerant, ut ceteros Britannorum imperatores præmineret. Sed tum astu, locorum fraude prior, vi militum inferior, transfert bellum aditus, abscessus, cuncta nobis importuna, et suis in melius essent. Tunc montibus arduis, et si qua clementer

³ Annal., lib. xii., cap. 33. ⁴ "Against the Silures." From this I understand that, having suppressed the Brigantes, Ostorius purposed invading Siluria; but there is nothing in this passage to warrant the conclusion that he did actually penetrate that province. Indeed, the words "sed tam," which introduce the next sentence, lead to the inference that he did not do so, and that he diverted his march to the Ordovician territory, whither, by the artifice of Caractacus, the war was transferred.

⁵ We must not omit to notice these words in conjunction with those following as far as "saxa præstruit." The historian here describes neither a camp, station, nor what Cæsar calls an oppidum, but "a place of battle, or battle-field," "sumpto ad prælium," &c. This, he says, was on a steep mountain, and wherever it could be approached the British general blocked it up with stone, raised after the fashion of a rampart. In modum valli saxa præstruit, is a peculiar expression, and denotes that the works thrown up were of an irregular kind, fitting in with the natural declivities of the mountain, so as to render it more precipitous than it naturally was, and that they did not encompass the whole, nor even any entire side of the mountain, in the regular manner in which those of ancient camps may be observed to do in various parts of the country. His language in Ann., lib. xii., cap. 55, where he speaks of the Cilicians occupying a mountain with a post or camp, is very different, and the difference is worthy of notice. "Cilicum nationes szepe et alias commotz, tunc, Troxobore duce, montes asperos castris cepere." Compare, too, Ann. xii., 31. Hisque auctoribus circumjectæ nationes locum pugnæ delegere septum agresti aggere et aditu angusto, ne pervius equiti foret. After the Romans had succeeded in breaking through these "saxa in modum valli præstructa," we are told, decedere barbari in juga montium. We may therefore infer that these works were raised on the mountain side, considerably below the summit. The position here taken up by Caractacus resembles that chosen by Galgacus. Britannorum acies, in speciem simul ac terrorem, editioribus locis constiterat ita ut primum agmen in æquo, ceteri per acclive jugum connexi velut insurgerent; media campi covinarius et eques strepitu ac discursu complebat.--Tac. Agric., 35.

accedi poterant, in modum valli saxa præstruit; et præfluebat amnis vado incerto,6 catervæque meliorum pro munimentis⁷ constiterant." The spirited address of the British general follows, with an expressive picture of the effect it had upon his followers. He then continues⁸---"Obstupefecit ea alacritas ducem Romanum : simul objectus amnis, additum vallum, imminentia juga, nihil nisi atrox et propugnatoribus frequens, terrebat." . . . "Tum Ostorius, circumspectis quæ impenetrabilia, quæque pervia, ducit infensos, amnemque haud difficulter evadit. Ubi⁹ ventum ad aggerem, dum missilibus certabatur, plus vulnerum in nos, et pleræque cædes oriebantur. Posteaquam, facta testudine, rudes et informes saxorum compages distractæ, parque cominus acies, decedere barbari in juga montium. Sed eo quoque irrupere ferentarius gravisque miles : illi telis assultantes ; hi conferto gradu, turbatis contra Britannorum ordinibus gladiis ac pilis legionariorum . . spathis et hastis auxiliarium sternebantur."

Would that so great an historian had left us more ample means of identifying the scene of a victory, which, contributing as it did to the fall of Caractacus, was honoured with a triumph, and called forth the loudest praises of the senate, who deemed it not less important than when Scipio triumphed over Siphax, Paullus over Perseus, or than when any other general exhibited kings in chains to the people of Rome. Among the earliest

⁶ Incerto refers evidently to the natural difficulties of the ford.

⁷ Pro munimentis, "in lieu of fortifications," *i. e.*, on the banks of the ford; or, it may mean, "in front of the fortifications." The latter interpretation is perhaps the best. Horsley and Hoare adopt the former translation.

8 Ibid., cap. 35.

⁹ Ubi—ad aggerem. The ubi here seems to imply that some distance intervened between the river and the agger, "ad aggerem;" because, wherever the mountain was accessible, the "saxa" had been raised to block up the approach; to gain Caractacus' position the Romans were obliged to scale the valum. There is therefore nothing in this expression, any more than in the expression "in modum valli saxa præstruit," from which we may infer that Caractacus' position was a regularly formed camp, as some have imagined it to have been.

writers on the present subject, we find that Lhuyd and Camden propose Caer Caradoc as the scene of this action. "I remember," says Lhuyd, "to have come upon a place¹ entrenched with a triple rampart and very deep ditches, with three entrances corresponding obliquely towards each other, having precipices on three sides, and being hemmed in with rivers on two, with the Clun on the left, and the Teme on the right, accessible by one way only." . . . "From the inhabitants I learnt that this place is called 'Caer Carador,' that is, the city of Caradoc, and that there very great battles were fought against a certain king Caradoc, who was at length taken and conquered by his enemies;" and this he believed to be "the very place in which Ostorius fought with, and conquered, Caractacus," as well on account of its position on the borders of the Silures and Ordovices, as of its agreement with the description of Tacitus.

Tradition, though frequently fanciful, is always valuable where it is found, and ought never to be wholly disregarded. But still, as in the present instance, when it is met by facts so at variance with it as to have deterred Horsley,² Roy, Hoare, Pennant, and Hartshorne from giving it any weight in the solution of their doubts, we must so far respect the opinions of those learned men, and reject it alike ourselves. For, in the language of Mr. Hartshorne, the ascent to this hill³ "can scarcely be deemed precipitous," and it rather "partakes of the character of an extremely elevated down," than that of such a rugged and inaccessible eminence as that de-

¹ Lhuyd, Com. Brit. Descr. Fragm., p. 28. Ed. Coloniæ Agrippinæ, 1572.—" Triplici vallo et fossis profundissimis circumdatus : tresque erant portæ, non recto, sed obliquo ordine correspondentes, a tribus lateribus præcipitia : duobusque fluminibus, a sinistris Coluno. a dextris Themide (quem nostrates Tevidiam vocant) circumseptus, una tantum via accessibilis."..." Ab incolis accepi hunc locum Caer Carador nuncupari i. urbem Caradocam et illic maxima bella gesta fuisse adversus quendam regem Caradocam, qui tandem ab inimicis captus et victus erat.

² I do not know that all these were really aware of the tradition.

³ Salop. Ant., p. 51.

scribed. The Clun,⁴ too, is an "insignificant" brook, at the distance of *three miles* from the base of the hill; and the Teme, "at nearly the same distance, is likewise too inconsiderable a stream to present the least obstruction to an invading army;" in short, neither the hill itself, nor either of the rivers adjacent to it, realize the "imminentia juga," or that "objectus amnis," "vado incerto," which terrified the Roman general.

In the additions to Camden's "Denbighshire" we find that Lhuyd supposed a British post called Caer Dhynod,⁵ on the Alwen, a small river falling into the north side of the Dee, to have been the camp in which Caractacus was attacked by Ostorius; yet, as General Roy remarks, "if this was the place, it seems certainly very extraordinary that the British general should have given up such a tract of country, affording many excellent positions, without making a stand till he came near its extremity, with the sea at a small distance in his rear." It is, moreover, clearly to be inferred from the relation of Tacitus, that the geographical position of this battle-field was much more southward; an inference, too, which coincides with the opinion of Horsley⁶ and the best authors.

General Roy and Sir R. C. Hoare,⁷ objecting equally with Mr. Hartshorne to Caer Caradoc, prefer the claims of Coxall Knoll. "This hill," Roy⁸ informs us, "stands between the rivers Adlake and Teme, detached from any other, covered with wood, and separated as it were into two tops by a kind of gorge that leads across it. On the north side,⁹ as well as around the east end of the hill, the ascent is gradual, and for that reason hath been sur-

⁴ Sal. Ant., p. 52. See, too, Horsley, p. 32, n.; and Roy's Milit. Ant., p. 173; Pennant's Tour in Wales, ii., p. 434.

⁵ Roy's Milit. Ant., p. 175. Additions to Camd., Denbigh: there quoted.

⁶ Horsley, p. 31.

7 Hoare's Giraldus Camb., i., p. 102.

⁸ Milit. Ant., p. 174.

⁹ This description agrees pretty well with that given by Mr. Hartshorne, Sal. Ant., p. 54.

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rounded on those quarters with several entrenchments. On the south side, or that next the Teme, it is exceedingly steep, and therefore seems to have had no ramparts of any kind; instead of which, an artificial terrace only appears to have been cut along this face of the hill. Coxall Knoll, such as we have just now described it, hath without doubt been, as well as Caer Caradoc, a British post; but, being much larger, would therefore contain a body of men proportionably greater. At whatever period of time this post was occupied, it is clear that those who possessed it were more apprehensive of an attack from the north and east, or at least thought themselves more liable to be forced on those quarters where the access is naturally easy, than on the south side, where from its steepness they deemed themselves secure. far then as this circumstance may be supposed to have weight, the situation will in some degree correspond with history; for Tacitus informs us that the Britons had only fortified those places which they thought most accessible; and the majores' may possibly have been drawn up along the terrace on the south side, (pro munimentis,) instead of ramparts. To this we may add the traditional accounts of the inhabitants of the country, however vague and uncertain, and however different from the more authentic relation of the historian above mentioned. They say that the Romans were unsuccessful in their attack of the post, and being pursued towards Adlake Moor, they returned upon and defeated the Britons, who in the retreat lost many men; but they disagree with regard to the place where the family of Caractacus were made prisoners after the fate of the day had been decided, some supposing it to have been at Coxall Knoll, and others at Caer Caradoc.

The claims of this spot seem not to have been noticed in Horsley's day, as I find no allusion in his "Britannia"

¹ The reading of my Tacitus is "meliores." "Pro," in the sense of "*in lieu of*," must refer to the river; in the sense of "*in front of*," it would refer to the defences raised; therefore, in neither case is it conceivable that the majores stood on this terrace.

to it. They are fully accepted by Sir R. C. Hoare, who is raised by contemplation of the hallowed spot to a degree of enthusiasm not unworthy of the subject; while Roy and Mr. Hartshorne find in them those discrepancies, with the historian, which urge them to look to other localities with greater prospect of success. "The first and principal objection," continues Roy," "is, that the Teme's is still but an inconsiderable river, running in a narrow level valley, and having everywhere a smooth gravelly bottom. It contains so little water, excepting when flooded, that troops may march across it in line for miles together. Indeed, when great rains fall in the mountains, it is known to come down with prodigious impetuosity, and then not only overflows the adjacent meadows, but is likewise very apt to alter its course. It can scarcely be supposed that the Romans, allowing them to have been posted at Brampton Brian, or Brandon Camp, would choose just such a moment for the attack ;* yet, if this was the river they passed, either it could not have been in its ordinary state, or they must have exaggerated exceedingly in their accounts, in order, perhaps, to add to the glory of the victory, by magnifying the difficulties they had on this occasion to encounter. However this may have been, when the critical push was made, the Romans seem to have passed the river with ease."5

The second objection arises from the situation seeming no way suitable to the supposed judicious disposition of Caractacus; for we are told that he had chosen his ground so well as to be in all respects favourable for himself, and disadvantageous for the enemy.⁶ By this we must understand, not only that his position was strong against an assault, but that, in case of necessity, he had likewise some sort of retreat secure; but Coxall

² Milit. Ant., p. 174.

³ Salop. Ant., p. 54.

• Indeed there is nothing in Tacitus to give rise to such an idea.

⁵ Amnem haud difficulter evadit. May not "haud difficulter" mean, "without that difficulty which he expected ?"

⁶ Cuncta nobis importuna, et suis in melius.—Tac., supra.

Knoll standing singly in the plain, and being almost surrounded with water, when the affair came to an unfortunate issue, the Britons must have found it next to impossible to reach the nearest mountains, along which only could they effect their retreat. It is indeed true, the family of the British chief being taken prisoners, it looks as if they had been cooped up in some such place as this, from whence it was impracticable to make their escape.

Mr. Hartshorne⁷ has selected Cefn Carnedd, on the western banks of the Severn, in Montgomeryshire, as having "well founded claims to take pre-eminence of all" the rest. Having very ably discussed the claims of the Breidden Hill, and raised an objection to them on account of its geographical position, he prefers Cefn Carnedd as free from any geographical objections. "Cefn Carnedd," he says, "adapts the figure of its entrenchments to the shape of its own *summit*, which is a very elongated parallelogram, about 500 paces long, and 200 broad, the angles being rounded. It is fortified with a single vallum on the north-western, and with a double one on the north-eastern, side, from which quarter the attack upon its possessors would be made."

We now come to the Breidden Hill, which, in company with our president, Mr. Wynne, and Mr. Russell of Llandrinio, I had the pleasure of examining during the past summer. This most remarkable hill is one of a cluster of mountains on the confines of Montgomeryshire and Shropshire, but within the former county, and lies between Shrewsbury and Welshpool, on the western bank of the Severn. Rising to the height of about 800 feet above the level of the sea, it stands pre-eminent among its brethren, as well on account of its own picturesque beauty, as for the grandeur it lends to the scenery of the locality in which it is situated. The Roman road from Segontium (the second Iter of Richard) to Uriconium must have passed near it, as Rowton, which lies only a

7 Sal. Ant., pp. 63, 64.

short distance to the south-east of it, is, by common report, the Rutunio of that Iter. The Severn meanders past it on the north, curving somewhat southward, and within a mile to the south-west of the hill, at a farm called the Old Mills, is a ford, bearing a name originally, as I was informed, Welsh, but now corrupted into "the Outher ford." About fifty years ago it was destroyed by one of those changes which, by reason of heavy floods, at times take place in the Severn. It was a very peculiar ford, situated just where the river makes a sharp curve, and obliged a person using it from the Breidden side to cross the river, and then, after following the opposite bank to the left for twelve or twenty yards, to re-cross the stream again, and after traversing a narrow neck of land, to cross the stream a third time before he could proceed on his journey.8 The farmer who showed it to us said that he remembered it in use, and told us that, until it was destroyed, it was regularly used by carts and horses coming and going to and from the direction in which it leads.⁹ From this ford towards the Breidden leads an old lane now almost choked by trees, which, as it approaches the river, is sunk like a trench

⁸ There are many indicia of antiquity about this ford, which can be more easily appreciated when seen than from any description of them. Across the narrow neck of land the road is still distinctly traceable; the lane too leading down to it from the Breiddin, and next described in the text, is of a very ancient character.

9 A bard of the twelfth century alludes to the fords of Breiddin.— Vide Llywarch Hen's Poems, p. 131.

> "Gorwyliais nôs yn açadw fîn Gorloes rydau dwvyr Dygen Vreiddin; Gorlas gwellt didryv; dwvyr, neud iesin, Gwylain yn gware ar wely lliant, Lleithrion en phoern pleiden ddrin "

Lleithrion eu pluawr, pleidiau eddrin."

"I watched through the night with care, to guard the bounds,

Where the pellucid waters plaintively murmur in the fords of Breiddin;

The grass untrodden wears now a brighter green; how fair the stream,

And sea-mews playful on their wavy beds,

With polished plumage, gliding at their ease in love-united groups."-Gralemai ab Meilir.

between two banks, but after a short distance is raised like a causeway, and finally intersects an occupation lane leading past the entrance of the Old Mills farm-house, in pretty direct line to a ravine extending towards it from the south-west side of the Breidden, and affording the best and easiest road to the summit. Ascending by this ravine in a circuitous course from the south-west to the south-east side of the hill, you cannot but realize those feelings of awe which the historian ascribes to Ostorius, when you gaze up at the truly "imminentia juga" which meet your eye as you approach. The length of the hill extends from the south-west to the north-east. Having reached the highest point of this ravine, we stood with Cefn Castell, a camp-crowned mountain, and Moel Golfa, on our right, with two smaller hills intervening, of which I know not the name,' and the Breidden's heights on our left; its highest point, where a pillar commemorative of Lord Rodney's victory is erected, being some distance in advance. Turning on the left through a gate leading into a plantation which covers all the fertile parts of the hill and conceals much of its peculiar features, we soon come to a sort of opening in, or the extremity of, what at first appeared an accumulation of boulder-stones,² extending obliquely along the side of the hill towards the summit of the south-western end, but commencing about midway in the ascent. Following it, however, we soon found convincing proofs that it had sprung up by the hand of man, and not by accident—that it was a gigantic rampart of stones,³ most of which would require the united strength of two arms to lift them, while some would require more. After following its course for some

¹ One seems to be called "the New Pieces."—Sal. Ant., p. 61; and Ord. Map.

² This opening evidently was caused by a modern hand; and how far down the hill-side the stones were continued is perhaps uncertain. They probably, I think, crossed the ravine already spoken of.

³ Mr. Hartshorne says, there were "two walls of stone" when he visited it; we could only discover one; and from Mr. Russell, who knows every part of the hill, I understood that he knew of but one; but see Sal. Ant., p. 61. I prefer calling it a rampart.

time, we came as we thought to its termination, at a piece of perpendicular rock, forming for a short distance a natural barrier to the ascent of the hill, in a line with the artificial barrier of stone which we had been tracing. Passing, however, over the top of the rock, our interest was much increased on finding that, where the rock ceased, the rampart of stones again began, and continuing along its course, we found that it ceased wherever nature had anticipated the necessity of it; and that thus, by combining the natural with artificial defences, a complete barrier had been raised along the south-eastern, southern, and south-western sides of the hill,⁴ eventually terminating on the summit of the precipice which, on the north-west and north, bids an imposing defiance to attack from that quarter.

From where the artificial work is observable on the south-western extremity of the hill, to Lord Rodney's pillar on the north-east, the highest point of the hill, there is a considerable distance, and the ground intervening undulates deeply, abounds with rock, and rises very much higher as you approach the pillar.⁵

Now, if I rightly interpret the passage of the historian already quoted, we cannot I think fail to see that these remarkable remains on the Breidden Hill not only in a most felicitous manner accurately realize his description of Caractacus' position, but are also, as I shall endeavour to show, free from two objections which universally apply to all others hitherto named. They not only in their singular connexion with the natural declivities of the mountain side readily illustrate the expression, "si

⁴ "Below these . . works," (on the south-western end of the summit,) "which are visible for seventy yards from north to south, the attention is drawn to a sudden fall of the hill, which, though in a great measure natural, has been augmented in some degree by manual labour."—Sal. Ant., p. 61. Our attention was not drawn to this peculiarity.

⁵ There are other remains on the hills adjoining the Breiddin, minutely described in the Sal. Ant., pp. 61, 62. Some of these I visited; but I think those already described are the only remains which affect the present inquiry.

qua clementer accedi poterant in modum valli saxa præstruit;" nor do they only in their being found in those spaces which were open to access explain why the Romans are said as a matter of course to have commenced the action "ad aggerem;" nor does their position about midway in the ascent, and at the south-western or lowest point of the summit, merely develope to us the manner in which the engagement was fought, and how the "barbari" (as the conquerors deigned to name them) were enabled to retreat "in juga montium," and the means of retreat, "Britannis in melius esset"-of the attack all to the disadvantage of the Romans;⁶-but they also in their form and character bear the stamp of a breastwork, though a gigantic one, rather than of a regularly fortified station; they are indicative of a "locus" selected rather ad prælium than ad castra; and in this they are free from the objections I have alluded to as attaching equally to all the other mountains pointed out as the scene of action. They are all mountains, having their summits⁷ altogether, or in part, crowned with ramparts, the very position of which renders the description of the retreat of the Britons wholly unintelligible;⁸ they are described as retreating, when the Romans advanced "in juga" to the summit or heights of the mountain, which clearly implies that the breastwork was raised on the ascent of the hill. In the next place, they are regarded by the respective writers by whom their claims have been advanced, and doubtless they are, British "posts" or "camps;" and to pass over the question whether such fortifications existed at the period we are writing of, I have endeavoured to show that the language of the historian seems carefully to distinguish, by means of circumlocution, the works thrown up by Caractacus, from what he in another case terms "castra;"9 while at the

- 7 What Tacitus calls "juga."
- ⁸ Decedere barbari in juga montium.—Tac., supra.

9 We may I think fairly suppose that the historian would have termed what we call a "British camp" or post "castra;" for in all

⁶ In ordinary parlance, though literally "up-hill work."

same time I may add, that it is a poor compliment to the military genius of Caractacus to suppose that he drew up his army "ad *prælium*"—for such is the language of the historian—in a place where they were hemmed in on the one side by their invincible foes, and by ramparts and precipices on the other. Where then was the "abscessus suis in melius," the "cuneta nobis (*i. e.*, Romanis) importuna."

A learned writer, however, by way of objection to the Breidden being the scene of this engagement, writes :---"We know that after Ostorius had subjugated the Silures he went against the Ordovices; if, therefore, he had to cross the Severn under the Breidden, this would have brought him into the country of the Cornavii, whilst, if he had been among the Silures or Ordovices, as Tacitus infers that he was, the river, according to our present knowledge of geography, would have been on the wrong side of him to afford any obstruction in his attack on the Britons." "This objection removed," he says, "then this historical question may be set for ever at rest." I confess this objection seems to me rather to evince Mr. Hartshorne's great care not to jump too readily to conclusions, than to raise a material obstacle to the solution of the question. For assuming that it is to be inferred from Tacitus that Ostorius did march into Siluria, and from thence into Ordovicia, the line of his march from the one province to the other is wholly matter of conjecture; and, I think, the mere fact of his having marched along the north or south side of the Severn, or of his having crossed it at the Breidden, or elsewhere, may be conjectured with equal probability; it is certain he marched along the one side or the other. But if the only

their general features, but form, they closely resemble the Roman castra as seen at this day; and, while they differ much from what Cæsar describes as a British "oppidum," they yet bear a resemblance to the camps found in France, (vide "Dissertation sur les Camps Romanis du department de la Somme, par le Comte Louis d'Allonville," 4to.,) to which Cæsar applied the term "castra."—Cæs., lib. vii., cap. 30.

¹ Mr. Hartshorne, Sal. Ant., p. 63.

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data we have for our guidance be the description, not of Ostorius' line of march, but of Caractacus' position, and if we find remains singularly suitable to the narration of the historian, both in detail and geographical position, may we not throw this coincidence into the scale of probabilities, and give weight to the conjecture that, if Ostorius did march from Siluria into Ordovicia, he did so to the west of the Breidden, and approached that hill from the direction of the present town of Welshpool, by way of the valley of the Severn, and along the northern bank of that river? But I venture to differ from the learned author of the "Salopia Antiqua" in my inference from Tacitus, and, as I have stated already, to entertain the opinion that, though the historian tells us that Ostorius marched against the Silurians, his language does not afford an inference that the Roman general actually entered Siluria, but, on the contrary, rather furnishes us with a reason why he did not. Then the objection falls to the ground, inasmuch as Ostorius, in coming from the country of the Brigantes, would necessarily be intercepted by the Severn in any attack upon the Breidden.

The geographical question still remains; and, while I quite concur with Mr. Hartshorne in having little hope of *accurately* defining the boundaries between the Cornavii, Ordovices, and Silures, still I hope to raise a reasonable probability that the Breidden was within the territory belonging to the tribe of the Ordovices.

Ptolemy, the geographer, speaks of the Ordovices as being to the south, but the most western of the Parisi and Brigantes,² and places the towns Mediolanum and Brannogenium among them.³ The site of the former

² Horsley's Brit. Rom., p. 359. See too Rich. of Ciren., lib. i., cap. 6, § 24, De Situ Brit.

³ Mr. Hartshorne has the following passage :---" Ptolemy mentions Bullæum, (Castell Curt Llechrhyd,) near Builth. The same writer (I suppose he means Ptolemy) places Brannogenium, or the Bravonium and Bravinium of Antoninus, among the Cornavii." This must be either a misprint or an oversight, for both Horsley and Reynolds, in their reading of Ptolemy, give only Deuna and Uricotown has not yet been satisfactorily determined by antiquaries. Horsley suggests Meywood,⁴ in Montgomeryshire; Camden supposes it to have been between Mathraval and Llanfyllin; and Gibson, taking up his suggestion, places it at Meivod.⁵ Reynolds asserts it to have been at Whitchurch, in Shropshire:⁶ all however are agreed in considering it the more *northern* of the two towns. The latter town has been identified with the neighbourhood of Ludlow,⁷ with Worcester,⁸ and with Leintwardine;⁹ and is proved by the Itineraries to have been the more *southern* town of the Ordovices.

The Demetæ Ptolemy places in the most western part of South Wales; and more easterly than these, he continues, are the Silures, whose town is *Bullæum.*¹ This town Horsley² identifies with Burrium, and places it at Usk. Few will deny the title of the Silures to two other towns, Isca Leg. II. Aug., or Isca Silurum,³ and Venta Silurum;⁴ and there is good authority for supposing that they had other towns.⁵ In Antoninus, whom I presume few will distrust, we have in his

nium to the Cornavii. See Hors., supra; and Reyn., Ant. Iter., 403, 404; see too Mon. Hist. Brit., p. xiv.; and compare Sal. Ant., 58.

* Brit. Rom., 372.

⁵ Reyn., Ant. Itin., 203, there quoted. Is this the same as Meywood? ⁶ There seems to have been two towns of this name. That mentioned by Antoninus differs from that mentioned by Ptolemy. See Hors., *supra*.

7 Brit. Rom., Hors., 365, 466.

⁸ Camden, quoted by Hors. Ibid., 365.

⁹ Anton. Itin., Reynolds, p. 345.; Rich. of Ciren., Ed. 8vo., London, 1809, p. 150; see also p. 117.

¹ Brit. Rom., Hors., p. 360.

² Brit. Rom., 365.

³ Anton. Itin., Reyn., p. 140, Iter., xii.

⁴ Ibid., Iter. xiv.

⁵ Mr. Hartshorne seems to distrust the authority of Rich. of Cir. on this point.—Sal. Ant., p. 58. But I do not think the question rests solely on that authority.

Iter. xii. (Ant.) ⁶		Iter. xiii. (Richd.) ⁷
Leucaro. Nido. Bovio. Isca Leg. II. Aug.	s to cor- etty well rd of Ci-	Ab Isca Uriconium usque sic.
Isca Leg. II. Aug. Burrio viii. Gobannio xii. Magnis xxii. Bravonio xxiv. Uroconio xxvii.	which seems trespond prett with Richard rencester's,	Bultro, M. P viii. Gobannio xii. Magna xxiii. Branogenio xxiii. Urioconio xxvii.
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as far as *names* go. Urioconium, Ptolemy⁸ informs us, was a town of the Cornavii.

Brannogenium, as I have already said, was the most southern town of the Ordovices, and it has been identified with Bravonium and Bravinium; but among what tribe are we to place Magna, or Magnæ? The determination of this question will materially aid us in defining the bounds of the Silures and Ordovices.

Now, the sites of Burrium and Uriconium being known, it is evident that this Iter, leading from one town to the other, took a direction nearly due north from the former town; then Magna has been fixed at Kentchester.⁹

That the principal towns of the different tribes were situated on their frontiers is by no means improbable;¹ and ancient lines of demarcation were mostly either artificial, or like many in modern times, natural—the latter consisting of mountains and rivers, the former of dykes. Geographical data, with that of the Itineraries, and the result of modern research, leaves an inference, I think, that the Ordovices, Cornavii, and Silures, adopted for the most part the former.

Ptolemy informs us that Deva (Chester) was a town of the Cornavii; its site, we know, is on the east bank of the Dee, and that of Uriconium (Wroxeter) on the east

⁶ Anton. Itin., Reyn., p. 140.

7 Rich. Cir., Itin., p. 150.

⁸ Brit. Rom., Hors., p. 359.

⁹ Ibid., p. 465; Anton. Itin., Reynolds, p. 343; Rich. of Cir., 8vo. Ed., London, 1809, Itin., p. 150.

¹ Such a probability is conceded by the learned Horsley, *Brit. Rom.*, p. 36.

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bank of the Severn.² Such being their sites, what can be more probable than that the Dee and Severn, as far as they were available for the purpose, formed the line of demarcation from north to south between the Ordovices and Cornavii? and if the latter river served for this purpose in the case of the Ordovices in the north, it is not improbable that it also marked the eastern bounds of the Silures in the south; and, if this be true, we must conclude that Richard of Cirencester³ rightly places Magna among the Silures, for the Iter in question passes over a tract of country on the western side of the Severn; and Kentchester (Magna) is almost due north of Burrium (Usk); and the Demetæ, we know, lay to the west of the Silures, while the Coritani, or, more correctly, the Dobuni, and part of the Cornavii, were to the east of them. Brannogenium, too, we know, was a town of the Ordovices.

Then, if Magna (*Kentchester*) is thus proved to be the most northern town of Siluria, and Brannogenium (*Ludlow, Leintwardine, or Worcester*) to be in the south in Ordovicia, it necessarily follows that the line of demarcation, eastwards and westwards between the Ordovices and Silures, passed between those towns. And, finding that all⁴ agree in fixing the southern town (Brannogenium) of the former tribe on, or within a short distance of, the northern bank of the Teme, may we not, adopting a course of reasoning similar to that pursued in determining the eastern boundary, with equal probability conclude that the Teme itself, as far as it was available for the purpose, was the boundary which separated the Ordovices from the Silures on the south.⁵

² The sites of these towns will, I apprehend, be admitted by all to be respectively Chester and Wroxeter.

³ De Situ Brit., lib. i., cap. vi., § 22. Ed. above mentioned.

⁶ Except Mr. Hartshorne, who suggests Brandon Camp as the site of Brannogenium.—*Sal. Ant.*, p. 58. This is to the *south* of the Teme, within a short distance of it.

⁵ In connexion with this point of my argument, I cannot omit to mention a remarkable coincidence which may serve to strengthen it. Few have not heard of the remarkable manner in which Mr. Guest has traced and proved what were the boundary-dykes of the Belgæ in To the claim then of the Breidden to be the scene of Caractacus' last struggle, founded on the merits of its antiquities, I trust I have now added that of geographical position, and succeeded in raising a reasonable probability, at least, that it was within the territory of the Ordovices; it is far north of the Teme, and on the western side of the Severn.

I have a few words to add respecting the ford.

While the best, if not all, antiquaries have decided that the Severn was the river on whose banks this memoable action was fought, no notice has I think appeared in print of the ford I have already described; yet its peculiarities and claims to antiquity fairly entitle it to a place in any record of the antiquities of the Breidden. Standing at this ford, with the Breidden in your rear, you have, to the north and north-east, a fine extent of champaign country, which at this spot grows narrower, from the encroachment of the Montgomeryshire mountains on the west. To the north Llanymynech Rock rises abruptly from the plain, while beneath it the waters of the Virniew creep on in sinuous course to unite with the deep and turbid Severn, its twin sister, a little to the east of the Breidden. In coming from the north-east, therefore, the Virniew must first be crossed before this ford could be approached. That river however is known to have altered its course considerably,⁶ so that it is hardly possible to judge what its course was in Ostorius' time. From the south-west the ford is easily approached by

the south of England, while none can venture to question his conclusions. A new field is, I think, open to him here; for a glance at the Ordnance map will show that, immediately to the north of the source of the Teme, a short distance from it, are marked traces of a dyke taking a north-westernly direction, under the name of "ancient entrenchments." This dyke, I should suggest, may possibly have been an artificial continuation of the southern boundary of the Ordovices, carried on, perhaps, till it reached the Severn, along which the boundary might again have been continued further westward. This leads me to another suggestion,—that Watts' Dyke may, on examination, prove to have been an eastern boundary of the Ordovices.

⁶ I have a tracing of a map in the possession of the Rev. S. Don, Oswestry, showing the ancient and present course of the Virniew.

the valley of the Severn. And had a general to attack such a position on the Breidden as the contriver of those ancient defences now visible there must have occupied, the ravine already described, leading towards the hill from this ford, would afford him more shelter while approaching it than he could obtain at any other spot on the river in the neighbourhood of the Breidden, though the ford itself, were it now in use as it was formerly, would present considerable difficulty. Its distance from the hill is not greater than the "ubi" implies the "objectus amnis" to have been, while its peculiarities are not inaptly described by the word "incerto." This then may really have been the "vadum incertum," the "objectus amnis," the first of the three-fold difficulties, which at the same time filled the soldiery with unwonted ardour, and made the heart of Ostorius, their leader, to quail. But without positively deciding this question, a ford is alluded to by Tacitus; and here we find one of considerable antiquity,7 of great peculiarity, and as such it forms a link in the chain of evidence hitherto alike unnoticed, and in the other localities altogether wanting, and adds, I think, some weight to the probability that the Breidden was really the scene of this memorable and patriotic struggle.

Such then being the ancient remains upon the Breidden —the singular junction there of artificial with natural defences, forming a breastwork rather than camp, placed on the ascent rather than on its striking overhanging heights—such the river, its ford, with its peculiar intricacies—such the metes and bounds of ancient territorial division, and the position of the Breidden in respect of them—do they not, one and all, in the words of General Roy, "afford vestiges of British works, attended with circumstances that better suit the relation of the historian," than either "those do which are situated on the banks of the Teme" and Alwen, or than even Cefn Carnedd itself?⁸

⁷ And this circumstance becomes the more striking when we remember that the Roman road to Mediolanum must have crossed the river somewhere near these parts.

⁸ Assuming then that the Breidden was the scene of this action,

OBSERVATIONS ON SOME OF THE EARLY INSCRIBED AND CARVED STONES IN WALES.

I PROPOSE, in the present Paper, to continue the subject of the very interesting lapidary monuments of antiquity still remaining in Wales, of which various examples have already been given in the pages of this work; more especially the stone of St. Cadfan, which has already attracted so much attention, and on the true interpretation of which, I believe, several eminent Celtic scholars are still engaged.

Like that venerable relic, the two stones intended to be illustrated in the present Paper are sepulchral memorials. They differ from it, however, in being ornamented with carved cruciform designs, as well as in the style of their inscriptions,—one merely giving the name of the deceased, whilst the other exhibits a more lengthy Latin formula,—both containing indications of the Christian professions of the persons commemorated, as proved, not only by the ornamental designs, but also in the one case by the cross prefixed to the name, and in the other by the ordinary introduction, *In nomine Dei*, &c. In addition

Ostorius probably lay at Clawdd Coch, an ancient camp of pentagonal form, in sight of the Breidden, about five miles in direct line to the north-west, on the northern banks of the Virniew, near Llanymynech, Bryn Mawr, a camp-crowned hill intervening. Clawdd Coch belongs to a Mr. Asterley, who lives near to it, and farms the land there himself. He told me (and I took it down in my notebook at the time) that in his grandfather's time, a piece of silver with a device upon it, round like a five shilling piece, and as large as the palm of my hand, and some pieces of metal like the tops of spoons, but very small, were found there by a workman. His mother confirmed this statement, and said she remembered seeing them. The piece of silver was by them given to a clergyman, the then curate at Llanymynech, for the purpose of being submitted to the Rev. Walter Davies for his opinion upon it, and the reverend gentleman, the curate, never had the grace, as Mr. Asterley assured me, to return it. Thus is lost to us an important piece of evidence in the history of Clawdd Coch. Mr. Asterley believed them to have been Roman reliques. Perhaps the portions of what he described as very small spoons, may have been portions of "ligulæ." I believe there is every reason for thinking that the Romans visited Clawdd Coch at some period or other.

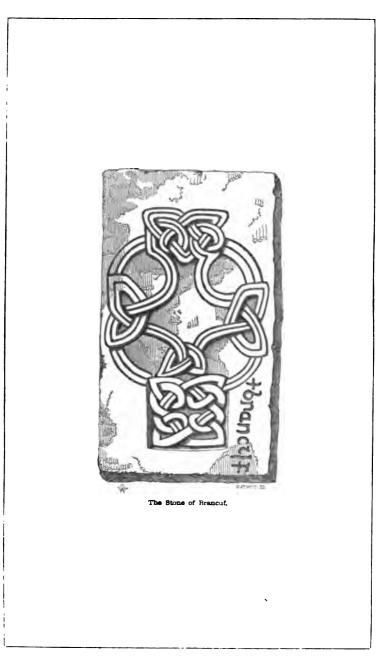
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to the interest which these two stones possess as early Christian monuments, and as elegantly executed designs, I trust that the circumstance of their being now for the first time noticed will give some further value to this communication.

THE STONE OF BRANCUF.

I am indebted to G. G. Francis, Esq., of Swansea, for making mefirst acquainted with this elegantly carved stone, several years ago. On visiting the pretty little church of Baglan, near Neath, previous to its recent restoration, I found this stone lying exposed, face upwards, as one of the coping-stones of the churchyard wall, close to the style forming the southern entrance to the churchyard. I trust that, during the recent repairs, it has been removed from so ignominious a situation, and fixed within the church, in some secure position. The stone is about thirty inches long, and sixteen wide, being of a plain oblong form, the ornament and name being incised. do not at this moment recollect any other stone in Wales with the peculiar style of ornamentation exhibited by this stone, which will at once be perceived to be cruciform in its design, resting on a short square base. The cross itself is formed by the regular interlacing of an endless double ribbon, forming a Greek +, the arms of the cross being united by double ribbons, placed so as to give the head of the cross a circular outline, very much in the style of some of the fine Irish crosses, which the sculptor of the stone before us may have had in his mind. The lower limb of the cross is smaller than the others, resting on a square base, also ornamented with an interlaced design, the ribbon being doubled in four of the interlacings, so as to give a more symmetrical idea to the figure. As an ornamental pattern, I do not recollect to have met with one more simple and elegant in all the carved stones I have yet met with.

The inscription is equally simple, and perfectly legible. The name is unquestionably

+ brancuf.

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U

<u>بر</u>

All the letters are minuscules, or small letters, of a form to which the term Anglo-Saxon has ordinarily been applied, but which might, with equal propriety, be termed Irish, or British, as it is found on many of the ancient inscribed stones of Ireland and Wales. The rounded form of the b, the p-like form of the r, the y, or rather open q-like form of the u, and the F-like form of the f, are all legitimate forms of these different minuscule letters.

The invocation of the Saviour, indicated by the prefixed +, is also by no means common on the monumental stones in Wales, although it occurs twice on the stone of St. Cadfan.

Of the age of this monumental stone it is not easy to give a decided opinion, without more decided information than it discloses. Possibly some of our members, well read in the history of South Wales between the sixth century and the Norman invasion, may be able to inform us. whether this name of Brancuf occurs in the Welsh annals. At all events, I do not think I shall be far wrong in assigning to it a date not later than the tenth, and probably not earlier than the ninth, century. Dr. Petrie¹ informs us that he had met with no carved stones in Ireland, bearing the triquetra, later than the tenth century; and it will be seen that the two sides, and lower knot of the cross, in Brancuf's Stone, are formed precisely on the plan of the triquetra; the only difference being that the ends of the ribbon forming the apex of the triquetra, instead of being joined together so as to complete the figure, here extend obliquely outwards, so as to form parts of the adjacent triquetræ. The inscription itself bears great similarity to that upon the tomb-stone of Blaimac, abbot of Clonmacnoise, + 896, a figure of which is also given by Dr. Petrie,² which, like the one before us, simply bears the name of the deceased.

¹ "Essay on the Round Towers of Ireland," p. 322. ² Op. cit., p. 323.

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EARLY INSCRIBED STONES IN WALES.

THE CROSS OF GRUTNE.

This is a small sepulchral monument lately disinterred in the churchyard at Margam, and is interesting for the rudeness of its inscription, the simplicity of its design, and the illustration it affords of the religious doctrine of the period to which it belongs.

It now stands erect at the east end of the churchyard of Margam, and measures thirty-eight inches high, and eighteen inches across the wheel-cross at the top. It belongs to a class of inscribed monumental crosses which appear to have been rather common in Glamorganshire, consisting of a circular head ornamented with a more or less elaborate Greek cross, with the four limbs of equal size, the lower part of the stone being narrowed, and bearing the inscription, commencing with an invocation of the Deity. The letters are all quite legible, the inscription being as follows :—

> inomí nedif umi crux critdi prop arabit grutne proanma ahest.

Which is to be deciphered,—"In nomine Dei summi. [Hæc est] crux Christi, [quam] preparavit Grutne pro anima ejus."—"In the name of the High God. [This is] the cross of Christ, [which] Grutne prepared for his soul."

The rudeness of the letters, and the incorrect orthography of nearly every one of the words of this inscription, will perhaps be considered as a sufficient warrant for my reading the last line "ejus," rather than as the proper name of some other person, for the repose of whose soul this cross was erected by Grutne. As other instances will occur in these Illustrations of the Ancient Carved Stones of Wales, of similar false orthography in inscriptions commencing with a similar style of invocation, I shall not attempt, in this place, to prove the correctness of my reading of this stone. The letters are minuscules, extremely rude, of irregular size, and of an earlier character than those upon the stone of Brancuf. The form of the d in the second and fifth lines, of the f and s in the second and last lines, the r in the fourth and following lines, of the t, and of the g at the beginning of the eighth line, merit attention, although they do not offer any material variation from many other early monuments on which they occur.

From these characters, as well as from the general form and style of the cross, I should be inclined to refer it to the eighth or ninth century. I have met with no such name as Grutne in my examination of the Welsh memorials.

Being anxious to render my collection of rubbings of these early Welsh monuments as complete as possible, with a view to their ultimate preservation as a perfect series of representations of a class of relics which are yearly becoming of greater rarity, as well as of greater value, I take the liberty to solicit rubbings of any such as may, from time to time, be discovered, and which have not hitherto been illustrated. The plan which I have found easiest, as well as most effective, in making my rubbings, is a very simple one. A few sheets of rather thin whity-brown cap paper, a rubber formed of an old leather glove, stuffed hard with tow, and a small box of pounded black lead, such as is used for cleaning stoves, are my ordinary materials, and which I find preferable to more expensive paper and heel-ball. For obtaining fac-similes or impressions of small inscriptions, or carved work, an equally simple plan has lately been adopted at the British Museum, (where casts of all the inscribed Nineveh marbles have been made in this manner,) namely, by damping a sheet of thick white blottingpaper, and then beating it softly into the inscription with a soft hair brush, allowing it to remain on the stone till about three parts dry. If the inscription be deep, (that is, half-an-inch, or even an inch, deep,) the paper will probably crack in the deepest part, in which case another layer must be laid on the former one, and so on, until a sufficient thickness is obtained to cover the crack. The Llewelyn inscription at Pentre Voelas, or that upon the cross at Carew, or the small inscribed stones at Penally, might be easily taken in this manner.

J. O. Westwood.

Hammersmith, March, 1851.

THE POEMS OF TALIESIN.

No. I.

HAPPENING in translating the works of the earlier bards to alight upon the poem which follows, I thought the identification of one of the historical characters, and the illustration it affords of the close relationship subsisting up to the beginning of the seventh century between the people of Wales and of Cornwall and Devon, would prove interesting to some of your readers. I have accordingly forwarded it to you. In addition to the historical value above indicated, the poem possesses much interest, from the probability of its affording a date, if not dates, to form contributions towards an authentic life of Taliesin. On reference to the "Literature of the Kymry," p. 284, it will be seen that I have ranked this poem among those wrongly attributed to Taliesin; but having recently gone over the ground again, and roughly translated all that appears to me to be the produce of the sixth and seventh centuries, I have seen reason to believe in the antiquity of this little poem, whoever may have been its author.

I have also altered my views with respect to one or two others: *Canu y Gwynt*, I am inclined to think, refers to Owen ab Urien Rheged, not to Owen Gwynedd, and

appears to throw light upon the relation of Urien to South, or rather South-West, Wales; Marronad Aeddon o Von (the Aeddan ab Ervai of Aneurin), is, I think, ancient, though about one half of it wears the marks either of corruption, or of an ecclesiastic author. I incline to the latter view, and should attribute it to Cuhelyn (550 to 600). Four of the six poems marked "doubtful" I now consider to be ancient: Kerdd Daronwy is referred to the subsequent centuries: Marwnad Cunedda is still involved in difficulties; the poem appears to be ancient: but can Taliesin be its author? No modern man could embrace a personal knowledge of Cunedda and Urien Rheged in one life: Anrhec Urien also stands the test of criticism, and is retained among the genuine poems of Taliesin. And now that I have made this confession of critical faith, we will return to the admiral of the Southern Seas-Corroy the son of Dairy, or Dairn.

MARWNAD CORROY AB DAIRY.¹

(CAN BTTO O WAITH TALLESIN.)

I.

Oy^a ffynhawn lydan dyleinw aches Dyddaw dyhepcyr dy bris dybrys Marwnad Corroy am cyffroes Oer deni gwr³ garw ei anwydeu A oedd mwy ei ddrwg nis mawr gigleu Mab Dairy dalei lyw ar for deheu Dathl oedd ei glod cyn noi adneu.

п.

Dy ffynhawn lydan deleinw nonneu Dyddaw dyhepcyr dybrys dybreu Marwnad Corroy am cyffroes.⁴

III.

Dy ffynhawn lydan dyleinw dyllyr Dy saeth dychyrch draeth diwg dybyr

¹ Corre ab Dairn. E. Llwyd.

² Dy. MS. of the late Rev. Edward Davies.

³ Ordyviwr. MS. E. D. This is adopted in the translation.

* Corroy genhyf inheu (oer deni). MS. E. D.

Gwr a werescyn mawr⁵ ei faranrhes A wedy mynaw myned trefydd A... ant wy ffres ffra wyonydd⁶ Tra fu vuddugre vore ddugrawr Chwedleu am gwyddir o wir hyd lawr Cyfranc Corroy a chocholyn Lliaws leu terfysg am eu terfyn Tarddei pen amwern gwerin goddfwyn⁷ Caer y sydd⁸ gulwydd ni gwydd ni gryn Gwyn ei fyd yr enaid ai harobryn. *Myv.*, vol. i., pp. 168, 9.

The text of the original is in a very bad state, and the translation must only be accepted as an approximation to the meaning of the original.

ELEGY ON CORROY THE SON OF DAIRY.

BY TALIESIN.

I.

From a broad fountain the stream is filled; There will come a dispensing with the worth of the reckless: I have been agitated by the death of Corroy. If there came a man of harsh passions More mischievous than he,—not much is spoken of him: The son of Dairy held command on the South Sea; Before his burial, celebrated was his praise.

11.

From a broad fountain the brook is filled: Saddling in haste will be dispensed with; I have been agitated by the death of Corroy.

III.

From a broad fountain the deep is filled: The arrow traverses the strand pensive and angerless; The hero was a subjugator,—great was his front rank. Towns followed after the leader;

They went fresh to the quarrel of brands.

While the demon of war heaped carnage in the mornings, Tales were known from heaven to earth.

⁵ M...r, M.wr. MS. ⁶ Wynyonydd. MS. E. D. Gwynonydd? ⁷ Goaddfwyn. *Ibid.* ⁸ Caer y su. *Ibid.* In the contention of Corroy and Cocholyn, Many were the conflicts on the boundaries: The chief of the encampment sprang from a gentle race. A city there is kindling love; it will not fall nor tremble; Blessed is the fortune of the soul by whom it is deserved!

In translating, or rather in attempting to translate, this poem, the name of Corroy's opponent piqued my curiosity; I forthwith went in search of his history to the Anglo-Saxon annals; and, much to my delight, the personage whom I sought appeared in good company, being Cuichelm, one of the West Saxon kings. There were two West Saxon kings of this name, one of whom, the brother of Ceawlin, perished in 593, in battle, probably against the Britons; but as that is the only notice of him that we have, the probability is that Cocholyn was another person of the same name. His history is comprised in a few notices which we shall extract from the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle:—

"A.D. 611.—This year Cynegils succeeded to the kingdom of the West Saxons.

"614.—Cynegils admitted his son Quichelm to a share in the kingdom, and both fought a great battle against the Britons, (of Damnonia, probably,) and slew two thousand and sixty-five Welshmen, at a place called Bampton. But whether it be Bampton in Oxfordshire, or Bampton in Cornwall is undecided. Dr. Giles adopts the former alternative.

"623.—At this time, after the brothers Sexred and Siward, there reigned over the East Saxons Sigebert, surnamed the Little, son of Siward, who with his brother Sebert (Sexred) was, by the righteous judgment of God, slain by Kinegils, king of the West Saxons, and Quichelm his son; for, on the death of their father, they returned to the worship of idols, and expelled Mellitus, bishop of London, and not one of their army escaped to tell the tale.—Wendover.

"626.—Cuichelm, for some reason, sent one Eumer to assassinate Edwin king of Northumbria. Eumer failed in his object; and Edwin, in revenge, made war upon the West Saxons, slaying five petty kings, and a great number of the people. Roger of Wendover states that Edwin slew Quichelm, at a place called in consequence 'Quichelmeslaune;' but that account differs from all the other chronicles, and appears to be erroneous.

"628.—Cynegils and Cuichelm fought against Penda king of

the Mercians, at Cirencester, and then made a treaty, both parties being exhausted.

"636.—This year King Cuichelm was baptized at Dorchester, and the same year he died."

The name is variously written Cuichelm, Quichelm, and Kichelm.

Of Corroy the son of Dairy, or Dairn, I am unable to give any satisfactory account; and the determination of his whereabouts must depend upon an inference. In 614 was fought the battle of Bampton; and as Corroy would probably be engaged in that, it becomes of importance to have the place of that battle ascertained. Dr. Giles states that "Bampton in Devonshire is by far too remote to admit the supposition that the battle in question was fought there;" and he therefore concludes that Bampton in Oxfordshire is more likely to be the place. But I am compelled to differ from that opinion. The West Saxons, under Ceaulin, had conquered Gloucester, Cirencester and Bath, in 577; Ceolric succeeded Ceaulin in 592, and was followed in 597 by Coelwulf, who "fought and contended incessantly against either the Angles or the Welsh, (of Devon, Somerset and Dorset?) or the Picts or the Scots:" and in 636 we find Cuichelm in possession of Dorchester,⁹ in the western part of Dorset, not very far from the Devon boundary. From these facts, and from the fact that the West Saxons had been in possession of Oxfordshire long before 614, I am led to conclude that the Bampton of the *Chronicle* is the town of Bampton on the eastern boundary of Devon. If so, we may from thence deduce the conclusion, that the boundaries which Corroy defended were the boundaries of Devon, and that he was a chief of the Damnonian people.

One other question remains to be decided, and that is, who is the author of this poem? Judging from the structure of the poem, its difference from the other poems of the chief of bards in style, and decided inferiority as an artistic composition, I should incline to the belief that Taliesin cannot be its author. Its antiquity admits of no doubt; it

⁹ Is this the Dorchester of Dorset, or of Oxfordshire? ARCH. CAMB., NEW SERIES, VOL. II. X

is, in the Myvyrian Archaiology, positively stated to have been the production of that bard; and, however internal evidence may lead us to doubt this paternity, it is by no means impossible that Taliesin may have written the poem;-that is, there are no insuperable chronological difficulties in the way of that supposition. Taliesin appears to have retired to North Wales after the death of Urien, in 584; the poem on GWAITH DYFFRYN GWARANT seems to have been addressed to Ynyr Gwent (who is usually placed earlier) after that period; and this bard is said to have written an elegy on Iago ab Beli, king of Gwynedd; that monarch died, or was slain, about 603; and, accordingly, it is quite possible that the bard who wrote his elegy might have written a poem dating soon after the year 614. Anrheg Urien seems to have been written in North Wales, "ar lan Llyn Geirionydd," Caernarvonshire, where Taliesin, when an old man, appears to have made the acquaintance of his young contemporary Aneurin. This elegy to Iago ab Beli is mentioned by Llwyd (Arch., 256,) among the contents of a Hengwrt MS. called "Hanesyn Hên." What has become of the poem? It is not in the Myvyrian Archaiology.

We here assume that the poem was composed during the lifetime of Quichelm; but it is questionable whether we can confine its production within those limits. The manner in which the contest between Corroy and Cocholyn is spoken of, implies that it had ceased, and that Corroy, who appears to have died a natural death, had survived his opponent; if so, the poem cannot have been written before 640; and, in that case, Taliesin could scarcely have been its author. Criticism and chronology appear, therefore, to coincide in referring the poem to some subsequent and inferior bard; for, though it is improbable, it is not impossible, that Taliesin may have been living in 640. He was evidently living when Aneurin made known to him his intention of devoting his talents to celebrate the battle of Cattraeth; and some of the events commemorated in the poems of the bard of Gododin, occurred at various periods from A.D. 576 to 642; but to

this point we shall again have occasion to recur. In this conflict of probabilities, all that can be safely asserted is the antiquity of the poem; and its authorship had better be left an open question.

I propose to furnish a series of short Papers on the Bardic Poems of the Sixth Century to the Archæologia Cambrensis, and shall from time to time take the liberty of calling the attention of your readers to such portions of our literary history as may promise interest and instruction. Lovers of early literature will also be glad to hear, that M. de Villemarque has recently published a translation of the Poémes des Bardes Bretons du VI. Siécle.

T. STEPHENS.

Merthyr Tydfil, February, 1851.

Correspondence.

LETTERS FROM A TRAVELLING ANTIQUARY.

No. I.

To the Editors of the Archaelogia Cambrensis,

GENTLEMEN,—I am, as you know, one of the members of the Cambrian Archæological Association, and have taken some little interest in the proceedings of that body from its first starting. I wish, indeed, I could have promoted its objects in any efficacious manner; but, alas! my will and not my deeds must be pleaded in my favour, and its officers must make excuses for me—not as a man overrun by idleness, but overworked by business;—not having the time to sit down and write like other mortals—sometimes not even the opportunity of getting my necessary quantum of meat, drink and sleep. I can hardly ever attend any of your meetings,—I can only read your reports. Sometimes I scribble a few lines for you; often I think of you; and anxiously try to do good to the Association, and to the sacred cause of our country's antiquities.

You will excuse me for saying so, but I must candidly own that I wish you had met with more encouragement from the gentry and clergy of Wales. I should have thought that every squire in the twelve counties, who could prove that he ever

actually had a grandfather, and every clergyman who could really read poor Carnhuanawc's Hanes Cymru, would certainly have joined your ranks-would have subscribed to the Archaeologia Cambrensis—and would really have done something towards encouraging the "study and preservation" of the national antiquities. I say I should have thought so, arguing from the unsophisticated recesses of my own heart; but I know that it is not the case, as I see by your subscription lists that very few people have actually gone the entire length of untying their pursestrings. I hear that your best friends are English antiquaries and English visitors. As I travel about the country, I find that very few people have ever heard of the existence of your Association; and, when its Journal is mentioned to them, they become altogether incredulous I must confess the title is rather a hard one-two crabbed Latin words! Now Latin is downright Papistical-a nasty remnant of encroaching Rome! Who in Wales cares to know it? Again, in your pages, I have heard it said, people will write about old monasteries, and other horrible atrocities of Papistical times; and who in this nineteenth century -by far the most intellectual and most religious epoch, as I am informed, of the earth's existence-who at the present day would soil his mind by reading anything about monks? Or, if your members and contributors do not write about superstitious old places, such as abbeys and churches,-(for, I am sorry to own it, but nearly all the churches in Wales were built and repaired by the Catholics; since the Reformation, as far as I can make out, they have only become more and more dilapidated, until the late pseudo-Papistical and quasi Pusevite movement of a few years since set some ill-advised people a church building and restoring); -if they do not write, I say, about abbeys and churches, why they write about castles ! And who, they say, built the castles, but those abominable Normans-worse even than the Saxons; and who that can boast of being of the Gwaed coch cyfan-as my excellent friends who go to the Eisteddfodau do-who can stomach this?

