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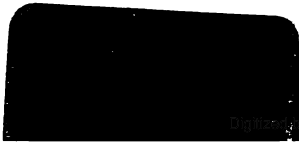
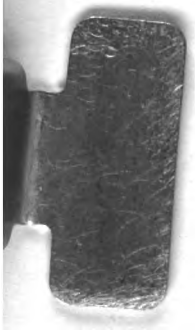
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Archaeologia Cambrensis.

SIXTH SERIES.—VOL. III, PART I.

JANUARY, 1903.

THE EXPLORATION OF CLEGYR VOYA.

BY THE REV. S. BARING-GOULD.

CLEGYR VOYA is an elevation of igneous rock rising some 45 ft. above the fields and the Rhoson Common, near St. David's.

It forms a long parallelogram running north-north-east by south-south-west, and is tolerably accessible by grassy slopes on all sides save where the rock rises precipitously. The north-north-east approach is by a narrow grassy slope between two projecting rocks, that form natural defences on each side, but a very steep slope is at the start.

The south-south-west slope is more open and less abrupt, and it is broken by a terrace easily mounted from the road leading from Porth Clais. Above that are three horns of rock. Between the two on the left, as we ascend, it would be difficult to mount, but this is not the case between the central and the right hand horn.

The portion of the long side to the south-east parallel with the Alun Valley, and rising above the farm-houses crouching below in shelter from the gales from the sea, is easy of access except at those points, where the rocks start up precipitously. The same may be said of the north-west side.

The entire summit has been fortified by a bank of stone mingled with earth, but originally a wall of stones bedded in earth, that connects the rocky prongs. This bank, or rather wall, was originally faced throughout with large slabs set on end, like the camp of Dinas Sylwy or Bwrdd Arthur in Anglesey, with this exception, that the latter is faced internally as well as externally with slabs set on end. Most of these facers have been removed for building purposes, but on the south-south-east side one remains *in situ*. On the north-north-west side the face for 30 ft. is intact, and five other slabs remain in position. At the north-north-east extremity are six still in position, and pertaining to an outwork beyond, one slab is still standing, and two others are fallen.

The fort is a rudely rectangular parallelogram, but with an adjunct or outwork at the north-north-east extremity, beyond that portion of the bank which is loftiest. Of this outwork, the two sides that make the continuations of the camp in its greatest length are formed by abrupt rocks. There is no opening in the wall to afford communication between this outwork and the main body of the camp; and those defending it, if driven from their position, must have retreated by passing among the rocks on their left.

In *The History and Antiquities of Saint David's*, by Jones and Freeman, 1856, an account is given of the south-south-western end, which must be quoted, as it no longer applies: the walls having been removed by road-menders and the builders of the fences to the adjoining fields.

They say:—

“The defences at the west end are of a rather complicated nature, perhaps to protect the entrance, which seems to have been placed near the south-western angle. These stand at the very brink of the western slope, which, as has been said, is very open. Accordingly, there are traces of an outwork about half-way down the hill.”

Unhappily all this has been levelled, and it is with

difficulty that anything can be distinguished, and here nothing can be planned with any certainty. The interior of both the main camp and the annexe have been hollowed out artificially, probably with the purpose of finding the stone to serve for the walls and for the large facing slabs.

The camp takes its name from Boya, a Gwyddel chief, who occupied it in St. David's day, and who caused him considerable annoyance. When David removed from the "Old Bush"—probably Ty Gwyn on the slope of Carn Llidi to the valley of the Alun—he lighted a fire. Boya's camp commanded the ravine, and, seeing smoke rising from it, he went to the spot to enquire who had settled there without his permission.

David pacified him without much difficulty, but Boya's wife was inveterate in her animosity, and she had recourse to various expedients to force him to leave.

As these proved unsuccessful, she made, as a last resource, an appeal to her gods, and tried to propitiate them with a sacrifice.

For this purpose, she invited her step-daughter, named Dunawd, one warm day, to come into the hazel-brake on the slope of the Alun, to pick nuts, and that she might dress her curls. When the girl laid her head in the woman's lap, she shored off her hair. This was tantamount to adoption, and then, with a knife cut the child's throat, and poured out her blood to the gods. This did not avail, and the woman, afraid of Boya's wrath, ran away and concealed herself. What became of her was never known. She probably proposed absenting herself till Boya had cooled down, but circumstances occurred that made a return impossible.

During the night, Paucant, son of Liski, another Irish pirate, entered the little harbour that now bears his father's name, stole in the dark up to the crag, and, finding the entrance unguarded, burst in with his men and slew Boya in his bed. The *Life of St. David* says that fire fell from Heaven and consumed the fortress.

It must be admitted that spade and shovel show no evidence of the place having been destroyed by fire. If we may trust the "Life of St. Teilo," in the *Book of Llandaff*, David had so won on Boya that he got the rude Irish chief to consent to be baptized. Supposing this to have been the case, it explains the anger of that obstinate pagan, his wife.

In the Latin and Welsh *Lives of St. David* it is said that a spring flowed where the blood of Dunawd had fallen, that was endowed with miraculous healing powers, and was called "Fynnon Dunawd," and the place "Merthyr Dunawd," even to this day. Where that spring is I have not ascertained.

There is a reputed well in the rock of Clegyr Voya that is supposed always to have water in it, but to fill especially when the tide flows. It is a small hollow in the igneous rock, from which a core or crystal has fallen, and is about large enough for the fist to be inserted. This "Fynnon" is still in repute, and its water is regarded as sovereign, especially for sore eyes.

Whilst I was engaged on the exploration of Clegyr Voya, I went several times a day to the reputed spring, but never found water in it, though the rock and sediment at the bottom remained wet.

A tradition exists that, eighty years ago, a party of men resolved on treasure seeking in the camp. The first day, they had hardly begun to dig before a pouring rain came on which drove them away. They went again, and next day a thunderstorm broke over them; but they did not leave till they had uncovered a kettle. They attempted the third day to dig out the kettle, but on reaching the rock thunder and lightning played about it, and the storm continued with such violence, and so long, that they retreated and abandoned the attempt. The origin of the story seems to be this:—

It is commonly held that a subterranean passage connects Clegyr Voya with St. David's Cathedral, and that considerable treasure is hidden in it.

The grandfather of the present Mr. Davies, of the

farm under Clegyr Voya, did actually begin to dig into the rampart at the south-south-west end, between the rocks, and sunk a pretty deep hole : it may still be seen. But, as he found nothing at all, he wearied of the attempt, and so abandoned it.

There is a second camp at Penllan, a quarter of a mile distant on the edge of the Alun valley, that local tradition says was raised by St. David as a protection against Boya.

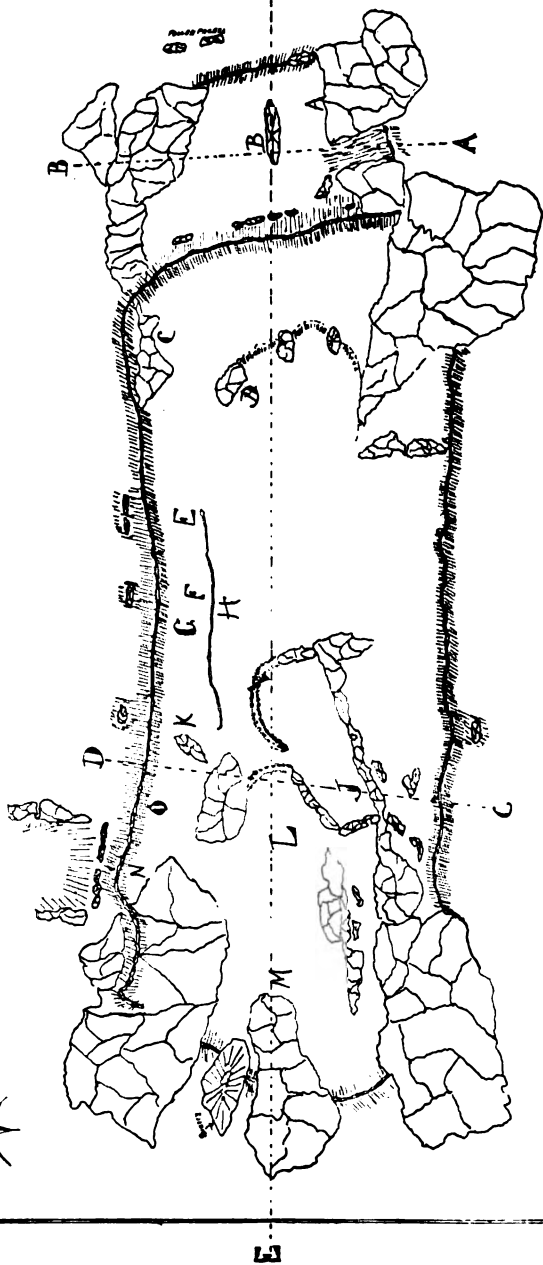
Leland speaks of the "two castles of Boya," and there can be no doubt that he refers to these two. Elsewhere, he speaks of "Caerboias' Castle, standing by Alen Ryveret, about a quarter of a myle lower than St. David's on the said Ryverit" (*Itin.*, vol. v, p. 201); and he here clearly means Penllan.

But this latter camp is distinctively of a different and later character, and is essentially a Danish or Northman erection, or possibly Saxon ; and if Boya had a fortress here, it must have been completely transformed by the later pirates. Of this alteration there is no trace. That the author of the Welsh *Life of St. David* meant Clegyr Voya is apparent, for he makes Boya stand on a "high rock" in it, and there is no rock at Penllan : there all is earth. It was from the high rock that Boya observed the smoke from David's fire.

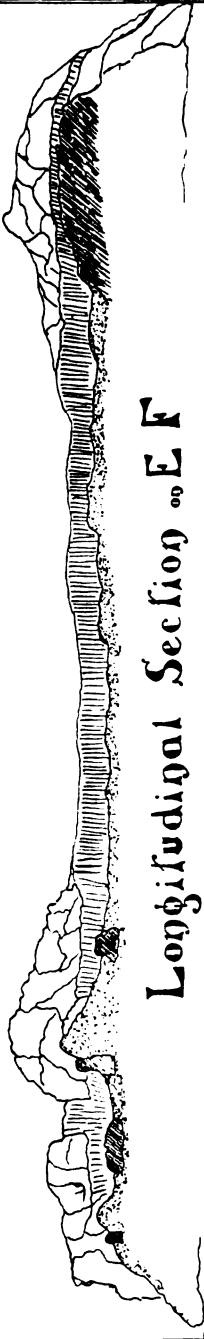
The camp on Clegyr Voya is 320 ft. long by 100 ft. broad ; this is the measurement, including the outwork to the north-north-east. The main camp measures 265 ft. in length. The outwork, or annexe, is at a somewhat lower level. A careful and fairly complete examination of Clegyr Voya was made at the beginning of June. Much gratitude must be expressed to Messrs. W. Davies, of Rhos-y-cribed, and to Mr. Watts Williams, for kind and readily-accorded permission to make the exploration.

The workmen employed were William Narberth, John Williams, Peter Cunningham, and Abel Codd, who all displayed great intelligence and eagerness,

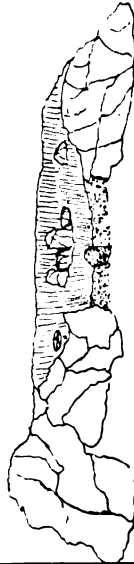
Survey of Clegyr Foia Rock.



A. G. H. R. G. G. G.
July, 1902
S. D. B. S. T. S.



Longitudinal Section of E F



Section of A B



Section of C D

a. W. H. DAVIS
Dr. DAVIS
1870
1871

and one may be confident that nothing escaped their eyes.

The first excavations done were within the enclosure marked L-M. Here a low ruined wall can be traced, describing a curve from one mass of rock to another. A trench was cut from L to M, but nothing was found except a little charcoal at M, and a flat slab set on stones built up to support it, some 2 ft. 6 ins. below the surface to the top of the slab. It seemed to have served as a seat, and was placed parallel with the line L-M.

There is a sunken space at G, with rock faces on all sides save one, and that was closed by a semicircular low wall. This wall was traced, and the space was examined. The floor was of beaten clay, at a depth of 3 ft. 6 ins. below the turf. Some charcoal was found, and numerous water-worn stones, some round, some long in shape, like celts, but natural. Many of these showed signs of having been used as hammers or axes, and were bruised and flaked. Here also was found a broken stone lamp, like that discovered at Moel Trigarn. Numerous sling-stones had fallen over this portion of the camp, some split by striking against the rock. A little charcoal was found, but no definite marks of habitation. There were, however, a good many bits of burnt stone and burnt earth.

Research was made under the rock at N, where a hearth was discovered built up against the rock face, with much charcoal and ash, but nothing else except pebbles. This hearth was only 2 ft. 6 ins. below the surface, and rested on rock. There was no bank to fall in and encumber the ground at this spot.

Then trial pits were sunk along the inside of the wall on the north-north-west side, and it was ascertained that the original floor was 4 ft. 6 ins. below the present surface. At O, a large hearth was disclosed, strewn with potsherds, and among them lay a stone celt, partly polished, that had two large flakes chipped off it.

The pottery was very rude and coarse, and consisted of the remains of four vessels, none of them with ornamentation except one that had a line drawn round it. All the fragments were collected, but the pieces were so small that it was hopeless to expect to have any of the vessels restored.

At κ was another hearth, and the ash lay full a foot thick upon it. Here also potsherds were found, and a flint arrow-head.

The outer portion of the camp, or annexe, was explored, but without results. Throughout the camp were found numerous sling-stones, also pebbles that seem to have been employed as hammers; they were long water-worn, smooth stones, most of which showed indications of having been used.

The pottery found has been examined by Mr. C. H. Read, of the British Museum, and he says:—

“It is a perilous thing to date forty pieces of rough ware, and I can only do it in this case with all reserve. It seems to me to belong to the pre-Roman times, and not to be so old as the typical Bronze Age. Thus it is very late Bronze Age, or early Iron. Of the two I lean to the latter. The little flint is surely worked, and is more like an arrow-head than anything else.”

Mr. R. Burnard, to whom I have also submitted the pottery, says:—

“It is very different from hut-circle pottery. The pieces are small, and I advance an opinion with some reserve, but I think it is wheel-made, and I should say it is at the earliest Late Celtic, or it may be much later. The sherds are smoothed on both sides, and if the pots were wheel-turned, the hands were used for shaping. This may account for the little lumps and depressions on them. What we consider as rude pottery must have been used down to a late period. The fact is, we have a lot to learn, and we must dig, and note all finds and compare.”

I had already arrived at the same conclusion. The camp at Clegyr Voya is certainly enigmatical. It bears the name of an historical Goidel chief, who perished in it about the year 520, and yet all the relics found in it belong to a much earlier period. The only

solution I can propose is that these Gwyddel freebooters, who were the scourge of the Welsh, were still employing stone weapons, no doubt at the same time that they did others of iron and bronze, and that the pottery they employed was rough earthenware, manufactured on the spot from the glacial clay that lies in the wawn of Rhosson, and that they did not trouble themselves to ornament such coarse stuff as was used for cooking. A broken spindle-whorl was also found.

The camp had obviously been attacked from the Rhosson side, as the hail of sling-stones had swept over the west wall, and fallen on the further side.

In only one spot was there any face to the wall found on the inside, and it proved that the wall had been rudely built up with undressed stones; these stones being for the most part small—none too large for a man to lift—in course of time the wall had fallen into complete ruin. It is difficult, not to say impossible, to determine what was the original height of the wall. But from the original surface to the summit of the mound of raised walling, it is still in most places from 6 ft. to 7 ft. high on the inside.

Pieces of drift flint and flint flakes were not infrequent, but none showed signs of working, except a possible thumb-scraper.

On the whole, Clegyr Voya shows no evidence of continued occupation. The finds were singularly few. The camp had probably been resorted to temporarily, and in the summer.

But that it had been assaulted is certain from the abundance of sling-stones found in it, scattered everywhere, not collected in heaps as at Moel Trigarn.

There are in it none of those cairns of stones to serve as missiles for defence, that exist in so many other camps of a similar character.

It is certainly to be regretted that the "finds" at Clegyr Voya have been so few, but it was well that a camp so interesting historically should have been investigated.

The camp was carefully planned by Mr. A. Morgan, of St. David's.

It was hoped that it would have furnished a key to the difficult problem of the period when these stone camps were raised. This it has failed to do, and all we can say is, that it has advanced us another step in the knowledge of those mysterious camps which are found to exist throughout Wales and Devon, Somerset and Cornwall.

Finally, I may be allowed to add one word on a camp called Tregear that, in conjunction with Mr. Robert Burnard, I have recently been engaged in digging out, in Cornwall. There again we found plenty of sling-stones. But there we found pottery with what is generally supposed to be the distinctive Bronze Age ornamentation; and yet, strange to say, one sherd had been riveted with iron. This shows that the Bronze Age ornamentation in zigzags and chevrons was continued much later than has been supposed; and we may also surmise that stone weapons were also in use long after the introduction of metal. The pottery found at Clegyr Voya was singularly thick.

I must say that I am loth to give up Boya—if what was found did actually belong to his period, then he lived in a more primitive condition than we should have supposed possible in the sixth century.

The Cambrian Archæological Association had appointed five members to assist in the excavation, but untoward circumstances prevented all five from being present; however, I was greatly assisted by Mr. W. H. Williams, of Solva, who was with me most days, and whose geological knowledge came in very serviceable, and whose opinion on many points was of the highest value.

All the "finds" were sent to the Tenby Museum, where they may now be seen.

ROMAN FORTS IN SOUTH WALES.

BY F. HAVERFIELD, ESQ., M.A., F.S.A., HON. F.S.A.Scot.

THE Roman fort at the Gaer, near Brecon, is often said to have borne in Roman times the name Bannium, and that name has been given in the printed programme of the meeting of the Association as the title of my Paper. In reality, I am not very much concerned about the name. I have my doubts whether the Gaer fort was ever called Bannium. I suspect that Bannium is not a name at all, but, as Horsley suggested, a truncated form of Gobannium, the name of a fort or other Roman site at Abergavenny. The document in which Bannium occurs, the list of the Ravenna geographer, is by no means a trustworthy authority on the exact forms of place-names, which not unfrequently appear in it shorn of their initial or other letters. Thus the fort of Braboniacum, in the north of England, appears in the Ravenna list as Ravonia, without its first letter and its final syllable; and the town of Isca Dumnoniorum appears as Scadoniorum, equally without its first letter and one of its internal syllables. Even if Bannium were, however, the correct name of the Roman fort near Brecon, I should prefer to leave it on one side as an insignificant item. Our predecessors in the study of Roman Britain have paid far too much attention to the identification of names. The names with which they have had to deal are, with hardly an exception, names which never recur except in the topographical lists of Ptolemy, or the Ravenna geographer, or the *Antonine Itinerary*. Nothing is known about them; nothing is recorded as having ever happened at any of them; there is no reference to them in literature properly so called. Take any of the place-names which can be reasonably assigned to sites in the counties adjoining

Brecon : Bravonium, Magna, Ariconium, in Herefordshire ; Burrium, Blestium, Bovium, Nidum, in Monmouth and South Wales. If I can prove, for example, that Bravonium is Leintwardine, as a scholar I am of course bound to note the fact, and I may thereby gain an item which, combined with other items, will slightly advance knowledge. But I should make more progress if I could dig up Leintwardine and discover (apart from all question of names) what the place was like in Romano-British days : whether a military post, or a posting-station, or a village, whose inhabitants reached such-and-such a degree of wealth, or practised such-and-such an occupation. It is by learning these details, far more than by studying place-names, that we may hope to recover some knowledge of the civilisation of Roman Britain. The thing is the important matter, not the name.

In respect to the Gaer, the "thing" is to some extent plain. We have before us a small permanent fort, which dominates a river valley, and forms the meeting-place of several roads. It is not a town or a village. Very likely, there was outside the fort a small collection of huts, where a few women, a few traders, and perhaps one or two retired soldiers, squatted. But the spot was essentially military. Can we say more about it? To say much more we need excavation. But our knowledge of the Roman military system will aid us a little. We can put the fort into its proper place in that military system, and in some degree form an idea of what it was ; what sort of troops garrisoned it ; what purpose it served in this far-off corner of the Roman Empire.

For our present purpose two facts about the Roman army must be borne in mind. In the first place, that army had two chief divisions, the legions and the so-called auxiliaries. The legions were brigades of heavy infantry, each some five thousand strong, recruited (at least in theory) from those who possessed the full Roman citizenship : they were the better paid and the

more trustworthy portions of the Roman army. The auxiliaries were organised in smaller regiments, five hundred or one thousand strong, of infantry (*cohortes*) and cavalry (*alae*): they were recruited from the subjects, not from the citizens, of the empire, and corresponded to some extent to the native troops in our African and Indian possessions.

Secondly the army, in respect of both classes, was essentially a garrison army. The legions were posted, one each, in large fortresses of some 50 acres area; the auxiliaries were posted generally in small forts of 3 to 8 acres each. Both were posted on or near the frontiers and the distributed districts, and there only. Thus in Britain there were troops in Wales and in the north, but very few in the Midlands, the south, or the east. Posted thus, the troops were the garrisons of the hill country and the exposed frontiers. Besides them there was no field army; if one was required, it was obtained by withdrawing men from the garrisons. In general, however, the auxiliaries were posted in the front, and the legionary fortresses lay more outside the actual area of danger; so that to some extent their garrisons were available, without serious inconvenience, for service elsewhere. Thus troops from the Legio II Augusta, at Caerleon, could be used more or less safely to act at need in Wales, and even in northern Britain.

The fort at the Gaer was one of the smaller forts mentioned in the last paragraph. Probably its usual garrison was auxiliary; but it is conceivable that detachments from the legion at Caerleon may have been employed on occasion. In any case, it was a garrison in the network of forts and roads which helped to keep quiet the unruly Silures and other hillmen of South Wales. The fort at Gellygaer, lately excavated by the Cardiff Naturalists' Society, is another such; probably there were similar forts in other sites which yet await exploration. When they were established, and how long maintained, is uncertain. The few coins found at Gellygaer suggest an occupation from A.D. 70

or 80 till A.D. 110 or 120 ; and the fact that the masonry there, so far as I could see, showed practically no sign of repairs or reconstructions, points also to a comparatively brief occupation. And indeed we may well believe that by A.D. 110 the hills of South Wales were quiet enough to allow of reductions of garrison. The conquest of the district, according to our ancient historians, began about A.D. 50, but was actually effected between about A.D. 75 and A.D. 80 : forty years later the fort at Gellygaer may have become superfluous. Excavation alone can show whether that was also the case at the Gaer, and, if so, whether the buildings were subsequently squatted in by others than military inhabitants. It is, however, likely enough that some of the outlying little forts were held long after the first period of conquest and pacification. It was found possible, in the second and third centuries, to detach "vexillations" of the Second Legion to the Roman wall for temporary purposes, and this suggests that South Wales had then become comparatively peaceful. But, even so, a fort like that near Brecon may still have been kept up. How long it lasted is, however, outside our knowledge. The roads and forts of the south coast, from Cardiff to Carmarthen, seem to have been, at least partially, restored by Constantius Chlorus or Constantine, early in the fourth century ; but it is hard to say exactly what this restoration was, and it is as yet impossible to say how far inland it extended. When local research and excavation have gone further forward we shall be able to write more fully, not only the history of this single fort, but of the system of forts and roads to which it belonged. It may still remain a nameless fort, a blockhouse X. But it and its kindred forts will illustrate the methods of an imperial people faced by difficult hills and stubborn men.

[The inscriptions found at the Gaer cannot be dated. Some tiles of the Second Legion may belong to the foundation of the fort (compare Tacitus, *Annals*, xii, 38, 3). I am told that coins have been found at the Gaer, but I cannot learn their dates.]

THE EARLY SETTLERS OF BRECON.

BY PROFESSOR E. ANWYL, M.A.

IN spite of the striking modern developments of Anthropology, Archæology, Comparative Philology and Comparative Mythology, the reconstruction of the pre-historic past of Man must always be, at best, of a very tentative character, and especially when the evidence, as in the case of Breconshire, is far from abundant. What evidence there is appears to be more suggestive than conclusive, and the interpretation of it is by no means free from ambiguity. However, it is not impossible that, in course of time, further evidence may be found, especially if, at some future date, this and the neighbouring counties of England and Wales undergo a thorough Archæological and Anthropological Survey. We are fortunate in possessing for Herefordshire an excellent Archæological Survey, in the carrying out of which Mr. Haverfield has taken a prominent part. We have a most valuable Antiquarian Survey of East Gower by Colonel Morgan, and a survey of the archæological remains of Pembrokeshire, with maps indicating the position of ancient monuments, carried out by several learned members of this Association. It would be an excellent thing if a similar survey could be undertaken also for the county of Brecon.

As the evidence relating to the early settlers of Brecon is not abundant, and any clue that may suggest a possible solution of the problem is useful, attention will be called in this Paper to certain considerations derived from the river-names of the district, apparently the most ancient place-names that we have. It is generally admitted that river-names often survive great changes in the ethnology of any country, and Wales is probably no exception to the rule.

For the purpose of the present paper, it will be convenient to treat of the early settlers of Brecon in the order of the great stages of civilisation through which European man has passed: the stage of stone implements, the stage of bronze implements, and the stage characterised by the use of iron. In dealing with these phases of civilisation, it should never be forgotten that they must have largely overlapped; that, for example, the use of stone implements must have continued long after the introduction of bronze,¹ and the use of bronze weapons after the introduction of iron.² Moreover, at any rate in the earlier periods of these stages, some parts of a country or district would naturally be in possession of the higher phase of civilisation, while others would still be in the lower. The distribution of early civilisation, like that of more modern times, was very largely determined, not by conquest and colonisation only, but by economic considerations of barter and exchange, and by the direction of the ancient trade-routes along which goods passed by a system of intertribal barter. Hence, a district which was favourably situated from this point of view, could steal a rapid march in civilisation upon another where the conditions were less favourable. Much of the best archæological work to-day—as, for instance, that of Mr. A. J. Evans—consists in a thorough and painstaking investigation into the ancient trade-routes of the world.

Of Palæolithic Man in Breconshire, so far as the writer is aware, there are no traces on record. It would, however, be obviously rash to infer that, even if no Palæolithic flint implements have been found in Breconshire, the men of that period in their hunting expeditions never set foot in the county. Roughly-hewn flint implements, the most common remains of Palæolithic Man, are naturally most abundant in

¹ At Clegyr Foia, the Rev. S. Baring-Gould has found indications of the use of stone arrows, even in the "Iron Age."

² Mr. J. Romilly Allen has called my attention to bronze objects ornamented in imitation of patterns found on implements of iron.

districts like the South of England, where flints abound. Where skulls belonging to this period are found, they are marked by an extreme dolichocephalism. As to the affinities of the Palæolithic men of Britain, several anthropologists have suggested that they were closely related to the Eskimo, and that, as the ice of the Glacial Period or periods melted, they followed the receding fringe of it to the North, in quest of the Arctic animals that accompanied it. If such was the case, could not others, to whom an Arctic climate was not a vital necessity, have remained in Britain, and thus established a link of connection between Palæolithic and Neolithic Man? The investigation of the Hoxne Palæolithic remains by Sir John Evans and others, seems to lead to the conclusion that they are Post-Glacial in character, and so far tends to support the theory of continuity.

The next great phase of civilisation is the "Neolithic," or that of the polished Stone Age. Between this and the former there must have been, in some parts of the world, a transition period, and this has been called by Mr. J. Allen Brown,¹ the "Mesolithic," characterised by flints of a better form than those of the Palæolithic period. Much, however, remains to be done in tracing the continuity of the Stone Age, on the Continent as well as in Britain. The chief facts, as at present known regarding early man in Britain, afford *prima facie* evidence of a contrast in point of culture between the Palæolithic and the Neolithic periods,² and this has not unnaturally been interpreted as indicating a difference of race.

Breconshire, so far as the writer can discover, has yielded no skull which can be assigned to the Neolithic Period, vast as that must have been in Britain. The skulls of this epoch, mostly found in the Long Barrows, are, like those of Palæolithic Man, remarkably oval and dolichocephalic, the dolichocephalism, however, being more extreme in the case of the older type. Both

¹ *Journal of the Anthropological Institute* for 1893, p. 92.

² Keane, *Ethnology*, pp. 110, 111.

types have a lower average cephalic index than any men in modern Europe, except the Corsicans, and the stature of both types was below that of any variety now living in Britain.¹ This resemblance of type between Palæolithic and Neolithic Man, in spite of the contrasts in culture, warns us not to assume too hastily a complete difference of race. The spread of culture, even in prehistoric times, was by no means necessarily coincident with the racial extension. It is a remarkable fact that the long-headed or dolichocephalic type of head is characteristic of Northern, Western, and Southern Europe, as well as North Africa; but with this important difference, that in the North it is combined with blonde characteristics, whereas in the other areas the complexion is, in varying degrees, brunette. The prevalent type of head found in Central Europe and its outlying districts, is, on the other hand, the brachycephalic or broad-headed, and this type has now spread into many parts of France, and even as far west as Brittany.² There are sufficient indications that Neolithic Man of the polished Stone Age inhabited Breconshire, and he, too, doubtless conformed to the general dolichocephalic type of Britain. In British Neolithic graves this type of skull is generally combined with short stature. Within the large dolichocephalic area above mentioned, where a dark complexion prevails, modern research seems to establish the existence of well-marked sub-groups. For instance, in the neighbourhood of Périgueux, in France, the ancient Cro-Magnon type of skull, with its marked dolichocephalism, but with an unusually broad face, survives conspicuously in the present population; and, as Ripley points out, this type was at one time much more widely distributed over Europe than it is now. Again, in the case of the Berbers of North Africa, the

¹ Ripley, *The Races of Europe*, p. 306.

² Ripley, *The Races of Europe*; Deniker, *The Races of Man*; Sergi, *The Mediterranean Race*; Keane, *Ethnology*, and Mun, *Past and Present*, contain valuable discussions on these points.

dark dolichocephalic type in question is tall, whereas in Southern Europe and in the greater part of Britain it is short. Doubtless further researches and discoveries will bring to light other varieties, especially when the exact *shape* of the skull, as well as its dolichocephalism or brachycephalism, is minutely considered on lines such as the distinguished Italian anthropologist, Sergi, has already laid down.¹ That great care is needed in these researches is clear from the fact that, within the limits of Great Britain itself, there are striking differences in stature in different districts, even among the men of dark complexion, combined with oval skull. For example: while the dark type in South Wales is usually short of stature, in Argyleshire and Inverness it is tall.² Consequently, Ripley goes so far as to say that "to class these Scotchmen in the same Iberian or Neolithic substratum with the Welsh and Irish is manifestly impossible." It is on points such as these that much light may be expected from the investigations of the Ethnological Survey Committee of the British Association. Gradually, we may hope to see the various types of the dark dolichocephalic peoples of the South and West of Europe, and of North Africa, carefully distinguished. Until this is done, it is unsafe to indulge in a hypothetical account of the progress of this prehistoric type from the shores of the Mediterranean to the British Isles. As there are, undoubtedly, many points of resemblance between the native races of North Africa and the men of the Northern Coast of the Mediterranean (not to speak of other European types), some anthropologists—as, for instance, Keane—have held that the leading European varieties (or, at any rate, the dark long-headed type), crossed from Africa into Europe at the remote period when both these Continents were joined by land bridges; but, since then, tens of thousands of years have elapsed, and he would be a

¹ Sergi, *The Mediterranean Race*, e.g., p. 121.

² Ripley, *Races of Europe*, pp. 328, 329.

bold man who would venture to speculate what the exact physical types, or the languages, or the customs, of these ancient travellers were.

As the ethnology of a county like Breconshire is an epitome of the ethnology of the British Isles, it might be well to pause a moment to consider (supposing it could be satisfactorily proved that the men of the polished Stone Age in Breconshire were racially related to the men of the Mediterranean seaboard), through what process they would arrive, first in Britain, then in Breconshire. Sometimes we are apt to picture the races of early man as travelling in caravan-like pilgrimages across Continents. The actual method of their extension must have been very different. It would be the overflow of the race that would spread further and further away from each district, and, in occupying a new territory, it would doubtless combine very largely with the previous inhabitants. It is in the highest degree unlikely that, in the Dordogne district of France, for instance, no descendants of Palæolithic Man survived, so that these would affect any race that passed into and through their district. Hence, the overflow that would ultimately pass over into Britain would be a very different combination, racially, from that which first arrived in Europe from North Africa; and even the British type, if Palæolithic Man in South Britain survived, would probably have undergone some modification before it arrived in Breconshire.

In view of the complexity of the ethnological problem when carefully considered, it would be rash to speculate as to the affinities of the language of these early settlers of Brecon. The speech which we call Celtic (including the two main branches of Goidelic and Brythonic), belongs to the Aryan or Indo-European family, and was introduced by later invaders from the Continent. Both Irish and Welsh, however, exhibit certain features which distinguish them somewhat conspicuously from such a language, for instance, as

Sanskrit, perhaps the most characteristic representative of the Indo-European family.¹ One of these features is the loss of the original Indo-European 'p'; existing 'p' in Welsh being the phonetic derivative of an original 'qu.' As this peculiarity of Celtic is found in both Welsh and Irish, and, moreover, existed in some of the dialects of Gaul, we may naturally infer that the Celts, who afterwards colonised Britain and Ireland, had such a peculiarity before any of them left the continent of Europe, and the same may be said of other peculiarities which Welsh and Irish have in common. Such a curious linguistic change as the loss of Indo-European 'p' in Celtic cannot but create a strong suspicion that the race which first introduced this tongue into Britain had learnt to speak it, more or less imperfectly, from some race that spoke an Indo-European tongue with which the Celts had come in contact. All linguistic evidence points to the fact that the form of Indo-European which the Celts acquired had a close affinity with the Italic group of languages. After the Indo-European language in question had been modified by the linguistic habits of the Celts on the Continent, it is not improbable that the resultant language was still further modified in Britain itself, through the influence of the language or languages of the Neolithic pre-Celtic tribes, whom the incoming Celts conquered; and this process would probably be carried a stage further still in Ireland. As to the characteristics of the pre-Celtic speech of Gaul, as well as that of Britain, as reflected in the peculiar features of Celtic generally, it is not easy to speculate, until the languages of the Celtic and the Italic groups have been most minutely compared. Further, it should be borne in mind that the differences between the languages of the Italic group and *Greek* (not to speak of *Sanskrit*), are such that even the former may not be unmodified by the linguistic habits of non-Aryan tongues. *Greek*, again, as compared with *Sanskrit*,

¹ Especially in its inflexional system and its power of forming compounds.

raises problems of a similar kind. It is unfortunate, for us, that Etruscan, apparently a non-Aryan tongue, presents no sure affinities with Basque, the only surviving non-Aryan tongue of Southern Europe. If these two languages are related, the task of discovering the pre-Aryan tongue of Western Europe will be much easier. It may well be that, in the vocabulary of Irish and Welsh, many words belonging to the pre-Celtic language or languages of the Continent and of Britain still survive, but it is not easy to say with certainty which they are. Probably, too, some of these ancient words still remain in several of the mountain and river names of Britain and of the Continent.

If we are thus at a loss to discover the ancient tongue of Breconshire in Neolithic times, it is not so difficult to form some estimate of the civilisation of that long period. Remains of it, substantially the same in character, occur widely distributed in Britain, over the West of France (especially in Brittany), in the Iberian peninsula, in Mauretania, in Tunis, and in Syria, and, sporadically, in the Mediterranean region generally. The larger remains consist mainly of blocks of stone, sometimes single, sometimes grouped, as in cromlechs, stone circles, and alignments. A continuous series of such stone monuments has been traced in the West of Europe from Spain to Brittany; and, over sea, this series seems to connect on the one hand with a similar series in North Africa, on the other with the stone monuments of Britain. The age of these various stone monuments is a question of great obscurity, and a Committee of the British Association has been formed to inquire into the subject. As there are in Breconshire several stone monuments of the kind, probably going back to Neolithic times, it may not be uninteresting to mention a theory with regard to similar structures elsewhere, put forward by one of the most distinguished of modern archæologists, Mr. A. J. Evans, in his book on *The Mycænæan Tree and Pillar Cult*. He suggests that the pillar of the Mycænæan worship had as its prototype a monolith, in other words a

“maen hir,” like those found in Wales. With the pillar was associated a tree, which Mr. Evans thinks was, like the pillar, regarded as the abode of a spirit. The collocation of tree and stone, he remarks, is still frequent in India. Similarly he traces certain groupings of stones to polyolithic prototypes, not unlike the *cromlechs* of Wales. In reading this suggestive work, an idea occurred to the writer, that possibly the ancient Neolithic religion of Britain had also two symbols in conjunction,—the “maen hir” or the “cromlech,” and the sacred tree, the latter being probably the oak, known in other ways to have been regarded with veneration in the ancient religion of the Celts. It may also be mentioned here that Mr. A. J. Evans calls attention to the noticeable connection of birds with some of the early religions of the Mediterranean area. As an explanation, he suggests that a spiritual being was supposed to descend on the sacred tree in the form of a bird. Might it be that the proverbial “Adar Rhiannon” are a dim and distant echo of some such idea in the early religion of our forefathers?

In modern archæology, the extension of a form of culture is treated independently of the spread of a race or of a language. Sometimes, two or more of these movements coincide, but at other times they do not. In the case of Neolithic Man in Britain, who lived a pastoral and agricultural life, as contrasted with that of the hunter who preceded him, the domestic ox, the sheep, and the pig, seem to have been introduced from the Continent. In his recent work on the physical features of Britain, Mr. Mackinder remarks that some of the wild animals of Britain owed their origin to domestic varieties that had wandered from control; for example, the wild boar, the St. Kilda sheep, and the wild cattle of Chillingham. In a recent number of the *Archæologia Cambrensis*, Professor Boyd Dawkins has pointed out the continuity of Welsh farming from Neolithic times: the older race apparently largely assimilating those of the later Celtic invaders.

Before leaving pre-Celtic man in Breconshire and discussing the traces of those invaders who introduced forms of Celtic speech into the district, we may inquire further as to the distribution of those ancient stone monuments in the county, which have a *prima facie* claim to be regarded as going back to the Neolithic period; though, in the absence of a complete and searching archæological survey, there remains considerable uncertainty with regard to several of them, especially those called in the Ordnance Survey "Standing stones." The same difficulty arises also in the case of the various "carnau;" until they have been carefully examined, as was done with the "carn" at Ystradfellte, it is not possible to estimate their antiquity. Colonel Morgan has kindly informed me that there are several ancient remains in the county which are not marked on the Ordnance Survey Maps, and it is hoped that in any future archæological survey the sites of these will be carefully indicated.

Doubtless, in remote times, the Neolithic inhabitants occupied most of the habitable land outside the impenetrable forests and marshes; and, as much of the lower ground in earlier times was so rendered uninhabitable, until men with metallic implements could clear it, we may reasonably expect to find traces of the earlier inhabitants, who were mainly herdsmen, on higher ground than the bulk of the present population. In very remote times, too, the courses of the streams must have been somewhat higher than they are at present, especially where the streams are rapid and the soil or rock easily worn by water. Nor would it be strange if the Neolithic men buried their illustrious dead on conspicuous spots, at a level considerably higher than those of their own dwellings. This tendency would continue into later times, so that this is probably the reason why so many "carnau" are found on mountains.

Among the districts of Breconshire where there are probable Neolithic remains, it seems possible to dis-

tinguish three main zones ; (a) that of the Wye Valley to the north and south of Builth ; (b) that of the Usk Valley and its adjacent parts ; (c) that of the Beacon range.

The district of Buallt (Builth), also known as Buellt, and in the *Liber Landavensis* as Buell, was in ancient times a principality by itself. In the ninth century A.D., the districts of Gwrthryinion and Buellt formed a separate kingdom, the rulers of which traced their descent to Pasgen, son of Urien.¹ "Gwrthryinion," says Mr. Phillimore, "with Maelienydd and Elfael was once regarded as part of Powys, the traditional boundary being Rhyd Helyg ar Wy, between Glasbury and Hay." In both Radnorshire and Herefordshire finds of stone implements are few, but a flint arrowhead has been found at Rhayader, and a polished stone hammer at Abbey Cwm Hir. Unfortunately, we have no means of knowing whether these go back to a period before the introduction of bronze. The Neolithic traces on the Breconshire side of the Wye may perhaps be represented by the two "carnau" on the mountain now called "Carn Gafall" (the "Carn Cabal" of Nennius), and also by the "carnau," and the monument called "Saith maen," on "Y Gamrhiw" and "Y Drum ddu." Within this zone the apparently pre-Celtic names which call for notice are Chwefri, the name of a brook, Cymrun in Nant Cymrun, and Ganolwyn in Blaen Ganolwyn (with which compare Aber Gynolwyn in Merionethshire). Further south, and probably to be included within the same zone, there seem to be similar traces in a number of scattered cairns, extending almost in a straight line from west to east, from Nant Ystalwyn to Pant maen llwyd, and southwards to Penyceulan. Near Llanafan Fawr there are two "standing stones," and one near the church of Llanfihangel Bryn Pabuan, while there is also a stone called Maen Cam north-west of Cefn Bran. The

¹ See note by Mr. Egerton Phillimore in *Owen's Pembrokehire*, p. 224.

most natural continuation of this zone seems to be in the direction of Llanwrtyd, while there is possibly a minor zone connected with it on the Eppynt range, about the upper waters of the Yscir Fechan.