Or else you print old deeds and records; or bring forth a lot of rusty nonsense about Roman coins. Who, Gentlemen, cares anything now-a-days for records and Roman coins! So say the gentry and clergy I generally meet with; and, upon my word, I hardly know how to answer them. They laugh at me, and call me an old fool for poking about the churchyards, and asking about Roman roads, and going to unmope the owl in her "ivymantled tower;" and really, at times, I do feel a little ashamed of myself, so universal and so unconcealed is the dislike for antiquarian subjects that now prevails throughout the Principality. I do not wish to quarrel with my fellow-countrymen on account of this antiquarian apathy of theirs. I know how slow they are to move—how averse to anything that would give them the trouble of research; but I wish to point it out as a fact—an ethnological fact—that in no part of the world do the upper classes care less for antiquities than in Wales. They talk about it, I admit; but as for their *caring*, that is quite another thing.

Now, for myself, I know I am a foolish old man, and my chief delight is to go about the country looking after old things-that is to say, I would if I could. My occupations do carry me into almost every part of Wales from time to time; but I am so busy about other people's matters that I have little opportunity of gratifying my own tastes, and of making the observations I otherwise would. Why, Gentlemen, if I had sufficient leisure, and the same opportunity, I could supply your work, I think, for thirty or forty years continuously, and then consider myself not very far advanced in the subject either. I remember one of your contri-butors saying some time ago-I forget when-that we were but as it were opening the mine of Welsh antiquities; and, upon my word, Gentlemen, he spoke the truth. I will back what he said -it is quite true; as far as I see, there is no chance of our exhausting the subject of Welsh antiquities for many and many a long year. I do not mean the false and imaginary antiquities of the nation, about which modern bards are so apt to rave, but the real genuine antiquities, such as are to be proved by stone, or turf, or parchments, or walls, or gold, or brass; --- and, moreover, the country is quite full of them.

It will give me great pleasure to contribute to your pages, from time to time, a few of the observations I am enabled to make as I travel about; not that I consider them of any particular value in themselves, but they may serve to stimulate the curiosity of some of your readers, and, by provoking discussion, may be the means of getting said antiquities, to which they refer, "studied and preserved."

It is astonishing how much a man may do, if he really will only keep *both* eyes open as he travels through a country. At many miles' distance, he may detect the carneddau on the profile of the mountains against the sky; he may see points of architectural value as he drives rapidly by a village church or castle, which the neighbours are profoundly ignorant of; and he may find some of those precious early inscriptions by the road-side, or on the sea-shore, which other people would never dream of looking for. Yes, Gentlemen !—by the road-side, or on the seashore. Why, between Brecon and Crickhowel there is, at the present day, in the hedge—not a mile-stone, Gentlemen, (I see you smile, in your editorial incredulity,)—no, but a genuine early inscribed British stone. It is true, there is not a single man in the county of Brecon, lay or clerical, who can decipher it; this may be; but the London and Dublin antiquaries could read it in a moment; so could they in Glamorgan, or Caernarvon: but Brecon is rather Bœotic,—let that pass! And again, in the northern Bœotia—I mean Merioneth—there is an early inscribed stone on the sea-shore, about a mile from Barmouth; but then who cares for this? Are there not many stones of all shapes there besides?

I intend, therefore, Gentlemen, with your permission, to make various desultory observations upon Welsh antiquities, as I ramble about the country, and to communicate them to you; you can print or burn them—just as you please. Nine-tenths of the objects to which they refer are utterly unknown, or unnoticed, in the districts where they are situated; and, were they known, would probably be destroyed. I have no means of preserving any of these things myself; and, in times like these, I make no effort to do so. I only *study* antiquities now. This is an age, not of preservation, but of destruction.

One of your correspondents, Mr. T. O. Morgan, of Aberystwyth, who is well known in Cardiganshire for his love of antiquities, has been lately making some researches, as I understand, about Plynlimon, as connected with the history of Owain Glyndwr. Now, I know myself that this district is one of great interest, but that it is almost a *terra incognita* for every antiquary in Wales. Due south of Plynlimon is a spot called Llys Arthur, in a valley called Dyffryn Castell; and, on the other side of a hill bounding this wild vale to the east, is a tract called Hengoed ddu. Now, can any gentleman in Cardiganshire help me to some account of these spots? Can Mr. Morgan do so? The name of Arthur points to an epoch long before that of Owain Glyndwr; and the Hengoed ddu may refer to any period either before or after the commencement of authentic history. There are several carneddau near the top of Plynlimon, to my certain knowledge; but Mr. Morgan does not perhaps assign them to the time of Owain. One, a little to the south of the highest part, is called Carn Tarenig—a name about which I can find nothing satisfactory. Another carn, near the Bwlch Hyddgen, which was Owain's ground, is called by the country people Carn Wylym.

By the way, it is commonly supposed that Plynlimon is in Montgomeryshire; and if any man would stand up in Llanidloes market and assert the contrary, it would go hard with him but he would be called a Gwyddel, or a Sais, or some other antifraternal name. And yet I really believe this mountain—the top of it—the real, original Plynlimon—the *Pen Plynlimon faur*, as the men of the *Gwaed coch cyfan* would call it—does stand within the limits of Cardiganshire. Let the Montgomeryshire men look to it.

To the west of the Rheidol, in this locality, and on a hill nearly due east of Llys Arthur, is a fortified post, called simply Dinas; but what Dinas? And a little north of this again occurs a carnedd, with the name of Y Gwylfa fawr. These show places of fighting; but at what epoch? and between whom?

Proceeding a little further to the north, a trifle to the west, we come upon Carn Owen—some say, after all, the burial-place of Owain Glyndwr; and again, to the north-east of this, on a hilltop, is an earth-work, called simply Castell.

I could tell you of many more places in this very locality which would, I know, interest yourselves, Gentlemen; but I forbear for the present. I hope that these remarks may catch the eye of some of your more wakeful readers, and elicit from them the information I should like to obtain.

I am, &c.

A TRAVELLING ANTIQUARY.

Dolgellau, February 1, 1851.

THE GRAVE OF SAWYL BENISEL, KING OF THE BRITONS.

To the Editors of the Archaelogia Cambrensis.

GENTLEMEN,—Attracted by the name of a farm about a couple of miles to the north-west of Kidwelly, in Caermarthenshire, called "Allt Cynadda," the etymon of which was obvious, as derived from *Cunedda*, the name of a British prince, I visited it on the 22nd of April, 1850, in company with the proprietor, E. L. Fitzwilliams, Esq., from whom I experienced the kindest assistance in prosecuting my investigations.

Conceive my satisfaction at finding upon the summit of this hill —which is one of the most commanding positions in the district, and from whence the farm is named—a very perfect but ancient encampment, with two barrows or tumuli to the eastward of it, both of which it was determined to open. The larger of the two was raised about 300 yards from the camp, and measured fiftysix feet in diameter, but was only elevated about five feet from the surrounding turf. After making a cut through the centre about fourteen feet wide, and level with the face of the field, and finding no remains, I resolved upon trying back, and making an opening in the middle of the barrow, below the original surface of the soil, when, having descended nearly two feet, a large flat stone cut into an hexagonal figure, nearly the shape of an ancient shield, was arrived at. This stone measured eight feet four inches in length, and seven feet across, and from twelve to fifteen inches in thickness. As it was found impossible to move it, owing to the weight, a cutting downwards through the earth on one side was determined upon, and an entrance effected into the cist, where lay the bones, nearly entire, of a very tall human skeleton, upon its back. The skull was almost perfect, but singularly flat or depressed in front, with a circular opening upon the left hemisphere, as if beaten in by the blow of a sling-stone. or pointed mace, and the chin-bone was very projecting. Bv the teeth, which were entire, but had fallen out of the mouldered jaw-bones, we might suppose the person interred to have been in the prime of life, and from the name given to this barrow by the people of the country, viz., Banc Benisel, I have come to the conclusion that it was the grave of Sawyl Benisel, who fell there in fight, and I have these additional reasons for my opinion :---

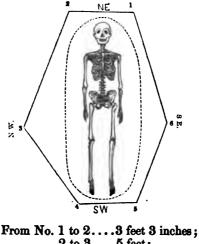
First,—That it was in an attack upon the camp that he was killed.

Secondly,—That he was buried by the victorious party, and consequently stripped of all regal ornaments or weapons, nothing of the kind having, after the most careful search, been discovered along with the skeleton, and the place of sepulture selected being without the camp; for, if he had been chief of the victor party, he would have been buried within it.

Thirdly,—To the eastward of the camp, from whence the attacking forces ascended, the wooded side-land is called Coed y Brenin (King's Wood); and a hill at a greater distance is named Mynydd Penisel (Penisel's Mountain). There is also a fine well in the same direction termed Ffynnon-Sel—evidently a contraction of Penisel.

Fourthly,—That this tumulus had a peculiar dish-like circular depression at the apex, about five or six feet in diameter, which appears to have been a concomitant feature in the construction of regal, or, as they are termed, kings', barrows. Further, it may be remarked that the peculiar depressed formation of the skullbone would, by analogy, become identified with the name Penisel, *i. e., flat-headed.*

The bones, generally, in this grave were in a high state of preservation, excepting the extremities of those of the legs and feet, the softer parts of which were decomposed. This I attribute to the peculiar dry and antiseptic nature of the soil, which is a decayed peat, mixed with a ferruginous sandy earth, resting, at a considerable depth, upon a horizontal formation of slag-stone, in layers of different thicknesses, which crops out in the side-land of the hill, and from whence the stone that covered the cist, or grave, was procured. This stone consists of irregular laminæ, thickly interspersed with micaceous particles, which I suspect may contain sulphuret of arsenic, and therefore tending to prevent decomposition in the remains deposited.



The dotted line marks the shape of the hollow cist, all of earth, about two feet deep, and upon which the covering stone, the only one used, rested.

The name of Sawyl Benisel is recorded in the list of the kings of Britain; but nothing whatever is there said of him, but that he succeeded Rhydderch, and was succeeded by Pyr. Ynys Pyr (Caldy Island) is visible to the westward, from the camp at Allt Cunedda, and might have formed a portion of Pyr's territory, against whom it is probable Sawyl Benisel led his forces when he was slain. It is also worthy of remark that, at this early period of British history, much obscurity exists, and many

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of the kings mentioned as succeeding each other, were likely to have been cotemporary; for at that time a number of petty princes, ever striving with one another for the mastery, ruled the several tribes of Britain, and only united under one supreme sovereign in case of invasion, or of some other important necessity.

Sawyl Benuchel (the high-headed or arrogant) has been confounded with the preceding chieftain; but the latter was a prince of the sixth century, who coalesced with the Saxons, and is mentioned in one of the Triads in connexion with Pasgen the son of Urien, and Rhun the son of Einiawn, as the "three arrogant ones of Britain." His place of sepulture is also thus recorded in the "Englynion Beddau Milwyr Ynys Prydain:"—

> "Bet Gwell yn y rhiw felen, Bet Sawyl yn llan Gollen, Gwercheidw Llafur bwlch Llorien."

The other barrow further to the eastward of the camp was also opened, and appeared to have been a general repository for the bodies of the slain, which had been burnt, and the ashes and earth mixed together in a heap.

MEINI-HIRION; CROMLECHAU; CARNEDDAU; ENCAMPMENTS BOTH CIRCULAR AND SQUARE.

These objects of inquiry should be noticed in each county, and a list of such as may be discovered sent up (quarterly) to be printed in the Archaeologia Cambrensis.

Individuals subscribers to, or members of, the Association, should take upon themselves, at the request of the Local Secretary for the district, the office of discovering such remains as may lie within the circle of their convenient search, and a competent number of such persons should be named, sufficient to proceed to the full investigation of such objects; and each county be divided into sections, or districts, for that purpose. This would, of course, not interfere with any individual communications or discoveries upon such subjects that might from time to time be voluntarily made by subscribers, or others, interested in the progress of the Cambrian Archæological Association.

An early attention to these suggestions seems to be imperative, since we know from sad past experience that, as agriculture progresses and extends, and is more likely to do so now than ever, such early remains are sure to be obliterated. The portion of *Cemaes* in which I reside is yet rich in these relics of antiquity; but they are much less numerous, and those still in existence more imperfect, than I recollect them thirty years since: cromlechau, many broken up, together with meini-hirion, to form new hedges; carneddau and barrows carted away, either for the earth or stones they contained; and some of the aggers of camps greatly mutilated, or totally destroyed, for the same purpose.

I may take a future occasion to enlarge upon this subject, and trust it may be responded to, with any additional remarks that may seem necessary.

I am, &c.,

JOHN FENTON.

Glynymêl, near Fishguard, 1st January, 1851.

[Our friend and correspondent, Mr. Fenton, who is one of the most active Local Secretaries on the list of the Association, will perceive from the letter of his colleague, Mr. Morgan, that carneddau are as little respected in Cardiganshire as in Pembrokeshire. What Mr. Fenton suggests is what we have ourselves continually recommended, but what we now almost entirely despair of ever seeing carried into effect. The number of persons in Wales who manifest any real care for objects of antiquity is surprisingly small, and of those who actually work with us towards the study and preservation of the national monuments, and other remains, smaller still. If every gentleman capable of observing would only really do so, we should soon have a tolerably complete list of the antiquities of Wales; but, so to speak, nobody does so. We refer Mr. Fenton to the communication from "A Travelling Antiquary," in the present Number. We fear that what is there said is too true. We can only say that, as Editors, we get very little co-operation from those whom we should suppose most likely to assist us. With regard to Mr. Fenton's own suggestion, what could be more reasonable, more easy, than for every landlord in Wales to insist upon his tenants not disturbing, nor destroying, any object of antiquity found upon their land? Who would be damaged by this? And yet what landlord in Wales has given, or will ever give, such an injunction to his agent, or tenants? On the contrary—it is a melancholy conviction of ours, it is true, but we cannot limit the evidence of our senses-the antiquities of Wales are perishing daily, and, we are almost inclined to suspect, the more rapidly the more they become Apathy is not the word—antipathy is more appropriate, to known. express the public opinion towards them. Was not a large rockingstone-one of the very few to be found in Wales-thrown down purposely, not long ago, by the men employed on the Vale of Neath Railroad? and did not one of our officers in Glamorganshire immediately address the Chairman of that Company, upon this act of Vandalism gratuitously perpetrated under their auspices? but have the Company taken any measures to put that stone up again? We shall be more than surprised if anybody can answer us in the affirmative.-EDD. ARCH. CAMB.]

To the Editors of the Archaelogia Cambrensis.

GENTLEMEN,—As Local Secretary for the district, I forward the enclosed account of the opening of a cairn for your use, if you deem it deserving insertion in the Journal.

I am, &c.,

THOS. O. MORGAN.

Aberystwyth, 1st March, 1851.

Discovery of a sepulchral urn, or vase, on the farm of Penyberth, five miles north of Aberystwyth, and in the parish of Llanbadarn vawr, on Tuesday the 11th February, 1851, as given by Mr. Claridge, the tenant :---

In the centre of a level field on the above mentioned farm, near the village of Penrhyn goch, was a space occupied from time immemorial by a carnedd, or heap of stones. The stony space was of a circular form, sixteen yards in diameter. This field had been repeatedly ploughed by Mr. Claridge, and the preceding tenants, generally leaving the stony space untouched. Many of the best stones, however, had been taken away at different times for building purposes; and Mr. Claridge, being desirous of further clearing the spot on that day, had hauled off some loads, when a pitched paving was observed leading from the circumference towards the centre of the heap, and, at the end of the pitched stones, a flag-stone was found, which sounded hollow under the crowbar, on carefully removing which an earthen urn was discovered in an inverted position, the open end, or mouth, being downwards, the receptacle in which the urn stood being pitched around. On raising the urn, it was found to contain human bones, which are still preserved. Amongst the bones was likewise found the pin of a brooch, of a metal like pinchbeck; it was proved not to be gold, from not withstanding the usual test. Underneath the urn black ashes were found, as if the process of cremation had taken place; the bones, likewise, had been calcined by the same pro-The urn being of clay, unburnt, apparently only dried and cess. hardened in the sun and air, broke to pieces, though carefully handled; but the fragments which remain show under the rim a diagonal cheque design, figured. It should be stated that Mr. Claridge's father, some years before, had found a similar urn in the same heap. From the carnedd being the burial-place of more than one individual, it is presumed to have been the restingplace of some chieftains of distinction in their day.

In the month of November, 1840, an earthen vase, with burnt remains, was found in the centre of a tumulus, on the farm of Pyllau isaf, in the parish of Llanelar, six miles from Aberystwyth, and at a distance, perhaps, of ten miles from the other discovery. That, also, was broken on raising; but the fragments have been put together, and are now in the possession of an archeological friend here.

To the Editors of the Archæologia Cambrensis.

GENTLEMEN,—I find a few self-correcting errors in the "Ordinary," as published. It may be as well to note that the name, page 76, line 40, should be "Lilford;" that before *query*, page 79, line 2, is omitted—"His grandson's effigy is said to be in Towyn Church;" and that the note there added is not mine; the earlier instances I ask for being *ante* the time of Elizabeth, as stated at page 69.

February 5, 1851.

A. C.

RHUDDLAN CASTLE, FLINTSHIRE.

To the Editors of the Archæologia Cambrensis.

GENTLEMEN,—Happening to be at Rhuddlan not long since, and bearing in mind the accounts of the Eisteddfod of last summer, held in the ancient castle of that place, I went to the venerable edifice, in order to see what repairs the promoters of the Eisteddfod had procured to be done for the place of their meeting. My disappointment was great at finding that nothing had been done; and I confess that my cheek involuntarily glowed with shame, when I remembered the immense quantity of "patriotic" assertions that had been so lately made within those walls, while it never seemed to have struck any of my impetuous fellowcountrymen, that the poor old building, which then sheltered them, ought, at least, to bear some outward token of good, as a memento of their visit.

The owner of the castle, of course, cannot be expected to do anything towards repairing it; if he did so, it would be setting an awkward example for other Welsh gentlemen. Besides, the expense for a private individual would be very great—perhaps as much as three or four hundred pounds—to produce any notable result in the reparation of the old castle. It is true, indeed, that between three and four hundred pounds were spent in wine, beer, spirits, &c., on the occasion of the Eisteddfod, and that some portion of this would have been better laid out in repairing the edifice in question; but the people who came thither at that time did not come for any such purpose.

As it does not look well to recommend a thing without setting

an example, I will start a subscription for repairing Rhuddlan Castle handsomely at once in your pages : you may put my name down for five shillings. I think those Saxons, whom we allowed to attend the Eisteddfod, might as well have given some money for the above purpose, without troubling us of the land to do so. By the way, when the next Eisteddfod is held at Tremadoc this coming summer, will anybody subscribe for Cricciaeth and Harlech Castles? or for Beddgelert Church? There are some cromlechau near Tremadoc; but, of course, these will be taken down before the bards assemble.

> I am, &c., "One who is a Welshman, and glories in being so."

Bangor, January 1st, 1850.

CONWAY IMPROVEMENTS.

To the Editors of the Archaeologia Cambrensis.

GENTLEMEN,—I have lately passed through Conway, and, of course, have been to see the new "improvements" lately effected in that ancient town, and noticed in some of your late Numbers.

I most heartily wish that the builders, architect, and proprietors of the old houses now demolished, had had some of the ancient beams fall on their toes! The new houses are tall: Elizabethan at the top—anything at the bottom. I would have backed the old houses against them, with a few repairs, for lasting another century at least. As to architectural effect and constructive skill, no comparison can be instituted in favour of the modern concerns when referred to the old.

However, they are down;—so are many other things in this world;—so will many more be some day or other, perhaps not far off.

We only hope that the other old house at the opposite corner of the Main Street, which is equally valuable, will be allowed to remain; and that Mrs. Jones, the draper, of Conway, to whom it is said to belong, will show more taste than the owners of the others, by having it repaired and restored, instead of needlessly demolished.

I am, &c.,

A MAN OF COMMON SENSE.

London, March 1, 1851.

Miscellaneans Batices.

THE GAER, BRECON.—A Roman tile has been lately found at this important station, bearing the inscription LEG. II AVG. We do not know into whose hands it may have fallen, but we hope that it will not be broken up.

MENAPIVM.—It is to be hoped that, when the members of the Association visit St. David's during the ensuing summer, at the period of the Tenby Meeting, some steps will be taken for ascertaining the site of the Roman MENAPIVM. It is not improbable that judicious excavations amid the sand of the small bay, on or near which it must have been built, may settle this important point in the geography of the Cambria Romana.

ROMAN REMAINS AND ROADS IN MERIONETH AND MONT-GOMERYSHIRE.—Arrangements have been made for completing the survey of these two counties, in respect of their Roman remains. When this shall have been finished, the whole of the six northern counties of Wales can then be mapped with tolerable accuracy. The gentlemen engaged in this interesting line of research are anxious to co-operate with any others who may be prepared to join on the surveys of Radnor, Brecon and Cardigan to their own; and the Editors will be glad to become the channels of communication for this purpose. It is almost needless to observe that nothing short of actual inspection and local verification, *ipsissimis oculis*, will suffice.

CALEDONIA ROMANA.-In our First Volume, (Old Series,) p. 196, we performed the pleasing task of giving a lengthened review of Mr. Stuart's "Caledonia Romana," one of the most important antiquarian works of the present day. A circular relating to this work, recently put into our hands, bears on its title-page the ominous words, "By the late Robert Stuart." We did not know that our friend and correspondent was dead! Peace be to him ! Scotland has lost a most promising antiquary -one who had already done her good service; and we have lost another member of that scanty band who still struggle on, amid the nominal encouragement, but under the real neglect, of the world, to elucidate and record the ancient remains of their fatherland. A new edition of the "Caledonia Romana" is announced by this circular, and subscribers are requested to forward their names to Mr. Pickering. The size of the book is to be quarto, the price one guinea, and the profits are for the author's family. It deserves to be recorded as a singularly anomalous factexemplified, however, by Dr. Petrie's great work on Irelandthat all the copies of an edition of this antiquarian work have actually been sold within the present century. We should not have believed the circumstance, but for this testimony.

At the meeting of the Archæological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, on the 7th March, 1851, a rubbing of a small brass of a priest, from St. David's Cathedral, was exhibited by A. W. Franks, Esq. It is only the bust, seen in front, and about a foot high, the hands placed together upon the breast, in the act of prayer. It exhibits no peculiarity worthy of remark in the costume or execution, which appears to be English, but is interesting as being an addition to the very few brasses of Wales, (see list in Mr. Westwood's article on "Clynnog," in Arch. Camb., vol. I., pp. 406, 407, first series,) and as being older than any of those hitherto known in Wales, being of the fourteenth, or early fifteenth, century.—J. O. W.

We have been informed by the Rev. W. Wynne Williams of the recent discovery, under the flooring of the church of Newborough, in Anglesey, opposite Caernarvon, of two very interesting sepulchral slabs of the fifteenth century; one incised with an extremely elegant cross flory, the sides of the stem ornamented with foliage, and the inscription running down the middle of the slab; and the other incised with the figure of an ecclesiastic, of the full size, holding the chalice on his breast, the inscription running round the edge of the stone. We hope to be able, in an early number, to give a further account of these two stones, which, in addition to the remarkable font, interesting style of architecture of the church, and picturesque situation, render Newborough very worthy of a visit by the many tourists who may sojourn for a short time at Caernarvon.—J. O. W.

KIDWELLY CASTLE.—A careful survey has just been finished of this fine building. Elaborate drawings, plans, elevations and sections have been made; and we understand that the whole will be shown to the members of the Association at Tenby.

ST. ASAPH.—A correspondent who has lately visited St. Asaph wishes to be informed when the Dean and Chapter intend to rebuild the choir of the cathedral there,—or at least to remove from it the load of barbarisms with which it is disfigured. Some casing work is now going on at St. Asaph; but our correspondent might very well put a similar question to the Dean and Chapter of Bangor, as to the interior of their cathedral—one of the worst specimens of "carpenter's Gothic" that we know of. Would that all ecclesiastical corporations would imitate the doings, and emulate the spirit, of the Dean and Chapter of Llandaff!

CHRIST'S COLLEGE, BRECON.—An inquiry has been made of us as to whether we know of any repairs having been ordered to be effected in the Collegiate Church at Brecon. As far as we know, we believe it to be the intention of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners to allow the edifice to go to total decay, instead of restoring it. The fact is, that it would require not less than £300 to repair it well, and about double that sum to restore it handsomely; but then these sums are very large-far beyond the means of a town and county where so much poverty prevails as Brecon. If the land of that district had been good, or the gentry and nobility wealthy, or the trade of the town itself at all prosperous, something might have been expected from local energy. As it is, however, few things can be more unreasonable than to expect anybody in that part of Wales to come forward with money for this purpose. It is not unlikely that, if a good offer were made, the materials of the building might be bought cheap; and, once down, an eyesore would be removed, as well as a weight removed from the consciences of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners. We understand that a local controversy is going on about this building, and that some people have actually gone the length of proposing that the Dean and Chapter should repair it themselves ! Pooh ! pooh ! What next?

VANDALISM AT ST. DAVID'S .- Among the minor antiquities of this wonderful place, one of the most remarkable has disappeared within the last few months. In the street leading to Fishguard, and bearing the name of Nun Street, there stood an ancient house, commonly called the "Nunnery," but probably without any histo-rical ground for the appellation. It consisted of two vaulted chambers on the ground floor, and two chambers above, without any internal communication between the stories, an external flight of steps leading to the upper part of the house. The entrances were by doors with pointed arches, plain chamfered; the jambs were constructed, and the arches turned, with Caerfai sandstone. The vaulting was of the plain barrel form common in the district. The singularity of its construction, connected with the name of the street in which it stood, has caused the above mentioned use to be assigned it, but without reason, as the street clearly derives its name from St. Nun, the mother of St. David, and the arrangement marks its date rather than its design. It is certainly satisfactory to see improvements of any kind at St. David's, and of late much improvement has taken place in what Browne Willis calls "the mean houses of the citizens." It is also true that the domicile in question must have been anything but a desirable winter residence, as the inhabitants of the lower "flat" had not a chimney to bless themselves withal; and the visitor, whom a fatal curiosity had tempted into the interior, ran a chance of being stifled with culm-smoke. Still building-ground must be plentiful at St. David's; and it is to be regretted that the necessarv improvements could not be made without destroying one of the most curious specimens of its class in the kingdom. We give the "destroyer" a "minstrel's malison," in all its intensity.

ARCH. CAMB., NEW SERIES, VOL. II.

Reviews.

THE ANTIQUITIES OF RICHBOROUGH, RECULVER, AND LYMNE, IN KENT. BY CHARLES ROACH SMITH, F.S.A. Illustrated by F. W. FAIRHOLT, F.S.A. London : J. R. Smith, 4, Old Compton Street, Soho.

We will now endeavour to redeem the promise we made in our last Number, and afford our readers a better idea of Mr. Smith's work, and of the various subjects of which it treats.

In the preface, Mr. Smith states that the free access which he enjoyed to the collections of Mr. Rolfe, of Sandwich (to whom the volume is very properly inscribed), first induced him to contemplate a descriptive catalogue only; consequently a considerable portion, and many of the most curious engravings, are illustrative of the Roman antiquities preserved in that gentleman's museum, nearly all of which had been discovered at Richborough. But whilst thus employing his pen, and indulging what is evidently his own peculiar taste, it can be no matter of surprise that the more gigantic remains of the castrum should have attracted his attention, and induced him to extend his research to a spot so remarkable in itself, and, as it were, the source from whence nearly all the minor antiquities had been derived.

To accomplish this, the pencil and etching needle of Mr. Fairholt were opportunely tendered, and the result is a clear and interesting description of the Roman castra of Richborough, Reculver, and Lymne, so far as the latter has been explored.

The introduction contains a short sketch of Kent generally, from an early period; but, before proceeding to describe the present state of Richborough, Mr. Smith refers to nearly every ancient writer by whom the place or district has been named; and, we confess, in our opinion, has extended this far beyond what was requisite, not only by giving long quotations in Latin, but by adding translations. As, however, he brings down his account to the comparatively more recent days of Leland and Camden, and concludes with the discoveries made by Mr. Boys, some half century ago, we are not disposed to say more.

The remains of the castle itself, as they now appear, are next brought under notice, and here the reader, learned and unlearned, will at once recognise, and be thankful for, the aid afforded by Mr. Fairholt—the ground-plan and other etchings admirably elucidating the text; in truth, without them, no description, however laboured, would prove satisfactory, although, to afford our readers some faint conception of this ancient stronghold, we will risk the following extract:—

"A shady cool road leads to the top of the hill, and the north wall of Rutupies, extending five hundred and sixty feet, meets the eye in all its grandeur and magnificence, and, although shorn of its fair proportions, it still possesses much of its primitive appearance, and is by far the best preserved portion of the structure, being in some places nearly thirty feet high on the exterior, and in other parts upwards of twenty. Its external facing is remarkably fresh and firm, being formed of regular courses of squared grit and Portland stone of unequal sizes, larger towards the foundation, and decreasing towards the top; these stones are bonded at somewhat

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irregular intervals by double rows of large flat tiles of well tempered clay, and mostly of a bright red colour. Internally the facing was chiefly composed of flint, but unfortunately it has been almost entirely destroyed."

The extent and disposition of the walls, the various round and square towers, the decumen and postern gates, are all clearly defined on the ground-plan, which also indicates a platform of masonry within the area, which has long excited the curiosity of antiquaries, and the original purpose of which is still undetermined.

The following is the description given by Mr. Boys, "one of the soundest and most accurate investigators of his time:"-

"Within the area of the castle, not precisely in the centre, but somewhat towards the north-east corner, underground, is a solid rectangular platform of masonry, 144-5 feet long, 104 feet wide, and five feet thick. It is a composition of boulders and coarse mortar, and the whole upper service to the very verge is covered over with a coat of the same sort of mortar, six inches thick. In the middle of this platform is the base of a superstructure in the shape of a cross, rising somewhat above the ground, and from four to five feet above the platform; it has been faced with square stones, some of which remain. The shaft of the cross running north and south is eighty-seven feet long, and seventy-five broad; the traverse is twenty-two feet in width, and forty-six feet in length. A base of such solidity could scarcely have been intended for the support of a roof, or have formed a part of any compound building.

"Mr. Boys, it appears, was not aware of the existence of the most remarkable part of this structure, which remains to be described. In 1822, a gentleman named M. Gleig, and others, made excavations, and discovered beneath the platform mentioned above an extensive subterranean building, down the side of the wall of which they sunk a shaft to the depth of about twenty-two feet from the under part of the platform, in the hope of finding an entrance at the bottom, but meeting with springs, they were compelled to abandon their operations, without succeeding in the object of their research. The platform extends beyond the wall of this subterranean building on the longer side twelve, and on the shorter side ten, feet. The extent of the subterranean works on the exterior is therefore 132 feet by ninety-four feet."

"Mr. Rolfe, with a view to ascertain the nature and purpose of this extraordinary structure, made excavations, which extended from the 5th of September, 1843, to the 25th of October following. He commenced at the centre of the east side, at the edge of the platform, and proceeded under the ledge formed by the excess of the width of the latter over the building below, and at the distance of about eight feet northward of the excavations mentioned above, re-opened a kind of chamber, which, at some unknown period, had been cut in the soil, extending twelve feet from the edge of the platform to the substructure, and about five or six feet in width. He then worked a gallery under this edge along the whole of the east and north sides, and to the extent of eighty-six feet along the western side, in expectation of finding some traces of a side entrance into the supposed chamber or chambers within. This gallery was cut five and a-half feet deep, and three feet wide. Meeting however with nothing but uniform and compact masonry, Mr. Rolfe discontinued the gallery, and attempted to make an opening in the building ; with much labour, in consequence of the hardness of the masonry, the workmen made a hole six feet wide, four feet six inches thick, and extending inwards twelve feet, but without succeeding in finding any traces of a chamber. It is not improbable, as this opening was made near the top, that the workmen may have encountered some cross wall, or a thick vault, for it cannot be supposed that the building is a solid mass of masonry. As the south side, and the south-west and south-east angles were not excavated, it is possible that a doorway may yet be found. This subterranean work appears to be entirely constructed of flints and mortar, the latter possessing almost impenetrable solidity. No tiles were noticed, nor any of the various materials which enter into the walls of the castle. The facing is entirely composed of boulders, that on the east and south sides is smooth and regular, as also is the north-west angle ; but on the western aide the boulders are irregular and rough. As remarkable a

difference was also noticed by the workmen in the sand; on the east and north sides it was loose, indicating that, to some distance from the walls, it had been dug out, so as to give room to the builders; but on the western side the sand was hard; and this circumstance, and the difference in the facing, seem to decide that the western side was first erected.

"The depth of superficial earth in the angles of the eastern side of the cruciform foundation upon the platform is two feet eight or ten inches; beneath this, and upon the surface of the platform, is a stratum of mortar, four or five inches thick, such as serves usually for tesselated pavements, to which purpose this had probably been applied. At each end of the platform, on the north side, is an aperture about four inches square; both of these penetrate quite through the platform, and are coated with hard cement, to which wood was still adhering. Whether these perforations were intended for poles to support an awning, is a question among others in relation to this remarkable building which, for the present at least, must remain unsolved. The popular notion that the cruciform foundation upon the platform is the base of a cross need scarcely be refuted, and the opinion that it may have supported a Pharos is equally untenable; there is more weight in the supposition that it may have been the site of a small chapel, especially as there is evidence of the existence of one within the castle at a period not very remote. But the materials incline us to attribute it to the Roman times, whatever may have been its use; and on the eastern side towards the cliff are, or recently were, the vestiges of walls, certainly of mediseval date, which may be considered the remains of a chapel; and the adjoining spot, where the bones of skeletons may still be seen, is doubtless the site of the burial-place attached.

"Mr. Boys, in notes accompanying his plans in the possession of Mr. Rolfs, observes, that 'probably there was never any wall or other building erected on this platform excepting the cross, which is composed of the same materials, with some squared stones in the facings, and rises from three to four feet above the platform. In the south-east angle somebody with infinite labour had endeavoured to penetrate into a supposed hollow there, but was obliged to desist on account of the hardness of the mortar; after however getting about two feet below the surface. I dug quite below the building, and got in about eleven feet underneath it. I found it to be like a solid rock, and impenetrable to any instrument.' He further states that the platform is covered over, even to its very edge, with a coat of mortar, and strewed with fragments of marble, some worked into mouldings, and others, flat pieces, bearing numeral letters. None of the latter kind were found during Mr. Rolfe's researches, but a specimen of the former was dug up on the north side of the platform, and a considerable quantity of broken pieces were subsequently discovered in the immediate vicinity of the castrum, during the railway excavations. They are all of white marble. Some appear to have been portions of a skirting, or possibly of a cornice. The abundance of worked marble shows that buildings of a superior description were enclosed within the walls of the castrum.

"That the subterranean building was constructed for some extraordinary and important purpose, is obvious from the fact that nothing at all analogous to it has been discovered at any of the Roman stations in this country, or, as far as can be ascertained, on the continent." t

This conclusion must be our apology, if any be necessary, for the length of our extract.

We now come to that part of the work which relates to the Roman antiquities, and other remains, brought to light at different periods, but chiefly during the excavations made for the purpose of constructing the railway embankment. On many of the former Mr. Smith had previously written, con amore, in the Journal of the British Archæological Association; still, aided by the illustrations, even the general reader will find here no small attraction. The subjects are thus arranged, viz.:—Fictile vessels, including notices of the Samian ware; glass; personal ornaments; wall paintings; implements and utensils; animal

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remains; miscellaneous, and coins. This last division, from necessity, assumes more the appearance of a catalogue, but such a catalogue as is by no means wanting in interest, from the introductory matter, and the short notices prefixed to the most remarkable; their number also is extraordinary, Mr. Smith stating that, within the last twenty years, Mr. Rolfe and Mr. Reader alone had collected at least two thousand specimens.

Reculver next claims our attention; and here again we meet with the same prolix introduction which we adverted to under Richborough, which, whilst it may evince great research, will hardly, we suspect, attract more than a passing glance. Be this as it may, we must limit our extracts in a great degree to Reculver of the present day.

"The vestiges of the walls of the castrum want that solemn grandeur and impressive majesty of loneliness which distinguish the more perfect remains of its ancient ally. The capricious sea, which has deserted its old boundaries at Richborough, and left dry the estuary which formerly separated Thanet from the mainland, has swallowed up one half of the site of Regulbium, and annihilated as much of its walls. The encroachments of generations of villagers, and of a once flourishing monastic establishment, have aided the waves in dismantling the place of architectural characteristics, and of its more prominent and striking features of antiquity; and the thousands of voyagers who daily pass the site, and see a dark mass of cottages, and the two spires of a desecrated church, situated upon a cliff slightly elevated above the land on either side, see only a picturesque spot, adding to the natural beauties of the Kentish coast, a pleasing diversity of scenery, and they pass on upon their watery way. If one more curious than his companions is tempted to ask the history of the desolated church, with its towers and spires, he may probably be told that these steeples are called 'the two sisters,' and hear one of those legends which popular ignorance every where so readily invents to account for the origin of objects which appear mysterious or remarkable. He little knows, or perhaps cares to know, the events and revolutions which that little spot of land has witnessed in times to him of unsuspected antiquity. The more adventurous visitors of adjoining watering-places, who are attracted thither in the ordinary routine of sight-seeing, are satisfied with the interest attached to all places which present a diversity of impressions, and Reculver is one which must gratify, on a summer's day, all save the most unimpassioned and listless observer. The difficulty (not insurmountable) of access; the church in ruins; the half obliterated grave-stones, marking where ' the rude forefathers of the hamlet sleep ;' the bleached bones which strew the beach of the nameless ejected tenants of graves undermined by the waters; the broken frame-work of human bodies projecting from the black unctuous cliff; a few fishermen's cottages, and a little inn, designated (not by the Heralds' College) ' the Ethelbert's Arms,' present themes for reflection, and objects to gratify the general visitor, though he may return home without having been accompanied by a guide to the Roman antiquities of Reculver."

"The original state and extent of the castrum is with difficulty ascertained from existing remains; the south and east walls are yet standing in broken and dilapidated condition; the north wall is entirely destroyed by the sea; the west is partly levelled, but a considerable portion is preserved, being concealed by the outhouses of the inn. From measurements made by Mr. Boys, in 1781, the castrum, when entire, appears to have occupied eight acres, one rood, and one pole of ground; and the area within the walls measured seven acres, two roods, and twenty-six poles.

"The walls are destitute of any traces of towers, and there appears to have been only one entrance. When perfect, with the facings, the walls must have been eleven or twelve feet in thickness.

"In Leland's time Reculver stood ' wythin a quarter of a mile, or a little more, of the se syde.' The gradual progress of the sea is shown by a *fac-simile* of a survey made 150 years subsequent, now in possesson of Mr. Robert Collard, of Brook, to which a curious description is affixed.

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"About a century later, when Mr. Boys published a plan of the church and castrum, the north wall of the latter had lately been overthrown by a fall of the cliff. Mr. Freeman states that, in 1805, the churchyard was entire, surrounded with its walls, and between the church wall and cliff was a highway broad enough to admit of carriages. In 1809, he adds, the distance from the north angle of the tower to the edge of the cliff is reduced to five yards only. If the quarter of a mile or little more of Leland be estimated by his usual mode of reckoning distances, Reculter may be considered as *kalf*-a-mile from the sea when he made his survey."

Of the church nothing now remains except the two square towers; but, from the ground-plan, it appears to have consisted of a nave, a chancel, and north and south aisles.

"At the commencement of the present century, though it had been neglected and dilapidated, it might have easily been repaired, but the gentry and clergy abandoned it to jobbers and speculators, who tore it to pieces, and divided the spoil."

The details of this heartless destruction may be found in the Gentloman's Magazine for the years 1808 and 1810, where, among other illustrations, is a view of the vicarage house converted into a gin and beer-shop, and christened "the Hoy."

"During the demolition of the edifice a remarkable portion was brought to light, which has hitherto remained unrecorded, except by the drawings and notes of the late Mr. Joseph Goudy, A.R.A., now in the possession of Mr. J. Richardson. From these it appears that the chancel was separated from the nave by one large and two smaller semicircular arches, which were turned with Roman tiles, and the walls banded with three courses of the same, the upper and lower in each wall consisting of four rows, the centre of five; the walls are described of rough stone. Unfortunately the mortar, an important evidence in determining pure Roman masonry, is not described, but there is every requisite for referring this remarkable portion of the church to the Roman epoch."

What the Roman edifice was, the remains of which formed part of the church of Reculver, it is hopeless to conjecture, neither can it be determined when the other parts of the original building were destroyed. Of the ancient remains discovered at Reculver, abundant and interesting as they were, no record has been preserved, save a well written and learned discourse in Latin by Mr. Battely, while rector of Adisham; whilst, with a few exceptions, the objects themselves have passed away from the locality. Of such as remain Mr. Smith gives a description, and adds a copy of a charter of Eadred, granting the monastery of Reculver to Christ Church, Canterbury.

We have little space left for any detailed notice of the last of these ancient strongholds, namely, that of Lymne; but we have less regret in postponing this until some future opportunity, as we trust Mr. Smith will shortly be enabled to add matter of still deeper interest, by the further examination of these remains.

A subscription (trifling in amount, yet still proving the zeal of those who have contributed towards it, and an earnest, we hope, of further assistance) has already enabled Mr. Smith to ascertain the form and extent of the outer walls; but the area has yet to be explored, and it seems likely to afford a mine of discovery, having hitherto apparently remained undisturbed.

The most remarkable circumstance at present ascertained is, that these gigantic bulwarks have not been laid low by the hand of man, but have yielded to the operations of nature, and that the extraordinary position in which the most massive fragments have been discovered, is to be attributed entirely to land slips, caused by the deep seated springs escaping from the bank on which the castrum originally stood.

"The immense weight of the walls and towers has influenced their fall, according to variations in the character of the soil : in one place they are broken and fallen in different directions; in another they have been, as it were, rooted up, so that what was once perpendicular is now perfectly flat; on the eastern side, in particular, the walls are, to use a homely expression, 'doubled up;' and in one spot they have run so in severed fragments into an abyss."

With this extract we must positively close our notices of a work which, having afforded us much pleasure, we can cordially recommend to the patronage of every one who feels at all interested in antiquarian research, and the preservation of ancient remains.

RECENT ARCHÆOLOGICAL PUBLICATIONS.

- An Essay on the Origin and Development of Window Tracery in England, with nearly four hundred Illustrations. By E. A. Freeman, M.A. Contants:— Chapter I. Of Geometrical Tracery.—Chapter II. Of Flowing Tracery.— Chapter III. Of Complete Continuous Tracery, Flamboyant and Perpendicular.—Chapter IV. Miscellaneous Windows. 8vo., pp. 305. J. H. Parker.
- Journal of the British Archmological Association, 1850. Contents :- No XX .-Proceedings of the Association.—Notices of New Publications.—List of Recent Archeeological Works.—Presents to the Association.—Index.—List of Engrav-ings and Woodcuts.—List of Subscribing Associates, Local Members of Com-mittee, and Foreign Members.—Correspondents.—Errata and Addenda.— No. XXI.-Report on Excavations in Barrows, in Yorkshire; John Tissiman. -On the Effigy of a Lady in Worcester Cathedral ; J. R. Planché .-- On the Coins of Cunobeline, and of the Ancient Britons, Part X.; Beale Poste.-On the Head of Janus, found on a British Coin; W. Bell.-On Roman Remains discovered at Headington; LL. Jewitt .-- On the Symbolical Character of Aleph and Tau; Rev. T. Jessop, D.D. - Discovery of Roman Remains near Towcester; Rdward Pretty. - Discoveries of Medizeval Painting; J. G. Waller. - Proceedings of the Association .- Annual General Meeting .- Archeeological Publica--No. XXII.-Notes on a Boss at Belvoir Castle ; J. R. Planché.-On tions.the Antiquity and Primitive Form of the Harp ; Charles Egan.—On Leicester Abbey and its Ancient Remains ; J. Thompson.—On an Ivory Carving of the Thirteenth Century, with observations on the Prick Spur; A. C. Kirkmann .--Remarks on a Leaden Ampulla in the York Museum ; Charles Baily .- On a Roman Pavement discovered at Harpole.-Original Documents, No. I. :- Poem on King Edward IV.; Confirmation Charter of Ranulf II., Earl of Chester; Compact between Ranulf de Blondeville, Barl of Chester, and William de Fougeres; Grant of Leadenhall, by Margaret de Neville; Warrants of Charles II. to Captain Fasby.—Proceedings of the Association.—Notices of New Publications.—Roman Pavement from Autun.—Archæological Publications.— No. XXIII.—On the Study of Archæology; T. J. Pettigrew.—On the History and Architecture of Manchester Cathedral; Arthur Ashpitel.—On the Stanley Crest; J. R. Planché.-On the Structure of the Norman Fortress in England; Rev. J. C. Bruce, M.A.-On Roman Ribchester; J. Just and J. Harland,

Recent Discoveries relating to Ancient British Chariots; Beals Poste, B.C.L. —On Local Nomenciature, chiefly Celtic and relating to Great Britain ; J. W. Whittaker, D.D.—On the Tippets of the Canons Ecclesiastical; Gilbert J. French.—Notes on Humfrey Chetham and his Foundation ; John E. Gregan.— On the Barbican, in connexion with our Castles; George Godwin.—On the Rains of the Cistorcian Monastery of St. Mary, in Furness; E. Sharpe, M.A.— Original Documents, No. II.:—Confirmation Charter of Ranulph II., Earl of Chester; On the Resignation of the Kingdom of Man to the Pope, A.D. 1219. —Proceedings of the Congress.—Statement of the Council in reference to a Resolution passed at Manchester, August 24.—Notices of New Publications: The Architecture of Ancient Egypt.—Archaeological Publications. Pp. 358. H. G. Bohn.

- Collectanea Antiqua. By C. Roach Smith, F.S.A. Vol. II., Nos. 1, 2, 3, and 4. Contents:—The Roman Villa at Hartlip, Kent.—Roman Remains discovered in Essex.—Pilgrims' Signs.—Roman Tessellated Pavements in Somersetshire and Hampshire.—Antiquarian Excavations on the Site of the Roman Station at Lymne, in Kent.—Antiquities of Treves and Mayence. Illustrated with numerous Etchings and Woodcuts. London: J. R. Smith.
- Vestiges of the Gael in Gwynedd. By the Rev. W. Basil Jones, M.A. Contents: —§ I. Loss of Ancient Names.—§ II. Ancient Authorities.—§ III. Traditional Evidence.—§ IV. Chronology.—§ V. Extent of the Gaelic Dominion.—§ VI. The Legend of Cunedda Examined.—§ VII. Origin of the Gaelic Dominion.— § VIII. Consequences of the Cuneddian Migration.—Topographical Index. 8vo., cloth, 4s. 6d. London: W. Pickering. Tenby: R. Mason.
- The Museum of Classical Antiquities ; a Quarterly Journal of Architecture and the Sister Branches of Classic Art. No. 1. Contents :--On the Advantage of the Study of Antiquity, and on Excellence in Art.--On the Rapid Destruction of Ancient Monuments.--On the Polychromy of Greek Architecture.--Description of one of the City Gates of Pæstum.--Communication from Professor Schoenborn, of Posen, relative to a Monument recently discovered by him in Lycia. ---On the Paintings of Polygnotus in the Lesche at Delphi.--On the Plan and Disposition of the Greek Lesche.--On some Egyptian-Doric Columns in the Bouthern Temple at Karnak, &c., &c. London: J. W. Parker.

PREPARING FOR PUBLICATION.

- Will be Published 1st May.—A Glossary of Terms used for Articles of British Dress and Armour. By the Rev. John Williams, M.A., (Ab Ithel,) Llanymowddwy. 4s., cloth. London: W. Pickering. Tenby: R. Mason.
- Will be Published let May.—An Resay on the State of Agriculture, and the Progress of Arts and Manufactures in Britain, during the period, and under the infinence, of the Druidical System. By the Rev. John Jones, M.A., Llanllyfni.
 1s. London: W. Pickering. Tenby: R. Mason.
- The History and Antiquities of St. David's. By the Rev. W. Basil Jones, M.A., Fellow of Queen's College, Oxford; and E. A. Freeman, M.A., late Fellow of Trinity College, Oxford, Author of the "History of Architecture," &c., &c. London: W. Pickering. Tenby: R. Mason.
- By Subscription.—Original Charters and Materials for a History of Neath and its Abbey. By George Grant Francis, F.S.A. Second Edition, with Illustrations. Price to Subscribers only—royal 8vo., 21s.; large paper, India proofs, 31s. 6d. London: W. Pickering. Tenby: R. Mason.
- By Subscription.-Illustrations and Descriptions of the Ancient Church of Shobdon, Herefordshire. By G. R. Lewis, Eeq. London : Pelham Richardson.

Cambrian Archæological Association. The Fifth Annual Meeting will be held at Tenby, in August, 1851.

President,

THE RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF CAWDOR.

NOTICE of the days fixed for the Meeting, and of the proposed excursions, will be given in the July Number of the Archæologia Cambrensis.

In the meantime we present our readers with a classified list of the most remarkable objects of antiquity in Pembrokeshire, and in the parts of Caermarthenshire which lie nearest to Tenby.

PRIMEVAL.—(1.) CROMLECHAU, MEINI-HIRION, CARNEDDAU, STONE CIRCLES, &c., are probably more abundant in Pembrokeshire than in any other part of South Britain. They are principally to be found in the northern portion of the county, in the Preseleu, Pencaer, Castlebythe, and Trefgarn hills, and westward to St. David's Head, where the intrusive trap formation afforded ample materials for their construction, or the comparative want of cultivation has incidentally preserved them. An examination of the Ordnance map, coloured in accordance with the Geological Survey, will show how remarkably the distribution of these antiquities coincides with the geological formation. The most remarkable Cromlechau are those at PENTRE-IEVAN, near Newport, (figured in Fenton's "History of Pembrokeshire,") and Longhouse, near Trevine, between St. David's and Fishguard. We are not aware of any in the immediate neighbourhood of Tenby, with the exception of one at Manorbeer, not marked in the Ordnance map.

(2.) CAMPS are very numerous throughout the county, especially in peninsular positions along the rocky coast. In parts of the Englishry they bear the name of Raths, or Wraiths, by which they are also known in parts of Ireland. They are most abundant, however, in the northern district. Among the most remarkable are those of Dinas, near Fishguard, where a peninsula is cut off by an entrenchment of more than a mile in length, at Pwllcaerog, near St. David's, at St. David's Head, where there are Cytiau and remains of masonry, and Castell Meherin, near Narberth.

(3.) BRITISH ROADS.—The Via Flandrica, or Ffordd Ffleming, stretching along the ridge of the Preseleu mountains, and, as it would seem, originally reaching to St. David's Head, is probably of British origin. Portions of a trackway, which probably led to this road, and formerly bearing the names of Ffoes y Myneich, Ffoes Curig, and Ffordd Brenhin William, are still visible in the parish of St. David's, and were traced last year by one of the Secretaries of the Association.

ROMAN.—ROAD AND STATIONS.—A Roman road, the prolongation of the Via Julia, may be occasionally traced in the districts south of Preseleu, and westwards in the direction of St. David's. Mr. Fenton fixed the Roman station "AD VIGESIMUM" at Castle Flemish, between Haverfordwest and Newport. "Menapia," though probably near St. David's, is still a desideratum. MEDIÆVAL.—(1.) MILITARY.—In Pembrokeshire there are Castles at Tenby, CAREW, MANORBEER, PEMBROKE, Upton, Benton, HAVERFORDWEST, Roch, Newport, KILGERRAN, LLAWHADEN, Narberth, Picton, Whiston; and the site of one at Castlemartin. On the Caermarthenshire coast, adjoining Pembrokeshire, are those of LAUGH-ARNE, LLANSTEPHAN, and KIDWELLY. To these should be added the town walls of Tenby, which are remarkably perfect on the south side of the town, and the fortified close of St. David's.

(2.) ECCLESIASTICAL.—(a.) THE CATHEDRAL CHURCH OF ST. DAVID'S, with its remarkable collection of subordinate buildings, including the College or Chantry of St. Mary.

(b.) MONASTIC.—Remains of Carmelite Friary at Tenby (?) Priories on Caldy Island, at MONKTON, near Pembroke, at HAVERFORDWEST, at Pill, and at St. Botolph's, near Milford, at ST. DOGMAEL'S, near Cardigan, Commandery at Slebech; and, in Caermarthenshire, Whitland Abbey (Ty Gwyn ar Dâf), near Narberth, and KIDWELLY PRIORY.

(c.) PAROCHIAL.—Among the most remarkable Parish Churches are those of TENBY, Gumfreston, St. Florence, CAREW, Upton, Nash, Penally, MANORBEER, St. Mary's, Pembroke, HODGESTON, Cheriton, Langwm, St. MARY's, St. Martin's, and St. Thomas', Haverfordwest, Newport, Nevern, and Kilgerran. In general the peculiar churches of the Englishry of Pembrokeshire, and, above all, their remarkable towers, deserve the most attentive consideration of the architectural antiquary.

(d.) DETACHED CHAPELS, now ruined, at St. Gowan's near Pembroke, St. Nun's, and St. Justinian's, near St. David's, and St. Degan's, near Fishguard.

(e.) EARLY CROSSES, at Penally, CAREW, and NEVERN, in various parts of the parish of St. David's, and at Groes Goch, between that place and Fishguard.

(3.) DOMESTIC.—The BISHOP'S PALACE at ST. DAVID'S; the MANOR (formerly Episcopal) at LAMPHEY, near Pembroke; old Rectory at Carew; Manor Houses of Scotsborough and Trefloyn (Trellwyn), near Tenby; Haroldstone, near Haverfordwest, and Trecoon, near Fishguard; several remarkable houses in the towns, especially at Tenby and Haverfordwest; and many curious old farmhouses, principally in the neighbourhood of St. David's. Kidwelly also contains several most interesting domestic remains.

It is needless to say that the whole of the above mentioned objects do not lie within reach of Tenby, but we intend on a future occasion to state those which are selected for the excursions, and we strongly recommend the remainder to those who have leisure to visit them before or after the Meeting.

Gentlemen intending to read Papers at the Meeting, are requested to send their names, and the intended titles of their Papers, at their earliest convenience, to one of the General Secretaries,

The Rev. JOHN WILLIAMS, M.A., Llanymowddwy, near Mallwyd. The Rev. W. BASIL JONES, M.A., Queen's College, Oxford. .



MONMOUTHISHIRE ARCHITECTURAL ANTIQUITIES.

West Doorway of Nave, Newport.

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Archæologia Cambrensis.

NEW SERIES, No. VII.-JULY, 1851.

ON THE INSURRECTION OF LLEWELYN BREN.

A.D. 1316.

(Read at Cardiff.)

"THE war in Wales," as it is called in a contemporary document, was instigated in the 9th year of Edward II., by Llewelyn ap Rees and his sons. Although this outbreak perplexed the councils of the parliament at Lincoln in the year 1316, encouraged aggressions from the Scotch nation, by whose machinations it is said by Sir F. Palgrave to have been "kept on foot," and added heavily to the calamities of an unfortunate reign, it has never yet received that careful notice from either our English or Welsh historians which its importance deserves. There were many concurrent causes which might at this period excite the mountaineers of Glamorgan—a quick-spirited and hardy race—to rebellion.

A series of commotions had agitated South Wales ever since the fall of the last hereditary prince, Llewelyn ap Gruffydd, in 1282.

Under the iron rule of Edward I., the men of Glamorgan had been severely punished for the part they had taken in the obstinate feud between the lords marchers of Brecon and of Cardiff. It had been made a pretext for a protracted border warfare, (some curious particulars

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of which are still extant,) and with difficulty had his retainers been restrained by their own immediate feudal head, Gilbert de Clare, the red earl of Gloucester.