The next zone of importance is that of the Usk Valley. Here some of the megalithic monuments which have a *primâ facie* claim to indicate the pre-Celtic character of the district are situated on comparatively low ground; and this raises one or two difficulties. Firstly: Was there any desire shown, when a "maen hir" or a "cromlech" was erected, for a clear and conspicuous spot? If so, then secondly: When and how was the clearing effected? And thirdly: Were any "meini hirion" and "cromlechau" set up after the introduction of metals in imitation of those of the Stone Period? These are questions which await further investigation. Returning now to the Usk Valley zone, and advancing along the Valley from the Monmouthshire boundary, we find in succession the following megalithic monuments: (1) the Maen Hir of Cwrt y Gollen; (2) the Glan Usk cromlech; (3) a Maen Hir, near Llangynidr Bridge; (4) a Maen Hir, near Tretower; (5) a Maen Hir, near Gileston; (6) the Ty Illtyd cromlech; (7) a Maen Hir, near the latter; (8) a Maen Hir, near Cradoc station; (9) a Maen Hir, a little south of Battle; (10) after a considerable interval, a "Stone Circle" on Mynydd Tre-castell. Assuming that some of these, at any rate, belong to pre-Celtic times, they suggest the existence of a flourishing community contemporaneous with them in the fertile Usk Valley. Moreover, there are several river-names in the district, which elude derivation on sound phonological principles from any known Indo-European roots. This is not an isolated phenomenon confined to this county, as there are many such river-names in Wales; and the same, or a remarkably similar name, is sometimes found in places a considerable distance apart. It is noticeable, too, that many of these presumably pre-Celtic names fall into types

according to the suffix with which they end. Many, for example, end in '-wy,' which, by the way, nowhere occurs in Welsh as a separate word, meaning "water," as some have supposed. This suffix in Old Welsh, as also in Cornish and Breton, appeared in some Brythonic dialects as -ou (ow); for example, we have Cnovium by the side of Conwy, the name Monnow by the side of Mynwy, just as we have the Cornish form 'caradow,' equivalent to the Welsh 'caradwy.' Then, again, many of these river-names end in -i, a suffix quite distinct from -wy, but like -wy widely distributed over Wales. Another suffix of the kind is -ach (though in some cases this might be Goidelic), and we have also such suffixes as -e (= eu = ou), -on, -an. It is the existence of these various suffix-forms that confirms the suspicion that these words, if we only had the key to them, are not meaningless. In the Usk Valley zone there are some names belonging to the classes in question, as well as others, which baffle sound derivation from Indo-European roots. For example, there is the name of the Usk itself, which in modern Welsh bears the form Wysg. In the *Liber Landavensis* the Welsh forms of the name are Uisc, Huisc, Usc, and Husc. It is difficult to decide whether the 'h' was pronounced or not, as it was not unusual, in the spelling of Old Welsh, to write 'h'—as the Latin writers of the period sometimes did—where no 'h' was pronounced. On the other hand, initial 'h' has sometimes been lost in Welsh, as in elw, *gain*, for an older helw (= O. Ir. selb). It may be that the name Wysg is equivalent to the Irish uisge, *water*, and that it indicates the ancient Goidelic character of the district. It should be noted, however, that the classical forms of the name are Ἰσκα in Greek and Isca in Latin, identical with the name of the Exe, known as "Isca Dumnoniorum." In the form Isca the name also occurred (according to Holder, in his *Altceltische Sprachschatz*, s.v.) on the Continent as that of a stream above Löwen, and as the ancient name of the Isch in Saargau. Hence it is not impossible, after

all, that the name Usk is a very ancient pre-Celtic river-name. The following, too, appear to be pre-Celtic: the Bidan (of the -an suffix type), the Onneu (of the -eu suffix class), the Gwdi, the Honddu (in the *Liber Landavensis*, Hodni), the Senni, the Cilieni (all of the -i suffix class), the Yscir, and the Sgio. With this zone is probably associated that in the neighbourhood of Talgarth, where we have the Croeslechau cromlech. Within this sub-zone in the parish of Llanelieu, according to an article on Breconshire in Owen Jones' *Cymru*, there was discovered a flint spear-head, 7 ins. long, and also an earthen vessel. Unfortunately, here again we may have a case of the use of stone weapons by the side of bronze, or even iron: a state of things suggested by the discovery of the pottery.

The third zone of probable Neolithic remains is that of the Beacon range, the mountainous district which forms the southern hinterland to the Usk Valley. Probably this ought to be regarded as a portion of a wider zone, extending through the hill country from the Usk to the Llychwr. From the point of view of Welsh folk-lore, this is a very interesting district, and it has supplied Principal Rhys with some of his most remarkable fairy-tales, notably those referring to the fairy aversion to iron. This district is also interesting as being involved in the topography of the "Twrch Trwyth" narrative in the story of Kulhwch and Olwen. Within this zone some flint implements have been discovered, but under conditions which appear to indicate that the Bronze Age civilisation had been introduced into the vicinity. At Ystradfellte, a cairn was investigated in 1898 by Mr. T. Crosbee Cantrill, and described in the *Archæologia Cambrensis* for that year. In this cairn there were discovered about fifty implements, flakes and fragments of flint; twenty-one sherds of pottery; some fragments of calcined bones, and some fragments of wood-charcoal. Among the implements is a beautifully-worked flint knife, which

seems to have undergone the action of fire. The pottery is of clay, with a small percentage of sand. Mr. Cantrill expresses the opinion that the remains with the weapons appear to have been first cremated and then buried, and the cairn afterwards constructed over them. Through the kindness of Mr. John Ward, F.S.A., the writer had the pleasure of examining the knife and some of the other fragments in the Cardiff Museum. The delicacy of the workmanship of the knife seems to indicate that it was made at a time when the workmen had abundant practice in making objects of the kind. It is not improbable that, while we have here an indication of continuity with Neolithic times, some of the practices and arts of the Bronze Age had been already adopted.

This upland district has yielded no specimen of the cromlech proper, but several of stone monuments and cairns, all of which, however, probably do not go back to the period before the introduction of metals. A little to the south of Mynydd Trecastell, we find a maen hir, and in Carmarthenshire, a little to the west of this, another. Further south, near the river Usk, we have a stone circle, and, to the south-east of this and a little east of Llyn y Fan Fawr, there is a "standing stone." Further south again, near the river Tawe, we find another stone circle, called Maen Mawr, and almost direct east of this another standing stone, and still further east the stone called "Maen Llia." In the whole of this district there are numerous "cairns," but the period or periods to which they belong are uncertain.

The place-names in this district which seem to be pre-Celtic are fairly numerous. In addition to some which have been mentioned in connection with the Usk Valley zone, the following may be noted. Farteg (in Mynydd Farteg, in Monmouthshire), Ystruth (in Aberystroth, Mon.), the river Tillery or Teleri (Mon.), the Ebbw (for Ebbwy), Sirhowy, Rymi (now Rhymney), Tysswg, Tarthwyni, Collwng, Pen Milan, Seri, Cnewr,

Crew, Hepste (in the *Liber Landavensis*, Hepstou), Gwranon (west of Hirwaun), Gwrelech (a little west of the Gwranon), the Rhigos (in the same district), Nedd, Gelli Duchlithe (possibly Irish), south of Ystradgynlais Colliery, Byfre, a little north-east of Craig y nos, Haffes, north-west of Craig y nos, Llia (possibly Goidelic), Farteg near Ystalyfera, Ystalyfera itself, Bowy in Gelli-fowy, Egel, Clydach (pronounced Cleidach = Cleudach, cf. Cloutac in the *Liber Landavensis*), Bodyst, Padest, Eithrim, and Llychwr. As river-names with similar suffixes occur over the whole of Wales, the whole country, as might have been expected, may be concluded to have spoken the same language in pre-Celtic times.

In Breconshire, as elsewhere, the use of bronze implements was introduced, though the recorded finds are few. The most interesting are probably those found near the town of Brecon in 1882, and described in the *Archæologia Cambrensis* for 1884. These consist of a knife, knife-dagger, two ferrules, and two celts or palstaves. The knife is said to bear a close resemblance to the hafted knives found in Italy, and in the lake deposits of Switzerland.

Bronze implements are generally thought to have been first brought into Britain by the round-headed race of the round-barrows, whose skulls are of a type very rarely found in the present population. This type of skull, as Ripley, Deniker, and other anthropologists have shown, is very common in Central Europe, and especially in the Alpine regions. In the men of the round-barrows of Britain it is combined with greater stature than that of the men of the polished Stone Age. It is not impossible, however, that bronze implements were introduced into some parts of Britain by traders from the Continent, even before men of Celtic speech obtained a footing here by conquest. Indeed, it is highly probable that the conquerors were attracted to the island owing to reports which merchants brought to them. The settlement in the island by Celtic-

speaking tribes from the Continent was probably the result of deliberate colonisation, caused by the pressure of the population at home. Tribes well-armed with bronze weapons, and in close touch with the Continent, would scarcely find it difficult to maintain their superiority over men armed mainly with stone. It may also be that the men of the Stone Age were the more willing to submit to the dominion of their conquerors, owing to the advantage which they gained from the improved supply of bronze implements for agricultural and similar purposes. In the districts nearest to the Continent, the brachycephalic conquering tribes may have been numerous enough to intermarry among themselves, but in the remoter parts of the country, the adventurers who sought new settlements probably formed matrimonial alliances, of greater or less duration, with women of the older population. The result would be a population of mixed race, that had learnt, with more or less accuracy, the tongue of the conquerors; which necessity, and not improbably inclination, served to disseminate. The newcomers would, doubtless, establish themselves securely in the more fertile districts, such as the alluvial lands of the river-valleys, and at all strategic points. In Breconshire, the conquering race doubtless obtained a firm footing in the Valley of the Usk and its neighbouring districts, as well as in the Breconshire portions of the Valley of the Wye. There may well have been a long time before they completely conquered the pre-Celtic population of the hills, and the old language may have lingered there for a very long period.

The question has been warmly discussed as to the language of the first Celtic invaders. It is held by some that the first Celtic-speaking tribes that settled in the island of Britain spoke the Goidelic form of Celtic, of which Irish is the chief representative; others hold that the Goidelic form of Celtic was not carried from the Continent into Britain at all, and that the first Celtic language to be brought into Great

Britain was the dialect of Celtic known as Brythonic, of which Welsh and Breton are the living representatives. Principal Rhys, in *The Welsh People* and in other writings, advocates the view that the first Celtic invaders were Goidelic-speaking, and an offshoot of what he terms the "Celtican" type of Continental Celt. The Brython is regarded by him as having arrived much later, and as belonging to another Continental type, the "Galatic." Principal Rhys considers these Goidels to have spread throughout Wales, and ultimately to have sent out colonies from the nearer parts of Britain to Ireland. Professor Kuno Meyer, on the other hand, in an able and valuable article in the *Cymmrodor*, expresses a doubt whether the Celts who first invaded Ireland went thither through Britain at all. Without entering here into a discussion of this subject, the present writer, after a careful consideration of the various factors of the problem, finds it difficult to believe that Ireland would be first colonised by Celts direct from the Continent, whence it is not visible, rather than by Celts from Britain, whence it is. If the first Celts were Goidelic-speaking, then, before waves of them passed from South Wales to Ireland, there is every reason for thinking that they occupied, among other places, the Valleys of the Usk and Wye. In which century B.C. they gained possession of these lands it would be difficult to say.

The Welsh language is, however, Brythonic, and the question naturally arises, who of the early settlers of Brecon made this the speech of the district. Welsh differs from Irish, not only in certain points of phonology, but also in the relative prominence in its development of certain factors of linguistic change. Old and Middle Irish are distinguished by the marked way in which linguistic change has operated almost entirely through purely phonetic processes. Changes due to psychological, as distinguished from physiological, causes, are relatively unimportant. Welsh, on the other hand, even in the oldest forms in which we know

it, has undergone far more changes due to mental causes, in the break-up of the old declensions and of the conjugations of the verb, in the operation of true and false analogies, and in the formation of new linguistic groups generally. In syntax, as in accidence, there are many points of similarity between the two languages; but Welsh shows a noticeable tendency to recast its sentences on lines similar to those which modern analytical languages generally follow. These general characteristics are shared also by Breton and Cornish, so that their main features were established before the Bretons crossed over into Brittany. For example, before stem-endings could be employed as plural endings, irrespective of the original declension of a given noun, the original plural-endings themselves must have been lost. Yet, in spite of these differences between Irish and Welsh, an analysis of the Celtic roots which the Goidelic and the Brythonic branches have in common will reveal a much greater closeness in vocabulary between Irish and Welsh than between Irish and Breton or Cornish. It is not improbable that Brythonic was first introduced into Wales at a time when the differences between it and Goidelic were obviously dialectal only, and that many Goidelic terms (notably some compound words) were, by the slight necessary changes then required, turned into a Brythonic form. This would also happen in place-names, and possibly explains why it is that we have now so few undoubtedly Goidelic place-names in the Principality. In Breconshire, for example, the only clear instance which the writer has been able to discover is the use of "llwch" (lake), in one or two place-names on the Beacon range. It is certainly surprising that the wave of Goidelic Celts should not have left more traces of its presence in the place-names of Wales. Is it not, then, probable, that the Brythonic Celts, when they entered the county along the Wye and Usk Valleys, and settled, at any rate, in the more fertile parts, did so some time before our era? It is not unreasonable to suppose that

the Brythonic tribes were largely aided in their conquests by their iron weapons. Some iron *agricultural* implements may, indeed, have reached the Goidelic tribes before their conquest by Brythons; but it is hardly likely that the Brythons would strengthen their enemies by selling them iron weapons of war. There is, indeed, no record of the discovery of any prehistoric iron weapon in Breconshire,¹ but such finds are notoriously rare, as iron so rapidly rusts away in the earth. Whether the "crannog" on Llangors lake was the work of men who were acquainted with iron, there does not seem enough evidence to say.

In Roman times, the men of the south-eastern portion of Wales were known as the Silures, but their precise boundaries cannot be determined with certainty. As to their appearance, the classical passage is that contained in Tacitus, *Agricola*, c. xi; where he calls attention to the different physical characteristics of the inhabitants of different parts of Britain, and indicates the probability that these differences could be accounted for by a difference in the country of origin of each section. The Caledonians resembled the Germans, the Silures the men of Spain, and the inhabitants of the parts nearest Gaul the men of that country. It should be borne in mind that, in Graeco-Roman times, Spain was thought to be much nearer to western Britain than it really is. It is interesting to note that Tacitus had observed a clear difference in physical appearance between the men of the south-east of England and the Silures: the probable explanation being that, in the case of the latter, the bulk of the population was of the old pre-Celtic race. The oft-quoted words of Tacitus are: "Silurum colorati vultus, torti plerumque crines, et posita contra Hispania Iberos

¹ Nor any "Late-Celtic" object. The nearest discoveries of such objects are those of the gold ornaments of Cerriggwynion, in Radnorshire, on the one hand, and those of Dolancothy on the other. A "Late-Celtic" collar was found in 1896 at Llandyssil, and is now in the Bristol Museum.

veteres traiecisse easque sedes occupasse fidem faciunt." If we turn to the *Annals*, Bk. XII, 31-40, we find that, in their great struggle against the Romans, the Silures were under the leadership of Caratacus (Caradog), whose name was thoroughly Brythonic, and who was evidently himself a Brython. Moreover, the account given by Tacitus clearly implies that Caradog was no alien to the Silures, but was able to address them in a tongue which they understood. In the whole of the account given by Tacitus of the stubborn and courageous resistance of the Silures to the Romans, there is no suggestion that they were linguistically different from the other tribes of Britain; hence we may legitimately conclude that their governing classes, at any rate, were, even at that time, Brythonic in speech.¹ This does not preclude the possibility that, in the hilly country of the Beacon range, for example, and it may be, from there continuously to Gower and Kidwelly, the ancient Goidelic stratum was still dominant, especially as it could then be reinforced from time to time by sea from Ireland. After the departure of the Romans it is not improbable, either, that some of these hill-tribes, with help from Ireland, may have regained possession of the Usk Valley and the neighbouring districts, and that some such movement is indicated in the narrative of Brychan. It will be remembered that the districts of Gower and Kidwelly are expressly mentioned by Nennius as ones in which the sons of Liethan ruled, until they were expelled by Cunedda and his sons.

In discussing the ethnology of Breconshire, the writer has not found it possible, within the limits of this paper, to enter at all fully into the difficult question of the Ogam inscriptions. The discovery of an Ogam inscription so far east as Silchester, in a district which

¹ The ancient name "Abone" near Venta Silurum (Caer Went), seems more Brythonic than Goidelic, the old Irish form being 'abann,' river.

could hardly have been Goidelic,¹ makes one chary of drawing far-reaching ethnological inferences from two or three Ogam inscriptions, found, as they are in Breconshire, in the neighbourhood of an ancient avenue of communication between Ireland and parts of the west of England, such as seems to have run through the Usk Valley. Moreover, as Principal Rhys has pointed out, the Latin forms of the names found on bilingual Ogam inscriptions show clearly that Brythonic was socially the dominant Celtic language, though Goidelic may have existed in a position of inferiority. Nor is it safe to assume that the Ogam script was never used to write Brythonic as well as Goidelic, especially as the use in Ogam of "tt" for "th," and "cc" for "ch," would have been suggested, not by Goidelic, but by Brythonic usage. It seems hardly likely that orthographical ideas would have been borrowed from Brythonic to be used only in Goidelic.² There is no reason for thinking, however, that any of the Breconshire Ogams are written in Brythonic. The "Moqvutreni" (Ogam) and the "Maccutreni" (Roman script) of the Tre Castell inscription are unmistakably Goidelic.³ The Trallwng and GlanusK Ogams seem to be themselves Goidelic, but the Latin inscription in each case, in the form of the proper names, suggests a Brythonic influence. Hence, the precise ethnological inference to be drawn from these inscriptions is uncertain.

A line of enquiry which may lead in course of time to a fuller knowledge of the Celtic invasions of the district, is the careful study of the ancient "British" camps, as compared with similar structures elsewhere. These, when carefully examined, might indicate the

¹ See Principal Rhys in *Report of the Land Commission*, chap. viii. Such examples in Breconshire are Cunoceni, Dunocati.

² The use of "tt" for "th," and "cc" for "ch," is mentioned by Principal Rhys in the *Report of the Land Commission*, chap. viii., and by the Hon. Whitley Stokes in his work on *The Celtic Declension*, in Bezzemberger's *Beiträge*, vol. xi., p. 144.

³ Compare also the Cilgerran Stone.

relations of the early Celtic tribes of the neighbourhood of Builth, Brecon, and Talgarth, and Crickhowell, all of which appear to have been important military centres in ancient time.

Doubtless, considerable light would also be thrown on the ethnology of the district, by a careful comparison of the Welsh dialect of Breconshire with those of the neighbouring counties. Similarly, an anthropological study of the physical types of the county, such as was commenced by Dr. Beddoe in his *Races of Britain*, would no doubt yield important results.

In dealing with a subject such as this, further advance can only be made by following up various clues from different points of view. The clues may often be slight, and from the nature of the subject there is much room for error, but the combined result of these different investigations may lead to an approximately correct *δόξα*, even if we cannot obtain a clear and certain *ἐπιστήμη*. Let us hope that, sooner or later, this kind of work may be done for the whole country by means of a thorough Archæological and Anthropological Survey.

A SURVEY OF THE LORDSHIP OF HAVERFORD IN 1577.

BY HENRY OWEN, D.C.L. Oxon., F.S.A.

THERE is at the Public Record Office (*Land Rev. Misc. Book*, vol. 238) a survey of the "Castle and Lordship of West Haverford with the Town and County of Haverford, otherwise Haverfordwest, late part of the possessions of Jasper, late Duke of Bedford," taken on the 14th May, 1577, by Robert Davy,¹ the deputy of John Herbert, Esq., the Queen's Surveyor for South Wales, together with the renewal of divers rents at the discretion of the said Robert and of Maurice Canon,² gentleman, the deputy of Sir Edward Mansell, the Seneschal of Haverford.

The survey begins with the following memorandum :—

Fo. 20a.—"The said Castell and Towne of Haverfordwest are scituate within the Countie of Pembroke aforesaid adioyning unto a Creeke of Milforde wch floweth into the lande a quarter of a myle above the said Towne and Castell being of such depth as at a spring tyde a Shippe of xl tonne maie come harde to the Towne: And within iiii myles of the said Castell & Towne viz at Knapwood Roade³ a Shippe of greatest burthen maie come: wch said Castell and Towne are xii myles from the mouth of Milforde aforesaid v myles from the Towne of Pembroke and ix myles from the Towne of Tinbye.⁴

¹ Receiver for South Wales in 1595; see *Owen's Pembrokeshire*, I, 566.

² He was the father of Sir Thomas Canon, the antiquary. The family owned Cilgetty, which passed to Picton Castle upon the marriage of Elizabeth Canon with Edward Philipps.

³ Above Langum; it is mentioned by George Owen among the thirteen 'roades' of Milford Haven.

⁴ The surveyor's mileage is vague, as it generally was until the present statute mile was fixed by 35 Eliz., cap. 6, s. 8.

"THE CASTELL.

"The same hath bene a verie proper pyle buylt upon a Rocke and had the Towne in olde tyme on the north side thereof: but the Towne now flourishing is all wellneere on the south side of it.

"Also the Gatehouse or entraunce therinto is on the west side having had in it a Porters Lodge, an utter gate, and ynner gate with li portcullices, all now utterlie decayed (as the rest of the roomes hereafter touched are). Also within the utter gate and over the ynner gate hath bene Theschequier, of xiiii foote square with a prison house under it.

"Also there is on the said north side a Tower¹ sometimes consisting of divers roomes & hath adioyning to it the wall^{xx}es of a Stable wch was iiiivi² foote in length & x in bredth.

"Also from the said Stable forwarde on that side standeth a wall of xx^{ti} yardes longe with a Wach Tower in the myddest thereof, from thence towards the north-east a like wall compass wise of xl yardes longe, wth a Turrett in the myddest thereof.

"Also from the said Gatehouse sowthwarde, a short wall of x yardes in length: from thence towards the sowthwest a wall of C yardes in length with a Turret in the myddest: without this wall a forced banke borne up with another wall & within that circuit a greene walk.

Fo. 20b.—"Also the Castell greene before you come to the mayne building containes half an Aker.

"Also concernyng the late inhabited pte of the Castell being utterlie decayed as before: the gatehouse or entrie therinto hath in either side a Lodge, under that gate is a vawte wch seemes to have bene made for some privy waye into the Towne but none dare search the ende of it: Uppon the east side of the said gate a rounde Tower and from that a thicke wall of xxxiiii foote longe: At the ende of that another rounde Tower under which is a stronge prison house called Brehinock. The Roomes within this mayne bnilding in brief be these. A hall of xlv foote long and xx foote brode with a Chymney in it having under it a lardge roome (with a Chymney) called the Coyning House out of wch goeth a stayer into a walke called The Queenes Arbour, in the east corner whereof is a rounde Turret and at ech ende of the Hall a Tower. Also a Chapple of xxiiii foote longe and xvi foote brode. A great Chamber (with a

¹ This would seem to be the tower which survives in Buck's view of the town.

² Fourscore and six.

chymney) of xxxiiii foote longe, and xiiii foote brode. One other Chamber (with a Chymney) of xx foote longe, and xiii foote brode. A pantrey of xiiii foote square. One other room for offices of xii foote longe & vii foote brode with other small roomes and a Kitchin with iii Chymneys. Also within the circuit of these buildings is an ynner Warde or greene of lxx foote square having a Well in it.

“Ffinally concerning the lymittes and boundes of the said Castell I cannot as yet finde out the certaintie thereof, unlesse I should take it by reporte of Jurie who can doe it but by conjecture, and therefore I deferre the doing thereof till tyme of more leasure to be had and better evidence to be seene: and this the rather for feare to preiudice her mat^{is} Inheritaunce.

“Md. within the said Castell greene or utter Courte the Justices of the great Sessions doe begin the same Sessions whensoever thei be holden for the Countie of Pembroke and all warrantes and writtes beare date there and iudgementes uppon life and death are geven there, all iudgementes are there affirmed, all fynes proclaymed and all adiournements made: Nevertheles the Justices are forced to sett in the Towne Hall in default of a convenient Shire Hall or Court House¹ in ye Castell wch in my poore opinion wolde be made as well for purpose, as for the keeping of the Courtes concerning the Lordshippe.”

Then follows the Customary of the whole lordship.

“THE CUSTUMARYE FOR THE WHOLE LORDSHIPPE OF
HAVERFORDWEST AFORESAID.

“Ffirst the said Lordshippe hath in it iii sortes or kindes of Tenautes, viz. Ffreeholders holding landes aud tentes as hereafter shall appere (some by Knightes Service, Sute of Courte, and Relief with Rente and some without Rente and some others in free Socage with rent and without rente). Gale Tenautes termed in the Recorde Custumarie (or rather Custome) Tenautes in respect of divers services and dueties accustomed to be done and paid by them (as Sute of Courte Heriotts Collectōn of Rentes and such like). And Tenautes by Leases of which divers be of Landes of late yeres holden by Gale Tenantes at Will and these for wante of Survey have their Leases graunted

¹ By the Charter to Haverfordwest of James I, the Justices of Great Sessions and the Sheriff and Justices of the Peace of Pembrokeshire were empowered to hold their courts at the Guildhall of Haverfordwest: persons attending at these courts were exempted from the jurisdiction of the mayor and sheriff of Haverfordwest.

without reservacōn of such dueties and services as are incident to their holdings.

“Also there are ii Leetes yerelie kept at the Castell Gate of Haverforde, the one within a moneth after Ester the other within a moneth after Michaelmas, wherunto all the fireholders holding of the Castell ought to doe Sute: And all thother Tenautes and Resiantes¹ throughout the said Lordshippe in respect of their Reysancie saving the Ffreeholders of Camros, Stainton and St. Ismaell's, who together w'th the Gale Tenautes there owe sute to their private Leetes in those severall mannors only, holden in sorte like as before.

“Also there is holden yerely at the said Castell Gate a Courte baron termed Curia forinseca from xv dayes to xv daies for triall of Accōns betwixt ptie and ptie under xls throughout the whole Lordshippe wherunto all the said Tenautes as well Ffreeholders as others doe sute, for tolleracōn² whereof the Ffreeholders have used to make fyne at the Stewardes pleasure.

“Also before Thordinaunce for Wales there was used to be kept at the said Castell Gate a Courte called Curia For (inseca) from moneth to moneth, wherein fynes were leavied and replevies granted, reall and mixte accōns were tryed, wch courte ever since hath bene discontinued but maie be revived forso-much as the said Ordinaunce hath not inhibited it.

Fo. 21a.—“Also the profites of all these Courtes yet in use consist of Relieves of Ffreeholders, viz. xs. for everie plough lande rising to cs. for a whole knightes fee consisting of x plough lande and so ratable downwarde according to ech mans contentes,³ Ffines for offences and Issues and Amercementes for none apparaunce, all ratable at the Stewardes discrecōn. And also of Heriottes hapning uppon the death of the Gale Tenautes yelding above vii. viii^d Rente, or else not.

“Also the said ffynes and Amercementes have not bene used to be afferde by any Tenautes as in other Courtes: because there are not any Custumarie Tenautes that holde their landes by Copie of Court Roll or by the Rodde, but onlie such as before be mencōned.

“Also the Heriott paiable uppon the death of everie of the said Gale Tenautes is the best Beast and if a Tenaunt hold divers Teñtes he is to paie a Heriott for everie one: This heriott and thother Casualties are to be leavied by a Baylief for that purpose called The floreine Baylief of Rowse (a^ts Ballivus

¹ Residents.

² Redemption; see *Owen's Pembrokeshire*, I, p. 314.

³ Acreage.

itinerans, Baylif errant) or his Deputie, and by him to be accompted for yerelie. And this Baylif or his Deputie is also to serve the said Courtes.

“Also it hath been used that the Stewarde at everie Leete should cause inquirye to be made of all estrepement¹ and wastes of howses and hedges of the Queenes Gale Tenautes, and if any be founded faltie and do not amende the same by such days as the Stewarde lymittes, That then the Reeves in the Mannors where such falte is founde (and the said Baylif in the rest of the Lordshippe), shall distreine Thoffender, according to the value founde of the offence, and the same distresse to keepe by the space of one moneth: And if then it be not repaired, the distresse to be solde and employed uppon the repacōn by oversight of iiii of the Queenes Tenautes next inhabiting; which use is thought convenient to continue, notwithstanding the letting of the Landes by Lease.

“Md. It is also thought convenient that uppon making Leases of thinges yet at Will and upon renewing of Leases alredie made (wherin this is omitted) there be reserved, besides the annual Rentes & newe Allotmentes, Sute of Courte Heriott and all other dueties and services of auncient tyme accustomed.

“Also it is to be noted as touching the Computacōn of the Akers with this Lordship,² that the poll ats the quarter, wherwith thei measure, contayneth in length xi foote: iiii of those quarters in length and one in bredth doe make a yarde termed “virgaf teri.” Tenne of those yarden in length iiii tymes accounted (wch by a quadrant accompt is xl yarden) make a Roode or Slange, iiii of these slanges make an aker: So as everie aker is xl. polles longe and xvi brode. Also viii of these akers make a Bovate or Oxeland and viii bovates make a Carucate ats a plough Lande. So as everie Carucate conteynes lxiiii akers: And for that the common usage of Accompt for lande in this Countrie and likewise in Evidences ronmeth uppon those termes we have in this Survey sett downe the contentes according to the same and not by pticular number of akers.”

The principal free tenants who held of the Queen as of her Castle and Lordship of Westhaverford by knight service, suit of court at the Castle Gate, and relief without payment of rent, are:—

¹ Spoiling.

² For the local land measures, see *Owen's Pembrokeshire*, I, p. 135 and p. 368.

Robert, Earl of Essex ¹ ...	Talbenny Manor ...	three carucates
The same and Henry Longueville ¹	Langum Manor ...	five carucates
Sir John Perrot ...	Haroldston Manor ...	seven carucates
Henry Longueville ...	Manor of De Rupe, <i>als.</i> Roch	five carucates
Lady Newport ² ...	Trefgarn Owen Manor (as jointure)	five carucates
The same ...	West Dudwell ...	two carucates
Francis Laugharne ³ and George Wirriot	East Dunston Manor ...	two carucates
Francis Laugharne ...	Mountain Cot ...	half a carucate
The same ...	West Dunston ...	half a carucate
Morgan Phillips, Esquire ⁴	Uznaston Manor ...	three carucates
John Barlow, Esquire ⁵ ...	Great Pill Manor ...	two carucates and a-half
Thomas Bowen, of Roblinston, gentleman	Roblinston ...	capital messuage and five carucates
The same—Roblinston—Six bovates—late of James Bowen.		
William Warren, ⁶ in ward of the Queen—Wolfsdale Manor and two and a-half carucates		
Griffith White, Esquire ⁷	Rickaston, in Roose ...	two messuages and a carucate and a-half.

Also James Bowen, gentleman, held (*inter alia*) the manor and mountain of Kethingston, otherwise Keiston, and three and a-half carucates of land by the same services; but with the addition of a yearly rent of forty shillings payable at Easter, and of sixpence payable at Michaelmas.

It is noted that the sixpence was the rent formerly paid by the Prior of Pill; the Easter rental was probably added when the property was granted after the dissolution. William Tankard held the capital messuage of Lewelston, and three and a-half carucates by the same services and a yearly rent of sixpence payable at Michaelmas; and Mathias Morse held a carucate and a-half there by the same services and a rent of thirteen shillings and four pence payable at Lady-Day and Michaelmas. Upon this the surveyor notes that Morse's rent is not a "free rente" as shown by a comparison of the areas and rents of the holdings of

¹ See *Old Pembroke Families*, p. 79.

² Margaret, widow of Sir Richard Newport, of High Ercall; she died in 1598.

³ Of St. Bride's, and his brother-in-law, the last Wirriot of Oriulton.

⁴ Of Picton.

⁵ Of Slebech.

⁶ Of Trewern.

⁷ Of Heullan.

other Gale Tenants, and by the Lewelston accounts, which state that it is paid for customary land. "Also this is paiaable at twoe ffeastes, where (whereas) free rentes are commonly paid but once a yeare." He further says that the Lewelston rents are placed under the Castle, "for that the same are said to have been sometime parcell of the demaynes thereof."

There are fifteen other free tenants of the lordship who held closes of land in free socage by fealty and suit of Court without rent. The holdings are at Sturmy'n's Park in Carsfield¹ (held by Thomas Revell, Esquire), by Eylard's Hill Bridge,² Great and Little Lowlard's Mead and West Pelcam. The total rental of the free tenants is 54s. 7d. There were only two leaseholders, who each held by leases under the Great Seal for twenty-one years as of the manor of Lewelston. Alban Stepney³ held at a rental of £5 6s. 8d., premises of which a note says the true names were Anastacleslade, Tyrrellsholme, Churchull, Broadmoore, Langelande, Todhull, le Pinfolde, and Walslande (otherwise Walshlande), "but the same have been so longe occupied together without survey that none of the tenauntes doe knowe how to divide them severallie, but being measured all together the same are founde to containe five carucates and two akers of lande, now commonlie called Austerslade." The rental of Roger Marcroft was sixty shillings, and he held at Agardhill, upon which it is noted, "the premises doe consist of one messuage and twoe carucates of lande, called Greate Eylardes Hill, which hath bene rented as in olde Recorde at Cs. ; which was belike when the countrie was in such great disorder that the tenaunt thereof founde speciall defence by the ayde of the Castell (near which it lyeth) for himself and his goodes."

¹ Cashfield in St. Martin's.

² Elliott's Hill in Camrose.

³ The founder of the family of Stepney of Prendergast; his holding was in and about Slade, in St. Martin's. Roger Marcroft was sheriff of Haverford in 1570.

The seven tenants at will, otherwise Gale Tenants, held messuages at Lewelston and Pelcam by suit of court, heriots and rents, which last amounted together to £4 18s. 4d.

Under the heading of "The Town and County of Haverforde, otherwise Haverfordwest, and the mill of Haverforde," the surveyor reports :—

Fo. 24a.—Md. "The said Towne is scituate as before is remembered and consisteth at this present of three pishes viz One of our Ladie being the Queenes as impropriate to the late Priorie of Haverforde. One other of St. Martine being also the Queenes as impropriate to the late Priorie aforesaid. And the thirde of St. Thomas likewise impropriate and latelie purchased by Sr. John Perrot Knyght. The same is the best buylt the most civill and quickest occupied Towne in South Wales but yet greatlie impayed touchyng Traffique since the subsidie of Tonnage and Pondage have bene paid and other impositiōs sought to be leavied.

"Also it appereth by olde Charters ratified by the Queenes Matie that now is by her highness Letters patentes dated vii^o Decembris Anno regni sui sc̄do that the said Towne is incorporate by the name of the Towne of Haverforde, and made to consist (for government) of a Mayor a Shireff ii baylieffes and burgesses to be yerelie chosen according to certeine Ordinaunces in the said Charter expressed.

"Also it is made a Countie of itself¹ by name of the Countie of the Towne of Haverforde, and exemted from the Lordship of Hav'forde, wherin sometimes it was and that with such precinetes & boundes as then were used as belonging to the same as well by lande as by water: The Castell of Hav'forde with the Diches² and other th'appteñces & rightes therof only excepted.

Fo. 24b.—"Also that the Shireff and the Baylieffes should be sworne before the Chauncellor of the said Lordshippe of Haverfordwest and Rowse (or his deputie) and before the Mayor whose othes in pte are to yelde a faithfull Accompte yerelie of the profites of their Offices.

"Also that the said Mayor shoulde or myght keepe the

¹ By 34 & 35 Hen. VIII., cap. 26, s. 124, it is enacted that Haverfordwest shall be a county in itself, as it hath been before this time used.

² The Castle moats, which seem to have been extensive.

Courtes following as in auncient tyme thei were kept before the Stewarde of the said Lordshippe and Portreve of the said Towne, viz One Courte termed intrinseca as well from moneth to moneth as from xx daies to xv daies. Also one other Courte de xv^a in xv^a called a Hundreth Courte. And one other Courte termed Pipowder Court holden uppon speciall occasion for dispatch of Straungers¹ with expedicōn or for contractes in ffayer tymes.

“Also that the said Mayor shoulde be Coroner within the said Towne and that both for the Office of Mayor and Coroner he should be sworne before the said Chauncellor or his Lieutenant: And that the said Mayor shoulde be Justice of Peace to all intentes within the said Towne.

“Also the said Mayor by point of Charter shalle be clerke of the market within the said Towne: and also that the said Corporacōn have yerelie within the said Towne uppon the Even of St. Thomas the Martir one ffaire² to continue for vii daies following with a Courte of Pipowder, as before, to be holden there during that tyme: So as the said ffaire be not hurtfull to the faires neere hand to it.

“Also that the Baylieffes for the tyme being should uppon their othe before the Auditor or Auditors yelde a resonable Accompte of all and all manner of Issues, fynes, amerceementes, forfaitures & casualties whatsoever hapning within the said Towne. And if thei the said Baylieffes fall to be insufficient the whole Towne to answer for them.

“Ffinally there is in the said Charter a speciall Proviso that the same shall not extende to graunt from the Prince the great Sessions to be holden before his Justices for that purpose within the said Towne and precinct thereof, nor the profites and comodities thereof, but that the same shoulde be duelic answered by the Shireff of that Towne as before is remembered.

“Thus much concerning the said Charter besides divers other

¹ It was their civil business, not the strangers themselves, which was despatched at this court: it gradually fell into disuse. In late times if the mayor could not settle the dispute, he put the suitors back in their original positions: there seems to have been a difficulty about enforcing the orders of the court. The criminal business of fairs and markets was held at the court of the clerk of the market, whose principal duty was to try weights and measures: the standard was originally entrusted to a bishop, who appointed some clerk as his deputy: the judge of the court, afterwards a layman, continued to be called clerk of the market.

² It began on the 7th July; George Owen calls it “a great faire.”

articles touchyng Liberties and usages not concerning the Revenue and therefore not thought needfull to be touched here.

“Ffurthermore I finde by the Recorde of the Ministers Accomptes de Anno xvii^o H. vii (being then the possessions of Henrie Duke of Yorke¹) that all his Revenue well neere within that Towne, saving that within the Chardge of the Butler and Customer of the Porte of Haverforde, were and had bene chardged in iii severall Accomptes. One of the Baylieffes there, who were wonte to accompte for the Rentes of assise of all the Burgesses within the said Towne the profites of Straungers and Chenceries² of stalles and standinges for Butchers and others, the herbage about the Castell with divers other small rentes amounting then together as by the said Recorde pticulerlie appereth to xxiiii li. xviii. s. xii. ob. One other Accompt of a Collector of the profites of Aleprize. And one other Accompt of the Seriantes of the Towne who did accompte for the profites of the Courtes following, viz., Curia intrinseca tenē de quindeñ in quindenam. Curia intrinseca tenta de mense in mensem. Curia Hundredoñ. Curia de pede pulverizañ. Curia admiralitañ de finibus felonū et fugitivoñ. All which Rentes and profites were that yere excused in the said severall Accompts and chardged in the said Bailieffes Accompt.”

The surveyor then sets out two leases for twenty-one years under the great seal to the mayor, sheriff, bailiffs and burgesses of the town of West Haverford; one of the tenements, rents, and dues in the town, late part of the hereditaments of Jasper, Duke of Bedford,³ at a rental of £26 12s. 4½d., and the other of three corn mills in the parish of St. Martin, and the right of fishery there at a rental of £10. Whereon the surveyor remarks:—

“Fo. 25a.—The aforesaid mylles doe stande uppon and overthrowt one of the rivers called Doygleddy, having that name by reason of their force and swiftness by falling from the mountaynes in great aboundance uppon everie rage of raigne; and to prevent the perill that might betide them by sodaine floodes, uppon the myll leete about a flight shorte from the mylles were polittiquely devised a Headware with certaine floodgates.”

¹ Earl of Pembroke, King Henry VIII.

² Tolls.

³ Earl of Pembroke.

He goes on to remark that the floodgates have been of late neglected and the banks decayed,

“by reason that the under farmer hath been used without any assignement to cut flagges and turfes in a meadow of the Queenes adjoyninge.”

He further says :—

Fo. 25b.—“Md. I find also in the former recited Recorde an Account of the Office of Customer & Butler of the Towne of Haverforde aforesaid who did account for prisage of wyne,¹ for Custome of Wynes and other marchandizes then due to the chief Lorde of the soyle: but nowe the said prisage of Wyne is claymed by the Erle of Warwick as chief Butler of England. The Custom of Wynes by the ffarmore of that Custome and impost and in leu of thother Custome the Subsidie of Tonnage and Pondage is leavied by the Customer of Millforde with the members, wch was not leavied when the Butlerage was accounted for but began Anno primo Eliz. Regine.

“Also the Shireff of this Towne is accomptable yerelie for the profites of the great Sessions & quarter Sessions holden there and for all other such like profites there as the Shireff of the Countie of Pembrook accomptes for in the Shire.

“Ffinally the Queenes mati^e hath more Revenue within the said Towne as pcell of the possessions of the late Priorie of Haverforde: the Priorie of the Pill, the Hospitall of St. Jones of Jerusalem,² Rees Griff³ attainted and of Colledges, Chauntries, and such like.”

Then follow particulars of certain of the demesne lands in and by the town, held by Sir John Perrot for terms of twenty-one years at various rentals. Among them are six acres of meadow presented “to lye beneth the bridge and is called Cathlott Marshe;”⁴ marsh

¹ The right of the Crown to take two tuns of wine from certain ships; the duty for which it was commuted by Edward I was called “butlerage.”

² The Knights Hospitallers, who had a Commandery at Slebech; the patron is more usually known as St. John.

³ The grandson and heir of Sir Rhys ap Thomas; he was beheaded on Tower Hill in 1531.

⁴ Cartlet; the Jubilee Gardens occupy part of the old marsh, whither the townspeople used to resort to shoot at the butts.

and herbage by Gwynesdich,¹ the boundaries of which are the lands of John Vaughan of Narberte, Doctors Parke, the Queen's lands called Austerslade and Lowles Meade; the Black Meadow, near Austerslade, "above Bellman's well there;" "thirtie yardes of land called Ffiggeshole, otherwise Ffroghole² and Gostmeade in the Queen's high-way leading to Austerslade;" the Mill Meade from the mill to the "hedweare" between the two rivers, "one parte thereof called Rounde Meade is over the river next the lande belonging to Prendergast;" and "three roodes of lande betwixt the rivers neere little Eylardes Mill and Austerslade." It is noted that the new rents assessed by the surveyor are to begin as to tenants at will from Michaelmas 1579, and as to leaseholders from the expiration of their leases. The total rental of the castle, town, and mill of Haverford is £56 15s. 9½*d.*

The survey of the manor of Camrose follows: there are seven free tenants, and their total rent is 46s. 6*d.* John Wogan of Boulston, Thomas Bowen, gentleman, John Smyth, and John Tankard (in Easter Dudwall), held of the Queen by knight service, relief, and suit of court, the others in free socage. William Warren held to him and his heirs for ever, at a rent of two shillings, the pond and stream to his mill at Wolfsdale, then in ruins. Thomas Bowen, as son and heir of Mark Bowen of Roblinston, held to him and his heirs for ever, by grant to his father, on August 4th, 1545, by William Morrice Gwynne, mayor, and the feoffees of the Chamberlain's lands, a ruined house and nine bovates of land by the cemetery of the church of St. Ambrose³ at Camrose; for this he paid eight pence⁴ and a heriot

¹ An older name was Gundwynes dich, and a later Queen's Ditch.