More recently, the last Gilbert de Clare, the Red Earl's son, and the nephew of Edward II., after breaking through the division of Sir James Douglas, at Bannockburn, had been forsaken by the five hundred men-at-arms whom he had brought to battle. His horse fell, and "twenty would have been enough to save him," ("confundat eos Dominus," says the indignant chronicler,) but only Sir Giles d'Argentein hastened to his aid, and fell with him, deserted, and overpowered by numbers.

On this occasion the Welsh levies suffered, especially in the rout, from their want of discipline, and of defensive armour.

• By the death of the gallant young earl, his vast possessions fell for a while into the hands of the king, whose feebleness and incapacity were becoming every year more apparent. This ample heritage was for some time the subject of contention between the ambitious noblemen who had married the three sisters of the last De Clare, as Matilda de Burgh, his widow, soon followed him to an early grave.

In the exercise of his prerogative, the king had for the present appointed an officer of his household, Bartholomew de Badlesmere, custos of the domain. It appears that the custos gave offence by neglecting the maintenance of certain Welsh hostages—confined, probably, in Caerphilly or Cardiff Castles—and the king, in answer to a petition of the Welsh of Glamorgan, commands that "reasonable sustenance should be supplied them from the earl's lands, as had been done heretofore in the time of his predecessors."

This fact is entered on the Close Rolls of the 8th of Edward II., (March 15, 1316).

Within twelve months—either secretly excited by one of the rival claimants to the lordship of Glamorgan and Morganwg, or tampered with by the Scotch king, or goaded by a sense of oppression and wrong—the Welsh of the Glamorgan hills suddenly broke out into an open and dangerous insurrection.

In the records of the transactions of the month of February, 1316, we find numerous evidences of the prompt and active measures adopted to meet the outbreak. They were these:—

Sir William de Montacute, a brave and experienced leader, was appointed to raise forces in the Forest of Dean, and other parts of Gloucestershire; the justiciar of South Wales, William Martyn, and Badlesmere, the custos, were associated with him; and from Cardigan, and Caermarthen, and Builth, where levies were directed to be made, forces on all sides were poured in.

At the head of this army the king's brother-in-law, Humphrey de Bohun, constable of England, earl of Hereford and Essex, and lord of Brecon, directed the military operations. John de Gifford of Brimsfield, and—of more renowned name—Roger Mortimer of Chirk (the uncle), were appointed, with others, to receive the ransoms and fines of those who returned to their allegiance, and every preparation was made to crush the insurgents.

The letters patent, and commissions, and the writs of the 6th, 7th, 12th, 14th and 26th of February, 1316, are evidences of the vigorous measures adopted by the advisers of the English monarch. The men of Chester, and of the borders of North Wales, were called out, and those of West Wales, under Rees ap Griffith. On the 7th of February, a gracious answer, by way of conciliation, was given to the petitions exhibited in the parliament sitting at Lincoln, by the men of North and South Wales. The following concessions were made :--

I.—The grievous service of "ammobrage," in North Wales, was restricted to those cases in which it had been wont to be taken in the time of the native princes. Whilst enough remained to satisfy the king's officers from his own tenants in villenage, or those of the avowery, the goods of the freeholders were exempted from seizure. Entire liberty to have one of his sons ordained, without suing out license from the king, or his justice, (a somewhat curious and characteristic privilege,) was accorded to the freeman. The right of selling or giving his lands and tenements to other Welsh freeholders was granted, and the king, condescendingly recognising his native land, ("*Præ eo, quod in terra Wall' extiteramus oriundi*,") renews the ordinances of his father, Edward I., and his own, when prince of Wales.

II.—The men of South and West Wales obtained equally important concessions—too late, indeed, to avert the approaching storm, yet not after the outbreak, as appears to have been the erroneous opinion of the very intelligent historian of Breconshire, who confounds the rising under Llewelyn Bren with much later disturbances, whilst Warrington omits it altogether.

On petition of the men of South Wales, probably preferred by their representatives to the parliament, it is ordered that the obnoxious custom of "blodwyte," by which the place was answerable for a fine for bloodshed, if the offending party was not discovered, should surcease, unless the occasion be lawfully proved by the view of the king's bailiffs, or the inquisition upon oath. It is added that justice, in both civil and criminal matters, shall be administered between Welshmen in the Welshery, by the Welsh laws.

In availing themselves of the custom of "gwestva," by which a cow, or five shillings, was due, at the option of the royal officers, these functionaries are forbidden to extort any other than the cow actually tendered, if worth five shillings.

We may observe that, in the terms of these gracious concessions, there are some remarkable admissions. Thus: —The felonies and transgressions into which the Welsh had been drawn, or rather ensnared, ("*irretiti*,") by the king's bailiffs, are to be legally tried by twelve jurors within the following two years, reckoned from Easter, and "the superfluity of bailiffs" is henceforth to be remedied at the discretion of the king's justiciar.

Assuredly these remedial measures of the king and his council were valuable and important, but they were not known in South Wales until too late, or it is possible that a disastrous struggle might have been prevented, and one of the princely scions of the ancient British stock —for such Llewelyn ap Rees appears to have been saved to his country.

Unfortunately, as Rees ap Meredydd of Dinevor, (perhaps his near relation,) and as Madoc had before fallen victims to an heroic but ill-judging patriotism, so Llewelyn, carried away by a similar impulse, was sacrificed, not by the English king, to whom he yielded, but by his arrogant favourite Despenser, who, in his turn, drank of the dregs of the cup he had presented to others.

Having gathered these particulars chiefly from the public records, we shall now have the circumstances of this outbreak most vividly set before us, by referring to the account of the anonymous monk of Malmesbury, a contemporary writer, whose information, although he takes a narrow and partial view of the whole transaction, and writes in a somewhat quaint style, bears on it the stamp of authenticity. His words may be thus translated :—

"Payn de Turberville had received charge of the land of Glamorgan from the king, and thereupon began to remove the former officers, appointing new in their stead. On this ground Llewelyn Bren was roused to anger, and could not speak peaceably to Sir Payn.

"This Welshman, Llewelyn, was a great man, and powerful in his own country. He had, during the lifetime of the earl of Gloucester, borne under him a distinguished office; and now, Payn being promoted above him, he felt indignant at the loss of his authority. For this reason he often attacked Sir Payn with reproaches, and, before a numerous audience, inveighed against him to this effect:—' The days are coming when I will humble the pride of Payn; I will recompense him for his conduct to me.'

"Llewelyn was accused for this before the king as seditious, and seeking a pretext for rebellion, and it was alleged that, unless the king took wary precautions, he would stir up the Welsh to a fresh outbreak.

"Finding his position with the king thus compromised, Llewelyn, by the advice of his friends, went to the court, with the design of clearing himself, if possible, or at least of slily cloaking his evil purpose.

"The king treated him with contempt, swearing and protesting that he was a dead man if the crime laid to his charge were proved, and he was ordered to attend at Lincoln, and there abide the result. On receiving a mandate to appear, Llewelyn suddenly and secretly returned to his native country, and then at once manifested his original intention. He had used malicious words before,-now he comes from words to blows; for, upon a certain day, when the constable of Caerphilly Castle held his court outside of the castle, Llewelyn made an onset with his sons and adherents upon him, and, having slain some of the officers, and severely wounded several of the attendants at the court, carried him off captive. At the same time he attacked the castle, but met with such a resistance as prevented his entrance, although he succeeded in burning all the outward walls.

"Llewelyn then threatened the life of Sir Payn, who avoided his snares until his own forces were augmented. Meanwhile Llewelyn made a violent raid on the territory guarded by Sir Payn--ravaging, burning and plundering. With this object, he had strengthened himself with an army of ten thousand Welsh, who had removed all their own goods, their oxen, their cows, and their other stock, to the mountains. Their refuge was in the mountain caverns, and the thickets of the woods.¹

"When this and similar conduct had been reported to the king, he gave orders to his servants saying—"Go and pursue the traitor with the utmost speed, lest the consequence of delay should be yet worse, and all Wales rise against us."

"Operations were entrusted to the earl of Hereford, for

¹ Some remarkable caverns in the parish of Llandyvodwg, Glamorgan, may have afforded concealment during the contest. he appeared most immediately concerned in the issue. The territory of Brecon, which belongs to him, borders on that of Glamorgan; and, according to the poet,—

'Your roof's in peril when the next's on fire.'²

The earl went, therefore, to his own territory, to attack Llewelyn, and both the Mortimers lent their aid. William de Montacute, the commander of the king's forces, on one side, and John Gifford on the other, acted in concert. Henry of Lancaster and his retainers, and the other barons and knights holding neighbouring lands, co-operated; and thus the Welsh, surrounded on all sides, had no means of escape.

"Perceiving his fatal error in not having sufficient strength to resist—for the Welsh had twice or thrice skirmished with the English, and had always been worsted— Llewelyn boldly offered himself to the earl, on condition of being safe in life and limbs, lands and moveables; and, in amends for his fault, proffered a large sum of money.

"The earl, however, refused to treat, unless he would surrender unconditionally. At length, when our army had advanced, and had discovered the quarters of the Welsh, Llewelyn thus addressed his men:—'It is not safe to engage the English. I was the cause of the whole. I will yield myself up for the whole people. It is better that one should die than that the whole nation be banished, or put to the sword.'

⁷ Therefore, descending from the mountains, Llewelyn surrendered himself to the earl, submitting entirely to the king's pleasure; and the earl sent him to the king, to await either his mercy or the extremity of the law."³

In this narrative there is substantial truth, as may be proved from internal evidence.

That the ravages committed by the Welsh were very considerable, we learn generally from the continuer of the *Annals of Trivet.*⁴ The castles of St. George, of

³ Monk of Malmesbury, pp. 164, 165.

• "Wallensium Lewelinus Bren fuit capitalis, qui multas villas combussit."

² "Tunc tua res agitur, paries dum proximus ardet."

Sully, of Fulk Fitzwarren, of Barry, St. Tathan, Beaupre, Kenfig, Ruthin, Gelly-Garn and Flemingston, are particularised in the *Iolo MSS*., (on the authority of *Llyfr Sion Philip o'Dreos*, pp. 90, 481,) as having been attacked; and the remarkable reference to Llewelyn's enmity to the new officers of the king coincides both with the statement of the monk of Malmesbury, and the concessions which were actually tendered by the king.

With regard to the appointment of Sir Payn de Turberville of Coity Castle having given cause of offence to Llewelyn, we find the monk's statement confirmed by the entry on the Exchequer Rolls of 9th Edward II., (vol. i., p. 222, *abbreviation*,) wherein the king commits to Sir Payn the custody of the castles, and all lands and tenements in Glamorgan and Morganwg, of the late Gilbert de Clare, earl of Gloucester and Hertford.

The writer has also a copy of a deed of concession to his English and Welsh tenants of Coity, dated in 1314, and executed by Sir Payn and his wife Gwenllian,⁵ for a

⁵ Be ytt knowen onto all men, by thys p'sente wrytyng, y' I, Sir Payn Turbill, Lorde off Coytyff, by the assente and consente off Gwellian, my wyfe, have gyvyn and grauntyd unto all my Englyshe Tenants of my grownd of Coytyff, that none of the wast grounde which they do cleyme to be ther Comyn be nor solde, nor gyvyn, nor by no maner or wey alienate without the assence off them.-And that no tornance of other be made, nor sufferyd to be made, within my lyberte of Coytyff, and that measures that were in the tyme off my Father be kepte and usede, and yff ony man in tyme off Gwerre be sleyne in my sute or in my eyre's, that all his goods may remayne peasably to his wyfe and to y' childern, without any contradiction off me or off my eyres & assyngs, except an heryatte, yff there be an hervatte on hym .--- And that no Inquisytyon be taken off the offyce withowte a complaynte be putte to amersement, and that no maner of Ingysytion for pleynt be putten to amersement * * * * * prynsypall, excepte ytt be for pleynte off land or of felony, and that no Freeman is bounden to do no suits nor to me nor to my eyres agaynst his will, but as they and ther antecessures have done unto me any my antecessures, and that non off the good of no freeman be taken to my use against his wyll, nor the good of their childern, but as my Father hath done to their antecessures, and ffor my consence in this wryting my Englysh tenants have gyvyn me by their hands a Hundert Sylynges Sterling, So that I, the foresayd Pain, nor my eyres nor my assygns nor no other in my name, nor by ytt, nor for us, should greve,

consideration, shortly before the revolt. After its suppression, we have in the public Records of the Exchequer, within the year 1316, a grant of land for good service recited to have been performed in the recent disturbances of Llewelyn Bren.—Vol. i., p. 226, Roll 11th.

There are also appointments of different persons, and amongst them of Sir William de Montacute, Henry de Pembridge, and Richard de Grendon, to take fines and ransoms of those concerned in the outbreak.

We may now inquire as to the final disposal of Llewelyn, and the date of his surrender.

From the Close Rolls of the year 1317, it appears that he remained prisoner in the Tower of London from the 27th of July, 1316, to the 17th of June, 1317; and that a scanty allowance was in arrear for the maintenance of himself and his two sons, Griffith and Evan, then in the custody of John de Crumbwell.

The names of his chief adherents, eighteen in number, (the list being headed by Madok Vaughan, and Owen ap Madok, and Griffith ap Gronow,) are recorded in the Patent Rolls of 20th November, 1316, so that the struggle must have been by that date decided; and Sir John Giffard, a *different* custos of Glamorgan, is ordered to restore to them their forfeited possessions.⁶

troble, or speke agaynst my Englysh tenants for the things within wrytten. In record thereof I have putten my sele, these being present,—Lord John le Norreys, Lord off Penlyne, Robert off Cauntelow, Aron map Howell, Henry of Landefey, Alan of Hodneth, and many others, dated at Coytiff, the Wednesday after the Ffest of Seynt Michell the yere off our Lorde one thousand cccxiiii. (A.D. 1314.)

⁶ Fœdera, Litteræ, and Acta Publica. A.D. 1316. An. 10 Edward II.

De captis in Wallia liberandis.

An. 10 Edw. II. Clause. 10, Edw. II., in Twr. Lond. Rex dilecto & fideli suo Johanni Giffard de Brymmesfeld, custodi terrarum de Glanmorgan & Morgannon in manu nostrâ, quibusdam de causis, existentium, salutem.

Mandamus vobis quod omnes illos, de partibus prædictis, qui, cum Lewelino Bren, nuper contra nos de guerrâ insurrexerunt; & qui, eâ occasione, imprisonati jam existunt; qui etiam coram dilecto & fideli nostro Willielmo de Monte Acuto, pro transgressione prædictâ, fines & redemptiones fecerunt, solutis finibus & redemptioni-

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The obscurity which overhung the ultimate disposal of the unfortunate Llewelyn is in this remarkable manner incidentally dispelled.

We learn his fate from the articles laid to the charge of the Despensers, when impeached by the parliament of White Bands, which met four years later, on the 15th

bus antedictis, si occasione præmisså, & non alià in prisonà detineantur, liberari faciatis ab eàdem.

Teste Rege, apud Eborum, xv. die Novembris.

Per ipsum Regem nunciente præfato Willielmo.

Pro Maddok Vaghan & aliis Wallensibus ; de terris propter insurrectionem captis in manum Regis, liberandis.

Cum, de gratiâ nostrâ speciali, concesserimus Maddok Vaghan, & Owyno ap Maddok, Wallensibus, qui nuper contra nos, in partibus de Glamorgan & de Morgannon, surrexerunt, quod terræ and tenementa, ac bono & catalla ipsorum, quæ occasione prædicta capta fuerunt in manum nostram, & quæ adhuc, ex causâ illâ, in manu nostrâ existunt, deliberentur eisdem; & quod ipsi in terris suis, ad voluntatem nostram, in pace morari possint, nostram gratiam expectando:

Vobis Mandamus quod præfatis Maddok & Owyno, terras, tenementa, bona, & catalla sua, occasione prædictå in manum nostram capta, si occasione illå, & non aliå in manu nostrå existant, sine dilatione liberetis, & ipsos in terris & tenementis illis, ad voluntatem nostram, in pace morari permittatis, ad gratiam nostram, ut præmittitur, expectandum.

Teste Rege, apud Eborum, xx. die Novembris.

Per breve de privato sigillo.

Consimiles litteræ diriguntur eidem Johanni,

Pro Griffino ap Gronon ap Griffith, Alaytho ap Lewelyn, Meurok ap Lewelyn, Yevan ap Maddok, Sysil ap Yevan, Wylmo ap Lewal, Wylmo Gethin, Howell Gethin, Wilmo ap Yevan, & Lewelino ap Crechour, Wallensibus.

Teste ut supra. Per breve de privato sigillo.

Consimiles litteræ diriguntur Mauricio de Berkele, justiciario Regis Suthwell', vel ejus locum tenenti,

Pro Griffino ap Rikerd, Griffino Graghe ap Howel, Griffino Loye

ap Trahern, Egar Derghor ap David, & Eynon ap Maddok. e ut supra. Per breve de privato sigillo.

Teste ut supra. Per breve de privato sigillo. Consimiles litteræ diriguntur Mauricio de Berkele, justiciario Regis Suthwall', vel ejus locum tenenti,

Teste ut supra.

Pro Yenano Gogh ap Yenan. Per breve de privato sigillo. July, 1321. It is there alleged against Despenser, that, "when Llewelyn Bren, who had raised a rebellion against the king in Glamorgan, had yielded himself to the earl of Hereford and the Lord Mortimer of Wigmore, who had brought him to the king, upon promise that he should have the king's pardon, and so the king received him." Notwithstanding this wise and generous lenity, "when the said earl and Lord Mortimer were out of the land, the Despensers, taking to themselves royal power, took the said Llewelyn, and led him to Cardiff, where, after that the said Hugh Spenser, the son, had his purpartie of the said earl of Gloucester's lands," (having married his eldest sister, Eleanor de Clare,) "he caused the said Llewelyn to be drawn, headed, and quartered, to the discredit of the king, and of the said earl of Hereford, and Lord Mortimer, yea, and contrary to the laws and dignity of the imperial crown."-Hollinshed, p. 562, vol. ii., edit. 1807.

This occurred two or three years before the execution of the sheriff, Sir William Fleming, at Cardiff, who had held Llantrissant Castle against Llewelyn Bren, and next, opposing the Despensers, became himself an unpitied victim to their revenge. The breach of faith was visited twice with further condign punishments on the prime movers: first, when the Despensers were, at the parliament of 1321, disinherited and banished; and again, after they had recovered, in the strange vicissitudes of the times, their plundered castles and rifled honours, in the execution, within one brief month, of the two Sir Hughs.

Driven with his royal master to take refuge in Glamorgan, Sir Hugh, the son, after the execution of his aged father at Bristol, found no safe asylum in South Wales. The doom of Llewelyn haunted him. He was tracked to Neath, intercepted by W. de Montacute, (son of Llewelyn's opponent of the same name,) by Henry of Lancaster, (whom he had irreparably offended by the cruelties following on the battle of Burrowbridge, and the execution of Thomas his brother,) and by Sir William de Zouch, who, notwithstanding, soon after married his widow, Eleanor de Clare. As if to fill up the measure of even-handed retribution, Sir Hugh Despenser was hung at Hereford, with the appropriate words of the 52nd Psalm,—" Why boastest thou thyself, thou tyrant, that thou canst do mischief?" embroidered on his surcoat.

No name was heard amongst the Glamorgan hills for many a year so powerful to rouse his countrymen as that of Llewelyn Bren,⁷ until the war-cry of Glyndwr sounded beneath the walls of Coity and of Cardiff Castles.

In conclusion, it may be observed that the pedigree of Llewelyn Bren, given in the *Iolo MSS.*, p. 410, and in other MSS., seems to be that of an elder chieftain of Senghenydd, who there is said to have been dispossessed by Fitzhamon, A.D. 1090. The arms attributed to this Llewelyn the Old—called also "Hagr,"⁸ the Stern, or Fierce—are as follows:—"Or, a chevron azure between three nags' heads gules." The list of castles destroyed, and the grievances from which he suffered, (p. 481,) prove that the Llewelyn of history has been confounded with another, probably mythic, chieftain.

The insurrection which we have endeavoured to trace seems to have originated in a feud with the Lord of Coity. From an alliance with the Welsh, the de Turberville family retained certain rights and privileges of ancient date. Similar prerogatives of jurisdiction were claimed by the descendants of Caradoc, the son of Iestin ap Gwrgan, at Aberavon. The two lordships were termed "re-kindling brands, to preserve, as it were, from extinction the rights of the Welsh race."—Iolo MSS., p. 401.

"Kindling brands" they became after the fall of the

⁷ The name Bren may have been a contracted form of Brenhin, a king. It must be remembered that the *Brenhin* was inferior often to the Tywysog, Dux, Prince, or Leader. In the Saxon charters the term used is Regulus, or Subregulus; in the *Liber Landavensis*, Brenhin, for the Welsh chieftain.

⁸ The Welsh *Hagr*, from which the word *Hygre* seems derived, nearly corresponds to the Latin *Acer*. Thus Cæsar is described by Lucan I., 146:—

" Acer et indomitus, quo spes, quòque ira vocasset, Ferre manum." last Welsh prince, and their rivalry seems to have caused the removal of the descendants of Caradoc from Aberavon, and the change of their name to D'Avan, whilst the Turbervilles, strengthened by the royal appointment, for a short period prevailed.

The foregoing researches may, it is hoped, throw light on the ancient commemorative stanzas of Ievan Gethin ap Ievan Lleision, A.D. 1420 :---

ENGLYN COFIADUR.

" Mil trichant,—gwarant gwirion,—a deunaw Fe dynwyd yn gyfan, Gan drais mawr i lawr yn lân Hyneifiaeth Brenin Afan."

"In the year 1318 was wholly destroyed, by great oppression, The ancestral supremacy of the sovereign of Avan."

The bard briefly mentions the end of the rival jurisdiction of Coity Castle, in the year 1412. This would probably complete the abolition of the Laws of Prince Howel Dda, after a duration of nearly five hundred years. Although a somewhat greater length of time has elapsed since the troublous days of Llewelyn Bren, no poet of his native land has sung, and hardly a chronicler attempted to record, his unavailing efforts, and his generous self-sacrifice—a sacrifice which seemed to anticipate the *now* obvious truth, that the extinction of these petty provincial sovereignties was alike essential to the peace and welfare of the Norman lord marcher and Celtic chief —of England and of Wales.

HENRY HEY KNIGHT.

ON ARCHITECTURAL ANTIQUITIES IN MONMOUTHSHIRE.

No. II.

HAVING thus enumerated the most remarkable general features of the architecture of the district, I will proceed to give a rather more minute account of a few of the more important individual churches. I do not however think it necessary to give a detailed description of all their minute portions, but merely to combine a criticism of the general character of each with a notice of their more important features. Any extended criticism, the abbey of Tintern is at once too well known, and would require too great a space, for any remarks on it to be introduced here; and the priory of Chepstow I have already described. After these, the four most interesting churches are St. Wollos at Newport, Christ Church, Magor, and Caerwent.

ST. WOLLOS, NEWPORT.—St. Wollos is altogether one of the most curious churches in England, and contains several features of great beauty. It at once strikes the eye by its enormous length, something after the manner of Llandaff, Dorchester, or Rothwell, though its outline is very different from any of those. In fact, what at the west end is discovered to be a large and lofty tower, looks in the eastern view perfectly insignificant, and might almost pass for a detached campanile at some distance. This is occasioned partly by the very considerable length of the nave itself, but chiefly by the extraordinary interposition of a large western Lady chapel between it and the tower. The arrangement is not dissimilar to that at Llantwit Major, except that there the tower stands between the nave and the western addition.

The nave is a fine specimen of grand, though perfectly unadorned, Romanesque. The arcades and clerestory are quite perfect, five plain round arches of two orders rising from massive columnar piers; the responds are square masses, chamfered into an octagonal shape. Plain, narrow, round-headed windows, deeply splayed within, form the clerestory. No building better exemplifies the capabilities of that wonderful style, now admitting the most lavish gorgeousness of decoration, now standing in the most severe and unadorned simplicity, without in either case detracting in the least from its unrivalled solemnity and grandeur. I need not mention how rare it is to find a Norman clerestory in a church not of the conventual type. I have myself only seen four, and there are very few others' with which I am acquainted from other sources. Those are St. Wollos, Towyn, St. Peter's, Northampton, and the choir of Rothwell Church in the same county. This last, moreover, is not a pure example, for, though the clerestory windows are roundheaded, the pier-arches are pointed. Of the other three, Towyn, though extremely rude, yet in the enormous bulk of its piers approaches nearer to the conventual type;² St. Peter's exhibits the style in a form unusually light and ornate; St. Wollos is in a mean, and, as it is unquestionably the most typical, is perhaps also the most dignified of the three. It is solid and well finished, without the roughness of the one, or the almost un-Romanesque delicacy of the other. No better or more typical Norman interior on a moderate scale could be desired.

In this clerestory I am speaking of a feature whose existence no one would guess from a mere external inspection of the building. Without, it is a church of the *picturesque* kind, a mass of distinct roofs and gables; the aisles having compass-roofs, and the irregularity of the outline being further increased by their not being prolonged eastward the whole length of the nave. The fact is that the low, narrow, Norman aisles have been destroyed, and large Perpendicular ones substituted of the full height of the nave, but leaving the arcades and clerestory untouched within. The clerestory windows, now reduced to apertures in an internal wall, have a very

¹ Of these the most beautiful is that of St. Margaret-at-Cliffe, near Dover, engraved by Mr. Petit.

^s See "History of Architecture," pp. 242, 247.

singular appearance. At the same time the nave was lengthened eastward of the original Norman arcades, possibly at the expense of the chancel, which is small in proportion to the size of the church.

The western chapel is a plain Early English structure without aisles; it contains several mutilated sepulchral effigies. The doorway which connects this part of the church with the nave is perhaps, on the whole, the most remarkable architectural example in the district. It is a superb example of Romanesque, of a character by no means usual in England. It is of great size and especially great width, with the arch but little recessed for its dimensions, having only two orders, though the inner one is so wide that it occupies pretty well the space of two ordinary ones. These are adorned with the common Norman ornaments, the billet and chevron; the outer order has no decorative support; the inner, instead of the usual slender nook-shafts of the style, rests upon a pair of large detached columns, which form the great point of singularity in this doorway. They are utterly unlike anything I have seen or heard of in England, rather resembling some of those mentioned by Mr. Petit in the south of France. Their capitals indeed, though decidedly affecting the Composite order, are less classical than many English examples, several grotesque figures are intermingled with the volutes and the Corinthianizing foliage, and the latter I have often seen excelled. But it is the general appearance of the column, its size and position, the pedestal on which it rests, the turn given to the neckmoulding, the conspicuous diminution of the shaft, all sufficiently proclaim it as something altogether different from our own familiar Norman, and as belonging to a type which had departed far less widely from classical models. The difference will be at once felt by comparing it with the west doorway at Chepstow, a typical example of ordinary Norman, and equally excellent in its own kind. Now when we consider the proximity of Caerleon, and consider what extensive traces of Roman magnificence still remained in that fallen city even in the days

of Giraldus, even if we may not look on these columns as actually relics of an earlier æra—of a somewhat debased character certainly, and of course finished with capitals of the time, as we so often find in Italy—may we not at least suppose that their classical character may be traced to a retention of classical feeling, by no means improbable in the immediate neighbourhood of such stately remains of Roman art?³

These are the principal features of the church, but all its details and arrangements deserve to be attentively studied. I know of very few buildings, even in the districts most rich in architectural monuments, which have a better claim on the regard of the architectural inquirer.

CHRIST CHURCH.—This church, situated on a lofty hill, on one side overlooking Caerleon, on the other com-

³ I have great pleasure in adding the following extract from a letter of Mr. O. Jewitt with regard to this doorway :---" It is a very curious specimen, and is the only instance which I recollect of diminishing shafts. The base is nearly identical with the Attic base, but the most interesting part is the capital, which shows very clearly its early date. It is particularly interesting to me, as I have, for some years past, taken every opportunity of studying Early Norman wherever I could meet with it; and I found very much information in the work of Remigius (1070 to 1092) in Lincoln Cathedral. The rude volute which appears on your capital, and which is one of the most characteristic marks of Early Norman, occurs in his work, and also in the chapel in the Tower of London, built by the Conqueror; in the oldest parts of Canterbury crypt; and is very common in early buildings in France; indeed wherever I have found it, it appears to be a certain guide as to date. It is frequently accompanied by a plain projection in the centre, but this in yours seems cut up into figures. The foliage on the lower part is also of the same character as that on one of the capitals of Remigius and also of the chapel in the Tower. All these marks I think clearly show its date to be of the latter part or end of the eleventh century. The arch-mouldings have not so much of early character as the capitals, and the abacus is peculiar." As Monmouth-shire was conquered before the end of the eleventh century, there seems no reason against the early date supposed by Mr. Jewitt. At the same time the foundation of a parish church of this scale so immediately on occupation seems an unusual proceeding; and I cannot find that St. Wollos was attached to any collegiate or monastic society.

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manding a magnificent view of the mouth of the Severn, contains a good deal worth noticing. It is chiefly Perpendicular, but portions of Norman and Early English work have been preserved, which have been not without influence on its arrangements. The church consists of a nave and chancel, each furnished with a north and south aisle, all having distinct roofs, without a clerestory. The tower which is unbuttressed and very massive, occupies a singular position, namely, the west end of the south aisle. not engaged, so as to form part of a front, as is usual with towers terminating an aisle, but built westward of it, and moreover, from its great bulk, projecting beyond it to the south. The lower part of this tower is Early English, and at about half its height, a little above the roof of the church, squinches remain, to show that a spire was designed—a rare feature in this district.⁴ But a Perpendicular stage has been added, with square-headed belfry windows oddly foliated; and there is now a plain parapet, with a corbel-table below. This tower is entered from the church by a wide straight staircase not winding as usual.

The nave has five well proportioned Perpendicular arches from clustered pillars not very lofty; the style of this district, even when most nearly approaching Somersetshire models, not affecting the great height, and consequent elongation of pier, common in the larger churches of that county. The chancel arch I have already mentioned, and there are also arches separating the nave aisles from those of the chancel. The arrangement of the latter is remarkable; the chancel itself is wider than the nave; and consequently its arcades are not in a line The consequence is that a halfwith those of the latter. arch is thrown against the transverse ones, which has an awkward effect. Probably the Perpendicular reconstructor of the church found a wider Early English chancel attached to the Norman nave, and, as he pre-

• The only spire I saw was at Goldcliffe, a church I was not able to visit. Is there another, save that of zinc at Pennard, between it and Kidwelly? served its walls to a certain extent, was necessarily driven to this shift.

The chancel aisles internally stop short one bay of the east end of the chancel, thus forming a presbytery; but the south aisle is externally continued the whole length; the eastern bay being cut off as a sacristy. In the north wall of the presbytery is a lancet window, of more finished workmanship than usual. There is another in the vestry; I unfortunately omitted an internal inspection, and I have no note of it; but I have a kind of suspicion that it is not original. If so, it would throw much light on the suggestion made in the last paragraph, as in this case, we need not suppose any south aisle to the Early English chancel. In fact the the ground-plan, before the Perpendicular alterations, would have greatly resembled that of Cotterstock in Northamptonshire.

There is a rere-dos and some other altar furniture at the east end of this aisle, of Perpendicular date, but enriched in one part with an elaborate form of the toothmoulding, approaching to some of the varieties in Tintern Abbey.

MAGOR.—This church is one of considerable interest, as exhibiting some of the rudest work in the district brought into close juxtaposition with some of the richest. The ground-plan has been already mentioned. The chancel is mainly Decorated, and I have before mentioned the curious window in its south wall. The central tower is of the rough local Early English, with very rude pointed lantern arches, and plain pairs of lancets for belfry win-There is a corbel-table, but no battlement, and a dows. square turret at the north-west corner. To this tower are, strangely enough, added a nave and aisles of Perpendicular work, which, though not the largest, and perhaps not the most pleasing, example of the style in the neighbourhood, exhibit at once the most regular design and the most elaborate workmanship. The north-west view can hardly be called beautiful, but it has an imposing The clerestory is, as usual, absent; and the nave effect. having a high-pitched roof does not at all harmonize with

the low ones of the aisles finished with parapets; that on the north-the show side-is a straight panelled parapet, which has had pinnacles, on the south there is only a plain battlement. The incongruity of the roofs is of course most strikingly shown in the west front, which is a composition not altogether pleasing, and which derives a great effect of bareness from the insignificance of the doorway, and the low position of the windows. Still there is a very striking character about the view just mentioned. The massive and picturesque outline of the tower-which has square-headed Perpendicular windows inserted in the two faces visible from this point-groups well with the enormous porch below, of the full height of the aisle, and projecting in proportion. The outer doorway of this porch is very elaborate, and specially remarkable for an ornament, now sadly mutilated, of open foliations round the arch. This beautiful decoration, which occurs also at Caerwent, may not improbably have been imitated from the well known instance at St. Stephen's in Bristol. The parvise window, unusually large for its position, and with panelling beneath it, has been unfortunately shorn of its tracery. The south aisle presents a good regular range of buttresses and large windows.

In the interior we find arcades of very elaborate character. The piers are of the usual rather low proportions, but of more complicated section than any of their neighbours, and finished with capitals of a rich and singular kind, introducing figures holding scrolls, an ornament found in several Somersetshire examples; but at Magor the effect is much altered, by their being brought, from the lowness of the piers, very much nearer The east and west arches of the lantern are left the eve. in their original roughness, while those into the quasitransepts have received a casing of panel-work. The whole effect is very fair, and, if the original design had been carried out, it would have been still more striking, as there are manifest preparations both in the aisles and quasi-transepts for that "special ornament," so seldom

vouchsafed to English parish churches, "a goodly vault of stone."⁵ In the chancel is a timber roof worth notice, a strange variety of the cradle form, describing a sort of pointed arch depressed at the top.

CAERWENT.—This place, so celebrated for its Roman antiquities, has also a church worth examination, though very inferior to any of the three just described. It is at present, through the mutilations already mentioned, reduced to a chancel and nave, with western tower, and north porch. The tower I have already described. The porch has a rich doorway, adorned with a four-leaved flower, and with the same cusping as at Magor, though, as there also, in a very mutilated state. The porch itself is smaller and plainer than that example, with an ordinary high roof, and a smaller, although considerable, parvise window.

The church seems certainly to have been built on the site, and partly out of the materials, of some Roman edifice. On the south side of the nave, about one half of the wall is built of common rubble, the other half of huge rectangular stones, quite unlike usual Gothic masonry. They are however most wretchedly put together, and we may most probably conjecture that they are the remains of a Roman structure, built up again as far as they would go, the rest of the wall being continued of new materials. The blocked arches here are pointed, and present nothing remarkable. Huge props have been built up against their piers.

The chancel, when I saw it, was under "repair;" that is, the chancel arch, which I have already mentioned as a good specimen of Early English, with deep mouldings, and rising from corbels, had just been taken down; and its voussoirs were lying on the floor. I could only hope that the repair was to consist in their re-erection. In pulling it down, some fragments of preceding buildings were found; one a piece of Norman work, apparently an

⁵ Godwin. The Pembrokeshire churches are hardly an exception, for, with every respect for those most interesting buildings, it would be an excess of compliment to speak of their vaults as "goodly." impost, showing that the present church had a Romanesque predecessor; and also a stone imbedded in the wall, covered with what appeared to be classical carving.

The east end of the chancel has two trefoiled lancets, but very different from any others in the neighbourhood, being much larger and farther apart. The north wall has been rebuilt, and three similar lancets introduced, tolerable imitations of the old ones, though the difference between ancient and modern work is very perceptible in the hard straight jambs of the latter, compared with the dovetailing of the genuine masonry.

The south wall of the chancel contains a very remarkable arcade, which, though blocked, and the aisle taken down, is happily in no way destroyed or obliterated. It is conspicuous for the extreme flatness of its arches, a peculiarity found in several other churches in South Wales. The first I saw was at St. Lithan's, near Cardiff. Here a chapel south of the chancel-this is the position in which all the instances I have seen occur—is divided from it by two arches, segmentally pointed, with a little curve at the shoulder, but of the smallest possible rise, spring from a huge pier, round or rather oval, with responds of the same sort. The work is very rough, and the appearance as strange and unsightly as can be imagined. The others are at Llawhaden and St. Florence, Pembrokeshire; the arches here, though rude, awkward, and sprawling, have a definite form, namely four-centred; and while St. Lithan's is remarkable for the vast bulk of the pier and consequent narrowness of the arch, the others come out in quite an opposite direction, with a wonderful span of arch, the eastern one at Llawhaden-for in neither case are the two exactly similar-being the widest I have ever come The piers are columnar, with rude capitals. across. I suppose there can be little doubt of both being of Perpendicular date, and may help us to conclude that the same is the case with those at St. Lithan's also, the more so as the aisle into which they open is clearly of that style. They seem to show simply the intense rudeness of work to be expected from the local masons when so unusual

a requirement was laid upon them as that of constructing an arcade. They thus afford another proof of the exotic character of good work of this sort, of all dates, as in the Perpendicular churches I have so often mentioned, and the earlier examples at St. Wollos, Llancarvan, and, above all, St. Mary's at Haverfordwest.⁶ The few native arcades of earlier date are perhaps more pleasing, as attempting less. Thus at Barton, Pembrokeshire, we have this very same south arcade of the chancel with pointed arches rising from square piers, perfectly plain, but by no means ill wrought; and at Manorbeer we have the $\frac{9av\mu a}{\delta e \sigma \theta a u}$ of all, arches rising from the ground without any piers at all, the floor and the impost coinciding !

To return to the arcade at Caerwent; it will be at once observed that though it agrees with the three other examples in the flatness of the arch, yet the form is not the same, and the work, like Barton, though very plain, is by no means rude. The pier is a square mass with chamfered edges and a plain impost, the responds follow the same pattern. A small stilt above the decorative impost carries the arch, segmental of one curve, of one order, with the same chamfered edge of the pier. The form, though it may be unsightly, was clearly chosen for its own sake, and was not the result of mere inability to produce something better. It appears to me that it is genuine Early English work, of a piece with the elegant east end, and rather elaborate chancel arch; and that the other three are bungling imitations, at a later period, of this or some similar example.

MILITARY BUILDINGS.—I have gone on to so great a length with regard to the churches as to leave but little space for any consideration of the remains of military architecture. There is however but little to remark, as Chepstow Castle, like Tintern Abbey, is too well known to need any minute description, and of the others that I

⁶ The ornament like the Romanesque cable-moulding on the capitals at Llawhaden is doubtless a freak, like the Decorated chevron at Dorchester. It is a remarkable coincidence that the same ornament should be not uncommon in the local Flamboyant of Jersey.

saw Caldicott is the only one with much architectural pretensions. Usk and Llanfair present the usual picturesque appearance of massive round towers, but have but little detail or strictly architectural outline. I may however mention that in one of the towers of the former there are some remains of a pretty Early English doorway and fire-place, (the latter with tooth-moulding,) but much altered in Perpendicular times. Newport Castle presents a noble front to the river; the massive octagonal towers with squinches at the base, and the huge central mass, form a very varied and striking outline, and more Perpendicular detail is introduced, without any departure from true military appearance, than could have been expected. The pointed and square windows of course do much better in a polygonal tower, than when, as the latter at Chepstow, they are inserted in a curved wall. But the degraded condition of this castle has led to great mutilation and disfigurement, and it requires a high tide to give its due effect to what remains.

Čaldicott Castle is described by Mr. Cliffe as "a magnificent stronghold, chiefly Norman, but with some Saxon work."⁷ From this I did expect to find some traces of a Romanesque building of some sort, but all I saw was good Gothic, mostly late Decorated. The only portion which even a describer of the last century could have called either "Saxon" or "Norman," is a single gateway which, being placed in a round wall, has, naturally enough, a round arch. I deeply regret that, arriving at Caldicott at the close of a long day's journey, I had not time to make that thorough investigation of the castle which its merits deserve. In masonry and detail it surpasses every military building I have seen,⁸ being fully

⁷ It is most seriously to be hoped that the next edition of a work whose general merits render it quite indispensable to the Welsh tourist, should bring some improvement to an architectural nomenclature so strange and inconsistent that it is absolutely impossible to form beforehand, from Mr. Cliffe's description, any sort of notion of the age or style of a building.

⁸ I ought to mention that I have not yet seen Caernarvon, Harlech, or Ragland.

equal to the best ecclesiastical work. The gateway is admirably built, but is perhaps a little too domestic. One of the turrets has some fine machicolations, which I have not seen elsewhere, on well wrought corbel heads. The best architectural features are a range of Decorated windows in what was probably the hall, and a beautiful Early English fire-place.

Chepstow itself may rank with Caerphilly and Pembroke as an example of the castellated palace. Buildings of this class afford scope for detached portions, halls, &c., of high architectural merit, but from their vast extent they cannot assume the compact outline of the smaller castles, nor present so near an approach to strictly architectural grouping as the latter can exhibit when designed with the skill which planned the matchless pile of Kidwelly. The great glory of Chepstow is the hall,⁹ a worthy rival to that of Caerphilly; in its present state it is indeed infinitely grander, deriving, like so many other ruined buildings, an increase of height, and therefore of majesty, from throwing several stories into one. A plain but grand Norman building has been remodelled in a rich form of Early English, which reminded me of the halls at Lamphey and Pembroke. The windows, like those at Tintern, are a good study of the early growth of tracery, and we may remark the window by the dais, double the size of the others, a manifest precursor of the oriel of later times.

Edward A. Freeman.

⁹ This is usually shown as the chapel, and Mr. Cliffe continues the name; but it is unquestionably a secular building. I could not fix upon any part with certainty as the chapel—and I may say the same of several other castles also—unless an extremely small building, with a rich Decorated window-jamb, adjoining the keep, which had the air of an oratory. There is no part which at once proclaims its purpose, as at Kidwelly and Oystermouth.

THE POEMS OF TALIESIN.

No. II.

ANREC URIEN, the poem which forms the subject of the present notice, is printed from the Llyfr Coch, The Red Book of Hergest, at p. 50 of the first volume of the Myvyrian Archaiology, and in the original appears as follows. Judging from the orthography, the copy under consideration would appear to have been written between 1200 and 1500, that being the period assigned to the prevalence of the letter k in Welsh MSS. by an excellent authority, Edward Lhuyd, whose critical rule is thus stated :—

"The letter k never occurs in our oldest British manuscripts, but being afterwards introduced by the Normans, (who made frequent use of it in their old French,) I find that about the year 1200, k was constantly used in the initial syllables, and c in the termination; and it continued afterwards, though not so very much used, till about the year 1500. Since which time most writers omitted it, using c constantly in its stead, in imitation of the ancients, which is yet not so convenient, because 'tis in other languages subject to a double pronunciation."—Arch. Britt., p. 228.

ANREC URIEN.

LLYFR COCH.

Gogyfercheis, Gogyvarchaf, Gogyverchyd Urien Reget Duallovyet Y Leuenyd Eur ac Aryant Mor eu divant Eu dihenyd Kyn noc y dau Rug y duylau Y guesceryd Ieuaf a unaeth Coll ac alaeth Am feirch peunyd Keneu y vraut Kynnin daervaut Ni by geluyd

Urien a wnaeth Dialynyaeth Y gewilyd Kynnin vynnu Kyvarchuelu Eu dihenyd Deutu Aerven Diffuys dilen Dydau lwyd Seleu delyit Enynnyessit Or a dybyd Dybi y vaeth A ryd alhaeth Oc eu herwyd Cochliu lavneu Truy valch eiryeu Am ffruyth eu guyd

THE POEMS OF TALIESIN.

Wy Kynnhalyant Lle peduar cant Y peduar guyr [Dufyr dyvnav (dyvnvas) Bendigwyf clav Ac oe herwyd Yr ae Kaffo Kynvinaul vo Yn dragyuyd Dydeu collet Or ymdiret Yr ardelyd A llau heb vaut A llavyn ar gnaut A thlaut lûyd Oes feibionein Nyt ymgyghein Ymmerueryd Nyt ymganret Nyt ymdiret Neb oe gylyd Dreic o Wyned Diffwys dired Dirion drefyd Lloegrwys yd a A lletaut yna Harchollyd Torrit meinueith Yn anoleith Ar gyfhergyd Muy a gollir Noc a geffir O Wyndodyd O gyt gyghor Kyvrung esgor Mor a Mynyd

Gotrissit Brythyon Yn at poryon Ar antyrron gyueithyd Ef a dau byt Ny byt Kerdglyt Ni byd Kelvyd Alaf gar maer Arthauc vyd chuaer Wrth y gilyd Llad a bodi O Eleri Hyt chuil fynyd Un gorvydyauc Antrugarauc Ef a orvyd Bychan y lu Yn ymchuelu Or Mercherdyd Arth or deau Kyvyt ynteu Dychyfervyd Lloegruys lledi Afrivedi O Bowysyd **Guaith cors** Vochno O diango Bydaud deduyd Deudeng guraged Ac nyt ryved Am un gur vyd **Oes** Ieuonctid Aghyvyrdelit Y vaeth dybyd Beru ymdivant Barnauc or cant Nys ryvelydj

Uryen o Reget hael ef syd ac a vyd Ac a vu yr Adaf letaf y gled Balch yghynted or tri Theyrn ar dec or gogled A un eu enu Aneuryn guautryd Auenyd A minneu Dalyesin o lann llyn geirionnydd Ni dalywyf yn hen Ym dygyn aghen Oni Moluyf Uryen. Amen. TAL. AB DYUAUT. 205

This poem presents considerable facilities for translation, in the easy flow of the metre, and the simplicity of the diction; and the following will probably be found a tolerably correct version.

Postponing for the moment all considerations as to the antiquity of the poem, and assuming its genuineness, we are here presented with several interesting biographical and historical facts. We here meet with a brother of Urien, named Keneu, of whom there is no other notice, and learn the personal characters of the two brothers; and we have also the novel information that Urien was the youngest son of Cynvarch, whose children ought therefore to be placed in the following order :---

"Llew, married to Anna, sister of Arthur;¹

Arawn;

Keneu;

Eurddyl, wife of Elifer Gosgorddvawr;

Urien, married to Modron, daughter of Avallach."

> "Blades were reddened Through proud words For the fruit of their trees."

We have here also a vivid portraiture of the effects of hostile contests, in hands without thumbs, swords on the flesh, small gatherings, the losses of the valleys, the misery of youth, the destruction of fortresses, the scarcity of warriors, public distrust, and general insecurity. Allusion is made to one, and, if Aerven (Aeron, or Arvon?) and Cors Vochno do not refer to the same event, to two battles; and, if there were two battles, one of them, *i. e.*, the first, would possibly be that in which Urien is said to have done such signal service to his country, in expelling the Gwyddelians from the principality. If the sons of Cunedda co-operated with him on this occasion, Professor Rees must have placed Cunedda much too early; but perhaps this point had better be reserved until we come to treat of the poem called "Marwnad

¹ Heroic Elegies of Llywarch Hen, p. vii.

Cunedda." We have another fact worthy of note in the declaration that Urien was one of the "thirteen kings of North Britain;" and the residence of the bard, with the asserted intimacy between him and Aneurin, should be carefully borne in mind.

The metre in which the poem is composed is called Huppynt, and is also designated Llostodyn, or Colofn Vraith, or Awdl Losgyrniog;² and it is said to have been invented, with other metres, by the bard Taliesin.³ It is accounted a good metre, and admits of many variations without losing its leading feature; but perhaps the best way to render its form intelligible to the English reader would be to quote an illustration from Wordsworth's verses to the Daisy:—

> "In youth from rock to rock I went, From hill to hill, in discontent Of pleasure high and turbulent, Most pleas'd when most uneasy; But now my own delights I make, My thirst at every rill can slake, And gladly Nature's love partake Of thee, sweet Daisy !"

This metre, in which the first and second sets of three lines form triplets, and in which the fourth line rhymes with the eighth, corresponds exactly to a variation of the Huppynt; but in Taliesin's poem it is presented in a simpler form. The first and second sets of lines are couplets, and the third and sixth rhyme together, as in the following example from Lord Byron:—

> "My dear Mr. Murray, You're in a great hurry, To set up this ultimate canto; But (if they don't rob us) You'll see Mr. Hobhouse Will bring it safe in his portmanteau."

These lines are also well adapted to illustrate the elastic movement of the Cambrian poem, which may be rendered in the following words:—

² Cyvrinach y Beirdd, p. 118. ³ Ibid., p. 76.

TRANSLATION.

I have freely greeted, I will freely greet, The familiar greeter; Urien of Rheged. Comprehended Be his joyfulness. Gold and silver, The sea was their consumer And destroyer,* Before they came Between the hands Of the scatterer. (Though) youngest, he caused Loss, and sorrow For horses daily; Keneu his brother An eagerhanded brawler Did not prove false; Urien did make Retaliation For the shame (or the discredit): The brawler obtained Reproach For his end. On the two sides of (or about) Aerven,⁵ An uncovered precipice, There came success; Spies were captured, And (fire) was kindled, Wherever he came; The coming of the fosterer

Did cause sorrow: And because of him (or them) Blades were reddened, Through proud words For the fruit of (his or their) trees; The four warriors Maintained the place Of four hundred.⁶ With the deepest water,7 I will bless the wounded; And on account thereof, Whoever obtains it, Blessed will be To all eternity. There will befall a loss From the enterprise To the districts; And hands without thumbs. And blades on the flesh, And a poor muster. The life of young sons Will not be harmonious In the distraction. There will be no fellowship, Nor reliance Of one upon another. A dragon from Gwynedd Of precipitous lands And gentle towns, To the Lloegrians will go, And the inflictor Will there scatter them about.

• Or,—How great was their consumption And destruction, When they came into the hands Of the scatterer.

⁵ Is this Uch Aeron the name of the upper part of Cardiganshire, in which Cors Vochno occurs?

⁶ Probably the four sons of Cynvarch, Llew, Arawn, Keneu, and Urien. Ceneu, through some rashness, appears in this conflict to have come to an untimely end.

⁷ See Pughe's Dictionary, sub voce Dwfr.

Masonry will be broken,	Unmerciful one
And exterminated,	Will triumph;
In the concussion;	Small will be his army
And more men will be slain	In returning
Than the Gwyndodians	From Wednesday's fight.
Will be in number.	A bear from the South,
From mutual counselling	He shall arise,
Between enemies	And shall meet
On mountain and sea,	Lloegrians scattering
The Britons will be oppressed	Vast numbers
And become refuse,	Of Powysians. ⁹
And the co-operators will be	
ung entl e.	From the battle of Cors Vochno,
There will come a time	Will be fortunate;
When minstrels will not be	There will be twelve women,
clad	And no wonder,
Nor men be skilful,	For one man :
When Mayors will love wealth	The period of youth,
And sisters be bearish (gruff)	Ungentle
To one another;	Will be its nursing;
Killing and drowning,	Spears will cause bereavement,
From Eleri	And of a hundred men, it is
As far as Chwilfynydd ⁸	thought
A conquering and	There will be no warrior.]
Urien of Rheged, generous he	e is, and will be,
And has been. Proud in the	hall;
Since Adam, his is the widest	
Among the thirteen kings of t	he North.
And one is named, or, 7	the Aber Association and a second stand a
Do I know his name?	rin the flowing song'd minstrel,1
And I Taliesin from the borde	rs of Geirionnydd Lake.*
And when I am old,	-
May I be in greatest need,	
If I praise not Urien.	

We now come to the most difficult part of our subject. Is this poem, with its sudden transitions, its mixture of prediction and retrospection, its allegorical allusions, and its jumble of facts and fiction, the genuine production of

⁸ I do not know where these places are.

9 If this poem be ancient, the triple division of the Principality into Gwynedd, Powys, and Deheubarth is very old.

¹ We have here the pronoun *eu* with a singular signification, and it appears to have been so used in other parts of this poem.

² Llyn Geirionnydd is in the upper part of Caernarvonshire.

the bard Taliesin? My first impressions were adverse; they were founded upon the fact that, of all the poems which can be attributed to Taliesin, this is the only one which assumes the predictive form; and I was strengthened in that belief, by the resemblance which exists between this and the Hoianau fictitiously attributed to Merddin. In both poems it is stated that "a bear shall arise from the south;" and both speak of the battle of The Hoianau speak of this battle, in the Cors Vochno. order of place, after the battle of Machawy, which occurred in Radnorshire (see *Pughe's map*), in the year 1033; and as other battles mentioned in the same verse, after the battle of Machawy, were also posterior in the order of time, I inferred that this may have been so, and thence concluded that the poem could not have been ancient. Having since considered the subject more carefully, I incline to believe that objection to be still tenable; but let us first see if the facts cannot be explained without sacrificing the integrity of the poem, the first and concluding parts of which are certainly genuine, whatever may become of the middle.

We may imagine the actual events to have occurred in the following order:—The dragon from Gwynedd ravaged the lands of the Lloegrians, the inhabitants of the midland counties, who at this time perhaps had not thoroughly coalesced with the Saxons; the Lloegrians retaliated, and drove the men of Powys before them towards the sea-coast, and Urien, the "bear from the South," coming up from Rheged,³ intercepted and defeated them at Cors Vochno. This theory assumes Urien to have resided originally in the south, and to have afterwards gone to North Wales; it clashes with the received notions, but it is supported by the words of Taliesin, who, speaking of Urien as one of the northern kings, calls him "Urien from Rheged" (Urien o Reget); and it has the additional advantage of settling the difficulty about the geography of "Rheged," and of simplifying the bio-

³ See Iolo MSS., p. 457; and Literature of the Kymry, p. 45, note.

graphy of Urien. However, for the present, I simply throw this out as an hypothesis.

There is however another and far more satisfactory Two-thirds of the poem has no necessary explanation. reference to Urien, and, indeed, appears to belong to an age much later than that of Taliesin; a part of it is manifestly genuine, that is the beginning and the end; but the portion placed within brackets I conceive to be an interpolation, which, from the affected predictive form, is more likely to have been wilful than accidental. The lines in the *Hoianau* are as follows:—

" I will predict a battle on the wave, And the battle of Machawy, and a river battle, And the battle of Cors Vochno, and a battle in Mon." Lit. of the Kymry, p. 270.

Now it is highly probable that, as we have no account of two battles of Cors Vochno, and cannot positively connect the place with one, that both poems refer to the same event; and if the Hoianau were composed in the twelfth century, we are warranted in assuming that it occurred at a period not far distant; for it is highly probable that it was fresh in the public mind at that time. The battle of Machawy was similarly present to the public memory; and if the order of naming them is not without significance, the battle of Cors Vochno must have taken place some ten or twenty years later than 1033. Under this impression, let us pass our eyes down the historic page, and attempt to discover the facts here related. Cors Vochno is a large marsh in the upper part of Cardiganshire, on the sea shore.

The events we seek will be found to have occurred between the years 1056 and 1061, in the reign of Griffith ab Llywelyn ab Seisyllt, king of North Wales; but in order to be ourselves accurate, and to note the minute fidelity of the bardic details, let us mark the words of the poem, which seems to be a valuable contemporaneous record :-

"A dragon from Gwynedd Of precipitous lands ARCH. CAMB., NEW SERIES, VOL. II.

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And gentle towns, Will go to the Lloegrians; And the inflictor Will there scatter them about; Masonry will be broken, And exterminated In the concussion; And more men will be slain, Than the Gwyndodians Will be in number."

Now in the year 1055 we find some facts which admirably tally with this description :—

"1055.—There was a witenagemot in London, and Ælfgar the eorl, Leofric the eorl's son, was outlawed without any kind of guilt; and he went then to Ireland, and there procured himself a fleet, which was of eighteen ships besides his own, and they went then to Wales, to King Griffin, with that force, and he received him into his protection. And then with the Irishmen, and with Welshmen, they gathered a great force; and Rawulf the eorl gathered a great force on the other hand at Herefordport. And they sought them out there; but before there was any spear thrown, the English people fled, because they were on horses; and there great slaughter was made, about four hundred or five; and they made none on the other side. And they then betook themselves to the town, and that they burned; and the great minster which Æthelstan the venerable bishop before caused to be built, that they plundered and bereaved of relics, and of vestments, and of all things; and slew the people, and some they led away."-Anglo-Saxon Chronicle.