² This name was common near the town.

³ Camrose Church is dedicated to St. Ismael.

⁴ This rental of eightpence was bought by Sir John Perrot, and included in his benefaction to the town.

of 3s. 4d. to the feoffees, and twenty shillings to the lady of the manor.

There were three tenants for years in Camrose, who all held by letters patent from the Crown for twenty-one years. Of the first, the surveyor notes that there are 59 acres short in the holding, which he attributes to the fact that "when the premises were first demised the particuler was grounded uppon reporte, without either estimate or measure made." Thomas Bowen held, as assignee of Roger Marcroft, five parts of the mill at Camrose (the remaining part was held by the same man as the heir of Walter Wadding); the surveyor found by record that in ancient time the premises were let at a much higher rent, "when belike there were fewe mylles;" he further states "the Tenaunt hath used to doe suite of Court as other Tenauntes, but no ffarmers of mylles doe paie Heriottes." John Tankard and Thomas Bowen held as assignees of Griffith White a carucate or ploughland on Goffermount, *alias* Coveran (now Cuffern) mountain, said to be "but heath gronde neither good for pasture nor corne." As the mountain had been claimed by private persons, the surveyor sets out on behalf of the Crown : (1) A survey in 1549, when the jury presented the King's ploughland at Coffron "knowen by metes and boundes and by them perambulated;" (2) his own survey in 1565, "for better evidence when occasion should happen," in which the metes and bounds are fully set out; he found then that "sondrie lordes" held other parts of the mountain, the principal of them being "Anne Ladie Woogan,"¹ who at that date had granted her interest to Owen Tankard;² (3) "a recorde of accomptes" of the collector of Camrose in 1314; and (4) a survey of 1560.

There were ten gale tenants at Camrose; their total

¹ Widow of Sir John Wogan of Wiston, and daughter and heiress of William ap Philip of Stonehall.

² The Tankards were of Dudwell, in Camrose. Owen Tankard was the son of John, above mentioned.

rents amounted to 119s. 4d. There are some good Pembrokeshire names among them : Cornock, Rennysh, Poyer, Synnet, and Esmond. The place-names include Broughton's Lands, Wethered Ford, Le Parock, and Calfe Hill. It was presented that it was an ancient custom of this manor that the tenants were bound to collect the rents, and that they at the Easter leet gave the names of three gale tenants to the steward, one of whom he chose to be reeve for the year.

In the manor of Stainton¹ with its members Pill and Roch, *alias* le Wood, there were eleven free tenants. Among them were Robert, Earl of Essex and Lady Newport, each of whom held in Lambston ; Morris Walter at Rainbotteshill ;² Francis Laugharne Esquire at Barrettes Hill ; the heirs of Richard Bowen³ of Loghmeiler, and James Bowen, gentleman, at Woodston and Terston ; Thomas ap Owen of Trelom at Terston, Nickell, and Thurnton ; David Bolton⁴ at Bolton's Hill ; and Hugh Butler,⁵ gentleman, an infant and ward of the Queen, the manor of Johnston, and five carucates of land. David Bolton held by a rent of a red rose, others held at no rent, and the rent of the rest was nominal. The rental of the six "tenants by indenture" for twenty-one years amounted to £7 15s. 4d. Among the place-names are Ymeshill⁶ in Stainton, and Egebegesismore, of which last the grant

¹ The manors of Stainton, St. Ishmael's, and Pill were part of the possessions of Pill Priory.

² In Roch, Morris was of a family of the name of Holmes, who settled at Haverford and took the name of Walter ; from him were descended Richard Walter, of Roch Castle, sheriff in 1657, and his more famous sister, Lucy.

³ His daughter and heiress, Katherine, brought Lochmeiler to John Scourfield, of Moat.

⁴ He married the daughter of Mark Bowen, mentioned above ; his family had been at Bolton Hill for some generations.

⁵ Sheriff in 1599 ; Johnston came to the Butlers by marriage with the Tankard heiress.

⁶ Deemshill, called Zeimshulle in a fine of 1319 ; see *Owen's Pembrokeshire*, 1, 173.

was made by Henry, King of England and France, lord of Ireland and Haverford, on the advice of Sir Rhys ap Thomas, supervisor of the lordship of Haverford. There is a grant of a coal mine in Roch, late in the tenure of Owen Prendirgast. The surveyor adds at the foot "this voucher of ye premisses to be parcell of ye manor of Roch and Pill is erroneus, for there is no such manor." The fourteen gale tenants paid £9 14s. 4d.; one of the tenants, Tege Ormonde, looks like an Irishman, the others are Pembroke and Welsh, and the procurator of the parish church of Stainton. The place-names are Copped Bushe, Annable Pull, and le ffourde. The surveyor notes that a court was held at a place called Black Stone.

In the manor of St. Ishmael's there were eleven free tenants, none of whom paid rent. Among them were Sir John Perrot, Lady Newport, John Barlow Esquire, Francis Laugharne Esquire, John Wogan of Boulston, Esquire, Griffith Wyrriot,¹ gentleman, and John Wylly: they held at Bicton, Great and Little Houghton le Hill (in Dale parish), and at Seavers Hill.² There were no leaseholders in this manor. The nineteen gale tenants paid between them £13 18s. 11d.; among their names are David Allen, Philip Cocke, David Leye, Morris Prosser, Robert Jordan, Philip Hyre, and Richard Germyn: they all held in St. Ishmael's. One holding is described as "unum toftum edificatum vocatum Censarie or Vowrie Lande," upon which the surveyor notes—

"this gardine Plott and Tofte (as the reste following) were sometime cottages which served for Chensaries or Vowrye men termed Advocarii in the Recorde (which we commonly call innemates³) and were Artificers often flitting from place to place, the number of which is small nowe to that it was when

¹ Younger brother of George Wirriot, mentioned above.

² There is a Siver in St. Bride's.

³ Inmates were strangers to whom cottages were sub-let: there are many old statutes against harbouring them; they paid a fixed rent for the protection of their landlords.

Pilgrimages stode, which causeth that the same in most places be utterlie decayed. But in this Lordshippe the Tenautes being Tenautes at will were forced to occupie them with their Tenautes and paie th' accustomed Rentes and by reason thei dwell neere the sea and sett fisher men aworke, thei have some such innemates at this daye. Wherefore it is fitt thei shoulde be letten to those that are the presente Tenautes of the principall landes, but no fynes to be rated for the value of such."

The jury present that there was in the manor "a seate where a Myll hath bene with a watercourse thereunto belonging, and that the same Myll hath bene decayed tyme out of mynde." Also the surveyor found by record "that there hath bene a Passage which I learne did decaye by reason it was verie dangerous, being over a parte of Milforde verie brode in that place."

In the manor of Pill, William Tasker held a tenement containing a ploughland called Annabale Pill, under a lease for lives.

"The dwellinge howse¹ beinge fower roomes on a floore and one lofte at the lower ende of the said howse, containing in all 21 coples covered with thatch and one little outstall adjoyneing to the Hall covered with slate."

There were several outbuildings all covered with thatch, and the annual value of the whole is *nil*.

The total rental of the Castle, Lordship, and Town of Haverfordwest is stated to be £111 18s. 7½d.

The outgoinges are: the fee of £63 6s. 8d. yearly for life to Sir Edward Mansell,² as seneschal of the lordships of "Haverforde and Rowse," by grant of Philip and Mary, in 1558, and of £6 13s. 4d. as chancellor and supervisor by the same grant. The surveyor notes, that as the office of chancellor is not in force, this fee can be saved after Sir Edward's death. The fee of Robert Acton, £6 12s. 4d., as constable of the Castle, and 30s. 10d. as jailer; as the Castle is

¹ The old house of the De La Roches on Pill Rhodal; see *Old Pembroke Families*, p. 74.

² Of Margam.

“utterly decayed,” the surveyor thinks that these fees also may be saved after the life of the holder. Also, one Philip Morgan had for life “the office of customer and butler of the porte and creeke of Westhaverforde,” with a yearly fee of 40s., and of bailiff of Haverfordwest and Rowse, “which officer collecteth ye casualties of this Lordshippe” with a yearly fee of 60s. 8d. The surveyor says, “which ffees I do not here reprise for there is no value of any of the said casualties in this survey.”

Then follows a copy of the report of Davy and Canon as to their proceedings, which seem to have been conducted with much fairness. The tenants complain of their poverty by reason of the heriots, suit of court, collection of rents, and the “burthen of servauntes and children.” The surveyors increased the rents by £13 13s. 5d.; they object to the system of taking fines on renewal of leases, and they add “it mai be that some which wolde putt ii or iii of these tenements into one and make dayries maie afforde to give greate ffines; but then shoulde the countrie be desolate of people, and the Queenes comoditie and service otherwise much hindered.”

The document concludes with the regulations for the survey laid down by Lord Burghley,¹ the Treasurer, and Sir Walter Mildmay,² Chancellor.

¹ Lord High Treasurer, 1572-1598.

² Chancellor of the Exchequer, 1566-1589.

THE REMOVAL OF THE CROSS OF ILTYD AT LLANTWIT MAJOR, GLAMORGANSHIRE.

BY G. E. HALLIDAY, ESQ., F.R.I.B.A.

THE faculty for the reparation of the Parish Church at Llantwit Major included the setting-up of the



Fig. 1.—The Iltyd Cross, shored up preparatory to its removal.

pre-Norman stones in the western or old church. With one exception, this was complied with: the exception being the Iltyd Cross-shaft, said by tradition to be *in situ*.

The Rev. Mr. Vaughan, the late Vicar of Llantwit,

who, at the time of the restoration in 1889, was about ninety years of age, expressed a wish that, when he died, he should be buried by the Iltyd stone; and that the stone should not be removed to the church until after his death. This request was complied with; but, as the stone showed some fresh signs of fracture, the present Vicar, the Rev. Henry Morris, thought it

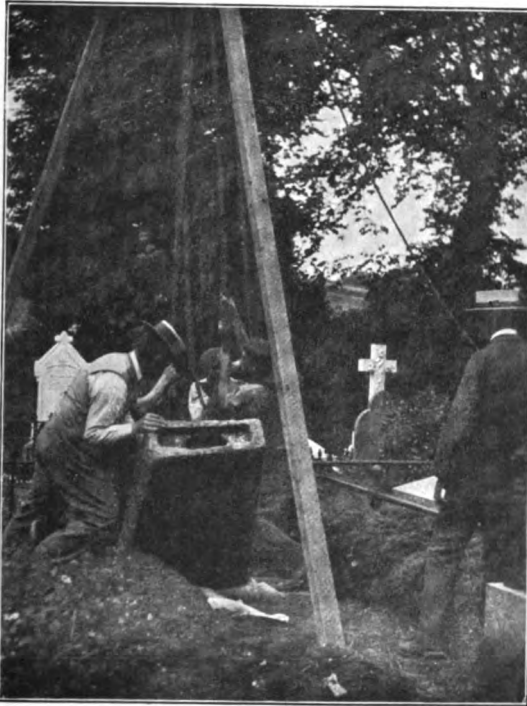


Fig. 2.— The Iltyd Cross, in process of removal.

advisable to accept the kind offer of Dr. Charles T. Vachell, J.P., to set up the stone, under cover, with the other pre-Norman remains (Fig. 4).

The Cross-shaft of Samson, commonly called the Iltyd Stone, measures 6 ft. from the ground-line upwards, and 4 ft. 2 ins. from the ground-line to the extreme base, which tapers from 12 ins. to 7 ins. in thickness (Fig. 5). The worked portion of the stone terminates

in a picker-line, about $\frac{3}{4}$ in. in breadth, a few inches below the ground-line—in fact, just under the turf—for about 1 ft. 6 ins. to 2 ft. below this, there is every indication of the soil having been disturbed; small pieces of crockery and other miscellaneous *débris* were unearthed. Below this, however, the soil showed no indication of having been moved below the picker-line. There are no signs of either tooling or working in any form. It is simply a glacial boulder turned to account:



Fig. 3.—The Iltyd Cross, after being taken out of the ground.

on one side the surface is rubbed quite smooth, and shows very distinct striations.

The accompanying photographs, taken by Mr. Guy Clarke and myself—when compared with the measured sketch—will give a far better idea of the base than any written description (Figs. 3 and 5).

The Cross-shaft stood from 3 ins. to 4 ins. above the limestone rock, which probably accounts for its having kept its upright position for so many centuries; but a further proof of the stone being *in situ* was: first, the

finding of bones immediately under the cross ; secondly, the discovery of a rough stone cist, containing an undisturbed skeleton, placed within a few inches of, and exactly in the centre of, the east side of the cross-shaft (Fig. 6) ; from which it is conclusively proved that both cist and cross were put in at the same time. Had the cross been fixed after the cist, the cist would have been disturbed : which it was not. Had this been erected prior to the making of the cist, the cross,



Fig. 4.—Interior of the Old Western Church at Llantwit Major, where the Iltid Cross now stands.

owing to its great weight, would have inclined forward. The floor of the cist was about 3 ins. above the exterior bottom of the cross-base.

The following notes and sketch-plan, made by Mr. John Ward, F.S.A., of the Museum, Cardiff, will explain the position and condition of the human remains found immediately around the cross.

“The whole trunk and skull of one of the skeletons, A, was exposed on the south side of the excavation. It lay on its back with the head to the west, the upper parts of the legs only appearing in sight. The head was slightly inclined to the right,

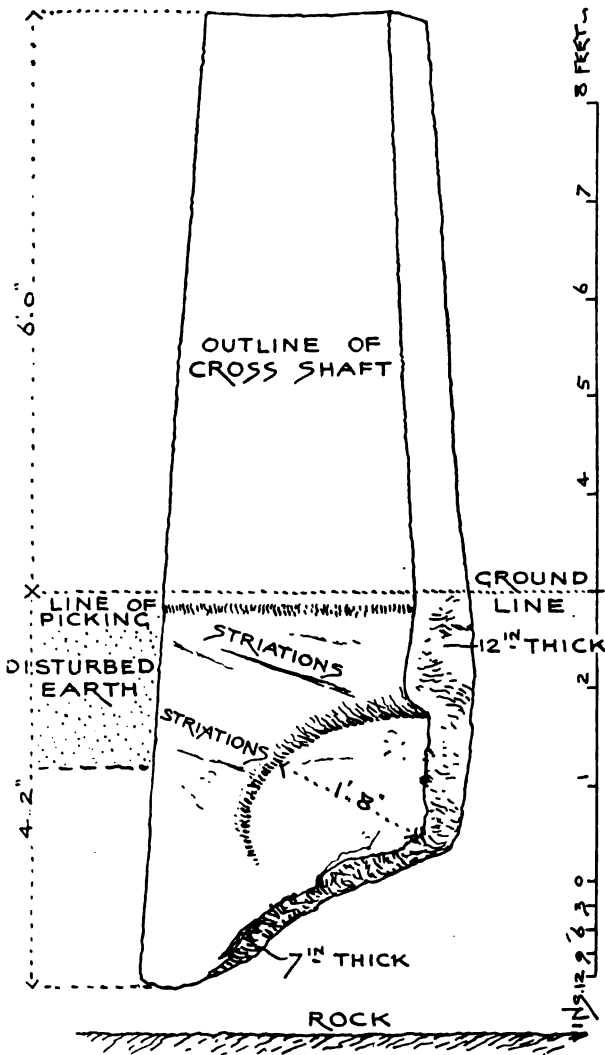


Fig. 5.—Section showing Iltyd Cross before removal.

and the arms were so folded that the hands must have rested on the trunk. There were no signs of a coffin of any sort (Fig. 6).

“The other skeleton, B, was at a slightly higher level, and it lay further to the east, the head only appearing in the excavation.

This body had been placed in a rude cist, stones having been placed close around it, and then roofed in by larger stones. The skull, as I saw it, was unprotected above; but it was probably

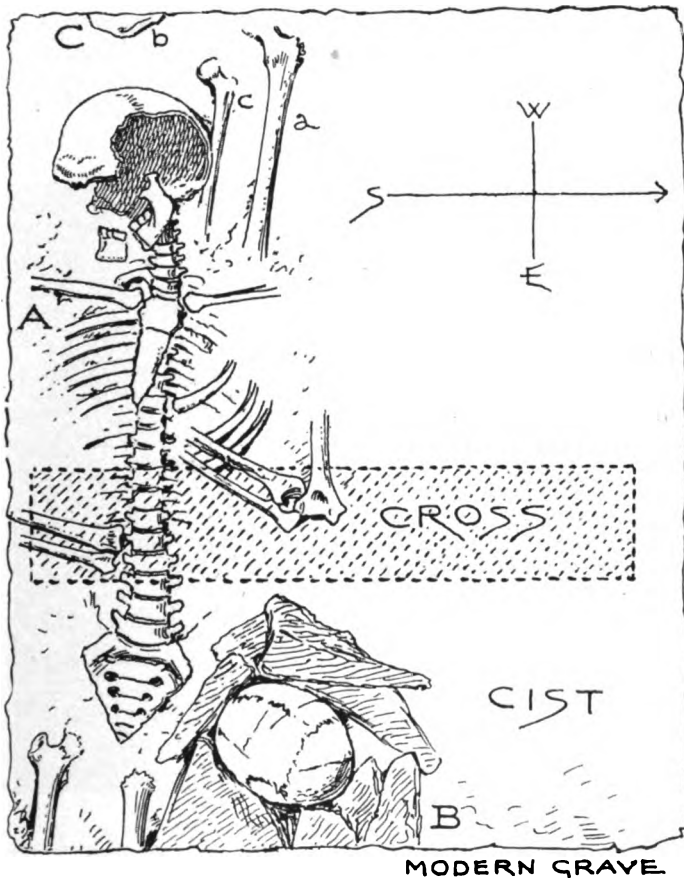


Fig. 6.—Plan, showing Human Remains discovered beneath the Iltyd Cross.

covered with a stone when found. The upper part was visible, and it was somewhat turned to the left.¹

“ Besides these, the thigh and pelvic bones of another skeleton

¹ Mr. Ward had no opportunity of noting the exact position of this skeleton with reference to the Cross, as the shaft had then been removed, and the excavation widened.—G. E. H.

(c) were brought to light at the west end of the excavation, and they were at a somewhat lower level; and, in fact, may be said to have passed under A.

"All the bones were in a condition more resembling those of prehistoric than of ordinary churchyard burials. They were excessively brittle, through loss of the gelatinous matters, and were much fractured without displacement, a bone appearing to be sound until the attempt was made to move it. There is little doubt, therefore, that these interments were very ancient.

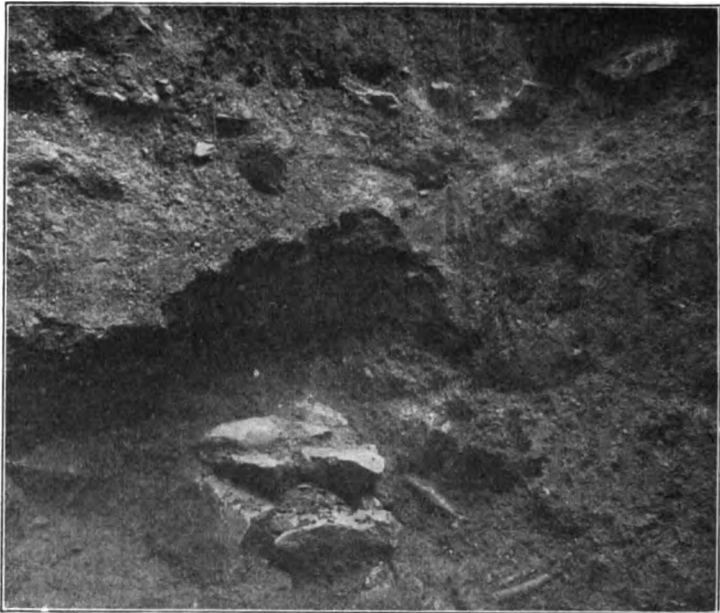


Fig. 7.—View of Cist beneath the Iltyd Cross.

I may add that they rested upon the undisturbed natural soil."

"*Skeleton A.*—I was unable to get out a femur or any other long bone for measuring purposes; but it was obvious that this skeleton related to a tallish person, of somewhat strong build. The vertebræ column and the right femur had been pushed inwards—perhaps on the occasion of the burial of B (Fig. 6). The pelvic bones were much decayed and broken; but the short distance of the undisturbed femur from the sacrum, together with the bold, supraciliary ridges, seemed to me to indicate a

man. The sutures of the skull showed no signs of having welded—at least on the outer table. They were moderately intricate; and, in picking up the fragments, there was not the slightest coherence along their lines (Fig. 8). Further, the inner side of the skull exhibited, to some extent, the satiny glossiness which one associates with youth, rather than old age. The teeth, for an ancient skeleton, were little worn; but the wisdom teeth exhibited about the same amount of wear. There was no sign of decayed teeth. All these conditions led me to regard the

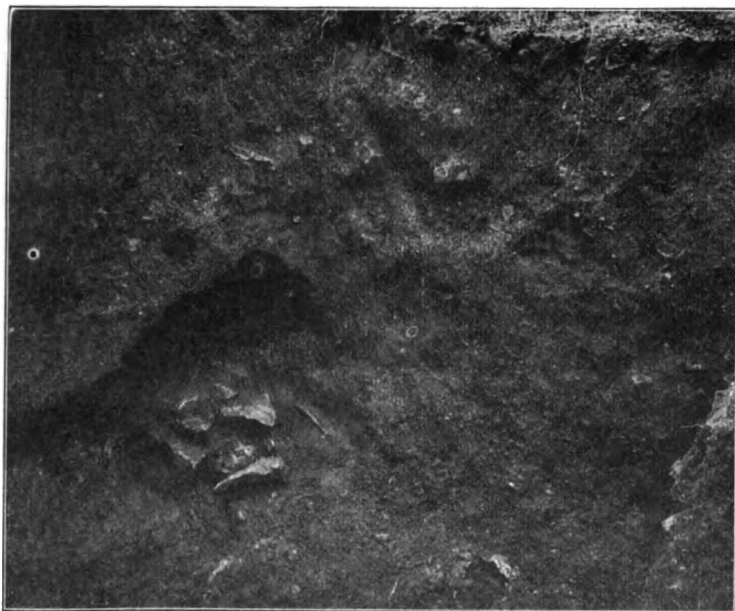


Fig. 8.—View of Hole where the Iltyd Cross stood.

skeleton as belonging to a man, who died in not later than middle life—perhaps early middle life.

“*Skeleton B.*—Of this, only the skull was available for examination; it was much crushed. I examined the upper pieces only. The skull looked decidedly youthful. There was no question as to the open sutures, and the supraciliary ridges were very slightly developed.

“*Skeletons C.*—Near the left side of the skull A was most of the shaft of an adult femur (*a*), which undoubtedly belonged to

some remains of pelvic bones, about 5 ins. or 6 ins. to the west of that skull. Nearer to this skull was the femur (*c*) and os innominatum (*b*), and of a child, which seemed to me to also relate to some interment earlier than A; its direction would indicate that the body lay, like the others, with the head to the west.

“The whole of the middle of the trunk of skeleton A had sunk several inches below the level of its upper portion and legs, doubtless owing to the great weight of St. Iltud's Cross-shaft.”

Mr. Ward further states that there was no evidence to show that this spot was the original position of the Iltud Cross.

Mr. Ward, however, did not see the excavation in progress; and, as the stone itself had been moved prior to his visit, hence he could not see the relative position of the cist B to the Cross-shaft. This, however, I carefully noted when the cross was being removed.

Cambrian Archaeological Association.

REPORT OF THE PROCEEDINGS
AT THE
FIFTY-SIXTH ANNUAL MEETING,
HELD AT
BRECON,
ON MONDAY, AUGUST 18TH, 1902,
AND FOUR FOLLOWING DAYS.

President.

LIEUT.-COLONEL PRYCE-JONES, M.P.

President-Elect.

THE RIGHT HON. LORD GLANUSK.

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Chairman.—THE MAYOR OF BRECON (DAVID POWELL, ESQ.).

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Ven. Archdeacon BEVAN	-	Ely Tower, Brecon.
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Mrs. BRADLEY	-	Cefn Parc, Brecon.
Mr. T. BUTCHER	-	Lion Street, Brecon.
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Rev. Canon R. TREVOR OWEN, F.S.A., Bodelwyddan Vicarage,
Rhuddlan, R. S. O.

Rev. C. CHIDLOW, M.A., Lwhaden Vicarage, Narberth.

EVENING MEETINGS.

MONDAY, AUGUST 18TH, 1902.

A public reception of the Members of the Association was held in the Parish Hall, at 8 P.M., on behalf of the Local Committee, by the Mayor of Brecon (Mr. David Powell) and Lieut.-Col. R. D. Garnons-Williams.

In rising to welcome the members, the Mayor, as Chairman of the Local Committee, said :—

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN.—It has fallen to my lot, as Mayor of this ancient and historic town, to offer you a hearty and cordial welcome as members of the Cambrian Archæological Association, on this, the third visit to the county town. Although the cordiality of our welcome cannot well be surpassed as regards the spirit in which it is offered, I much regret that I am one whose tastes and studies for archæology do not in any way qualify me for the duties which devolve on me this evening. When the Society first visited Brecon in 1853, nearly half a century ago, it had been only a few years in existence. Now it has attained a long and honourable period of existence, during which time the aims and objects of the Association have been fulfilled. It has endeavoured by personal investigation and inspection to visit all objects and scenes of historic interest. In this way a record of all objects of antiquity has been made, and this should form a basis for the construction of future history. I think I may safely say, without being unduly partial to my own town and county, that there are few places which surpass it for the natural beauty of its surroundings or the historic interest attached to its varied scenes. I can only express the hope that the weather may prove favourable for the tours of inspection, and that members of the Association on leaving Brecon will be favourably impressed by the purity of its air, and the natural beauty of its surroundings; also that the visit may prove productive of much benefit for the furtherance of the objects which the Association has in view. On behalf of the Local Committee and townspeople generally, I offer you a most hearty and cordial welcome to the town of Brecon.

Lord Glanusk thanked the Mayor and the Local Committee for their hospitality, and for the time and trouble they had given in arranging for the Society the excursions of the next few days—excursions which he hoped they would all enjoy very much. The

Mayor has said he possessed no great archæological lore, and he (the speaker) was afraid he must admit the same himself.

“Some men are wise,
And some are otherwise.”

He regretted to include himself in the last category. He again thanked the Mayor for the welcome he had extended to them on behalf of one of the most ancient bodies, and one of the most ancient boroughs—a town whose walls had defended it against attack in more troublous times than these. On the walls of that room that night they saw their ancient flag with crest and motto: “Y ddraig goch,” etc., the red dragon on this occasion, apparently, with a smile on his face, extending the right hand of fellowship for all who chose to grasp. He thanked the Mayor and the Local Committee for the way in which they had greeted the Society, and trusted that this would not be the last—as it was not the first—occasion on which they would have the honour of receiving the hospitality of the ancient town of Brecon.

The proceedings concluded with a *Conversazione*, which was much enjoyed by the members.

TUESDAY, AUGUST 19TH, 1902.

A Public Meeting was held in the Parish Hall, at 8 P.M., at which Lord Glasusk delivered the following Presidential Address:—

THE PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN.—It is my pleasant duty to open the proceedings of this evening, by offering on behalf of the residents in the county of Brecknock a hearty welcome to the Society of Cambrian Archæologists.

The limitations of time and distance must of necessity prevent your seeing all that you would wish to visit. The castle of Builth and the ancient Siarman Stone are beyond our reach. The castle and walled town of Hay must remain unvisited. The castle and town of Crickhowell are, I believe, beyond our compass, while the curious church of Patricio, with its beautiful screen, rood-altars *in situ*, and its font of the eleventh century, fixing the date of the parish, must be left till you can approach them from a nearer centre. Still, enough can be seen to give a fair idea of what the district was efore it became a county—of the warfare of long-forgotten ancestors—their ecclesiastical buildings, their domestic habitations, and much else worthy of note to those who study the science of archæology.

MILITARY ANTIQUITIES.

The military antiquities of Brecon form a group not the least interesting amongst the curiosities of the county.

The Dinas, or primæval fortress of the Britons, was, in every case within the county of Brecknock, a walled enclosure on the top of a

hill, its size only limited by the extent of the summit, surrounded by a dry wall for the purpose of defence, a diagonal wall sometimes down the hill forming a covered way for entrance or egress, or possibly leading to a spring of water. At one end of the camp, indications of a gate with exterior defences, the interior filled with shallow excavations, some 3 ft. deep. Here the spade will reveal the dwellings of the ancients burrowed into the hillside, probably once roofed with boughs of trees. The tribal residence: a place of protection for the aged, the women, and children, a fold for the cattle, a rallying-point for the warrior.

This county is studded with these rude villages, no longer clearly distinguishable, and somewhat inaccessible to the antiquary; crowded, no doubt, with wonder-stricken warriors and terrified women, when the civilised legions of Rome marched through the woodland valleys of Siluria.

Issuing from these hill-forts, and falling with sudden rush upon the Roman legions, the Britons met with some success in the earlier years of Roman invasion; they had but little chance of victory when once the Romans had organised their power.

THE ROMAN ROADS.

Roads have been in all ages the first necessity of military occupation. The English in the nineteenth century have advanced their railway to the north-west frontier of India, are pushing an iron road northward through their new territories of South Africa; while from the north the rail-head on the bank of the Nile has been carried southward immediately in the rear of our victorious armies.

So the Romans, more than eighteen centuries ago, joined their landing-places in the south with London, and from thence carried a network of roads to the most distant parts of Britain.

Antonine's Itinerary II.—Of these three only concern us. The first leading from London to Uriconium (Wroxeter), a point near Shrewsbury, and thence to Chester and the north; this was the highway from the capital to North Wales. At Uriconium it was joined by military roads from South Wales; and, as the Roman legions passed freely between north and south, Uriconium became the objective of the northward road of Brecknock.

Iter. VII.—To approach South Wales from London, the road passed Windsor (Pontibus), and Reading (Calleva), and was, so far, the first stage of a road to Portsmouth.

Iter. XIII.—Beyond Reading the traveller had the choice of two routes: one by Cirencester (Durocernovium), and Glo'ster (Glevum), Ross (Ariconium), Monmouth (Blestium), to Usk (Burrium) to Caerleon, where it joined the alternative route.

Iter. XIV.—This road bifurcated from the one just described about seventeen miles west of Reading, and passing Bath, then called *Aquæ Solis*, went by Bristol to Abone, a place on the south bank of the Severn, represented by the Severn Tunnel of the present day.

Crossing the Severn by boat, the traveller passed on to Caerleon (Isca), where the alternative route from London had also its terminus. From this point a single line of route led to Caermarthen (Muridunum), at which point our interest ceases.

From Caerleon and Usk another route connected South and North Wales, passing through the modern counties of Hereford and Salop to Wroxeter, said to be Wrekin Castle, the Camp of the Wrekin.

These are the only main military roads it is necessary to bear in mind. Roughly, we may say they represent the routes now followed by the Great Western, the North Western, and the Hereford and Shrewsbury Railways.

Iter. XII.—From Caerleon the coast road ran through Cardiff and Neath to Muridunum (Caermarthen). From Muridunum an important vicinal road follows the Towy River to Llandilo, whence it is shown in the Ordnance Map following the modern road from Swansea to Llandovery, from which place it runs still northward into North Wales.

At or near Llandovery it was joined by another road, the most important we have to deal with—Via Julia Montana; this led east and west through the whole length of the Vale of Usk, from the source of the river past Brecon to Abergavenny. It connected the camp at Caerbannau with Caermarthen and Abergavenny.

Cardiff to Caerbannau.—To approach the Brecon camp from the Channel is a road which, starting from Cardiff, follows the course of the Taff River northwards. It bifurcates at a point called Dolygaer (the Camp Meadow), south of Pont Twyn Reservoir. The western road follows Taff Fechan in a north-westerly direction; it probably passed west of the Beacon, down the Tarell Brook to Caerbannau.

The eastern road can still be traced. Crossing Glyn Colwyn above, and to the east of the Brecon and Merthyr Railway, it keeps to the top of the hill, finally descending to Talybont, near which place it probably joined the Via Julia Montana, already described, and may have been intended as a short route to Abergavenny.

Neath to Chester.—The last road to be described is the Sarn Helen, or Sarn Leon, "the Road of the Legion," connecting Neath with Chester, the camp of the legion from which perhaps the road takes its name.

From Neath the road leads along the ridge of Hir Fynydd ("the long mountain"); it can be traced in places through Blaensenny, at a spot a mile south of Penpont, and occasionally until it arrives at the camp near Brecon.

After passing the Gaer, the route leads to Brecon, and can thence be traced northward up the Valley of the Honddu. A mile above Lower Chapel, it leaves the modern road to Builth, and ascends the mountain, rejoining the road at the summit of the Eppynt, by a mountain inn, Cwm Awen. It follows the Dihonew Brook to Maesmynis, thence probably to Builth, crossing the Wye, and so to

Llanyre, in Radnorshire, where there is a camp, from which the road passes again to the north, its objective being probably Wroxeter.

Caerbannau will be seen to be a spot of considerable importance, the junction of most of the military routes, and very favourable for a camp of permanent occupation.

ROMAN CAMPS.

Roman camps were always arranged on the same plan. The camp at Caerbannau was constructed to contain about 1,500 men.

The fair day's march of a Roman soldier was twenty Roman miles, equivalent to about eighteen miles English. Roman armies never halted, even for a single night, without forming an entrenchment capable of receiving the fighting men, beasts of burden, and baggage. We should, therefore, expect to find on each approach to the camp at Caerbannau, at a spot regulated by the exigencies of mountain travel (but within eighteen miles), a subsidiary entrenchment, good enough, perhaps, for a summer residence, amply sufficient for a night's rest while on the march.

From Brecon to Gobannium is twenty-two miles. This was made two marches, the camp being situate in the valley of Cwmdn, just below the half-way inn of modern days. Carved stones indicate that the camp was permanently occupied. The farmer at Gaer told me that his father had ploughed up "an old Roman in a stone coffin."—What did he do with him? "Ploughed him in again."—Alas!

In the opposite direction, towards Caermarthen, is a camp on Trecastle Hill, about fifteen miles from Caerbannau.

On the Sarn Helen the journey from Neath to Brecon was broken at a camp near the boundary of the county, about sixteen miles from Brecon, and perhaps twelve miles from Neath.

Northwards we find a camp on the rise of Eppynt. Built would have been an appropriate resting-place; though the Castle field, with its numerous entrenchments, has never been recognised as such. At Llanyre, in Radnorshire, a few miles further, a Roman station is marked on the Ordnance Map, too distant from Brecon to have been covered in a single day.

The last road from Brecon to Cardiff has a station at the Aberdare Hill, fifteen miles from Brecon.

If the right cause for minor entrenchments is that here assigned, they fit into their places in a singularly appropriate manner.

CASTLES OF THE TENTH CENTURY.

The time succeeding the departure of the Romans does not seem to have left any mark on the fortifications of this county. The *Dinas*, already described, was the habitation of a tribe, the Roman *Castra* the resting-place of an army.

The earliest castles are of more domestic character: for the accommodation of the lord and his household, for the protection of

his tenants, and for the safe-keeping in war time of their flocks and herds. The earliest of these works are said to date from the ninth and tenth centuries. They were thus constructed: first was thrown up a cone of earth, from 12 ft. to 20 ft. in height, the soil being obtained from the contents of a circumscribing ditch. Connected with the mound is usually an inclosure or base-court, more or less rounded. This inclosure also had its bank and ditch on its outward face, the rear resting on the ditch of the mound. The mound and outer bank carried palisades.

Where the base-court is of moderate area, as at Builth, its platform is often slightly elevated by the addition of part of the contents of the ditch.

The mound at Builth stands on the edge of a natural steep above the Wye. Here the ditch is discontinued.

The reason for placing the mound at one side was to allow of the concentration of lodgings and stable, and to make the mound form part of the exterior defences of the place. Builth is a small but characteristic fortress of this kind. Mounds may also be seen at Brecon, Crickhowell, and Bronllys. That timber was the usual building material is shown by the Welsh law that tenants were to attend for repair or rebuilding, each with his axe in his hand.

NORMAN CASTLES.

It was in the eleventh century that the Normans adopted a more permanent fortress, and the old-fashioned structure of timber began to be replaced by walls and towers of stone. No military masonry has been discovered in Wales of a date prior to the Norman Conquest. At first, the Normans used two classes of fortress. Where a castle was built in a new position, they employed masonry. Where the site was old, they were content to repair the existing works of timber, leaving to a more convenient season the building of a more permanent structure.

When Bernard de Newmarch entered Brecknock, towards the end of the eleventh century, he found the earthworks of Brecon and Builth already existing, and occupied them with fortresses of a Norman character. At Brecon he established his strong and capacious castle, of which the mound and much of the masonry can still be seen. The country was parcelled out amongst his followers; thirteen castles represent the number of his knights. The essential feature is a keep, standing at one corner of a triangular court, with a curtailed wall, strengthened by bastion towers at the corners. The minor details will be best described by local antiquaries upon the spot.

PERORATION.

Such are the ancient and mediæval structures of offence and defence. Happily, the necessity for camp and castle has passed away. Your Society may journey through the length and breadth

of the land, encountering no danger that need cause a flutter in the most timid heart. With the fortress of ancient days you will have the opportunity of comparing the hospitable hearth of the modern mansion, and may be sure of finding in each locality you may visit the hearty welcome which it has been my duty this evening to offer, in the name of the people of Brecknock, to the Cambrian Archæological Society.

After the President had been cordially thanked for his Address, the following papers were read :—

- “The Early Settlers of Brecon.” By Prof. E. Anwyl.
- “The Exploration of Clegyr Voia.” By the Rev. S. Baring-Gould.
- “Roman Forts in South Wales.” By F. Haverfield, F.S.A.

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 20TH, 1902.

On this day there was no Evening Meeting.

THURSDAY, AUGUST 21ST, 1902.

The Annual General Meeting of the Association was held in the Parish Hall. The following Report was read by the Senior General Secretary.

ANNUAL REPORT FOR 1902.

The Journal.—The following papers have been published in the *Archæologia Cambrensis*, between July, 1901, and July, 1902 :—

Prehistoric Period.

- “Wanten Dyke.” By J. M. E. Lloyd.
- “Prehistoric Interments near Cardiff.” By J. Ward.
- “Camps and Earthworks of the Newtown District.” By D. R. Thomas.
- “Crug-yr-Avon.” By J. Griffith.
- “Cairn and Sepulchral Cave at Gop.” By W. Boyd Dawkins.
- “The Chevron and its Derivatives.” By J. R. Allen.

Romano-British Period.

No papers.

Early Christian Period.

No papers.

Mediæval Period.

- Sir S. R. Glynne's “Notes on the Older Welsh Churches.” By D. R. Thomas (Completed).
- “Dolforwyn Castle.” By R. Williams.
- “The Oldest Parish Registers in Pembrokeshire.” By J. Phillips.
- “The Church of Llanfihangel Glyn-Myfyr.” By Harold Hughes.
- “Flintshire Subsidy Roll, 1592.” By D. R. Thomas.
- “Old Farm-Houses near St. David's.” By J. R. Allen.
- “Discoveries at Llangendeirne Church.” By T. P. Clark.
- “Notes on Old Llandaff.” By G. E. Halliday.

It is much to be regretted that although discoveries of Roman remains of great importance have been made at Caersws, Cardiff,

Gellygaer, and Caerwent, no account of them has been sent for publication in the *Journal*.

The following works on Welsh history, folk-lore, and antiquities, have been received for review.

- "Celtic Folk-lore, Welsh and Manx." By J. Rhys. (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1901.)
- "Cardiff Records," vols. ii. and iii. By J. H. Matthews. (London, Elliot Stock, 1900-1901.)
- "Notes on the History and Text of our Early English Bible and its Translation into Welsh. By G. L. Owen.
- "A List of those who did Homage and Fealty to the First English Prince of Wales, in A.D. 1301. By E. Owen. (Privately Printed.)
- "Portfolio of Photographs of the Cromlechs of Anglesey and Carnarvon. By J. E. Griffith. (Bangor, 1900.)
- "Diocesan Histories, Llandaff." By E. J. Newell. (London, S.P.C.K., 1902.)
- "History of Neath Abbey." By W. de G. Birch. (Neath, J. E. Richards, 1901.)
- "Ewenny Priory." By Col. J. P. Turbervill. (London, Elliot Stock, 1901.)
- "Life and Times of Griffith Jones of Llanddowror." By David Jones. (London, S.P.C.K., 1902.)
- "Life and Work of Bishop Richard Davies, and William Salesbury." By D. R. Thomas. (Oswestry, Caxton Press, 1902.)

Several other books on Welsh subjects have been issued during the past year, but we regret that, as their authors or publishers have not sent review copies to the editor, he is unable to enumerate them.

The "Archæological Notes" in the *Journal* might be made fuller and more interesting if the Editor were better supported by the Local Secretaries.

Mr. Harold Hughes and Mr. G. E. Halliday have sent early information about recent discoveries and contemplated vandalism, and thus rendered good service to the cause of Welsh archæology.

The illustrations for the *Journal* continue to be satisfactorily produced by Mr. Worthington G. Smith and Mr. A. E. Smith. The thanks of the Association are due to Mr. Harold Hughes, Mr. G. E. Halliday, and Mr. W. G. Smith, for gratuitous work in making drawings to illustrate papers in the *Journal*. A large number of photographs of Bronze-Age urns in the British Museum, and the museums at Devizes and Welshpool, have been taken by the aid of the Special Illustration Fund of £10 a year.