Harold, the son of Earl Godwin, was sent to punish the Welsh, and advanced as far as Snowdon, where, according to the *Gwentian Chronicle*, he was defeated by Griffith. Wendover says he ravaged the country terribly; but a better authority, the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, states that the English "went out not far among the Welsh, and that Harold made peace with Griffith."

"1056.—Griffith defeated and slew Leofgar, a warlike bishop of Hereford, who had taken the field against him.

"1058.—Griffith again ravaged the English land, in company with a Norwegian force under Macht the son of Harald, and brought home much spoil." In these events we clearly recognize the facts mentioned by the bard, the slaughter of large numbers of the English, the scattering of the Lloegrians about, the breaking of the fortifications of Hereford, and the all but extermination of the town and its inhabitants. The other verses reverse the picture, and these too we shall find to be counterparts of historic facts.

In the *Gwentian Chronicle*, they are related under the year 1060; and in the A. S. Chron., as usual, three years later. It should here be borne in mind that the family of Iestyn ab Gwrgant, lord of Glamorgan, had been before this in possession of the throne of South Wales, that Griffith ab Llywelyn drove them out and kept them at bay, and that in consequence they were perpetually at war. In 1060, Owen, the grandson and rightful successor of Rhydderch ab Iestin, died, and his brother Caradoc, "the bear from the south," prosecuted the family claim.

"1060.—Caradoc ab Rhydderch ab Iestin engaged Harold to bring an army into South Wales, and there he was joined by a large army of the men of Glamorgan and Gwent. They then went against Griffith, who came to meet them with a large army of the men of Gwynedd, Powys, and South Wales, and a great battle ensued, where Griffith was killed through the treachery of Madoc Min, bishop of Bangor, the same who had previously caused, through treachery, the death of his father, Llewelyn ab Seisyllt."⁴

Harold on this occasion was accompanied by his brother Tosti, Harold commanding the sea forces, and Tosti those on land;⁵ and it is said that they nearly depopulated the country, leaving scarcely a man alive in it.⁶ In these facts we have all the essential features of the poem, the counselling among enemies, the forces on land and sea, the ungentle co-operators, and the consequent depopulation. All that remains to complete the demonstration is to identify this battle with that of Cors Vochno; this I cannot do; but there are very strong probabilities in its favour; and it would be difficult to find another

Myv., ii., p. 515.
 Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, A.D. 1063.
 Giraldus, vol. ii., p. 351.

spot which would answer the requirements of the case, and permit of co-operation between land and sea forces, and be at the same time near the boundaries of Powys and South Wales. The English chronicles fix no place; but the *French Chronicle* of Geoffrey Gaimar agrees with the *Gwentian Chron.* in placing it in the upper portion of South Wales.

This conclusion is also, to some extent, confirmed by one of Gwalchmai's odes to Owen Gwynedd, ab Gr ab Cynan, ab Iago:—

"Ardwyreaf hael o hil Iago

A gennys dra chas dra Chors Fochno

A gyrchws glyw Flandrys a flemychws eu bro," &c.

Myv., i., p. 198.

I will extol the generous descendant of Iago Who brightened the disgrace of Cors Fochno,

Who sightened the Elemingra and set their role in flow

Who ejected the Flemings, and set their vale in flames, &c.

This defeat of the Flemings took place at Aberdyfi, says one authority, (Myv., ii., p. 423), and at Aberteivy (Cardigan), says another and better authority, (ibid., p. 557,) in the year 1136; at that time this battle was still fresh in the public memory; and we may thence infer that it had occurred not very long before. I cannot find another battle in that district, of sufficient magnitude to answer the requirements of the case.

Having determined that a part only of this poem can be accounted genuine, it becomes our duty to draw the line between the true and false, between the production of the sixth, and that of the eleventh, century. This is not by any means an easy task, as the dress at present worn by the whole is that of the thirteenth; and therefore orthography, usually a valuable ally, completely fails us here. I have drawn the line at the point indicated, not without a suspicion however that the verse

Dufyr dyvna v ,	Yr ae Kaffo,
Bendigwyf clav,	Kynvinaul vo
Ac oe herwyd	Yn dragyuyd,

may belong to the first part. Can the Rev. J. Williams, (Ab Ithel,) whose researches have taken a more ecclesi-

astical turn than my own, inform me whether the sentiments here expressed could have been entertained in the sixth century, or do they savour of later corruptions of Christianity? From that point forward there is a remarkable similarity of sentiment, between the opening and closing verses of the supposed spurious poem; both speak in despairing terms of the miseries of a depopulated country; both lament the condition of the juvenile inhabitants; and both were probably the effusions of the same muse. Of the verse, beginning "Dreic o Wyned," I have no doubt; and the distrust spoken of in the verse preceding it, is clearly referable to the turmoil and treachery of the period during which Griffith ab Llewelyn was betrayed and murdered. Much doubt hangs over the fate of this brave monarch; it does not seem that he was slain in battle; but, being defeated, he appears to have been deserted by his own subjects, and to have wandered a fugitive in the wildernesses of Wales, until he was betrayed by Madoc Min. The words of one chronicle make this appear very distinctly :---

"One thousand and sixty years was the age of Christ, when Griffith ab Llywelyn, the head and shield and defender of the Britons, fell by the treachery of his own men. He who was invincible before, was now deserted among desolate glens."⁶

And a good summary of all these facts is given in one MS. of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle:—

"1063.—This year Harold the earl, and his brother Tosty the earl, as well with a land force as a ship force, went into Wales, and they subdued the land; and the people delivered hostages to them, and submitted; and went afterwards [during harvest]⁷ and slew their King Griffin, [by reason of the war that he warred with Harold the earl,] and brought to Harold his head; and he appointed another king thereto, [and Harold brought his head to the king, and his ship's head,⁸ and the rigging therewith].

⁶ Triugein mlyned a mil oed oet Crist pan dygwydawd Gruffud ap Llywelyn penn a tharyan ac amdiffynwr y Brytanyeit drwy dwyll y wyr e hun y gwr a uuassei gynt yn annorchfygedic kyn no hynny yr awr hon a edewit y mywn glynneu diffeithon.—*Myv.*, ii., p. 397.

7 Wendover says, Aug. 5, 1064, (1063?)

⁸ Griffith was powerful at sea as well as on land, and it is recorded that Harold burned his ships and the stores at Rhuddlan (?) Who is the author of the middle part? I cannot name any one. Griffith is said to have been a liberal patron of the bards, and to have been profuse in his presents;⁹ but hitherto there has been no poem referred to that period. If our speculation be not unfounded, that is no longer the case; and if our views be sound and trustworthy, we shall have done some little towards a proper classification of our ancient remains, added one poem to our literary store, and thrown one ray of light on one of the darkest and most barren periods in Cambrian history.

But although unable positively to refer the poem to any individual bard, there can be no great harm in a quiet bit of speculation. The intellectual movement so prominent in the twelfth century had already begun in the eleventh; and Griffith ab Llewelyn has the merit of having done much to improve both the political and intellectual condition of his subjects. We learn this from the account of his death in the various chronicles.

"And most illustrious were he and his father of all the princes that were in Wales before their time; and best for valour, and war, and for peace, and for government, and for liberality, and for justice; and through their wisdom and understanding, they brought Gwynedd, and Powys, and South Wales into union, so that the Kymry were strong against Saxons, and all enemies and strangers."—Gwentian Chronicle, Myv., ii., pp. 515, 516.

"A.D. M^oLXI, died Griffith ab Llewelyn, golden-torqued king of Wales, and its defender, after many spoils and victorious conflicts with his enemies, and after many feasts, and merriment, and great gifts of gold and silver, and garments of great value, he who was a sword and a shield over the whole face of Wales."— Brut y Saeson, Myv., ii., p. 516.

"After huge spoils, and immeasureable victories, and innumerable rich gifts of gold, and silver, and gems, and ermined vestments."—Llyfr Coch MSS., Myv., ii., p. 397.

Feasts afford presumptive evidence of the existence of bards; and as they were the chief parties thus rewarded, they must probably have been numerous. This monarch, in 1062, was succeeded in North Wales by his half brothers, Bleddyn and Rhiwallon ab Kynvyn, the sons

9 Myv., vol. ii., pp. 397, 515, 516.

of Angharad, the daughter of Meredith ab Owen, prince of South Wales, who, after the death of her first husband, Llewelyn ab Seisyllt, married Kynvyn ab Gwerystan, lord of Kibwyr; and in the South by Meredith ab Owen, a lineal descendant from Howel Dda. Bleddyn was a worthy successor, and his character is thus pourtrayed:—

"He was the gentlest and most merciful of kings, and he injured none unless they rose against him, and when there was a rising, it was with reluctance that he avenged the insurrection. He was kind to his relations, and the defender of the orphan, the poor, and the widowed; and the supporter of the wise, and the honour and the ground-wall of churches, the diverter or comforter of the countries, and generous to all, fierce in war, and eager for peace and the defence of all."—Llyfr Coch MSS., Myv., ii., p. 398.

The *Iolo MSS*. are not unimpeachable authorities; but the preceding extracts go far to confirm the following statement :—

"After that, Bleddyn the son of Kynvyn, and his brother, Rhiwallon the son of Kynvyn, after obtaining possession of Gwynedd and Powys, made an honourable feast in Conway, by proclamation and notice of a year and a day, and invited there graduates in the science of song and of stringed music, where laws and institutions and privileges were framed for them, in the time when William the Conqueror took the crown of England from the Saxons. And at that feast the bards of stringed music, under the protection of the bards who were chiefs of song, and others of poets and minstrels; and at that festival, there was appointed a system and code, genealogy and herald bards were established where they had not previously existed, possessed of official privileges, by the national arrangement of Wales; and a system was instituted for the science of armorial bearings and their appurtenances."—Iolo MSS., p. 630.

Assuming this account to be true, the said feast must have taken place about 1067; the Norman Conquest took place in 1066, and Rhiwallon was killed in 1068. Here, then, we have evidence of a flourishing order of bards; but we are acquainted with the name of only one person who could have composed the poem in question, and who could have been at this feast. The poem, which was probably composed soon after the battle of Cors Vochno, and before the death of Griffith ab Llywelyn, *i.e.*, in 1060 or 1061, is written from a North Welsh standpoint, and the author was probably a Venedocian. Now both these requisites are found in the person of Bleddyn Ddu, of whom Lhuyd gives us the following account :---

"Bledhyn Dhy. Poeta anno, 1090. (His poems addressed) I Dhyn, i abad aber Konuy, &c., (are said to be in the *Red* Book of Hergest,) L. K. H. Col., 1249-1284."—Arch. Britt., p. 255.

The *Cambrian Biographer* states that none of his works remain: but Williams follows the fuller statement of Lhuyd, without adding to it, and without developing the significance of the et cetera; and, strange to say, these poems, of which Lhuyd gives so minute an account, are not inserted in the Myvyrian Archaiology. Are they not in existence? The Rev. J. Jones of Nevern (Tegid) is well acquainted with the Llyfr Coch, and possibly may have a copy of it: cannot he furnish us with some information on this point? But to return. From the fact that one of Bleddyn's poems is addressed to one of the abbots of Aberconway, we are to some extent warranted in believing him to have been resident in North Wales, and therefore, so far as the standpoint is concerned, in a position to write the poem under notice. Lhuvd does not furnish us with the data from which he asserts Bleddyn Ddu to have been a poet of the year 1090; but, assuming the fact to be so, it is easily conceivable that he might have written a poem in the year 1061. There is another poet of whom the same assertion might be made, but not with equal confidence. Meilyr. who sang the elegy of Trehaearn ab Caradoc in 1080, and of Griffith ab Cynan in 1137, is said by Lhuyd to have been a "poeta anno 1070." There is a poem by Meilyr still later than 1137, that on his own approaching death, which cannot be referred to any period much earlier than 1150; and the editors of the Myv. Arch. place him from 1120 to 1160. If we adopt either of these dates, Meilyr could scarcely have been its author, even if he had lisped in numbers, for the poem has the sober tone, and ripe

feeling, of a man in years. The balance of probabilities is therefore in favour of Bleddyn Ddu.

The poem as it stands in the *Myvyrian* is a thing of shreds and patches, and appears to consist of three parts, a beginning, a middle, and an end, but having no reference to each other. The first part is genuine, and so is the conclusion; but they do not appear to be connected; and the conclusion belongs apparently to a different poem, as it is not resolvable into the same metre as the initial verses.

The date of the genuine part of the composition, the battle of Aerven, and the intimacy between Taliesin and Aneurin, will probably come under discussion another time. T. STEPHENS.

Merthyr Tydfil, May, 1851.

TUMULI, DENBIGHSHIRE.

I.—BRYN BUGAILEN FAWR, PARISH OF LLANGOLLEN.

THE tumulus above named is situated on a widely-extending piece of table-land on the mountains to the east of Selattyn, and about four or five miles distant from that village, which is three or four miles to the north-east of Oswestry. The table-land, or plain, on which it stands, is called Gwastad Mawr, and overhangs to the east the vale of the Ceiriog, and the entrance of the little valley in the extremity of which is imbedded Nantyr, the property of R. M. Biddulph, Esq., of Chirk Castle, and formerly the residence of Mr. Tyrwhitt, the late recorder of the city of Chester.

Some years ago Gwastad Mawr, and all the adjacent mountain district, was enclosed, and new roads were made in different directions across the mountain. Stone was required for them, and the aged monuments of our ancestors were made to pave the way for the present generation to that social intercourse with the Saxon, which they testify was ever an object of hate and resistance to the past, even unto death. One road, unfortunately,

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was planned to cross the mountain, close to our tumulus, to the south of it, in direction east and west; but, happily the tumulus was of such dimensions, that half of it alone furnished as much stone as they required; the rest remained to *our* times, to afford a subject of most interesting investigation to our president, Mr. Wynne, and myself, who, in company with Mr. Smith, Mr. West's agent, visited it in the month of July last.

On arriving there, we found that it was situated on a freehold allotment belonging to a farmer residing under the hill. Finding from his son, who was at work near the spot, that he was not likely to object to our examining it, we at once commenced working towards the south and west, from the side where the section had been made by the road-makers. Clearing to the foundation, we came to a layer or floor of bluish clay, overspread with ashes, and found that the height, measured from this layer of clay to the apex of the mound, was about nine or ten feetwhile at the same time the peculiarities of the structure were exposed. Upon the layer of clay, a carn had been raised to the height of seven feet, and then covered over with two feet of loamy soil, (quite free from any admixture of peat,) over which was laid a single layer of stones, in a great proportion consisting of white spar, which, under the influence of suns of bygone ages, must have rendered the tumulus a conspicuous and beautiful object. It is now, and for a considerable time past must have been, covered over with heath, by which the spar is quite hidden and blackened. The diameter of the tumulus was about sixty feet. Not being sufficiently acquainted with geology to give a technical description of the stones of which the carn was made, I must be content to say they were of various kinds,-some lime, others of a gritty nature, most of them boulders. With regard to the soil which covered the carn, the absence of peat in it is a peculiarity, I think, of considerable importance, since the whole district around is covered with peat; nay, even the spar forming the outer covering is now coated with peat and heath. What was the state, then, of the mountain when this mound was raised? From what time are we to date the formation of the peat? Or are we to conclude that the soil used for the mound was carried from some distant spot? The subsoil below the clay flooring was loamy soil, and below this we came to rock, at a depth of one spit, or a spit and a-half.

After working westwards for some time, we at length cut into a seam of ashes running horizontally along the middle of the carn, three or four feet above the floor, and following it, we found the ashes were spread over a layer of blue clay; in short, the arrangement of the clay and ashes was precisely the same as that already mentioned as having been observed at the base of the tumulus. Our labours occupied three days, on the second of which we were rewarded by the discovery of a mouse's nest and a good wetting. On the third day, the 8th of July, however, finding that the seam of ashes and clay last discovered terminated near the centre of the southern side of the tumulus, we commenced a trench to the south, cutting it from the surface to the foundation, and when we got nearly three feet down, a workman drew attention to a quantity of burnt bones on the western side of the trench, and about two feet below the surface.¹ On proceeding to examine them, a small portion of soil slipped down from a place a few inches above where they lay, and disclosed the side of a sepulchral urn; and I then found that the man had unwittingly removed one of the side-stones of a cist, in which the urn was placed. I then took the spade myself, and was not long in removing the soil from the covering-stone; and, having relieved the side-stones from some of the soil which pressed against them, lest they should fall inwards, we carefully raised the covering-stone, and a cist was now disclosed, nine-

¹ While cutting this trench, an old man of the name of Edwards, aged eighty-four, told us that, many years ago, he remembered a trench being cut through the tumulus during one night, by some unknown hands—probably in search of treasure. Of this trench I thought I observed traces on the western side, from whence it was probably carried obliquely across to the part of the tumulus afterwards taken for the road. teen inches in length, by seventeen in breadth (inside measure), filled with soil, the top of it being only six inches below the surface of the tumulus: three of the sides remained standing, while the fourth, as I have said, was taken down by the workman. Two of the stones about the cist,-but I do not remember from what part they came, and I regret to say I find I made no note of it at the time,-were of a diamond shape, which, though curious, was probably accidental; but since "found," let us "make a note of them." I do not feel quite satisfied whether the cist had been *designedly* filled with soil, or whether it had been filled by the industry of mice, who appeared to have made this tumulus their warren. I incline to the latter opinion; for, in clearing out the soil, I found at the bottom of the cist, on the western side, an hollow, where either no soil had penetrated, or a mouse had made a run; but, in other respects, the cist was nearly full of soil, and the urn was certainly covered over with it;-this, too, was loamy soil, without any admixture of peat. The cist cleared out, the urn was presented to view in an inverted position, resting on a flat stone, fitted to the dimensions of the cist. After cleaning it carefully from the soil, and allowing a short time for the air to act upon it, I raised it. It was rather heavy, and for a second or so nothing fell from it, (a circumstance I made no account of at the time, but it was subsequently recalled to my mind by other circumstances,) but eventually a large quantity of burnt bones fell out; these we very carefully looked through several times, but without discovering any other relic than a flint knife or lance-head.²

The URN was eleven inches high, by nine and a-half inches at its greatest diameter; the bottom was very small, though large enough to allow of the urn standing upon it without support when placed upon a table—a fact which, in some measure, shows that the urn was made tolerably true. From the bottom, its form for an

² I feel great doubt as to the use of these relics, and hardly know what to call them. I apply the terms "knife," or "lance-head," as those commonly used.

inch or two was gradually dilated, and then bellied out to its greatest diameter; then, after being very slightly contracted, was dilated to almost as great a diameter again. From the part where it attained its greatest diameter, to the top, it was ornamented all around with a sort of small cuneiform and long oval indentations, irregularly placed, and made apparently with a flat pointed instrumentnot improbably with the flint weapon-point we found within it. The lip at the top was on the inside, and ornamented with a pattern similar to that just described; it was slightly concave, and sloped inwards, so that the inner rim of the lip was lower than the outer one. The colour of the urn was brown tinged with red, and sufficiently spotted with black to show that it had been subjected to fire. Its texture and fabrication, though coarse. was firm; but it did not appear to have been turned on a lathe. On cleaning it I discovered, by the help of a powerful magnifier, some peculiar marks on the surface of the rim, in two places, which seemed to have been made by some woven substance. Whether they were so caused or not I will not undertake to say; but the discovery, recalling the circumstance already alluded to when I first raised the urn from its resting-place, suggested the idea that they who performed the rite, had, before inverting the urn, first placed a cloth over the mouth, much for the same purpose that a cook in our time ties a cloth over an embryo plum-pudding, before it is submitted to its watery incubation in the boiling pot.

The FLINT KNIFE, OF LANCE-HEAD, was two and a-half or three inches in length, and sharper at one extremity than the other. On one side it was convex, and nearly flat on the other.³ On the latter it was smooth and plain, while on the former it was minutely worked down to the shape required with some kind of instrument, the operations of which had caused the edges of the flint to

³ I have reason to think that, on a closer examination, this side will be found to be slightly convex—a circumstance of some importance to those who wish to investigate the mode of manufacturing these weapons. be slightly serrated. The flint of which it was formed was the dark kind, such as you find in chalk.

Having carefully secured the flint weapon and the urn, we next dissected the cist, and found that a regular floor had been made of blue clay, overspread with ashes, and carried some way into the carn; upon this floor the cist had been built in the usual manner, with flat stones (the peculiarities of some of which I have already spoken of);—these circumstances led us to the conclusion that we had discovered a *secondary*⁴ deposit.

I much regret the mutilation which this tumulus had suffered before we visited it. The characteristics of its structure derive a peculiar interest from a comparison with those observed in the tumulus at Orsedd Wen.⁵ Each was raised on a floor of clay and ashes; each contained a carn; in the one, encased in soil only,—in the other, with the addition of an external coating of stone, principally spar; in the one we find the rite of cremation used for the disposal of the dead, in the other, a funeral fire as an accompaniment to the interment of the corpse entire; in the latter, we discover relics of bronze and iron, —in the former, of flint only.

Our examination of the tumuli of North Wales has not, as yet, gone far enough to enable us to lay down any general conclusions respecting them; I can, therefore, not do more than speculate upon the one now under consideration. Without, therefore, pretending to speak confidently, I am inclined to think that the great similarity between the structure of this tumulus and that of the one at Orsedd Wen, taken in conjunction with the wide dif-

• By this word I would not always imply in point of time, but rather in order of sepulture.

⁵ In a former Number I have given some reasons for considering this tumulus to be the tomb of Gwên, a son of Llywarch Hen, who flourished in the sixth century; but I am bound to say that a very learned antiquary, Dr. Thurnam, does not consider those reasons satisfactory or conclusive. I am aware there are many objections to its being assigned to so late a period, and that my conclusions rest mainly on the question whether probabilities taken in conjunction with, and in part flowing out of, the history of Gwên, counterbalance those objections.

ference in the remains discovered in them, indicates that they were both made by the same race, and most probably at different periods, while the exercise of the rite of cremation in the former, and the finish of the flint weapon-point suggest to my mind the probability that we may date its age from the latter part of the period in which the use of stone weapons prevailed, --for cremation more generally belongs to the succeeding or bronze period; and it is not improbable that a weapon such as that found in this tumulus was fashioned, or rather finished, with a metal tool. The latter suggestion, however, is merely conjectural: the manufacture of stone weapons has yet to be elucidated. It seems to me to be highly probable that, on the first discovery of the use of metal, there would naturally be a reluctance to lavish it in the manufacture of missiles,⁶ and that the first endeavour would be to improve, by the aid of metal tools, the missiles of stone already in use.

The name of our tumulus above given is that assigned to it by the Ordnance map, and by translation signifies "the great hill of the shepherd." The rustics, however, pronounce the name with an inflection which imports a far different signification; they call it Bryn Bugelan Fawr, or, "the great hill of the very dead," the bu prefixed to celan (signifying "a corpse") in composition giving it intensity. This difference in nomenclature may be accidental, or arising from corrupt pronounciation of Bryn Bugailen, but I think it a coincidence worth noticing, especially as we have at Nantyr, but a few miles distant, a mound called "Tomen y Marw," "the mound of the dead." About 272 yards west of Bryn Bugailen Fawr are the remains of another tumulus, almost all carried away, called "Bryn Bugailen Fach."⁷

> W. WYNNE FFOULKES, Loc. Sec. Denbighshire.

⁶ We read in Herodian of the northern Britons wearing *iron* as an ornament.—Lib. iii., c. 14, *Herod*.

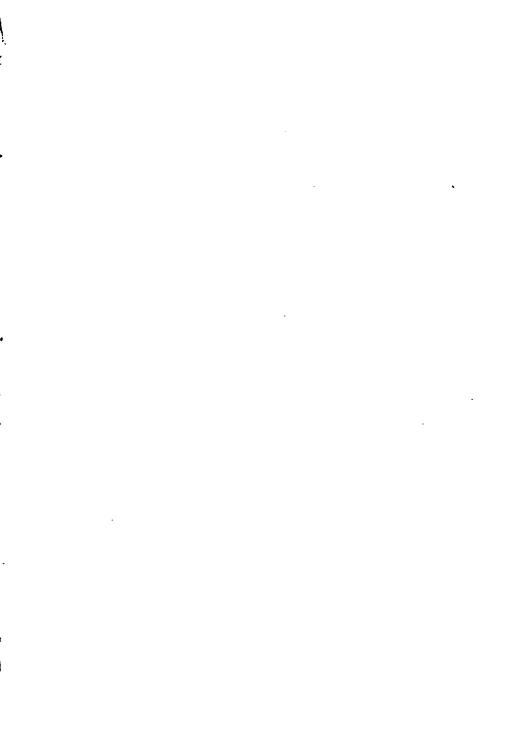
⁷ This Paper will be continued in the next Number, with an account of the tumulus at Plas Heaton.

OBSERVATIONS ON SOME OF THE EARLY INSCRIBED AND CARVED STONES IN WALES.

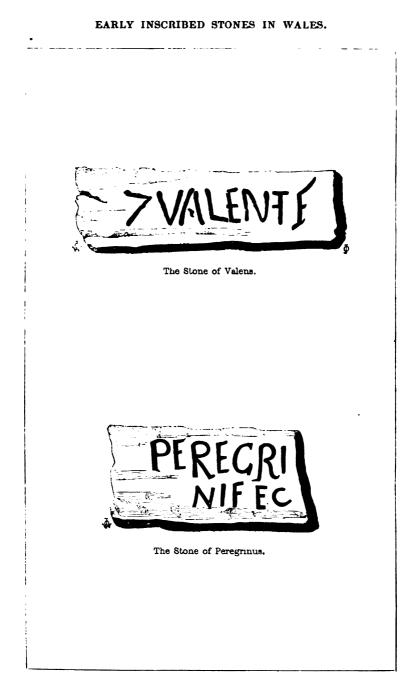
THE VICTORINUS STONE.

This stone formerly stood on the east side of the turnpike road, near Scethrog, which is half way between Llansaintfread and Llanhamlwch, about four miles and a-half from the latter place. It was however removed thence by a person resident in the neighbourhood, and used as a garden roller, being cylindrical, and about three feet and a-half long. On being remonstrated with he placed it, many years since, in its present situation, in the hedge, on the west side of the road, four miles and seven furlongs' distance south from Brecon, and within a stone's throw north of the ford across the Usk. I found the upper half nearly covered with moss and ivy, and the lower half buried in the bank; but, having cleaned it with great trouble, and partially dug away the earth from the lower part, I was able to make out most of the The first word, however, seems impossible to be letters. deciphered, the letters being so much defaced. The last two words are, however, plain enough, FILIUS VICTORINI, the first stroke of the F being produced both above and below the line, the top transverse stroke being rather short; the middle transverse stroke seems to be effaced, but the little cross tip at the end of the middle transverse stroke is to be seen even longer than the following 1; the next letter, L, has much of a minuscule character, the top being elongated above the top of the line; the following I is short, and carried below the line, as was often the case when the two letters L and I came together; the U is of the v shape, and the s of the f shape, the top being elevated above the line. The remaining letters are genuine Roman capitals; this is the case even with the R, which, in the somewhat later Welsh inscribed stones, was generally of the minuscule form. We thus see in this inscription a mixture of the forms of the letters, indicating





l



EARLY INSCRIBED STONES IN WALES.

a late portion of the Roman period. The stone has been engraved in *Gough's Camden*, vol. ii., pl. 14, f. 5; and in *Jones' Brecknockshire*, pl. 6, f. 3, p. 536; but the forms of the letters are inaccurately given.

THE STONE OF VALENS.

This, and the following stone, have not hitherto been recorded. I was made acquainted with them by the late Rev. Mr. Price of Llanfihangel Cwm du. They are both built into walls at Tretower. The first, commencing with a mark like a 7, followed by the letters VALENT F, is eighteen inches long and five inches wide; it is built into the pillar on the north side of the gate of Mr. Court's house, in the turnpike road, at a very short distance to the north-east of the castle. The letters, especially the terminal F(ecit), are Roman capitals, partaking of what is termed by palæographers the rustic character.

THE STONE OF PEREGRINUS

is built into the north-east angle of the wall of a long house which joins the north-east entrance into the orchard of the castle of Tretower. The inscription is very plain, being PEREGRINI FEC(it), in more regular capital letters than the preceding stone of Valens. As the Roman station of the Gaer is but a short distance from Tretower, these stones may possibly have been brought from thence, or they may have been sculptured on the spot. I do not know, however, whether any Roman remains have been found at Tretower; at any rate, it is quite lamentable to see these venerable relics, which must be at least fifteen or sixteen hundred years old, in such situations. They ought to be carefully disimbedded from their present situation, and either fixed in the walls of some adjacent church, (as has been so carefully done with an early inscribed stone at Llanfihangel Cwm du,) or else taken to Brecon, and fixed in the County Hall, or some other fitting situation.

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STONE AT LITTLE HERBFORD.

A very interesting early tomb-stone has recently been disinterred from the cellar of the vicarage of Little Hereford, near Ludlow, from which place it is distant five miles, and three miles from Tenbury.

The upper part of the stone is ornamented with three concentric rings, the outer one being fifteen inches in diameter; they are crossed by four semicircular lines running from the angles, their middles meeting near the centre of the figure.¹ On the lower part of the stone is a rudely designed figure of a man in a long habit, about eighteen inches high, raised about half-an-inch from the surface of the stone. On the left hand is perched an object which appears to several archæologists to whom I have shown the rubbing to be intended for a hawk, the other hand holding a lure. The head is uncovered, the hair forming a curl on each side. Across the stone, level with the crown of the head, is this inscription :—

+ p IAC6r rp00A8.

We hope to furnish an engraving of this interesting stone, which is most probably of the twelfth or thirteenth century, so soon as we shall obtain a more satisfactory rubbing.

In the church of Little Hereford there is a very perfect incised slab of a female figure, of a more recent date, which I believe has not hitherto been noticed, and which deserves description.

J. O. WESTWOOD.

Hammersmith, June, 1851.

¹ Two tomb-stones of very similar design exist at Bakewell, in Derbyshire, and are engraved in Mr. Cutt's *Manual of Sepulchral Slabs*, plate xxxviii., where they are referred to the twelfth century.

BULKELEY MANUSCRIPTS.

The following miscellaneous papers, extracted from the collection of MSS. preserved at Baron Hill, are not without their value in contributing to a more correct knowledge of the local history of Anglesey; while they may prove interesting to the general reader from the illustrations they afford of manners, opinions, prices, &c., at the end of the seventeenth, and commencement of the eighteenth, centuries :—

I.

My good Lord,

Accord¹ to yo¹ Lo^p desire, I have sent M^r Wyn an Instrument to make him my Chaplein, & I am very sorry he has not y⁶ occasion to make use of it, w^{ch} yo¹ Lo^p designed in yo¹ request to y⁶ B^p of Bangor. Sure I am we Churchmen are obliged to serve yo¹ Lo^p as far as we can without prejudice to y⁶ Church, & farther I know yo¹ Lo^p will not desire any thing of us. Yo¹ just greatness of minde as well as yo¹ Affection to y⁶ Church will not suffer it. I beseech God to encrease y⁶ number of such friends & Patrons to y⁶ Clergy as you are, & give us y⁶ Grace & discretion to know y^m & use y^m well.

Be pleas^d to present my humble service to yo' excellent Lady. I allwaies pray for yo' Lo^{pa} health & prosperity, & take leav

My Lord, Yo^r Lo^{ps} much obliged & most faithfull serv^t, Oct. 31, 81. W. ASAPH.

To y^{*} right Hon^{ble} y^{*} Lord Viccount Bulkeley, at Baron Hill.

II.

My Lord,

Whitehall, 25 July, 82.

The two addresses that yo^r Lop was pleas'd to send up from the Counties of Anglessey and Carnarvon, were presented to his ma^{tie} by my Lord President of wales. His ma^{tie} receiv'd them graciously; and order'd me to have y^m Printed, w^{ch} is since done.

I could not sooner give your Lop a satisfactory accompt of that part of yo^r Comand relating to yo^r self and yo^r noble family; because I conceiv'd it to be yo^r meaning by yo^r tre, if I understood it rightly, that I shd at a seasonable time, and by word of mouth, endeavor to remove all Prejudices, if any were entertayn'd, that might work with His math to have other than a very good opinion of your Lop and yo^r family. I could not expresse my self, to that effect in better language, or more proper words, than those that your Lops ire putt into my mouth.

His matter's Answer upon this humble Application of mine was —"Let my Lord Bulkley doe well for his part. His family hath deserv'd well of the Crowne. Let him know from me that I expect he shd use his uttmost endeavo' to keep those Gentlemen of Quality, and those families that shewd themselves rightly affected to the Goverm' in my Fathers time, and upon my Return, in the same good Disposition they were in, in those very ill times, and I shall very readily believe all good things of my Lord Bulkley's affection to me, when it appears to the world that y^e Gentry of Quality that are related to Him are of the same principles and Resolution that they were of when it pleas'd God to restore me. I am sure my Cause is still the same, and my affection for you, that stick to me, is entire and unchangeable."

To this effect his ma^{tie} was pleasd to discourse; in the close he comanded me to recomend Him kindly to yo' Lop. I shall presume to adde noth^s besides, except it be ye assurance of my being,

My Lord, Yo^t Lops Most humble and most faithfull Servant,

L. JENKINS.

For the Right Hon^{ble} The Lord Viscount Bulkeley.

III.

20° 7^{br}, 1697.—Indrē, whereby S^r John Wynn in Con^t of 260^{li} Did grant & Convey unto S^r W^m Williams & his heirs All that the Rectory of penmon wth its appurten^{ces} in Com Anglesey & all the messuages Lands tenemth Rents heredth tythes Oblasōns Obvensōns paymth & pfitts w^tsoever to the s^d Rectory belonging or therewith at any time had used or enjoyed late in the possion or holding of Rich^d L^d Viscount Bulkeley in the Kingdome of Ireland, Owen Hughes of Beaumares Esq^r and of others undertenth to the s^d S^r Joⁿ Wynn And all other the Rectorys messes Lands tenemth rents hereditamth tythes Oblasōns Obvensōns paymth & pfitts w^tsoever of him the s^d S^r John Wynn in the parishes of penmon Llangoed & Llanwads in the s^d County of Anglesey.

IV.

May it please your Lord Ship,

Vpon Receipt of your Lops Reference on the annexed petition in the name of Thomas Lloyd Infant. Alledgeing that the s^d Lloyds father & his Ancestors have for many years past held by

Lease from the Crown two fferries vpon the River Monay, the one Called Llanydon als Bolydon and the other Agna Sancta als Tall y Foyle vnder the Yearely Rents of two pounds two shillings and One and twenty shillings which Lease is s^d to be Expired tho' the Rents Continue to be paid to the Rec' of North Wales I sent A Copie of the s^d Petition to the Aud^r of Wales, Desireing him to Certifie w^t terme the Pet¹³ Ancestors had last Granted them in the p^rmisses, & when the Same Expired and if the Rents were Duely Answered (as alledged) to the Crown and what the Value of the p^rmisses is if y^e same Appeared to him (I haveing no Survey thereof in my Office) together with what he thought else fitt to be Considered if a new Lease should be made of the s^d fferries, and have Received fro him the Certificate anext, by which it Appeares that Bolydon ferry was the 10th of ffeb^{ry} 12° Car. j^{mi} Granted (int. al.) in ffee ffarme vnto Braddock and Kingscoate paying the Rent of fourty one Shillings per annu, and that Agna Sancta was the 8th day of July Anº 8° Eliz. granted vnto Thomas Lambert gent. for one & twenty years from Easter 1576 vnder the above s^d Rent of one & twenty Shillings but without ffinding any Extinguishm^t of the Grant in ffee of the s^d ffirst fferry or a subsequent Lease of y^e Other Entered before him he is of Opinion by puseing the View books that both the s^d fferries by some Grant or Assignem^t did Come to the Possion of Hugh Willms, Thomas Wiltms and Lewis Wiltms for their lives and ffinds that abt 1673 upon the death of Lewis the surviv^r the Rents were answered by Jnº. Grosven' Esq' (who Intermarried with your Petrs Grandmother) afterwards the Petrs Father and since by himselfe but by what title they held y^e p^rmisses doth not Appeare to him otherwise than by the Constant paym' of the Rents for above thirty yeares last past. Neither dothe he Certifie to the Yearly Value of the primisses but the Rents Received the Repairs and Losses of Boats being considered, he believes y^e Same cannot be very Considerable.

Tho. Jones Esq^r Guardian to this Pet^r Alledges that by y^e Losse or mislaying Severall Antient Deeds & Writings belonging to this Infants Estate he is not able to Cleare up the Title but humbly submits the same and prays a New Lease from her Ma^{tie} may be made to the Pet^r and on the same Rents and for such fine as y^r Lord^p shall think fitt.

Soon after this Petition was Referred to me there was a Caveat Entered in my Office by Ow. Hughes Esq^r ag^t passing the Lease Desired by the Pet^r and a Petition of Mr. Hughes's with y^r Lordships Reference thereon followed, setting forth that a ferry Called South Crooke als Abermonay on the s^d River Monay and the afores^d two fferries of Taly foyle and Bolydon now all Included in one Lease made by Queen Elizabeth upon the Expiracon whereof he Obtained a lease of South Crooke ferry for a terme of years yett vnexpired vnder a Rent of ffour pounds and ten shillings p ann. And that the fferryes Desired by this Pet^r were Enjoyed by M Wood and her Grand son Pierce Lloyd. (this Pet^a Ancestor) from y^a Expiracon of the s^d Lease by Queen Eliz. which was ab^t 1673 as aforesaid without any Lease from the Crowne or Right to the Same. And that tho' they were Antiently but floot fferries yet by building large boats and vseing them for horses and all other Carriages, they have Encroached and taken away the proffitts of South Crooke ferry so y^t Considering the Charge he is at he is a great loser & Canne hardly Pay the Rent to the Crowne and therefore prays to Renew his own Lease and that the s^d other two fferries may be Included therein vnder the usual Rents.

I find M^r Hughes did some time since p^eferre a Bill in y^e Excheq^r ag^t this Pet^{r's} Father & his Ten[#] to Discover by what title they Claimed the s^d two fferries, (tho I Conceive he had no power to Demand an Answer in that point) And to Remove the afores^d Encroachm^t Occasioned by makeing them horse fferries, and be further Relieved. It seems this Pet¹⁹ father Dyed without Appeareing or Answering thereto but the tent have putt in their Answer and one of them viz. Margaret Morris widow aged Eighty two, whose husband I am Informed was tent of Taly foyle (which is the nearest and most likely of the two, to hurt m^r Hughes ferry) neare 30 years agoo hath therein Sworne as appeares to me by the Draught of the Answer that the s^d fferry of Taly foyle or Agna Sancta, ever since she knew it first (which was before her husbands Comeing to it) hath been used for all maner of Carriages whatsoever and they both say that they have many years since heard and Do verily believe that it hath been so time out of mind. The s^d Marg^t further Deposeth that 'twas Reported y' one M^r Prytherch a Judge of y' Circuit vnd^r whom M^r Lloyd Claimes had the Inheritance of Taly foyle ferry and 'tis alledged y' m' Hughes hath not served m' Lloyd with Processe to Appeare to the s^d Bill soe y^t the Cause is Delayed by him selfe.

M' Jones this Pet^{*} s^d Guardian further saith that to pvent M' Hughes's s^d Lawsuit & to Manifest that M' Hughes's fferry is not p[•]judiced by the other two it hath been offered to M' Hughes to Give him as much Rent for his fferry Duringe his Interest as ever he made thereof and that he now will be Oblidged if M^{*} Hughes takes a New lease to Continue such Improved Rent to him for the whole term he shall Obtaine, which Offer being so very faire and the Petition haveing some Probability of a Claime in ffee and being yet Ready to accept a Lease from her Ma^{tie} and being also the first Pet' for the same I think it but Reasonable he should be Admitted to take a lease of the s^d two fferries in his possion for a term of 31 years Continueing the old Rents and it appearing to me by two severall Affidth that Taly Foyle hath Lett ffor but Eleven pounds and BolyDon Six pounds together seventeen pounds a yeare out of which the Rents of ffourty-one shillings and One and twenty shillings and the Charge of New boats and Repairing old ones, Ropes &c. being to be Deducted, I think a fine of flifty pounds may be a sufficient fline for such new Lease w^{ch} will be Chargeable to passe.

If M' Hughes thinks fitt to Renew his Lease of the other fferry in his possion and in which he hath abt 3 yeares to come I have noe Objection agt the same tho' since his Petition Came to my hands I have had a Caveat entred agt it in behalfe of one Richard Broadhead gent. and a Case Delivered therevpon Alledgeing that M^{*} Hughes was ab² 1678 Imploy'd by one Owen Willims Ct (to whom Broadhead claims to be heire) to take a lease of some small pcells of Land for him and Produces some letters of M^{*} Hughes's own writeing w^{ch} seem to Imply As much but that M' Hughes gott the same for himselfe in his Lease above s' of the fferry and w⁴ not assigne to him his whole terme to give him as he ought the Preference of Renewing : I find y^e s^d Land is Included in M' Hughes's Lease of the fferry, but he Alledges never to have been Imployed by W^{ms} but that he was before in possion (as the lease mencons) and tooke it in his own Right, but these lands not being in Mr Hughes's pisent Petition for a Renewall, y^e Matter of this Caveat comes not now in Dispute but is prop to be heard wⁿ a new Lease is Sued for of the afores^d Lands.

All which I humbly submitt to your Lord^{ps} great Wisdome. 28th June, 1707. TRAVERS, supprisor gen¹.

V.

To the Queen's most Excell^t Matie.

The humble Address of the Lord Lievten' Deputie Lieuten^w Justices of the peace, Militia Officers and Others the Gentⁿ of your Matie's Countie of Anglesey and also of the Maj' Record' Bayliffs and Burgesses of the Burrough of Bewmares in the said Countie.

Wee your Maîie's most Dutifull and Loyall Subjects doe Beg leave to congratulate your Maîie upon the late and most Glorious victory Obtain'd by your Maîies Arms Comanded by his Grace the Duke of Marleborough over y^o French and Bavarians in Germany, where the Arms of France have been Repuls'd & the Empire Justly Relieved by the excellent Courage & Conduct of your Maties Generall and the Extraordinary Bravery of your Maties Officers and Souldiers.

Wee Attribute these Blesseings to Gods Just Rewards of your Maties Exemplary Pietie, & Pray for your Matie's long and Prosperous Reigne, Contributeing all in our power to your Matie's Service.

VI.

The Humble Address of the High Sherife Custos Rotulorum of Beaumaris in the County of Aglesey.

May it please your most Excellent Majesty,

We your Majesties most Dutifull and Loyall Subjects beg leave to acknowledge your Majesties undoubted prerogative of making Peace and Warr, and to Express our Gratitude for your great condescension in laying before your Parliament the Terms which the ffrench King is brought (by the Experience he has of your Majesties Royall Wisdom) to offer, in order to procure a Peace.

And permitt us Madam (with all due resignation of our own opinions to what your Majesty and your ffaithfull Ministers shall think proper) to Declare it is our sence That a Peace which will putt a stop to the Effusion of Christian Blood, in a short time Ease us of our Taxes, w^{ch} consequently will advance y[•] Landed Interest, and also give us an Opportunity to Enrich these Kingdoms by a Return of Trade, is not only necessary for your Subjects, but will transmitt to latest posterity your Majesties Name attended with the Thanks and acclamations of all your people, The little ffaction excepted, who for their own vile Ends delight in Warr.

And forgive us, if with our Thanks, we mingle the praises of your present Generall who, Born of Noble and antient blood, tho' he has so often and so bravely hazarded his Person, and has once when his private Centinells scarce dared to follow him through all the Dangers he ran, been taken boldly fighting amidst the Enemy's Troops, and fed his Fellow prisoners with Bread at his own expence, Scornes to acquire further Lawrells by obstructing a peace so safe, so Hon^{ble} and so necessary for his Fellow Subjects.

May God in mercy to these Kingdoms permitt your Majesty to reign long, very long over us, and may your Majesty be always served by Ministers who consult the Interests & welfare of your people, and when Warr is necessary may you ever Employ such a Generall as Knows as well how to Obey and behave himselfe towards your majesty as to Conquer all your Enemies.

VII.

Hon^{ble} S^r

We may now Presume (as Establish'd Burgesses of this Place) to Joyn in thanks to you¹ our Representative for your great Care in Preserving our Liberties & Ancient Charter, and withall to assure you that we think ourselves happy in y⁶ Return of a Person of yo⁵ Hon⁵ and Principles, and that we may never want one as firm to the true Interest of his Country and Church of England as now Establish'd, and y^e hearty Concurrent Wishes of

Yor Honr's Oblidg'd and humble Servtts

Tho. Bulkeley, Mr.; John Owen, Record'; Griffith Harrison, William Hughes, Ballefs; Fran. Bulkeley, Hen. Thomas, ffra. Edwards, Wm. Griffith, Robert Hampton, John Bold, Joseph Greenwood, Tho. Lloyd, Cadd' Williams, John Evans, Daniel Parry, Owen Roberts.

Beaumares Borrough, Feb. y^e 23^d, 1709¹⁰.

VIII.

Llanidan y^e 12th x^b. 1710.

My Lord

Yesterday a lre from Mr Ffoulkes came safe to hand of y^e 7th instant wth y^e votes inclosed. I rec^d y^e first votes forwth. I return yo' Ldsp. a thousand thanks for your punctuall ordering of 'em to be sent me : in return I send yo' Ldsp y' following acco' of a ffr. Privateer y' came into Holyhead Bay last Saturday night. viz^t. She came into y^e Bay y^e 6th present & put out English colours and fired guns as if she was in distress upon which M: O: ordered y^e Queen's boat to go on board & went himself to y^e boat wth a design to visit her: but it blowing fresh prevented his intention. As soon as they boarded her they were immediately strip'd & y° boat hoisted on board. Away she went, but on Saturday night she return'd into y^e Bay, having lost all her masts in y^e storm, for 'twas very furious and violent wth us as well as them. She hove overboard 14 of her largest guns and fired all night. Sunday morn: 7 Boats went to her and brougt 150 men ashore abo' 20 of 'em Ransomers. She is droven ashore half way twixt Borthwaen and Penrhoss: people go on board of her at low water. I think y° small arms are secur'd & carried ashore. y' officers were sent in y' James Pacquet Boat for Dublin. y^e seamen are all bro^t to Beaumares where they will stow 'em all, I know not. She came to anchor y^e first time opposite to Borthwaen w^{ch} is under Carreglloyd : never was seen a ship to anchor there before; it being a very dangerous place.

¹ Hon. Henry Bertie. See Mona Antiqua. ARCH. CAMB., NEW SERIES, VOL. 11. 2 H ye Headians strip'd 'em as soon as ye Monsieurs landed. I did send Joⁿ yesterday wth a lre to M: O & one to Natt: Jones wth orders to drink win Jon Pritchard & ye rest of ye men y' went on board her in ye Queen's boat : so yt by ye next post yo' Ldsp may expect an exact & full accot of the Privateer. If her Majiy wou'd be so gracious as to bestow ye guns of ye Ffox & hers, & ye small arms for ye security of ye island wou'd be a Noble Act. especially if she wou'd give a yr's Land Tax of ye island to raise forts & platforms at Penmon & y^e Head : but I'm afraid I'm building Castles in y^e air. I look upon it to be reasonable y^t y^e small arms shou'd be appropried to ye use of ye Mother of Wales. y' Rogues did give out when they first came into y' Bay they wod land and burn yo town & lay yo country under contribution; so y' if we cou'd not have advanced money for 'em all o' Houses corns Hay &c. wou'd been destroyed. I beg of yor L'dsp to excuse this rambling l^{re} so I conclude wth all imaginable respects

Yo^r Ldsp. most faithfull Serv^t

O: LLOYD.

There's no news as yet of ye Ann & Pembroke Pacquet Boats y^{ey} have been missing this fortnight. We have had in these p^{ts} abundance of tempestuous weather, every other day a rank storm : two day we have a snatch of fair weather. Last Saturday had liked to have been a fatall day to severall poor people. Bollodon Ferry Boat sunck wth 15 men & 10 horses in her, 'twas to their great luck y^{ey} were near the shore, on Carnarvonshire side : y^e first sea y' she shipt y' men stood in her up to y' knees, y' 2nd sea sunk her. Abermenay ferry boat attempted to go from town home, but had much to do to save y[•] boat and their lives, so were forced to return like drowned Rats. H. Evans boat was sunk coming home from town; it hapned near y' shore, Carnarvonshire side. his son was there, he had y' sence himself to stay y' night in town. Rowland Jones Trevost was last week married to Madame Vineg' alias Widdow FfitzGerald; two old iron raikes got together when they go to hell they'le rake y^e bottom of it clean. Dick Wms & Hugh Jones Prynhwrthwy fought last Saturday at Lucas's house: ye first cudgell'd Jones very well: he made no defence but with his tongue and y' was very virulent, &c. : Wms. taxed him yt he did endeavour to undermine him wth his Master Bagnall. Cousin Bulkeley's foot comes on bravely. I must do pennance in a white sheet for this trouble I give yor Ldsp.

Adieu.

My last to yor Ldsp was y^e 4th curr^t w^{ch} I doubt not but is come to hand 'ere this.

IX.

Jan. 1* 1706.

lord viscount Bulkeleys Servants together with their yearly wages.

li se dd
Mr Caddr: Williams Sallary is 20:00:00
Mr David Williams Sallary is 15:00:00
Peter le Strong Sallary is 12:00:00
James Phillips Sallary is06:00:00
William Williams Sallary is06:00:00
John lewis wages per Annu. is05:00:00
John Gibbons wages per Annu. 05:00:00
Maurice Evans wages per Annu. 05:00:00
Wiliam Jones wages per Annu. 05:00:00
John Wyout wages per Annu05:00:00
Davidcoachman
John Rowlands Harper00:00:00
James Tabrell
Willaim Parker wages is06:00:00
James Jones Brewer wages is
John Hughes under Brewer is02:10:00
Robert Owen Porter, wages is02:00:00
John Edwards Smith wages is02:00:00
Robert Evans Postillion is01:00:00
Rice Hughes under Groom is. 01:00:00
Owen y [•] Scullion boy is01:10:00

111:10:00

1

1

maid Servants.

Mrs Catherine Jones Houskeeper	5:00:00
Magdalen Price	2:05:00
Elizabeth George	2:00:00
Jane Owen laundry maid	
Anne Roberts	
Anne yº Kitchen maid	1:04:00

13:19:00

Due to Robert Williams of Rhoc

att Al Saints next	
Rowland Williams of Ilanvair01:00:00)
William Owen of Conway00:14:00)
lewis an Richard of Kingswood 00:15:00	

.

A list of y° Right Honble Richard | A list of y° Dairy & lledwigen Servants with an acctt of their halfe a yeares wages.

li se d.4
William Bevan miller 1 a yeare 01:07:06
Thomas Rowland miller a yeare 1:06:00
Joseph Parry Boatsman01:13:00
Simon Edwards Boatsman01:13:00
Gilbert Daintie under Gardiner 00:15:00
John Jones under Gardiner00:09:00
William Bevan labourer01:03:00
Hugh Jones cheife Ploughman 01:12:00
David Owen Ploughman01:08:00
John Cadwalader labourer01:04:00
William Jones labourer01:04:00
Richard Hughes Butcher01:03:00
Solomon Williams driver01:01:00
Thomas ap Thomas labourer00:16:30
Robert Parry ox driver 00.18:06
Bvan Hughes00:09:00

Maid Servants.

Alice----Poultry maid00:11:00

lledwigen Servants.

Humphrey Hughes 🛔 a yeare	.02:00:00
Gabriel williams	
Henry Prise	
William lewis Rowland	
John Griffiths	
William lewis	
Rice Thomas	

maid Servants.

Margeret verch Richard dairy maid0:15:00 Margerett Jones under dairy maid0:11:00 another maid y^t Assists y^o dairy maid.....0:10:00

tot	28:1	8:0

111:10:00 13:19:00 28:18:06
154:07:08

Correspondence.

To the Editors of the Archaelogia Cambrensis.

GENTLEMEN,—The following copy of a letter from Mrs. Jane Mansel to her son Bussy came into my possession some years ago. It formed part of a miscellaneous collection of manuscripts, &c., made by the Rev. John Walters, author of the *English and Welsh Dictionary*, prebendary of Llandaff, and vicar of St. Hilary, county Glamorgan. He had been domestic chaplain to the Margam family, and died in 1797.

I beg to add a notice of the dinner and supper on the wedding of Mary, daughter of Thomas Lord Mansel, to the Rev. Thomas Talbot, which took place in London, July 1, 1716. Lord Mansel's residence was in Soho Square.

I subjoin an account of supplies sent into Ragland Castle on the 28th July, 1645, given to me by the late Mrs. Taddy of Llantilio, Monmouthshire, whose ancestor, Powell of Llantilio, was of a distinguished royalist family. I refer your readers for its history to Cox's Monmouthshire.—I am, &c.,

JOHN MONTGOMERY TRAHERNE. Athenæum Club, London, June 10, 1851.

A COPY OF A LETTER FROM MRS. JANE MANSEL TO HER SON.

My Dear Dear Bussy,—I bless you again and again, heartily, in the Lord; the request of my dying heart, which upon my blessing I charge you to observe, you shall understand as followeth :—

1. I intreat & earnestly exhort you first, and above all things, to be deligent and careful in the service of my great God, who hath gratiously manifested his mercies towards your poor mother in all her straightness, and will deal no less favourable with you, if you walk uprightly in his ways, and unfeighnedly observe his Laws; for he will be the God of the faithful, and of their seed, for ever.

2. Secondly, as soon as you hear of my Death, be ruled by your Father,¹ and go with him to London, to express yourself

¹ To speak correctly, step-father. Jane Price was daughter and co-heir of William Price, Esq., of Britton Ferry, Glamorganshire. She married, first, Arthur Mansel, third son of Sir Thomas Mansel, of Margam, Bart., by Mary, daughter of Lewis Lord Mordant, baron of Turney, county Northampton. She had issue one son, Bussy, who married Catherine, widow of Sir Edward Stradling, of St. Donat's Castle, Glamorganshire. In 1645 he was appointed by the parliament to be commander-in-chief of the forces in the county of Glamorgan. In 1653 he sat in parliament for the county. An interesting earnestly upon your Knees to the Master of the Court of Ward,⁴ (whom I hear to be a Noble and Just Lord,) that he may have your Wardship, for I am perswaded that your will and Inclination will be much available to obtain it; and you know that no man living will be so careful of you, and so sincerely Just and upright in all his dealings, as he; for he never injured any tenant or neighbour since he came among them.

3. I desire you that what Leases or Grants soever you find under the hands of either of your Grandfathers or mine, that you will confirm and make them good.

4. I beseech thee, my dear child, be good unto thy poor Brothers & Sisters, & suffer them not to want in what thou canst supply them; and I trust in my God they will be on all occasions of joy and comfort unto thee.

5. My dear heart, consider that your poor Servants and Friends will be utterly undone, if they be bereaved of your Father to protect them from the Injuries and Oppression of others; therefore, renouncing all others, cleave to his protection with all love and union, till it will please God to make you a man able to govern and look unto your Tenants and poor Friends yourself; and for your better inducement so to do, he was your Father's dear Cousin-German, and hath been a loving and tender husband to your mother ever since the day I met with him; and be assured that he never had a hand or intelligence in the hinderance of you to the value of a farthing.