The Index to the volume of the *Journal* for 1901 has been compiled by the Rev. Canon Rupert Morris, D.D., F.S.A., for which gratuitous help the Association is greatly obliged.

Index to the Fifth Series of the Archæologia Cambrensis.—Mr. Francis Green's *Index* has been ready for publication for some months, and awaits the decision of the General Meeting as to what is to be done with it.

Preservation and Destruction of Ancient Monuments.—The attention of the members should be specially directed to the good work being done by the Pembrokeshire Association for the Preservation of Ancient Monuments, as reported in the January number of the *Journal*. It seems desirable that others should follow the admirable example thus set by the premier county of the Principality.

It is satisfactory to learn that the Cross-shaft of Samson Iltyd and Ebisar, at Llantwit Major, has now been placed with all the other pre-Norman inscribed and sculptured stones inside the old western church, where they no longer run any risk of damage from the effects of the weather or ignorant vandalism. A full account of the removal, by Mr. G. E. Halliday, F.R.I.B.A., appears in the present number of the *Journal*.

Mr. John Ward, F.S.A., informs us that the series of casts of pre-Norman crosses and inscribed stones of Wales, being made under his direction by Mr. Clarke, of Llandaff, for the Cardiff Museum, is nearly complete as regards Glamorganshire and Pembrokeshire. When this work is concluded, in the course of a year or two, Cardiff will possess a gallery of early Welsh sculpture of national importance, which will be a fitting climax to the labours of the late Prof. J. O. Westwood in the past, and Principal John Rhys in the present.

No very flagrant example of the destruction of ancient remains in Wales during the past year has come under notice, but Basingwerk Abbey appears to be falling into ruin through neglect.

Recent Discoveries.—The finding of a hoard of eighteen bronze axe-heads on the Tanyglanau Mountain, Montgomeryshire, in June last, and the subsequent dispersal of the specimens, calls attention to the necessity of devising some means for preventing such objects from falling into the hands of persons who do not understand their true scientific value. Two of the axe-heads in question were exhibited in the window of a draper's shop in Machynlleth, belonging to Mr. W. M. Jones.

The Llantwit Major hoard of bronze implements is, we understand, still in private hands, and the specimens have been nicely polished up so as to produce a better decorative effect.

The Limoges Enamel from Penmon.—The following letter, from the Rev. H. M. Ellis, has been received by the Committee :

“ Exbury Rectory, Southampton,

“ June 13th, 1902.

“ Dear Sir,—I have in my possession a Limoges Enamel, found at the restoration of Penmon Church, by my father, the late Rev. P. Constable Ellis. I desire to present it to Penmon through your Society, if your Society will undertake for its being put in a case or frame and fixed in Penmon Church, and will also make a note of

the matter in the Society's *Journal*, with a view to preventing its disappearance through carelessness.

"I am, yours truly,
"H. M. ELLIS."

The enamelled plaque, which has been described and illustrated in the *Archæologia Cambrensis*, Ser. III, vol. i, p. 42, is about two inches square. It has been handed over to the Editor temporarily by the Rev. H. M. Ellis. We recommend that, with the assent of the Rector of Penmon, Mr. Ellis's kind offer should be accepted, and that Mr. Harold Hughes be asked to design a suitable frame for the relic, and superintend its fixing in the church.

Preservation of Tre Ceiri, Carnarvonshire.—On the 7th May, 1901, a meeting of the Committee for the preservation of Tre Ceiri was held in the rooms of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion, Chancery Lane, London.

The following resolution was proposed by Mr. Romilly Allen, seconded by Colonel Morgan, and carried unanimously:—"That the plan of Tre Ceiri be completed by Mr. Harold Hughes, with the additions of sections and photographs; that these should be published, and the attention of the British Government and of the Welsh people be called to the desirability of providing funds for preserving Tre Ceiri as a National monument."

The survey was proceeded with last summer, attention being chiefly given to the ground outside the south-west entrance.

It is intended to continue the work this autumn.

It would be a great thing if the site were sufficiently explored to ascertain the age of the remains. There is no reason that work of this nature should be delayed till the survey is completed.

The Funds of the Association.—The unexpected death of our late excellent Treasurer, Mr. Lloyd Griffith, last Christmas, locked up the funds of the Association for twelve months; but as the Senior General Secretary had some subscriptions in hand, and others would soon be due, he was asked to undertake the Treasurership for the interval, until a new one was appointed. To this he readily acceded, and by that means the liabilities of the Association have been met without any further inconvenience. He will submit his Statement of Accounts to your consideration.

The careful and satisfactory management of the funds, by the late Treasurer, for so many years, claims the grateful acknowledgment of the Association, and the Committee have expressed to his orphan daughter their sense of his good services and their own loss, and their hearty sympathy with her in her bereavement.

Excavations in Wales.—Mr. Baring-Gould having obtained permission to explore the site of Ty Gwyn, near St. David's, and subsequently that of Clegyr Voia also, applied for the sanction of the Association to undertake it; and requested that some of our

members should be nominated to cooperate with him, and also hoped that a grant would be made for the furtherance of the work.

The Dean of St. David's, the Canon in residence, Mr. Edward Laws, and Mr. Chidlow were named on the committee, and consented to act; but were unable to do so at the time required.

The Chairman of Committee had previously replied to Mr. Baring-Gould that he had little doubt the Association would make him a grant for the purpose specified. He has completed the work, and will give an account of the exploration. The sum he asks for is only £3 10s., and we recommend that the General Meeting shall allow the same.

The New Treasurer.—Your Committee recommend that Col. Morgan be asked to accept the office of Treasurer, in succession to Mr. Lloyd Griffith.

Losses of the Association through Death.—The Association has to regret the loss through death of one of its earliest members; one who had filled for a short time the office of General Secretary for South Wales, had often helped the Association with his purse, was honoured as a Vice-President, and had been chosen for the Presidential Chair during the Jubilee Meeting of the Association, held at Aberystwith in September, 1896, Mr. Frederick Lloyd-Philipps.

Sir S. Glynne's "Welsh Churches."—Sir Stephen Glynne's "Notes on the Earlier Welsh Churches" have now been completed. Fifty extra copies have been printed in consecutive form for separate publication, and these are now offered to the Association by Archdeacon Thomas, on the condition that he is refunded the six guineas paid by him to redeem them, and four guineas for postage and other expenses: ten guineas in all.

Election of Officers, Members of Committee, and Members.—The Committee propose that the Rev. Preb. Garnons-Williams, and the Rev. S. Baring-Gould, be made Vice-Presidents of the Association.

The retiring Members of Committee are A. N. Palmer, Esq., Egerton G. B. Phillimore, Esq., and Thos. Mansel Franklen, Esq. The Committee propose the re-election of A. N. Palmer, Esq., and Thos. Mansel Franklen, Esq., and also the election of the Rev. John Fisher, B.D., and the Rev. E. J. Newell, M.A.

The following is the list of Members who have joined the Association since the issue of the last Report, and who now await the formal confirmation of their election.

ENGLAND.

George Behrens, Esq., Fallowfield, Manchester	Mrs. Johnes.
F. B. Bond, Esq., St. Augustine's Parade, Bristol	Rev. S. Baring-Gould.
Ernest A. Ebbelwhite, Esq., F.S.A., 1, Paper Buildings, Temple, London	Canon R. Trevor Owen.
Miss Jones, Welsh Girls' School, Ashford, Kent	Rev. C. Chidlow.

NORTH WALES.

Proposed by

Col. O. Ll. G. Evans, Broom Hall, Chwilog, R.S.O.	Canon R. Trevor Owen.
William B. Halhed, Esq., Brynderwyn, Llanrwst.	
J. Herbert Roberts, Esq., M.P., Bryngwenallt, Abergele	A. Foulkes Roberts, Esq.
The Rev. Thomas Lloyd, The Vicarage, Rhyl	L. S. Roberts, Esq.
The Rev. T. H. Vaughan, Glyndyfrdwy Vicarage, Llangollen	L. S. Roberts, Esq.
E. Morris, Esq., H.M.I.S., Wrexham	L. S. Roberts, Esq.
W. A. Foster, Esq., Glyn Menai, Bangor	

SOUTH WALES.

Breconshire :

Charles W. Best, Esq., Penbryn, Brecon.	Rev. Preb. Garnons-Williams.
J. A. Jebb, Esq., Watton Mount, Brecon	Rev. C. Chidlow.
Rev. P. W. Green, B.A., Llywel Vicarage, Trecastle	Rev. C. Chidlow.
Miss Philip Morgan, Buckingham House, Brecon.	Lord Glanusk.
Garnons - Williams, Lieut. - Colonel, R.D., Ty Mawr, Brecon	Rev. Preb. Garnons-Williams.
Rev. John Price, M.A., Llanfeigan Rectory, Brecon	Rev. H. Kirkhouse.
Hadley Watkins, Esq., 33, The Watton, Brecon	H. W. Williams, Esq.

Cardiganshire :

The Rev. H. Meredith Williams, Lledrod Vicarage.

Carmarthenshire :

Shipley Lewis, Esq., Solicitor, Llandilo	J. F. Hughes, Esq.
Birch Jones, Esq., Llandilo	J. F. Hughes, Esq.

Glamorganshire :

W. D. James, Esq., The Linden, Cardiff	
Rev. M. H. Jones, 6, Martin Terrace, Abercynon	Edgar Jones, Esq.
Mrs. Wayne Morgan, Maesycoed, Pontypridd	Herbert Kirkhouse, Esq.
Rev. W. M. Morris, The Parsonage, Abergwynfi	H. W. Williams, Esq.
T. Aneuryn Rees, Esq., 11, Courtland Terrace, Merthyr Tydfil	C. Wilkins, Esq.
John E. Richards, Esq., Journalist, Neath	Rev. C. Chidlow.
H. M. Thompson, Esq., Whitley Batch, Llandaff	Rev. C. Chidlow.
J. L. Wheatley, Esq., Town Clerk, Cardiff	Rev. C. Chidlow.

Pembrokeshire :

Arthur H. Thomas, Esq., A.R.I.B.A., Haver- fordwest	H. W. Williams, Esq.
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Radnorshire :

George Griffiths, Esq., <i>Standard</i> Office, Llan- drindod	Rev. C. H. Drinkwater.
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Place of Meeting for 1903.—The Committee recommend that Portmadoc be chosen as the place of meeting for 1903.

The adoption of the Annual Report of the Association was proposed by Mr. Alfred Lloyd, F.R.C.S., seconded by Mr. H. W. Williams, and carried unanimously.

FRIDAY, AUGUST 22ND, 1902.

A public meeting was held in the Parish Hall, at which the following papers were read.

"Brychan Brycheiniog." By the Rev. J. Fisher, B.D., and the Rev. S. Baring-Gould.

"Brecon Castle." By Mr. John Lloyd.

"The Forgotten Sanctuaries of Brecon." By Miss Philip Morgan.

The President moved a hearty vote of thanks to all who had been so kind as to read or to write papers for discussion during the week. His lordship made special mention of the two ladies—Mrs. Dawson who had attended all the excursions, and whose great knowledge had imparted to them most interesting information; and Miss Philip Morgan, to whose charming paper and speech, delivered in most musical tones, he had listened with the greatest admiration. She had given him "a dig" in what she had said as to the vanished cross from the hedge on the Greenway side of the road by Peterstone; but he must say, in his own behalf, that he never saw that cross, and did not even know where it stood. With regard to what Miss Philip Morgan had said as to the preservation of these ancient monuments, he was glad to say that the present Bishop of St. David's had requested the churchwardens to make a list of this and other ecclesiastical property in their several parishes, which would doubtless protect them against loss in future. In the course of their wanderings the last few days they had found more than one instance of what he must call absolute vandalism, where ancient monuments and buildings of the county had been destroyed for purposes as trivial as the mind of man could conceive. This, however, was now made a question of politics, the Government from time to time making provision for the preservation of public property; and he believed it to be the duty not only of the nation, but of every individual, to preserve the monuments handed down to us by our forefathers.

Mr. Romilly Allen, in seconding, said the papers on the present occasion had risen decidedly above the ordinary average, and he desired to express his great appreciation of Miss Philip Morgan's paper.

The motion was warmly adopted.

A resolution of condolence with the representatives of the late Mr. Lloyd Philipps, Vice-President of the Society, was passed on the motion of Archdeacon Thomas, seconded by Col. Gwynne Hughes (Glancothy).

Mr. R. H. Wood, F.S.A., said he was sure that it would be the wish and desire of the members of the Society and their friends who had joined in the week's excursions to acknowledge the services of, and thank, the local secretaries to whom they were so deeply indebted. The thorough knowledge of the locality possessed

by Colonel Garnons-Williams had enabled him to take them most beautiful drives through this charming country, which all had so much enjoyed, whilst his knowledge of antiquities had made their visits to the various churches and places of very great interest.

Mr. Edward Owen seconded, and the resolution was passed with acclamation.

Colonel R. D. Garnons-Williams, in reply, remarked that he was very much better at organising than at speaking; but he should like to say that all the thanks were certainly not due to himself or to his co-secretary, Mr. Hay, though they had, of course, taken their share of the work. The committee whom they represented had taken a great deal of trouble in working out the programme and in carrying out the arrangements; and he assumed that it was as representatives of the committee that he and his co-secretary received this vote of thanks. He was very glad that the arrangements had proved satisfactory, and that the meeting had been successful from that point of view. It could not help being successful from the point of view of the objects of interest to be seen, for this county, as they knew, was full of such objects; while those who had been asked to contribute papers responded with alacrity at short notice, and their services had been most useful and valuable. The work of the secretaries had been quite free from difficulty. Wherever they had gone to ask for hospitality, or for papers, they had been received with open arms—everybody seemed ready to welcome them, and to do everything they could to make the visit a pleasant one. It was a great pleasure to all of them to know that their efforts had been successful. He felt that there was a great deal more for the Society to see in this district, and he hoped it would not be another thirty years before they came back to Brecon. In concluding his remarks, Colonel Garnons-Williams thanked Mr. Best for kindly conducting the excursion on Wednesday, when he was called away.

It was proposed by Mr. Meuric Lloyd, duly seconded, and resolved with great cordiality, that the best thanks of the Society be given to those who had so liberally dispensed hospitality during the visit. The speaker affirmed that the members never had experienced greater kindness, and the hospitality was the more appreciated from the entertainers having been at such pains to make everybody feel thoroughly at home.

Lady Hille-Johnes moved a vote of thanks to the Vicar of Brecon for the free use of the Parish Hall, and to the ladies of the Church House County Club, for placing their rooms at the disposal of the Society.

The motion was seconded by the General Secretary, and carried unanimously.

Archdeacon Thomas proposed the cordial thanks of the Association to the President. As rather an old member of the Association

it had been his privilege, he said, to see many presidents occupy that honoured chair, but he did not think they had ever been favoured with one who had taken so high interest in their work and excursions, in their arrangements and in the success of their meetings: one who himself was well stored not only with general knowledge, but with local knowledge of the most serviceable kind, and who, occupying the highest position in this county, would be a guarantee for the preservation of the great monuments it had been their privilege to see.

The resolution was duly seconded, and adopted with acclamation.

The President returned thanks. He said that personally he had been put to no trouble whatever, as the whole thing had been taken out of his hands by Colonel Garnons-Williams, and those who acted with him. He (Lord Glanusk) concurred in every word that had been said as to their and the local committee's efforts, and among other people to whom he should like to express his thanks was the contractor for the conveyances. He did not suppose that a hundred people, taken about the country, had ever been better served than the Society on this occasion by Mr. Dix, of Merthyr, whose horses were exceedingly good, and the drivers uniformly civil and obliging.

The President announced that the Association had elected two new Vice-Presidents—Mr. Baring-Gould, the well-known archaeologist, and a man of great learning; and their old friend, the Rev. Prebendary Garnons-Williams. By the election of Mr. Garnons-Williams a great compliment and honour had been paid to the county.

Lord Glanusk made use of these parting words: "We have had a most enjoyable week. We have listened to many words of wisdom from persons of great knowledge, and you leave me with a greater interest in the county in which I live than I have ever had before."

Archaeological Notes and Queries.

YSTRAD YW: ITS ORIGINAL SITUATION.—Of the cantrefs and commotes of Wales some take their names from leading physical characteristics, such as Arfon, Nant Conwy, Dyffryn Clwyd, Ystrad Alun, Deuddwr, Deugleddyf, and Glyn Rhondda. A large number are clearly derived from personal names, such as Meirionydd, Rhufoniog, Gwynllwg, Cydweli (Cadwal), Catheiniog (Cathen), Gwerthrynion (Gwrtheyrn), and Edeyrnion. There is a third class, which can only be explained on the supposition that the district took its title from some principal centre within it, which was either the residence of the chief or the meeting-place of the community. To this class belong not only such obvious instances as the cantrefs of Môn (Aberffraw, Cemais, Rhosyr) and the commotes of Tegeingl (Rhuddlan, Prestatyn, Cownsillt), but others also, in which the facts are obscured through the disappearance of the name in its original application. It cannot be doubted that Cemais in Dyfed, Geneu'r Glyn and Pennardd in Ceredigion, Caer Einion, Rhiwlallt, Tindaethwy, Ystum Anner, were, first of all, names of places before they were used to designate fairly large districts; and if the place so styled could be in each case identified, something would be done to elucidate the early history of the Welsh territorial divisions.

One of the names of this class is Ystrad Yw. At first sight it appears to belong to the first group mentioned, that of names which are at once explained on consideration of the natural features of the district. But the resemblance to such forms as Ystrad Tywi and Ystrad Alun is deceptive. In this south-eastern corner of Brecknock, the only valley important enough to give its name to the whole region is that of the Usk, and Ystrad Wysg is a form nowhere to be found. Nor may we follow Theophilus Jones in his bold alteration of Ystrad Yw into Ystrad Wy, "the vale of waters,"¹ for this form also is entirely without authority. Hence what we have to look for is some spot within the limits of the historical Ystrad Yw, where the name finds ready explanation, and where a primitive centre may be supposed to have stood.

It is perhaps as well to say that in this enquiry we need not concern ourselves about Roman roads. Ystrad cannot be derived from the Latin *Stratum* or *Strata*, which in modern Welsh would yield "Ystrod," but is from a cognate Celtic root which has the vowel short, and denotes, not the levelled road, but the level "Strath," or valley-bottom.² A tract of alluvial land, such as is to be found at Ystrad, near Denbigh, Ystrad Gynlais, and Ystrad Meurig, is what must be kept in the mind's eye in our endeavour to trace Ystrad Yw to its origin.

¹ *History of Breconshire*, p. 378 of the reprint of 1898.

² Whitley Stokes, *Urkeltscher Sprachschatz*, p. 313; Loth, *Mots Latins dans les Langues Brittoniques*, p. 217; Phillimore, *Y Cymrodor*, vol. xi, p. 150.

As to the bounds of the district so called (which was probably at one time a cantref, though it is nowhere explicitly described as such), they offer no special difficulty. It was one of the districts claimed in the twelfth century for the diocese of Llandaff, and the limits of the diocese as enlarged by this and other claims are so described in the *Liber Landavensis* (pp. 42 and 134 of the edition of 1893), as to show that Ystrad Yw was parted from the rest of Brycheiniog by the river Crawnnon, Buckland Hill, and a line which ran thence to the source of the Grwyne. It was, in fact, identical with the modern hundred of Crickhowel, which was in Leland's time the hundred of "Estradewe,"¹ and which includes the eight parishes of Llanfhangel Cwm Du, Llangynidr, Llangattock, Crickhowel, Llanelly, Llangeneu, Llanbedr Ystrad Yw and Partrishow.² At an early period, perhaps before the time of the Norman occupation of Brycheiniog, Ystrad Yw was divided into two commotes or lordships, sometimes known as Ystrad Yw Uchaf and Ystrad Yw Isaf,³ but also as Eglwys Iail and Crug Hywel,⁴ from two well-known places within them; well known, that is to say, at the time, for the site of Eglwys Iail has not been satisfactorily determined.⁵ Henceforth, there is a disposition to limit the name Ystrad Yw to the western division, which was held of the lord of Brecknock by Picard and his descendants;⁶ but the name Llanbedr Ystrad Yw, and the inclusion by the *Liber Landavensis* in "Istratyu," not only of "launpetyr," but also of "merthir issiu," i.e., Partrishow (p. 279), leaves no doubt as to the extent of the original district.

The key to the name is to be found, I believe, in that of a farm, situated about half a mile south of Bwlch, on the main road from Brecon to Crickhowel. In the new 1-in. Ordnance Map (Sheet 214) it appears as Llygadwy; but Theophilus Jones, in a passing reference (p. 417), calls it Llygadyw; and on the occasion of our Association's visit to the district in August last, I ascertained by a wayside enquiry, that the local pronunciation is Llygad Yw. The information was all the more valuable in that it was followed by a little amateur etymology, connecting the name with "ywen," a

¹ Jones, *Breconshire*, p. 382.

² These parishes also form the joint manor of Tretower and Crickhowel (Appendix M to Report of Welsh Land Commission).

³ Peniarth MS. 147, as printed in vol. i, Pt. II, of Mr. Gwenogvryn Evans's *Report on MSS. in the Welsh Language*.

⁴ See the lists of cantrefs and commotes in the *Myryrian Archaeology, The Red Book of Hergest* (ed. Evans, vol. ii, p. 410); Hengwrt MS. 31 (*Cymmrodor*, vol. ix, p. 330); and Leland's *Itinerary* (v. 19).

⁵ Jones (*Breconshire*, p. 424) says that the brook which flows past Llangynidr Church is called Iail, and he fixes Eglwys Iail accordingly here. But in Peniarth MS. 147 (*Report*, p. 918) "Llan Fair a Chynydr" and "Eglwys Iail" are separately mentioned; and this appears to be also the case in the "Taxatio" of Pope Nicholas, though "Sco Kened" may possibly be Aberysgir.

⁶ Picard was one of the original donors to Brecon Priory; see the charter of 1104 to 1106 in *Archæologia Cambrensis*, 4th Ser., vol. xiv, pp. 142, 143. A charter of his grandson, John Picard (*ibid.*, p. 168), shows that the gift was of land and tithes in "Stradewi."

yew tree, and thus satisfying me that there had been no attempt to alter it to its present form in the interests of a connection with Ystrad Yw. Now, at Llygad Yw a little stream takes its rise, which flows east for about two miles over level country, and finally falls into the Rhiangoll, in a true "strath" or "ystrad," close to the castle and village of Tretower. Its name is given by Theophilus Jones as "Ewyn" (pp. 416, 417), which looks like an attempt to improve upon "Yw," and at any rate requires confirmation before it can be accepted as the ancient name of the streamlet. My informant could not give me any distinctive name of the brook: a kind of ignorance which, unhappily for antiquaries, is not uncommon.

The use of "llgad" (eye) to denote the source of a stream is by no means uncommon. The Rheidol takes its rise in Llyn Llygad Rheidol, beneath the crags of Plynlimmon. "Licat arganhell" appear in the *Liber Landavensis* (p. 173), "arganhell" being shown by another passage (p. 75) to be the name of a stream. In the *Mirabilia* of Neannius (p. 217 of Mommsen's edition), reference is made to "fontem qui cognominatur Licat Anir;" and as the place is said to be in "Ercing" (Archenfield), and the texts seem to allow us to read "Amir," we have probably to do with the source of the Gamber ("Gamber Head" in modern maps), which is often "Amir" in the *Liber Landavensis*. Llygad Yw itself is mentioned, though not by that name, in a document drawn up in 1234, included in the Cartulary of Brecon Priory, and printed in *Archæologia Cambrensis*, 4th Ser., vol. xiii, p. 283. The situation of the land of Bernard Fychan is indicated, and mention is made of a brook which "descendit a fonte subtus Boghlek versus villam de Straddewy." This brook can be none other than the Yw or Ewyn, for "Boghlek," or to give the better form found on p. 258, "Bochelet," is Buckland, first found in the *Liber Landavensis* (pp. 42, 134) in the name "Llech Bychlyd."¹

Thus the original Ystrad Yw is the little vale in which stands the Roman fort of Y Gaer, and which merges into that of the Rhiangoll at Tretower. It will thus seem quite natural that Llanfihangel Cwm Du should figure in the "Taxatio" of Pope Nicholas (p. 273) as "ecclesia de Stratden" (= Stratden), and that Tretower should in the older records be "villa Stradewi."² But whether the Welsh lords of the district had a fortress at Tretower itself, bearing the name Ystrad Yw, or whether their home was in a different quarter of the valley, must be left for the present an open question.

¹ The west gate of Tretower was known as Porth Bychlyd: see a charter of Roger P chartd the second in *Archæologia Cambrensis*, 4th Ser., vol. xiv, p. 221—"quamdam partem terre mee apud Stret Dewi iuxta portam occidentalem que dicitur Porta Boket."

² The charters in the Brecon Cartulary invariably have this parasitic i at the end of the name; but no inference need be drawn from this, save that non-Welsh clerks, having once got hold of a Welsh name by the wrong end, were, as in the classical instance of "Gannoc" for Degannwy, exceedingly slow to give up their error.

Archæologia Cambrensis.

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MONTGOMERYSHIRE SCREENS AND ROOD-LOFTS.

BY ARCHDEACON THOMAS, M.A., F.S.A.

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ONE of the duties of an archdeacon being to inspect periodically the fabrics and the furniture of the churches and their records, I have, in the course of my visits, met with many beautiful remains of screens and rood-lofts, and with occasional notices of the removal of others. As some of them are marvels of skill in design and execution, and yet their history is little known, it will not be uninteresting to recall briefly their purpose and history, and to place on permanent record some account of those at least within the county.

Their Origin.—In the ordinary division of our parish churches into nave and chancel, we are reminded that the chancel derives its name from the Cancelli, lattices or balusters, that marked off the portion where the divine offices were celebrated from the body of the church where the people joined in the worship. For the first three centuries, indeed, of the Christian era, we find no record of any such partition; but if we may argue from analogy, it is most probable that something of the kind did exist. For, just as the great festivals

and the sacraments of the Christian Church were the evangelical development of those of the Jewish Church, so it is most likely that in the arrangement of the fabric, the divine pattern followed in the Tabernacle and the Temple would influence that of the Ecclesia. And we do find, as a matter of fact, that from the early part of the fourth century, that is, "after the time of Constantine, tapestry, a veil, curtain, or balustrade, like an altar-rail, was employed, like the modern Greek 'iconostasis,' as a screen to mark the division."¹ These screens, mentioned by St. Augustine, St. Gregory Nazianzen, Theodoret, Sozomen, Synesius, St. Germanus, St. Paulinus, St. Gregory of Tours, and the Council of Chalcedon, had three doors; one facing the altar, a second fronting the Gospel side, and a third the Epistle side. Before them veils were dropped at the consecration. In their construction more substantial and permanent materials were early employed. The screen of the Apostles at Constantinople was a lattice of gilt brass; that of Tyre, erected by Paulinus, of carved wood; and one of stone, c. 340, remains at Tepekerman. In England, the earliest form appears to have been that, not of screen work, but of curtains drawn across the narrow chancel arch of our pre-Norman (and early Norman) churches, and is alluded to in an early Anglo-Saxon Pontifical as "*Extenso velo inter eos et populum;*" and, later on, by Durandus in the thirteenth century: "*interponatur velum aut murus inter clerum et populum.*"²

The earliest *wooden* screen work known to Mr. Bloxam in this country is a loft in the Norman church of St. Nicholas, at Compton, in Surrey; and almost the only one of the thirteenth century he had met with was at Thurcaston, in Leicestershire. Specimens of screen work of the fourteenth century are more numerous, but still rare, while those of the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries are frequent.

¹ Walcott's *Sacred Archaeology*.

² Bloxam, *Gothic Ecclesiastical Architecture*, vol. ii, p. 35.

Form.—They occur under several forms : earliest as simple screens ; later, but still early, as rood screens, that is, screens with a figure of our Lord on the Cross and the Virgin Mother and St. John on either side. Sometimes they have a loft above them, upon which was also a rood : and occasionally the rood was placed on a beam, more or less carved, and extending across the nave at the chancel arch.

In Wales, we have mention of roods as early as A.D. 935, when in the Dinnetian Code of the Laws of Howel Dda it was enacted that “one of the three places where a person is not to give the oath of an absolver, is at the church door ;¹ for the ‘Pater’ is there to be chanted before the rood” (*canys canu y Pader adly [dyn] yna rac bron y groc*). Although comparatively few now remain in our churches, it is evident that they were at one time general. Small windows high up in the church wall, which lighted them, corbels on which their beams rested, the remains of the stair and the doorway by which they were approached, and occasionally fragments of the screen itself, attest their former existence.

Use.—It will be asked what was their use and purpose : were they simply ornamental, or had they a ritual and liturgical use ? At first they appear to have been simply a low partition to divide the nave from the choir or chancel. The next stage was the introduction of a beam above it, extending across the arch and supported by a row of columns. Then followed the gradual elaboration of these several parts. A simple cross placed over the centre gave prominence to the prime doctrine of the Atonement and its bearing on the Christian life. “God forbid that I should glory save in the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ, through which (or whom) the world hath been crucified unto me and I unto the world” (Gal. vi, 14). Between the supporting pillars a little tracery was introduced. Then came

¹ By the church door appears to be meant here the screen door from the nave into the chancel.

the transition from the symbolic to the realistic, and the substitution of the Crucifix for the Cross. "For I determined not to know anything among you, save Jesus Christ and Him crucified" (1 Cor. ii, 2). The awe and reverence which the sacred Figure called forth in those "before whose eyes Jesus Christ was openly set forth crucified" (Gal. iii, 1), expressed itself in the more elaborate ornamentation of all the surroundings, and the figures of St. John and the Mother were added on either side. The prominent position thus given to the Virgin Mother and St. John must have tended greatly to promote the cultus of Hagiology, which spread so rapidly in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. And when the rood screen came to be enlarged into a rood loft, the crocketed niches were filled with statuettes, and the panels sometimes painted with pictures of the saints.

The Epistles and Gospels, which were read at first from "Ambons," raised desks or pulpits, and afterwards from the screen, were now read from the rood loft, as also were certain public notices, as Letters of Communion, Bishops' Pastorals, the proclamation of Treaties and Acts of Councils. From it, too, penitents were absolved, the benediction of the bishop was pronounced, and elect abbots were presented to the people. Sometimes the lofts contained an altar; more often altars were placed under them at the west side, and were thence called "rood altars."¹ In later times they were used as organ lofts and singing galleries.

Being used for so many purposes, and occupying so

¹ "Besides the altars at Peterchurch (in Herefordshire), the only rood-loft altars I have met with yet existing in this country are two beneath the rood loft in the little church of Patricio, near Crickhowel, South Wales: one placed on each side of the entrance into the chancel, westward, and against the screen supporting the rood loft. Both of these altars are of plain masonry, with the usual thick, projecting, covering slabs and altar-stones, each marked with the five crosses, and the under part of each chamfered." (Blozam, vol. ii, p. 140).

important a position, they were richly ornamented. The vaulting, which curved out from the traceried screen and projected on either side, was ornamented with elaborate designs; the sides of the loft were pierced with graceful open tracery; the junction of the panels was set off with delicate canopy work, and the horizontal bands were enriched with beautiful vine, oak, and other patterns; and the whole was in some cases adorned with rich colouring in vermilion, blue, and gold. The images themselves were enriched with gold and jewels. Thus Gruffydd ap Meredydd ap Dafydd says of the famous Rood of Chester:—

“Llun ei oreu mab llawn aur a main.”

When we think of the havoc and destruction with which they were visited by the Reformers and their successors, we cannot but ask why they were so grievously maltreated, and what could have led to the determined and wholesale ruin that overtook such beautiful specimens of ecclesiastical art, such marvels of delicate design and workmanship, as made them the chiefest ornaments of our Pre-Reformation Churches. The answer must be, the abuses which sometimes accompanied them. And when it was determined to do away with the abuse, small consideration was given to distinctions and exceptions, “*De minimis non curat lex.*” The desire to instruct an ignorant and impressionable people through the eye, for everywhere “*Segnius irritant animos demissa per aures, Quam quæ sunt oculis subjecta fidelibus,*” led to the introduction of devices and tricks, by means of which, as in miracle plays and puppet shows, a greater realism was produced, and deeper emotions excited of pity, awe, and devotion. Mr. Walcott quotes the statement that “many superstitions were connected with Roods ‘with rolling eyes and sweating brows, with speaking mouth and walking feet.’”²

¹ *Myv. Arch.*, p. 308.

² *Sacred Archaeology.*

The abuses laid against them, though often interested and exaggerated, were no mere invention; and their influence on the unreasoning popular mind was great. The miraculous image of the Virgin at Penrys, in Glamorganshire, is thus described by contemporary poets, and it is hard to imagine greater credulity:—

“ Delw Veir nid dilavurach
Na Mair o'r nef am roi'n iach.”

RISIART AP RYS 1480—1520.

“ Mae nawnef mewn un ynys
Mae hyn o rad ym henn Rys
Mae dynion yma dynnir
Mair o'th wyrth hyd mor a thir
Yna i daethost vendith fawr
I'r lle hwn o'r nef i'r llawr
Dy ddelw bob dydd a welynt
Yn vyw' a gad o nef gynt.¹”

LEWYS MORGANWG.

“ O daw llef y dall yvydd
E wyl y dall olan dydd
O daw angall au dynged
E ddaw gras iddaw oi gred
O daw byddar at arall
E glyw llef o glwyf y llal
Vae glaf ar vaglan owy
O gor Mair ny ddygir mwy
Ych delw i iachau dolur
Chwi a iachewch dolur a chur.”

Ibid.

And in the same spirit, Gruff. ap Mered. ap Dafydd, in his poem “I'r Grog o Gaer” (The Rood of Chester), already quoted, after praising “Delw fyw f' Arglwydd eurlliw,” declares:

“ I ddelw unmab Mair ydd addolaf
O ddilys araith gwaith gwerthforaf.”

The Nemesis came at last, though not all at once. In 1 Edward VI (1547), by the King's injunctions, all images which had been, or were, abused with pilgrimage

¹ The Day of “Y Ddelw fyw” was September 9th.

or offerings of anything made thereunto were ordered to be taken down and destroyed; by ecclesiastical authority, however, and not "by that of any private person." (Bloxam, vol. iii, p. 90). On the 17th November that year, "at nyghte was pullyd downe the Rode in Powlles with Mary and John, with all the images in the churche. Item also, at that same tyme was pullyd downe throrrow alle the Kynges domynion in every churche alle Roddes (Roods) with alle images and every precher preched in their sermons agayne alle images." (*Ibid*). From that time forth Archbishops and Bishops in their visitations made inquiries whether the Act had been carried out. Thus in 1576, Archbishop Grindal enquired "Whether your roodlofts be taken down and altered, so that the upper part thereof with the sollar or loft be quite taken down unto the cross beam, and that the said beam have some convenient crest put upon the same." A lingering affection, however, still clung to them for their beauty and their ancient use; and not a few have survived to our own day, and many more would have remained had it not been for the vandalism, indifference, and utilitarianism of later generations. Of many of them we find still some fragments, even in our restored churches, and of the destruction of others we have written memoranda. Thus, to take the Archdeaconry of Montgomery alone, we have in Cedewain Deanery not only the beautiful remains of the Newtown Screen (of which presently), but also fragments found on the wall-plate at Kerry, from which the new screen in that church has been reconstructed. At Llanmerewig, a portion of the old screen remained *in situ*, and other portions were reproduced by the Rev. John Parker (Vicar 1827-44) in the altar-rails, in the pulpit and desk, and in the front of the gallery; and these have been reconstructed in the restored screen. At Llandyssil, so late as 1798—1802, "the parishioners removed the old rood-loft."

In Pool Deanery, at Buttington, the rood beam and

some remains of the screen are left. At Guilsfield, although the old rood-loft is gone, there still remains the doorway and the staircase that led up to it, as well as some of the tracery of the side screens; but at Welshpool, a petition to the Bishop for its removal (1728-38) alleged that "a great number of the very common sorte of people sit in it (under pretence of psalm singing), who run up and down there; some of them spitting upon people's heads below."

In Caereinion Deanery, a beautiful screen still stands in its place at Llangynyw; and at Llanllugan the rood-beam remains; but at Manafon and Meifod fragments only survive. At Llanerfyl, the minutes of Vestry inform us that on the 15th July, 1675, the rood-loft was ordered to be taken down, except the door under it, which was to be left to make a distinction betwixt the nave and chancel, and that with the timber, seats by way of a gallery were to be erected below the font. A fragment of it, presented by the Rev. J. Mc'Intosh, Rector, may be seen in the Powysland Museum. A richly-carved shrine, however, has escaped destruction. In Llanfyllin Deanery, in the old church of Llanfihangel, there were portions of a screen of very graceful character. At Pennant Melangell, affixed to the front of the west gallery, are considerable remains, representing the legend of St. Melangell and the hare. At Llanrhaidr the Rural Dean, in 1791, "ordered that y^e old cancelli be removed;" but some portion was preserved on the ends of two benches in the chancel, and "the footframe is still in the floor, and marks, where it was inserted in the walls, are still to be seen on both sides. Fragments of its carved portions, corresponding in style and workmanship with that at Pennant Melangell, are still to be found forming supports under the benches" (*Mont. Coll.*, 1872, p. 307). At Llangedwyn, the Rural Dean reported in 1749 that the rood-loft had been converted into a gallery for Sir W. Williams' family, who had a seat adjoining to the chapel. At Llanwddyn, some bands of carved foliage

that formed the cornice of the rood-loft in the old church, and some of the bosses from its undervaulting, are fixed in front of the choir stalls in the new church. In the adjoining deanery of Oswestry, within our Powysland, though not in Montgomeryshire, a finely wrought screen has survived at Llanyblodwel. At Whittington, in 1753, the loft was transformed into a pewed gallery, the entrance being by an external staircase. At Selattyn, in 1751, it was "ordered that the cancelli between the church and chancel should be taken away," and the only relic was a small band of the tracery on one of the supporting beams of the gallery, now preserved in the restored church.

Returning to the churches of Montgomeryshire, but outside the diocese of St. Asaph, we find in the adjoining deanery of Arwystli, and diocese of Bangor, the very fine rood-loft at Llanwnog, which has escaped the fate of the one at Llangurig, which was taken down and appropriated piecemeal during some repairs in 1836, but had fortunately been sketched and described by the Rev. John Parker some eight years before; and that at Llanidloes with its exquisite tracery, which was taken down in 1816, and no trace of it left.

In the deanery of Cyfeiliog, we find at Cemmaes, over the altar, a band of beautifully carved vine-leaf cornice; at Llanbryn-mair, now on the pulpit "a fragment of somewhat rude carving, probably from an ancient rood-screen" (*Mont. Coll.*, vol. xix, p. 308), and at Llanwrin the screen itself, with ogee cinquefoiled tracery in the compartments.

The fine rood-loft and screen at Montgomery, in the neighbouring diocese of Hereford, have happily survived the gauntlet of the past; and at Trelystan, in the same diocese, a portion of the arcading with its tracery remains.

At Llananno, just across the border in Radnorshire, is a beautiful rood-loft, which has been described and figured in the *Arch. Camb.*, 4th Ser., vol. v, p. 45.

The Rev. John Parker's drawings include other neighbouring screens, at Llanbadarn Fynydd, Bugeildy, and Bettws, near Clun.

It will be both appropriate and interesting here to quote the statement of the late Mr. Matthew H. Bloxam with regard to rood-loft images, and to give his description at large, especially as it relates to this diocese, though not to this county:—

“Of the rood-loft images, out of the general destruction by authority in the reigns of Edward VI and Elizabeth, I know of one set only that has escaped. This is in the little church of



Carved Wooden Panel from Rood Loft in Bettws Gwerfyl Goch Church.

Bettws Gwerfyl Goch, near Corwen (diocese of St. Asaph), where the image of the Crucifix of St. Mary and St. John, rudely carved on a wooden panel in low relief, and formerly affixed to or in front of the rood-loft, are still preserved and placed as a reedos over the holy table. The panel, 4 ft. 3 ins. wide by 2 ft. 3 ins. in height, is divided into five compartments, each from $7\frac{1}{2}$ ins. to 8 ins. wide. The central compartment contains a rude representation, in low relief, of the Crucifix, the figure of which is very indistinct; on the sides of the head of the cross are the words 'Ecce Homo;' on the compartment on the one side next to the Crucifix, rudely carved in low relief, is the figure of the Blessed Virgin, in a veiled head-dress, a nimbus over the head, and the hands folded on the breast; by her side, in the outward compartment, are represented the pincers, thorns, and nails. In the compartment on the other side of the Crucifix, St. John is represented holding his right hand to his head, and in the

compartment beyond this are carved the hammer, the reed, with hyssop, like a club and spear. The whole is a specimen of very rude carved work of the fifteenth, or early part of the sixteenth, century"¹ (vol. ii, p. 42).

If this panel was ever placed above the screen, it was a very unusual form of the rood, the figures of which stood out clear to the eye, the figure of the



Carved Images of the Blessed Virgin and Our Lord from Mochdre Church.
(*Photograph by Mr. Jones.*)

Saviour on the Cross being also on a larger scale than

¹ A characteristic distinction between screen work of an earlier date than the fifteenth century and screen work of that period, will be found to consist in the slender cylindrical shafts (often annulated) with moulded bases, and capitals which pertain to the early work of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, with the mullion-like and angular edged bars, often faced with small buttresses, which form the principal vertical divisions in that of the fifteenth century (*Ibid.*, 1, 260).

the others ; and if, on the other hand, it was affixed to the screen, it was a very uncommon position for it.

There are, however, in the Powysland Museum two figures, the one of Our Lord, and the other of the Virgin Mother, from Mochdre Church, presented by a former vicar, F. W. Parker (1863-1870), which were undoubtedly parts of the rood, and stood upon the screen ; the third figure, St. John, is missing. We do not know when they were removed from their proper position ; but perhaps it was in 1789, when the vestry "Agreed to build a new gallery from the singing gallery across the church, to join the old gallery ;" perhaps earlier. At all events, they had been stowed away on the top of the wall-plate, and found there during the restoration of the church in 1867. The Cross to which the figure of Our Lord was attached is gone, and the figure itself is somewhat mutilated and decayed. The height of the figure is 19 ins. ; the arms and feet are gone. The head, with its crown of thorns, is bent forward ; the hair full, the brow deeply furrowed, and an expression of pain rests upon the face. The carving is roughly executed, but the general effect is expressive and sad. The figure of the Virgin is 1 ft. 3½ ins. high, and stands on a pedestal 1¼ ins. She is represented in a long flowing robe, with a long veil falling down her back, and a cloak gathered round the shoulders. She appears to have worn a crown, but the wood is much worm-eaten and decayed, and the hands and nose are gone. The whole shows remains of colouring in white, gold, and vermilion.

Having now traced the general history of these gems of ecclesiastical art, and seen the vicissitudes and perils to which they have been subjected, we are in a better position to appreciate their value, and, I hope, will be more keen to admire the beauty of their design and the extreme delicacy of their workmanship. We in this neighbourhood are fortunate in having preserved to us some excellent specimens, such as those of Montgomery, Llanwnnog, Newtown, Llangynyw, and

Pennant Melangell; and I propose now to treat of them individually and in detail. And it may be as well to say at the outset that of the two faces of the rood-loft, the one looking east towards the altar is, as a rule, more elaborate than the one facing the nave; and to add that the general tradition of their transfer from some dissolved monastic church is not borne out by their own story (except in that of Montgomery); nor is it likely that they who destroyed them in the one place, would go to the great cost of transferring them to another church. The true solution would appear to be that the skilled artists who produced them were members, conversi or lay brethren, of some neighbouring abbey, such as Strata Marcella, Cwm Hir, or Strata Florida, and that in that sense they may have come from thence.

LLANWNOG.

The earliest reference I have found to this rood-loft is a brief record in the Rev. Walter Davies's "History of the Parish," which appeared first in the *Cambrian Quarterly Magazine*, 1829 (and was reprinted in vol. iii of *Gwaiñ Gwallter Mechain*, 1868), which states that "the church contains an ancient relic in a most exquisitely carved rood-loft" (p. 76). In 1830, the Rev. John Parker, then vicar of Llanmerewig, visited the church and made a most careful and artistic drawing of this rood-loft and its details, as well as of the painted glass figure of St. Gwynog; which drawings, through the courtesy of Mr. Stanley Leighton, his nephew, were reproduced, by photo-lithography, to illustrate Mr. D. Walker's account in the *Collections* for 1871. The present illustrations are from excellent photographs by Mr. John Owen, of Newtown.

Lewis's *Topographical Dictionary*, 1833, gives a somewhat fuller note:—

"The church . . . contains some beautiful specimens of ancient sculpture: the screen and rood-loft are exquisitely carved, and in a state of excellent preservation; the chancel

window is embellished with stained glass, in which the Patron Saint is represented in episcopal vestments, with a mitre on his head and a crosier in his hand, and underneath the figure is the inscription, 'Sanctus Gwynocus cujus animæ propitiatur Deus. Amen.'

This glass, which has been removed from the east window to one on the rood-loft stair¹ in the north wall, is not described quite accurately. The name is



Rood Screen and Loft in Llanwnnog Church : West Side.

(*Photograph by Mr. J. Owen.*)

not given in the nominative but in the vocative case : "Sce (Sancte) Gwinnoc (e)," and the invocation, "cujus animæ propitiatur Deus" must have belonged to some other figure, now lost. The figure of the Saint stands within a crocketed canopy of tabernacle work ; and he is vested in an alb, over which is a stole with fringed orphrey, a chasuble and cope. The head is encircled with an aureole, the right hand is raised in blessing,

¹ The steps are formed of rude square blocks of wood.

and the left holds a pastoral staff, richly ornamented, and with the crook turned inwards.

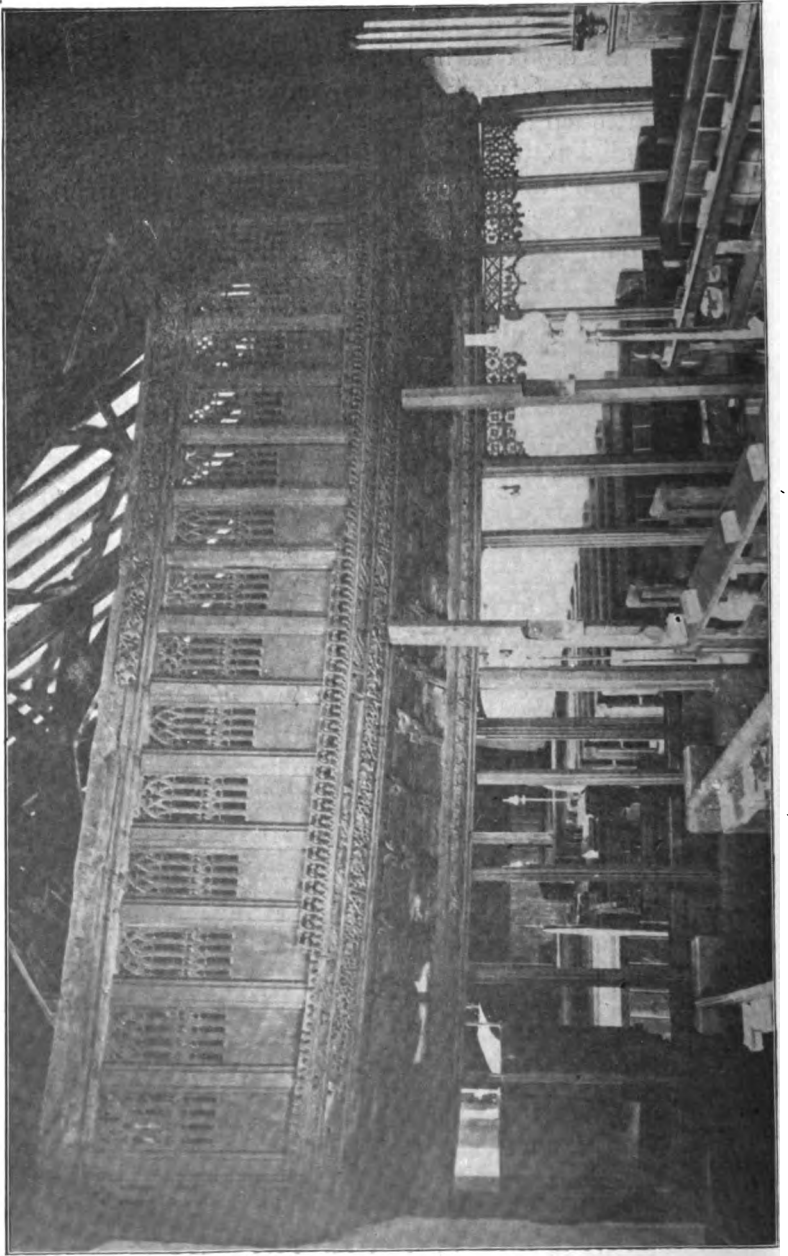
Sir Stephen Glynné,¹ who visited the church in 1855, mentioned as "its great feature the fine rood-loft in fair condition, of Late Perpendicular character, with much panelling and open work to the rood-loft itself;" adding that it "somewhat resembled that at Llananno, in Radnorshire;" and again in 1866, after the partial restoration of the church, he added that "the rood-loft and screen remain complete, though rather rickety. The loft has the usual vine-leaf cornices with Tudor flower, and has panelling, alternately plain and sculptured; below the loft is open tracery, and the *quasi* roof with ribs and bosses, the latter have letters. The overlapping cornice is supported on wood posts; in the centre is the door with pierced spandrels. The west side is the richest, but the east has also panelling."

Still later, in 1871, Mr. David Walker, of Liverpool, contributed to the fourth volume of the *Montgomeryshire Collections* an elaborate account, with illustrations, from which I make the following extract:—

"The position of the screen, which extends the entire width of the nave, is at the distance of about one-third the length of the church, from the east end, and is placed so as effectually to mark the line of demarcation between the nave and the chancel; a rude stair, formed within the thickness of the north wall, on the west side of the screen, leads to the rood-loft, formerly occupied by the choir, the internal dimensions of which are 24 ft. by 7 ft. wide.

"The eastern face indicates an entirely different treatment in several details to the other face; for instance, the front of the loft is spaced for panels of a different degree of richness and character to those on the west front, and the details of the cornices generally are dissimilar, although all have undoubtedly been executed by the same hand, with the exception of the panels on the west front of the rood-loft, which are an unfortunate modern innovation, without an approach to the style of the old work. Admirable in treatment and spirited in execution as this rood-screen undoubtedly is, its denuded

¹ Notes on Old Churches (*Arch. Camb.*, 6th Ser., vol. i, p. 145).



Wood Screen and Lift in Llanwrog Church : East Side.

(Photograph by Mr. J. Owen.)

state leads one to feel regret that those who were responsible for its preservation in time past should have so far forsaken their trust as to have allowed much of the very beautiful detail that adorned it to be removed, leaving what was once rich and varied in outline now little else than skeleton framing. . . . Owing, in all probability, to a constructional defect in the south wall of the nave, the effect of the screen on the west front is somewhat marred by a deflection in the longitudinal beam.

“By comparing the details of Llanwnog Screen with those of the Newtown Screen, it will at once be observed what a strong resemblance they bear to each other. The treatment of the foliage and enriched portions generally is unquestionably the work of the same craftsman, and too much cannot be said in praise of the singularly conscientious style in which the work has been executed; the thoroughgoing crispness and vitality given to multitudinous complex geometric forms, combined with perfectly harmonious treatment, render these screens of paramount excellence. What, for instance, can excel the cornices from the Newtown Screen, or the openwork ornament which originally must have crowned the rood-loft? The delicacy with which they are carved is no less striking than the skill in which the requisite light and shade are maintained.”

If, however, the treatment of the foliage and enriched portions generally is unquestionably the work of the same craftsman as the Newtown Screen, as Mr. Walker mentions, then the presence here of the Tudor flower and the rose, and the perpendicular openings on the eastern face of this loft, show conclusively that the Newtown Screen could not be of the early date to which he assigns it. The width of the rood-loft is six, not seven, feet, and the flooring is altogether gone, and shows the tracery and ribs of the vaulted panelling beneath. The bosses at the intersections of this panelling are formed, some of foliage and some of letters, most of which appear to be repetitions of I.H.S. ; M. (? Maria) ; and W.

Two semi-dragons are carved on the lowest band of tracery, one holding in its mouth the stem of a vine branch, the other bending its head on its breast. The panels of the undervaulting are in two patterns: the

upper consisting of a number of foliated circles, the lower of a network of vesicas relieved with inner cusps.

NEWTOWN.

This rood-loft stood in the old church until the church was taken down in 1856, and it extended across both the nave and the aisle. The Terrier of 1791 describes it as the "partition between the church and chancel, faced with various old carved work in wood, painted and guilt (*sic*), said to have been brought from the Monastery of Abbey Cwmhir, in Radnorshire, at its dissolution."

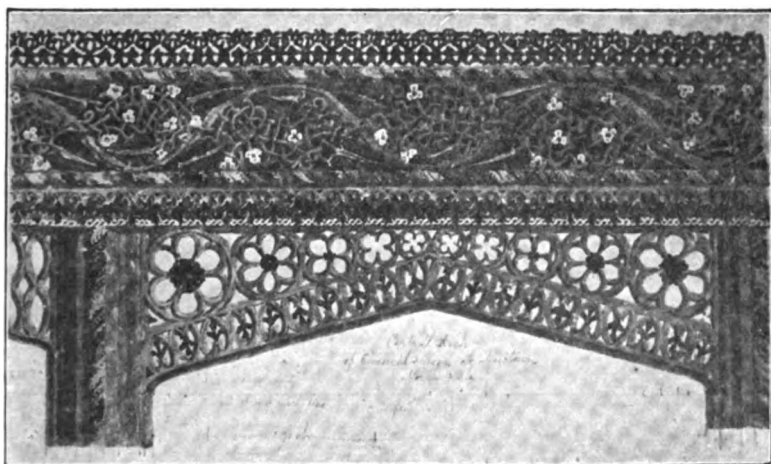
The Rev. John Parker, c. 1830, made some beautiful drawings of its exquisite details, but unfortunately did not make a sketch of the whole as it then stood—as he did in so many other cases—so that we cannot tell exactly what it looked like. But, happily, Mr. W. Basil Jones¹ saw it in position, and thus described it in the *Archæologia Cambrensis*, 1854, 2nd Ser., vol. v. :—

"This is an extremely elaborate specimen of its class, rich with carving and with gold and colour. It runs across both nave and aisle, and is divided into two compartments by one of the wooden piers. The projecting arched canopy, which formed the rood-loft, is not so divided, but forms a single piece. It is now set upright on the top of the screen, and the open parapet, which originally surmounted it, is now fixed behind and concealed by it. The whole is of the Latest Perpendicular, but bears no marks of cinquecento."

From this it is evident that the loft had been previously tampered with, and its form altered; and when it was removed from the old to the new church, further mutilation took place. The lower portion below the open arcade has disappeared altogether; and in order to fit it in as a reredos and sort of dado on the three walls of the small apsidal chancel in the new church, the supporting pillars were shortened, so that it should not interfere with the east window, and the

¹ Afterwards Bishop of St. David's, 1874-1897.

central opening widened, so as to enclose the Holy Table. The record of its removal was inscribed on a brass plate attached to it in its new position :¹—“ This screen was removed from the old Parish Church, and restored, and put up in its present form, at the expense and under the direction of the Rev. J. P. Drew, of Milford, by the skill and labour of John Jones, Carver, Parker’s Lane, in the year of our Lord, 1856. John Edwards, M.A., Rector; J. P. Drew, W. A. Cooper, Churchwardens.” In this position it stood in 1870,



Portion of Carved Rood Screen formerly in Newtown Church.
(*Drawn by Rev. John Parker. Photograph by Mr. T. Pryce.*)

when Mr. David Walker, Architect, of Liverpool, made a careful drawing and description of it for the *Montgomeryshire Collections* of that year :—

“The length of the screen, as now fixed, is 32 ft. 4 ins., being about ten feet less than when in its original position across the nave (and aisle) of the old church. The moulded supports under the lower cornice have also been reduced almost four feet in height. The upper portions remain unaltered. The carving and panels are in an excellent state of preservation ;

¹ Nothing is now known of this plate.

and, although dark with age, still bear the tool-marks as fresh as when cut. The enriched and interlaced cornices have traces of colour—vermilion and gold—with which it was at one time decorated, the effect of which, when standing as a rood, must have been considerably heightened by the light through the perforations of the exceedingly rich and varied panelling. The cornices are carved in a remarkably free and characteristic manner; the top cornice represents a conventional treatment of the leek, the middle cornice the vine, and the lower entwined palm leaves; the execution of the work is such that deep relief is obtained, whilst the tendrils and stems are delicate and well under-cut. The variety of the panels is very curious, some of the designs being particularly quaint and very few alike; the hand of the artist is apparent in every line, and it is gratifying to find that so excellent and interesting a monumental remain has escaped mutilation; the date of the work is evidently that of the first half of the fourteenth century.”¹

This date differs by more than a hundred years from that of Mr. Basil Jones, and, of course, involves a much earlier style; but we ourselves, judging from some features of the design, and from evidence supplied by comparison with Llanwnnog, think that Mr. Basil Jones was right; and we rather wonder at Mr. Walker’s satisfaction with the non-mutilation—unless, of course, he meant it by contrast with what might have been.

When, in 1875, the small apse was, in its turn, taken down to make way for the present chancel, the rood-loft was once more removed, and this time the uprights disappeared; and it has not been replaced. It now lies in the cellars at the rectory, where all that can be said for it is that it is in safe keeping from wind and weather. Mr. Fishbourne, when rector, had some hope of replacing what was missing, and putting it up again in the church; and a meeting of the parishioners was held to consider the matter, when it was decided to obtain the opinion of Mr. Kempson, Architect, of Llandaff and Hereford, the designer of the beautiful new reredos at Berriew. Mr. Fishbourne, however, was himself removed soon afterwards to Gresford, and the

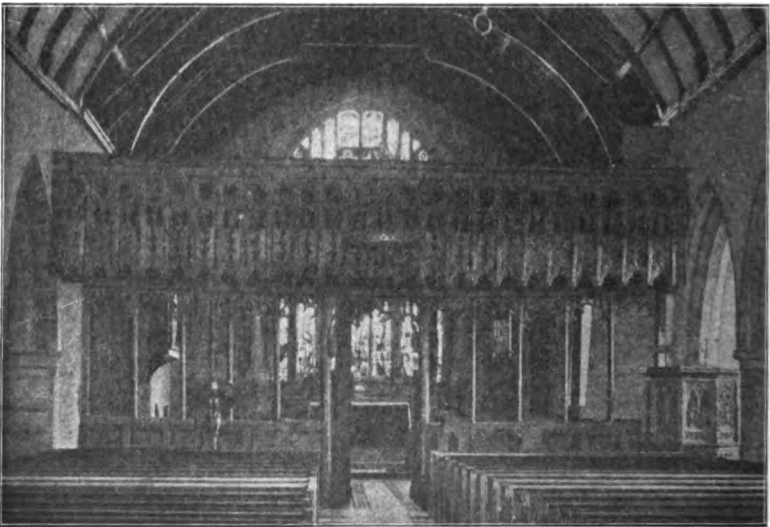
¹ *Mont. Coll.*, 1870, vol. iii, p. 212.

purpose remains in abeyance. But Mr. Kempson has prepared a plan for its restoration, the cost of which is said to be £600. What an opportunity for a memorial, that would at the same time beautify the church and perpetuate the munificence of the restorer!

MONTGOMERY.

This is curious, as it combines two screens with the rood-loft: one on the west side facing the nave, with five open arcades on each side of the doorway, and on the east side another screen, with four return miserere stalls on each side. Between the two, at the base, is an open space, now occupied as a ladies' choir, but formerly appropriated as pews. The western screen appears to occupy its original position, and may have had no loft. The spandrels of the arcade are all filled with tracery of the same pattern, that of the entrance being a little wider and more elaborate. The lower portion is concealed by the woodwork of the old pews, used as a casing, but has some ornamentation of Jacobean character inside. Above it, if ever there existed a moulding, or curved roof of panel-work and tracery, it has disappeared, and the space is now filled with almost plain panelling. But above it, forming the western face of the rood-loft, is a series of twenty-four canopies, ogee cinquefoiled, terminating in slender crocketed finials. These are divided from each other by buttresses, which are carried up to the hollow moulding of the beam. The upper part above the canopies is occupied by two rows of open panels, the upper square-headed, the lower with pointed arcading. This, however, differs in character from the screen below it, but corresponds with the flat canopy work of the stalls on the north-western wall of the chancel. A close inspection shows that the western face has been curtailed at the north end, in order to fit the width of the chancel, and the beam on the eastern side lengthened at the south end for the same

purpose. The tradition is—and it is likely to be true—that this screen and its rood-loft were brought hither from Chirbury Priory, some time after its dissolution. The arcade, now open, has evidently been filled with boarding¹ and tracery-panels, for the grooves remain, similar to that preserved on the north wall.² Whether the western face ever stood on the east side of the loft or not, I cannot say; but, in any case, one of the faces of the loft is missing. Of late, some plain panelled



Rood Screen and Loft in Montgomery Church : West Side.

boarding supplied its place, and an inscription on one of the pieces tells when and by whom it was put up.

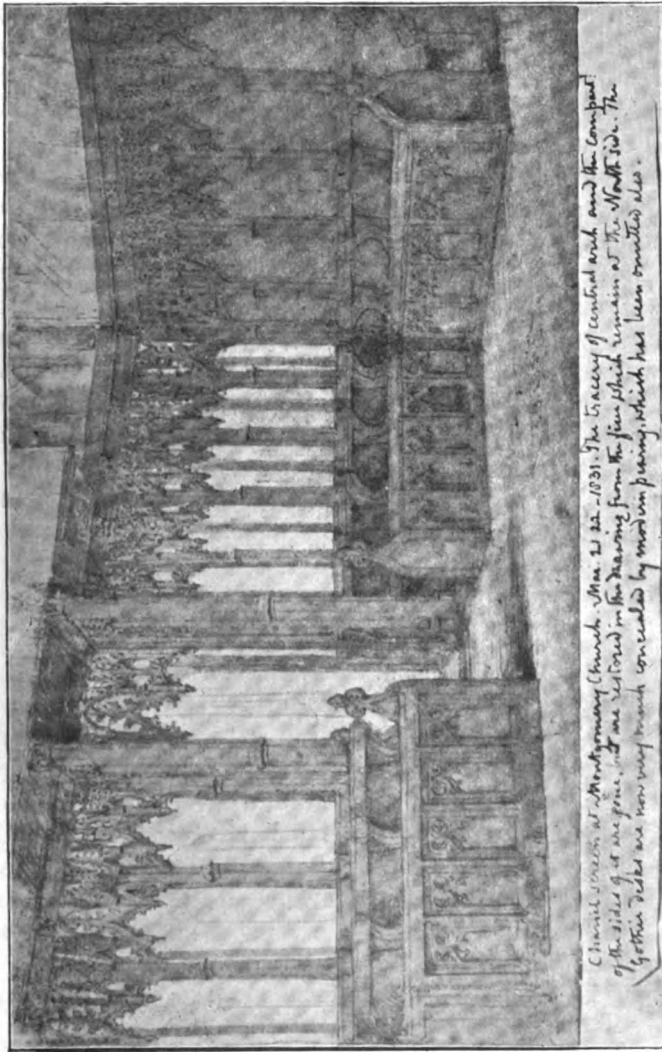
BLT . BY . MO' . RECTR . JANVARY . 1718 .³

¹ The purpose of this was to exclude draughts; one effect of it, according to Durandus, was to prevent the laity in the nave joining with the clergy and choir in the singing.

² Mr. Parker, in his drawing of this side of the screen, here by kind permission reproduced, has replaced the tracery, to restore its original appearance.

³ Maurice Owen was curate from 1670-1678, and afterwards rector for forty-three years; he died in 1721.

On either side of the entrance were wings with



Rood Screen in Montgomery Church: East Side.
 (Drawn by Rev. J. Parker. Photograph by Mr. T. Pryce.)

panels of open Tudor tracery; some of which have been worked into the front of the new choir-benches. The thick coating of pale drab paint which encases the

whole work effectually prevents seeing whether it was originally set off with colour.

The rood-loft rests on a plain stone corbel on the south side, and is approached by a narrow stone staircase, leading from the Pointed door in the south wall of the chancel, in the thickness of the wall, which, however, projects slightly on the outside.

This constructive feature appears to indicate that there was a rood-loft here as early as the erection of the chancel; and, I take it, of earlier date than the western screen: but who transported the Chirbury Screen hither? We have no documentary evidence whereby to answer this question; but the principal family in the parish in the latter half of the sixteenth and the first half of the seventeenth centuries was undoubtedly the Herberts, who were the Governors of the Castle, and it may be that George Herbert has a covert allusion to this in the opening stanza of his poem on "The Cross."

"What is this strange and uncouth thing
To make me sigh, and seek, and faint and die,
Until I had some place where I might sing,
And serve Thee; and not only I
But all my wealth and family might combine
To set Thy honour up, as our design."

In support of this it may be noted that on either side of the western entrance is an angel bearing a shield, which in the one case is blank, but in the other bears a sheaf of arrows—the Herbert crest.

And it is still more likely that what he may so often have looked upon with reverence as a boy—on the rood of his parish church—may have suggested those other pathetic stanzas on "The Church."

"O all ye who pass by, behold and see!
Man stole the fruit, but I must climb the tree;—
The tree of life to all, but only me.
Was ever grief like mine?"

"Lo! here I hang, charged with a world of sin:
'The greater world o' the two; for that came in
By words, but this by sorrow I must win.—
Was ever grief like mine?"

PENNANT MELANGELL.

Towards the end of the last century, that observant traveller, Thomas Pennant, records that he paid a visit to "the Shrine of St. Monacella, or, as the Welsh style her, Melangell":—

"Her legend relates that she was the daughter of an Irish monarch, who had determined to marry her to a nobleman of his court. The princess had vowed celibacy. She fled from her father's dominions and took refuge in this place, where she lived fifteen years without seeing the face of a man. Brochwel Yscythrog, Prince of Powys, being one day a hare hunting, pursued his game till he came to a great thicket; when he was amazed to find a virgin of surpassing beauty, engaged in deep devotion, with the hare he had been pursuing under her robe, boldly facing the dogs, who retired to a distance howling, notwithstanding all the efforts of the sportsmen to make them seize their prey. Even when the huntsman blew his horn, it stuck to his lips. Brochwel heard her story, and gave to God and her a parcel of lands, to be a sanctuary to all that fled there. He desired her to found an abbey on the spot. She did so, and died abbess at a good old age. She was buried in the neighbouring church, called Pennant, and from her distinguished by the addition of Melangell. Her hard bed is shown in the cleft of a neighbouring rock. Her tomb was in a little chapel, or oratory, adjoining to the church, and now used as a vestry room. This room is still called 'Cell-y-bedd,' or the Cell of the Grave. Her reliques as well as her image have been long since removed; but I think the last is still to be seen in the churchyard. The legend is perpetuated by some rude wooden carving of the Saint, with numbers of hares scuttling to her for protection. She properly became their Patroness. They were called 'Wyn Melangell' (St. Monacella's Lambs.)¹"

Portions of the carved stone shrine still exist in the wall of the church and the lych-gate.

Her popularity is attested, not only by the large offerings made at her shrine in pre-Reformation days ("Oblaciones ad reliquias," £2 16s. 8d.), but by many more recent pilgrimages to this most beautiful spot,

¹ *Tour in Wales*, vol. iii, p. 173 (ed. 1810).

which has been apostrophised with its story in the following descriptive lines copied from Mr. Parker's "Book of Drawings :"—

THE VALE OF PENNANT.

" A Vale in the heathclad hills
 Concealed in the moors of Berwyn ;
 A Vale among Celtic deserts
 In the border of Powysland ;
 A Vale of Retreat from the world,
 Yet lovely with waving bowers :
 This was thine abode, O Melangell !
 Thy cloister, O Maid of the North !

" A Church in the secret vale,
 A secret and solemn refuge,
 Where the foe dropp'd the sword of warfare
 And remembered the fear of the Lord ;
 A tomb in the hallowed ground,
 A grave in the woodland Valley ;
 This was thy bed, O Yorwerth !
 Thou first born of Owen Gwyneth.

" A stream in the highland Vale,
 A foaming and roaring torrent,
 That falls down the cavern'd rocks
 From the height of the mountain above.
 O, beautiful Vale of Pennant !
 This is thy Cathedral Service,
 Pride of the north western Valleys,
 Both music and poem to thee."

In another tone, we find, in the *Selections from the Letters of Robert Southey*, by his son-in-law, a playful and amusing letter in rhyme, addressed to his little daughter, Edith May, on April 25th, 1820, after one of his many visits to his friend, the Right Hon. C. W. Williams-Wynn, at Llangedwyn :—

" I was obliged to stay | at Llangedwyn till to-day ; | though
 I wished to come away, | Wynn would make me delay | my
 departure yesterday | in order that he | and I might go and
 see | a place whereof he | once sent a drawing to me. | And
 now I'll tell you why | it was proper that I | should go thither
 to espy | the place with my own eye. | Tis a church in a vale |

whereby hangs a tale, | how a hare being pressed | by the
 dogs and much distressed | the hunters coming nigh | and the
 dogs in full cry | look'd about for someone to defend her | and
 saw just in time | as it now comes pat in rhyme | a Saint of
 the feminine gender. And so on."

Again, ten years later, in a poem on the "Portrait of Bishop Heber," he recounted an excursion from Llangedwyn, in which they

"Together sought Melangel's lonely church
 Saw the dark yews, majestic in decay,
 Which in their flowering strength
 Cyfeiliog might have seen ;
 Letter by letter traced the lines
 On Iorwerth's fabled tomb ;
 And curiously observed what vestiges,
 Mouldering and mutilate,
 Of Monacella's legend there are left
 A tale humane, itself
 Well nigh forgotten now."

To the facile and skilful pen of the Rev. John Parker, so often already alluded to, we owe both an excellent drawing and the detailed description, contributed in 1848 to the Third volume of the *Archæologia Cambrensis* :—

"The original situation of this curious fragment is uncertain. At present, it is fixed in the front of the west gallery ; but although it is not easy to point out any place that would exactly suit it, I imagine it must have been a part of the western side of the rood-loft, or of a gallery above the screen.

"Within the branch work of a running border, such as is frequent in chancel screens, and enclosed in casement mouldings, the legend of St. Melangell, or Monacella, is represented. The cleverness and ingenuity with which the story is told, in spite of the trammels imposed upon the artist by the requirements of the running border, are deserving of remark. The various figures, although carved in equally strong relief, and occupying equal intervals of the branch work and foliage in the running border, are nevertheless at five several distances in point of size. There is no grouping. The workmanship is minute, but rather grotesque ; and the different animals are all, more or less, out of drawing. They are painted in red and pink

and white; the tracery panels under them, alternately red and blue; the leading members of some pale colour. The branch-work and the foliage are also of light colours; but the chromatic decorations are much faded, and there is not light enough to ascertain them.

"I.—First compartment. Brochwel Yscythrog, Prince of Powys, on horseback; his bridle tied on the mane of the horse; both arms extended; in his right hand a sword which he is brandishing. He wears long hair under a flat cap; a close-fitting coat and girdle, both painted red, and sits in the high saddle of the Middle Ages. He is the most distant figure of the series.

"II.—The second compartment is partly damaged in the branch-work, but the figure is entire. The huntsman, half-kneeling, tries in vain to remove the horn, which he was raising to his lips for the purpose of blowing it, when it remained fast and could not be sounded.

"III.—In the third, St. Melangell, or Monacella, is represented as an abbess; her right hand slightly raised; her left hand grasping a foliated crozier; a veil upon her head. The figure, seated on a red cushion, is larger than that of Brochwel, and smaller than that of the huntsman.

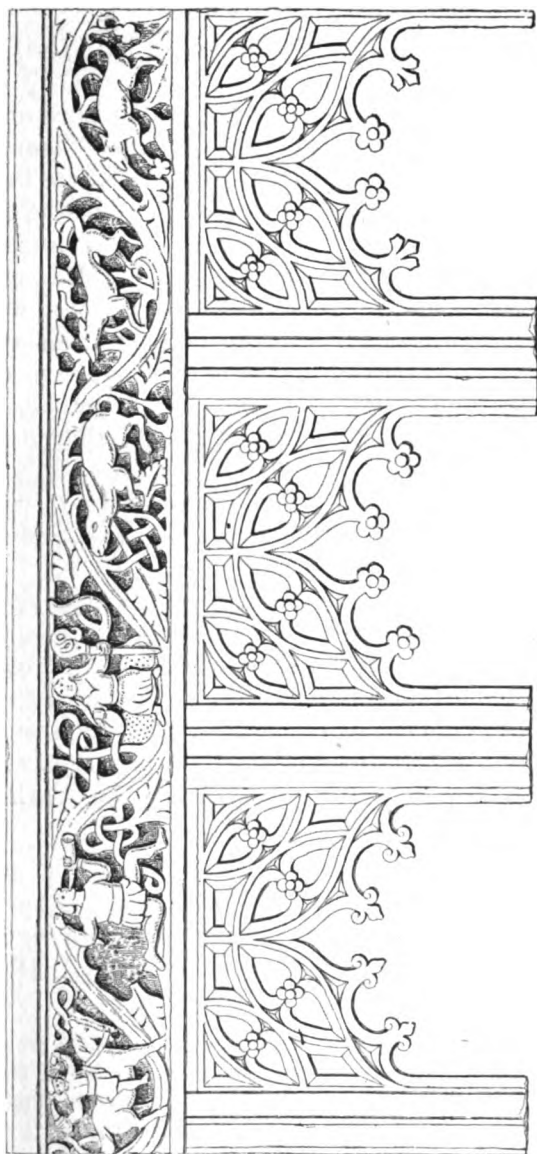
"IV.—A hunted hare, crouching or scuttling towards the figure of the Saint. The hare is painted red.

"V.—A greyhound in pursuit; the legs, entangled among the branches of the running border, can hardly be distinguished from them. The dog is painted of a pale colour.

"VI.—A nondescript animal, intended, I suppose, for a dog. In this and the Vth compartment the hounds are supposed to be further from the eye than the hare, which is the largest figure in the whole range.

"One tracery panel has its gouge-work painted red; the gouge-work of the next is blue; that of the next is red; and so on alternately."

The screen itself, on the rood-loft of which the above formed a cornice or frieze, still remains in its position between the chancel and the nave. It comprises four compartments on each side of the doorway, or entrance, which is just double the width of the side divisions; the spandrels are filled with tracery of the same design, and of fourteenth-century character.



H. Shaw sculp^d

SCREEN, PENNANT MELANGELL.

J. Fisher del^d

LLANYBLODWEL.

Although Llanyblodwel is not actually in the county, a part of it was in early times the property of the Lord of Pennant Melangell, who was also Lord of Bryn, and of Ruyton of the Eleven Towns. There was, moreover, an ecclesiastical as well as a civil tie between the two places; for the township of Bryn paid a portion of its tithes to the vicar of Pennant. This church, too, like Pennant, has its screen, though it has not its legend; and it still remains to mark the division between the nave and north aisle, and their chancel and chantry respectively. Along the western face of the beam runs a band of tracery, in which, as there, animal carvings are found amid the entwining foliage, and there is a further correspondence in the fragment of an ancient coffin-lid in the churchyard, with its hunting legend, forming, it may be, the connecting link with the donor of the screen.

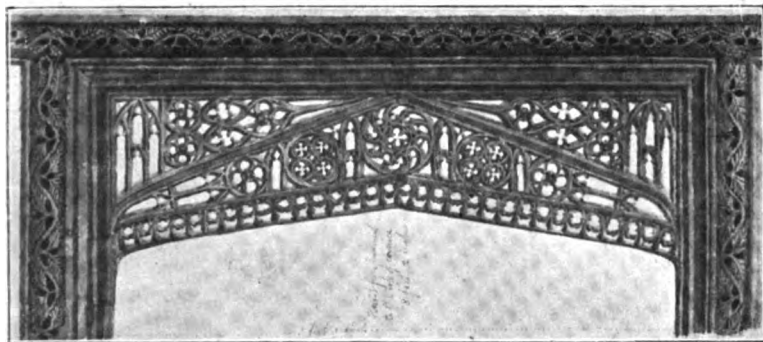
This screen, mentioned by Vicar Worthington in 1736, in connection with a dispute concerning a seat, extends across the nave and north aisle, and contains arcading of eighteen bays, with similar tracery in each compartment, that is, two arches with an ogee crocketed finial within each. It was considerably repaired and renovated through the care of Mr. John Parker, the vicar from 1844 to 1860.

LLANGURIG.

In the *History of the Parish of Llangurig*, by Mr. Edward Hamer and Mr. Howell W. Lloyd, 1875, we have this account:—

“On the north side of the chancel are to be seen traces of a narrow winding stone staircase, which formerly led to the rood-loft, which existed in the church previous to the year 1836. Remains of ‘an elaborately-carved screen and rood-loft are still preserved,’ is the statement made in Lewis’s *Topographical Dictionary*, published in 1833. Three years later, when the church was repaired, the screen and loft were taken down, and

the churchwardens, who must have been ignorant of its value, allowed anyone who expressed a desire to become possessed of samples of the tracery to carry away specimens, so that literally, bit by bit, it disappeared, and not a vestige of it was left when Mr. Evans, the present vicar, was appointed to the living in 1852. It was, undoubtedly, the principal object of interest in the church, and its fate is a sad example of the shameful neglect and utter indifference through which so many similar relics have disappeared from the churches of the neighbourhood. Fortunately the late Rev. John Parker, of Llanyblodwel, visited the church in the summer of 1828, and his artistic and accurate pencil has preserved for us admirable drawings of the screen, which, through the kindness of Sir Baldwin Leighton, we are able to reproduce."



Portion of Rood Screen in Llangurig Church.
(Drawn by Rev. J. Parker. Photograph by Mr. T. Pryce.)

When Sir Stephen Glynne saw it about the year 1829, "a large portion of the rood-loft screen remained, having pretty good carved wood-work and vine-leaf cornice."¹

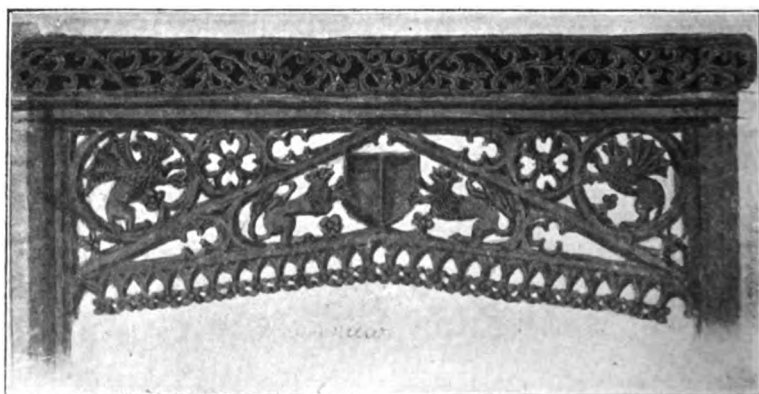
In "A Description of the Church," by Col. Lloyd-Verney of Clochfaen, 1892, Mr. Arthur Baker, who superintended the restoration of the church under Sir Gilbert Scott, R.A., in 1878, assigns the rood screen to the last quarter of the fifteenth century, c. 1475, and states that the only relic found remaining was a frag-

¹ Notes on Old Churches, in *Archæologia Cambrensis*, 1901.

ment of the carved cornice, which had been replaced in its original position, and notes that in general design the screen is similar to many others in Montgomeryshire and other parts of Wales; the centre arch being of a characteristic local type, and like one at Gyffylliog, near Ruthin, and one at the church (Llangynyw), near Meifod.

LLANGYNYW.

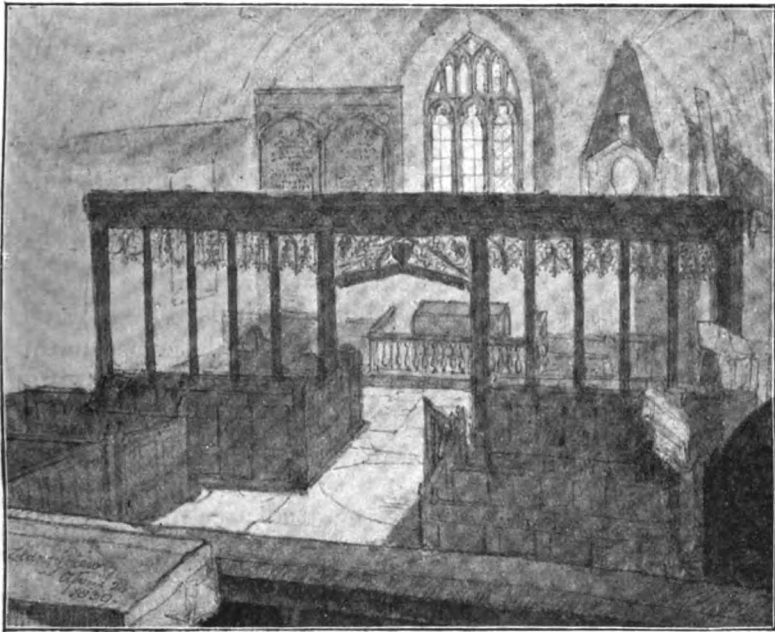
This screen remains *in situ*, and consists of five bays on either side of the entrance; but most



Rood Screen in Llangynyw Church.
(Drawn by Rev. J. Parker. Photograph by Mr. T. Pryce.)

of the supporting pillars have been cut off just below the tracery. The designs of the tracery are worked out in six patterns of much beauty, and that above the entrance is heraldic, and may give the clue to the donor. On either side of an impaled shield a lion guardant passant stands as a supporter, and in the spandrels above, within foliated circles, a winged dragon. At the west end, under the gallery, is a corresponding piece, with the shield and supporters above and the dragons below; a graceful cresting finishes off the bottom. The beam is cased with a rich

band of pomegranate pattern on the chancel side; but on the west it is of plainer character, of alternate ragule and inclined ribbon pattern, similar to one of the bands on the Llanwnog loft, except above the entrance, which has a piece of vine-carving affixed. This fact, combined with the second spandrel, seems to show that there must have been a canopy of some kind



Rood Screen in Llangynyw Church.
(*Drawn by Rev. J. Parker. Photograph by Mr. T. Pryce.*)

over this portion. Probably the screen was surmounted at one time by a rood-loft, and when that was taken down, in accordance with Archbishop Grindal's enquiry, a band of the carved work was placed on the east side of the beam, and the ruder carving on the west added, and the whole surmounted with a "convenient crest" The heraldic device may point to the "Red Dragon" of Powys and the "Lion of the Lords of Powys of the

House of Cynvyn, to whom Mathrafal, with most of the parish, belonged.

The illustration has been photographed by Mr. Pryce, of Pentreheylin, from one of the beautiful sketches made by the Rev. John Parker, and kindly placed at our service by Mr. Stanley Leighton, M.P.

MODERN.

There are some modern screens and lofts, put up within the last few years, which deserve honourable mention. Although for elaboration and richness of detail they cannot be compared with those of Llanwnog and Newtown, they are, all of them, specimens of excellent workmanship, and great ornaments to their churches.

1. *GUILSFIELD*.—The compartments of the open screen are broad and high, and the spandrels filled with geometrical tracery, which may be best described as of the rose character. It has the vaulted overhanging canopy, but no loft, properly so called. It was designed by Mr. Street.

2. *LLANSANTFFRAID*, like Guilsfield, has the vaulted canopy and no loft; and its pointed arcading is filled with decorated tracery of more varied and graceful character. It was designed by Mr. J. O. Scott, and is a memorial to Mrs. Hayhurst, of Melyniog, and late of Ystymcolwyn.

MANAFON.—This screen consists of one narrow compartment and two wide ones on each side of a very wide entrance. The tracery is Perpendicular, and formed of adjoining foliated spaces. The cresting is of an uncommon form. The design was by Messrs. Douglas and Fordham, and the screen was presented by Mrs. Williams, of Henllys and of Barmouth.