6. Good Son, as you tender my blessing, read this, my last letter, every Monday morning for seven years; & then I hope that the God of wisdom will give you understanding in all that I have said, and plant in your dear heart Grace and obedience to do accordingly. I was all the Parents that you can well remember; and I hope you will so much the more weigh my request and advice.

letter from Bussy to his brother-in-law, Colonel Prichard, appears in Thurloe's State Papers. The earl of Pembroke appointed him deputy custos rotulorum of county Glamorgan on the 16th April, 1649. In 1662 he was made a deputy-lieutenant by the earl of Carbery. He died on the 26th May, 1669. The Mansels of Britton Ferry sided with the Cromwellians, while the elder branch of the family at Margam supported the royalist cause. On the death of Arthur Mansel, his widow married Sir Anthony Mansel, subsequently slain at the battle of Newbury, a royalist leader. He was the second son of Sir Francis Mansel, Bart., of Muddlescomb, county Caermarthen; created baronet 19 James I.; who was second son of Sir Edward Mansel of Margam, Knight and Baronet.

² Francis Lord Cottington was master of the Court of Wards in 1638.

7. When you come to the age of one & twenty years, (if it be God's gracious will that you accomplish so many,) I pray you, for God's blessing and mine, that you will be resolved to come and live in the country, and not to go abroad to consume and wast your estate, and discomfort your poor Friends and Tenants, whom I charge you, as you shall answer before God, to use well and conscionably, & not to wrong or oppress them any way; & thus, my dear Child, your dying Mother comends you to the Blessing and grace of the Lord, before whose glorious throne I am shortly to appear, and the Grace of my Lord to possess & sanctify your heart, and keep your Soul and Body Blameless unto the day of his appearance.

Your dying (but I trust ere long) eternally living Mother Britton ferry, 11th 9^{bris} 1638. J. M.

Defuncta est 27° 9^{bris}

eodẽ anno inter Horas

12 et 1 post meridië.

(Endorsement on back of letter.)

Mrs. Jane Mansel's Letter to her son Bussy, 16 days before her death, the 11th day of 9^{ber}, 1638, Dyed the 27th No^{bre}, between the hours of 12 & 1.

WEDDING DINNER, JULY 2, 1716.

		£	.	u.
A Cray fish soope		ĩ	2	0
A Pease soope with 2 forct ducks		0	12	0
A haunch of Venison		2	0	0
Four boiled ch. ³ with a Tongue		0	15	0
A green goose pye		0	10	0
A green goose pye Veale Olives		0	7	0
A Skillet of Beafe stewd		0	7	0
Surtoot of Trouts		0	12	0
Little Pyes a la mazarine		0	5	0
Cuttlets a la maintenon		0	5	0
Isle of Thames Salmon		1	4	0
Roasted pike	• • • • • • • •	1	0	0
5 squabs. 4 ruffs. 1 larded turkey		1	6	0
1 leveret. 4 pheas. 4 quailes	• • • • • • • •	1	12	0
Sturgeon and prawns		0	12	0
Roasted lobsters		0	10	0
Fryed soales		0	12	0
Murrells ⁴ with cream		0	6	0
Ragout of sw ^t breads & mushr		0	6	0
Roundsefall pease	•••••	0	4	0
³ Chickens. • 1	Morells.			

CORRESPONDENCE.

Hartich. ⁵ Bottoms and froyd Nule of Pistashes ⁶ Forct oranges A desert of 15 dishes of fruits & sw ^t meats	0 0	7 6	0 0
£	19	4	0

WEDDING SUPPER, JULY 1, 1716.

Stewed carps	0	16	0
Stewed carps Fricasse & marinade of chickens	0	16	0
Ham Pasty	1	5	0
Squab Pigeons in comp ¹	0	14	0
Scotch collips larded and roasted sweet bred	0	14	0
A forct meat Pattee & pot ^d eggs	0	14	0
Butter ^d Crabbs	0	10	0
4 pheasants. 6 Quaills	1	11	0
4 Turkey Poults	0	14	0
9 dishes of fruit & sw ^t meats	2	0	0
Coaches & Porterage	1	0	0
Paid M. Renaugh £25.			

VICTUALLING OF RAGLAND CASTLE, JULY 28, 1645.

Wheat 18 bush. 3 pecks. Malt 9 bush & $\frac{1}{2}$. Oats 13. 6. four flitches Bacon butter 2 Kilderkins. Cheese 100 weight Oatmeal 2 bushells.	1 1 2 2 1	18 6 0 0 5	0 0 0 0 0
		10	

LETTERS FROM A TRAVELLING ANTIQUARY. No. II.

To the Editors of the Archaeologia Cambrensis.

GENTLEMEN,—I have been rambling lately over the hills in Radnorshire, and part of Shropshire and Herefordshire. Radnorshire is the county least known of any in the Principality. It is a sort of debateable ground, neither Welsh nor English now;—

⁵ Artichoke.

⁶ A sort of cake.

Welsh by geographical division, by natural beauty, and wildness, but with hardly a word of Welsh spoken in it—at least in its eastern half, unless by the learned rector of Cascob—*inter Celtas*, *ille Celticus* I have been all round Presteign, and Knighton, and that charming country, and could wish that any of your readers who want to unwrinkle themselves would follow my example, and go there too;—open hills, bracing air, wooded valleys, flourishing little towns—primitive withal, and capital cyder ! Yes, Gentlemen, thanks to the cyder, Radnorshire men boast at the present day, that not a single case of cholera occurred amongst them on the last occasion. It is good antiquarian drink, —and just as the old *vineta* of English monasteries often meant only *pomaris*, so I suspect that the monks of old indulged in the juice of the apple as much as in that of Sir John Barleycorn, or of the ruddy grape.

The old market-cross at Knighton is pulled down—the more the pity; it was a picturesque thing, octagonal, with a conical top, and of Queen Bess's time. Knighton Church has a most picturesque tower, with a wooden belfry on the top of it. This upper story of wood on church towers begins to appear in this part of Wales as you come from the south, and continues all through Montgomeryshire; giving signs of the great abundance of good timber in earlier days. Many excellent wooden houses, too, occur; and they all beat the modern brick houses to nothing. Whether for picturesque effect, or for durability, we will give ten to one on any wooden house of the olden time, against any brick one that a modern builder can put up.

Those wooden belfries appear to me of the same date as the stone towers on which they stand. The finest I know of is at Llandinan, in the vale of the Severn, between Newtown and Llanidloes. Of course they talk of taking it down; merely because it is good and sound, but old;—and it sticks in the gizzard of a builder who wants a job.

In your pages, one of your most laborious contributors has inserted a long and learned essay to prove that the *Breidden* is the scene of the last battle of Caradoc, or Caractacus. I am not going to peril my neck, nor risk the friendship of my Radnorshire acquaintance, by adopting his opinion,—just as, in the same way, I shall preserve a prudent silence, a silence of admiration about it, now I am at Shrewsbury;—but as I have some regard for the safety of Mr. Ffoulkes, (for I really think that when he attains to the limit of my own years he may, if then in existence, be considered a most promising antiquary,) I would advise him not to go to Knighton,—but rather to pass wide of it. For on a hill about two miles north of it, there is the real genuine Caer Caradoc—the very identical hill, camp, ditches, and all—the positive scene of the last struggle,—stream below, isolated hill, steep sides—everything as plain as your A B C. I do not mean to go into the controversy; let it slumber; all I can say is this, that I have actually visited this Radnorshire camp, I have viewed it carefully—'tis about a mile to the east of Offa's Dyke—and I can certify that it has a double ditch, and is a most formidable place of defence. It should be planned, drawn, and engraved for your pages.

Offa's Dyke, you will be glad to learn, is duly appreciated in that part of this county: and, as a means of preserving it, is now being planted almost all along. Lord Powys owns a good portion of it, and other landowners generally look on it with due veneration.

In Presteign Church, near the altar, is a brass of late date, i.e., an incised slab, containing either four or six armorial shields in brass at the corners. This should be added to the brass at St. Mary's, Haverfordwest, as making up the small number of Welsh brasses.

A curious appendage of Presteign Church is the scullery; —it is full of skulls. At Gloucester Cathedral, you will remember, the scullery is under the choir. I sincerely hope the contemplated improvements at Presteign Church will not be carried out;—they want to make it lighter, &c., &c. If they take down the gallery, so much the better;—but it is a good building, and I don't think any person thereabouts understands its value.

What a charming specimen of black and white woodwork is the porch of the little inn at Presteign !—well worth an engraving in your pages. Norton Church, too, between that place and Knighton, has a very curious west tower, with two stories of wood.

Near Lingen, to the south, there is an old building, called "The Abbey." I think it was only a monastic grange, or some similar building. But to what abbey did it belong? Can Mr. Rees of Cascob, or Mr. Evan Williams of Knighton, find this out?

Between Lingen and Brampton Bryan (I say nothing about Brampton Bryan Church—'tis well known) are some tumuli, at Pedwardine. They should be examined. Can Mr. Rees help me to the etymology of *Pedwardine*?

Just above Brampton Bryan is the splendid British post of Coxwall Knoll, which also disputes the honour of being the real

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camp of Caractacus. It is nearly oval, one side, to the south, flattened, with a large outwork to the east. Then again is a river, the Teme, just under it. I think that accurate plans of this camp, and of the Caer Caradoc, should be engraved for your pages.

On the river Teme, south bank, just below Stanage, occurs a small hillock called "The Castle." I cannot find any tradition connected with it.

All along the high ground from Knighton to about three miles west of Presteign, Offa's Dyke may be seen and examined to great advantage. It never could have been anything else than a territorial boundary. One of the Roman roads supposed to cross it ought to do so somewhere in this neighbourhood; and, perhaps, when I next go that way, I may find out that Mr. Rees, or Mr. E. Williams, have ascertained the point of intersection.

I visited two small camps, or enclosures, on my way from Knighton to Clun, two miles or so east of the Dyke; but they could only have been temporary enclosures—never intended for prolonged defence.

It would be worth the while of any one fond of antiquities to follow the Teme up to Llanvair Waterdine; then he would come on your famous inscription, which Sir S. R. Meyrick illustrated so fully in your pages; ¹ and, indeed, all along this little stream, there are many mementos of early history. The Radnorshire hills, to the west and south of this river, are all *terra incognita*. I hope to penetrate amongst them at a future day. Meantime,

I am &c.,

A TRAVELLING ANTIQUARY.

Shrewsbury, May 1, 1851.

To the Editors of the Archaelogia Cambrensis.

GENTLEMEN,—The Silurian, of May 3rd, contains an important letter from the archdeacon of Cardigan, describing certain primitive antiquities in the neighbourhood of Brecon. The following passage occurs in the letter, with the remainder of which I am not at present concerned :—

"In a field to the west of [Twyn y Castell, a fortified post about three miles east of Brecon] and in a very remote and unlikely corner, I acting under ancient reminiscences, found an undoubted monument of our ancient fathers, a 'Dolmaen,' as it is called in Brittany; our 'Dollegarreg' [:] in English, a perforated stone."

The archdeacon proceeds to quote at length a passage from

¹ Arch. Camb., vol. ii., p. 298, First Series.

Mr. Wilson's Archaeology of Scotland, which leaves it not at all doubtful what kind of monument he has found.

I think it as well to obviate any misconception which the archdeacon's words may produce in the minds of our countrymen, as to the meaning of the word *Dolmen*; and I address myself to you, rather than to a local paper, as I regard you as the more proper channel for communications relating to our national antiquities.

It is certainly very natural to suppose that the word is used to denote the class of monuments in question. The apparent etymology clearly favours such a supposition. But as a matter of fact it is the name assigned, by the vulgar as well as by the learned, to that particular class of antiquities to which we give the name of *Cromleck*; and the latter name, apparently borrowed from British antiquaries, is used by French writers on the subject to denote the stone circle.

As it is probable that some of your readers may meet with these words in French writers, or in English authors in treating of Gallic antiquities,¹ they will avoid confusion by recollecting their precise import.

I may add, that although *Dolmen* is in the main synonymous with *Cromlech*, I am not prepared to say that there are not two classes of monuments to which they are both loosely applied, and to which, if that is the case, it would be better to appropriate them respectively. In Cornwall, a distinction is apparently made between the *Tolmen* and the *Quoit*; the former of which is etymologically identical with the *Dolmen*, while the latter corresponds exactly with the typical *Cromlech*, or *Coetan*. The *Tolmen*, according to Borlase, "consists of a large orbicular stone, supported by two stones, betwixt which there is a passage." And some, but by no means the majority, of the *Dolmens* in Brittany, certainly resemble the Cornish *Tolmen* more nearly than the proper *Cromlech*, which consists of a flattish stone resting on upright supporters.

I merely throw out this hint because, if these remains in fact constitute separate classes, and if the *Tolmens* of Cornwall belong to the province of archæology at all, it is better to create and preserve a distinct nomenclature.

> I am, Gentlemen, Your faithful servant, W. B. J.

¹ For example, the words occur in the chapter on Celtic ethnology, in the first volume of Mr. Merivale's *History of the Romans under* the Empire.

To the Editors of the Archaeologia Cambrensis.

GENTLEMEN,—I am at a loss to make out what stone your correspondent, "A Travelling Antiquary," refers to, when he states in your last Number :—

"Why, between Brecon and Crickhowel there is, at the present day, in the hedge—not a mile-stone, Gentlemen, (I see you smile, in your editorial incredulity,)—no, but a genuine early inscribed British stone. It is true, there is not a single man in the county of Brecon, lay or clerical, who can decipher it; this may be; but the London and Dublin antiquaries could read it in a moment; so could they in Glamorgan, or Caernarvon: but Brecon is rather Bœotic,—let that pass!"

I have seen two early inscribed stones between Brecon and Crickhowel, one "*in the hedge*" on the road-side at Scethrog,¹ in the parish of Llansaintfread and the other near Tretower, but if he has seen no other than one of those, I beg to say that his statement is grossly inaccurate; a circumstance which I am inclined to impute to misapprehension rather than misrepresentation.

Before, however, he again takes upon himself to charge the inhabitants of a whole county with being illiterate, I would recommend him to make inquiries as to the real facts of the case; and if he had done so in the present instance, he would not have made such off-handed and sweeping accusations.

It would appear that your correspondent has never read Jones' *History of Brecknockshire*, for in that work the author has taken great pains to describe every object of antiquity known to exist in the county in his time; and if he will take the trouble to look into it, he will find a correct engraving, from a drawing by the late Rev. Thomas Price, Cwm du, (Carnhauanwc,) of the stone to which he alludes, with the inscription deciphered.

I trust ere long the Association will hold one of its annual meetings at Brecon, for there are sufficient objects of interest in this neighbourhood to occupy their attention already discovered, and probably further research would bring more to light. Among them I may enumerate eleven castles, three Roman camps, twelve British ditto, upwards of twenty-three early inscribed stones,² three cromlechs; and, let it be remembered that, on the banks of the Irvon, in this county, Llewelyn, the last independent prince of the Cymry, was inhumanly murdered, near a spot where his grave is still pointed out by the finger of well authenticated tradition.

Immediately on reading the paragraph in your last respecting the Roman tile found at Gaer (Caer Bannau), near this town, I

¹ See Arch. Camb., vol. ii., p. 226, New Series. ² Ibid., p. 82.

proceeded to the place to make inquiries, and have much pleasure in being able to inform you that it is carefully preserved by Mrs. Price, the landlady of the Gaer farm, as well as another tile discovered not long since on the site of the ancient camp, a plan of which, together with drawings of the tiles, are being prepared, and will be exhibited at the next Annual Meeting of the Cambrian Archæological Association, at Tenby.—I am, &c.,

J. JOSEPH.

Brecon, 1st May, 1851.

To the Editors of the Archaelogia Cambrensis.

GENTLEMEN,-Having observed some correspondence on the subject of the Collegiate Church at Brecon, and my attention having been more particularly drawn to it by the letter bearing the signature of "An Architect," in the midsummer Number of your excellent Journal, I availed myself of the first opportunity that presented itself, when casually called to the neighbourhood, to visit the building; and must candidly confess, on comparing facts mentioned with the place itself, I can scarcely believe the writer had ever been on the spot. Judge my surprise on finding a large area covered with grass, surrounded by ruined and shattered walls, where once stood the nave of the ancient monastic church. The eastern portion, or chancel, which is but a small part of the whole church, is all that is roofed in, or with any architectural features remaining. The dimensions of the chancel do not exceed 65×25 feet; it is also in a bad condition, and would not contain more than 180 sittings; whereas a church for so populous a parish should contain from four to five hundred at least. How therefore your correspondent can pledge himself, or rather endeavour to persuade the public, that he can effect this doubtlessly very desirable object for the sum of £300, or even his largest amount, £600, is certainly not within my comprehension, unless he be either a very inexperienced man, or entertains a very moderate idea of the capability of your readers for judging on such subjects, and more especially those most concerned-the good people of Brecon. I know nothing of the commissioners, or of any architect engaged, or even what is proposed to be done; but should be sorry for any one to be misled by statements of this nature appearing before the public, with the weight and authority of your widely circulated Journal. Such a project, properly carried out, would most certainly require a far greater expenditure; and if the building be touched at all, as I trust it will, let me conjure all interested not to suffer themselves to be deceived as to the expense of properly either restoring or enlarging it, in the first instance, or to be dissuaded by an illjudged parsimony from doing it in the most effectual manner. I shall still keep my eye on them, trusting sincerely that the idea will some day be fully realized; and, individually, shall be most happy to contribute my mite, though only

ANOTHER ARCHITECT.

London, March, 1851.

[Our correspondent should be informed that the observations alluded to referred only to the portion of the church now roofed in—the chancel, in fact. From what we know of it ourselves, we think this part might really be made fit for parochial service within the limits which our correspondent considers too restricted. To leave the edifice as it is, is a disgrace to all connected with it. —EDD. ABCH. CAMB.]

LEGAL DOCUMENTS.

To the Editors of the Archæologia Cambrensis.

GENTLEMEN,—By the act of parliament of the 27th Henry VIII., chap. 26, divers Lordships Marcher were allotted to different counties in Wales, and a commission was directed to issue for dividing the several counties into hundreds, which commission, with certificate thereon, was to be returned into the chancery by the Feast of All Saints then next (Nov. 1, 1536).

By the 34th and 35th Henry VIII., chap. 26, sec. 3, the limitations of hundreds made by virtue of such commission then returned as directed, are confirmed and made law.

Could you or any of the readers of the Archæologia Cambrensis put me in the way of obtaining a copy or inspection of such document and certificate, so far as relates to the counties of Brecon and Radnor?

By the 27th sec. of the first-named act, the commissioners are also to "inquire and search out, by all ways and means they can, all and singular laws usages and customs used within the said dominion and country of Wales," and to certify as before mentioned; it seems to me that the certificate on this subject at any rate would be a document of great interest, and not unworthy the attention of the Editors of the Journal. If it has been already published, I shall be much obliged by your giving me a reference; if not, I shall be happy to concur with you or any one else either in the expense or trouble of hunting it up, if some kind friend would put me in the way of doing so; at present I do not exactly know where to begin, nor in what repository to search.

Yours, &c.,

J. R. C.

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Miscellaueons Notices.

In clearing away, on a recent occasion, some of the remains of Monkton Priory, Pembrokeshire, Mr. Henry Jones, surgeon, of Pembroke, requested a portion might be spared him for filling up some vacant space about his premises, and in removing it for that purpose, a metal seal was found therein, with the inscription, -"Sigillu^m. Prior. provicialis. Anglie Fratru^m. predicatorum." An opinion has been given by a gentleman conversant with the subject, that from the pilasters and dome that accompany the figures of the virgin and child in the centre, it is of Italian execution, and not more ancient than the time of Henry VII. He also pronounces it to have been an original and official seal of the Provincial Prior of the Preaching Brethren in England. These preaching brothers were Dominicans, or Black Friars, whose office was to preach and convert heretics. They had a priory at Monkton, first founded by Arnulph de Montgomery, and afterwards endowed by William Marshal as a cell to the abbey of St. Martin, at Séez, in Normandy; it subsequently became a cell to the abbey of St. Alban's, according to Fenton. The seal is understood now to be in the possession of the earl of Cawdor, at Stackpole Court, and therefore may be expected among the objects of antiquarian interest to be exhibited at the forthcoming meeting of the Cambrian Archaeological Association at Tenby.-Т. О. М.

LAMPETER.—Can any correspondent supply us with information concerning the mount close to St. David's College, Lampeter, standing within the vice-principal's garden? It is evidently of mediæval construction.

DENBIGH CASTLE.—We are informed that it is Lord Bagot who holds Denbigh Castle, under the authority of the crown; but whether by lease, or grant, or by what other tenure, we have not heard. The repairs of that fine remain of castellated architecture, the gateway, are becoming more and more urgent every day; but nobody seems to take any interest in its preservation at least in that part of the world.

THE HISTORY AND ANTIQUITIES OF SAINT DAVID'S.—We have much pleasure in calling our readers' attention to this important work, which was intended to form one or more of the Annual Volumes of the Cambrian Archæological Association, and a portion would probably have appeared in that shape during the present year. In consequence however of a contemplated change in the arrangements of that Society, this intention has been unavoidably relinquished. It has since been found that

justice could not be done to the portions of the book requiring illustrations, without a sufficient security against pecuniary risk. The method of publishing by subscription has therefore been necessarily resorted to. It is needless to enlarge on the high importance of a full and accurate account of St. David's, both in a historical and an architectural point of view. The want of such a work has often been felt, the only books directly bearing on the subject being hardly proportioned to the present advance of archæological science; the most important was published in 1717, by Browne Willis, whose general accuracy is remarkable, considering that he never visited the place; and the only more modern work does little more than to echo his statements. The letter-press will be copiously illustrated with steel engravings by Le Keux, and wood-cuts by Jewitt, from drawings taken on the spot by the latter eminent architectural artist. The greater part of the text is ready for the press, and if a sufficient number of subscriptions are obtained, it is hoped that the first part will be published in January, 1852.

We are glad to remind our readers that Mr. T. O. Morgan, of Aberystwyth, intends bringing out a complete History of Owain Glyndtor. No apology is needed for a new work on such a subject. The notices of Glyndwr in Ellis and Pennant partake rather of the character of fragments than of systematic history, invaluable indeed in materials for a more detailed account, but neither being, nor professing to be, a continuous biography. The more recent memoirs by Thomas, on the other hand, seem to err by their diffuseness; that author having attempted, in addition to his memoirs of Glyndwr, to carry on the general history of Wales till its union under Henry VIII. The field therefore still remains open for an account which, while it avoids the brevity and abruptness of Ellis and Pennant, shall confine itself more strictly to the subject of the memoirs than the last written work. Any archeological friend in possession of MSS., or information tending to elucidate any points in the eventful career of the last assertor of Cambrian independence, would confer the greatest obligation by intimating the same to the publisher of this Journal at Tenby.

AKERMAN'S DIRECTIONS FOR THE PRESERVATION OF ENGLISH ANTIQUITIES.—This little work is intended to prevent as far as possible the loss to the antiquary of many interesting objects of antiquity, which are now lost or destroyed in consequence of the ignorance of the finder; the cost is only a penny, and we trust our readers will assist in giving this tract as wide a circulation as possible.

Reviems.

AN ESSAY ON THE ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF WINDOW TRACERY IN ENGLAND. BY EDWARD A. FREEMAN, M.A., &c. Parker, Oxford. 1851.

To all students of architecture, and especially of that magnificent form of it which arose in western Europe as the product of mediæval civilization, Mr. Freeman is favourably known as the historian of the art, and as the mainspring, for a season, of that Society which was the first to awaken general interest in the subject. Our own readers are familiar with his name, as that of an active and valuable contributor to our pages, and, above all, as the architectural historian of Llandaff Cathedral. We have had occasion already to speak in high terms of his former works; the present one, which was completed at the commencement of the year, is a most important addition to them, and in some respects of greater value than its predecessors. It is true that a vast accumulation of widely scattered details, however scientifically grouped and acutely commented upon, can hardly hope to rival in general popularity, a work which comprehends the entire history of an art within the limits of a single volume, or one which successfully illustrates the gradual development of an existing fabric. The former, as addressed to the general reader, is less dry and technical; the latter, in common with every monograph, possesses a living interest which must be comparatively deficient in a scientific treatise. But a higher place than that of the manual or the monograph must be assigned to an essay which works out thoroughly and in detail a particular branch of a wide subject, especially when, as in the case before us, the author has opened a new line of study. For it is by specific inquiries rather than by general treatises that every science is developed and perfected. Discovery is a work of detail; and the encyclopædist can only present us with general results.

The subject of window tracery is not only interesting from the extreme beauty and variety of the forms which it presents, and from the fact that it has been hitherto comparatively unexamined, or at least has not been arranged on any scientific principle; but it possesses certain advantages over other parts of the same general study. Music and architecture are in a certain sense the most *ideal* of the fine arts, that is, they do not depend in any degree, or only accidentally, on the reproduction of natural forms; in a word, they are not imitative, but deal with proportion and harmony, differing only in the sense to which they are addressed. But in architecture a force comes into play which limits its scope, while it is the account of its existence, namely, the consideration of utility. Architecture, then, is not a fine art only, it is a useful art; and this *differentia* necessarily trammels the artist in his freedom of design. But this limitation does not extend to the merely ornamental portions of a structure; and of all such portions (for, so far as its tracery is concerned, it is merely ornamental) the

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window of a Gothic edifice is the most necessary, important, and conspicuous. In the words of the author :---

"The window is a more strict unity, its tracery has greater physical independence than any other part, and its whole nature gives freer scope for the exercise of a luxuriant imagination than vault, or column, or doorway. Every one must have observed that it is to the windows that the novice in architecture mainly looks in his endeavour to grapple with the outward distinctions of successive styles; and it is to the windows that the more advanced observer chiefly appeals as the exponents of their animating principles."

In the windows then we may trace, as our author has most successfully traced, the central idea of the several Gothic styles. Those ideas have here full play, unfettered by considerations of utility; so long as they are not

"Rich windows that exclude the light,"

they may easily satisfy the often competing claims of ro ralor and ro συμφέρον. There is indeed one circumstance which must have exercised in some cases a reflex influence on window tracery. The glasspainter, whose duty it was to fill up the void spaces in the architect's design, must in some cases have thought his office of sufficient importance to determine the latter in his choice of forms. For example, the singular design from the Mayor's Chapel at Bristol (pl. 21, fig. 95) seems intended to receive a representation of the Crucifixion; and in later times, when figures and groups became more prominent, this could hardly fail to be the case. We commend this point to the author's consideration, as also one which does not indeed come within the terms of his subject, but is of high interest both in itself, and as illustrative of the questions which he has so ably discussed; we mean the collateral development of screen-work, and of other tracery not used in windows or fenestriform apertures. We do not remember that he has adverted to this at all; yet we can hardly doubt that it was closely connected, whether in the way of effect or cause, if not with the origin, at least with the growth of the more important species of tracery which forms his immediate subject; while it involves an element which is excluded from his calculations, namely, the artistic results of the use of wood-work.

Mr. Freeman's essay exhibits a most extensive knowledge of individual examples, and evinces a remarkable power of generalization and arrangement. It is true that, in addition to occasional obscurity of style, the natural fault of a work originally intended for oral delivery,¹ and one which does not mar his earlier productions, it presents considerable difficulties to the ordinary reader, who has neither access to the numerous illustrated works referred to by the author, nor a familiar acquaintance with the actual examples. Still we can only complain of the proportion which the description bears to the illustrations actually given, and by no means of the absolute number of the

1" The present volume consists of an improved and extended form of several papers on the subject of tracery read before the Oxford Architectural Society, at intervals during the years 1846 and 1848."—*Preface*.

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latter; for nearly 400 examples are figured in the work, most of them from drawings by the author, and a large proportion taken from the drawings of the late Mr. Rickman. On the whole, the book is a splendid specimen of induction and classification: regarded in this point of view, it has an interest for all readers; but to the student of architecture, and especially to the professional student, it is invaluable, and will certainly form a text-book in (whenever it is founded) the Royal Academy of Architecture.

THE PRIMEVAL ANTIQUITIES OF DENMARK. By J. J. R. WOR-SAAE. Translated, and applied to the Illustration of similar Remains in England, by WILLIAM J. THOMS, F.S.A. J. H. Parker, Oxford and London. 1849.

Well! this is a relief. We can breathe freely now; but we have been labouring under most disagreeable, night-mare-like suspicions! Burning with the anxious desire of knowing something about our Celtic ancestors, (as what true Cymro is not?) we listened at first with greedy ears to the veracious traditions which the $\mu \epsilon \mu \nu \eta \mu \epsilon \nu o \iota$ of the Eisteddfodau, in obedience to the bardic motto, "Y gwir yn erbyn y byd," promulgate in defiance of the belief and experience of all man-kind. We found to our astonishment that the social condition of We found to our astonishment that the social condition of Britain had made but a trifling advance in the course of twenty centuries, while its moral and intellectual status was decidedly lowered by the unhappy introduction of Teutonic blood in the year 449. Ethnologically speaking, we became violent Protectionists, and looked upon the keels of Hengist with the eyes with which an exasperated country gentleman regards a ship freighted with foreign corn. At last, like the Platonic philosopher, ind rairns the skius out of odda έτυφλώθην, ώςτε απέμαθον και ταῦτα & προ τοῦ ψμην είδέναι: the "in-substantial pageant" of tradition, drove out of our heads Mrs. Markham, Goldsmith, and "The Romans in England long did sway." So we followed the example of Socrates, abandoned our old masters, and entered the school of the archæologists.

But, alas! the lessons of the archæologists were by no means agreeable. For, indeed, the initiatory process was not altogether a pleasant one. There was a great deal of digging and delving, and dirty work of all sorts.

> 'Ατὰρ τί ποτ' ἐς τὴν γῆν βλέπουσιν οὐτοιΐ ; ζητοῦσιν οὖτοι τὰ κατὰ γῆς. τί γὰρ οἶδε δρῶσιν οἱ σφόδρ' ἐγκεκυφότες ; οὖτοι δ' ἐρεβοδιφῶσιν ὑπὸ τὸν Τάρταρον.

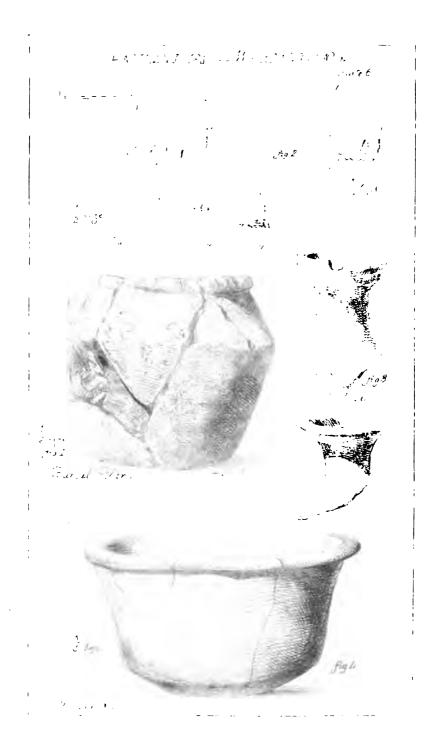
Such was the spectacle presented to the astonished eyes of Strepsiades; and we encountered a similar one ourselves, on enrolling ourselves among the disciples of the archæological phrontisterion.

But the conclusions of our teachers were much more unsavoury than their premisses. All sorts of unpleasant things began to turn up, M. Worsaae's work has removed a great weight from our mind. He has proved, if his facts are sufficient, to demonstration, that the earliest inhabitants of these islands, and of western Europe, were a race anterior to the Celtze; and that the latter commenced their migration from their eastern home equipped with well-wrought arms and implements of bronze. We have thought it necessary to insert a proviso, because we are not yet sure that M. Worsaae's facts *are* sufficient, or at all events, that they apply to the phenomena of our own islands; and it is upon the evidence afforded by our own discoveries that the weight of his proof in a great measure depends.

The work may be regarded at once as a hand-book for beginners in the study of primitive antiquities,-which it arranges chronologically according to the materials in successive use, stone, bronze and iron,and as an indication of the conclusions to which these phenomena are The most important conclusion is that which we have tending. already mentioned, and which rests principally on the fact asserted by the author, that there is a sudden and immediate change from the stone period to that of bronze, produced as it would seem by the irruption of a new race acquainted with the use of metals. It is most important to verify this statement by observations in those portions of these islands which are still completely Celtic. For M. Worsaae denies the aboriginality of the Celts on the ground that they are the present inhabitants of districts where both bronze and stone implements are found, and must therefore have been preceded by a people unacquainted with the use of metals. But if the sudden transition from the period of stone to that of bronze, which appears to have occurred in Scandinavia, cannot be proved to have taken place in the British isles, it is conceivable that the Celtæ may have been the aborigines of western Europe, violently displaced by an irruption into Scandinavia of Teutonic or other races, from whom the Celts of Gaul or Britain may have subsequently learned the metallurgic arts.

We have spoken at length on this subject, in order to call our readers' attention to the necessity of noting and recording accurately every discovery of primeval remains, and the supreme importance of Welsh antiquities in determining the early condition of Europe. And we may perhaps add, upon the authority of Mr. Wilson's valuable work on the Archæology and Prehistoric Annals of Scotland, that discoveries in North Britain have tended to invalidate M. Worsaae's argument, by showing that in parts, at least, of these islands there was س • 1 • / .





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a gradual transition to the use of metals; while they confirm in another way his general conclusion by evidence of a kind to which he has barely alluded; the concurrence, namely, of a different physical type in human remains, with the different materials and forms of implements, which are assumed to mark the advancing civilization of their owners.

To all who feel a real interest in the primeval condition of their country, and of the world,—to all who desire to form a philosophic idea of the earliest ages,—to all who have collections to arrange,—to all who have antiquities to preserve, we most cordially recommend M. Worsaae's manual. It will cost them no great sum of money; and, what to most persons is of no less importance, it is so brief, so perspicuous, and so amply illustrated, that it will cost them very little thought.

- TRANSACTIONS OF THE KILKENNY ARCHEOLOGICAL SOCIETY, FOR THE YEAR 1849. Dublin. Pp. 110.
- PROCEEDINGS AND PAPERS OF THE HISTORIC SOCIETY OF LANCA-SHIRE AND CHESHIRE. 1849-50. Parts I. and II. Liverpool.

It is delightful to find that the progress of archæology tries to keep pace with the march of utilitarianism, so characteristic of the age. Societies are springing up, having for their express object the study and conservation of antiquities, and by their means has many a precious relic of historic interest been already rescued from the dark doom to which the destructive spirit of modern civilization had selfishly and unmercifully consigned it.

Since the publication of our January Number, three societies, the "Kilkenny Archæological Society," the "Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire," and the "Architectural Society of the Archdeaconry of Northampton," have sought alliance with our own Association, for the purpose of interchanging reports, notices of meetings, and otherwise furthering their common views.

The transactions and papers of the two former are now before us, and their pages exhibit talent, taste, and research of no ordinary degree. The following is a table of their contents respectively:—*Kilkenny Transactions*:—PRIMEVAL PERIOD—Giants' Graves, Nos. I., II.; Observations on Raths; Sepulchral Remains; Implements and Ornaments; Ancient Timber Structures; the Irish Elk. MEDLEVAL PERIOD—The Builder of the Walls of Kilkenny; Ancient Flemish Colony in Kilkenny; Ancient Street Architecture in Kilkenny; Ancient Corporation Bye-Laws; Observations on Sedilia in Irish Churches; Observations on Holy Cross Abbey, and its Celebrated Monument; Reply to the same; Ancient Encaustic Flooring Tiles; Ancient Seals and Rings; Miscellaneous Antiquities; Appendix. *Proceedings of the Historic Society*:—Introductory Address; An Investigation into the Right of the County Palatine of Chester to bear a Coat of Arms; On a Charter of Feofiment of Gorton, &c.; Notes on a Roman Road near Warrington; On the Roman Station Condate; On Handford Old Hall, and the Ancient Family of Brereton; Sketch of the History of the Ancient Modes of Fastening Doors; On the Scotch Kirks and Congregations in Liverpool; An Account of the Parish of Church Minshull in Cheshire; Cotton and the Cotton Trade; Some Remarks on the Lords Lieutenant of the County Palatine of Chester, from the Restoration to the year 1690; A Memoir on the Lancashire House of Le Noreis, or Norres, and on its Speke Branch in Particular, &c., with Notices of its connexion with Military Transactions at Flodden, Edinburgh, and Musselburgh; Some Occurrences during the Rebellion of 1745, principally in Warrington and the Neighbourhood; An account of the Tilting-Ground at Gawsworth, Cheshire; Memoirs of the Earls of Chester; Closing Address; Appendix.

It will be thus seen at once that the several subjects are of an interesting and important character, and when we add that they are treated by eminent antiquaries, and that most of them are very fully illustrated, we need say no more to recommend them to the notice and reception of our readers.

We would in particular refer to the paper on a Roman Road, near Warrington, which is written by our learned correspondent, Dr. Hume, with the view of encouraging others to make similar investigations into uncertain remains in the Principality. Dr. Hume, some time ago, formed one of an exploring party, and right manfully did he and his friends prosecute their task, turning up continually articles of various descriptions, but all clearly indicative of Roman occupation, and thus tending to determine beyond a doubt the direction of a line of road which before was questionable. Through the kindness of the writer we are enabled to present our readers with the annexed plates, illustrative of some of the relics discovered on the occasion.

The plate which is numbered VI. in the Society's series exhibits a large variety of Roman ware, from the immense masses that were turned up. No. V. exhibits a specimen of the articles which are exhibited from time to time at the Society's meetings. One is a brank or bridle for female scolds, of a very peculiar construction; it was exhibited by Dr. Kendrick of Warrington. These articles are now very rare, probably because ladies are more manageable. The lower object is a viatorium, or pocket compass; the letters O, O, S, M, mark the cardinal points, Oriens, Occidens, Septentrio, Meridies. Both plates were engraved by H. C. Pidgeon, Esq., late joint secretary of the Society, but now of London.

We would mention moreover the kindred article which follows, by J. Robson, Esq., Warrington, and especially invite attention to the arguments by which he endeavours to identify our old favourite Mediolanum with Middlewich.

In conclusion, we beg to impress upon the minds of our readers the following notice, extracted from the Kilkenny Transactions, as worthy of deep consideration :--- "ENACTMENT FOR THE PRESERVATION OF MONUMENTS.—The Committee of the Kilkenny Archeeological Society beg to direct public attention to the fact, that a most stringent law has been enacted for the preservation of public monuments—ancient as well as modern—from wanton injury. The act of the 8th and 9th Victoria, chap. 44, sec. 1, makes it misdemeanour, punishable by imprisonment not exceeding six months, and a public or private whipping, once, twice, or thrice, at the discretion of the court, to unlawfully or maliciously destroy or damage 'any picture, statue, monument, or painted glass in any church, chapel, or other place of worship ; or any statue or monument *exposed to public view.*' The attention of the constabulary is particularly requested to this act."

RECENT ARCHÆOLOGICAL PUBLICATIONS.

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- Archæologia Cambrensis, a Record of the Antiquities of Wales and its Marches, and the Journal of the Cambrian Archæological Association. Supplementary Volume. Containing :--Vestiges of the Gael in Gwynedd. By the Rev. W. Basil Jones, M.A. § I. Loss of Ancient Names.---\$ II. Ancient Authorities.----\$ JII. Traditional Evidence.--\$ IV. Chronology.--\$ V. Extent of the Gaelic Dominion.---\$ VII. The Legend of Cunedda Examined.---\$ VII. Origin of the Gaelic Dominion.---\$ VIII. Consequences of the Cuneddian Migration.--Topographical Index.----An Essay on the State of Agriculture, and the Progress of Arts and Manufactures in Britain, during the Period, and under the Influence, of the Druidical System. By the Rev. John Jones, M.A., Rector of Llanllyfni, Caernarvonshire.-----A Glossary of Terms used for Articles of British Dress and Armour. By the Rev. John Williams (Ab Ithel), M.A., Rector of Llany-mowddwy, Merionethshire. Price 7s. 6d.; cloth, 8s. 6d. London: W. Pickering. Tenby: R. Magon.
- A Description and History of Caerphilly Castle. Contents :-- I. Description.-- II. Present Condition.-- III. History.---- A Description of Castell Coch. By George T. Clark, Esq. 8vo., with Ground-Plans and Bird's-eye View of Caerphilly Castle, 4s. London : W. Pickering. Tenby: R. Mason.
- Notes on the Antiquities of Treves, Mayence, Wiesbaden, Bonn, and Cologne. With plates and wood-cuts. By C. Roach Smith, F.S.A. Reprinted from the Collectanes Antique. 7s. 6d. London : J. Russell Smith.
- The Archeology and Prehistoric Annals of Scotland. By Daniel Wilson. Part I. Primæval or Stone Period.—Part II. Archaic or Bronze Period.—Part III. Teutonic or Iron Period.—Part IV. Christian Period. 28s. Edinburgh : Sutherland and Knox. London : Simpkin, Marshall, & Co.
- The Roman Wall.—An Historical, Topographical, and Descriptive Account of the Barrier of the Lower Isthmus, extending from the Tyne to the Solway, deduced from numerous personal surveys. By the Rev. John Collingwood Bruce, M.A. £1 1s. London : J. Russell Smith.
- The Saxons in England.—A History of the English Commonwealth till the period of the Norman Conquest. By John M. Kemble, M.A., F.C.P.S. 28s. London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans.
- A Glossary of Terms used for Articles of British Dress and Armour. By the Rev. John Williams, (Ab Ithel,) M.A., Llanymowddwy. 3s. 6d. London: W. Pickering. Tenby: R. Mason.
- An Essay on the State of Agriculture, and the Progress of Arts and Manufactures in Britain, during the period, and under the influence, of the Druidical System. By the Rev. John Jones, M.A., Llanllyfni. 1s. London: W. Pickering. Tenby: R. Mason.

History of Cymmer Abbey, Merionethshire. By the Rev. H. L. Jones, M.A. 8vo., 1s. London: W. Pickering. Tenby: R. Mason.

Remarks on Querns. By the Rev. A. Hume, LL.D., F.S.A. 8vo., 1s. London: W. Pickering. Tenby: R. Mason.

PREPARING FOR PUBLICATION.

- By Subscription .- The History and Antiquities of St. David's. By the Rev. W. Basil Jones, M.A., Fellow of Queen's College, Oxford ; and E. A. Freeman, M.A., late Fellow of Trinity College, Oxford, Author of the "History of Architecture," &c., &c.—Contents.—Chapter I.—General Description and Primeval Antiquities .- Position-Physical features of the country-Cultivation, &c .-- Approach to St. David's-Town of St. David's-Coast Scenery : (1.) Porth y Rhaw to Porth-clais; (2.) Porth-clais to Whitesand Bay; (3.) Aberithy to Whitesand Bay-Islands-Natural History. Rocking Stone-Cromlechs at St. David's Head, Llandridion and Longhouse-Meini Hirion-Carneddau-Camps at Porth y Rhaw, Caerfai, Treheinif, Dewiston, St. David's Head, Castell Coch, Pwllcaerog and Abercastell-Ffoes y Myneich, a British trackway .---- Chapter II.--Architectural Description of the Cathedral.--General effect-Nave and Aisles, Exterior-Nave, Interior-Triforium and Clerestory-Nave Roof-Nave Aisles-Tower and Lantern-Transepts-Choir and Aisles-Chapels east of the Choir-Chapter-house, &c.---Chapter III. -Archæology and Heraldry of the Cathedral.-Ritual arrangements-Nave-Font-Gower's Rood-screen-Choir and Presbytery-Changes in the arrangements-Chapels, Chantries and Altars-Shrines-Tombs-Polychrome and Painted Glass-Tiles-Heraldry.-Chapter IV.-Architectural History of Painted Glass—Tiles—Heraldry.—Chapter IV.—Architectural History of the Cathedral.—First period, Transitional, 1180—Second period, 1220—Third period, Barly English, 1248—Fourth period, Barly Decorated, *cir.* 1293— Fifth period, Decorated, 1328–1347—Sixth period, Barly Perpendicular, 1361 -1388-Seventh period, Late Perpendicular, 1460-1522-Bighth period, seventeenth century-Subsequent alterations.-Chapter V.-Subordinate Buildings and Minor Antiquities .- St. Mary's College Cloister -The College Chapel ---The College Buildings.-Bishop's Palace-Parapet-Crypts-Great Hall, &c. -Great Chapel-West Side-Gateway-Small Chapel-Bishop's Hall, &c. Kitchen-Remarks on the Decorated Style as exemplified in the works of Bishop Gower.-Close Wall and Gateways-Prebendal Houses, &c.-Outlying Chapels - Domestic Remains - Wells - Crosses. - Chapter VI. - General History of the Church and See. - First period, from the sixth to the twelfth century-Second period, from the twelfth to the sixteenth century-Third period, from the sixteenth to the nineteenth century .-- Appendices-Containing Documents, Lists of Bishops and Dignitaries, &c. The letter-press will be copiously illustrated with steel engravings by Le Keux, and wood-cuts by Jewitt, from drawings taken on the spot by the latter eminent architectural artist. The greater part of the text is ready for the press, and if a sufficient number of subscriptions are obtained, it is hoped that the First Part will be pub-lished in January, 1852. Price, in royal 4to., India proofs, to Subscribers, 12s. per part, or in one volume, cloth, £2 8s.; to Non-Subscribers, 15s. per part, or in one volume, cloth, £3. In demy 4to., to Subscribers, 7s. 6d. per part, or in one volume, cloth, £1 10s.; to Non-Subscribers, 10s. per part, or in one volume, cloth, £2.-Free by Post. London : W. Pickering. Tenby : R. Mason.
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Cambrian Archæological Association.

THE Fifth Annual Meeting will be held at Tenby, and will commence on Wednesday, August 20th. The following outline of proceedings is proposed, subject to such alterations as may be found necessary at the time of the Meeting :--

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 20TH.

The General Committee will meet at ten A.M. to audit the accounts, and arrange preliminaries for the Meeting, and for the following year. At half-past seven P.M. the President, W. W. E. Wynne, Esq., will take the Chair, and will resign his office to the Earl of Cawdor.

THURSDAY, 21st.

Excursion to Penally Church and Crosses; Ruined Houses at Penally and Lydstep; Manorbeer Church, Castle, and Cromlech; Hodgeston Church; returning by the Ridgeway and Trefloyn. Evening Meeting at half-past seven P.M.

FRIDAY, 22ND.

Excussion to Scotsborough House; Gumfreston Church; St. Florence Church; Carew Castle, Cross, and Church; Upton Castle and Church; Nash Church. Evening Meeting as before.

SATURDAY, 23rd.

Excursion to Lamphey Palace and Church; Pembroke Castle and Churches; St. Daniel's Church; Monkton Priory; and Pembroke Dockyard. Evening Meeting.

Monday, 25th.

Examination of the Church and Domestic Remains at Tenby. Excursion by steamer to Kidwelly, to visit the Castle, Church, and Domestic Remains. Evening Meeting.

TUESDAY, 26TH.

Examination of the Castle and Town Walls of Tenby. Excursion by steamer to Laugharne and Llanstephan Castles. Final Evening Meeting, for the election of Officers, and transaction of formal business.

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It is proposed to make an Excursion to St. David's after the close of the Meeting. On Wednesday the 27th, and Thursday the 28th, a steamer will sail for St. David's, returning each night, thereby giving visitors an opportunity of passing two days in the place. On the afternoon of Wednesday, a lecture on the Architectural History of the Cathedral will be given on the spot.

The Meeting of the General Committee, which was appointed to take place in London, has been unavoidably postponed; and Members of the General Committee are earnestly requested to attend on the morning of Wednesday, August 20th.

Members who have any time to spare before or after the Annual Meeting, may occupy it very profitably in an inspection of the town and neighbourhood of Haverfordwest, or of the primeval antiquities on the Preseleu mountains.

COACHES.—The *Mail* leaves Swansea at half-past eight A.M., and Caermarthen at twelve at noon, every day, for Tenby.

The Hero, railway coach, leaves Swansea for Tenby every Monday, Wednesday, and Friday, at eleven A.M., passing through Llanelly, Kidwelly, Caermarthen, and St. Clears. A coach leaves Brecon at eight A.M. on the above days, meeting the Hero at Caermarthen.

The Railway Coach leaves Aberystwyth every Monday, Wednesday, and Friday, at seven A.M., meeting the Hero at Caermarthen.

STEAMERS.—The Osprey leaves Bristol for Tenby every Tuesday, and the *Phoenico* every Thursday night or Friday morning.

INNS.—The White Lion and the Cobourg Hotels.

All communications are to be made to the General Secretaries,

The Rev. JOHN WILLIAMS, Llanymowddwy, Mallwyd, The Rev. W. BASIL JONES, Gwynfryn, Machynlleth.

A requisition has been received from the Mayor and Town Council of Brecon, recommending that town as the place of meeting of the Association in the year 1853.

Archæologia Cambrensis.

NEW SERIES, No. VIII.-OCTOBER, 1851.

THE POEMS OF TALIESIN.

No. III.

My last paper so far exceeded the length which I deemed reasonable for a commentary on a single poem, that several topics were left untouched. These, I will briefly discuss before entering upon the consideration of another poem. First then of Aerven, the scene of some of Urien's exploits. In a note I threw out a suggestion that it might have been Aeron, or Arvon; but the probability is in favour of its being an old name for the river Dee. That Aerven is the name of a river, appears quite clear from the description given in the poem:—

> " Deutu Aerven Diffwys dilen Dydau lwyd." " On the two sides of Aerven, Of uncovered precipices, He placed success."

I do not know the history of the event here recorded, nor whether the Dee in any part of its course flows between rocky precipices; but, in Richards' *Dictionary*, Aerven is positively identified with that river:—

"Aerfen, Dyfrdwy, s. f. the river Dee. Aerfen bengrech felen fawr."

ARCH. CAMB., NEW SERIES, VOL. II.

Here Richards adds other descriptive traits; but from which of the bards he derives the quotation he does not state. However, thus much we may assume, that some authority is better than none; and though we do not know what authority this author has for the assertion, it is not credible that he made it without being warranted in so doing.

The next topic is, where was RHEGED? Some say in South Wales; some say in Cumberland; but all confess themselves to be in doubt. This subject invites a long discussion; but I must refrain for the present, and defer the full examination until Urien Rheged comes fairly before us. In the meantime, I may as well indicate my own opinion. Let us take a map of ancient Britain, and start from Manchester; from thence two Roman roads run through Lancashire, one going to Lancaster, and ending there, and the other straight on from Manchester to Cumberland, and the south of Scotland; confining our attention to the latter, and following its course from Manchester, we come to the next Roman station at This is called by one authority, Coccium, Ribchester. and by another, Rhigodunum; and RHIGOD-dunum, I believe, was the RHEGED which we seek.

The third topic of which we promised to treat, was the intimacy between the bards Taliesin and Aneurin; the existence of which is proved by allusions in the poems of both. One of these allusions has already come under our notice :---

" Urien of Rheged : since Adam,

His has been the widest spreading sword,

Of the thirteen kings of the North.

Do I know the name of Aneurin the flowing-song'd minstrel, I being Taliesin, of the banks of Lake Geirionnydd?"

The words, "of the thirteen kings of North Britain," may belong to either the first or the last part of these lines. If we attach them to the last, they will read thus:—

"Of the thirteen kings of the North,

Do I know the name of Aneurin?"

We thus connect Aneurin with the north, and invest him

with a kingly character. In any case, Aneurin is clearly placed in the north of England, while Taliesin is located on the banks of lake Geirionnydd, in Caernarvonshire. This place seems to possess some strong fascination for, and certainly derives much celebrity from, the bards; Taliesin lived upon its banks; Llywarch ab Llywelyn, my old friend, "the poet of the pigs," appears to have resided there; and the chair-bard of Rhuddlan has long been endeared to his countrymen by the cognomen of Ieuan Glan Geirionnydd. From all the evidence that I can collect, Taliesin was much older than Aneurin. In the lines under consideration, the descriptive term "flowingsong'd minstrel," indicates that the one was in the prime of mental vigour; and the allusion made to Taliesin, in the Gododin, where Aneurin indicates that the plan and subject of that poem had been submitted to the other, appears to warrant the same conclusion. Besides this, their poems, in their titles and contents, tend to establish the same point. Taliesin was probably consulted upon the plan of the Gododin at the beginning of the seventh century, when he certainly was an old man; but the Gododin treats of some events which took place about 640, when, Taliesin was dead, and in his grave. So much then for the residence of Taliesin, and his intimacy with Aneurin; but we reserve a fuller biography for a more fitting occasion.

Let us now proceed to discuss another poem. The one selected for this occasion is the Elegy of Aeddon of Mona, which, though referring to, and illustrative of, the existence of "the Gael in Gwynedd," appears to have escaped the notice of the very able and acute author of that essay. The poem occurs in the *Myvyrian Archaiology*, (i., p. 70,) and runs thus :—

MARWNAD AEDDON O VON.

	1.	
Echrys Ynyt ¹ Gwaut hu Ynys Gwrys gwobretor	•	Mon mad gogei Gwrhyd Erfei Menai ei dor.

¹ *Ynyt* is the word in the original, but *Ynys* is the proper reading.

Lleweis wirawd Gwin a bragawd Gan frawd esgor Teyrn wofrwy Diwedd pob rhwy Rhwyf rewinetor.⁴ Tristlawn ddeon Yr Arch Aeddon Can rychior Nid fu nid fi Ynghemelrhi Ei gyfeissor. Pan ddaeth Aeddon O wlad Wydion Seon tewdor Gwenwyn pur ddoeth Pedair pennoeth Meinoeth tymhor Cwyddynt gytoed Ni bu clyd coed Gwynt yngoror³ Math ag Eunydd

Echrys Ynys Gwawd hwynys Gwrys gochwymma Yrhag buddwas Cymry ddinas Aros ara Dragonawl ben Priodawr perchen Ym Mretonia Difa gwledig Or bendefig Ae tu terra Pedeir morwyn Wedy eu cwyn Dygnawd eu tra Erddygnawd wir Ar for heb dir Hir eu trefra

Hudwyd gelfydd Rydd elfinor Ym myw⁴ Gwydion Ac Amaethon Atoedd cynghor Twll tal y rodawg Ffyrf ffodiawg **Ffyrf** diachor Cadarn gyfedd Ymhob gorsedd Gwnelid ei fodd. Cu Cynaethwy Hyd tra fyw fwy Crybwylletor Cadarn gyngres Ei faranrhes Ni bu werthfor. [Am bwyf gan Grist Hyd na bwyf trist Pan ebostol Hael Arch Aeddon Gan Engylion Cynwysetter.]

II.

Oi wironyn Na ddigonyn Dim gofetra Ceryddus wyf Na chrybwyllwyf Am rywnel da I lwrw lywy Pwy gwaharddwy Pwy attrefna I lwrw Aeddon Pwy gyneil Mon Mwyn gywala Am bwyf gan Grist Hyd na bwyf trist O ddrwg o dda Rhan trugaredd I wlad rhiedd Buchedd gyfa.] TALIESIN.

² This reading is from the MSS. of the Rev. E. Davies ; the word in the Myv. is rewintor. ³ Yngohor.-MSS. E. D. ⁴ Mny.-Ibid.

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Like Anrheg Urien, this poem has lost its original simplicity. The verses here placed in brackets do not occur in the Rev. Edward Davies' copy; and it is quite probable that these are monkish additions. Excepting the two concluding verses, the first part appears to be tolerably pure; but the Latin terminations of one or two verses in the second part excite my suspicion. Of themselves, these would not be sufficient to invalidate the antiquity and genuineness of the poem; but, in truth, the verses as they stand here, have evidently suffered much from copyists; and their present orthography is very modern. This is easily proved by the occurrence of the letter dd, the history of which is given by Lhuyd with his usual accuracy and minuteness :---

"D in old manuscripts, whether Welsh or Cornish, has two pronunciations; for, besides the common reading, as in the English and other languages, it serves in the midst and termination for *dh*, or the English *th*, in *this*, *that*, &c. So *medal* (soft) is to be read *medhal*, &c. The *dd* was introduced to express this sound about the year 1400, and in the time of Henry VIII., &c., *d*, pointed at the top or underneath, by H. Lluyd and W. Salisbury, at home; and by Dr. Gryffydh Roberts and Roger Smyth in the Welsh books they printed beyond sea. In the reign of Queen Elizabeth, Dr. J. D. Rhys, Dr. D. Powel, and others, used *dh*, which was afterwards rejected by Dr. Davies, and *dd* restored."—Arch. Brittan., p. 227.

Another feature provocative of philological comment is the word *Lleweis*, in the third verse of the first part. Probert met with it in translating the *Gododin*, and straightway converted a British chief into a *lioness*; many Welshmen would probably have done the same; but the meaning of the word is to *eat* or *drink*. No doubt the term is borrowed from the practices of lions and other animals. But, asks some reader, where did the Kymry become acquainted with the lion? I know not, unless the Romans brought those animals with them for their gladiatorial shows; but this is certain, the Kymry knew the animal well. Aneurin looks upon it as the lord of the forest; and our countrymen, contemplating that animal as the *beau ideal* of a feeder, applied the term "lionize" as a metaphorical description of eating and drinking. The word is obsolete in Wales;⁵ but the term is used in England for an object which is made a show of, as "the lion of a party." See, for instance, the character of Mrs. Leo Hunter, in the *Pickwick Papers*. Another recent instance of word-forming is the name *chick-a-poppo*, given by the Ojibbeways to champagne, in consequence of the *chicking* and *popping* sound attendant upon the opening of bottles of that wine.

One other feature I must notice before laying the translation before the reader, and that is the intense love of nature which is shown in this, as well as in all the older poetry of Wales. The author in this poem, whom we may conclude to have been Taliesin, describes Mona with a devotion worthy of Wordsworth, Tennyson, or the bard who turned up the daisy, as—

" Mona (land of) charming cuckoos."

Our modern bards, almost to a man, have left nature, with all her cuckoos, to sing their own praises. Puritanism has no affection for such simple joys; and but few Cambrian bards would now venture to say they were such lovers of nature, as to have a kind word for the cuckoo. The old bards, however, had more of the milk of human kindness; the cuckoo's note was sweet to the ears of Llywarch Hen; Gwalchmai held communion with it often, as also did Davydd ab Gwilym; and we all respect the genial bard who sang :---

> " Pwy feddylsai cansai 'r gog Mewn mawnog ar y mynydd?"

It is true that *gogei* may mean *cooks*, and the bards were rather fond of good living; but the other reading is preferable.

The poem, rendered into English, reads somewhat as follows :---

⁵ Our learned correspondent is not quite correct in his statement; the word might be obsolete in South Wales, but certainly it is still very current in the northern portion of the Principality.—EDD. ARCH. CAMB.

THE POEMS OF TALIESIN.

THE ELEGY OF AEDDON OF MONA.

Terrible island ! **Boldly** praised island Of the severe rewarder ! Mona! (land of) charming cuckoos, Of the manliness of Ervei; Menai is its portal! (There) J drank liquor, Wine and braggett, With a brother-now departed. The universal ruler, The end of all emulation, The ruinator of sovereignty, Rueful Destiny! Demanded Aeddon. For the grave. There has not been, There will not be, his equal In tribulation. When Aeddon came From the land of Gwydion.⁶ The strong door of Seon;⁷ He was an acute afflictor: In four nocturnal (attacks), In the serene season, His contemporaries fell; The woods afforded no protection.

The wind was on their skirts, Math and Eunydd,⁸ Skilful with the magic wand, Set the elements at large ; In the time of Gwydion⁹ And Amaethon. There was counsel. Pierced was the front of his shield: He was strong and fortunate. Strong and irresistible. He was mighty in the carouse; In every congress His will was done. Kind forerunner. While I am living. He shall be celebrated. The powerful combination Of his front rank Was not serviceable (to his enemies). [May I be with Christ (i. e. dead), If I am not sorrowful, That the generous apostle, Demanded Aeddon, To be contained Among the angels.

II.

Terrible island !	In the presence of the victor
Boldly praised island	youth,
Of the ardent ruler.	youth, The fortress of the Kymry

⁶ This was Mona.

⁷ Caer Seiont in Caernarvonshire. The Segontium of the Romans. ⁸ This is Math ab Mathonwy, a celebrated character in Welsh romance, who was considered to have excelled all in his power of enchantment. Eunydd, also an enchanter, was the brother of Gwdion ab Don.—See Williams' *Biographical Dictionary* for further particulars of both.

9 Gwdion and Amaethon belonged to the Gaelic settlers in Anglesey.
 —See Williams' Dictionary for full particulars respecting them.

Remained tranquil.	I am blameable
The dragon chief,	That I do not mention
Was a rightful owner	The good he did to me.
In Britannia;	For the impetuous paragon,
Consuming dominator,	Who will prohibit,
Lord of a coast	Who will put in order?
Facing land !	For the impetuous Aeddon,
Four damsels, ¹	What benign associate
After their lamentation,	Will support Mon?
Will suffer misery.	[May I be with Christ,
In affliction dire,	If I am not sorrowful
On sea, without land,	For the evil, of the good
Tedious will be their existence.	Share of mercy,
On account of his integrity,	In the land of renown
There is no cessation	And perfect life.
Of their sorrow.	TALIESIN.

It now becomes our duty to give some account of our hero; but this is no easy matter, for our historians and biographers are silent upon the point. Not a scrap of his history is ready made; and therefore we must endeavour to construct it. Aeddon is certainly a Gaelic and not a Kymric name. There are but three other persons of that name known to Cambrian history, and of these, two were Irish; while the third occurs as a singular exception among Kymric names, viz., that of Aeddan ab Blegored, a Glamorgan man. Of the two others, Aeddan Voeddog, a saint, was connected with Ireland; and Aeddan Vradawg, viz., Aeddan ab Gafran, was king of the Irish-Scots of Argyleshire. Furthermore, the termination on is not Cambrian, and has a suspicious affinity with Don, Gwdion, Amaethon, &c. All this, coupled with the association of Aeddon with the names of these Gaelic settlers, lead me to conclude that he was a man of Irish origin, and that as he (probably) lived about 610, the Gael of Anglesey could not have been extirpated by Caswallon Law Hir; for, in addition to the contents of this poem, I shall presently adduce other evidence to prove that Aeddan was a man of some influence, power, and authority. I was at one time of opinion that the verse-

¹ Sisters of our hero, it is probable.

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"When Aeddon came From the land of Gwydion, The strong door of Seon,"

would serve for a peg whereon to hang a pro-Gaelic argument, the land of Gwydion being interpreted to mean Ireland; but from the turn which I have now given to the words, it will be seen that that view is no longer considered tenable; yet, though this is one argument less in favour of that conclusion, I consider the view to be still quite sound.

In connexion with this, and the verses which follow it, there is a question of grave import. Coming from Mona, the land of Gwydion, who was king of Anglesey, and the bulwark of Caer Seon, against whom did Aeddon make war? Against whom were these four nocturnal enterprises directed? Surely against the king of Gwynedd. But history is silent upon this point, and speaks of no such war. Quite true—such history as we have is silent; but the history of Wales is written in its poetry; and there as yet it has never been sought. Let us now see if we cannot make a little history of this matter. The kings of North Wales, in the time of Taliesin, were Maelgwn Gwynedd, Rhun, Beli, and Iago ab Beli. The latter was killed by one of his own subjects; and the notices respecting his death are as follows. One triad records the manner of his death :----

"The three evil axe-blows of the isle of Britain: the axeblow of Eiddyn in the head of Aneurin; the axe-blow in the head of Golyddan the bard; and the axe-blow in the head of Iago ab Beli."

Another triad states the political position of the striker :---

"And thirdly, Iago the son of Beli, who was struck in the head by his own man (or subject)."

And a third names the person :---

"The axe-blow that Cadafael the Wild struck in the head of Iago ab Beli."

Again, we are further informed, that this assassin was ARCH. CAMB., NEW SERIES, VOL. 11. 2 M made king, in consequence, perhaps, of the death of the monarch he slew :----

"The three vassal-born kings of Britain: Gwriad the son of Gwrien, in the North; Hyvaidd the son of Bleiddig, in South Wales; and Cadafael the son of Cynfedw, in Gwynedd."

Why were these men made kings? Two out of three copies are silent; the third answers—for their good deeds. I incline to a less utopian view of this matter. Cadavael is named a wild man—a curious preface to good conduct; a vassal and subject of Iago ab Beli, and the slayer of his king—a still stranger kind of good conduct. And this man becomes king in Gwynedd. Mark the time, too :—

"613.—Gueith Cair Legion: et ibi cecidit Selim filii Cinan. Et Jacob filii Beli dormitatio."¹

Again, in a blundering form :---

"Cath Cairelegion, ubi sancti occisi sunt; et cecidit Solon M'Conian rex Bretannorum; et Cetula rex cecidit ibi."²

Let us now put these facts together, connect them with the expeditions of Aeddon, and endeavour to discern their true significance.

We have here assumed that the Irish were not extirpated from Anglesey; and, in fact, there is no reason to think they were. Mr. Jones has omitted one very important point in favour of his argument. Extirpation of races is an idea which has no foundation in fact, and only finds a local habitation in the minds of historians. To subdue a people is possible and conceivable; but extirpation is a thing unknown. The Romans subdued, but did not destroy; they did not drive the Gauls from France, nor the Britons from this island; and the Saxons did not drive the Britons from Lloegria. Conquerors want subjects, not dead bodies; tillers of the soil, not a soil untilled; men to do their work for them, not a place to work themselves. In like manner the Kymry wished to cripple the power of the Gael, but not to expel them;

> ¹ Monumenta Brit., p. 832. ² Annal. Tigernach, anno 613.

they defeated the Gael in Anglesey, but did not drive them out of it; the history speaks of conquest and subjugation; but expulsion is not upon the record: extirpation is not nominated in the bond. By abstaining from putting into the documents that which is not therein stated, we reconcile many seeming discrepancies, and arrive at a clearer conception of what may have been the actual facts. If this be a correct view—if the Kymry scotched the snake, not killed it—we may easily conceive that the people so subdued might have grown in power in the lapse of time, and have panted for an opportunity to emancipate themselves from vassalage, and to regain their independence.

Such I conceive to be a true view of the condition of the Gael in Gwynedd in 613. In that year, the defeat of Brochwel by Ethelfrid, at the battle of Chester, broke the power of North Wales, and presented the Gael with the wished for opportunity to rise in rebellion. Cadavael, after the death of Iago, might have been elected king, (for Tigernach calls him Rex,) not of Gwynedd, but of the Gael in Gwynedd; these vassals probably rose in rebellion; and it is probable that in checking this rebellion Iago ab Beli lost his life, for the Latin extracts above given clearly place his death posterior to, though in the same year as, the battle of Chester. Once before I called attention to the elegy of Taliesin on Iago ab Beli; and, here again, if we had it, it would prove of great service. If Lhuyd be correct, two copies of it exist in the Hengwrt Library. See Arch. Britt., p. 256, under the title of "Hanesyn Hen," and p. 258, sub. tit. "Y Kynveirdh Kymreig." Cannot Mr. W. W. E. Wynne, Mr. Wynne Ffoulkes, or some one of the northern antiquaries, furnish us with a copy of this poem?

There is a passage in Nennius which seems to be inconsistent with these views :---

"Osguid filius Eadlfrid regnavit XXVIII annis et sex mensibus. Dum ipse regnabat, venit mortalita hominum, Catgualart regnante apud Brittones post patrem suum, et in eâ periit. Et ipse (*i. e.*, Oswy) occidit Pantha in Campo Gai; et nunc facta est strages Gai Campi, et reges Britonum interfecti sunt, qui exierant cum rege Pantha in expeditione usque ad urbem quæ vocatur Iudeu. Tunc reddidit Osguid omnes divitias quæ erant cum eo in urbe usque in Manau Pendæ, et Penda distribuit ea regibus Brittonum; id est Atbret Iudeu. Solus autem *Catgabail, rex Guenedotæ regionis*, cum exercitu suo evasit, de nocte consurgens; quapropter vocatus est Catgabail Catguommed."

Now if this Catgabail be the same person as Cadavael Wyllt, we shall have two kings of Gwynedd at the same time, viz., Cadavael, king of the Gael of Anglesey and Caernarvon, and Cadwaladr, king of the North Welsh; for it is quite clear that at this time (657) Cadwaladr was living; and as he is usually considered to have been king of all the Britons, it is possible that Cadavael may have been a vassal king of his. If so, Cadavael must have been at this time a man in years, for we find him a distinguished character forty-four years previously, when he had probably succeeded Aeddon as lord of Gwynedd, i. e., Mon and Arvon. But there are reasons for doubting that Cadavael was king for any long period; and it is possible that the Catgabail of Nennius may be another person. The poem called "Kyvoesi Myrddin a Gwenddydd ei chewer," contains a fuller account of this period than any other document; and in that poem we find the following verses :---

"G.—Who will reign after Kadwallon?

M.-A tall man holding council.

And Britain under one sceptre

The best son of a Kymro, Kadwaladr.

G.—Who will reign after Kadwaladr?

M.—After Kadwaladr, Idwal (his son.)

G.-Who will reign after Idwal?

M.—Howel the son of KADWAL."

This may have been the person named by Nennius; but nothing more is known of him. But without further inquiry it is difficult to arrive at any satisfactory conclusion.

In this supposed rebellion Aeddon may have taken part, for the night expeditions referred to were clearly directed against Gwynedd; and the poem shows that Mon had cause to dread hostilities from thence, since the bard asks :---

"For the impetuous Aeddon, What benign associate Will maintain Mon?"

However this may have been, the success of the rebels was only temporary; for Cadvan, the son of Iago, restored the authority of the kings of North Wales over the subject Gael. Indeed we may, if necessary, assume these expeditions to have taken place afterwards, as it is probable that much bad feeling existed between the two districts; and it is quite evident that a considerable share of independence was enjoyed by Aeddan, possibly as the result of the rebellion, for he is designated as a rightful ruler in Britannia.

But leaving hypothesis, let us see if we can find any more biographical matter. The bard describes Mona to possess the manliness of Ervei. This Ervei was probably the father of Dillus ab Ervei, the greatest thief in Wales, according to the *Mabinogi* of Kilwch and Olwen; and we are told by Aneurin that Ervei, or Urvei, was at the battle of Cattraeth :—

> "Gnaut ar les Minidauc scuitaur trei Guaurut rac ut Eidin Urvei."

"Customary for the sake of Mynyddawg was a perforated shield;

Red-speared was Urvei before the Lord of Eiddin."

And Aeddon was the son of Ervei. He is thus spoken of by Aneurin, not in the *Gododin*, but in some of the later verses of that bard :—

> "Trum yn trin a llavyn yt laddei Garw rybydd o gat dydygei Cant Can Calan a ddarmerthei Ef gweinit Adan vab Erfei Ef gweint Adan dwrch trahawc Un Rhiein a morwyn a mynawc A phan oedd mab teyrn teithiawc Udd Gwyndyt gwaedlyd gwaredawc."

These lines may be thus translated :----

"Heavily in conflict he slew with the sword; Severe indications he brought from battle; A hundred new year songs he prepared. There served Adan the son of Ervei, There served Adan the presumptuous boar, A lady, a maid, and a nobleman; And when the son of a sovereign was a Ruler, The Lord of the Gwyndyd was a blood-stained protector."

They appear to connect Aeddon with the death of Iago ab Beli; but most probably "the Lord of the Gwyndyd" was Aeddon himself, as Gwynedd was not used at that time in its present extended sense, and only included Anglesey and Caernarvonshire, instead of the whole of North Wales, as is now the case.

Here then let us for the present suspend our comment, satisfied if we have thrown some light upon one of our dark places, and if this tissue of speculation may be thought to contain some truth.

T. STEPHENS.

Merthyr, August 8, 1851.

TUMULI, DENBIGHSHIRE.

II.—PLAS HEATON TUMULUS.

THIS tumulus is situated in a field named Caedegai, adjoining the pleasure grounds attached to Plas Heaton, the hospitable mansion of John Heaton, Esq., about two miles to the north-west of Denbigh. It measured fiftythree feet in diameter, and about six feet ten inches in height, measured from the floor.

Happening to be on a visit at Plas Heaton in the month of September last, I one day, accompanied by Mr. Heaton, went to look at a spot in the field already mentioned, where, about thirty years ago, some workmen, in removing a number of loose stones, came to what undoubtedly was a cist; for one of them, still in Mr. Heaton's service, told me that they came to a large limestone flag, which they raised, and that when they dug their spades into the space covered by it, "it felt just like putting them into snow." Such was his description and simile, and I think he added that the space beneath the flag was enclosed with stones set on edge. Contenting themselves with digging their spades into it, they covered it up without examining it further, and some trees are now planted about the spot. Mr. Heaton was at the time absent from home, or I doubt not but that the examination would not have been permitted to stop where it did.

Whilst visiting this spot, my attention was attracted to a mound on which some large, aged trees were growing, in the north-west corner of the field. Mr. Heaton stated he had often thought it was artificial, and kindly expressed his readiness to permit me to open it; an act of kindness which, on a short examination of the mound, I accepted, and now offer the result to our readers under the above title.

On the 30th I set four men to cut a trench across the mound, in a direction nearly north and south.¹ In a short time they exhumed, in the centre of it, about two feet below the apex, the bones of some large animal; while at the southern extremity, on the eastern side of the trench, within a foot of the surface, a deposit of burnt bones, and the fragments of an urn, more than usually ornamented, were discovered. I regret much that this urn was broken, as the fragments showed that, when entire, it must have been a fine specimen of ancient fictile art. When the trench had been carried to the depth of five feet seven inches, some bones were discovered on the east side of it, immediately beneath the apex of the These proved to be the leg and thigh bones of mound. a skeleton, fronting full to the trench, gathered up and crossed, in a similar position to that in which a tailor places his legs when at work. Having traced out these, I next came to the vertebree of the back and the ribs; these lay in a curved position, leaning backwards away

¹ Its direction is described by the magnetic, not the true, north.

Following the vertebræ, I came to the from the trench. shoulder-blades, neck, and lastly, the skull, the face, lower jaw and teeth of which were entire and in good preservation; the rest was fractured into small pieces. I also found the arms, but of their original position I feel uncertain; I am inclined to think they were placed to rest on the thighs, as I found the arm bones near those of the thigh. This skeleton was almost perfect, and I had scarcely traced it out, when I came upon the vertebræ of another skeleton, facing eastwards from the trench, immediately behind the first skeleton, and leaning sideways towards the north; the two skeletons thus forming, as it were, a cross somewhat resembling in form St. Andrew's Of the latter skeleton I also traced nearly all the Cross. bones; but access to them was rendered difficult by the roots of the trees which were growing on the mound; the legs were in the same position as those of the skeleton first found. Both skeletons rested on the southern extremity of the covering-stone of a cist. It is somewhat difficult to describe in language the peculiar position of these two skeletons, which I think is worthy of attention. The first skeleton faced to the trench, westwards; the other eastwards, from the trench; the former, though leaning considerably out of the perpendicular backwards, was pretty nearly at right angles to the line of the trench; the latter, leaning on one side northwards, formed an acute angle with the line of the trench; both were perhaps as far from lying in a horizontal position, as they were from being perpendicular. The cist, the top of which was level with the floor of the mound, was five feet seven inches below the apex. The coveringstone was of limestone, and was rather longer than the cist, which measured three feet ten inches in length, one foot six inches in breadth, and one foot three inches in depth, (measured to the surface of the deposit). It was rudely made, and the covering-stone fitted so badly at the north-west corner, as to leave rather a large hole at the side, through which a considerable quantity of soil found its way during our excavation. The length of the

cist lay pretty much in the same direction as the trench. It contained a skeleton, laid on its left side, with the arms and legs gathered up against the stomach and chest; the head lay to the north, and was slightly bent forwards on on the chest. Immediately behind it, in the north-west corner of the cist, buried in the soil, which had tumbled in there during the work, were the fragments of a sepulchral vessel, of somewhat elegant, but not uncommon, design, about eight inches in height. It was covered with crescent-shaped indentations, and seemed never to have contained any solid matter; it might possibly have contained a libation of blood, or some liquid, as it was of a dark, blackish colour on the inside. On the outside it was a deep, brownish red, spotted here and there with black; I should say that it had not been turned on a lathe, though it seemed better baked than usual. It must have been reduced to fragments at some remote period, for I found small fibres of roots growing into the edges of the fractures; the fragments themselves were sound and firm, and are at present in the possession of one of Mr. Heaton's family at Plas Heaton. Although a friend of mine and myself looked carefully through the contents of the cist, we could find no arms, ornaments, or other relic of any kind. This closed my discoveries on the 30th.

Resuming the research on the following day, October 1st, at the southern extremity of the trench, and immediately beneath the spot where the deposit of burnt bones was discovered, I found, on a level with the top of the cist, and at right angles to it, a fourth skeleton,² laid on its left side, with its arms and legs gathered up in the same way as those of the skeleton in the cist, and facing southwards. I am not sure that my researches might not have been carried on still with success, but as my visit was now drawing to a close, I was unable to prosecute them further, and I accordingly ordered the trench to be

² Of this skeleton, the *leg bone*, from the top of the knee joint to the top of the ankle joint, measured one foot five inches; the *fore arm large bone*, eleven inches five-eighths.

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filled up again. When we regard the position of the two last skeletons, the posture of the two first discovered seems still more extraordinary. I am therefore inclined to think that they were not found in the position in which they were at first deposited, and I should conjecture, from their place in the mound, as well as from the peculiar arrangement of their legs, that they had originally been set sitting back to back, upright, on the covering-stone of the cist, and that the settlement of the mound threw them into the posture in which I found them; the legs alone retaining their original situation. Of the four skeletons, that in the cist had only half the skull' remaining; but with the exception of a few small pieces, I exhumed all the portions of the skull of the fourth skeleton, (that to the south of the cist), and they were subsequently put together at the College of Surgeons, in London, and the skull thus re-formed, after being submitted, together with the half skull, to Dr. Thurnam, was placed in the museum there, where it now is. Dr. Thurnam felt some little doubt whether the skull was that of a male or female, but he inclined to the opinion that it was a male skull, presenting all the characteristics of the early Celtic race. but more advanced than some from the lowest state of barbarism. The half skull he considered to be that of a young man.⁴ The teeth of each were ground smooth and even, like those of an horse, which indicated that these individuals had subsisted more upon grain and such like food, than flesh-meat. The measurements, kindly furnished to me by Dr. Thurnam, are as follow:-

		Frontal Region.			Parietal Region.			Occipital Region.		
	Circum- ferences.	lægth.	Breadth.	Height.	Langth.	Breedth.	Height.	Length.	Breadth.	Høght.
The Skull Half Skull	21‡ ?	$5 \\ 5 \\ 5 \\ 8 \\ 1$	5 <u>1</u>	51 53	$5 \\ 5_4^3?$	5 3	$5 \\ 5_4^3?$	5 ?	48 ?	4 <u>1</u> ?

³ This possibly was owing to his having been killed by a severe blow, which had shivered one side of the head.

• He formed his opinion from general characteristics; but I may mention that the wise teeth had not protruded from the jaw.

From these measurements it will be seen that, where comparison can be made, the half skull shows a greater development than the skull,—a singular circumstance, when we regard the care bestowed upon the interment of the being to whom it belonged. He, it will be remembered, reposed in the cist.

The animal bones, Mr. Quekett informed me, were those of an ox, but he did not name the species. Such being the details of my discoveries, I venture to make the following conjectures respecting them :---

First,—That the cremated bones found near the surface were probably buried there subsequently to the interments found within the mound; and, if one may judge from the ornament observable on the fragments of the urn discovered with them, which once no doubt enclosed them, I should incline to the opinion that Roman civilization had not penetrated to this part of our island when these bones were consigned to their resting-place.

Secondly,—Judging from the absence of all relics, ornamental and warlike, as accompaniments to those buried within the mound, as well as from the manner in which they were entombed, I believe these interments to belong to a very early date, anterior to that in which cremation⁵ was in use.

Thirdly,—Looking at the relative position and arrangement of the several skeletons, I think the interments were contemporaneous; and,

Lastly,—I venture to conclude that—without pretending to give any opinion as to the rank of the individual whose cremated bones I found—the being interred within the cist was a young chieftain, and that the other three were his favourite slaves, who, according to the inhuman custom of the time, were interred with their master.⁶ This conclusion is, I think, warranted by a comparison

⁵ If Bronwen's urn be genuine, cremation was in use at least as early as A.D. 51, the period when I believe she died; but there is good reason to think that cremation was used in this island much earlier.

⁶ Tacitus mentions this custom as existing among the ancient Germans. of the careless manner in which the three latter were entombed—without a grave or vestige of sacred rite, —with the honourable interment of the former in a grave, carefully though rudely constructed—the best, perhaps, the ingenuity of the age could construct, —with a funeral vessel, the precise use of which it is not easy now to determine, consecrated probably to some sacred rite which he alone of all entombed was deemed to merit by his mourning survivors—evidences in themselves strong, but which receive a curious corroboration in the measurements of what remained of his skull, which shows certainly an advanced stage of development over his companions in the tomb; whence we may again infer, without being very fanciful, that he belonged to an higher, or at least less degraded, class than his fellows.

It only remains to notice the structure of the tumulus. It was placed upon a node of limestone rock, which cropped up to the surface, and was almost wholly composed of stone cut from the rock. To the west and south of the deposits were some very large stones; and had not the trees on the east prevented me from extending my examination in that direction, I think I should probably have found a similar protection on that side also.

In conclusion, let me draw attention to the name of the field, "Caedegai," for which some of our readers may suggest some other derivation than the obvious "Cae Tegai." The fields adjoining, to the east and north-east, I was informed, were called "Maes y groes," and "Maes y talu," the latter of which only is remarkable, and means, as I am informed, "the field of recompense." Finally, I think all our members will join me in thanking Mr. Heaton for so kindly permitting this mound to be opened, which, from the peculiarities and extent of its contents may, under the name of "the Plas Heaton tumulus," fairly be considered one of the most remarkable hitherto opened in North Wales.

III.-BEDD ROBIN HOOD.

This tumulus is situated by the side of a mountain road, in the parish of Llansannan, about two miles from the village of that name, to the east, and measured about thirty feet long, by twenty in breadth, and four feet eight inches in height. It was formed of soil and rammed clay, and the great veneration in which it was held by the inhabitants of the locality, and the numerous legends current respecting it, gave great promise of a successful examination. I was informed that the late possessor of a neighbouring farm was so fully convinced of its being the resting-place of at least some hero of renown, if not of Robin Hood himself, that he had it carefully fenced round and "repaired," as my informant expressed it. So much dreaded was it as the abode of unearthly beings, that no one by himself dared pass it at night. Such, the hopes and fears of the neighbours, I brought to a test on July 21st, in the present year, when I had a trench cut across the mound from the south-east to the north-west, which soon convinced me that both one and the other must be groundless. I certainly found evidence of reparation at the apex, but not one tittle either to connect it with an hero, or to attract those beings which caused such serious apprehensions to the solitary nightly traveller, save two or three morsels of charcoal. To the depth of two feet, or eighteen inches from the apex, the mound consisted of rather fresh looking soil; then we came to a stratum of reddish clay, in which we found the charcoal; below this was hard rammel. I conclude, therefore, that either it never was a sepulchral mound, or that its contents had long ago been disturbed. A looker-on, during our operations, informed us that he remembered some "old pots" being found in a mound, at a farm not far distant to the west.

> W. WYNNE FFOULKES, Loc. Sec., Denbighshire.

EXCAVATIONS AT VALLE CRUCIS ABBEY.

(Read at Tenby.)

PERMISSION having been given to my friend and neighbour, Viscount Dungannon, and myself, by the respected owners of Valle Crucis Abbey, to clear away the rubbish within the ruins, operations were commenced early in the present summer, by an excavation at the east end of the choir. Here were discovered the foundations of the high altar, and on the north side of the choir, the base of a platform, on which perhaps stood a tomb. The accumulation of rubbish in the east aisle of the south transept was then cleared out. This aisle was found to have been divided into two chapels; in that to the south, is the foundation of an altar; in the other, the base of an Early English altar, of good design. Beneath the broken foundations of the wall, dividing these chapels, was discovered a human skeleton, in situ, lying with the feet to the east; and amongst the bones were considerable quantities of decayed nails, probably the fastenings of the coffin. I should mention that this wall was bonded into the arcade at the west, and the wall at the east end of the aisle-some of the earliest parts of the abbey buildings. It would seem therefore that the interment took place before they were erected. One seat of the sedilia was discovered in the wall dividing the choir from the north chapel of the south transept, but their arcade has entirely disappeared. On the opposite side of the choir was found a ruined arcade of five arches, having every appearance of sedilia, but the arches were found to be too narrow to have admitted the officiating priests within them. I will not venture an opinion as to the purpose for which they were intended. The east aisle of the north transept, in its arrangements, was discovered to be nearly the same as that on the south. It is separated by a wall into two In the south chapel, are the foundations of an chapels. altar, and a double piscina of very good "Early English" work, and close to it, an ambry, having an "Early English" arch with good plain mouldings. In the north

chapel of this aisle, also, are the foundations of its altar, and the base of a piscina—a square stone pierced for a drain—but it is remarkable that the drain is not continued through the stone upon which the former one rests. In this transept we discovered a stone coffin, emptied of its original contents.

It will be recollected by those who have examined the ruins of Valle Crucis, that a door opens from the *north* transept into the *north* aisle of the nave. In the wall to the south of that door, we discovered traces of a piscina. I am inclined to think that the north transept was erected subsequently to this aisle, and that where the door now is, an altar originally stood; unless what I suppose to be a piscina was a holy water stoup, at the western entrance into the north transept. If so, I recollect no similar arrangement.

At the western end of the choir, we found a fine tombstone, of large size, the date of which may be assigned to the earlier part of the fourteenth century. At the head is a shield, on which is the heraldic bearing of a wolf salient, and around it the remnant of an inscription,-EDWART: FIL: YOR [WERTH]. Lower down the stone are two dogs in chase, and a dragon; and near the feet is a head blowing a bugle. We also discovered a fragment of another sepulchral memorial, upon which is inscribed the greater part of the female name, MYVANWY. Those who have read Pennant's account of Castell Dinas Bran may recollect a translation of an ode by Iolo Goch, in praise of Myfanwy Fechan, who resided in that fortress. It is not unreasonable to suppose that the fragment alluded to may be a remnant of her tombstone. Portions of other sepulchral monuments have been found, but they are not worthy of a particular description.

Only two or three small pieces of encaustic tile were found. Had it been that there was much of this description of flooring in the part of the abbey which we have caused to be cleared out, and that the floor was carried away in former times, it is improbable but that more than these few pieces would have escaped the notice of those who removed the tiles, and have been found in the ruins. Not a vestige of encaustic tile is to be seen in any of the neighbouring churches.

While upon the subject of Valle Crucis, I would refer to an error which occurs in the historical notice of the abbey, published in the first Number of the Archæologia Cambrensis. It is there stated that the monumental stone, now forming the lintel of a chimney piece in one of the bedrooms of the domestic buildings of the abbey, is not one sepulchral memorial, but two distinct pieces of carving joined together. I am quite convinced that if my friend, the author of that communication, will again examine the lintel in question, he will agree with me that it is not only formed of one stone, but that there is not even a crack across it, where he supposes the two portions to have been united. I am inclined to read what remains of the inscription,—HIC: JACET: LARVRVET.

I would also bring to the notice of future visitors to Valle Crucis that, in descending the hill from the turnpike road to the abbey, there is a building on the left hand side, of which one part is a barn, the other is now used for a cow-house. The latter undoubtedly is a remnant of the monastic buildings. On the north side is a lancet window, and near to it a window of two lights, apparently of "Early Decorated" date, the mullion of which is gone. In the east wall of the cow-house, separating it from the barn, in the gable, is another window, which appears to have been very much the same as that last described. This too has lost its mullion. Underneath it are the chamfered jambs of a doorway. These, as well as the windows, are unquestionably *in situ*.

W. W. E. W.

August 20, 1851.

BRITISH LETTERS.

No. I.

THAT our British ancestors were acquainted with letters as early, at least, as the time of Julius Cæsar, is clear from the testimony of that historian, who writes on the subject as follows :—

"Nor do they deem it lawful to commit those things [which pertain to their discipline] to writing; though, generally, in other cases, and in their public and private accounts, they use Greek letters. They appear to me to have established this custom (INSTITUISSE) for two reasons, because they would not have their secrets divulged, and because they would not have their disciples depend upon written documents, and neglect the exercise of memory."—De Bell. Gall., L. vi., 14.

It is true that this statement is made with direct reference to the Gaulish druids, yet inasmuch as we are informed upon the same authority, (L. vi., 13,) that these had derived their system originally from Britain, and that even then they were in the habit of resorting thither for the purpose of learning it more accurately, it must equally, if not with greater force, apply to the sages of our own island.

The word generally (fere), in the foregoing extract, seems to imply that they knew more than one alphabet, just as it may be said of us, that we generally use Roman letters, though, on some occasions, we employ the national. and the old English characters. But if Cæsar meant to intimate no more by the expression than that, though they abstained from committing to book any thing of a purely bardic description, they did use letters in almost every other transaction (in reliquis fere rebus), and that those letters were Greek, may we not suppose that he made this latter statement from having observed a certain similarity, though not an exact identity, between the druidic and Greek alphabets? The letters copied from the monumental inscription of Gordian, the messenger of the Gauls, who suffered martyrdom in the third century, which, being national, are yet described as some-

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what similar to those of Greece, greatly countenance this hypothesis. Mr. Astle, who has ably discussed the subject of ancient letters, thus reports of them :---

"These ancient Gaulish characters were generally used by that people before the conquest of Gaul by Cæsar; but after that period, the Roman letters were gradually introduced."—Origin and Progress of Writing, p. 56.

But, be that as it may, it is now unquestionable that the druids, both of Gaul and Britain, possessed a knowledge of letters in the time of the great Roman general, and we may even add that the prohibition of them in a certain case being an *institute*, or fundamental part of their law, powerfully evinces that such knowledge was not recent.

Having thus shown, upon the best authority, that our forefathers were not indebted to the Roman domination for a knowledge of the art of writing, we shall now proceed to lay before our readers certain curious documents which embody the traditions of the nation upon the subject, requesting only that amount of attention to them which is generally accorded to the records of any other people.

The invention or discovery of letters is dated as far back as the creation of the universe, and is thus described:—

"I would know how a letter, in respect of form and sound, came first to be understood?"

"In this way: God, when there was in life and existence none but Himself, pronounced His Name, and co-instantaneously with the word, all being and animation gave a shout of joy in the most perfect and melodious manner that ever was heard in the strain of that vocalisation; and co-instantaneously with the sound was light, and in the light, the form of the Name, in three voices thrice uttered, pronounced together at the same instant; and in the vision were three forms, and they were the hue and form of light; and by the union of the sound and hue and form of that utterance arose the three first letters, and from the combination of their three sounds were formed all other sounds of letters. And it was Menw Hen ab y Tairgwaedd that heard the sound, and first reduced into form the vocalisation of God's Name; but others affirm that it was Einigan Gawr who first made a letter, and that that was the form of the Name of God, when he found himself alive and existing co-simultaneously and co-instantaneously with the utterance."—" The mutual argumentation of a youth and his master," cited in Coelbren y Beirdd, p. 7.

In the following extract we have a delineation of the symbol of the sacred Name, the origin, as is said, of all letters :---

"The announcement of the Divine Name is the first event traditionally preserved; and it occurred as follows :---

"God, in vocalising His Name, said /1/, and, with the word, all worlds and animations sprang co-instantaneously to being and life from their non-existence; shouting, in extacy of joy, /1/, and thus repeating the Name of the Deity. Still and small was that melodiously sounding voice, (i. e., the Divine utterance,) which will never be equalled again until God shall renovate every preexistence from the mortality entailed on it by sin, by re-vocalising that Name, from the primary utterance of which emanated all lays and melodies, whether of the voice or of stringed instruments; and also all the joys, extacies, beings, vitalities, felicities, origins, and descents appertaining to existence and animation." —Taken from Edward Williams' transcript of Llewelyn Sion's MS., which was copied from Meyryg Davydd's transcript of an old MS. in the library of Raglan Castle.—See Iolo MSS., pp. 45, 424.

It is remarkable that all the characters, of which the bardic alphabet is composed, are modifications of this symbol /1\.

The next extract, which we shall adduce, contains some further particulars relative to the invention and progress of letters. And as the "still and small melodiously sounding voice" reminds one of the "still small voice," in which the Lord manifested His presence to Elijah, (1 Kings, xix. 12,) so the breaking of the rods by Einigan, on account of the idolatry of the people, forcibly brings to mind the breaking of the tablets of the law by Moses under similar circumstances (Exod. xxxii. 19). In like manner the restoration of the rods, inscribed with the sciences of the ten letters, bears that resemblance to the renewal of the decalogue, when the Lord " proclaimed the NAME of the Lord," (Exod. xxxiv. 5,) which induces us to believe that the two narratives, however different in detail, are traceable to the same origin.

"Einigan Gawr beheld three pillars of light, and thereon were visible all past and future sciences whatsoever. And he took three rods of the quicken tree, and engraved thereon the forms and signs of all the sciences, that the memory of them might be preserved. And he exhibited them, and those that saw them misunderstood and falsely contemplated them, making a god of the rods, whereas they only bore His Name. When Einigan perceived that, he was much grieved, and from the intensity of his sorrow he broke the three rods, and no others were found having thereon correct sciences. He was therefore so overwhelmed with grief, that from its intensity he burst asunder; and with his parting breath he prayed God that there should be found correct sciences, and a right understanding for the proper contemplation thereof among mortal men. And at the expiration of a year and a day, following the decease of Einigan, Menw ap y Teirgwaedd beheld three rods growing out of Einigan's mouth, which exhibited the sciences of the ten letters, and the order or disposition of all the sciences of language and speech, as well as all the sciences distinguishable by language and speech. He then took the rods, and taught therefrom all the sciences, with the exception of the Name of God, and a secret was therefore employed lest there should be a false perception of the Name; hence the origin of the secret of bardism possessed by the bards of the isle of Britain. And God protected the secret, and under His protection gave to Menw a very discreet understanding of the sciences, which understanding was designated a genius (aven) from God, and blessed he who shall obtain it. Amen, so be it." -Apud Coelbren y Beirdd, p. 6.

It would appear from this curious record that the primitive Cymry represented their thoughts and ideas, not only by means of letters, but occasionally also through the medium of pictures or hieroglyphics, (*arwyddion*); an inference which is moreover corroborated by the following triad of bardism:—

"The three agents of knowledge; song, hieroglyphic, and letter."—Dr. Pughe's Dict., sub voce Llythyr.

The word "letter," indeed, was not, as we are informed, used by the ancient Britons for a considerable length of time.

"Before the time of Beli the Great, the son of Manogan, there

were not more than ten letters, and they were called signs (awgrymau)."—Iolo MSS., pp. 203, 617.

"In ancient times, letters were called by the race of the Cymry cuttings (ystorrynau), and after the time of Beli, the son of Manogan, they were called letters, and before that there were no other letters than the primary cuttings; and they had ever been kept secret by the bards of the isle of Britain, for the preservation of national records.—*Ib.*, 204, 618.

The ten letters, or signs, according to the former of these statements, were,—

"a, p, c, e, t, i, l, r, o, s;"

and they are said to have been used until the time of Beli the Great.

"After this m and n were added; and after that four others, and they were made up to sixteen, by general consent and usage."

The extract on the "ystorrynau" continues :---

"Beli the Great made sixteen for himself, and he established that arrangement with regard to them, and appointed that there should never afterwards be a concealment of the knowledge of letters, on account of the arrangement he made, nor should the ten cuttings remain secret."

We are probably to understand that the letters m and n, and, subsequently, four more, were invented, not strictly by the personal skill and genius of Beli, but in the reign, and under the patronage, of that monarch. Such a supposition would remove the apparent discrepancy between the two statements.

But still it would be highly irreconcileable with the following :---

"Ten characters, significant of language and utterance, were possessed by the race of the Cymry for ages before they came to the island of Britain, as a secret under oath and vow amongst the learned; namely, the poets and reciters of verse, and professors of wisdom and knowledge, before there were established bards; and in the time of Prydain, the son of Aedd Mawr, about fifteen hundred years before the birth of Christ by the blessed Virgin Mary; and in the time of Aedd Mawr, regular bards in office were established, and free privilege of passage granted them; and afterwards the learned improved the Coelbren as was required for its being read and understood, until sixteen characters were introduced into it; and in the time of Dyvnwal Moelmud, about

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six hundred years by record and computation before the birth of Christ, the sixteen characters were established, to preserve the language and expression, and every record of race and country, so that no other system could be found as good for maintaining records, and arts, and wisdom, and the right usages of the race of the Cymry, and their privileges; and the ten original characters are kept secret to this day by oath and vow, and no person, except such as have undertaken the vow, have known them."— *Llywelyn Sion, apud Iolo MSS.*, pp. 209, 623.

Here the discovery of the sixteen letters is dated about 500 years before the time of Beli the Great. It is very possible, however, that the framer of the record placed the event in the time of Dyvnwal Moelmud merely from having confounded Beli, the son and successor of the great legislator, with Beli Mawr, the son of Manogan. The writer of the Life of Gruffydd ab Cynan, in Myv. Arch., ii., p. 583, has committed the very same mistake, but in a more palpable manner, he having distinctly introduced into the prince's pedigree the name of "Beli Mawr" twice over, both about the era of Dyvnwal Moelmud, for whom he has even substituted the name of "Manogan," and also at the proper places.

Another document, extracted likewise from one of the books of Llywelyn Sion,¹ asserts :---

"Sixteen primary letters have existed from the beginning, previously to the memorial of knowledge, and they were taught and used by the ancient Cymry, viz., their poets, and bards, and other literary men."—Apud Coelbren y Beirdd, p. 20.

The remaining four were,---

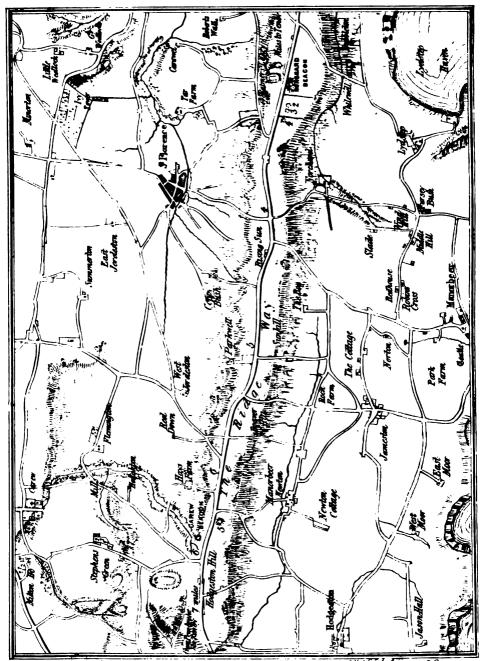
"b, ff, g, d."

Granting that the sixteen letters were well established, and in common use when Beli the Great reigned, let us see how the following lines, evidently the production of a contemporary, would be written according to that arrangement :---

" Llad yn eurgyrn	Llaw yn ysci
Eurgyrn yn llaw	Ysci ymodrydaf

¹ Llywelyn Sion was a bard, who presided over the Gorsedd Morganwg, A.D. 1580, and who was appointed to collect the system of bardism, as traditionally preserved in that Gorsedd.

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1. Ver chand Barrow Beaural 2. Barrow 5. Sarrow 26 Mit dameter Scened Ang #28 #1831 4 Surow 36 12 aander on M. Millores of Sorrow on M. Swine land greed at ut 1826 it Stenter Bert Carwing on

Fur itti iolaf Buddyg Veli A Manhogan

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Rhi rhygeidwei deithi Ynys fel Feli." *Myv. Arch.*, i., p. 73.

According to the sixteen :---

"Lad in eirgirn Eirgirn in lao Lao in isci Isci imodridab Bir itti iolab Bidig Beli A Manogan Ri rigeidoei deiti Inis bel Beli."

Or more strictly according to the system of mutations :---

"Lad on eorgorn Eorgorn on lao Lao on osci Osci omodrodab Bor itti iolab Bodog Beli A Manogan Ri rogeidoei deiti Onos bel Beli."

A relic of this orthography is still, more or less, observable in old Welsh MSS., mixed, nevertheless, with the more modern form. The confusion would, in a great degree, be the natural result of the transition from the bardic to the Roman character.

"The Name of God, when there were only sixteen letters, was written thus, O. I. O."—Iolo MSS., pp. 203, 617.

JOHN WILLIAMS ab Ithel.

SOME REMARKS ON THE OPENING OF CERTAIN TUMULI NEAR TENBY.

Ir having been intended, during the meeting of the Cambrian Archæological Association, to open some of the tumuli adjoining the line of the ancient British road called the Ridgeway, leading from Pembroke to Tenby, and this having been delayed until too late to be completed during the meeting, I resolved to attempt it after the close of the meeting; and, having obtained the kind permission, most liberally offered, of the proprietor of the land, I commenced operations on Monday the 25th August. I selected the two barrows called "Hays" or "Carew Beacon," and "Norchard Beacon;" the former is situated on the left of the road leading from Pembroke to Tenby, abutting thereon, about four miles from Pembroke; the latter on the right, at about five and a-half miles from the same place.

We commenced by cutting a trench diagonally, and another transversely through each mound, from the level of the adjoining land; and, on the morning of the 27th, we had cut down to the same level the Carew Beacon, about seven feet in depth, without finding anything appearing like an interment.

I here felt inclined to relinquish further search, having ascertained that the tumulus had, during the late war, about 1813, been increased in height, for the purpose of being used as a beacon; but, as there was evidently loose earth below this level, we resolved to continue our search until we came to the solid unmoved earth.

At the depth of about five feet below this, (making twelve feet from the surface of the beacon,) we came to a large flag, which, on being raised, showed that an interment had taken place below. The portions of bone remaining were in a very decomposed state, like small powder, and intermixed with portions of the sand and stone that had fallen from the sides. We found a fragment of a ring-shaped ornament, supposed to be made of ivory, and a flint arrow-head, (of both of which representations are given of the original size,) also, a broken earthenware vessel, very rudely made, and slightly ornamented with lines.

The strata of the whole Ridgeway, as far as relates to these tumuli, are of old red sandstone, and the covering of this cist was of a species of flag not known in this neighbourhood by the oldest inhabitant. The grave or cist was about two feet deep, and the interment was nearly due west and east.

I was at the same time proceeding with the excavation of the Norchard Beacon, and we had, in our progresses between the two, discovered four other tumuli on the

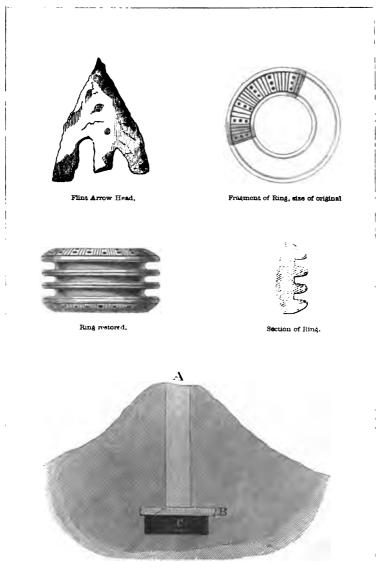


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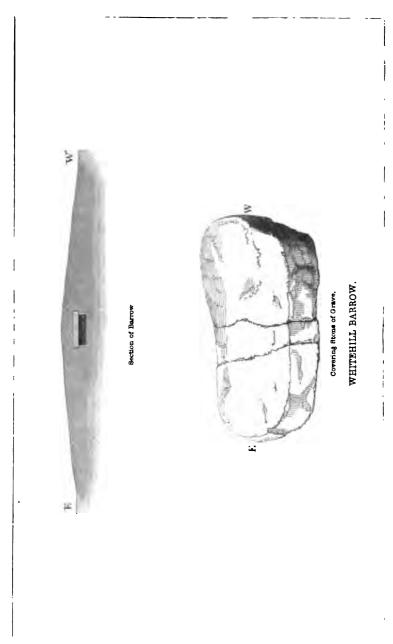
TUMULI NEAR TENBY.



Section of Beacon.



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TUMULI NEAR TENBY.

south of the Ridgeway road, (*vide plan*,) and resolved to try one in the field adjoining the Norchard Beacon, viz., the second barrow westward, and fortunately soon came upon the covering-stone of the cist, or grave, which we were enabled to remove on the following evening.

It was of a sort of stone found at Manorbeer, about a mile and a-half distant, in the grounds below the beacon, and three or four tons weight, being nine feet long, three feet six inches broad, and fifteen to twenty inches in thickness.

This had evidently been one stone, but broken in the middle into three parts, resting upon a stone at the head, and another at the foot, but no walled or other sides perceivable,—merely a hollow space cleared out in the subjacent earth, and paved or pitched at the bottom with the round pebbles termed here "kidney stones," in the old red sandstone; on these lay a skeleton at full length.

The skeleton is, in the opinion of several medical men, that of a man, about five feet six or seven inches in height; he had a beautiful and regular set of teeth, and may have been thirty years of age when interred; and, from the portions of the skull preserved, had what phrenologists term a handsome cranium.

The interment was from east to west, the head being to the west.

The bones generally in this vault were in a good state of preservation; the skull was broken, I think, by persons trying to feel under the stone during our opening of the barrow, or by the breaking of the stone by blasting, to which we were obliged to resort, to enable us to bring to light the interior.

The lower jaw was perfect, with the exception of having lost a back tooth; of the upper jaw and teeth we found no traces; but here again, as in the former case, the grave was partially filled with stones and earth, pressed from the adjoining sides.

There is no name given to this tumulus, nor indeed to any of the four others we discovered.

One in the land of Mr. Owen had been opened about ARCH. CAMB., NEW SERIES, VOL. 11. 2 P thirty years ago, as he informed us, and a skeleton found; and it appeared to have been so, as there was a depression in the middle, from whence stones were said to have been removed away. This I have described on the accompanying sketch.

After this, not coming to anything indicative of burial at the Norchard cutting, I discontinued it, and ordered it to be reclosed.

I do not mean to say that it has not been a burialplace; but that as we, in our excavations, had not succeeded in finding the place of interment, any future inquirer may the better set the question at rest, and much easier than we could have done, he having only to avoid where we have been, and try a fresh part of the mound.

During the progress of these excavations, the sites of two camps, which are noted on the map, were pointed out to us by the aforesaid Mr. Owen, but they were so much destroyed by cultivation, that nothing certain in the way of indication was visible, in our opinion.

I may here remark that I have used the terms tumulus, barrow, and perhaps beacon, too indiscriminately; but I intend by the term tumulus, to designate all mounds of earth; by barrow, to define places of interment; and by beacon, such mounds as have that name, though they may have served, from their elevated situation, both these purposes.

In all these operations I was accompanied by Mr. J. Tracy, of Pembroke, who very kindly rendered me much valuable assistance in the prosecution of my researches.

JAMES DEARDEN.

August 30, 1851.

THE PILLAR OF ELISEG.

(Read at Tenby.)

THE inscription on the pillar of Eliseg, as it was read by the late Mr. Edward Llwyd, of the Oxford Museum, is as follows :---

Concenn filius Catteli, Catteli filius Brohcmail, Brohmail filius Eliseg, Eliseg filius Guoillauc, Concenn itaque pronepos Eliseg edificavit hunc lapidem proavo suo Eliseg: ipse est Eliseg qui necr at hereditatem povos . ipc . . mort. cautem per vissi . . ep . o . t. estate anglo . in gladio suo parta in igne . imque recituerit manesc . p . . mdet benedictionem supe Eliseg . + ipse est Concenn . . . tus . c . emeiunge . manu . . . e ad regnum suum povos · · · bani · · quod · . . . ais . ucavesmec . ein . . montem . il . e monarchiam . . ail maximus britanniæ . nn . pascen . . mavi annan britua t . m filius Guarthi . que bened . que bened . germanusque peperit ei se . ira filia maximi gis qui occidit regi Romano rum + Conmarch pinxit hoc Chirografum rege suo poscente Concenn + Benedictio dīni in Con cenn . in tota familia ejus et in tota regione povois usque in . · · · · .¹

It is clear from this that the pillar was erected by Concen, or Cyngen, in memory of his great-grandfather, Eliseg. He could not however have been the same person

¹ This transcript was kindly furnished to the writer by J. O. Westwood, Esq.

with Saint Cyngen, as is generally supposed, for the genealogical records exhibit the pedigree of the latter as the very reverse of that on the monument; thus,---" Brochwel Ysgythrog ab Cyngen ab Cadell Deyrnllug," and not "Cyngen ab Cadell ab Brochwel," as it is here. We find, however, lower down in the same line, what accurately agrees with the statement of the inscription :--- "Cyngen (murdered at Rome, A.D. 854) ab Cadell (ob. A.D. 804) ab Brochwel ab Elisau ab Cynllo,"² the fifth in descent from Brochwel Ysgythrog, who was also derived from Gwrtheyrn, or Vortigern, king of Britain.³ It must not be denied that the two genealogies, or rather, the two portions of the pedigree, in which the name of Brochwel occur, are confounded together in the Welsh Chronicles; for instance, Cadell Deyrnllug is there styled the son of Brochwel Ysgythrog. This circumstance has doubtless contributed much towards a misunderstanding of the monumental inscription.

In the Bruts or Chronicles we have the following brief notices respecting the fate of Cyngen, the person who appears to have erected the pillar in question :---

"A.D. 850.—Cyngen was strangled by the gentiles."

"A.D. 850.—Died Cyngen, king of Powys, at Rome."4

"A.D. 850.—Cyngen was slain by his own men."

"A.D. 850.—The battle of Finnant took place, and Cyngen ab Cadell Deyrnllug was slain⁵ at Rome by his own men."

"A.D. 854.-Died Cyngen, king of Powys, at Rome."6

His being styled in the last extract but one as the son of Cadell Deyrnllug is, of course, one of the mistakes to which we have just adverted, unless it may be supposed

² Copied from Rees' Essay on the Welsh Saints, p. 161.

³ "Cynllo ab Beli ab Mael Mynan ab Selyv ab Cynan Garwyn ab Brochwel Ysgythrog ab Cyngen Sant ab Cadell Deyrnllug ab Pasgen ab Rheiddwy ab Rhuddvedel Vrych ab Cyndeyrn ab Gwtheyrn."

• Myv. Arch., ii., p. 392. These events, though under the same year, are noticed in the Brut as if they referred to distinct persons.

⁵ "Or choaked, as some saie."—*Powel.* This historian, moreover, dates the event four years later.

⁶ Myv. Arch., ii., pp. 479, 478.

that his father, like his ancestral namesake, joined the name of his kingdom to that of himself.

We have no means of ascertaining the object of Cyngen's visit to Rome, nor why he should have incurred the fatal hatred of his own attendants in that city; neither is it quite clear, from the wording of the *Brut*, whether the battle of Finnant was not that in which he met with his death, there being no punctuation in the original passage.⁷

Of Cadell it is thus recorded :---

"A.D. 800.-Died . . . Cadell king of Powys."8

"A.D. 804.—Died . . . Cadell king of Teyrnllwg, now called Powys."