LLANFECHAIN screen consists of three equal compartments on each side of the entrance, having the heads filled with Perpendicular, varied with geometrical

tracery. It is surmounted by a Tudor cresting, and has over the centre a Calvary Cross. It was designed by Mr. Douglas of Chester.

When we turn from screens and rood-lofts to the cognate subject of churchyard and wayside crosses, it is remarkable that there is not, as far as I know, a single instance of the survival of either the one or the other in the county; and this notwithstanding the far more durable material of which they were made; nor can I recall to mind more than one place-name that seems to hand them down: that of "Gungrog" (Cefn Grog) near Welshpool. The adjoining Abbey of Strata Marcella, with its township of Tirymynech (Monksland), would readily explain the name, were it not that it appears to be of much earlier date than the Abbey. It is not, I believe, because they never existed; the bases of some of them may still be doing duty for sundials; yet we have no record of their demolition. Their non-existence now, however, is the more noticeable by way of contrast to the adjoining counties. Thus in Merionethshire we have the extremely early Cadfan Stone at Towyn, and all but the head of the cross at Corwen. In Flintshire we find the Celtic crosses of Maen Achwyfan and Dyserth, with the mediæval crosses of Hanmer and Newmarket, and in Denbighshire Eliseg's Pillar (the head of the cross is lost), of the ninth century, and the fourteenth-century cross in the Churchyard of Derwen. This last is the more significant, because it controverts the plea that where there was a rood within the church a cross outside would be superfluous, and that *vice versa*, a churchyard cross would render an inside rood unnecessary; for here at Derwen both evidently co-existed. The four faces of the cross bear sculptured representations of the Holy Trinity, the Judgment, the Virgin and Child, and the Crucifixion with the Virgin and St. John at the foot; but this last is the rood. In the church, and in

excellent preservation, is a fine roodloft, with sixteen panels ornamented with tracery, and having a band of the vine pattern as a cornice. In the top of the western beam and at its central point is a socket, or mortise, to receive the foot of the rood, which would face the congregation. This, indeed, is no longer there, but its witness remains. It is worthy of mention that this parish adjoins that of Bettws; and their two churches, which are only about five miles apart, are both of them noteworthy for their rare ecclesiastical remains.¹

Mem.—This article was written in the first instance for, and read in part before, the Newtown Clerical Association; and has subsequently been enlarged and illustrated for its present use.

¹ *Supra*, p. 94.

THE HERMITAGE OF THEODORIC, AND THE SITE OF PENDAR.

BY THOMAS GRAY, ESQ., M. INST. C.E.

I.

BEFORE January, 1894, I was unaware of a hermitage having existed in these parts. At this date, Miss Talbot kindly sent me volume i of the *Margam and Penrice MSS.*, by Dr. W. de Gray Birch; and in it I found that a mile or so from where I live in the parish of Margam, there existed as far back, and probably before the year A.D. 1147, the Hermitage of Theodoricus; but where was it situated? No ruins existed to mark its site, no tradition survived about it, and the building had disappeared completely.

In the earliest charters of Margam Abbey we find mentioned as a landmark the Hermitage of Theodoric; but as no ruins indicated its position, it was not possible to fix its site. The original charter founding the Abbey of Margam is not extant; but its text is found in an *Inspeximus* by Edward le Despenser, Lord of Glamorgan and Morgan, dated July 13th, 1358, of an *Inspeximus* by Hugh le Despenser, dated Oct. 9th, 1338. In this document the Earl William notifies to the Bishop Nicholas¹ and others concerned, that he has confirmed the gift which Robert² his father gave to the monks of Clairvaux: "That is to say all the lands which extend between Kenfig and the further bank

¹ A.D. 1149-1183.

² Robert of Caen, natural son of Henry I, King of England, Consul or Earl of Gloucester. He became possessed of these lands by his marriage with Mabilia, the heiress of Robert Fitzhamon, the leader of the Norman knights, who retained Kenfig and district in addition to Cardiff as his share of the conquest.

of the water of the further Afan, which is to the west of the Hermitage of Theodoricus as the water aforesaid descends from the mountains. All this land I grant to the monks as it goes through the mountains,

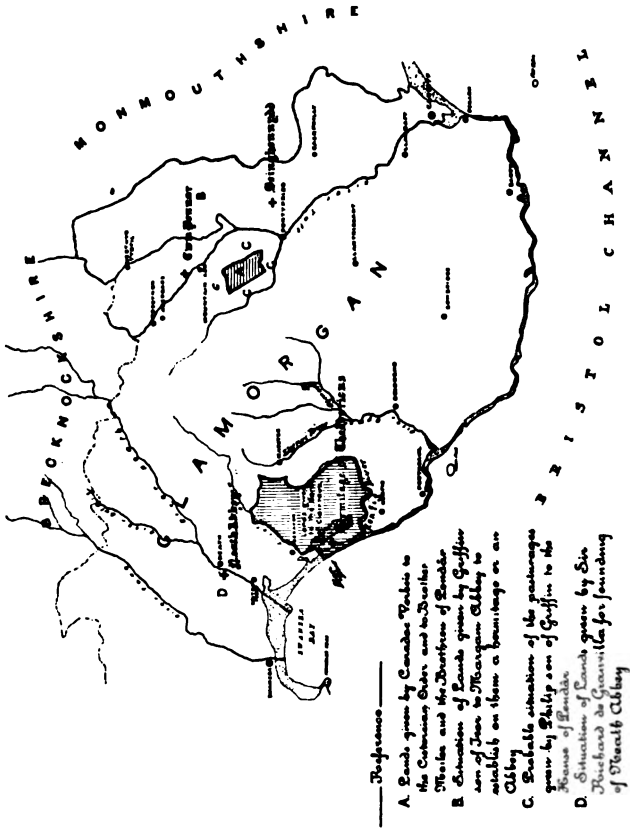


Fig. 1.—Map of Lands given to the Monks of Clairvaux, and Grants of Land by Caradoc Uerbeis to Pendar, etc.

namely, from the source of Kenefeg water between the source of Rudelf (Ffrwdwyllt) and Gelli-fret (Gellivrith) on to Red-Kewelthi (Rhyd Gyfylchi), that is the ford of Kewelthi, into Aven (Afan river) in wood and in

plain, in fields and in pastures and waters, in moors and marshes, also all the fisheries of Aven, that no one may interfere with them on the other side, nor put their hand to fishing in the whole of Aven except by their consent."

This certainly points to the site of the Hermitage as being near the river Afan, where it falls into the sea, and just to the east of it.

In the midst of the lonely sand-dunes near the old mouth of the River Afan (in 1836-38 it was diverted, and is now further west), some fifteen or sixteen years

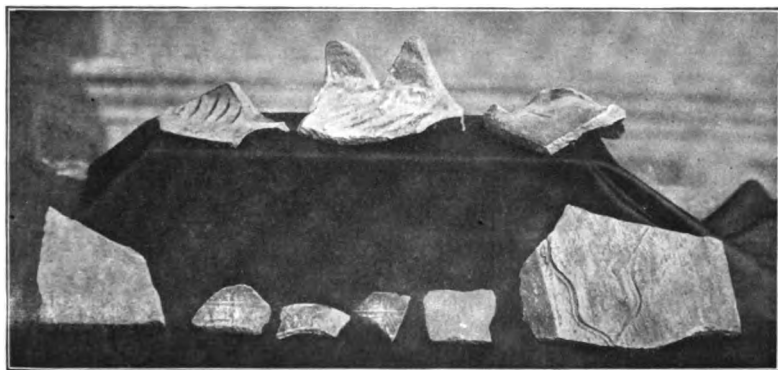
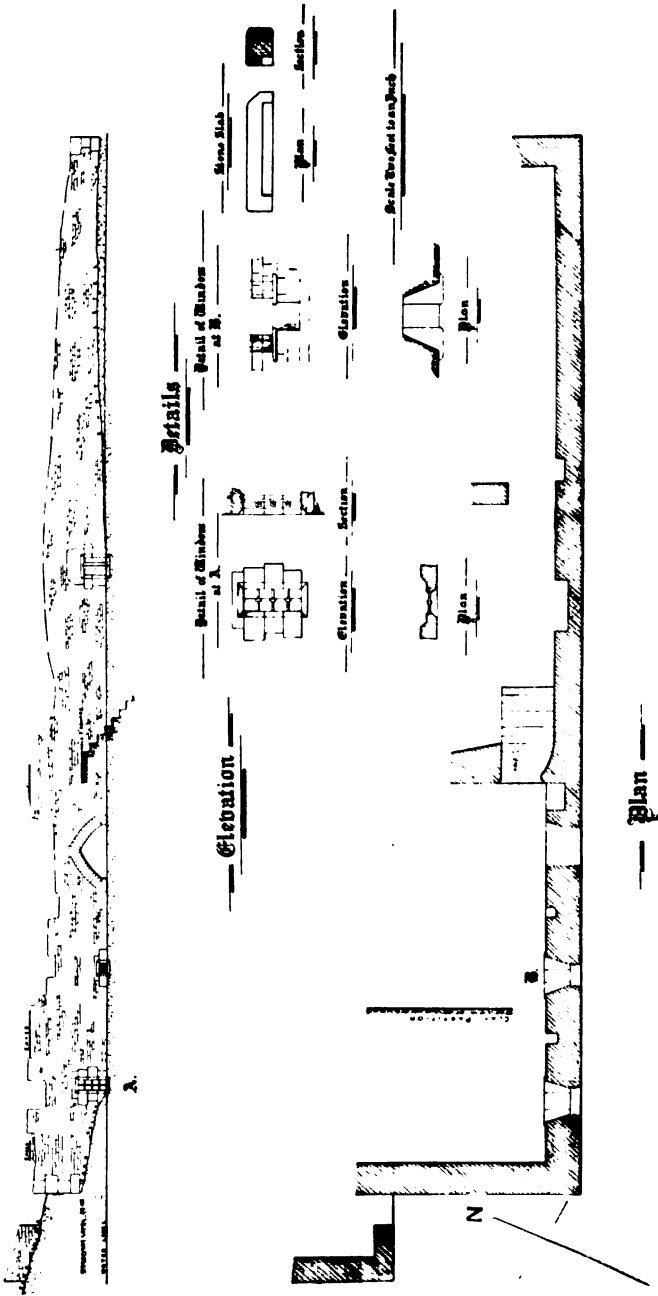


Fig. 2.—Ridge and Flat Green-Glazed Tiles, and Fragments of Earthenware Vessels from the Hermitage of Theodoric.

ago, I picked up a tile-stone having a neatly-made nail-hole at the top part; and later I discovered part of a wall; still later I found some green glazed earthenware tiles, ridge and flat,¹ and several pennant-stone tiles, similar to the first one I found. Three years ago I had the sand cleared off around a pile of stones, and found a building about 85 ft. in length, which is here shown in elevation and plan: water then prevented further clearing of the ruins. I have recently (in this year)

¹ See p. 149, No. 66, *Arch. Camb.*, April, 1900, illustrations of similar old ridge-tiles found in Llantwit Major Church.



Elevation and Plan of Hermitage of Theodoric.

discovered among the ruins part of a piscina or holy-water stoup.

The three upper story windows were dormer windows. The stone work of the centre one, under the seat-like slabs, is of dressed green Collwn or Quarella stone, the

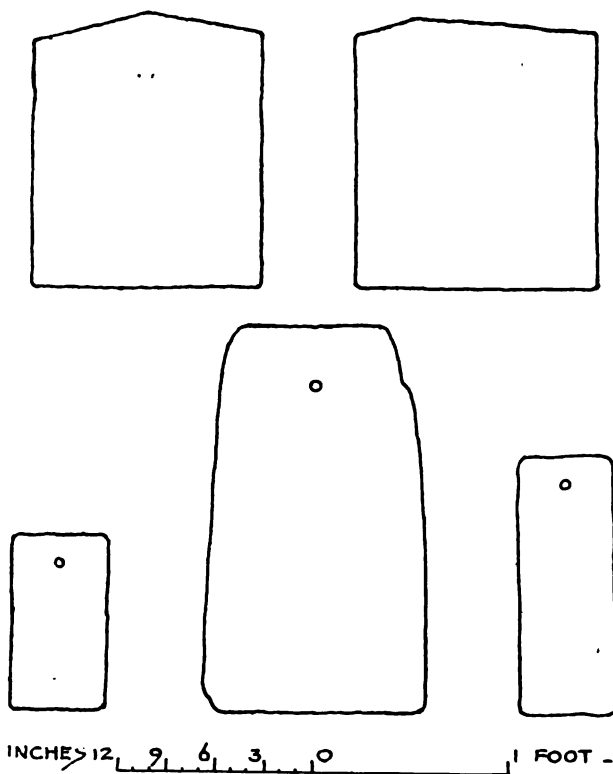


Fig. 3.—Roof-tiles of Pennant Stone from the Hermitage of Theodoric.

other two are in rubble masonry. The quoins, jambs of the windows, and mullion of the easternmost window, and the long slab and base of a pillar, are of the same green stone, with the exception of three Sutton stones in the jambs of the westernmost window.

The iron stanchions and saddle-bars in the western-

most window and in the small centre window are well preserved, as also are the shutter-hooks still remaining inside the easternmost window. The key is simply rust, being completely oxidised.

I consider the fact of the iron-work being so little wasted somewhat of a proof of the rapid be-sanding of the ruins, which covered up the iron-work and preserved it from the action of the salt sea air, so injurious to iron.

The small window west of the doorway is 10 ins.

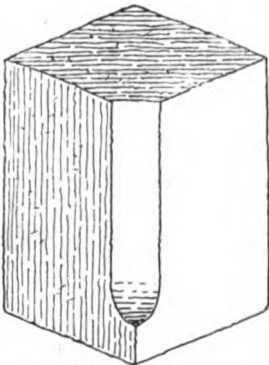


Fig. 4.—Base of Pillar, Green Collwn Stone, from the Hermitage of Theodoric.

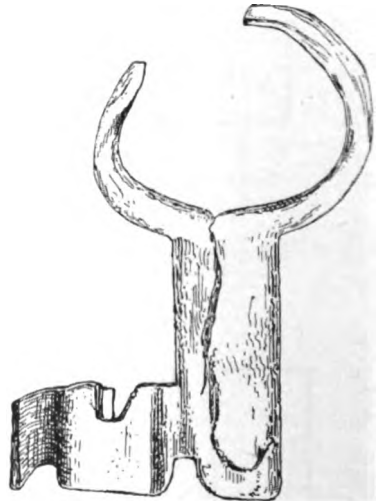


Fig. 5.—Key found in the Ruins of the Hermitage of Theodoric.

wide by 7 ins. high ; it has three iron stanchions and one saddle-bar.

The stoup or piscina was found in the sand in the eastern part of the building, indicating clearly the position of the chapel. The stoup is carved in Sutton stone.

Through the top step on the left side in descending is a hole, 5 ins. square, which continues through the block of masonry ; it probably held the upper part of a hand-rail. The narrowness of the steps, 7 ins.

tread and 7 ins. rise, would necessitate the use of a hand-rail.

The remains of walls at a considerable distance from the main building shows the establishment was an extensive one. The true meridian is marked on the plan, and shows the orientation of the chapel to be 12 deg. north of east.

No part of the north walls of the building have been uncovered; they lie under a high hill of sand.



Fig. 6.—The Holy-Water Stoup, found among the Ruins of the Hermitage of Theodoric.

On referring to the paper on Llantwit Major Church, in the April (1900) number of the *Archæologia Cambrensis*, by Mr. G. E. Halliday, it will be seen that the green glazed ridge-tiles found in the church are very similar to those found at the Hermitage. Similar tiles were found in Nicholaston Church, Gower (Davies' *West Gower*, vol. iv, Plate opposite p. 496). It is stated (p. 403) that similar ridge-crests has recently been found at Cardiff Castle.

Finding these ancient ruins exactly where the charters indicated the Hermitage, or Grange of the

Hermitage, to be, I came to the conclusion I had discovered the ruins of it. The discovery of the stoup or

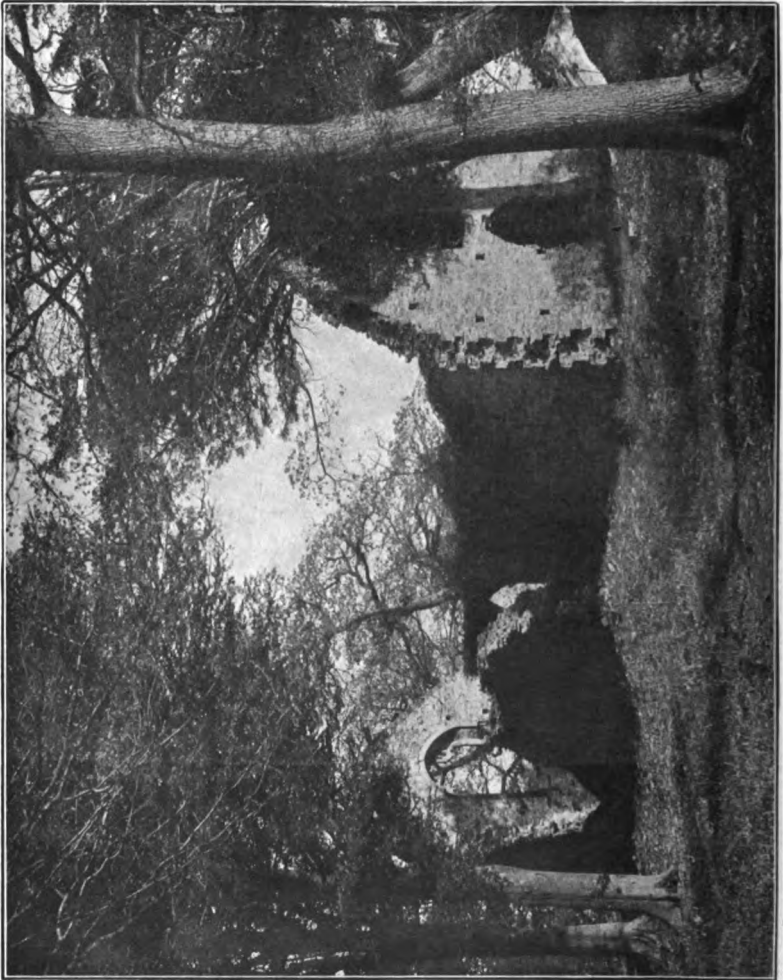


Fig. 7.—The Chapel of Cryke (Crugwallt).

piscina shows a chapel was attached to the Grange, and I have no doubt if further clearing were undertaken the small chapel would be found: it seems probable that the flat, and one of the three kinds of ridge or crest

tiles, came from the chapel. With regard to the stoup or piscina, the eminent architect and antiquary, Mr.

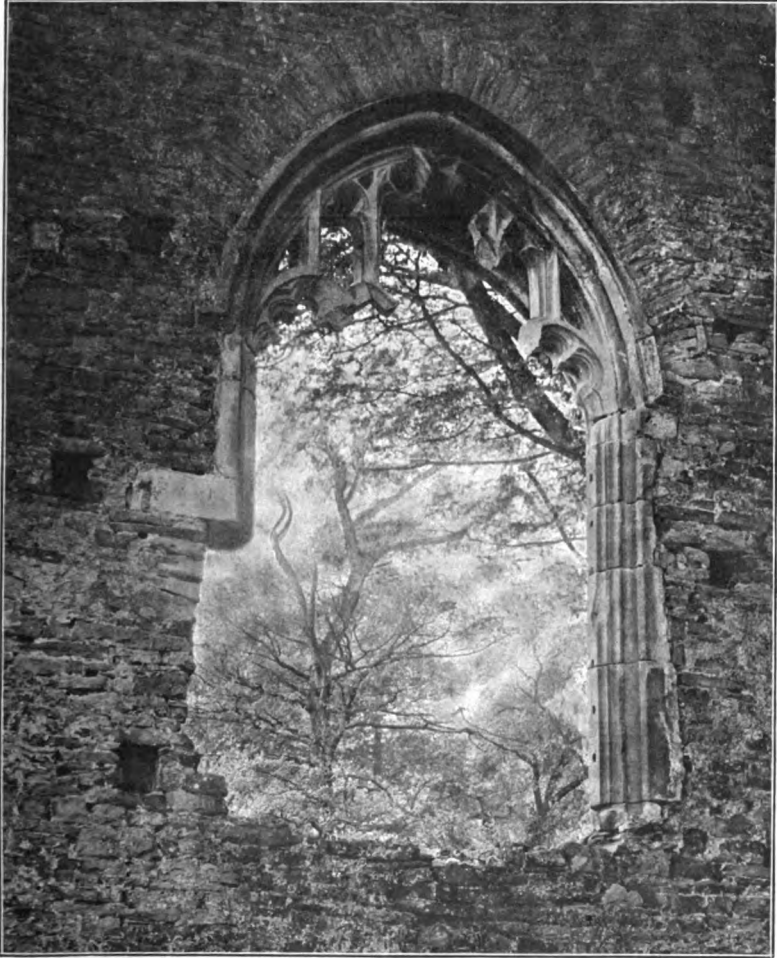


Fig. 8.—East Window of Cryke Chapel (Crugwallt).

J. T. Micklethwaite, F.S.A., writes me : “ The fragment you have found may belong either to a holy-water stoup or to a piscina. Very likely, the circle of the bowl was

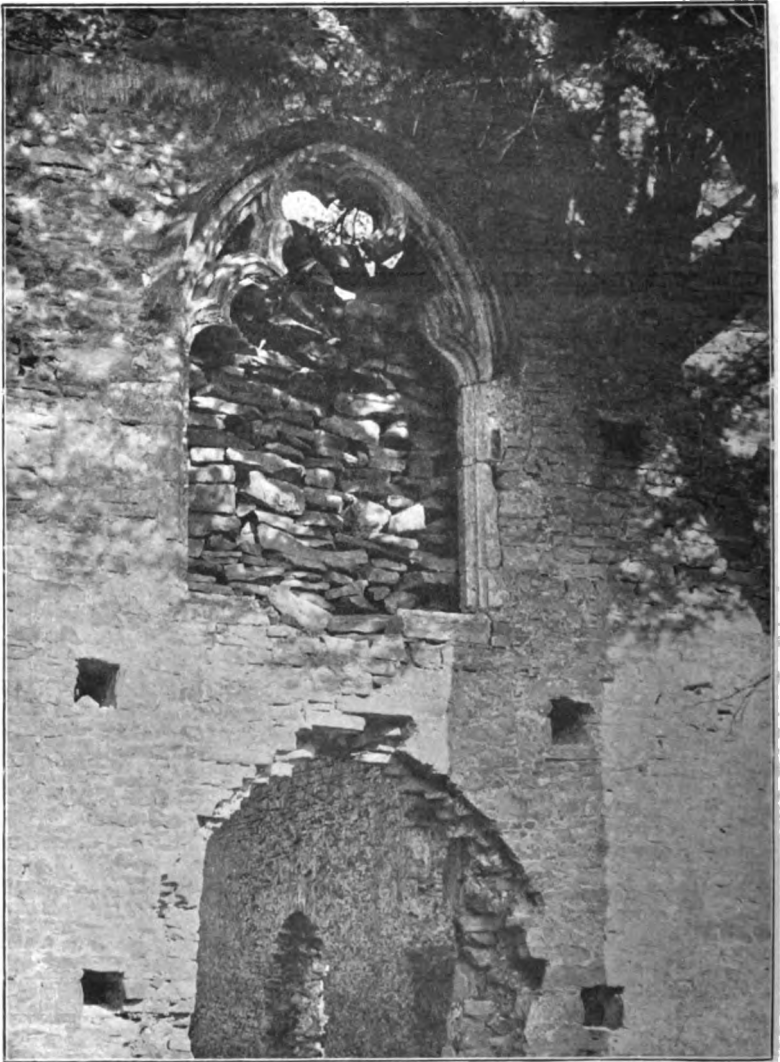


Fig. 9. — West Window of the Chapel of Cryke (Crugwallt).

completed under a niche in the wall. There is no detail to fix the date exactly, but I think it not earlier than the thirteenth century, and it may well be the

fourteenth." The Hermitage itself apparently gave way to the Grange upon the Abbey becoming established ;

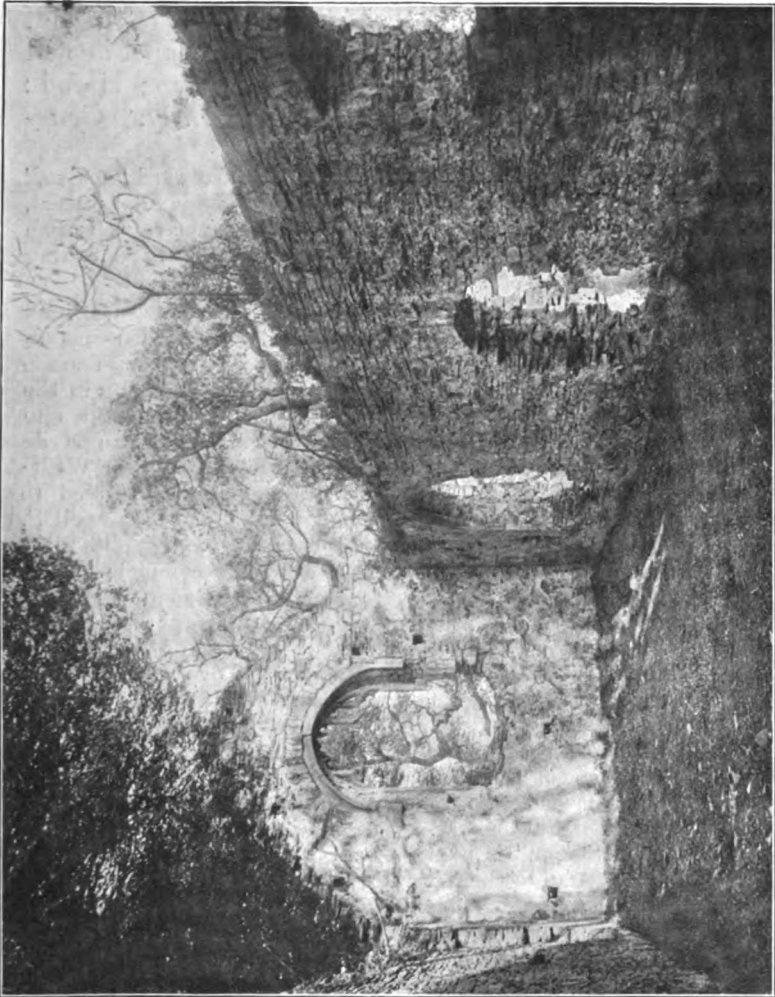


Fig. 10.—Interior of the Chapel of Cryke.

and as the farms were worked by the *conversi*, or lay brethren, chapels for their use were attached to the granges, as in this instance. Thus Bishop Elias gave permission to the Abbot and Convent of Margam to

celebrate services in their "Grangia de Melis,"¹ A.D. 1239.

We find chapels were attached to the Court Farm (the "Grangia de Melis") at Port Talbot Station, probably the Chapel of St. Thomas; this chapel is still in existence.² Penhydd Waelod, near Bryn; Hafod: the Chapel of this Farm, stood until recently. Crug-

¹ "The Grangia de Melis." So named from the word "melys," sweet; the land which is occasionally covered by the tidal waters, and the grass thereby made sweet for sheep, which thrive well upon it. Meols, in Wirral, on the Cheshire coast, has a similar meaning (Dr. Birch, *History of Margam Abbey*).

² Professor Westwood says the Port Talbot Stone, near Court Farm, was evidently intended to commemorate the St. Thomas to whom the neighbouring, but now long-destroyed, Chapel St. Thomæ was dedicated. I believe St. Thomas's Chapel is the building in the Court Farm known as "Yr Hen Gapel." The locating of the site of the Chapel of St. Thomas at the Court Farm, the "Grangia de Melis," may not be readily accepted, by reason of Professor Westwood's quotation which follows: "the stone evidently intended to commemorate the neighbouring but now long-destroyed" Capell S. Thomæ in terrâ quam W. Comes Gloucestriae dedit Willelmus filio Henrici *inter aquas de Avene et Neth* (italics are mine). From a charter of confirmation by Nicholas, Bishop of Llandaff.

A Harley Charter 75c. 36; Clark, DCCCXXVIII, proves that the Chapel of St. Thomas stood to the east of the river Afan, and not between the waters of Afan and Neath. In the deed Leissan¹ and Aven,* sons of Morgan, promise the monks of Margam not to dig or plough the land between the Walda of the English "Gwal Saeson" and Meles in Avene Marsh (see Note 1), for they and their father have given the pasture of all the lands, arable and not arable, in "Melis," in moor and in marsh, to the monks, between Avene and the Chapel of St. Thomas.

The "Gwal Saeson" is a stone wall which originally extended from the River Afan to the River Ffrwdwyllt, passing just south of the Court Farm along its fields. At the point where the wall joined the Afan the river runs at right angles to it, but after continuing about 430 yards in a south-westerly direction, the river turns to the south-east and runs parallel with the wall at about 430 to 450 yards distance from it.

The greater part of the wall is in existence, and is still known as the "Gwal Saeson"; it and the River Afan (as it ran then) and the Ffrwdwyllt River enclosed a parallelogram of about 1500 yards by

* Occur in A.D. 1200-1205.

wallt; Trisant,¹ the chapel probably called in the Abbey deeds the Chapel of Hafodheulog; Eglwysnunydd,² Stormy, Corneli, Resolven, near Neath; Llangewydd, Tre-y-gedd, Baidden, Llanfeithun, and at the Grange of Theodoricus.

I was inclined to think the name implied the dedication of the Chapel of the Grange to St. Theodoric, but since reading in Dr. de Gray Birch's *Neath Abbey* that Sir Richard de Grandvilla had two nephews, Giraldus and Theodoricus,³ I think with Dr. Birch that the latter probably founded the Hermitage. Had the dedication been to St. Theodoric, the monks would have been careful to call it the Grange of the Hermitage of St. Theodoricus. In the Bull of Pope Urban III, referred to elsewhere, he names it the Grange of Theodoric's Hermitage. The Pope would have been careful to name it by its dedication; the

430, or 1400 acres; the most of it is now covered by the water of the Float.

This deed, and the sepulchral stone to St. Thomas found near the Court Farm, proves clearly that the "Capell St. Thomae," was, and probably is, at that farm.

¹ Capel Trisant.

² Eglwysnunydd; Nunydd is probably a later form, as "dd" was not in use at the time the chapel was built, the "dd" only coming into use after the fourteenth century (see Stephens' *Lit. of the Kymry*). Doubtless Nynydd is the Welsh adaptation of Non, or Nonnita, or Nonna. "Egloose Nunney" it is called in the Crown Sale to Sir R. Manxell, Knt., A.D. 1543, and here we have phonetically the key to the ancient spelling of the modern Nunydd; Nunney indicating Nynydd or Nonna. The Norman scribes and their successors, in compiling deeds relating to the Abbey, wrote phonetically words they could not spell: Gyfylchu they write Kewelthi; Rheanell Brook, Ranel, called to this day Ranallt, although named on Ordnance Maps Arnallt. Breton legends state that the miracle play of St. Nonna was performed at Dirinon, a parish in Brittany (Baring-Gould's *Welsh Saints*, pp. 189, 190, and *Arch. Camb.*, 3rd Ser., vol. iii, p. 251).

³ Rice Merrick, in his *Book of Glamorganshire Antiquities*, says: "Hee ("Sir R. de Granavilla) had also a brother named William and two nephewes, the one named Giraldus, the other named Theodoricus."

farm of Llaumihangel he names as the Grange of St. Michael in the same Bull.

It seems to me most probable that the young man of noble birth, Theodoricus, founded the hermitage afterwards known by his name. It is a name met with but once in all the charters of Neath and Margam, and on that occasion we find it as a witness to Sir Richard de Granavilla's pious dedication of his lands to the service of God. In this charter Sir Richard de Granavilla gives to God and to the Holy Trinity of Neeth (afterwards the dedication was to St. Mary) and to the monks serving God therein, according to the rules of Savigny, in France, for the health of the souls of his lord Robert (natural) son of the glorious King (Henry I) and of his wife Mabel, daughter and heir of Sir Robert Fitz-Hamon, and of his children, and for the health of the souls of himself, the grantor, and of his ancestors, and of his wife Constance, various lands at Neath and in Devonshire.

As I mention before, one of the witnesses to this deed was Theodoricus, the nephew of the grantor.

The family of Granavilla is traced to Rollo, first Scandinavian conqueror of Normandy. Sir Richard de Granavilla was a brother of Sir Robert Fitz-Hamon, Prince of Glamorgan, Count of Corbeil, Baron of Thorigny and Granville. Their father was Hamo Dentatus, sixth Earl of Corbeil. Thomas Fuller, D.D.,¹ states that Sir Richard Grenville, Knt., "lived and was richly landed at Bideford . . . This Sir Richard would have none make him rich . . . this knight . . . according to the devotion of those darker days, gave all to God, erecting and endowing a monastery dedicated to the Virgin Mary at Neath for Cistercians. This having finished, he returned . . . to Bediford."

One writer² states, "Sir Richard . . . then took the Signe of the Crosse, and (as the superstitious manner

¹ "History of the Worthies of England." — Dr. Birch, *Neath Abbey*.

² Rice Merrick's *Book of Glamorganshire Antiquities*, A.D. 1578.

was in those days) went towards Jerusalem, in which journey hee dyed."

There is no direct evidence that the nephew founded the Hermitage of Theodoricus, but I think it exceedingly probable. There is but one Theodoricus mentioned in all the numerous MSS. of Margam and Neath Abbeys, and the Hermitage is named after a person called Theodoricus.

Theodoric may have been dedicated to God from his infancy by his parents, who regarded him as "given of God," and named him Theodoric accordingly. Or the young man, whatever his motives may have been, whether disappointed and tired of the world, or fired with zeal for his Master's service, or, it may be, in emulation of his uncle's pious example, determined to offer himself to God, and to found a hermitage in which he and others, weary of the world, might lead the contemplative life, and pass their span of time in prayer and thanksgiving, imitating the monks in this, but living a harder and more austere life. Lewis Morganwg, in his ode to Leision Thomas, last Abbot of Neath, says:—"The bells, the benedictions, and the peaceful songs of praise, proclaim the frequent thanksgivings of the White Monks."

The hermits sought more desolate places for their dwelling than did the monks; and renouncing all worldly things and loving poverty; living at a distance from the world, and united to God alone; and, leading the life described in the *Liber Landavensis*¹ as "vitam sanctam, vitam gloriosam, vitam castam et cum raro pane, tenui veste, macerate facie," carried out their ideal of service to God.

The family of the Fitz-Hamons and de Granavillas evidently had strong religious zeal. Sir Richard de Granavilla, as we have seen, founded Neath Abbey, and took "the Sign of the Crosse," and went to

¹ *Liber Landavensis*, p. 2.

Palestine like the Crusader of whom Spencer writes in his poem, the *Faerie Queene* :—

“ Upon his breast a bloody cross he bore
 The dear remembrance of his dying Lord.
 For whose sweet sake that glorious badge he bore
 And dead as living Him adored ;
 Upon his shield the like was also scored
 For Sovereign hope which is His help he had.”

Sir Robert Fitz-Hamon, Sir Richard's brother, had four daughters : Theodoric's cousins, two of whom embraced the religious life ; and another, Mabilia or Mabel, with her husband, Robert, Earl of Gloucester, gave her dower lands to Margam Abbey.

There is, I think, every probability that Theodoric, sprung from a family given to good deeds, should desire to devote his life to God in his way ; and to that end founded the Hermitage, which was the forerunner in the monastic life in Margam of the great Abbey.

As I have remarked, we have reason to believe the hermits lived together as a conventual body. We have handed down to us the names of three, who were probably contemporaneous : Theodoric, Meiler, and Coch. The Hermitage of Theodoric may have been a considerable establishment, having several hermits dwelling in it.

In some way, the fact of the existence of the Hermitage, standing as it did within the lands of Theodoric's cousin Mabilia, Theodoric being its founder, may have given rise in Mabilia's mind to the idea of dedicating these lands, which she inherited, to a much larger retreat for men serving God in the contemplative life, and one more in accordance with the ideas of the day regarding the monastic life.

“ The Cistercian Order, established at Neath in the early years of the twelfth century, had arisen in France at the close of the preceding century, by the institution of a few Benedictine monks of Molesme in Burgundy, who desired to correct the want of discipline among the Benedictines, and for this object retired to a secluded site in the diocese of Chalons, and there set

up, under the protection of the Duke of Burgundy, the Convent of Citeaux, or Cistercium, in A.D. 1098, where they lived under a new and stricter rule modelled on that of the Order they had quitted.”¹

Here, then, was a strict and austere Order, which Brother Meiler, the *hermit*, and the Brethren of Pendar had become members of, which appeared fitted to succeed the *hermits*, whose lives were still more severe and ascetic, but whose rule was not suited to the times and was passing away; and thus it probably appealed to the mind of Mabilia and her husband, and maybe the idea was fostered and encouraged by Theodoric himself.

To quote again from Dr. Birch, in his *Neath Abbey*, he says:—

“An eloquent writer² has declared that our monasteries (and he might have added the hermitages of an earlier period) were the refuge formerly for those who felt their incapacity for the struggle after virtuous happiness in the business of life. Their chief glory was, however, not so much in being in retreats—a mere practical end—but in the exalted idea which they gave to the laity, the general people, and the gay world. The spectacle of men, separated from vanity and devoted to heaven, tended to exalt and ennoble the human mind.”

The echo, as it were, of the name Theodoricus, reaches us but faintly through the long centuries which have gone their way; but how vividly does it recall to us in Margam a beloved and venerated name? Whenever the name is mentioned, we have at once in our thoughts another young man of noble birth and ancient lineage, bearing the same name—a name which seemingly thanks God for a good life given to us—short this one, it is true, but one which has left a lasting monument.

Heir to the estate in which the Hermit dwelt in far-off times, and whose relatives once possessed it; descended from ancestors who, like those of Theodoricus, came from Normandy to this land under the banner of

¹ Dr. Birch's *Neath Abbey*, p. 89.

² “Prince Metternich.”—*Neath Abbey*, p. 29.

William the Conqueror, he, like Theodoricus, dedicated his life to his Lord and Master. "I only live for God's Glory," are his recorded words.¹

"A young layman, who takes so active a part in a Church of extreme ritual as to walk himself in a Church service at the head of a guild or club of young men as their warden, with the emblem of the Cross attached to the collar of the Order, would seem to many to be a religious enthusiast, or even a fanatic. But for the aforesaid ordinary mind to understand that this young master of hounds and this young layman is one and the same person, would seem an incredible myth. Yet, so it was in the case of Theodore Talbot."¹

Both of these young men were brave servants of our blessed Lord: the one, in the dim and far-distant days of seven-and-a-half centuries ago, gave up the pursuits and pleasures of the world, and bore the solitude of the lonely dwelling by the shore of the Severn Sea, to pass his time in praise and thanksgiving. The other, in our days, unmindful of the scoffing world, also gave himself to God's service.

When Elgar, the Hermit, was visited by Teacher Caradog, who wished to see if he were alive or dead, he, to his joy, found him alive.

"Caradog, descended from a noble family, with bended knees begged Elgar to give him an account of his life. Elgar told him that, through the bounty and goodness of God, holy spirits administered to him, and declared to him what is true and always promise what is right; describing to me the present life to be as a flower of the field, and the future as the odour of balm, comforting me that I might not faint in the way, who, having vanquished the enemy, should be rewarded with a heavenly crown."²

This was the reward both young men sought—each in his own way.

Miss Talbot has recently built a beautiful church, of Early English architecture, at Port Talbot, dedicated to St. Theodore, distant only two miles from the

¹ *Recollections of T. M. Talbot*, by Sir Baldwin Leighton, Bart.

² "Elgar, the Hermit."—*Liber Landavensis*, p. 281.

Hermitage. It was built in memory of Mr. Theodore Talbot, and his sister, Miss Olive Talbot.

By whom was the Hermitage occupied? By a solitary hermit—a recluse—as we to-day think the inmate of a hermitage was? I believe this hermitage was occupied by a conventual body of hermits. It seems probable that Meiler, *the hermit*, from the interest he takes in Margam Abbey, was at one time an inmate of the Hermitage before the dawn of the Abbey days. The Hermitage was in existence before the founding of the Abbey of Margam, as it is mentioned, as we have seen, in the foundation charter. The Abbey was founded in 1147, according to the *Annales de Margan*: “A.D. 1147, *Fundata est abbatia nostra quae dicitur Margan.*”

As showing the difficulty of ascertaining at the present day what a hermitage really was, I mention here a grant to Margam Abbey, by William Camerarius,¹ of the Hermitage of St. Milburga (note the dedication to a saint is preserved, as it would have been, doubtless, in the case of Theodoricus), at Bristol, with its chapel, appurtenances and liberties, meadow, pastures, waters, cultures and easements; the Abbey providing a religious—*i.e.*, regular or monastic—chaplain, unless the grantor excuses the provision of the same. This hermitage was clearly not the small cell of a recluse, and the provision of a religious chaplain would seem to indicate that the hermits were lay brethren similar to the Cistercian *conversi*.

The brethren of Theodoric's Hermitage doubtless farmed the adjacent land, and perhaps fished; and, like the monks of St. Anthony in Cornwall, who acted as pilots to ships passing to Falmouth, may have served as pilots for the Abbey ships,² and others coming into the harbour of the Avan.

¹ Or Chamberlain.

² Mr. Clark, in the *Land of Morgan*, records an amuesty in which the men of Bristol, among other matters, were to give up the Abbot of Margam's ship to the cellarer of that house. Giraldus Cambrensis

The gift which Griffin ab Ivor, Lord of Seinghennydd,¹ made to the Abbey of Margam, clearly shows that a hermitage stood very much on the same footing as an abbey (see B on Map, Fig. 1). In one of the earliest of Margam Abbey deeds, this gift is mentioned :—

“William, Earl of Gloucester, son of Robert of Caen, notifies to his steward, barons, and all his men—French, English, and Welsh—that he has confirmed the gift which Griffin ab Ivor has made to the Abbey of Margam, by Brother Meiler, Awenet, for making a *hermitage or abbey*, if possible, viz., upon the water of Taf, all the land called Stratvaga,² and all Brenkeiru (Bryn-cyriawg), and from Berkehu-taf (Bargoed Taff) to Bargau Remni (Bargoed Rumney), and all Karpdawardmenet (? Cae'r-bedw-ar-y-mynydd), and all Maislette, and from Mauhanishead (? Maes-ynys) to Taf and fisheries in Taf, and all the land of St. Gladus (Capel Gwladus district), with its pastures, as far as Brohru-caru (Vochrhiw); and on the other side of St. Gladus, as far as Hen-glau (Hen-glawdd), as far as the water called Kidliha (Nant Cylla), and all the lands of Masmawan (Maes-mafon).”