"A.D. 808.—Died . . . Cadell of Powys."9

Nothing is known of the history of Brochwel, and all that has transpired relative to the person especially commemorated by the pillar, is thus mentioned in the *Cam*brian Biography:—

"Elisau ab Cynllo, a prince of Powys, who died A.D. 773." The inscription seems in like manner to connect him with the Powysian dominion :—

"Ipse est Eliseg, qui necr . . . at hereditatem Povos."

Thus all the persons, whose names compose the monumental pedigree, appear to have been in their turn sovereigns of the kingdom of Powys, a fact which is further corroborated by Nennius, who is said to have written his *Historia Britonum* A.D. 858. He says, in reference to the original Cadell Deyrnllug :—" All his sons became kings, and by their offspring has the whole territory of Powys been governed even to this day." "Omnes filii ejus reges facti sunt, et de semine illorum

⁷ In one copy two years are made to intervene between the battle of Finnant and the death of Cyngen.

⁸ Myv. Arch., ii., pp. 392, 474. 9 Ibid., p. 474.

omnis regio Pouisorum regitur usque in hodiernum diem." The time when it was wrested from this family was A.D. 1062, according to the Welsh *Brut*, which notices the event as follows :—" The brothers Bleddyn and Rhiwallawn took the sovereignty of Powysland from the tribe of Brochwel Ysgythrog, which was not right."¹

Powel tells us, in his *History of Wales*, that "Powys before King Offas time reached estward to the rivers of Dee and Seauerne, with a right line from the end of Broxen hilles to Salop, with all the countrie betweene Wye and Seauerne, whereof Brochwel Yscithroc was possessed; but after the making of Offas ditch the plaine countrie toward Salop, being inhabited by Saxons and Normans, Powys was in length from Pulford bridge northeast to the confines of Caerdigan-shire, in the parish of Lhanguric in the southwest; and in bredth from the furthest part of Cyueiliog westward, to Elsmere on the eastside."^e

Eliseg was thus buried within his own dominions, and from the words "Anglo . . . in gladio sua parta in igne," we would infer that he fell in opposing the Saxon encroachment. Offa's Dyke, which was made in 765, runs not far from the spot, that is, it passes by Wrexham, Rhiwabon, Chirk, and Oswestry; and we might naturally expect that the Welsh near those places would, in Eliseg's time, be much exposed to the devastating power of the enemy. Indeed, Powel narrates, that Offa expelled all the Welsh out of the plain and even country between Severn and Wye, and planted Saxons in the same, and that, consequently, the regal court of Powys was removed from Pengwern, near Shrewsbury, to Mathrafal in Montgomeryshire, " where it continued long after."

Having stated the immediate object of the erection of the monument, and given, apparently, some particulars relative to the fate of the person commemorated, the inscription proceeds, as it seems, to notice certain events which occurred in the ancestral history of Cyngen, the

¹ Myv. Arch., ii., p. 516. ² Ibid., p. 154.

man who raised it. In one place there is an evident allusion to "Pasgen," the son of Gwrthenau (filius Guarthi) Vortigern, who, according to Nennius, reigned over Buellt and Gwrtheyrnion in South Wales, and who, as the *Bruts* record, attempted to wrest the whole island from the hands of Emrys Wledig, the slayer of his father. It may be that the words "monarchiam . ail maximus britanniæ . nn Pascen," refers to this circumstance.

Another son is likewise referred to, though his name has not been deciphered, *i. e.*, "Faustus." This individual was the fruit of Vortigern's incest, and the father, it is related, endeavoured in a council of the Britons, held in Gwrtheyrnion, to palm him upon St. Germanus, for which he was cursed by the saint and the whole body of the clergy assembled. The inscription clearly points out to this story—"Filius Guarthi . que bened . que bened . Germanusque . . . peperit ei se . ira filia maximi."

The next word seems to have been *regis*, and the sentence concludes with "qui occidit regi Romanorum," which appears to be a statement of the manner of Vortigern's death—that he was killed by a king of the Romans. That Vortigern is meant is clear from the word *filia* immediately preceding "maximi—gis (or regis)," for it was against his own daughter that he so cruelly sinned. "Quartus fuit Faustus," says Nennius, "qui a filia sua genitus est illi."

If Vortigern then is meant, why should Emrys Wledig, or Ambrosius, who killed him, be designated here "king of the Romans?" In regard to power and jurisdiction at this time, he could evidently have no claim to the title. We shall just give an account of his family connections, and leave others to judge whether he might not with reason have been so distinguished on that score.

Emrys Wledig was the son of Cystenyn Vendigaid (the blessed), who was the brother of Aldwr, the fourth king of Armorica after Cynan Meiriadog, and of the same line. Emrys' mother was the daughter of a Roman prince, who had been brought up in London with Archbishop Cyhylin. Cynan Meiriadog, ancestor of Emrys, and the first king of Armorica, had a sister named Elen, who was married to Macsen Wledig, or Maximus, emperor of Rome. Cynan assisted his fatherin-law against his rival at Rome with a large body of Britons, and in reward for his services on the occasion, obtained from him extensive possessions in Armorica, where he settled, and founded a kingdom. Owain the son of Macsen is recorded in the Triads as the sovereign under whom Britain was first restored to a state of independence after the final departure of the Romans.

It is not improbable, however, that, though when he was raised to the sovereign throne of Britain, the Roman power was completely abolished, or become extinct in the island, he had in his younger days held some authority under the emperors. Indeed, the word *comes*, applied to him by Gildas, would indicate some official situation of that nature.

The next paragraph on the pillar gives us the name of the scribe:—" Conmarch pinxit hoc Chirografum rege suo poscente Concenn." Cynvarch executed this inscription at the request of his king, Cyngen. In one catalogue of the Genealogy of the Saints, published in the *Myvyrian Archaiology*, we find (*sub voce* Kynvarch) as follows:—

"Sanctus Kynvarch appears in the window of the church of Llanvair Dyffryn Clwyd. It was Kynvarch who devised the inscription on the stone near Llangollen: 'Conmarch pinxit hoc chirographum Rege suo poscente Concen.'"³

Rees, in his essay on the Welsh Saints, says of this saint :---

"In another branch of the family of Coel, occurs the name of Cynfarch Oer, a chieftain of North Britain, but who afterwards

³ Myv. Arch., ii., p. 35.

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became a saint in Wales. He is said to have been the founder of Llangynfarch in Maelor (Hope), Flintshire, which was destroyed by the Saxons in the battle of Bangor Orchard, A.D. 603; and he is associated with the Virgin Mary as the patron of Llanfair Dyffryn Clwyd, Denbighshire. His wife was Nefyn, a grand-daughter of Brychan, by whom he was the father of Urien Rheged."⁴

Now, if we date the erection of the monument in the ninth century, it is very clear that the above mentioned Cynvarch could not have been the person who inscribed it, nor have we any means of ascertaining who he was.

The term *pinxit* is remarkable, though it has been observed by Mr. Westwood that the scribe Mac Regol, in the copy of the Gospels at Oxford, commonly called the Rushworth Gloss, employs a not dissimilar expression :—

"Mac Regol dipinxit hoc euangelium."

Cynvarch, in conclusion, invokes the blessing of heaven upon Cyngen, and all his family and dominions. "Benedictio dni in Concenn—in tota familia ejus et in tota regione povois usque in—"

The inscription consists of four different paragraphs, and each of them begins with a cross, though Edward Llwyd has overlooked the first cross, which, nevertheless, is very legible even at the present day.

The pillar of Eliseg was doubtless originally a cross of some kind, and, as such, it gave its name to the field in which it is situated, which is still distinguished as "Llwyn y groes" (the grove of the cross), as well as to the glen in general, "Pant y groes" (the dingle of the cross), and "vale of the cross."

The stone stands upon a tumulus, which was opened about forty-eight years ago. Simpson, in his Account of Llangollen, says :---

" I was so fortunate as to meet with two persons who assisted in opening the tumulus before the pillar was re-erected; and they gave me the following account:—On digging below the flat pedestal in which the base of the pillar had been inserted, they

⁴ Myv. Arch., ii., p. 168.
ABCH. CAMB., NEW SERIES, VOL. II.

came to a layer of pebble stones; and, after having removed them, to a large flat slab, on which it seems the body had been laid, as they now found the remains of it, guarded round with large flat blue stones, and covered at top with the same; the whole forming a sort of stone box or coffin. The bones were entire, and of very large dimensions. The skull and teeth, which were very white and perfect, were particularly sound. My informants said they believed the skull was sent to Trevor Hall, but it was returned, and again deposited, with the rest of the bones, in its former sepulchre. By this it should seem that Eliseg was not an old man when he was buried here; and it is wonderful that greater decomposition had not taken place in twelve hundred years.

"One of the persons who assisted at his exhumation, a very old man at the time of my inquiries, and since dead, was huntsman to Mr. Lloyd when the tumulus was opened. He said there was a large piece of silver coin found in the coffin, which was kept; but that the skull was gilded to preserve it, and was then again deposited with its kindred bones. I asked if the bones were sound; and he answered, (I give his own words,) 'O, no sir; they broke like gingerbread."—(P. 133.)

We have, in the monument in question, a remarkable proof of the late period to which the custom of burying in tumuli was carried down by the Britons. That the practice was of frequent occurrence in the sixth century, though not to the exclusion of churchyard interment, we have abundant evidences in the "Englynion y Beddau," and other works of the earlier bards; but the writer cannot call to mind a single instance, besides this, of a tumulus having been raised over the dead as late as the year 773.

We expect, through the kindness of Mr. Westwood, to have a specimen of the inscription engraved for the next Number of the Archæologia Cambrensis.⁵

AB ITHEL.

⁵ The Pillar of Eliseg is about a quarter of a mile distant from Valle Crucis Abbey.

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TENBY CASTLE.



Tower, Tenby Castle.

TENBY CASTLE.

THAT a castle existed on this site, at a very early period, is the only clearly established fact; and, in the absence of all documentary evidence, it is useless to conjecture either what was the character and extent of the original edifice, or what were its means of defence beyond those afforded by its commanding position. According to Mr. Fenton, it was taken and entirely destroyed by Malgwyn, son of the Lord Rhys, and was never restored to its former size or strength.

Elsewhere it is stated that, in 1189, Richard I. having given Isabel, daughter and heiress of Richard de Clare, surnamed Strongbow, Earl of Pembroke, in marriage to William Marshall, afterwards erected Earl of Pembroke, he restored the castle of Tenby.

From this period to the reign of Elizabeth we have been unable at present to discover any notices; but it appears, when the armada threatened the coast, and it was quite uncertain where a landing might be attempted, the Bishop of St. David's, and the principal people of the county signed a petition, that experienced persons should be sent down to consider proper methods of defence, and to examine Tenby and *Tenby Castle*, which *it was* supposed might easily be made of exceeding strength. In consequence of this application, it is probable certain repairs were effected; at least a stone exists in the wall, which protected the town, inscribed, A. 1588, E. R. 30; and no doubt the castle, or whatever remained of it, was not neglected. There is the same want of information till 1643; and such notices as have been preserved, only relate to the struggles which were made by the contending parties for possession.

contending parties for possession. In 1643, Tenby was garrisoned for the king. On the 7th of March, Colonel Richard Laugharne proceeded to attack Tenby, which was taken on the third day. In 1647, Tenby was again taken possession of, and garrisoned for the king.

On the 21st of May, 1648, Cromwell, then before Pembroke, thus expressed himself in a letter addressed to the house:---"The reduction of Wales is more difficult than was expected; the towns and castles of Pembroke and *Tenby* being equal to any in England, and well provided of all things."

In Whitelock's Memorials, under June, 1648, are the following paragraphs :—" Letters from Wales, that Overton's regiment, and part of Sir Will. Constable's regiment, commanded by Lieut.-Col. Read, stormed the suburbs of Tenby, and took twenty horse, and killed some : that about a week after that, the town and castle were surrendered upon mercy to parliament.

"That the townsmen seeing nothing but ruin, brought the

desperate officers and country gentlemen to a compliance, altho they had sufficient provision, 300 soldiers, thirty-five guns mounted, and twelve barrels of powder."

From these scanty notices we may infer that the primary object of William Marshall was to protect the harbour, then rising into distinction as a sea-port, to afford within its walls a safe and convenient stowage for merchandize, and, in case of any sudden emergency, a retreat for the weaker portion of the inhabitants of the town; but, as Tenby always remained part and parcel of the wide domains of the successive Earls of Pembroke, we doubt much whether the castle was ever adapted to any thing beyond the purpose we have mentioned; and this conjecture derives some consideration from the splendid remains of the castle, in which they were known to have resided, and from the fact that two letters of Jasper Tudor are dated from our *Towne* of Tenby. Cromwell also probably referred to the walls of the town, for even when the means of defence were better understood, the surrender of the town implied that of the castle also; and an additional argument might be founded on the very triffing remains which now exist. These consist of the watch-tower, depicted in our wood-engraving, and part of the gateway, and other fragments of outer walls.

The latter is said to have been the chief entrance to the castle; but this is doubtful. At all events, the approach must have been steep and difficult; and as, immediately within the first arch, there was a second gate and portcullis flanking the first, and both unusually small, the means of defence at this point were considerable.

The remaining fragments are of no importance, since the larger portion are of much later date, and probably were executed long after the castle had ceased to be a place of defence. By some, these are supposed to have been barracks—by others, storehouses; but from their position, and want of strength, it is more likely they were used for purposes connected with trade.

The situation however must always attract attention; whilst the fact that the Duke of Richmond, aided by a native of the place, and in company with his uncle, the Earl of Pembroke, effected his escape from the humble harbour below, must lend an additional interest to the scene.

These scanty notices have been chiefly extracted from the letter-press description of a series of etchings of Tenby, executed by Mr. Norris; a work which does not appear to have attracted attention by any means in proportion to its merits, but which has certainly preserved many curious fragments of architecture, of which no other traces remain.

Correspondence.

LETTERS FROM A TRAVELLING ANTIQUARY.

No. III.

To the Editors of the Archaelogia Cambrensis.

GENTLEMEN,—I am sorry that some hasty expressions in my first, concerning Brecon antiquities, should have given offence to any of your friends in that county; and I take the earliest opportunity afforded me of apologizing for my inconsiderate use of them. Nevertheless, I would refer to the words of Mr. Westwood about the Scethrog Stone, in the same number of your Journal, for a justification of at least part of my remarks. However, antiquaries, of all men in the world, can least afford to quarrel: I will the rather congratulate myself on finding that my notions of the apathy of the residents in Brecon were erroneous; and I will indulge in the hope that future days may produce from among them some one who will give us a new and more extensive edition of Jones' History of that county. The plates in that work are very poor ones; and much more is now known of Brecknockshire, than when it was compiled.

Allow me to give a hint to the members of our Association who may be occupied in tracing out Roman and British roads, that it does not seem as yet sufficiently proved (1) that Roman roads were always straight; nor (2) that they were always raised above the soil; nor (3) that they were paved.

I think it would be well worth their while to inquire how far, considering the natural features of any country, especially Wales, Roman military engineers were induced to avail themselves of physical facilities, or were hindered by physical difficulties, in tracing out their lines of communication. Thus, for example, would not the Romans be more inclined than we think to follow the windings of a mountain valley, rather than go over an arm of the mountain itself? Did the Roman road from Pennal to Dolgellau ever go over Cadair Idris? I can hardly think it did.

Again, between Abergavenny and Brecon (I think), you can see what was once the Roman road now serving as a ditch; the same for the Roman road between Neath and Loughor (near the latter place). Whatever might have been the practice in Italy, is it sure that the Roman roads were always raised embankments in the British isles?

And, for the last point, I suspect that paving was not always used by Roman engineers; gravel, rough materials of any kind were heaped up, and left to consolidate. Paving was used in many cases, but not in all.

If my suspicions have any foundation, then I would put the following questions to the gentlemen engaged in drawing up and collecting materials for the *Cambria Romana*:—

1. Are we to pronounce a road to be not Roman, merely because it follows a winding instead of a straight course between one station and another?

2. May not several ancient lanes and horse roads, nearly coinciding with the presumed lines of Roman roads, be more intimately connected with them than is commonly supposed?

3. If the roads were not always paved, what sort of traces of their construction may we expect to find;—and how are we to ascertain or compare their composition?

Would it not be well if you were to publish for distribution with the Journal a small skeleton map of Wales, on which those antiquaries who are following up this branch of inquiry might be able to mark, and compare the results of their verifications and discoveries ?—I am &c.,

A TRAVELLING ANTIQUARY.

Lampeter, Sept. 2, 1851.

To the Editors of the Archaeologia Cambrensis.

GENTLEMEN,—In your July Number "A Travelling Antiquary" wishes to be informed respecting an old building, near Lingen, in Herefordshire, called the "Abbey," and likewise as to an alleged Roman road intersecting Offa's Dyke in the same district.

The ruin alluded to is that of the Benedictine Nunnery of Lymbroke, founded *temp*. Richard I. At the dissolution, it was valued at £23 17s. 8d.; and the remains, as is usual on the border, are much neglected.

I am not aware of any Roman road with which the dyke could have come in contact, from its commencement at Bridge Solers on the Wye, to the entrance of it into Montgomeryshire. Had the dyke commenced but a few miles in another direction, *it* would probably have crossed the Roman road (the second Watling street), leading from Wroxeter to Kenchester.

Your correspondent touches upon the Caer Caradoc controversy—it will be a difficult thing to withstand the claim of the *Breidden*. The British post which he inspected, is not in Radnorshire, but in Shropshire, the Teme dividing the two counties.

I am &c.,

July, 1851.

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Miscellaueaus Natices.

ARCHEOLOGIA CAMBRENSIS.—Our readers will no doubt be glad to learn that in future this Journal will be far better illustrated than it has been hitherto; our noble President having subscribed £40, Rev. J. M. Traherne £5, and the Cambrian Archeological Association £40, towards the illustrations of the ensuing year.

THE CROSS OF GRUTNE.—The following triad is inserted in the Myvyrian Archaiology, vol. ii., p. 15:—

"The three brave chieftains of the isle of Britain :-GRUDNEU, and Henbrien, and Aedenawg. They would never leave the field of battle except on their biers; and they were the three sons of Gleisiar of the North, and Haernwedd Vradawg (treacherous) their mother."

These brothers are said to have flourished in the sixth century, but whether the stone described by Mr. Westwood, apud Arch. Camb., New Series, No. VI., and which he there refers generally to the eighth or ninth century, can by any possibility be artistically two or three hundred years older, so as to square with the triadic era, I must leave to his experienced judgment to decide. My own opinion is, that there is nothing in the character of the letters and style of orthography irreconcilable with that hypothesis, though I doubt whether the form and design of the cross do not point to a later date.—AB ITHEL.

LLANARTH, CARDIGAN.—The inscribed and crossed stone in the churchyard of this parish, has been moved from its former position to one within the church tower, by the joint care of the rector and the Rev. Evan Jones, of Aberayron. It is carefully placed against the wall, and is ready to be examined by Mr. Westwood, or any other competent palæographer.

CROMLECHS IN PEMBROKESHIRE.—We are informed by a correspondent that, in a field near Newport, in Pembrokeshire, close by the fifth milestone, on the Fishguard road, there are now to be seen five cromlechs, ranged as radii of a circle, the diameter of which is thirty feet; they have all fallen in, and appear to have been until lately covered more or less by a tumulus of earth. —Can Mr. Fenton, of Glyn-y-mêl, or the Rev. John Jones, of Nevern, supply any information about these remains;—and will either of those gentlemen have the kindness to take the proper steps for their preservation? Two large meini hirion are also in fields by the road-side, between the two towns named above.

HEIGHT OF THE BREIDDEN.—An antiquarian friend living at the foot of the Breidden, protests against Mr. Ffoulkes' estimate of the height of that mountain, and says that it is certainly more than 1300 feet in altitude above the sea, instead of 800. Mr. Ffoulkes did not mean, we fancy, the altitude of the mountain above the sea, but above the adjacent low lands through which the Severn flows. Our correspondent mentions the tradition of a large body of men, perhaps Romans, having been intercepted by the natives, and cut off at the foot of the Breidden; and tries to account for the name of Buttington, from *Woden*, or *Baden ton*. There is a confusion of ideas here. He forgets that he once showed us the very probable site of a *Danish* encampment on a spur of the Breidden, near Buttington, and mentioning a tradition concerning some Danes having wintered there. We wish he would follow up this subject; and also the cognate one of tracing the *Roman road* from Rowton (*Rutunium*), to Mathrafal (*Mediolanum*).

A correspondent in North Wales, suggests that the Bugeilan favor and the Bugeilan fach, mentioned by Mr. Ffoulkes in his Denbighshire researches, should be interpreted "big and little sheep yards,"—and seems to think that the heaps in question may have been connected with sheep-tending. The occurrence of white stones, he observes, is a very common circumstance on the hills where Mr. Ffoulkes was operating.

AERVEN.—We would call the attention of Mr. Stephens, to a document on "the Principal Territories of Britain," printed in the Iolo MSS. p. 476, which may assist him in determining the situation of Aerven. In it Gwynedd is said to extend "from Cantrev Orddwyv to Menai, including also AERVEN and Teyrnllwg." Teyrnllwg, "from AERVEN to Argoed Derwennydd," and Powis to be "between AERVEN, the extremity of Teyrnllwg, the borders of Fferyllwg, and Cantrev Orddwyv."

ABERVSTWITH GUIDE.—By Thomas Owen Morgan, Esq.— On the first appearance of this neat little publication two years since we noticed it. We are glad to find it has since reached a second edition, and that it is "considerably enlarged," and, we may ourselves add, *improved*. The legend of the inundation of Cantref y Gwelod is supported and confirmed by many instances elsewhere, where similar catastrophes have occurred within the date of the historic period.

ERRATA.—In Mr. Freeman's paper on "Monmouthshire Antiquities," p. 192 of the present volume, the following was printed :—"Any extended criticism, the abbey of Tintern is too well known, and would require too great a space, for any remarks on it to be introduced here." It should be :—"The abbey of Tintern is at once too well known, and would require too great a space for any extended criticism, for any remarks," &c. Also, in p. 201, "Barton" is twice printed for "Burton."

Cambrian Archæological Association.

FIFTH ANNUAL MEETING, TENBY,

AUGUST 20TH TO 26TH, 1851.

President,

The Right Honourable the EARL OF CAWDOR.

Taral Committee.

W. Richards, Esq., Mayor of Tenby, Chairman, Lieut.-Col. Wedgwood, Vice-Chairman and Treasurer, Rev. G. W. Birkett, Captain Brett, Mr. J. Davies, J. H. Dobeon, Esq., Rev. T. Dunn, Mr. W. G. W. Freeman, J. Gwynne, Esq.,

Rev. J. Jones, Nevern, W. M. Jones, Esq., Dr. Lawrence, W. Lock, Esq., J. P. Ord, Esq., J. L. Puxley, Esq., J. Rees, Esq., H. Sanders, Esq., Rev. G. N. Smith, W. B. Williams, Esq., M.C., E. Wilson, Esq.

Rev. JAMES ALLEN, Castlemartin, Loc. Sec. Pembrokeshire, F. D. DYSTER, Esq., Rev. J. BOYS SMITH,

THE Fifth Annual Meeting of the Association was held on Wednesday, Thursday, Friday, Saturday, Monday, and Tuesday, 20th, 21st, 22nd, 23rd, 25th, and 26th August, 1851.

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 20TH.

The General Committee met at ten A.M. to audit the accounts and arrange the preliminaries for the Meeting, and for the following year.

EVENING MEETING.

In the unavoidable absence of W. W. E. Wynne, Esq., of Peniarth, the Rev. J. Montgomery Traherne moved that the Earl of Cawdor, the President elect, should take the chair : the motion was seconded by Thomas Allen, Esq., of Freestone.

The Earl of Cawdor, on taking the chair, pointed out the high importance of the study which was the express object of the Society's existence, and the occasion of their meeting at Tenby. It was a grave error to suppose that the scope of archeeology was confined to matters of merely local interest; it had a far higher value—the elucidation of general history by the means of existing monuments. These were our sole record of the earliest inhabitants of the country; we had little beside these to inform us concerning its Roman masters; and they supplied a large part of the history of later ages. Among the chapters of medieval history for which there was little documentary evidence, and the proof of which must be in a measure left to the archeeologist, not the least remarkable was that which related to the Flemish immigration into Pembrokeshire. To this the attention of the Society would

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doubtless be directed during the ensuing meeting; he was therefore anxious to notice one curious question connected with it, the disappearance, namely, of the Flemish language from the district which that people were said to have occupied. In relation to this he mentioned a fact, which had been hitherto little noticed, and which is detailed in Sir H. Ellis' Collection of Letters. One Rees Griffith, writing to Cardinal Wolsey, mentions the introduction of a large body of Irish into Pembrokeshire, amounting to not less than twenty thousand. These immigrants filled the towns of Haverfordwest, Pembroke, and Tenby, and in the place last mentioned were extremely disorderly; indeed, the mayor of Tenby had been so far from repressing them, that he had actually headed them in sundry tumults. There were whole villages full of them, and in almost every parish a fourth of the population were Irish. This irruption was traced to the Earl of Desmond's rebellion. His lordship proceeded to observe that the country was now on the eve of a revolution, greater than it had ever undergone before, and not the less complete that it was a peaceful one; a revolution which would have the effect of developing the natural resources of the county, and opening its great harbour to the commerce of the western hemisphere; he alluded to the probable completion of a railway to Milford Haven. This work, important as it was, and desirable as it was, would not be without its pernicious effects on the relics and traditions of past ages; and it was therefore absolutely necessary for archæologists at the present time to note and describe accurately existing monuments, and to catch the voice of tradition, which was fast passing away. In one important instance, connected with this county, he was happy to say that this was being done; but he felt that much more might, and ought, to be done. He therefore suggested that a statistical survey might be commenced with advantage, of the kind which had been so successfully carried out in Scotland, through the instrumentality of the parochial clergy. He merely threw this out as a hint, and in the event of its being acted on, felt that the antiquarian portion of the work could not be placed in fitter hands, than in those of the Cambrian Archeological Association.

The Rev. W. Basil Jones then read the following

Report of the Committee for the Year 1850-51:--

"It is the first duty of the Committee, in addressing the Society on this occasion, to call the attention of its members to the official changes which have taken place since the last meeting, as well as those which they recommend to be made at the present one. The foremost and most important is the resignation of the chair, by Mr. Wynne, to the Earl of Cawdor, who has laid the Association under a deep debt of obligation by undertaking the office of President. The Committee trust that the Association will find an opportunity of expressing its gratitude to the late President for his zealous activity on its behalf from the commencement of its existence, and especially during his year of office.

"The Committee have arranged that the following members of its

body shall retire from office, in accordance with Rule IV.:—The Ven. Archdeacon Williams, the Rev. R. R. Parry Mealy, and the Ven. Archdeacon Newcome; and they recommend that their places be supplied by Howel Gwyn, Esq., M.P., the Rev. Edmund Melvill, M.A., Chancellor of St. David's, and Thomas Wright, Esq. These names will be placed in the public room during the meeting, and it is in the power of any member to add the names of other candidates; and the election will take place on the last evening.

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"The Committee also recommend that the Very Rev. the Dean of St. David's, the Rev. the President of Trinity College, Oxford, and W. W. E. Wynne, Esq., F.S.A., be elected Vice-Presidents; and they have to announce that W. Wynne Ffoulkes, Esq., has been elected a General Secretary, and J. Joseph, Esq., a Local Secretary for Brecknockshire, in addition to those who now fill the office.

"The Committee are bound to congratulate the Society on assembling in a district so peculiarly rich in medieval remains, as well as one which plays so important a part in the history of that period, as the Anglia Transwalliana, or Englishry of Pembrokeshire. They confidently expect that this meeting will be the means of eliciting much valuable and interesting information relative to the history and antiquities of this neighbourhood, and bearing on the past state of the various populations which have occupied it. They have also to announce that Ludlow has been selected as the next place for the Annual Congress; and that a deputation has been received from the town of Brecon, bearing a resolution of the Town Council of that borough, and accompanied by a requisition, signed by a large number of the principal inhabitants of the town and county, inviting the Society to hold its meeting there in the year 1853.

"The Committee have the satisfaction to inform the Association, that the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire, the Architectural -Society of the Archdeaconry of Northampton, and the Kilkenny Archæological Society, have entered into an alliance with the Association, for the mutual exchange of their publications and notices, and the general furtherance of their common objects. They have to add that efforts have been made to establish a system of correspondence with other countries wholly or partly Celtic, and, in particular, with Ireland and Cornwall.

"In order to facilitate the last mentioned object, and enable the Committee to carry out their duties more effectually, they recommend that Rule IV. stand thus :---

"'The Government of the Association shall be vested in a Committee, consisting of a President, with all such members as shall have been elected to fill that affice, six or more Vice-Presidents, a General Treasurer, two or more General Secretaries, seventeen or more Local Secretaries (viz., one at least for each county of the Principulity and the Marches), with all such Corresponding Secretaries as the Committee shall think fit to appoint, and twelve or more ordinary members.'

The amended rule, with the new parts underlined, will be placed in the room, and subjected to the votes of the Society at the last meeting.

"The results of the Society's labours during the pest year have

taken a new and extended form, in the publication of a Supplemental Volume to the Archeologia Cambrensis. This volume contains, with other papers, Mr. Williams' Glossary of British Terms of Dress and Armour, which is at length published in a complete form. Of the Papers published in the other Numbers of the Journal, the Committee are particularly bound to notice those which form a series, and among them, Mr. Freeman's Notes on the Architectural Antiquities of Monmouthshire, and Mr. Morgan's Historical and Traditional Notices of Owain Glyndwr; to be followed, as the Committee trust, by similar researches on the part of both those gentlemen into the historical and architectural antiquities of this county. To these must be added Mr. Westwood's Papers on Early Inscribed Stones in Wales, and Mr. Ffoulkes' Series on the Tumuli of Denbighshire, together with the valuable criticisms on the supposed works of Taliesin, by the author of the Literature of the Kymry. The Committee hail Mr. Stephens' labours as the first application of modern criticism to works whose genuineness has been either received without hesitation, or hastily rejected; and they cannot help noticing, as a new illustration of the story of Columbus and the egg, the fact, that Mr. Stephens has tried the poems of Taliesin by a simple and somewhat obvious test, which had been previously overlooked-the principle, namely, that a poem cannot well have been written before the occurrence of the actions which it describes. In addition to these, the Committee are bound to notice with gratitude Mr. Ffoulkes' Essay on the Site of the last Battle of Caractacus; a masterly paper, by Mr. Knight, on the Insurrection of Llewelyn Bren; and Mr. Clarke's magnificent monograph on Caerphilly Castle. They are happy to announce that the gentleman last mentioned has contributed for this meeting a paper on another of the South-Welsh castles, which owes its present excellent condition to its careful preservation by the proprietor, the President of this Society.

"The Committee purpose to lay before the Society its financial position and prospects at the last evening meeting."

The Bishop of St. David's rose to move the adoption of the report, which, so far as it went, gave a very encouraging view of the state and prospects of the Association. He need not say that this gave him great satisfaction, as he had watched the formation and growth of the Society with deep interest, although he had not been able to attend any of its earlier meetings. He considered that the founders of this Society had been both wise and fortunate in selecting a limited but very fruitful field of research. Their end was two-fold-speculative and practical. The former was the scientific study of antiquities without any immediate practical object, and it was occupied both with written memorials, and with (what he would call) the unlettered monuments of antiquity; the latter being, if less explicit, more trustworthy evidences, in proportion as all human compositions must contain a certain alloy of error. The further we carry our researches backwards, the more important do these unlettered monuments become, in proportion as contemporary history fails us. It was thus that men were enabled to investigate the traces of the earliest ages; it was chiefly thus that they

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went from Norman to Saxon, and from Saxon to Roman, and came at last (if they could come) to the aboriginal inhabitants of the country. The practical part of the Society's work consisted in the preservation and restoration of antiquities. Now, a distinction must be drawn between preservation and restoration. Preservation was due to all ancient, but now useless, objects, whether Druidical cromlechs, Roman camps, or Baronial castles. These were of high interest and historic value, and it was our duty to keep them as much as possible unimpaired, and to hand them down to posterity such as we have inherited them. But no one would think of restoring such objects; restoration belonged to another class of antiquities-those which had a present use, and above all, to those in which he was most nearly interested, he meant our ancient churches. And here he felt that their present requirements might in some instances come into collision with the demands of archæology. The absolute necessity for putting an ancient church into decent and substantial repair, might sometimes cause the restoration to be made in a way that would neither satisfy the taste, nor bear the scientific criticism, of the architectural antiquary. Still he felt that it was better to repair it in any way, than not at all; although he was fully aware that a correct restoration would, in many cases, require no additional outlay, or a very trifling addition. In their purposed excursion to the ancient Cathedral Church of St. David's, the Society would see a marked instance of what he had been saying. It had been found necessary to fill up the south transept for the parish service, in a manner that perhaps would not be approved of by a correct architectural taste, which would probably have preferred restoring it to its primitive beauty and uselessness. In conclusion, his lordship adverted to the Journal of the Society, the Archæologia Cambrensis, a publication of which the matter, typography, and illustrations, reflected great credit on the contributors, the Editors, and the Publisher. He was sorry to find scattered throughout its pages occasional expressions of despondency, expressions which he regarded as wholly uncalled for.¹ They must remember that the Society was as yet a new thing; it had not yet completed the first lustrum of its existence; and it had still a great work before it. The local antiquities of a large part of Wales were wholly unknown. The history of two of its most important counties was yet unwritten; he would not speak of Radnorshire, but he would call the attention of the Society to the remarkable fact, that there was no history of Caermarthenshire, or of Glamorganshire.² Here was a task worthy of the Society's best efforts, and he felt assured that it had members who might produce a history unequalled by any county history yet written.

The Rev. J. M. Traherne seconded the motion, which was unanimously carried.

The Secretary then detailed the arrangements of the meeting.

¹ It is only the wearer that knows where the shoe pinches.—EDD. ARCH. CAMB. ² The Bishop might have added the six counties of North Wales; but as his Lordsbip's hearers were almost wholly South-Welsh, the argument would have had no additional force.—EDD. ARCH. CAMB.

THURSDAY, AUGUST 21st.

EXCURSION.

The objects proposed for the day's excursion were the various antiquities of Penally and Manorbeer, the church at Hodgeston, the domestic remains at Trefloyn, and the barrows known as Carew and Norchard Beacons. The first object that presented itself was a ruined house at Penally, a specimen of the peculiar domestic architecture of the district, which must have been a mansion of considerable pretensions, and which in its present state has picturesque, as well as architectural, attractions of no mean order. The party next proceeded to the church, a typical specimen of the smaller churches of the district, with the characteristic tower, vaulted roof, squints, &c. This building had just undergone "restoration," and the general opinion of the visitors seemed to be, that the windows, which had been inserted instead of the old sashes, displayed a judicious appreciation of the local style, but that the air of antiquity, and indeed the character of the building, had been much obliterated by the plastering and scoring of the roof. Some unwarrantable tampering with the chancel arch seemed also to have taken place. From Penally the visitors continued their course to Manorbeer, where their attention was first attracted by the stately castle, the reputed birth-place of Giraldus Cambrensis. Many however of the architectural antiquaries considered it exceedingly doubtful whether any portion of the present structure was as old as his time. The castle contains work of various subsequent dates, and is especially remarkable for its close approximation to the domestic work of the district. The church, which was next visited, lies to the south of the castle, on the slope of the hill forming the other side of the ravine lying between the two buildings. The whole aspect of the small bay, with its shore, partly rocky, and partly sandy, and these two venerable structures in its immediate vicinity, is extremely striking. The peculiarities of the church were pointed out by Mr. Freeman; it presents one of the most picturesque outlines of the Pembrokeshire churches, especially when viewed from the rising ground to the southwest. Its internal architecture is of the rudest and most extraordinary character, and will be commented on at large in another place. Some small domestic ruins in the neighbourhood of the church were also examined; after which the party proceeded to the "cromlech" on the slope immediately over the bay. Some observations on the cromlech were made by the Rev. G. N. Smith, who allowed its use to be in the main sepulchral, but considered that it might also have been used for sacrifice to the manes of the departed, alleging the Homeric instance of Achilles and Patroclus. In opposition to this view Mr. Freeman quoted the argument of M. Worsaae, that, had the cromlech been designed in any case as an altar, the flat side of the top stone would have been placed uppermost, instead of the reverse. From this argument, however, Earl Cawdor and the Bishop of St. David's dissented. Some difficulties were also raised by Mr. Babington, and other members, as to whether this particular object were a cromlech at all, and

not simply an accidental formation, or, at all events, only partially improved by art. Some remarkable fissures in the rock, at a small distance from the cromlech, were then explored; but there was not time to examine the camp marked in the Ordnance map. The next point was Hodgeston Church, where a beautiful Decorated chancel, of the school of Bishop Gower, has been added to a small nave and tower of the usual local type. This pleasing structure is at present in a state of extreme dilapidation, the windows being blocked and partially destroyed, and the roof in a condition of complete decay. A strong opinion, approved by the bishop, was expressed in favour of its thorough, though necessarily gradual, restoration.

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This was the extreme limit of the excursion. It had been designed to visit the domestic ruins at Trefloyn, and the two supposed barrows called Carew and Norchard Beacons. Time however failed for inspecting these interesting objects by the members then present.

EVENING MEETING.

The Earl of Cawdor took the chair at half-past seven, when

Mr. Allen stated that he had commenced a paper on the subject of the Flemish colony in Pembrokeshire, when he had been informed that one had been already published in the Archaeologia Cambrensis, on referring to which he found that it noticed nearly all the historical authorities on the subject. He would therefore content himself by mentioning the names of a few other writers, and his own views drawn from an investigation of all of them. Of the fact that, early in the twelfth century, a colony of Flemings was sent into Pembrokeshire, no one could doubt who had taken the trouble to look into the accounts given of it by early chroniclers. Of these, two or three may be considered as writing contemporaneously with the occurrences they relate-viz., William of Malmesbury, Giraldus Cambrensis, and From the first two of these, extracts are to be found in the Hoveden. paper already referred to, and their dates; and Hoveden, who was clerk to Henry II., says that the colony sent into Pembrokeshire came from Northumberland, which statement is important, as fixing their previous settlement, and confirming other writers, who concur in sending a Flemish colony from Northumberland and Cumberland into Wales. It would seem, however, that an error has prevailed, from confounding the military Flemish, who came into Pembrokeshire with Strongbow and the Norman conquerors of the country, with the colonies sent here in 1111 by Henry I., and later, by Henry II., about 1153. These colonies seem to have been by no means military in their character, but composed mainly of artificers and masons, whose craft was required for building the castles and fortresses which the military required as places of protection against the native population. During the reigns of William the Conqueror and his son William Rufus, multitudes of Flemings were already in England, many of them having arrived in the service of the Norman invaders, and others, perhaps adventurers, who had been induced to visit the country which William I. had won, and of whom the Conqueror made much use, in

employing them to keep down the rebellious spirit of the natives. especially the more distant, and therefore more turbulent, Welst. Flanders and Normandy, too, were then under one head, the Count of Flanders; and, among the earliest of the conventions given in Rymer's Fædera, is one by which Count Robert of Flanders agrees, for a certain sum of money, to send troops of his into England whenever called upon so to do by the king. But it was not till after Pembrokeshire had been overrun by Norman, Flemish, and English invaders, all under one standard, that in A.D. 1111, Henry I. sent into the county. what is described by the chroniclers as the first Flemish settlement here, and whose arrival is sometimes attributed to an overflow of the sea in Flanders, which deprived them of all means of subsistence at home, and sometimes to their being out of work in England, and required to build border castles in Wales. For this latter account we are indebted to Matthew of Westminster, and Matthew Paris, who, when speaking of Carlisle, state that William Rufus resolved to rebuild the walls of that city, which had been in ruins for about 200 years; for which purpose he brought there a number of Flemings, who erected the fortifications for him, and who were then removed by him into North Wales and Anglesey. This account, though not exactly coinciding with that of Hoveden, already mentioned, agrees in fixing one of the most northern counties of England as the district from which Flemings were sent into Wales; though there is certainly a discrepancy as to the exact spot to which, and from which, they came. The truth, then, probably is, that the colony of A.D. 1111, temp. Henry I., was composed of artizans, principally masons, who were employed to build the Pembrokeshire castles, and who, from their humble origin, were less likely to leave lasting memorials of their habitation of the country, save those which they were introduced to erect. Of other indications which remain to this day of the Flemish settlement here, but few are to be found. The round chimneys, terminating at the base in square ovens, and forming one end of a dwelling-house, are said to be of Flemish origin. So is the peculiar shut-up bed found in most of the Pembrokeshire cottages. Of names, some are doubtful, none certainly Flemish. Of the former are Kemp and Voyle; but if the fact of the Flemings having come here rested on the traces now remaining of them. it could not by any means be considered as proved. A difficulty occurs as to their language, which has entirely passed away, though usually the most enduring of all the characteristics which immigrators take with them into a foreign country. The absence, however, of the Flemish tongue may be accounted for in two ways; first, by the fact already noticed, that the Flemish colony was neither numerous or influential, but such as would easily merge among the inhabitants they found in Pembrokeshire on their arrival, to the extinction of their own principal features; and next, by the swarms of Irish which, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, came over from Ireland, to such an extent that an historian of the latter period, George Owen, who wrote about 1603, thus speaks of them :--" As for the Irishmen, they are so poudred among the inhabitants of Rouse and Castell Martin, that in

every village you shall find the 3rd, 4th, or 5th householder an Irishman, and now of late they swarm more than in times past, by reason of those late wars in Ireland; and if it so continue for the time to come, in short they are like to match the other inhabitants in number. These for the most part use and speak here the English tongue, yet in such sort that all men can discern them to be that country people, as also by the rudeness of their manners, for the servant will usually *thou* his master, and thinketh it no offence. As many as come out of the county of Wexford say they understand no Irish, neither doth any well understand English. They are so increased that there are whole parishes inhabited by the Irish, having not one English or Welsh but the parson of the parish."

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T. O. Morgan, Esq., read a portion of a paper, consisting of notices of the subsequent history of the Englishry.

The Bishop of St. David's said he had listened with pleasure to Mr. Allen's statement, but thought that gentleman had not laid sufficient stress on certain important passages in the Welsh Chronicle. He would not undertake on this occasion to say how far they were authentic; but, assuming them to be so, they certainly contained valuable information on this point-besides, they bore strong internal evidence of truth. There were three passages in the Welsh Chronicle that contained a reference to this subject, on only one of which Mr. Allen had commented, and that the least important, and therefore his quotation and reference appeared to his lordship hardly an explanation of such a settlement as was undoubtedly made in this county. The first and most important notice in the Welsh Chronicle is that wherein it is stated that, about the years 1106-8, the sandhills on the coast of Flanders were in many places carried away by a storm, and the sea inundated a large tract of country. This calamity occasioned a large body of the inhabitants to seek an asylum in England, where they were kindly received by Henry I., and by his permission they dispersed themselves in various parts of the country. In consequence, however, of their committing various annovances, the king expelled them from England, but allowed them to settle themselves in the district of Roos, in Pembrokeshire, whence they gradually disappeared. On the credit of the same history it is further stated that, in the year 1116, a second inundation of the same coast took place, which drove another body of the Flemings into England; and that Henry sent this body also into Pembrokeshire, assigning to them the district which had before been given to their countrymen. This account of a second inundation could hardly be a mistake of the chronicler, as he refers to the account of the former inundation, and assigns an additional cause for the second settlement; for it appears that a pestilence had swept away a great number of his people, and the king sent the last arrived Flemings, with letters of recommendation to their relatives, to supply the loss occasioned by the pestilence. There is undoubtedly some difficulty in accepting these accounts of calamities so nearly alike, and at so short an interval the one after the other; nor is it clear

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what part of Flanders would be liable to such a calamity. The third and last reference in the Welsh Chronicle stated that, about the year 1155, Henry II. banished all the Flemings whom King Stephen had brought in, and sent them to their "cousins" in West Wales. These last were the immigrants to which Mr. Allen's remarks applied; and it seemed quite clear that they could not be extended to the first and most important settlement noticed in the Welsh Chronicle, in the time of Henry I. It might also be true that this latter body might be those who had been employed as builders at Carlisle, but their influence must have been extremely limited.

Mr. Freeman felt great diffidence in speaking on any historical question in the presence of so illustrious an historian as the bishop of this diocese; as, however, his lordship had to some extent anticipated the remarks he had himself intended to make, he had the less fear of running counter to so eminent an authority in any other respect. These subjects required a very strong application of sound historical criticism; it was not sufficient to use the terms, "conquest," "settlement," &c., unless we fully realized what we understood by them, whether a complete extermination, expulsion, or assimilation of the former inhabitants, or any smaller degree of territorial or merely political conquest. The most patent evidence in any case is that of language : unless under some very extraordinary circumstances, as in the case of the countries subjugated by Rome, a whole people does not change its language. Now here we have the prima facie fact that in the greatest part of Wales the Welsh language was retained, while in three isolated districts, one of Pembroke and two of Glamorgan, a Teutonic dialect was the universal speech of the people. The natural inference was that a complete change of population had taken place. Of the historical facts which had been cited, Mr. Freeman was most disposed to lay stress on the immigration of those Flemings who were said to have been driven out of their own country by an inundation; neither the military nor the architectural colonists would be either sufficient in numbers or suited by their habits to form the general population of the district. The difficulty Mr. Allen had expressed with regard to the loss of the Flemish and adoption of the English language Mr. Freeman did not feel. It must be remembered that "English," in our sense, did not exist at the time of the Flemish immigration; modern English was indeed the legitimate descendant of the old Anglo-Saxon, but was so changed in the lapse of ages that the discourse of an Englishman of the eleventh or twelfth century would be entirely unintelligible to his posterity. Again, at that period, the Anglo-Saxon and Flemish tongues probably differed much less from each other than their modern representatives. He had himself observed that the peasantry of this district spoke a very peculiar dialect, and he threw out the hint whether, on examination, this might not be found to be the remains of the old Flemish tongue, standing in the same relation to it as the dialect of the north of England confessedly did to the old Scandinavian.

The Rev. J. M. Traherne said that, at the meeting of the British Association at Swansea, in 1848, he had some discussion with the learned Dr. Latham on the subject of the Flemish settlement in Gower. He promised to make an inquiry as to any peculiarities in the dialect of Gower; but the result threw no light on the point. At the recent meeting of the Archeeological Institute at Bristol, he had conversed with that eminent authority Mr. Edwin Guest, who had investigated the matter when in Gower, and with no better success. As to "closed beds," or rather bedsteads, they could not be deemed to prove anything connected with Flanders-forty years ago such beds were common in Glamorganshire. He quite agreed with the Right Rev. Prelate's remarks made on the last evening, and regretted that no history of the counties of Caermarthen and Glamorgan has yet appeared. Thirty years ago he had issued a set of queries such as the noble earl had recommended, and, to the best of his recollection, he had received only one set of replies, and that was from an eminent individual who had much public business on his hands, the late Dean of the Arches, Sir John Nicholl. At present, no doubt, one might hope for a better result. He had been for years a collector, and would gladly co-operate with others as far as Glamorgan is concerned. Such a work requires that many individuals should put their shoulders to the wheel-one cannot every day meet with a Hallam or a Thirlwall.

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FRIDAY, AUGUST 22ND.

EXCURSION.

To-day a large party visited Carew Castle, and the churches of Gumfreston and St. Florence. The former magnificent ruin, so neglected by its proprietor, is generally known, and naturally provided no small store of interest and attraction for antiquarian visitors. The two churches are among the best small specimens of the local style peculiar to Pembrokeshire; Gumfreston is especially remarkable for the apsidal baptistery on the north side. The party proceeded by way of St. Florence to Carew, where they examined the church and castle, and the splendid early cross standing near the latter. In the inspection of the castle, some little controversy arose among the visitors as to the position of the chapel; but the general opinion seemed to be that the building commonly shown as the chapel really was designed for that purpose. The party returned to Tenby by Gumfreston and Scotsborough, where they inspected the ruins of the ancient manor-house.

EVENING MEETING.

The Association met as usual in the Assembly Rooms about halfpast seven o'clock—the Earl of Cawdor in the chair.

The Secretary read the following communication from Sir Thomas Pasley, Captain Superintendent of the Pembroke Dockyard, in reference to a remarkable discovery at Pater :--- 320 CAMBRIAN ARCHEOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION.

"During the progress of the excavations in the year 1844, by the workmen employed by Mr. Henderson, the contractor for the extension of the new boundary wall of the royal dockyard, a number of skeletons have been found deposited about three feet below the surface of a meadow, near Pater Church. These relics of humanity appear to have been consigned to their 'quiet resting-places' without coffins, as no vestige of any, either wood or stone, could be discovered. On being exposed to view, they were found lying with their heads towards the east,'s surrounded with stones rudely placed on their edges, and arranged in a coffin-like form, but without a slab either underneath or above them. Twenty-eight skulls have already been taken up. One of the most perfect skeletons measured six feet four inches from the ankle-bone to the crown of the head. Many speculations are indulged in as to the origin of this cemetery, which is evidently of great antiquity; but, whatever may be conjectured, it is quite unlikely that anything certain can now be known on the subject, though, as a matter of fact, it may be deserving of being placed on record; it is however not improbable that, from the tower still standing amongst the ruins in good preservation, it was the burial-ground attached to some monastic institution. It is to be regretted that neither history nor tradition throws any light on this interesting subject. All that can now be collected is, that the ruins of Pater, or Patrick Church, were formerly the residence of David de Patrickchurch, whose daughter and sole heiress, Ellen, about the 1st of Henry VI., married John Adams, Esq., of Buckspool, and brought him a large dowry, (the whole of that peninsula from Cosheston to Pennarmouth,) several of whose posterity, in the reigns of Henry VIII., Edward VI., Mary, and Elizabeth, served in parliament for the town of Pembroke.

Mr. Freeman read a paper on the "Architectural Antiquities of South Pembrokeshire."

The Rev. H. Hey Knight read a paper on "The Doctrine of the Myth, and a passage of Diodorus."

A paper was afterwards read by the Rev. W. Basil Jones, on certain "Extracts from the *Liber Communis* of St. David's Cathedral." Mr. Jones confined himself to a roll of expenses of the year 1384, and deduced from it the amount of the wages of labour, and the prices of food, materials, and manufactured articles, at the period.

The Rev. H. Griffiths, President of the Brecon Independent College, said he would not at that late hour venture to detain them beyond a few minutes. In common with all around him, he felt deeply indebted to their Secretary, for the singularly interesting and instructive extracts with which they have just been favoured, as preparatory to the intended visit to St. David's. He thought, however, it would not be desirable to limit themselves exclusively to the Cathedral and Palace, as there were many other objects in the neighbourhood— Early British, Roman, and Mediæval—eminently worthy of attention.

³ One at least of the skeletons exhumed during the visit of the Society was found with the head to the west.—T. O. M.

Indeed, he hardly knew of a spot in Wales so rich and varied in its remains. Should the weather prove favourable, he trusted a large number of members would attend; as an inducement to which, he need only remind them, that Pope Calixtus had pronounced two pilgrimages to Menevia as equal in value to one to Rome herself.

SATURDAY, AUGUST 23RD.

EXCURSION.

A large party, under the guidance of Mr. T. Allen, started this morning, being much favoured by the weather, on an excursion to Pembroke, and the objects of interest in its neighbourhood. Proceeding up the Ridgeway, they first stopped at Norchard Beacon, but there seemed some fatality connected with the examination of that object, as, on the Treasurer's stating that there was a probability of its being actually opened on Monday, it was again agreed to postpone it. The next point was Lamphey, where the church was first inspected; the building has been fearfully modernized, but, besides one of the most characteristic towers, it retains two lancet windows in the chancel, of much finer work than is usual in the neighbourhood, and also the most elaborate of the type of Norman font common throughout the district. The church, however, did not claim any lengthened examination, and the visitors speedily betook themselves to the magnificent remains of the episcopal palace. This building has been usually attributed to Bishop Gower, on the strength of the parapet, which is supposed to resemble those of his erection at St. David's and Swansea. Mr. Babington and Mr. Freeman, however, after an attentive examination, gave it as their decided opinion that, if the parapet were Gower's, he could at least have built nothing else, the whole building being either earlier or later than his time, an Early English shell, with Perpendicular insertions and additions. And even with regard to the parapet, which, it may be observed, does not extend to the whole building, they inclined to the belief, from the coarseness and poverty of the work, compared with the other two examples, that it was a clumsy imitation of Gower's erections by some later artist. Mr. Moggridge, on the other hand, suggested that this might be of earlier date than Gower, and that it was improved by him in the other buildings.

From Lamphey the party proceeded to Pembroke. The length of the excursion causing minor objects to be, to a certain extent, passed by, it was found impossible to examine in detail either the church of St. Mary, or the domestic antiquities of the town; these were necessarily sacrificed to the superior importance of the castle and Monkton Priory. The former excited great attention, and an interesting discussion arose as to some of the disputed points connected with its architecture. It was unanimously agreed that the portion shown as the chapel, was indisputably the hall, one strongly resembling that at Lamphey; but the real position of the chapel gave rise to some controversy. Mr. Basil Jones, and others, had considered the portion shown as the chamber of King Henry VII., to be really the chapel; but, on further examination, Messrs. Babington and Freeman considered that the building nearly adjoining the round tower, and at right angles to the hall, presented most signs of an ecclesiastical character, although it was unusually large for a castle chapel, and the altar end being destroyed, the usual evidence could not be drawn from that portion. Some members confirmed this view by a tradition to that effect, and a warning formerly given to boys not to play in that portion of the ruins on account of its consecrated character.

The next point was Monkton Priory. A lecture on the architecture of the building was here delivered by Mr. Freeman, who pointed out in detail the peculiarities to which he had briefly adverted in his paper of the evening before. A question was raised by the Rev. James Allen as to the sedilia; some appearances in the wall where the ashlar had been knocked away, which had been unnoticed by Mr Freeman, leading him to the belief that they had been originally higher and not so wide as at present. Mr. Penson however expressed his conviction, as a practical architect, that the appearances in question were merely constructive, and that the existing canopied seats are the original ones. Some attention was excited by an ancient building on the way to the priory, which Mr. Babington thought was more probably a distinct house than any portion of the conventual buildings. The visitors on their return to the town did not fail to examine the celebrated cavern under the castle, known as the Wogan. They then ascended the hill by Bush, and, after admiring the magnificent view of the town, heightened as it was by a high tide, proceeded to Pater, where they were courteously welcomed by Sir Thomas Pasley, and conducted over all the objects of interest. Their attention being naturally first directed to antiquarian researches, they first examined the ancient tower, which was unhesitatingly pronounced to be a domestic, and not an ecclesiastical, building.

The majority of the party then, including the noble President, were conducted by Sir Thomas Pasley over the dockyard.

In the meanwhile, a smaller party, including Sir Stephen R. Glynne, Mr. Freeman, and Mr. Kyrke Penson, were conducted by Mr. James Allen to the church lately erected by Mr. Harrison, which received considerable commendation, as being in many respects a happy adaptation of the local style to modern purposes. On their return to Tenby, the same party diverged to Carew Castle, which some of them had not visited on the previous day, chiefly with the intention of examining into the question which had been then raised as to the position of the chapel here also. On the whole, it seemed most probable that the building commonly considered as such really was the chapel, notwithstanding the difficulty presented by the presence of a fire-place, and that the room adjoining formed the sacristy and apartment for the chaplain.

EVENING MEETING.

The President took the chair at eight o'clock, and after the conclusion of the necessary preliminaries, Mr. Hore read a paper upon "Irish Families of Welsh Extraction."