It seems to me that all these possessions indicate that if a hermitage were established on the lands, it would be an extensive one, and inhabited by a conventual body of hermits.

In the far-off days when the Hermitage is first mentioned to us in the charter founding the ancient Abbey of Margam, its situation must have been in winter desolate and weird in the extreme; isolated, and difficult of access, and in stormy winter days the roar of the tide on either side and the hoarse cry of the sea birds made it a truly fitting spot for a dwelling for persons who wished to live far from their fellows, and to be alone with Nature and with their Maker. Twice

tells us that in the twelfth century the Monks of Margam, when the county was suffering from a scarcity of food, sent a ship to Bristol for corn; but the winds were contrary and the ship was delayed, when, lo! a field of corn belonging to the Abbey suddenly ripened a month or more before its time.

¹ He married Mabel, daughter of Earl Robert of Caen.

² ? Ystrad Vargoed.

a day at high tide—the Hermitage, standing near the head of a long narrow strip of land, having the sea on one side, and on the other an estuary, up which the tide flowed for two miles to two miles and three-quarters, according to the height of the tide—would almost appear as if it stood on an island. To reach the Hermitage from where Taibach now stands, a mile and a-half to the north, the traveller would have to go nearly as far as Morfa Bach, and then back along the narrow strip of land a total distance of six and a-half miles, the tide being full in; and, even at low tide, the muddy pills and creeks in the estuary would probably prevent a short cut being made from the main land.

In the *Beaufort Progress*, A.D. 1684, mention is made of this strip of land, and gives us a picture of it at high tide and in summer:—

“Margham is a very noble seat . . . Its scituation is among excellent springs . . . at the foot of prodigious high hills of Woods, shelter for ye Deer, about a mile distant from an arm of the sea, parting this shore and the County of Cornwall, below which, and washed almost round with the salt water, is a Marsh, whereto the Deer (ye tide being low) resort much by swimming, and thrive to such an extraordinary weight and fatness as I never saw the like . . .”

The tide is now shut out by sea walls.

Several charters mention the Hermitage of Theodoricus in describing the boundaries of the Abbey lands. In a Bull of Pope Urban III, directed to the Abbot and Brethren of Margam Abbey, in response to their request, taking them under the protection of St. Peter and the Pope, and confirming the several grants made to them, we find the Hermitage at this date (November 18th, 1186) had become the Grange of Theodoricus' Hermitage; so that, thirty-nine years after the founding of the Abbey, the Hermitage had given way to the farm. The latest charter mentioning the Hermitage is one by Richard, Earl of Gloucester, between A.D. 1246 and A.D. 1249. After this date, no further mention is found of it; and, judging from a

detailed account of the Abbey Granges which the Abbot drew up in A.D. 1326 for the Abbot of Clairvaux, in obedience to the mandates of the Apostolic See, and of Clairvaux, followed by complaints of losses caused by mortality, wars, nearness to the high road, and that no small part of the land adjacent to the shore is subject to inundation of sand, I conclude that the Hermitage was overwhelmed by sand-storms, and lost to human ken from about A.D. 1300 to A.D. 1898, a period of five hundred and ninety-eight years. A Bull of Pope Urban VI, addressed to the Bishop of Llandaff, sanctions the appropriation of the patronage of the Church of Aberavon (Aven) by the Abbey, because, among other things, the Abbey lands and possessions adjacent to the sea shore had become unfruitful, owing to inroads of the sea (probably sand is meant); dated July 17th, A.D. 1383. In the Patent Rolls of the eighth year of King Richard II, October 28th 1384, it is set forth that the Abbot had delivered a petition showing how Edward le Despencer, out of consideration for the losses which the sand-storms had inflicted on the Abbey, had bestowed on it the advowson of Aberavon Church. Pope Urban VI, by a deed, dated at Naples, April 29th, 1384, allowed the Abbey to appropriate the Church of Penllyn for the same cause.

After seeing the plan of so much of the Grange of the Hermitage as I was able to unearth, Mr. J. T. Micklethwaite wrote to me, on February 24th, 1902:—

“The building you have unearthed seems to be an interesting one; and, so far as I can judge from the drawings, it may be the first half of the fourteenth century. It is not a hermitage in the usual sense of the word, but it seems to have been a dwelling-house of some sort, and may have belonged to a grange, or a cell of the smaller sort.”

In writing to Mr. Micklethwaite, I should have called the building the Grange of Theodoric's Hermitage, as it is termed in the Papal Bull. I am inclined—if it is not presumptuous in me after the above opinion—to place the date as 1227, solely for this reason: we find from

the *Annales de Margan* that, in 1227 A.D. the Welsh cleared the Grange of Theodore, burned several houses and great flocks of sheep; and it seems probable from this that the buildings were also destroyed, to be rebuilt at that time, or perhaps somewhat later.

It is interesting to discuss the question of the overwhelming of the building by the sand-storms. Were they covered slowly, or at once? When I discovered the ruins, I was puzzled to know what part we were in, and I later found we were in the upper story. Dividing two of the rooms, I found a clay partition 3 ins. thick, plastered with mortar on each side, still standing, supported by the sand, although the floor had disappeared. This seems to me to prove that the sand enveloped the building quickly; otherwise, if the sand took a considerable time to reach the upper story, this fragile partition would have crumbled and fallen by the action of the wind and rain, to which it would soon be exposed after the buildings were abandoned.

It is also interesting to note here, on this subject, as confirming in some degree the date I have assigned to the overwhelming by sand of the Hermitage, the tradition which is mentioned in Davies's *West Gower*, Pt. IV. In a grant, dated June, A.D. 1317, by Sir William de Breos, Lord of the seignory of Gower, to his huntsman, William, and Joan his wife, he gives liberty to them to take hares and rabbits, foxes, and other animals, in the sand-burrows of Penard. Mr. Davies remarks on this:—

“ Here, then, we have indisputable evidence, that in 1317 A.D., Penard burrows existed as a fact. The tradition is, that it was formed by a terrible storm all in one night, and . . . the conclusion is almost irresistible that both these burrows¹ were formed at the same time, and the church and village of Stedworlango were overwhelmed when the sand-storm occurred, and consequently the be-sanding of these two churches (Penard and Penmaen) must have taken place previous to A.D. 1317.”

¹ The other burrows being Penmaen.

Seeing the short distance between the Hermitage and Pennard (only thirteen miles), it seems probable that the same terrible storm covered up the Hermitage.

The approximate date of A.D. 1300 for the be-sanding of the Hermitage is also, to some extent, incidentally corroborated by a Margam Abbey deed. St. James's Church, at Kenfig, in the neighbourhood of the Hermitage, was covered by sand, and in this deed we find a new church mentioned. It is a demise, by Fr. Thomas, Abbot of Margam, to John le Younge, burgess of Kenfig for his life, of land formerly belonging to the Office of the Master of the Works of the New Church.

Dated at the Monastery of Margam, Sunday before St. James's Day, July 25th, A.D. 1307.

This seems to point to the recent erection of the new church, some time prior to A.D. 1307. I am not certain, however, that the new church referred to may not be the Early English part of Margam Abbey church.

In the deed of Pope Urban VI, dated at Naples, May 29th, 1384, before referred to, one of the clauses refers to the heavy debts of the Abbey, which made it impossible for it to repair its buildings, now dilapidated by the "*Horrida ventorum intemperies*," dreadful and unseasonable gales, which had thrown down or rendered insecure the greater part of them. Here we have evidence of dreadful gales actually overthrowing the Abbey buildings at the same time as the inundations of the sea are mentioned as having occurred. It certainly seems that at that time (probably about 1300), a fearful and unusual storm must have raged—in fact, a catastrophe.

PENDAR.

In the Abbey deeds, in a late twelfth-century charter, is a grant by Philip, son of Griffin, and Morgan, his son, and his wife, to the Cistercian Order and to Margam Abbey, by the hands of Brother Meiler of certain lands, apparently near Cymmer, and adjacent

to the River Taf,¹ and to Brother Meiler and the house of Pendar all the pasturage in his land except cultivated lands and meadows. Griffith, or Griffin, ab Ivor was the Lord of Seinghennydd.

Another charter, by which William, Earl of Gloucester, confirms a gift which Griffin ab Ivor made to the Abbey of Margam by the hand of Brother Meiler Awenet, of lands east of the Taf, in the neighbourhood of Ystradmynach, Stratvaga, and of Capel Gwladus, for building there a hermitage or an abbey.

In another charter² is recorded a grant of land by Gunilda, wife of Geoffrey Sturmi (after whom Stormy, Pyle, is named) to Margam Abbey. One of the witnesses is Brother Meiler *the hermit*.

And yet another charter³ is also witnessed by Brother Meiler *the hermit*: it is a grant of land by Chenewthur and his brothers Blethin, William, Chenwrec, and Riderec, in perpetual almoign to the Abbey of Margam; this land is situated near Llangewydd.

It is strange that we find writers who say that Margam was called at one time Pendar. Cliffe, in his *Book of South Wales*, 1848, says: "Margam once called Pen-dar," and Mr. Clark, describing a deed from the *Penrice MSS.*, A.D. 1155, in his *Cartæ*, calls it a "Grant by Caradoc Uerbeis to Brother Meiler and the Brethren of Pendar, otherwise Margam." David Morgan, in his *Hanes Morganwg*, p. 392, says: "Historians say the original name of Margam was Pendar, on account of the number of oaks growing there, then as now." However the tradition arose that Margam was once called Pendar, it is dispelled by the words of the charter before mentioned, by which Philip, son of Griffin, and Morgan his son, gave to Margam Abbey certain lands near Cymmer and the Taf, and also give to Brother Meiler and the house of Pendar the pasturage in his, Philip's, lands. This certainly shows that Margam and Pendar were

¹ *Talbot MSS.*, 10, D. CIV (Clark's).

² *T.*, 11; MCCCCVII (Clark's).

³ *Harley Charter* 75B.

existing contemporaneously. It seems clear, however, that Brother Meiler was in some way closely connected with Margam Abbey (probably for the reason I give on page 139), and I had thought that I might have been able to locate Pendar as being at any rate in Margam, and possibly as being the site of the Hermitage of Theodoricus, seeing that Brother Meiler is called in two deeds "the hermit," and that a Brother Meiler was evidently the ruler of the house of Pendar.

I have reluctantly, however, been forced to abandon this idea and to seek for Pendar elsewhere; and, further on, I give my reasons for the location I give to it. I may be wrong; nevertheless, one of the objects of these notes is that it may induce others to investigate the subject.

It is a curious but puzzling fact that there appear to have been two Brother Meilers, distinguished fortunately for us by the description added to each: one, Brother Meiler *the hermit*, the other Brother Meiler *Awenet* (*Awenydd*, as I think).

We find from Giraldus Cambrensis that in his time there was a notable man living in the neighbourhood of the City of the Legions, or Caerleon, a certain man of Wales called Mailer, a diviner of the future and having knowledge of secret things. This I believe is the Meiler *Awenydd*,¹ or, as the Norman scribe writes it in the deed of Griffin ab Ivor, as near phonetically as he is able to, *Awenet*: the lands given by the hand of Meiler *Awenydd* being those of the Lord of Seinghennydd, are near the abode of Meiler, Caerleon. I think this is the only occasion in which Meiler *Awenydd* occurs, and nothing seems to have come of the project of forming a hermitage or abbey.

¹ "Awenydd," a poet, a genius, one inspired. "Notandum autem quod in his urbis Legionum partibus fuit diebus nostris vir quidam Cambrensis, cui nomen Mailerus, futurum pariter et occultorum scientiam habens." Giraldus Cambrensis, quoted by Leland, who adds: "Mira sunt immo incredibilia refert de hoc Meilero" (Hearne's *Leland's Collectanea*).

That Griffin, son of Ivor, Lord of Seinghenydd, was a benefactor of Margam Abbey, is clear; the Abbey Roll represents a grant by him to the Abbey of 100 acres of arable, 12 of meadow, and common of pasture land at Lecwithe, the fisheries of Helei (Ely river), and common of pasture of Seinhei (Seinghenydd), etc. His body, and that of his mother Nesta, to be buried at Margam.

Having no direct evidence as to the site of Pendar much must be left to conjecture. I have no doubt it is not in Margam, and certainly not the site of the Hermitage; but I am inclined to think that Brother Meiler *the hermit* was its ruler, and not Meiler *Awenydd*. I have no doubt it was situated in or near the land of the Lord of Seinghenydd, with whom Meiler, the ruler of Pendar, seems to have had much influence.

I have come to the conclusion that Pendar is Cefn Pennar. We have several examples of a letter being dropped in Welsh place-names—perhaps for the sake of euphony: thus, Cefn Pennar is easier for colloquial use than Cefn Pendar—so, probably, Pendar became Pennar. Thus Pengarth becomes Penarth, and in Gower Penard.

Professor Rhys gives an example in his *Lectures on Welsh Philology*, p. 361, in Llanol, the name of a farm in Anglesey, which, he says, is probably the name of an extinct church or chapel, and that it may be supposed to stand for Llanfol or Llanbol. Here the “f” or “b” is dropped, and the word becomes Llanol. The neighbouring house is Penbol. The accent in each—Pendar, Pennar, Penarth, Llanol, is on the last syllable. I am helped to this conclusion by the situation of the land given to Brother Meiler and the Brethren of Pendar¹ by Caradoc Uerbeis. I was able, when Dr. Birch wrote asking me if I knew its situation, to locate it as being in Llanwonno parish, and between the three streams, the Ffrwd, the Clydach

¹ *Talbot MSS. No. 54.*

(Ynis-y-bwl district), and Llysnant, which joins the Clydach at Felin Gelly. These lands are just two miles south of Cwm Pennar, and it is probable that the lands belonging to Pendar joined them (see Plan, Fig. 1, lands marked A). On this land, some 1,200 to 1,500 acres, we find on the Ordnance Map, north of the Ffrwd, the ruins marked "Mynachdy," on supposed site of monastery (see 6-in. Ordnance Survey Sheet, XIX and XXVIII); and Capel Fynachlog is also marked and near by Glyn Mynachesau; also there is Gelli Fynaches. Dr. Birch, in his *History of Margam Abbey*, places the date of this deed as certainly anterior to A.D. 1147, which, being the date of the foundation of Margam Abbey, shows that the house of Pendar was founded first.

The ruins of a monastery on lands given to the Brethren of Pendâr suggest either the removal from Pendâr or Pennar to the new site, or the establishment there of a branch house; these lands being so near Cefn or Cwm Pennar strongly suggest to me that Pendâr and Pennar are one and the same place.

The grant is by Caradoc Uerbeis, in perpetual almoign to God and St. Mary, and to the Cistercian Order and Brother Meiler and the Brethren of Pendâr, of all his land between the three waters, Frutsanant, Cleudac, and Nantclokenig, in wood and plain, which wood is called Hlowenroperdeit, with concession of Margam, Caduwalan, and Meriedoc, sons of Caradoc, in whose fee the land stood, and of the grantor's brothers, Joaf, Grunu, and Meuric, his son, and his wife Gwladys, for 20 *sh.* (see A on Map, Fig. 1).

We have yet another deed suggesting the site of Pendar as being Cwm Pennar, or Cefn Pennar. This is the grant by Philip, son of Griffin, referred to on page 144. It gives to Margam Abbey by the hands of Brother Meiler of all the land of Eniseleueu,¹ viz., from Pistilcoleu (Pistyll-goleu on the Clydach) to Chammaru (Cymmer), and as the road lies from Cham-

¹ Probably Ynys-oleu.

maru to Killecheireh,¹ over the nearest hill next Luhmeneh,² stretching as far as the road leading to Frutreulin,³ and from Frutreulin to Pistilcoleu and on to the river Taf; and to Brother Meiler and the house of Pendar, all the pasturage in his land except cultivated lands and meadows, for 2 sh., and reception of the grantor into the fraternity of Margam. The pasturages thus granted are all in the vicinity of Cefn Pennar, convenient for the grazing of the cattle of the house, and, therefore, to some extent it points to the site of Pendar being Cefn Pennar (see C on Map, Fig. 1).

With reference to the question of hermits and their rule of life, we find in a Harley Charter, dated A.D. 1205 (*Talbot MSS.*, 288-10), recorded the confirmation to Margam Abbey by Morgan, the son of Caradoc, of a meadow which had belonged to the Hermit Coh, or Goch, in the Marsh of Avene. This gives us the name of another hermit, of probably the time of, and living perhaps with Meiler the hermit, at Theodoricus' Hermitage, and possessing land near by. I mention this as somewhat strengthening my idea of the hermits living as a conventual body.

I have said the sand dunes are lonely; the vast waste of sand is lonely at all times, but more especially so when the wind soughs through the rushes,⁴ as if complaining because they hinder it from carrying the sand with it for company on its way. After a storm you see traced on the smooth sand perfect semi-circles, sometimes complete circles; these are made by the points of the rushes, bent and circled around by the wind, as if to mark their protest at the rough treatment. In winter the rushes, for very dulness, put on their gray garb, reserving the green for the promise of spring.

But it is at night, when the sad silent moon lights up the dunes and tints them cold and silvery, that they seem the more desolate, and the moan of the restless tide which hovers over the waste adds to the feeling of solitude which comes over you. In summer time the dunes have some beauty. Now and again

¹ (?) Cil-y-ceirw.

² (?) Lli-y-myuydd.

³ Ffrwd-rhiw-velen.

⁴ Properly sea sedge (*Ammophila arundinacea*)

you come across a bright orange-red flower¹ in some of the hollows, contrasting pleasingly with the greenish-gray of the rushes. In some parts, too, on the landward margin of the dunes, are tiny wild dwarf-roses (Burnet or Scotch-rose, *Rosa spinosissima*), with pale-pink blossoms, which scatter their fragrance around, and nestle close to the sand for fear of the winds; small wild pansies (*Viola tricolor*) keep them company. Mingling with them is found the delicious dewberry (*Rubus caesius*). The sea spurge (*Euphorbia paralias*) is very abundant on the sands.

As you approach the beach, and the sun shines brightly, occasional glimpses are had of the bright blue of sea between the golden-coloured hills, and you are glad at a beautiful bit of scenery with such fine difference of colour. These peeps of the sea tell you the sands are not limitless—an idea which comes over you as you pass hillock after hillock of the same yellow sand, with tufts of rushes which never vary in colour—and that you are not shut out entirely from the world of life and stir.

You are wrong in thinking there is no life in such a dreary waste. Sit quietly on a hillock, and soon a rabbit will come and look out from a hole high up in the face of a steep sloping bank of sand in front of you; if you move you just catch sight of the little white "scut," as bunny retreats to warn his family. If you sit on, your approach is forgotten—you had not come along without bunny scouts seeing you—and you will presently see rabbits come from their holes in all directions. Some scamper aimlessly off, others sit up for very joy of living, and for delight in having such a paradise for their own, with rich feeding-ground close at hand in the fields. But, if it happens to be windy, and you feel the driven sand sting you sharply in the face, as it will then, never a rabbit will you see; he hears the roar of the wind outside his burrow, and lies close, perhaps by reason of thinking that in such a din his foe—man, stoat, or weasel—may steal a march on him. Hares speed past you, and the whirr of the pheasant is not absent. You may be so fortunate as to see a Shellduck² bringing her brood out of a deserted rabbit-hole, their home; she is taking the ducklings for a bathe and a swim in the sea. Watch them waddle across the beach, and you will soon see the little family, with the mother, tossing about in the tumbling waters. Sir Ralph Payne-Gallwey, in *Shooting*, writes of the Shellduck (Shellduck or Shelldrake): "We have seen a Shellduck, when the tide was low, unable to lead her brood to the

¹ One of the *Iris* species; it has sharp-edged and sword-like leaves. It may be *Iris fetidissima*, although the blossom is not of the usual colour.

² *Tadorna cornuta*.

sea, carry them on her back, each duckling holding on by a feather, having, while she lay down, climbed up and ensconced themselves with the greatest ease."

You will often startle a partridge with her little brood; and very pretty they are as they scurry off to hide in the rushes.

The solemn white owl loves the dunes, and a species of hawk hovers generally on the sea-side fringe of the dunes. I once had two from the dunes, and kept them for years: they became quite tame. The buzzard likes the dunes when small rabbits are about.

Of course, the green plover, the "peewit" is there, flying in circles over your head with plaintive cry, at times approaching quite close—so close that you hear the fan-like hum of the wings, and so like a fan that the French name the bird "Vanneau." Here and there you come across a flat stone, with a little heap of broken shells by it. It is one of the slaughter-stones on which blackbird or thrush has cracked the shells of snails to get at the succulent food inside.

In the winter, when the sun is bright—as it is at times even in this land—and there is a bite of frost in the air, a walk among the dunes is pleasant; but you have to walk with half-closed eyes, the sand, with the rime on it, glistens and dazzles so. At this time you hear the "honck-honck" of the grey geese, chiefly the "white-fronted," and, I think, the "greyleg,"² which visit us from icy northern lands, as they fly high in the air overhead in their well-known wedge-like flight. I wish I could tell of all the birds we find there, but I do not know them by name.

The beach, too, has somewhat of sadness about it, for up in the sand-hills, at its margin, partly embedded in the sand, are piled the wreckage of days gone by; and as you walk along it you come across spars or parts of hulls that tell of recent wrecks and human suffering. If you are laggard, and evening still finds you there, the sea looks black and the sand hills assume weird shapes; then it becomes uncanny, and you are glad to hasten your steps homeward; the only sound of life is a quick rustling of the rushes, now and again as a rabbit starts off frightened at your footsteps.

Such, then, is the scene amid which the ruins of the ancient Grange have remained so long hidden. The ruins, as you look upon them, add in your thoughts to the desolateness of the place. You wonder what catastrophe could have piled up mountains of sand over and around them, and driven the brethren back to the Abbey home. The catastrophe happened so long

¹ *Anser albifrons.*

² *Anser cinereus.*

ago, that it is difficult to realise that six hundred years well-nigh had passed since faces had looked out from those dormer windows, and since people had passed in and out of the dwelling, and went up the same steps we can go up to-day.

The dwellers there thought, when the fierce Welshmen from the hills came and destroyed their cattle, that worse could not befall them. But worse still was to come: the blinding, irresistible sand enemy came like an avalanche, to drive them away, and to hide for so long and so completely their home, that even the name of the Grange was no more to be seen in the Abbey Charters as of old; and the monks wondered, as they wandered over the desolate waste, where its position had been.

It is long since the brethren, hearing cries from the ship-wrecked, used to hasten to the rescue; and it is long since the cry for help came wailing to the Grange from Susannah and her companions in their ill-fated voyage. No brethren hastened to their help while they battled for life in the furious surf, for even before this they had gone, driven away by a ruthless enemy, and the Grange lay hidden under its winding-sheet of sand, and the cries were unheeded.

Close upon six hundred years have passed since then, and yet we know the names of those who perished. They were Philip Filias, Thomas de Wallare, John le Rede, John de Chorchehey, Thomas de Penmark, Henry le Glovare, and a girl named Susannah.

The Abbot and Lord William La Zousche, Lord of Glamorgan, fought over the wreck, and the case was tried in the County Court, at Cardiff, on January 18th, 1333. The Abbot won, for the jury found that he had the right of wreck, "a tempore quo non extat memoria."

The great Abbot, probably John de Cantelo, became the owner of the boat, valued at 40s., three bales of wool, 60s., a small box, and a cask worth 8d.¹ He was glad of even this windfall, so much had the sand impoverished him.

The rush which grows on the sand is the *arundo arenaria*;² planting it is the only means of stopping the drifting of the sand. It grows freely, throwing out in all directions long underground stems or rhizomes, which bind and hold fast the hillocks, which would otherwise only too gladly accompany the wild winds from the sea.

For some reason, the planting of this rush was abandoned for years, and, in consequence, hundreds of acres of land were

¹ To arrive at the value of these sums to-day we should multiply them by ten or fifteen.

² Linnaeus. Now called *Ammophila arundinacea*.

covered by sand. The late Mr. Talbot tried hedges of brushwood in lines along the sands ; but the sand made light of them, and, like boys who wishing to reach their prey over a wall, cause some to bend against it, as in leap-frog, then others to mount and over, piled itself against the obstruction, and soon enabled the later-coming sand to pass over and on in its career of destruction. Planting was afterwards resumed and the sands anchored.

I here offer my grateful thanks to Miss Talbot for her assistance in enabling me to uncover the ruins, and to Dr. de Gray Birch for allowing me to draw so freely as I have from his Histories of Margam and Neath Abbey ; and I also beg to thank Mr. J. T. Micklethwaite for his valuable information, and Mr. Edward Roberts, Swansea, for his help in elucidating the meaning of place-names—in this he is a master.

These fragmentary notes are compiled in the hope that they may lead to the discovery of the actual site of Pendar. I had hoped to keep Pendar for Margam, but so far I have been unsuccessful.

I head these notes as First Part, hoping I may some day be able to give Part Two.

THE GOLDEN GROVE BOOK OF PEDIGREES.

BY EDWARD OWEN, ESQ.

CONSIDERABLE attention has recently been directed to what is perhaps the best known collection of Welsh pedigrees still remaining in manuscript, the *Golden Grove Book* (in four volumes), now the property of the earl of Cawdor; and there appears to be fair hope of settling some of the questions to which it has given rise—questions relating to its authorship and its authority.

In the number of our Journal for October, 1898 (5th Ser., vol. xv, p. 377), Mr. Stepney-Gulston drew attention to "this extremely interesting manuscript," gave a brief account of its arrangement, of its supposed compiler, of its past possessors and present owners; and suggested "that if any enterprising person, society, or firm of publishers, obtaining permission, could see their way to the reproduction of the said *Golden Grove Book* in a printed form, it would undoubtedly prove of inestimable value to all those interested in the genealogical history of Wales."

In the next volume but one of our Journal (5th Ser., vol. xvii, p. 277, October, 1900), in the course of an article under the somewhat misleading title, "Welsh Records," Mr. J. Pym Yeatman dealt with the authorship of the *Golden Grove Book*; and, whatever may be thought of that gentleman's argument, or of his conclusions, it must be admitted that his was the first real attempt to grapple with the important and fundamental questions of its source, date, and authorship.

"Take," says Mr. Yeatman (p. 279), "the *Golden Grove Book*, almost the latest of the great [Welsh pedigree] authorities; that is obviously drawn from many sources, and a list is given to

distinguish some of them (since they are only quoted in the body of the book by initials), but this list curiously omits the two leading lights which inspired it, William Lewis and David Edwards, whose notes are *passim*; both of them are constantly referred to, and generally by name, so that it was unnecessary to mention them amongst the list of the initialed. It is well known to Welshmen that William Lewis, of Llwynderw, 'copied Edwards' works and arranged them on a new method, setting the one under the different chieftains, and the others together in a separate volume.' This is stated by Edward Prothero, junior, under date August 12th, 1842, in a series of letters, to be found with the volumes now in the Bodleian Library, under Additional C, 177. Now this is precisely the arrangement of the *Golden Grove Book*, so that it is obvious that the writer, as he acknowledges, had access to Edwards, though possibly through his copyist Lewis."

Mr. Yeatman next traces the fortunes of the genealogical manuscripts of David Edwards, of Rhyd-y-gors, satisfactorily proving that several of the volumes now in the Heralds' College, called the Prothero MSS. (because they were purchased from Mr. Edward Prothero), and certain others in the Bodleian at Oxford, catalogued as Additional C 177-179, at one time constituted one complete and connected collection, which had been formed by Mr. Edwards, of Rhyd-y-gors, in the county of Carmarthen, who towards the end of the seventeenth century had acted as deputy to one of the Officers of Arms. Mr. Yeatman, after exposing the ignorance of the Heralds' College authorities of the *Golden Grove Book*, as well as of their own volumes, observes:—

"A visit to the Bodleian resulted in finding Edwards' five¹ volumes there, with Prothero's

¹ *Quære* three.

account of his sale of the others to Heralds' College. That Prothero's not very positive belief that the whole of the volumes in both collections were the work of David Edwards, was accurate, has been proved by the aid of photography, the University authorities (unlike some Welsh owners of MSS.) having very generously permitted photographs to be made of parts of these books, which prove that they formed part of the collection at Heralds' College, and were in the same handwriting."

Mr. Yeatman then proceeds to deal with the connection, which he had already shown to exist, between David Edwards's volumes and the *Golden Grove Book*. Prothero (according to Mr. Yeatman's rather confused account) seems to have thought Edwards's volumes to have been "only rough copies of some better books," and to have considered the *Golden Grove Book* to be the, or "some" of the, "better books." Mr. Yeatman's conclusion is different. He adduces "ample evidence to show a common origin between the *Golden Grove Book* and David Edwards; or, rather, that Edwards was the groundwork of the other, and that he made his book up from the older authorities, probably presented to him through William Lewis."

I now leave Mr. Yeatman for a brief space, in order to draw attention to the latest pronouncement upon the *Golden Grove Book*, contained in an article in *The Ancestor* (No. 4, January 1903), upon "The Value of Welsh Pedigrees," by Mr. H. J. T. Wood. The object of this writer is thus stated in his own words:—"At first sight it is undoubtedly an astounding proposition that an eighteenth-century MS. such as the *Golden Grove*, should be a good authority for eleventh- and twelfth-century pedigrees; yet that there are good *prima facie* reasons for such being the case, I hope to show in the present article." How far Mr. Wood has succeeded in demonstrating his highly hazardous

proposition, I will not stay at this moment to inquire.¹ What he has to say concerning the *Golden Grove Book*, is as follows:—

“This is the latest and most accessible of the general collections of Welsh pedigrees;² it appears to have been compiled in the years 1752-65, and contains some later additions, chiefly in the handwriting of Theophilus Jones, who used it for his *History of Breconshire*, published in 1805, and states in effect that it is the book of the Arwyddfeirdd (Chief Bard),³ taken by command of the Earl of Carberry.⁴ Mr. Pym Yeatman names Evan Evans as the compiler.⁵ It is certainly not by Hugh Thomas, as stated by Mr. Horwood,⁶ for

¹ As indicating Mr. Wood's competence for his task, and knowledge of Welsh historical authorities, I quote the following remark: “It is possible that the arguments advanced with respect to the later ones [*i.e.*, to Welsh pedigrees of later date than the ‘passing’ of the laws of Howell Dda] are applicable to them [*i.e.*, those earlier than that period], at all events for some time previous to this date [A.D. 942]; since the laws of Howell Dda are known to have been founded on those of Dyfnwal Moelmud, who probably flourished about A.D. 400, though there was another chieftain of the same name, who is said to have lived about eight hundred years earlier.” And Mr. Wood calmly proceeds to quote as from documents “of an early date and considerable authority,” the late sixteenth- or early seventeenth-century forgeries, known as the Moelmutian Triads. As for two Dyfnwal Moelmuds, one living B.C. 400, the other A.D. 400, even if we admit the existence of one, there is not the slightest justification for Mr. Wood's adoption of the bipartient methods of Solomon.

² It is, of course, not more accessible than any of the British Museum collections.

³ This shows that knowledge of Welsh, in which language all the early collections of our pedigrees are written (*vide* Dr. Gwenogvryn Evans's *Catalogue of the Peniarth Library*), is not amongst the qualifications of Mr. Wood for estimating “the Value of Welsh Pedigrees.”

⁴ (*Note by Mr. Wood*). Vol. ii, p. 140, and *cp.* p. 139 with the *Golden Grove*, G. 1030.

⁵ (*Note by Mr. Wood*). *Notes and Queries*, Ser. 9, v. 359. [Mr. Wood is evidently ignorant of Mr. Yeatman's later and more elaborate article in this Journal.]

⁶ (*Note by Mr. Wood*). *Second Report of the Historical MSS. Commission*, Appendix, p. 31.

he died in 1720; but it is possible that some of his MSS. are now bound up with it.¹ On going through the pedigrees, it will be seen that certain dates in the seventeenth century constantly occur. In the case of Breconshire these are 1644 and 1686, the dates at which the collections of pedigrees of Richard Williams, of Llywel, sometimes known as Dick Howell Williams, and David Edwards, of Rhyd y gors, are known to have been made,² so that it would seem that the immediate source of the *Golden Grove* was, as regards Breconshire, the work of these two genealogists. A similar state of affairs is found in regard to the other counties,³ the conclusions being that the *Golden Grove* is a copy and continuation of pedigrees drawn up in the seventeenth century. Going further back, references will be found to various other pedigree writers under their initials (a list of thirty has been inserted by Jones at the beginning of the first volume);⁴ so that it would appear that the book, in its present form, contains a continuous series of additions made to existing pedigrees, each addition being within the reasonable knowledge of its author, and is not a collection of pedigrees made at a late date, and therefore of little value."

Mr. Wood does not carry us much further than Mr. Yeatman had already taken us, and we will accordingly return to the latter gentleman.

¹ This is not the case.

² It would be interesting to know Mr. Wood's authority for this statement. The dates are, no doubt, approximately, if not actually, correct; but it would be well to substantiate the point.

³ Not of North Wales. The families of Gwynedd are summed up very briefly, and the careless manner in which this part has been written betokens either a summary closure of the scribe's labours, or lack of interest on the part of the writer he was copying from in families of whom he knew nothing.

⁴ This list of "authorities" is not in the hand of Theophilus Jones, but in that of the individual whose initials "E. E." are at the foot of the same folio.

Nowhere in his paper does Mr. Yeatman give the date at which William Lewis (or "Lewes," which was the spelling he most frequently affected) flourished. Of David Edwards, he says that he was appointed deputy to Sir Henry St. George, Clarencieux, on August 1st, 1684, "and it was probably not his first appointment; he appears to have ceased to act in 1686, the later pedigrees [in his volumes in the Heralds' College and Bodleian] not being his work." But it is clear that for present purposes Mr. William Lewes is the more important personage, and upon him, therefore, we will concentrate our attention. Now, scattered amongst the collections of Hugh Thomas, the Breconshire herald and antiquary, in the British Museum, are several letters of William Lewes, written to his friend and fellow genealogist, Hugh Thomas, then living in London. The volume, entitled *Harleian* 6831, is thus described in the Museum Catalogue: "A large folio containing Mr. Hugh Thomas's Genealogical History of the Ancient Nobility and Gentry of Wales, and of several families descended thence now living in England;" and this is followed by another title, which has nothing to do with the volume to which it is presumed to refer. Of any attempt to set forth its actual contents there has hitherto been none, though it has been dipped into by many historical workers and pedigree-hunters. In the course of compiling *A Catalogue of the Manuscripts relating to Wales in the British Museum* for the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion, I have just finished an exhaustive calendar of its contents; and, as directly bearing upon the matter in hand, I quote the following passage from a letter written to Hugh Thomas by Mr. William Lewes, of Llwynderw, which will be found at folio 307. The date is January 19th, 1709-10:—

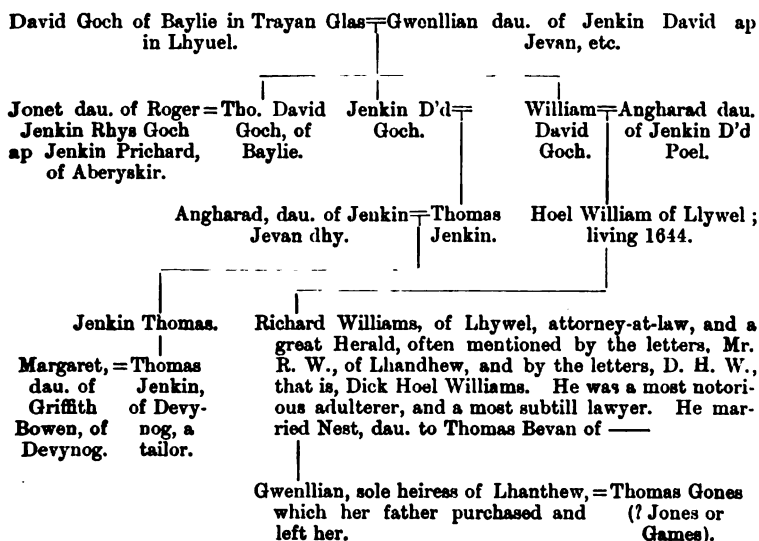
"You will receive herein an extract of the pedegree you desir'd taken out of the rough drawght of Mr. Edward's out of Mr. Rich'd W'ms booke. If I have bin any way short in it be

pleas'd to communicate y'r further thoughts, and I shall endeavour y'r satisfac'on. I am weary long since of these unprofitable studies, w'ch the bad disposition of the times and the prodigious ignorance of most of the gentry in these parts have so much decry'd and undervalu'd that it were almost madness in any man to concern himself in such an affair. I had it in my thoughts heretofore to transcribe all ye genealogies that I have dispers'd confusedly in severall bookes into one or two volumes in another method then [than] Mr. Edwards or those before him have done; that is, to put all ye descendants of a patriarch in the same booke, viz., for instance, the descendants of Kradoc Vreichvras, as Bledhin ap Maynarch, Drympanog, Woogans, Griff. Gwyr, &c., in one continued series, and the title in every page thereof to be inscrib'd Kradoc Vreichvras. But *res angusta domi* obstructed that design, tho' I have made a considerable progress in it, being not enabl'd to keep an amanuensis or to travell forreign counties for further knowledge therein."

It will be observed that this letter contains practically the same passage as that which Mr. Yeatman has already quoted from a letter of Mr. Edward Prothero, junior. It is therefore clear that either Lewes had written an identical letter to some other of his correspondents, which letter came into Prothero's hands, or (which is the more probable) that Prothero had seen the letter in the *Harleian* volume, and had made a copy or an abstract of it. Now I quite agree with Mr. Yeatman that the arrangement of pedigrees here described is the arrangement of the *Golden Grove Book*, and that the author of that book must have drawn his material from either Edwards or Lewes. The letter of Mr. William Lewes, however, carries us much beyond the point at which we had arrived with Mr. Yeatman. In the first place, we find that Mr.

Edwards had not thought of such an arrangement, and that the order and sequence of the pedigrees in the *Golden Grove* volumes are due to Lewes alone, who, by the end of 1709, had "made a considerable progress" with his new method. Secondly, we learn that Mr. Lewes had come into possession of some of Edwards's "rough drawghts;" and, thirdly, that these in turn had been taken from the book, or books, of Mr. Richard Williams, of Llywel, co. Brecon. In several of his letters to Hugh Thomas, William Lewes refers to the genealogical work of Richard Williams, and it is evident that he placed considerable confidence in his pedigrees.¹ Mr. Lewes had also other authorities; for, in a post-script to the letter from which I have quoted, he observes: "I can't find in all ye bookes I have, neither in a transcript of M'r Ro. Vaughan's Ludlow booke, nor in Mr. Edwards' booke of Norman adventurers any armes assign'd to S'r Hugh Surdwall, kt., lord of Aberuske."

¹ Hugh Thomas (*Harleian* 4181, f. 100b) gives the descent of this Richard Williams as follows:—



It is pretty well agreed by those who have examined the *Golden Grove Book*, that it is no more than a copy, and probably a slavish copy, of some other collection; and I think it will be allowed that the evidence is strongly in favour of the paternity of Mr. Lewes's work. It is obvious that this point cannot be absolutely settled until Mr. Lewes's "one or two volumes," arranged according to "another method than Mr. Edwards or those before him," are discovered; and the question therefore arises, What has become of the Llwynderw manuscripts? An excellent little work entitled *Hanes Plwyfi Llangeler a Phenboyr* (1899), written by Mr. Daniel E. Jones, Llandyssul, gives some information on the subject. It is there stated—Llwynderw being a farmstead within the former parish—that Mr. William Lewes flourished from about 1680 to 1760. He was the fourth son of John Lewes, of Llysnewydd, and married Cecily, the daughter of Ieuan David Lloyd, M.A., of Llandyssul, and owner of Llwynderw, of which place Lewes became leaseholder. During his residence there he brought together a number of books and manuscripts which the Rev. Theophilus Evans, the author of *Drych y Prif Oesoedd*, characterised as the finest collection within his knowledge. He died childless. The greater part of the manuscripts, together with the printed books, found their way, according to the author of the work just mentioned, into the British Museum. This, I think, must be an error—at any rate, so far as concerns the manuscripts. It is also said that Dr. Gwenogvryn Evans, in 1897, came across several of the Lewes MSS. at the Heralds' College amongst the Prothero collection, and this statement there need be no hesitation in accepting as absolutely accurate. One thick manuscript volume (*cyfrol drwchus*) of pedigrees is at present in the possession of Lieut.-Col. Lewes, of Llysnewydd. It should not be forgotten that Mr. Lewes never was an Officer of Arms; so that his work, however distinguished it may be, has not the *cachet* which attaches

to the infinitely less valuable collections of Hugh Thomas.¹

We next come to the point, Who was the copyist of the *Golden Grove Book*? The volumes have been ascribed to the hand of Hugh Thomas, a conjecture which Mr. Yeatman has shown to be impossible.² That gentleman, the only critic who has not rested content with the imaginings of others, thinks the writer was the Rev. Evan Evans, distinguished amongst his contemporaries by the bardic title "Ieuan Brydydd Hir." "It is of his period, dated 1751-1771, and is initialed as the work of E. E." It is true, as Mr. Yeatman observes, that some of the pedigrees are brought down to the second half of the eighteenth century, and that this is just the period of the Rev. Evan Evans. But Mr. Yeatman appears to have hit upon the unfortunate Prydydd Hir only because he could not find another "E. E." of that period to whom, with any degree of probability, he could ascribe the writing of the *Book*. Yet Evan Evans, the poet, is not known to have had any taste for pedigrees; not a word referring to the considerable labour that the copying of the four volumes would necessarily entail can be found in his letters, or in those of his contemporaries. His handwriting is also very different to that of the *Golden Grove Book*. I have, therefore, been unable to accept Mr. Yeatman's identification.³ There

¹ It is usually assumed that Hugh Thomas's province as Deputy-Herald comprised the whole of South Wales. This was not so; the counties of Cardigan and Radnor were outside his jurisdiction.