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T. Allen, Esq., remarked that the name of Keating was probably still preserved in that of Gethin; also Sherlock, in Sherlock's Castle, Cave, and Bush. Mr. Westwood had informed him, that he fancied he could trace a similarity between the towers of Wexford and this county. The old ballad of "the Wren" is common here; he had found it in the isle of Man, where he had been told it was brought from Ireland, where the wren is much respected, instancing the old tradition of "the Wren," which once was the means of saving Dublin when beleaguered by an hostile army, by coming and tapping on a drum.

Dr. Evans quoted an observation of a friend, that all the older families of Wales derived their names from colours, and those of a later period from their offices or occupation.

The Secretary read a paper on "Kidwelly Castle," communicated by G. T. Clark, Esq. The paper was illustrated by beautiful drawings and plans, executed by Mr. H. Smyth.

Mr. Freeman remarked that, while Mr. Clark had entered very minutely into the detail and history of the castle, he had hardly alluded to its architectural character, and its extreme beauty. That term could not be very often applied to strictly military structures, but to Kidwelly it applied in its fulness. The chapel was admirable, and its adaptation to the remainder of the building most ingenious. Mr. Freeman however could not understand Mr. Clark's definition of its date and style; Mr. Clark had called it Early Decorated, late in the reign of Henry III., or early in that of Edward I., between 1290 and 1310; he would not deny that the chapel might be built between those years, but its style was certainly not Decorated, but pure Early English, and still more certainly Henry III. did not reign so late as 1290, or Edward I. as 1310. The general outline of the main portion of the castle, with its four towers of nearly equal size, Mr. Freeman looked on as one of the noblest compositions he had ever seen. A canon, which seemed to involve the contrary, had been laid down by a writer whom many people regarded as a great authority, but who was so fond of dogmatizing and abusing others, that he himself could only dogmatize back again, and pronounce him to be no authority at all. He alluded to Mr. Ruskin, who had laid down that no building with an equal number of towers, pinnacles, &c., without any one predominant, could possibly be beautiful; on this ground he had used some very strange language as to King's College Chapel, which the rest of the world had been hitherto content to admire, and Mr. Freeman supposed that Kidwelly Castle must come under the same condemnation. As far as dogmatism went, Mr. Freeman thought himself equally entitled to dogmatize too, and to pronounce Kidwelly to be extremely beautiful; he remained unconvinced by Mr. Ruskin's argument about the legs, ears, and horns

of animals, between which and King's College Chapel he could see no connexion. As for the animals Mr. Ruskin mentioned " with legs of different shapes, and a head between them," those were zoological curiosities which he had himself never seen either in Wombwell's Menagerie, or the Regent's Park; still it was possible that Mr. Ruskin might have met with them in some of those numerous foreign countries which he had visited, and Mr. Freeman had not. Mr. Freeman then proceeded to remark on the examination of Lamphey Palace, which had been made that morning by himself and Mr. Babington. They were fully convinced that no part of the structure could be the work of Bishop Gower; the palace was an Early English building, with Perpendicular additions and insertions, but with nothing agreeing with the date, much less betokening the peculiar school, of that prelate. The rude and coarse parapet differed so widely from the beautiful structures at St. David's and Swansea, that it was impossible to believe that they could have proceeded from the same hand, and they were inclined to look upon it as a clumsy imitation of a later. A valuable suggestion had however been made by Mr. Moggridge, that it might be an earlier form on which Gower improved.

Mr. Basil Jones had a difficulty in accepting Mr. Freeman's view with regard to Lamphey Palace. It was well known that Leland assigned the palaces of St. David's and Lamphey, and Swansea Castle, to Bishop Gower. It was not probable that he had done so on architectural evidence, and we must therefore conclude that he had some historical or traditional, and therefore independent, testimony to the fact. If the parapet at Lamphey were the work of Gower, might he not have tried his "prentice hand" upon it, and afterwards developed the design more fully at St. David's ?

Dr. Evans said that an attempt had been made to show that the name of Kidwelly was of Welsh origin; he assured the Society it was an English town, and adduced several interesting facts in corroboration of his statement. He said that it was still divided into an Englishry, Welshry, and Foreignry. Among their charters was one which continued in force till James I., by which no Welshman or foreigner was allowed to serve on juries; and he mentioned as a relic of its subjection to the duchy of Lancaster, the fact, that its burgesses were toll free throughout England, excepting in the duchy of Lancaster.

The Rev. W. Basil Jones remarked that the name of Kidwelly occurs in Welsh authorities as the name of a district, frequently coupled with that of Gower. Now it was in accordance with the practice of the Normans in Wales to give to their new towns the names of their surrounding districts, e. g., they call Aberteifi, Cardigan, and Aberhonddu, Brecknock, and gave to their new settlement, in this district, the name of the Penfro, or headland. Thus they may have called Kidwelly after the lordship. The name Cetgueli also occurs in the work attributed to Nennius; but he did not mean to open the question what the value of that work might be.

Mr. Moggridge complimented the President on his care of the

magnificent structure, the description of which they had heard that evening.

His Lordship, in acknowledging the compliment, begged to assure the Society that he had ordered nothing beyond the repairs necessary to preserve the structure from ruin.

MONDAY, AUGUST 25TH.

EXCURSION.

The excursion to-day was of a less interesting character, and less numerously attended, than some of its predecessors. The points visited were Castell Meherren, a hill fortress, commanding a charming prospect of Tenby towards the south, and the valley terminated by the Preseleu range to the north. The fortification that crowned the height was only an earthwork, consisting of a single rampart and fosse, of either an oblong square rounded at the angles, or of an oval form. To the west, the lines had been ploughed over and obliterated. Some of the party considered the remains to indicate a Roman construction, whilst others seemed to regard them as British. Arrived at Narberth the party was much increased in number, and proceeded to view the ancient castle. This edifice seemed to have suffered much dilapidation since the time that Buck took his delineations of it, a great part of the interior of the keep having disappeared, and some or all of an ancient gateway. However, it was gratifying to learn, that the Bishop of St. David's had given orders to arrest, if possible, further decay. The next object of interest was Llawhaden Church, which stands close to the banks of the Cleddau. This church exhibited a singular addition to its tower, which caused some discussion as to its purpose, and contained the monument of Adam de Hoghton, one of the Bishops of St. Davids. It also possessed a singularly sweet chime of bells, three in number. But the great object of the day was Llawhaden Castle, to which the party next proceeded. Here the splendid gateway, one of the finest in the county, at once arrested attention, and was the object of universal admiration. Admitted within its portals, a spacious court invited attention, first to the great hall, and then to the chapel, which, after some scrutiny was presumed from its east window. Here it appeared that a system of destruction had been going on, to aid the work of time, by using the remains of the castle as the common quarry of the village, until it was arrested by the exertions of the present agent of the Bishop, who had caused the foundations of the edifice to be secured. After a long drive, the party returned to Tenby in the evening.

EVENING MEETING.

The Rev. J. M. Traherne exhibited a large collection of interesting drawings and prints, illustrative of the archeology of Wales.

The Secretary read a paper communicated by the Rev. John Williams, on "The Pillar of Eliseg."

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Matthew Moggridge, Esq., read the following observations "On the Preservation of Local Traditions:"---

"Having been engaged in the attempt to trace out ancient traditions, the origin of the names of places, and other things connected with the antiquities of the neighbourhood of Swansea, I was surprised to find how much information on these points has died out within these last few years. This process will go on in an increasing ratio. Traditions are no longer handed down from father to son, as in the olden time. Year by year we become more utilitarian; we occupy ourselves with the things not of the past, but of the present and the future. The spread of knowledge-of reading in particular-works towards the same end, and books take the place of oral communication. Let me not be understood to lament these changes, I only refer to them to show that we are living in a transition period, and that in another ten or twenty years, much of considerable interest, which may now be saved, will be lost for ever. I would therefore beg to suggest the organization of a regular plan for promoting inquiries on the above, or such other points, as to your Society may seem fit, through the medium of your members, and such other gentlemen as may be disposed to employ a portion of their time in furthering this object. Few places would I think be found where no one could be met with to carry out the plan, if it were undertaken by your Society; at any rate, if not universal, the information obtained would be useful as far as it went, and a spirit would be diffused throughout the country highly favourable to archeological pursuits, and tending to increase the members of antiquarian societies. Each party might take a parish or other definite district, (I am endeavouring to carry out the work over twenty miles round Swansea, but this is rather too wide a range,) and if the most fitting objects of research were suggested to the inquirers by printed forms, something like regularity and uniformity might be expected. In conclusion, I would quote, as exemplifying the object I have in view, one or two passages from a paper read before the Literary and Philosophical Society at Swansea."-Mr. Moggridge then made a few extracts from the paper in question, and, in particular, mentioned as the origin of those "slangs" of land which are so often found in South Wales, mixed up with the estate of a distinct proprietor, the fact that it was at one time usual to gamble for small pieces of land.-"" A similar custom to the last prevailed near St. Clear's; but there it partook more of the character of wager of battle, the doughty champions being snails, who were to climb up a pole, the owner of the one who reached the summit first receiving the stakes."

The Rev. G. N. Smith remarked that his inquiries lately, after objects of archæological interest, had brought to light the existence of

⁴ Such a plan *was* organized by the Editors of this Journal some years back. They might have saved their time and their paper for any effect produced. Not a *single* reply was ever made to the questions they put forth—not a single effort made in furtherance of their recommendation !—EDD. ARCH. CAME.

an ancient document⁵ relating to the extensive manorial rights of St. Florence. He had not been able, up to that time, to get possession of the document; but, from the report of a person who had examined it not long since, it appeared that the houses with round chimnies in that parish are called reve-houses; and that one obligation of the tenure was to cut timber for the use of the feudal resident at Pembroke Castle, from a wood called Pentraeth Wood—or the wood at *the head* of the sand—which it is asserted is that wood the roots of which are seen along the coast, especially opposite the Danish camp of Ear Wear, near Amroth Castle, and from which the conchologists of this neighbourhood extract the beautiful specimens of the pholas shell. If this information be correct, it would appear that the wood in question has been submerged since the time of the first Edward; for to that prince the manor was given, and the service referred to was then rendered.

Some remarks were made by the Rev. W. Basil Jones on the "Ffosy-Myneich" (Monks' Dyke), which runs across the peninsula of St. David's, from sea to sea. Various conjectures had been made as to the use of this object; but Mr. Jones determined it to be a British trackway, and considered that part of it belonged to the "Via Flandrica," which runs along the ridge of the Preseleu mountains. Mr. Jones' observations were illustrated by a map.

Mr. Knight then exhibited some documents, and among them two ancient deeds relative to Kidwelly; also, a pardon granted to the celebrated personage who bears the popular name of "Twm Sion Catti," and bearing date 1559.

TUESDAY, AUGUST 26TH.

EXCURSION.

This day had been selected for an examination of the remains of antiquity in the town of Tenby itself, and for a visit to the island of Caldy. The stormy weather however caused the latter idea to be completely given up, and the inspection nearer home was not a little damped by the same cause. A considerable number however assembled in the church, one of the largest and most remarkable in South Wales, where a lecture on its architecture was delivered by Mr. Freeman, who was of opinion, in which Mr. Babington concurred, that a large church with aisles, and probably transepts, of Norman or Early English date, must have preceded the present one. In the afternoon, the Rev. J. B. Smith conducted a party to view the remnants of the castle, some of the old houses, and to inspect the town walls. The additions made to them in the time of Queen Elizabeth were very manifest, from the difference of the masonry of their upper and lower parts. It was also apparent that the portion erected at that date (A.D. 1588, as shown by an inscription on the wall) was not to replace the upper

⁵ The document has since been obligingly forwarded for the inspection of the Society, by John Vizard, Esq., from which it appears that the service referred to was correctly reported, but that the name of the wood was "Coedtraeth."

part of the old walls, but an addition to their height. The party unanimously expressed their sorrow that some part of a most interesting series of arches, on the inner side of the seaward end of the wall, had been lately destroyed, and expressed their hope that, in case the buildings should extend on their exterior, care would be taken that they were preserved, as they presented one of the most interesting features of the town, and might be retained without any serious inconvenience, even if a greater extension of the town should take place. The walls being once destroyed, the town, they felt assured, would never cease to regret their destruction. The museum was numerously attended throughout the day.

EVENING MEETING.

R. K. Penson, Eeq., made some remarks on the excavations which had recently been made at Valle Crucis Abbey. A paper on this subject had been drawn up by Mr. Wynne, the ex-President of the Society.⁶ Now, whatever emanated from so distinguished an archaeologist should be received with every attention; but he feared the minute account of the mere progress of excavation, which must be dry to a certain extent, was perhaps not so well suited to an occasion of this nature, as to the pages of a periodical organ. He had therefore taken the liberty of condensing the subject of Mr. Wynne's communication, and he should confine himself to a general passing allusion to the facts which had been elicited during the progress in question. But he must not fail to mention that they owed a debt of gratitude to Lord Dungannon and Mr. Wynne, at whose expense these excavations had been carried on. He proceeded to remind members that, in the first Number of the Archeologia Cambrensis, there was an account of Valle Crucis Abbey, by Mr. Williams, one of the honorary Secretaries. To that account he would refer them, as it contained all the information which could be collected from historical documents, and also a description of the abbey buildings at that time. But a deeper insight had been obtained into the matter, and a great portion of the area of the church had been cleared of the rubbish which, at the time of Mr. Williams' account, covered the floor to the depth, in some places, of fourteen feet. These accumulations had existed for so lengthened a period that, some years ago, little was seen but a small luxuriant forest of ash trees, which had taken root and flourished on the debris of the roof, tower, and arcade. These trees, which had been removed by the present owner, had been the cause of irreparable mischief, by swaying to and fro in stormy weather; and it was much to be lamented that they excited in the mind of the then proprietor of this venerable ruin that conservative feeling which the more hallowed walls failed to arouse. He would now briefly explain to them that the abbey church was a cruciform building, with aisles to the nave, and also to the eastern side of the transepts; but the plan (which he exhibited)

6 Sec ante, p. 282.

was confined to those portions which had been excavated, viz., the chancel with the transept aisles, the whole of the north, and a portion of the south transept. Doubt had always been entertained as to the existence of a pavement, and it was the received opinion that no encaustic tiles had ever been found within the precincts of the abbey. Although no portion of a perfect pavement had as yet been brought to light, the doubt as to the existence of tiles had, in his opinion, been set at rest; for fragments of several kinds and patterns had been discovered; and he must inform them of a fact which, to his mind was replete with interest, as showing the intimate connexion and communication which must have existed between the abbey builders throughout Wales in bygone ages. By the permission of the owner of the abbey, he was enabled to exhibit some of the tiles from Valle Crucis, and he had also there a rubbing of a tile, now in the possession of Colonel Powell, which was found at Strata Florida Abbey, in Cardiganshire, during an excursion made by this Association in 1847-they were of similar design. Mr. Wynne was of opinion that tiles were not used to any extent at Valle Crucis, owing to the very few which had been discovered up to this time. The transept aisles had been divided by a wall, (faintly tinted on the plan,) and had served for separate chapels. Altars had been erected in these chapels, but one only now retained any portion of decorative work ; however, that was sufficient to indicate the exquisite character that prevailed in these important features. The foundation only of the high altar remained ; it would be perceived that it was completely isolated. In the north wall of the choir was a beautiful arcade, nearly perfect, and about seven feet long. He should not, however, detain them with any description of the many interesting and beautiful details which had been made patent by these excavations; but he must draw their attention to what appeared to him to be the smallest font he ever saw or heard of. Of course he was not alluding to those wretched substitutes too often usurping the prerogative of that legitimate occupant of our churches, which ought to be especially regarded by us, as connected with our entrance into that more important edifice-the spiritual Church. He was not speaking, therefore, of earthenware basins, but of those fonts capable of being used for immersion. He had drawn this font accurately, and he should be delighted to elicit an opinion from some of his hearers on the subject. The ornaments on the opposite sides were similar; in fact, there was but little difference in the four faces. He must state that Mr. Wynne differed from him as to the use of this feature; that gentleman considered it to be a piscina; but he apprehended that a piscina, intended to be partially inserted in a wall, would not be worked on every side; and there would also, in all probability, be an arch in the thickness of the wall, which would admit of the entire bowl being made available; such an arrangement did not occur in this instance. Mr. Wynne described a very beautiful incised slab which was found near one of the pillars of the tower; although broken into several pieces, the carving was sharp and perfect, and what remained of the inscription was quite legible. Portions of other sepulchral slabs had been found, and also a stone coffin. It had not been thought advisable to go deeper than the original floor level, but a perfect skeleton was accidentally discovered under the dividing wall of the south transept, placed nearly on the surface. From the appearances that presented themselves, he thought there could be little doubt that the abbey had been completely sacked prior to the fall of the central tower : had it not been so, the floor would probably have been found entire; but, as before observed, the reverse was the case, and the innumerable portions of skeletons which had been discovered in removing the rubbish, all upon the floor level, seem to support that view. Moreover, the stone coffin before alluded to, had been dragged from its resting-place, and now lay on the floor of the north transept aisle. It was doubtless sought for on account of the valuable jewels and ornaments it was supposed to contain, and he thought this fact was calculated to support his theory of the spoliation of the abbey soon after its dissolution. There was one little matter of interest, which was in a manner a connecting link between a structure in that part of Wales, and the subject of these remarks. They might imagine that amongst the debris of so beautiful a work of art, many ornaments and details would be found, the use of which could be vaguely guessed at; and it was rather remarkable that he should have been able to resolve a doubtful point during the examination of Lamphey Palace, the other day, where, in the north wall of the hall, there was a projecting chimney, supported by corbels of a most peculiar and elegant description, and these corbels were identical with a fragment discovered at Valle Crucis. He did not attempt to describe these corbels; indeed, it would be extremely difficult to do so, so as to be understood, without a model. However, neither they nor he could fail to draw a conclusion from this circumstance, corroborative of a remark he had previously made respecting the intimate correspondence that was maintained between the medizeval architects. Mr. Wynne alluded casually to the conventual buildings; of these it was impossible to speak without a pang of regret. About a century ago they were converted into a farm house, and the cheese of the tenant was now elaborated beneath the groined roof of the ancient refectory, and that favoured individual reposed in a room where the mantel-piece had been skilfully constructed with a monumental slab containing the inscription, "Hic Jacet." Alas ! that such a sacred memento should have been thus unconsciously perverted. But not satisfied with appropriating, or rather misappropriating, the actual fabric, the wants of the farm requiring further accommodation, a new building was designed, the material for which was sought for at the nearest quarry-the church itself. Knowing these facts, they might imagine what feelings were called into existence by a visit to this ruin. So much beauty-such evidence of wilful and ignorant destruction and spoliation. Even the knowledge that every care was now taken of the church, served only by contrast to make one lament the more over its

former neglected condition. However, he should not attempt to convey to them his impressions; he must leave them to draw on their own reminiscences. Of the sequestered spots always chosen for these sacred edifices, Vallis Crucis was one of the most lovely. It possessed every charm of situation; it contained every element of beauty; and should any of his hearers find themselves within the precincts of that building, once dedicated to the service of the Almighty, they would perhaps agree with him that the influence derived from such a dedication had not, even at this moment, entirely deserted it.

Mr. Freeman made some remarks on the Priory of Llanthony, near Gloucester, in relation to the proposed line of the Forest of Dean Railway.

Sir Richard Westmacott delivered a long and striking address, expressing the deep interest which he felt in the Society's proceedings.

The Association afterwards proceeded to private business.

The following members were elected Vice-Presidents on the nomination of the Committee :---

The Lord Viscount Emlyn, M.P.; the Very Rev. the Dean of St. David's; Colonel Lloyd V. Watkins, M.P., Lord-Lieutenant of Brecknockshire; W. W. E. Wynne, Esq., the late President; and the Rev. the President of Trinity College, Oxford.

The following gentlemen were elected to fill the vacancies on the Committee :---

Howel Gwyn, Esq., M.P.; the Rev. Edmund Melvill, M.A., Chancellor of St. David's; and Thomas Wright, Esq., F.S.A.

The following elections have been made by the Committee :---

W. Wynne Ffoulkes, Esq., to be a General Secretary; the Rev. Rowland Williams, M.A., Fellow of King's College, Cambridge, and Vice-President of St. David's College, Lampeter, to be a Local Secretary for Cardiganshire; J. Joseph, Esq., Brecon, to be a Local Secretary for Brecknockshire; and R. Edmonds, Junior, Esq., Penzance, to be a Corresponding Secretary for Cornwall.

The proposed alteration of Rule IV. received the confirmation of the Society.

The Association will meet at Ludlow in 1852, and Brecon in 1853.

The following votes of thanks were then proposed and passed unaninously :---

1. That the best thanks of this Association are due to the Lords of the Admiralty for permitting the Society to make use of the steamer *Prospero* in their excursion to St. David's; and that Sir Thomas Pasley be requested to forward a resolution to that effect.

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- 2. To Sir Thomas Pasley, Captain Superintendent of the Pembroke Dockyard, for his kind assistance rendered to the Society in carrying into effect its proposed excursion to St. David's.
- 3. To the Ladies and Gentlemen of the county of Pembroke, for their attendance and co-operation.
- 4. To the Dean and Chapter of St. David's, and to the inhabitants of the place, for facilitating the inspection of the Cathedral and other antiquities.
- 5. To T. Gwyther, Esq., for allowing the Society the use of a house of his for a temporary Museum and Committee-room.
- 6. To the Corporations of Haverfordwest and Pembroke, and the individuals who have contributed articles to the Museum.
- 7. To the Gentlemen of the Local Committee, for the active assistance which they have rendered to the Society.
- 8. To the Editors and Publisher of the *Archæologia Cambrensis*, and to the gentlemen who have assisted them in furnishing it with suitable illustrations.
- 9. To W. W. E. Wynne, Esq., for the kindness and ability with which he has discharged the office of President.
- 10. To the President, Committee, and Officers of the Association.

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 27TH.

This being the day appointed for the excursion to St. David's, a party of the archæologists sailed from Hobbs' Point, at twelve o'clock, in the steamer *Prospero*, which had been kindly placed at the disposal of the Association by the Lords of the Admiralty. A strong gale, and a heavy swell from the west, rendered the passage less pleasant than it would otherwise have been, and made it difficult for the vessel to land her passengers, as it was intended, at Porthelais. They were therefore put on shore at Solva, whence they were transported in public and private conveyances to St. David's. The delay occasioned by this change in the arrangements, and state of the weather, rendered it impossible to inspect the Cathedral, or the other remains, on Wednesday evening.

THURSDAY, AUGUST 28TH.

Thursday was a most brilliant day, and the archæologists, who appeared determined to make the most of the short time that was left to them, assembled near the door of the old chapter-house at nine o'clock. They proceeded to examine the beautiful chapel of St. Mary's College, and the magnificent remains of the Bishop's Palace, the work of Henry Gower in the fourteenth century. At ten o'clock they adjourned their proceedings to attend Morning Prayer in the Cathedral, after which they proceeded to a large storehouse, the property of Mr. Williams, of Treginnis, who had fitted it up as a lecture-room with wonderful rapidity. Here an account of the Architectural History of the Cathedral, illustrated by coloured plans, was delivered by Mr. Freeman, and some supplementary observations were made by Mr. Basil Jones. These gentlemen afterwards conducted their hearers round the building, so as to enable them to test, by a personal examination, Mr. Freeman's views of its history and development.

One of the attractions promised in the archæological trip to St. David's was the examination of St. David's Head, three miles beyond that place. Some of the members accordingly paid it a visit on Thursday morning, leaving the Cathedral precincts by a road that leads north-west. Their attention was soon directed to two sculptured stones standing in the fence by the road side. Rubbings were taken of both stones, and each disclosed a cross of the early Christian era. Above one of the crosses was an inscription, not then deciphered. Next, a common was passed, and at an angle of it was a spot where foundations of buildings, &c., have been discovered, though now covered with drifted sand. The gentleman who acted as cicerone, himself a Menapian born, argued that, to this spot, the ancient Menapia might have extended. The last habitation was now passed in the direction of the headland; and, crossing a ravine watered by a brook, the ascent of a hill surmounted by a carn commenced. The slope was fortified by a rampart or wall of dry stone, extending across the hill from sea to sea. Over this slope, both within and without the rampart, occur numerous ancient enclosures, known as, or called, cyttiau -some square, others circular, and presumed to be the remains of the dwellings of a primitive population. Proceeding, another rampart of stone, of great breadth and height, presented itself. Passing over this hill, and on the other side, the vast mass of trap-rock projects, called by the ancient geographers, octopitarum, or rather (from its situation with reference to Ramsey, and the other isolated rocks, to the number of eight), as it should have been, octopetrarum. From a ledge underneath, accessible at low water, a fine and more just view is obtained of this bold cape, frowning over the dashing waves of the ocean. On the return was seen the well wherein St. David is said to have been baptized. The *Prospero* sailed from Solva between four and five o'clock.

During the visit of the Society to Hodgeston Church, the dilapidated condition of the chancel, and its great architectural beauty, were particularly remarked. A subscription was afterwards, as a memorial of the first visit of the Cambrian Archæological Association to this county, commenced. The following subscriptions have already been received :—The President, £10; Bishop of St. David's, £20; Rev. W. Basil Jones, Rev. James Allen, E. A. Freeman, Esq., T. Allen, Esq., each, £2 2s.; Sir Stephen R. Glynne, R. K. Penson, Esq., F. D. Dyster, Esq., each £1 1s.; besides several other contributions.

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MUSEUM.

A temporary Museum was formed in a new house in St. Julian Street, the use of which was kindly obtained from the owner, T. Gwyther, Esq., through the antiquarian zeal of his daughter, Mrs. Gwynne. The room commanded a splendid view across Caermarthen Bay, and immediately overlooked St. Catherine's Rock and Chapel. Another room in the same house was used by the General Committee. The collection included the following objects :---

PRIMEVAL ANTIQUITIES.

(Stone Period.)

Stone hatchet, found in a rab-quarry, imbedded in the rab, at Llan, in the parish of Llanfallteg.-W. George, Beq., of Llan. Celt of yellow chert, of superior workmanship, found at Coedriglan near Cardiff,

1787.-Rev. J. M. Traherne.

Stone celt, found on Henllan demeane.-J. Lewis, Baq., of Henllan.

Stone celt, found at Carew.-Mrs. Paynter.

Small stone hatchet, an extremely beautiful specimen, found in a tumulus at Tref Ednyfed, six miles from St. David's, and figured in Fenton's History of Panbrokeskire Antiquities, pl. 1, No. 3.-Mrs. Lloyd, Longhouse, Trevine.

Stone ring, found in a tumulus near Fishguard : stone hammer, found in a carnedd near Cronllwyn, Pembrokeshire : small stone ring, found in the same place. -J. Fenton, Esq., Glyn-y-mêl.

(Bronze Period.)

Leaf-blade sword and bronze dagger, found in Ireland-J. L. Puxley, Esq. Bronze dagger, found on Mynydd Hyddgen, Cardiganshire.-T. O. Morgan, Eeq. Bronze spear head, found with some bones, at Roch Point, near Stackpole Court.

Barl of Cawdor.

Bronze arrow head .--- T. O. Morgan, Esq.

Bronze paalstaab, found near Glyn-y-mêl, Fishguard .--- J. Fenton, Esq.

Two bronze paalstaabs .- T. O. Morgan, Beq.

Bronze paalstaab, found at St. Fagan's, Glamorgan, 1849; another, found on Eglwysilan mountain, 1840 : bronze celt, found on Mynydd y Glew, 1813 ; another, found in a cutting of the South Wales railway, 1849 .- Rev. J. M. Traherne.

Small bronze celt .- T. O. Morgan, Esq.

Two bronze bridle rings .-- J. Adams, Eeq., Holyland.

Small cup of earthenware, found in a tumulus in the parish of Boulston .- Mrs. Thomas Allen, Freestone.

Fragments of a large cinerary urn, found in a carnedd on the farm of Gloucester Hall, near Aberystwith, 1851, with a portion of the calcined bones which it contained ; small cup of earthenware, found in the urn.-T. O. Morgan, Req.

Fragment of a sepulchral urn, originally nearly three feet in height, found in the carnedd near Cronllwyn ; small cup of earthenware, found in the urn last mentioned-J. Fenton, Esq.

Beads, found in Wiltshire barrows.-J. Fenton, Eeq.

Two beautiful glass beads, or Glain Neidr.-T. O. Morgan, Esq.

Glass bead, found in a garden at Pembroke.-Rev. Dr. Malet.

Cast of a bronze collar, found at Wraxall Court, Somerset.--Rev. J. M. Traherne.

ARMS, &c.

Two-handed sword .- The Baron de Rutzen.

A martel, with the head of brase, chased and gilt, and the sockets of silver, with damascene work, found on Bosworth Field .- H. P. Jones, Esq.

Brass gun barrel, bearing the date 1634, and the initials I. F., found about four years ago in an old house at Pembroke, on a shelf in the chimney.-Mr. Morris, Pembroke.

Large cannon ball, found in No. 9, Rock Terrace, Tenby .- F. D. Dyster, Esq. Large cannon ball, found in Carew Castle ; three small ditto from St. Florence.

-Rev. Gilbert N. Smith. Two small cannon balls, ploughed up in a field at Paskeston, within range of Carew Castle .- Nicholas Roch, Esq.

Part of the bronze hilt of a dagger or sword, embossed, and representing a hunting scene. The work is well executed, and is probably Roman.-J. Fenton, Esq.

Bronze spur of the time of James the First .- T. O. Morgan, Esq.

METAL WORK, SHALS, AND JEWELLERY.

Hirlas, or Drinking-Horn, presented by King Henry the Seventh to Ievan ap Dafydd Llwyd, of Llwyn Dafydd, in the county of Cardigan, Req., and preserved at Golden Grove. This exquisite work of art, which is figured in the frontispiece to Lewys Dwnn's Heraldic Visitations, vol. I., consists of a large horn, with silver circles, resting on a stand formed by the king's supporters, the greyhound and red dragon, also of silver. The stand is extremely graceful, and the design appears to betoken foreign influence; the mountings of the horn are of later date. -Barl of Cawdor.

The silver vase which formerly contained the heart of Edward, first Earl of Sandwich, K.G., who was killed in the engagement in Southwold Bay, 28th May, 1672.-J. P. Ord, Esq.

Head of a pastoral staff, of copper gilt, with rich foliage, discovered in 1844, near the tomb of Bishop Anselm, in St. David's Cathedral.—The Bishop of St. David's.

A large and extremely elegant fibula of gold, with one of the knobs affixed by a screw, found in the north of Scotland, and the property of a jeweller at Inverness. -Earl of Cawdor.

Roman gold chain, found on a rising ground to the north-west of the Cothy, on the supposed line of Roman road from Llanfair-ar-y-bryn to Loventium; also, a small object of gold, shaped like a wheel, and probably part of a buckle, found in the same field in which the chain was turned up by a plough .-- J. Johnes, Rsq., Dolaucothy.

Roman intaglio, an onyx seal, cemented to a rough stone to fix it for cutting, and in an unfinished state, found near Pumsant, on the probable site of the fore-mentioned road, near the spot where was discovered a stone, apparently of lineal measure, inscribed P.OXXV.-J. Johnes, Esq.

Bronze fibula, with signs of gilding, and other personal ornaments, found at Tenby .- Miss Tuder.

Bronze fibula, in form resembling the last, and inlaid; found in Stackpole Warren.-Earl of Cawdor.

Silver ring fibula, found at Llandough, near Cowbridge; inscription,-Jesu ety...merci.-Rev. J. M. Traherne.

Steel scissors case, said to have belonged to one of Queen Elizabeth's maids of honour.---Mrs. Paynter.

Ancient key, and hawk bell, found in Lamphey Palace.-L. Mathias, Beq.

Spoon of hammered silver, dug up at Boulston, the ruined house of the Wogans. in 1836.-Mrs. Ackland, Boulston.

Spoon of hammered silver ; date of 1666 .- Rev. J. M. Traherne.

Leaden tankard, with figures of William and Mary .-- Mrs. Paynter.

Reliquary, containing part of the shroud of Edward the Confessor .- Miss Tuder. Gold ring, with intaglio, found near Abermarlais, Caermarthenshire.-Captain Arengo Cross.

Gold ring, set with an unknown stone, found in the Palace garden, St. David's. -Rev. W. Richardson.

Seal ring, of gold, found in a grave at Lantwit-Major, and bearing a merchant's mark, temp., Hen. VII. or VIII.—Rev. J. M. Traherne. Copy of Michael Angelo's seal.—Miss Tuder.

Silver ring, found at St. Florence.-W. M. Jones, Esq.

Silver seal ring, found near Picton Castle .- Lord Milford.

Silver gilt ring, found in St. David's churchyard .- J. Hill Harries, Esq., Priskilly. Silver seal.-J. Adams, Esq., Holyland.

Silver seal, found in the ruins of Plas Bedwellty, Monmouthshire.

Bronze seal, found at Pembroke, 1850. It is well and deeply cut, and of the vesica form, representing the Blessed Virgin and Child, standing beneath a cinquecento canopy. Inscription,-Sigillu. Prior' Provicialis Anglie Ordinis Fratru. Predicatorum.-Barl of Cawdor.

Bronze seal, in the shape of a shield, bearing a lion rampant and a wyvern (?) surrounded by an inscription in Lombardic characters,—Frange Lege Tege, found at Sibton Abbey .- Mrs. Mirehouse.

Bronze seal ring, gilt, bearing the letter I., found in the North Cliff, Tenby .---Miss Tuder.

Silver badge of the ancient society of sea serjeants, bearing a dolphin and star. -J. Hill Harries, Esq.

Two small objects of brass, marked H. P.: a small weight, of brass : a small piece of moltan silver, all found at Tenby .-- Miss Tuder.

Seals of the Consistorial Courts of Cardigan and Haverfordwest.-Rev. Chancellor Melvill.

IMPRESSIONS OF SEALS.

Seal of Donald, Thane of Cawdor, 1431 : seals of Murielle Calder and Sir John Campbell, 1510.- Earl of Cawdor.

Seal of Thomas Dene, Prior of Exeter, 1428.-J. H. Dobson, Esq.

Signet of Mary Queen of Scots.-Mrs. Gwynne.

Seal of the judges of great sessions for the counties of Caermarthen, Cardigan, and Pembroke, temp., Jac. I.-Barl of Cawdor.

Seal of Conan, Abbot of Margam, 1188: great seal of Owain Glyndwr: seal of William Barl of Gloucester, 12th century: seal of Robert Bruce, 1291: seal of the master of St. John's Hospital, Swansen, 1334 : seal of Thomas Mansel, temp. Jac. I. : seal of Reginald de Sully, descendant of one of Fitzhamon's knights : seal of Margam Abbey, 1480: two seals of the corporation of Aberavon.--Rev. J. M. Traherne.

COINS AND MEDALS.

Cabinet of Greek and Roman coins which belonged to the late Dr. Fisher, Bishop of Salisbury .- Mrs. Mirehouse.

Roman and other coins, found at Sibton Abbey .-- Mrs. Mirehouse.

A series of gold, silver, and copper coins, found at Pembroke.--J. W. Paynter, Esq.

A collection of coins, found in the northern part of Pembrokeshire.-J. Hill Harries, Esq.

Roman coins of Carausius and Probus, found near Fishguard.-Rev. W. Adams. A copper coin found at St. David's, and inscribed, -AVE MARISTELLA DEI MATR'.-Rev. Chancellor Melvill.

A collection of coins, chiefly Roman, found in the north of Pembrokeshire.-J. Fenton, Esq.

Gold coins, of various dates, found at Haverfordwest, were exhibited by the Earl of Cawdor, Mrs. Thomas Allen, J. Owen, Esq., and W. Lock, Esq. A broad gold piece of James the First.—Rev. J. M. Traherne.

Silver penny of Richard the Second, found in Cheriton Church .--- Earl of Cawdor. A large collection of coins, found at Tenby, and in the neighbourhood, were exhibited by Miss Tuder, Mrs. Gwynne, Maitland Dashwood, Esq., the Rev. G. N. Smith, and Mr. G. Mends.

Greek and Roman coins .- Mr. Richard James.

Three Early British gold coins, bearing the horse and chariot wheel; said to have been found in Glamorganshire .- Rev. J. M. Traherne.

Two silver coins .- Arthur Williams, Esq.

A mass of Roman third brass coins, with a few of the same cleaned, and the fragments of the paterse which contained them, found near Nanteos, Cardiganshire. -T. O. Morgan, Esq.

Medal of Pope Plus the Sixth, found at Tenby : medal of the time of the Reformation, bearing a head of the pope, which, when inverted, appears as a fool's head. -Miss Tuder.

Medal of Charles the First : medal of Napoleon Buonaparte.—J. P. Ord, Esq. Cast of a medal, found at Bath — Rev. G. N. Smith.

Medal of Frederick the Third of Prussia, found in the garden at Glyn-y-mêl.-J. Fenton, Esq.

NEEDLEWORK.

A large purse, in gold thread and seed pearls, embroidered with the rose and crown; a smaller purse, of white satin, supposed to have belonged to Queen Mary the First, and embroidered with a crown, and M. in cypher.—Miss Tuder.

Ancient embroidery .-- Rev. J. Boys Smith.

Chrisom-clothes of Oliver Cromwell.-Miss Jane Smith,

Silver lace, found in the tomb of Abbot Seabroke, in Lichfield Cathedral.-Miss Tuder.

POTTERY AND BARTHENWARE.

Three encaustic tiles.-Miss Tuder.

Three encaustic tiles, two of them inscribed *deo* [gratias?], of a pattern common at St. David's and Carew.

Two fragments of tiles from Strata Florida.-T. O. Morgan, Esq.

Tile from the Alhambra.-Miss Tuder.

Roman tile.

Fragments from Trawsfynydd, (HERIRI MONS).-T. O. Morgan.

Five lachrymatories, from a tomb at Athens.-Rev. Dr. Malet.

Etruscan lachrymatory of glass.-Miss Tuder.

Small lachrymatory, Etruscan ware, from Girgenti, Sicily.—Rev. J. M. Traherne. Delft plates, said to have been used by the Earl of Richmond on his landing at Dale, and long in the possession of the Garrat family, whose ancestor was scullion to the earl : curious china plate—Mrs. Mirehouse.

Triangular salt, from Carew Castle, said to have belonged to Sir Rhys ap Thomas.--Mrs. Levit, Angle.

Jug and ewer : cup of drab and blue earthenware .-- Miss Tuder.

Curious dish, of a tazza form .- Dr. Hillier.

BNAMELS.

Portrait of Spencer Compton, first Earl of Northampton : portrait of James Graham, first Marquis of Montrose-J. P. Ord, Esq.

MINIATURES.

Robert Rich, Earl of Warwick, from a picture by Vandyke: John Tradescant and his wife, from a picture in the Ashmolean Museum.-J. P. Ord, Esq.

A knight of the garter, unknown ; inscribed,—Anno Dni. 1595, Ætatis suæ, 59. —Barl of Cawdor.

The Rev. John Walters, author of the Welsh and English Dictionary.-Rev. J. M. Traherne.

DRAWINGS, ENGRAVINGS, &c.

A collection of sixty-three drawings of antiquities in Pembrokeshire: a portfolio of drawings: a book of drawings.—Mrs. Gwynne.

Drawing of Sir John Perrot, from the only portrait of him known to exist, in the possession of Sir John Packington, Bart., his descendant. The drawing was sold at Strawberry Hill. Its black and gold frame is said to have been designed by Horace Walpole.—Rev. J. M. Traherne.

A collection of drawings, including crayon sketches of the cromlechau of Pentre Ievan, Carnwnda, and Llech-y-Drybedd.—Mrs. Thomas Allen.

Two drawings of stones at Bannium, inscribed,-LEG. II., and LEG. II. AUG., respectively.-J. Joseph, Esq.

Drawing of Carew Castle, interior : drawing of Ludlow Castle, inner court.-R. K. Penson, Esq.

Four rudely executed paintings, representing the costumes worn in the district of Cornouallies, Basse-Bretagne. They are worn in the neighbourhood of Kerfunteun, Carhaix, Fouesnant, and Pont l'Abbé, respectively. The *bragou bras* are worn by the inhabitants of the interior, and trowsers by those of the sea-coast. The female dress nearly resembles that worn in South Wales.—Rev. W. Basil Jones. Four Engravings of South-Welsh castles .- Mrs. Gwynne.

Engraving of Tenby Castle in 1700 .- Andrew Reid, Esq.

Seventeen engravings of Welsh castles .- Mrs. Gwynne.

Lithograph of the bulwark at Llanmadock Down, Glamorganshire .-- Matthew Moggridge, Esq. Plan of the Roman station at Bannium, near Brecon.—Drawn and presented to

the Society by Mr. George Thomas, land-surveyor, Brecon.

A sheet of drawings of Pembrokeshire antiquities, 1792 .- Mr. R. Mason.

RUBBINGS.

A large and most interesting collection of rubbings of brasses.--Rev. Thomas J. Thirlwall.

Brass of Gwenlliana Walsche, 1427, Llandough, near Cowbridge, Glamorganshire, ditto of Thomas Beauchamp, Earl of Pembroke, A.D. 1401; ditto of Margaret his wife .-- Rev. J. M. Traherne.

Brass of a priest, half-length, found in removing some rubbish at St. David's, and preserved in the Archdeacon of Brecon's house: 15th century.-Rev. W. Basil Jones. Brass of Sir John Andrew (a priest).

One of the crosses at Penally, exhibited in the Museum.-Mrs. Gwynne.

Rubbing of a stone fixed in the hedge of St. Nicholas' churchyard, and figured in Fenton's History of Pembrokeshire, p. 28.-Richard Llewhelin, Esq., Tregwynt.

MANUSCRIPTS.

Leaves of a Coptic and of an Arabic MS., from the convent of Amba Beshowi, Natron Lakes, Western Desert, Middle Egypt. The library was ransacked about a century ago by the Arabs, and these leaves were picked up from the floor by G. R. Gliddon, Esq., in November, 1840.-Mrs. J. L. Stewart.

Spirituale Granarium Pealmorum Davidis. Vol I. MS. chart, circa 1450.-Rev. W. Basil Jones.

Golden Grove Books. Three folio volumes of MS. pedigrees, with an index, relating to Wales .--- Earl of Cawdor.

Instructions of Queen Elizabeth to her Council of Wales. MS., with an autograph of the Queen. The first page is thus inscribed :---

"ELIZABBTH R.

Instructions geven by the Queenes Matie, to her highnes' Councell within her Maties Domynion and Principality of Wales, and the Marches of the same, and to all hereafter appointed to be of her said councell, to be as well by them observed and kept, as by the Lord President hereafter, when yt shall please her Highnes to nominate place and appoint him, according as in the same is hereafter declared. Signed by her Matie at Grenewiche, ye twelveth daie of June,

Anno Domini 1601, & Anno Regni Regine Elizabethe 43°."-Earl of Cawdor. The Queens maiesties instructions [to ye] Presidente and Counsaile of ye Marches, Anno Regni Sui Vicesimo Octavo, 1586, MS.-George Roch, Esq., Butterhill.

Menevia Sacra, MS., 3 vols. Collections made, circa 1740, by the Rev. Edward Yardley, Archdeacon of Cardigan, relative to the Cathedral of St. David's .- The Earl of Cawdor.

A quarto volume of short pedigrees, with the arms emblazoned. This was probably compiled by George Owen, and extends only to those families within the county of Pembroke who were living within his memory .- Thos. D. Lloyd, Esq., Bronwydd.

Exemplification of Composition between William de Valence, Earl of Pembroke, and wife, and Nicholas Martin, Lord of Kemeys, touching privileges to be enjoyed by the latter in his barony. 1 July, 2 Ric. II.

Exempt. of Recovery suffered of the barony of Kemeys. 7 March, 15 Hen. VIII. Appointment of Sir Walter Hubert, Lord of Kemeys, to William ap Owen, as steward. 8 Nov., 13 Henry VII. Appointment of auditor and receiver by John, Lord Audley, Lord of Kemeys.

6 May, 8 Hen. VIII.

Owen ap Owen's patent. 14 Hen. VIII.

MS. collections relating to the barony of Kemeys.—This extremely interesting

volume contains descents, ordinances, extents, &c., having reference to the lordship, and is of the sixteenth and beginning of the seventeenth century.—Thos. D. Lloyd, Esq., Bronwydd.

Pardon of Henry Lort, 1 James I., 10th Feb.: Pardon of Roger Lort, 1 James I., 6th May: Pardon of Roger Lort, 1 July, 12 Car. II.: Pardon of Sampson Lort, 12 Car. II. 22nd July, for political offences: Letters of Administration of George Lort, 1576; with seal of George, Archbishop of Canterbury.—Barl of Cawdor.

Map of Pembrokeshire, temp. Jac. I.-Earl of Cawdor.

A list of the Mayors of Tenby, from 1402. Transcribed by Alderman Robert Nash, in 1730.

A list of the Sheriffs of Pembrokeshire.--Mr. R. Mason.

Small deed, Sir John Penrees, 20 June, 17 Rich. II., A.D., 1304, with seal bearing the arms of Penrees, and dated Oxynwych (Oxwich): Deed, Sir John Mauncell, 22 Hen. VI.: Deed, with autograph of Sir Rice Mancell, *alias* Mansel, 31 Hen. VIII.; Deed of Lodovigcus Leyson, Prior of the Preaching Friars, Cardiff, with seal appendant, A.D. 1466.

Grant from the Prior of the House of Preaching Friars, at Cardiff, to Thomas Jenkin, and Margaret his wife, 1466.

Roll of expenses of Henry, Earl of Pembroke, 1597-8.-Rev. J. M. Traherne.

Gambold's MS. Dictionary, unpublished. "Lexicon Cambro-Britannicum, in two parts, or, { 1st, -An English-welsh } Dictionary. Containing all Things

necessary for the translating of either Language into y[•] other. To which End, The English-welsh Part is enriched with many more leading words and Phrases (and those reduced into a strict alphabetical order) then are yet extant in any English Vocabulary; which are distinguished into as many several sources as they will beer, and rendered into Welsh by a multiplicity of proper Words, collected out of Dr. Davies's Latin-welsh Dictionary, the Welsh translation of the holy Bible, & several approved Welsh Authors in common use.—Dated thus: 'The End. Gloria Deo. Nihil est quod non expugnet pertinax opera, et intenta ac diligens cura. Senec: ad Lucil: Epist. 50. 88 Sheets. Septr: 14: 1722. Writ in 7 months.' —The Grammar: 'Finis. Decr. 21, 1722.'

The Welsh-english Part represents y Welsh words that occur in reading or discourse, alphabetically digested; adding two or three English words, of their several Significations, to each; together with the Genders & Plurals of Substantives & Adjectives: as also (at the beginning of the Letters) the various Mutations Initial Letters are capable of in construction. By W. Gambold late of Exeter college Oxon. Now Rector of Puncheston, in Pembroke-Shire, South Wales."-Dated thus: 'Finished Feb. 17th, 1721-2. 36 sheeta.'-Rev. J. M. Traherne.

Regal and Sacerdotal Genealogy of our Saviour, on vellum, temp. Elizabeth, formerly at Miskin House, Glamorgan.-Rev. J. M. Traherne.

Aymer de Valence's grant to the commandery of Slebech, with seal attached. 17 Edward II. J. Fenton Esq.

PRINTED BOOKS.

Plating Vite Pontificum. Ed. 2da. With an illuminated capital. 1482.—Rev. W. Basil Jones.

Book of Hours, printed on vellum, with beautiful illuminations. The calendar is in French. There is no year, but the first page is as follows:—"Ont este nouvellemét imprimees a Paris po' Germain Hardouyn libraire Demourat entre les deux portes du palais a lénseigne saincte Marguerite." The date on the binding is 1524. —Rev. Henry Hughes, Manorbeer.

Lhuyd's Breviary of Britain, 1573, bound in oak and brass.-J. Joseph, Esq., Brecon.

"A Funerall Sermon preached the XXVI. Day of November, in the year of our Lord, M.D.LXXVI., in the Parish Church of Caermerthyn. By the Reverende Father in God, Richard (Davies) by the permission of God, Bishoppe of Saint Davys, at the buriall of The Right Honourable Walter Barle of Essex and Ewe, Earle Marshall of Irelande, Viscount Hereforde & Bourgcher, Lord Ferras of Chorley, Bourgcher & Louein, of the most noble order of the Garter, Knight. Imprinted at London by Henry Denham, dwelling in Pater noster Row, at the signe of the Starre. Anno Domini, 1577." Prefixed to the sermon is a long pedigree of the Earl of Essex, with laudatory verses in Hebrew, Greek, Latin, Welsh, and French.--Earl of Cawdor. 1

"Exceeding Good Newes from South Wales, of the surrender of Tinby Castle upon mercy, on Wednesday the 17 of May, 1648—with the taking of Collonel Powel, and divers Gentlemen, Officers, and Souldiers, to the number of five hundred and seventy. Also, Good Newes from the North, of the compleat condition of Major Generall Lambert, who is upon the Borders of Cumberland and Westmereland. Together, with an exact and true Relation, of the relief of Dover Castle, by the Lord Generall Fairfaxes forces, when were taken prisoners of the Enemy 300 men, and 420 horse, the rest being beaten back to Sandwitch. Imprimatur, G. M. London. Printed by J. C. MDCXLVIII." The book is not much larger than its title-page.—The Earl of Cawdor.

Prayer Book, with Bible and Psalter annexed. *Temp.* Car. I. There are MS. notes, by an unknown hand, of the emendations contemplated at the Restoration, some of which were subsequently made at the Savoy Conference.—Rev. G. H. Scott, Rhoserowther.

ORIGINAL CHARTERS.

Municipal charters granted by Richard II., and Edward IV., to the Borough of Pembroke.—The Mayor and Town Council of Pembroke.

ORIGINAL LETTERS.

A collection of letters, including one from Oliver Cromwell, dated July 14, 1648, and adressed "to the Maior and Aldermen of Haverfordwest."—The Mayor and Town Council of Haverfordwest.

Letter from Lord Lorn to Sir John Campbell of Calder, 1618.-Earl of Cawdor

MISCELLANEOUS.

One of the crosses from Penally Churchyard; inscription :-- HEC BST CRUX QUAM ÆDIFICAVIT MAILDOMN

Lower stone of a large stone quern, of an unusual form. It consists of a cylinder, nearly eight inches in thickness, and with a deep concavity, in the centre of which is a socket for the pivot of the upper stone to play in. The meal passed off through an aperture at the side, forming the mouth of a large head projecting from the stone, and having very much the air of a gurgoyle. The head looks like Early Norman work. From East Popton, Pembrokeshire.—Mrs. Mirehouse.

Large ball of stone, marked with a circle, intersected by three diameters. Purpose unknown.—John Adams, Esq., Holyland.

Reliquary of stone, the lid formed by a recumbent figure, propably representing a female saint. The figure is well sculptured, and the architectural ornaments are of the beginning of the sixteenth century, exhibiting slight marks of cinque-cento. It is formed of a white calcareous stone, which looks like foreign marble, but is said to occur in the limestone cliffs at Caldy, where the original was found.—Mrs. Gwvnne.

Chair, said to have belonged to Margaret, Countess of Richmond, from Pembroke Castle. The chair is probably of the date of Elizabeth, or James the First.—Miss Maddocks.

Carved comb, with velvet case, presented by Queen Elizabeth to one of her maids of honour, an ancestress of the present owner.—J. Fenton, Esq.

Part of a fan, which belonged to Queen Anne: it is a leaf of talc or mica, beautifully painted.

Japan cabinet.-Miss Tuder.

Chinese carved screen .- Mrs. Gwynne.

A mosaic in mother-of-pearl; four engraved shells; two crosses in mother-ofpearl, and one in mosaic.-Dr. Hillier.

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RULES

OF THE

Cambrian Archaeological Association.

Of Members and their Election.

I.—The Association shall consist of Subscribing and Corresponding Members. II.—All Members shall be admitted by the General or Local Committees, on the proposal of one of the General or Local Secretaries, or any two Members.

III.—All members of the Royal Family, Bishops and Peers, who may signify their intention of joining the Association, shall be admitted as Patrons.

Of the Government of the Association.

IV.—The Government of the Association shall be vested in a Committee consisting of a President, with all such members as shall have been elected to fill that office, six or more Vice-Presidents, a General Treasurer, two or more General Secretaries, seventeen or more Local Secretaries, viz., one at least for each county of the Principality and the Marches, with all such Corresponding Secretaries as the Committee shall think fit to appoint, and twelve or more ordinary Members.

V .--- The President shall hold office for one year, and shall be re-eligible.

VI.—The election of the Presidents, Vice-Presidents, and Members of the Committee, shall be made on the last day of the Annual Meeting. Three Members of the Committee shall go out annually, according to seniority in office, and the Committee shall nominate a President, together with a sufficient number of Members, to fill up the vacancies. The names of those who go out, and of those who are proposed to supply their places, shall be hung up in the Local Committee Room during the whole time of the Annual Meeting. Any Member of the Association is at liberty to add to the list any other name or names besides those proposed by the Committee.

VII.—The Committee shall be empowered to fill up *pro tem.* by election all occasional vacancies that may be caused by the death or resignation of the President, of any of the Vice-Presidents, or any of the Members of the Committee.

VIII.-The General and Local Secretaries, and the General Treasurer, shall be elected by the Committee.

IX.—In all elections made by the Committee, it shall be allowable for any Member thereof to demand a ballot.

X.—Members are invited to form themselves into Local Committees in the several districts of the Principality and Marches.

Of Subscriptions.

XI.—All Subscribing Members shall pay £1 annually into the hands of the General Treasurer, either directly, or through such persons as may be appointed by the Committee for that purpose.

XII.—All subscriptions shall be paid in advance, and become due on the lst of October in each year.

XIII.—Members not intending to continue their subscription will be expected to give three months' notice to the Publisher.

XIV.—All Subscribing Members shall receive the Archeologia Cambrensis, and other Publications of the Society, from the 1st of January following the payment of their subscriptions, together with a Ticket giving free admission to the Annual Meeting.

Of the Meetings.

XV.—A Meeting of the Committee shall be held annually, for the purpose of auditing the accounts, nominating Officers, and framing Laws for the government of the Association.

XVI.—The Annual Meeting shall be holden in one of the principal towns of the Principality and its Marches, at which the elections, the appointment of the place of Meeting for the ensuing year, &c., shall take place. Due notice of this Meeting shall be given publicly by one of the General Secretaries, by order of the Committee.

XVII.—The President shall have power to appoint a Special Meeting, when required; and for such Special Meeting, a notice of at least three weeks shall be given, by advertisements in the public papers.

XVIII.—At any Annual or Special Meeting, the President, or, in his absence, one of the Vice-Presidents, shall take the Chair, and in their absence the Committee shall appoint a Chairman; and the Chairman of the Annual, or any other, General Meeting, shall have an independent as well as a casting vote.

XIX.—A Report of the Proceedings for the whole year shall be submitted to the Annual Meeting.

XX.—At the Annual Meetings, Tickets shall be issued to Subscribing Members gratuitously, and to Corresponding Members and Strangers on the payment of Ten Shillings each, admitting them to the Excursions, Exhibitions, and Meetings; provided it shall be in the discretion of the President and General Secretaries from time to fix the price of Corresponding Members' and Strangers' Tickets at such a sum as they shall deem most suitable to the circumstances of the locality in which the Annual Meeting shall take place.

XXI.—Wherever it is practicable, the Local Committees shall cause Meetings to be held in their several districts, and shall encourage the formation of Museums,

Of the Rules.

XXII.—It shall be lawful for any Member who may conceive it expedient to add to, alter, or omit, any Rule, or Rules, of the Association, to signify the same, in writing, to the Committee.

XXIII.—In case any such alteration shall appear to the Committee to be worthy of consideration, it may be proposed to the Association at the next Annual Meeting.

XXIV.—The Committee shall be empowered to make such Bye-Laws as may from time to time appear to them expedient, subject to confirmation by the Members of the Association at the next General Meeting.

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