² Mr. Stepney-Gulston (*Arch. Camb., loc. cit.*) states that p. 1372 of the *Golden Grove Book* ends with the note: "23 Nov. 1760, compiled by Hugh Thomas, Deputy Garter King of Arms 1703." No such note appears upon that page, nor have I been able to discover it. It can, of course, be no more than a reference to a pedigree drawn up by Hugh Thomas in the year 1703.

³ My friend, Mr. J. H. Davies, barrister-at-law, points out to me that it will not do to dismiss the claims of the Rev. Evan Evans too cavalierly. The poet can be proved from his correspondence to have been in the neighbourhood of Llwynderw during the summer of 1765; but he was back at Llanfair Talhaiarn, in Denbighshire,

is, however, little doubt that the copyist was a person bearing the initials "E. E." He has written at the foot of the first leaf of the work, "Carmarthen, July 1765, E. E.," which evidently commemorates the day upon which he commenced or ended his labours. Now, this is not long after the death of Mr. Lewes, the exact date of whose decease is unknown, the parish registers of the period 1755-1760 being wanting. It has already been stated that Mr. Lewes married Cecily Lloyd, who died childless. He next married Catharine Pryce, of Rhydybenau, which union also proving fruitless, he adopted a niece, Ann Beynon, the daughter of John Beynon, of Trewern. She survived him, and in 1762 married the Rev. Richard Thomas, rector of Llanfyrnach, who took up his residence at Llwynderw. No children having blessed their union, the pair adopted a nephew, John Beynon, afterwards a successful lawyer, and a niece, Elizabeth Beynon. The latter married Walter Pryce, of Rhydybenau, on November 15th, 1764. The entry in the parish register relating to their marriage is given in Jones's *Hanes Plwyfi Llangeler a Phenboyr*, p. 128. The witnesses signing the register are William Beynon and Emanuel Evans. In the latter I would recognise the copyist of the *Golden Grove Book*.

A letter of inquiry addressed to the local historian, Mr. Daniel E. Jones, was returned to me with the notification that he had left the neighbourhood. A second communication to the Rev. W. Williams, vicar of Llangeler, brought a courteous reply to the effect that the signatures of the two witnesses were almost

by the end of September, after a detention for a whole month at Bala by reason of illness. It is curious that in the letter to Mr. Richard Morris, from which the above particulars have been gathered, the poet should end his epistle with the words: "I continue still at my leisure hours to transcribe old MSS., and have collected a great many notes to illustrate *Nennius*, which, please God I live and be well, shall be one day or other published" (*Gwaith Ieuan Brydydd Hir*, p. 200). But not a word about having in hand, or in anticipation, the transcription of Mr. William Lewes's new arrangement of pedigrees.

certainly written by them respectively, and a rough tracing of that of Emanuel Evans. After careful comparison with the *Golden Grove Book*, I have no doubt of the identity of the hands. The circumstances which led to the writing of the volumes may well have been the following:—Both David Edwards, of Rhyd-y-gors, and William Lewes, of Llwynderw, died without issue. The manuscripts of the former were speedily dispersed, a number of volumes going into the possession of Mr. Lloyd, of Alltyrodyn (spelt “Alltyndine” by Mr. Yeatman), in the parish of Llandyssil, co. Cardigan, from a descendant of which family they were purchased by Mr. Edward Prothero, to be again sold by him to the Heralds’ College. Three volumes (Mr. Yeatman says five) are in the Bodleian Library at Oxford. Several volumes remained in the Edwards’ family, according to the account of Mr. Prothero, quoted by Mr. Yeatman. Others, perhaps the major share, came to Mr. Lewes. The Lewes collection, in its turn, was scattered far and wide in a few years after the death of its patient collector and compiler. But it is most likely that this did not take place (at any rate, so far as relates to the “one or two volumes” which Mr. Lewes had written in 1709-10 “in another method”) until after they had been copied by “E. E.” in 1765.

Of this “E. E.,” or Emanuel Evans, as I take him to be, I have been able to discover nothing certain. I think he was of the family of Pensingrug, in the parish of Llangeler.¹ This is, however, no more than conjecture, which I hope one of our Carmarthenshire members will either substantiate or demolish. One thing is certain, namely,

¹ An extraordinary attempt of some members of this family to claim descent from Sir Walter Havard, “a Norman knight, who came from Havre de Grace, in France, in 1056,” and from “Roderick the Great, about the ninth century,” fortified by references to the *Lewes’ MSS.*, is exposed in Jones’s *Hanes Plwyf Llangeler a Phenboyr*, p. 137. The family of Pensingrug, during the eighteenth century, delighted in a peculiar selection of truly “Christian” names; Methusalem, Luther, and Joshua occur.

that Emanuel Evans was intimately acquainted with the Llwynderw family, for he witnesses to the marriage of Elizabeth Beynon, great-niece to Mr. William Lewes, about four years after the death of the genealogist. Nothing would be more natural than that he should have taken a copy of Mr. Lewes's *magnum opus*—the value and originality of which must have been well known—either upon his own account, or for a wealthy patron. It is hardly likely that this patron was the Earl of Carberry, as suggested by Theophilus Jones—a suggestion apparently accepted by Mr. Wood—inasmuch as that earldom had become extinct in 1712.¹ It is, of course, possible that the copy may have been made several years prior to the date which it bears, but against such a contention is the fact that the rest of the volumes appear to be strictly contemporary with the date "July, 1765," written on the first page; and if the transcript had been executed during the lifetime of Mr. Lewes, it would almost certainly bear traces of his amendments or additions.

Of its fortunes, until it came into the possession of the house of Cawdor, I am entirely ignorant, nor am I able to improve upon the speculations of Mr. Yeatman on the course it may have run. It may not be amiss to add to his suggestions a connection between Rhyd-y-gors and Stackpole Court created by the marriage of one of the collateral descendants of David Edwards, the herald, with a member of the family of Campbell.²

¹ It should be observed, on behalf of Theophilus Jones, that he does not, even "in effect", say that the book "taken by command of the Earl of Carberry" was the one now known as *The Golden Grove Book*, although I am disposed to agree with Mr. Wood that this is what he meant. What he actually does say (dealing with the pedigree of Wilkins of Lanquian, *Hist. of Brecknockshire*, old ed. ii, 139-40; new ed., 238) is:—"A MS. in the handwriting of Mr. Thomas Wilkins, Rector of St. Mary's Church, differs from the early part of this pedigree, as does Spencer's Survey, but I copy the MS. from the books of the Arwydd-feirdd, taken by command of the Earl of Carberry, which I have generally found correct."

² I have appended a pedigree of the family of Rhyd-y-gors, which, with its ramifications, should be of interest to Carmarthenshire men. It ought to be easy to bring it up to date.

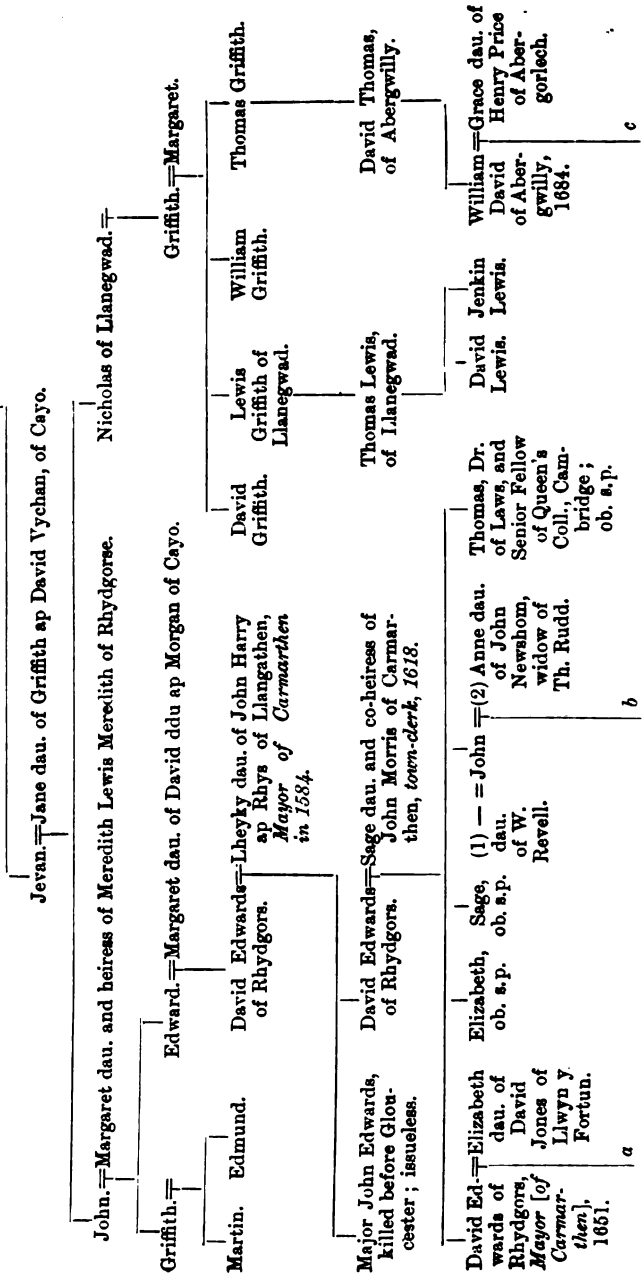
It is, perhaps, too soon to attempt to estimate the authority to be attached to *The Golden Grove Book* as a collection of pedigrees. We know too little of the great mediæval collections of the true Arwydd-feirdd, upon which it and most of the other late collections profess to be founded. We do not know how closely David Edwards, Richard Williams, and William Lewes followed their predecessors, or how far they were amenable to those influences that render much of the work of the regular Officers of Arms of the second half of the sixteenth, and first half of the seventeenth, centuries, absolutely unreliable. Of *original* authority it has not a scrap, apart from the additions to many of the pedigrees which its copyist, or Theophilus Jones (to whom it was lent for many years), were enabled to supply from their personal knowledge. As one who knows the Welsh pedigree manuscripts at the British Museum pretty thoroughly, I may be permitted the remark that I am inclined to rate *The Golden Grove Book* rather low, though decidedly higher than the pedigree collections of Hugh Thomas. While echoing Mr. Stepney-Gulston's longing to have it in print, I am bound to say that I do not think it would satisfy the desire of those who wish to see Welsh heraldry and genealogy fixed upon a true historic basis. This will never be until we have a scientifically-edited version, or, better still, a facsimile, of one of the magnificent collections of pedigrees formed before the genealogically-*'spacious'* days of Elizabeth, of which there are several volumes in the great library at Peniarth.

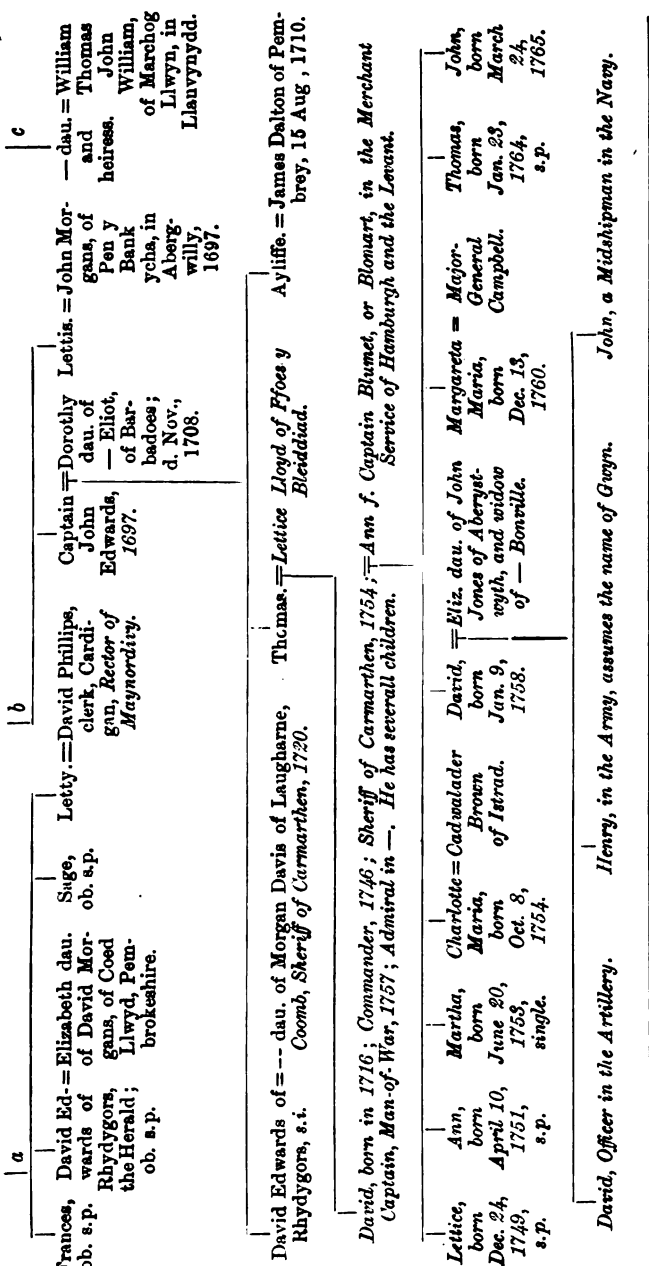
In placing the volumes in the Public Record Office, and in permitting them to be freely examined there, the late and present noble owners have conferred a great boon upon Welsh genealogists; but I cordially agree with Mr. Yeatman in thinking that if Lord Cawdor would transfer them to the British Museum, upon the same liberal conditions, their value to students would be immensely enhanced, because of the opportunities of comparison with other collections which the great Bloomsbury institution alone affords.

PEDIGREE OF THE FAMILY OF EDWARDS, RHYD-Y-GORS, Co. CARMARTHEN.

From *British Museum, Harleian 2,291, fo. 14*. The italicised additions are from *The Golden Grove Book*, pages B. 291 and B. 319.

Llewelin ap Thomas Vychan ap Thomas ap David ap Griffith ap Grono Goch of Llangathen, Maud dau. of Griffith ap Meredith ap Henry Don.





1 Note in GOLDEN GROVE BOOK :—This descent of Mr. Edwards of Rhydygors is thus laid in his last collections. But in his former collections he followeth Vairdre Book and Kemys Antiquary [that is, George Owen of Kemes, probably father and son], who bring it from Gwynfarth Divet.

REPORT OF THE BRECON MEETING.

(Continued from page 81.)

ROUTES OF THE EXCURSIONS.

EXCURSION NO. 1.—TUESDAY, AUGUST 19th.Y GAER (*BANNIUM*) AND BRECON.

Route.—Carriages left the Bulwark at 9 A.M., and took the road, which goes in a westerly direction up the valley of the Usk, along the south bank, through Llanfaes and Llanspyddyd, as far as Penpont, where the river was crossed in order to reach TRALLWNG, the point furthest away from Brecon. The return journey from TRALLWNG was made in an easterly direction, along the north bank of the Usk to Y GAER (*Bannium*), thence turning north-east by Penoyre to LLANDEFÆLOG-FACH, and back to Brecon. PEN-Y-CRUG was visited on foot from Penoyre. In the afternoon, the churches of BRECON were visited on foot.

LUNCHEON was provided at PENOYRE, by invitation of R. D. Cleasby, Esq.

The following objects of interest were visited :—

- Llanspyddyd (*Church and early Crossed Stone*).
- Aberbran (*Ancient Mansion, belonging formerly to the Game family*).
- Trallwng (*Church and Ogam Inscribed Stone*).
- Y Gaer (*Roman Station of Bannium and Maen-y-Morwynion*).
- Battle (*Maenhir*).
- Penoyre (*Residence of R. D. Cleasby, Esq., and Roman Inscribed Stone*).
- Pen-y-Crug (*Ancient British Camp*).
- Llandefaelog-fach (*Church and erect Cross-Slab of Briamail*).
- Brecon (*St. John's Priory Church*).
- Brecon *St. Mary's Parish Church*).

EXCURSION NO. 2.—WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 20th.

TALGARTH AND LLANGORSE.

Route.—Carriages left the Bulwark at 9 A.M., proceeding by road north-east to TALGARTH, thence south to LLANGORSE, and west back to BRECON.

LUNCHEON was provided at GWERNYFED, by invitation of Col. T. Wood ; and Tea at LLANGORSE, by invitation of Col. R. D. Garnons-Williams.

The following objects of interest were visited :—

- Llanddew (*Church and Mediæval Inscribed Cross-Slab*).
- Llanvillo (*Unrestored Church, with Rood-loft and Norman Doorway, with Sculptured Lintel*).
- Brynllys (*Castle and Church*).
- Talgarth (*Church*).
- Gwernyfed (*Mansion of seventeenth century*).
- Llangorse (*Church with Inscribed Stones and Crannog*).

EXCURSION NO. 3.—THURSDAY, AUGUST 21st.

LLANFIHANGEL CWM-DU AND GLANUSK PARK.

Route.—Carriages left the Bulwark at 9 A.M., taking the high road down the Usk valley in a south-easterly direction to GLANUSK PARK, and making a slight détour to reach LLANFIHANGEL CWM-DU and TRETOWER. The return journey from GLANUSK PARK to BRECON was made along the road on the opposite bank of the Usk, through Llanthetty and Llanfrynach.

LUNCHEON was provided at GLANUSK PARK, by invitation of the President.

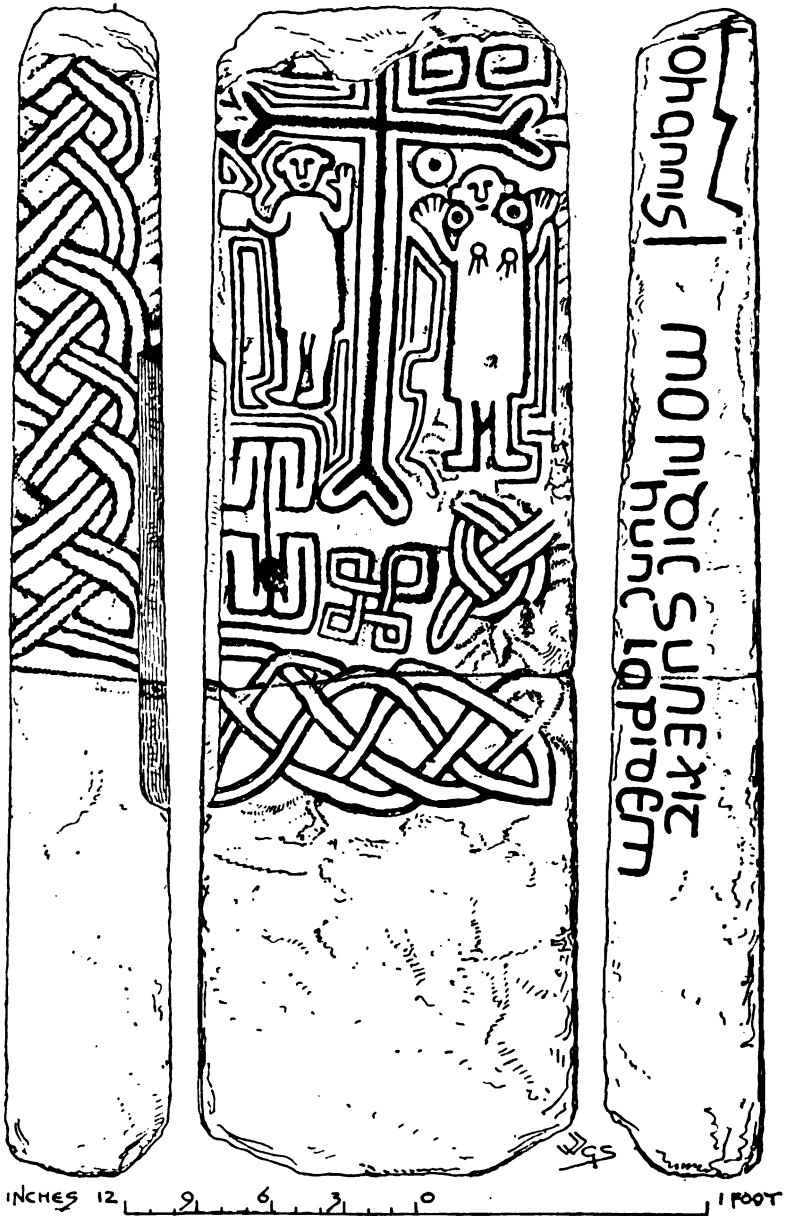
The following objects of interest were visited :—

- Llanhamlach (*Church and Inscribed Stone of Moridic*).
- Scethrog ("Victorinus" Inscribed Stone).
- Llansantffread (*Church and Grave of Henry Vaughan, the Silurist*).
- Pen-y-gaer (*Roman (?) Camp*).
- Llanfihangel Cwm-dû (*Church, with Rood-screen, and Inscribed Stone of Catacus, the son of Tegernacus*).
- Tretower (*Church, Castle, fortified Mansion, and Roman Inscribed Stones*).
- Glanusk Park (*the residence of the Rt. Hon. Lord Glanusk; Ogam Inscribed Stone*).
- Llanthetty (*Church and Inscribed Stone of Gurdon the Priest*).
- Pencelli (*Remains of Castle*).
- Llanfrynach (*Church and Inscribed Stone*).

EXCURSION NO. 4.—FRIDAY, AUGUST 22nd.

LLYWEL AND BRECON.

Route.—The members assembled at the Railway Station at 8.10 A.M., and were conveyed by train in a westerly direction up the valley of the Usk to DEVYNOCK, and thence by carriage further west to LLYWEL. The return journey was made by the same



Erect Cross-slab of Moridic at Llanhamlach.

route. In the afternoon, the remaining antiquities of Brecon, besides the churches, were visited on foot.

LUNCHEON was provided at FFRWDGRECH, by invitation of David Evans, Esq.

The following objects of interest were visited :—

Devynock (*Church and Inscribed Stone*).

Trecastle (*Barthworks of Norman Castle*).

Llywel (*Church*).

Ffrwdgrech (*The residence of David Evans, Esq. ; collection of Roman Antiquities from Bannium*).

Brecon (*Remains of Castle and Town Walls, Newton House, and Christ's College*).

NOTES ON OBJECTS OF INTEREST VISITED DURING THE EXCURSIONS.

Prehistoric Remains.—The prehistoric antiquities seen during the excursions were inferior, both in quantity and quality, to those in other parts of Wales where the meetings of the Association have been held. It is not altogether easy to explain this; certainly, it would be unsafe to assume that all the important monuments have been destroyed. The prehistoric remains visited on the first day comprised only a maenhir, or standing stone, near Battle, and an ancient British hill-fort of the usual type, called the Crŷg, lying two miles north-west of Brecon. On the second day the site of the crannog, or lake-dwelling, discovered on a small island near the shore of Llangorse Lake, by the Rev. E. N. Dumbleton, in 1869, was examined. It is interesting as being almost the only example in Wales of a kind of pile structure which is common in Ireland, Scotland, and Switzerland. All that can now be seen is a row of piles sticking up above the surface of the water. On the same day, had time permitted, the party should have seen the remains of a chambered cairn on Manest Farm, a mile south-west of Tal-y Llyn Junction, known as Ty-Iltyd—that is to say, the House of Iltyd. The chamber has been denuded of the cairn which once covered it, exposing the large flat slabs of stone forming the sides and roof. The chamber was very possibly used as a hermit's cell at one time, and there are several small incised crosses carved on the slabs, either during the period of its occupation, or by pious pilgrims to the spot after the cell had been deserted. Iltyd was a contemporary of St. David and St. Samson, and gives his name to Llantwit Fawr, in Glamorganshire. A large number of churches are dedicated to him in South Wales. A parallel case of the probable use of a Neolithic burial chamber as a dwelling-place at a much later period is Wayland Smith's cave, in Berkshire, which is mentioned in a Saxon document of the eighth or ninth century.

Romano-British Remains.—The Roman station of Bannium, now called the Gaer, which was seen on the first day's excursion, is situated three miles west of Brecon, in a strong position formed by the junction of the river Yscir and the Usk. Extensive masses of masonry are still visible above the ground, and the plan of the fortification can easily be traced. From time to time Roman antiquities are found on the site, consisting chiefly of Samian ware, various other kinds of pottery, blue glass beads, coins, bricks, and tiles. Some of the tiles are stamped "LEG II AVG," showing that the station was occupied by the Second Legion (Augusta), the headquarters of which was at Caerleon-on-Usk. Most of the relics found here were shown to the members on Friday, when they visited Ffrwdgrech, near Brecon, the residence of Mr. David Evans, the proprietor of the Gaer. If the site were to be systematically explored, it would doubtless yield a plentiful harvest of antiquities; and, in laying bare the plan of the buildings and perhaps discovering inscribed objects, the excavators would certainly throw much light on the Roman occupation of Wales. At present, although most of the finds are preserved, no record seems to be kept of the exact spots where the antiquities were dug up. Near the Roman station of Bannium is a sepulchral monument, sculptured with the figures of a Roman soldier and his wife, known as the Maen-y-Morwynnion, or "Maiden Stone." It bears an inscription, now nearly obliterated. There is another "Maiden Stone" near Benachie, Aberdeenshire; but this is an early Christian monument, with interlaced ornament upon it. Then there is the "Maiden Castle," near Dorchester, and many other instances of the use of the word might be cited. Between the Gaer and Brecon there is an ancient paved trackway, which is called Roman, but may be of almost any age, from the prehistoric period down to the time of Bernard Newmarch, the conqueror of Brecknockshire. Mr. F. Haverfield read a valuable paper on Bannium at the Evening Meeting on Tuesday. He said that, as far as outward appearances went, there had been no reconstruction of the walls, and that consequently the place had been occupied for a comparatively short period. To judge from the evidence of the coins found on the site, the period of occupation would be from about A.D. 70 to A.D. 120. After that time, the country was no doubt subdued, and a strong garrison would be unnecessary. Mr. Haverfield strongly advocated the use of the spade, as the speediest method of solving the various archæological problems connected with the struggle between the stubborn Silures, fighting for freedom amongst the fastnesses of the Brecknockshire hills, against the might of Imperial Rome. At Penoyre House, the residence of Mr. R. D. Cleasby, near the Gaer, the party had an opportunity of examining one of the most beautifully-cut Roman sepulchral inscriptions in Wales. Unfortunately the slab is broken in half, so that the ends of all the lines are missing, thus affording the assembled antiquaries an endless field for speculation. The stone was found a few years ago

at Battle, near Penoyre, and also not far from the Gaer. Other Roman inscriptions of inferior interest were seen during Thursday's excursion at Tretower and Scethrog.

Early Christian Remains.—The valley of the Usk, between Devynock and Crickhowel, contains an unrivalled series of inscribed and sculptured stones of the early Christian period, dating from about A.D. 500 to A.D. 1000. In fact, no district in Wales affords a better opportunity for the study of the development of monuments of this class. The series commences with the rude pillar-stones, the inscriptions on which are simply debased copies of Roman epitaphs, differing from them in two respects: (1) that the letters are very ill-formed; and (2) the lines, instead of reading horizontally from left to right, read vertically upwards from bottom to top. It is true that there are about a dozen pillar-stones in Great Britain with inscriptions cut horizontally, after the Roman fashion, but these are exceptions of very early date, as three of them have the Chi-Rho monogram, and two contain the Roman formula "Vixit annos . . ." The Celtic fashion of making the debased Latin inscriptions read vertically upwards instead of horizontally, probably arose from the fact that the Ogam inscriptions must read vertically because they are cut on the angle of the stone; and as many of the monuments are both bi-literal and bi-lingual, it would never do to have the Ogam inscription reading one way and the debased Latin inscription another. An example of a pillar-stone, with a debased Latin inscription entirely in capitals, was seen on Friday's excursion at Devynock. The members had an opportunity of examining specimens of the bi-literal and bi-lingual inscriptions at Trallwng on Tuesday and at Glanus Park on Thursday. The most interesting feature of the Glanus inscription is that it gives the rare Ogam letter X as the equivalent for the Latin P. The inscribed stone at Llanfihangel Cwn-dû (seen on Thursday) is a good instance of the transitional type in which several minuscule, or small letters, are mixed with the



Erect Cross-slab of
Briamail at
Llandefaelog-fach.

capitals. The inscription means: "Here lies Cattoc, son of Teyrnoc." Somewhere about the year A.D. 700, the capital letters ceased to be used, and the inscriptions were afterwards entirely in minuscules. Ogams also became obsolete, and as there was no further reason for continuing to make the Latin inscription parallel with the Ogam inscription, or vertical, the old Roman custom of cutting the letters in horizontal lines was reverted to. At the same time Celtic ornament and figure sculpture begins to make its appearance on the monuments. The best example near Brecon is the well-known cross-slab of Briamail, at Llandefaillog-fach (seen on Tuesday).

Mediæval Remains.—With the exception of Brecon Priory Church, which is too well known to need description here, the ecclesiastical architecture of the district is somewhat poor. Most of the churches have been either over-restored or rebuilt, so that very few old features now remain. Of the smaller village churches, that at Llanvillo, with its finely-carved rood-screen, and a doorway having a highly ornamented lintel, was distinctly the best worth seeing. Mediæval military architecture was represented by the round keeps of Brynllys and Tretower, which are of the thirteenth century, and are built on the same plan as those at Pembroke, Coningsborough in Yorkshire, and Coucy in France. At Tretower there is also a fortified mansion of the fourteenth century, built round a courtyard, and having an interesting gateway and hall, with a massive timber roof.

WE are indebted to Dr. George Norman, of Bath, for kindly allowing us to reproduce his excellent photographs as illustrations to this report. The Pentre Poeth Ogam stone, one of the most interesting of the group of inscribed monuments in the upper valley of the Usk, is now in the British Museum, and therefore it could not be seen on the Friday's excursion when a visit was paid to Devynock, which is not far from the site where the stone originally stood.

Balance Sheet of Accounts—As, up to the time of going to press, the Editor had not received the Balance Sheet of Accounts, it does not appear in the present number of the Journal.



ERECT CROSS-SLAB OF BRIAMAIL AT LLANDEFAELOG-FACH,
BRECKNOCKSHIRE.

(From a Photograph by Dr. George Norman.)



INSCRIBED STONE AT LLANFIHANGEL CWM-DÛ.
(From a Photograph by Dr. George Norman.)

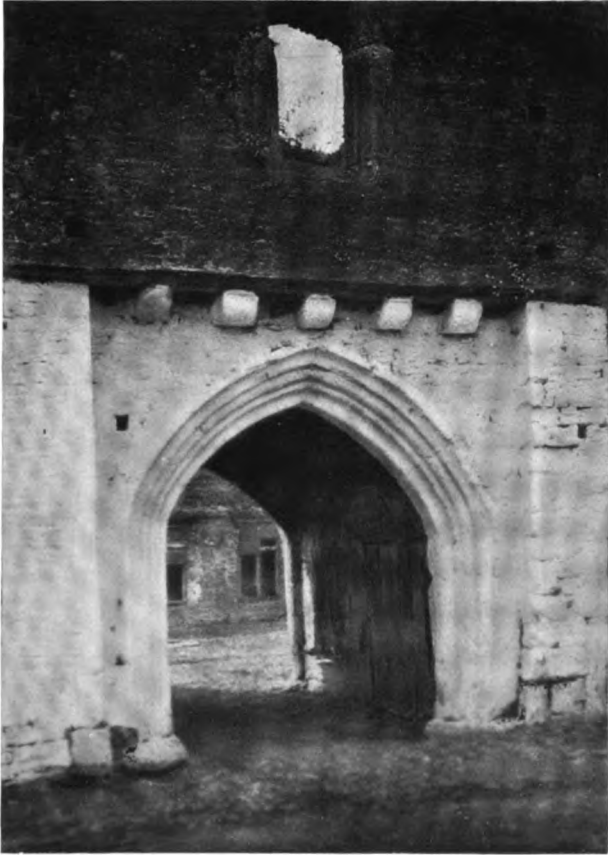


FONT IN BRYNLLYS CHURCH, BRECKNOCKSHIRE.
(From a Photograph by Dr. George Norman.)



FONT IN LLANVILLO CHURCH, BRECKNOCKSHIRE.

(From a Photograph by Dr. George Norman.)



TRETOWER COURT, BRECKNOCKSHIRE. EXTERIOR OF ENTRANCE
GATEWAY.

(From a Photograph by Dr. George Norman.)



ST. MARY'S CHURCH, BRECON. EARLY ENGLISH PISCINA.

(From a Photograph by Dr. George Norman.)

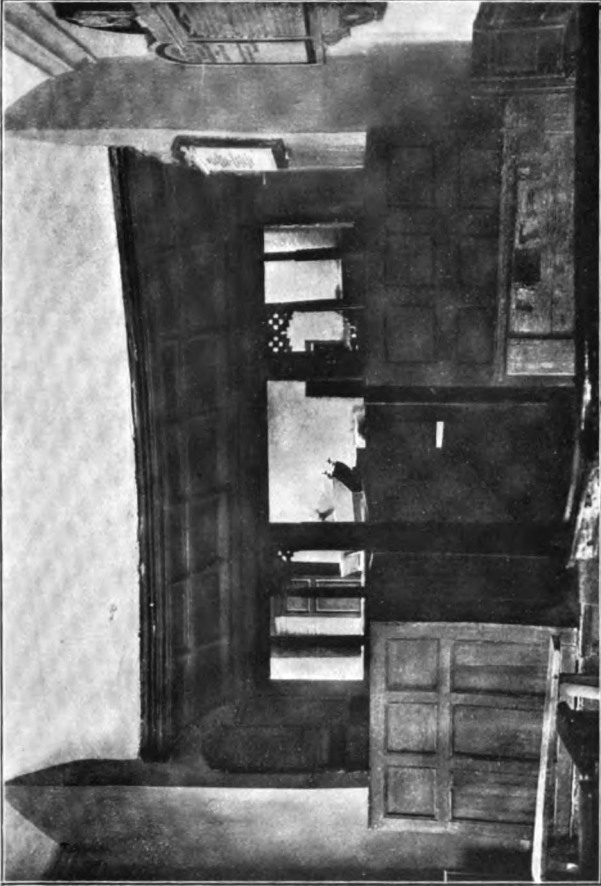


TRETOWER COURT, BRECKNOCKSHIRE. INTERIOR OF COURTYARD.
(From a Photograph by Dr. George Norman.)

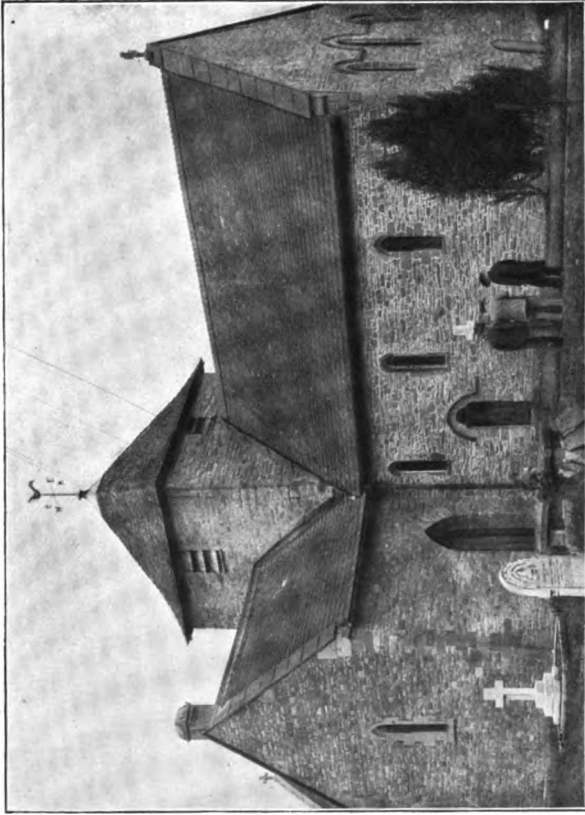


TRETOWER COURT, BRECKNOCKSHIRE. INTERIOR OF ENTRANCE GATEWAY.

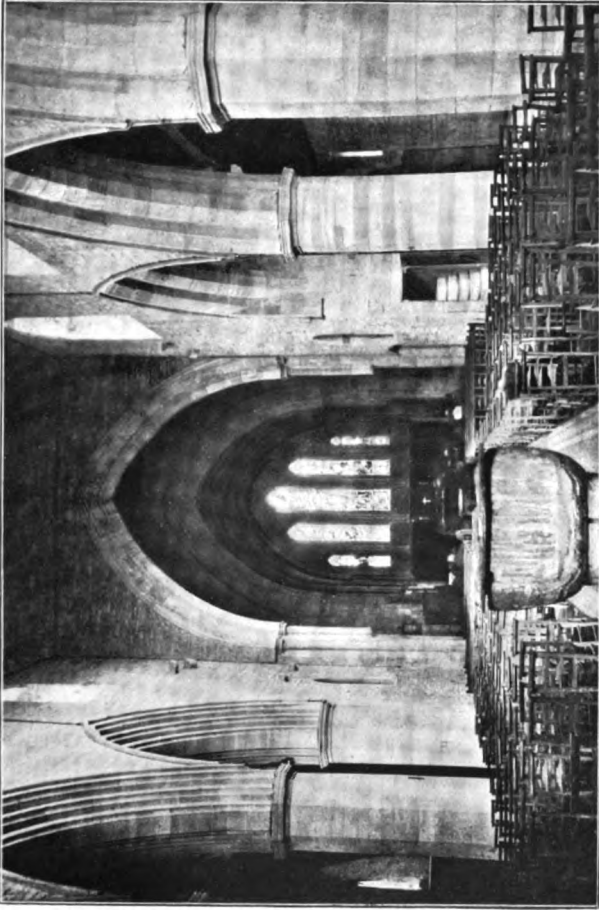
(From a Photograph by Dr. George Norman.)



LLANVILLO CHURCH, BRECKNOCKSHIRE. ROOD SCREEN.
(From a Photograph by Dr. George Norman.)



LLANDDEW CHURCH, BRECKNOCKSHIRE. VIEW FROM THE SOUTH-EAST.
(From a Photograph by Dr. George Norman.)



ST. JOHN'S PRIORY (CHURCH, BRECON. INTERIOR LOOKING EAST.
(From a Photograph by Dr. George Norman.)



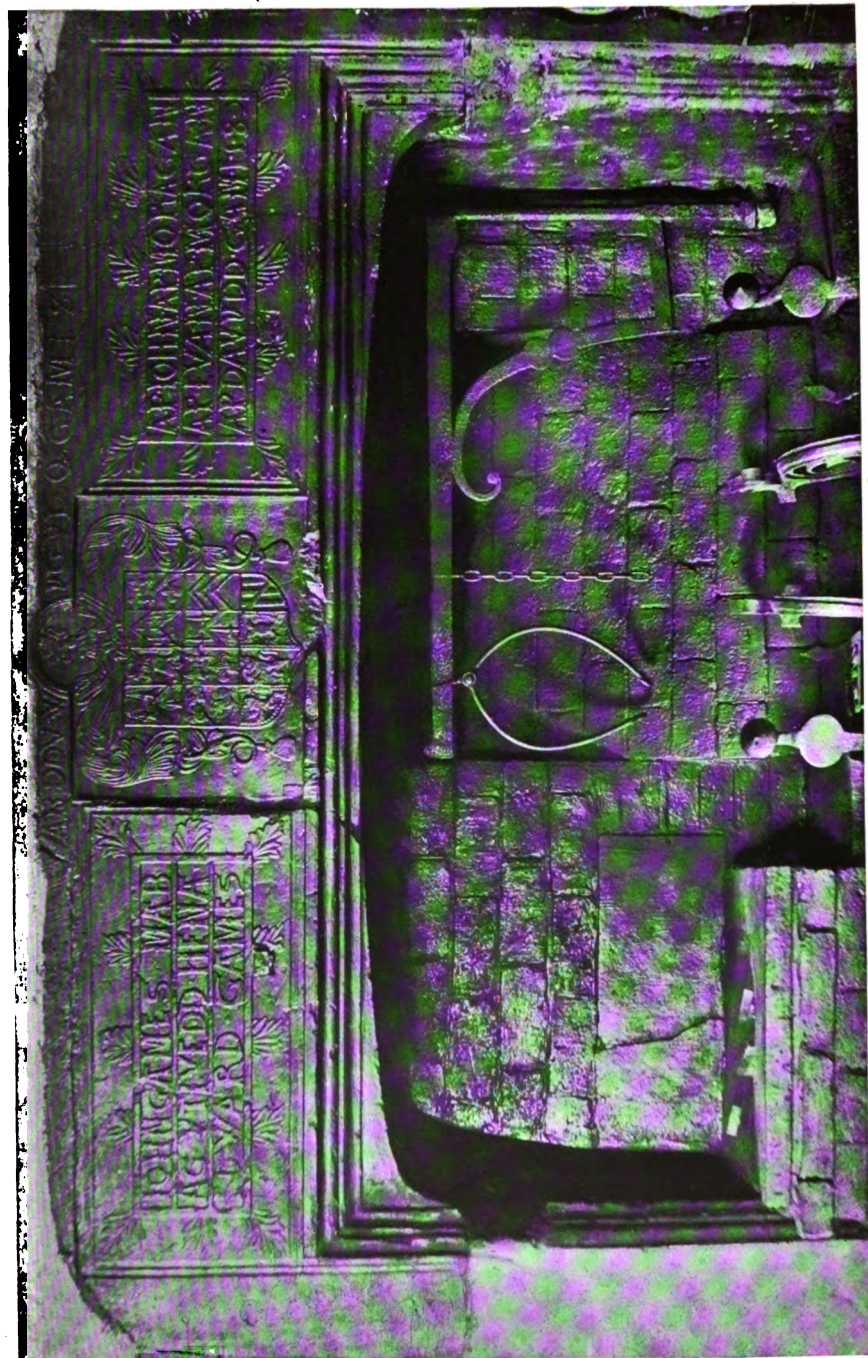
LLANVILLO CHURCH, BRECKNOCKSHIRE. BUILT-UP DOORWAY IN
SOUTH WALL, WITH DIAPERED LINTEL.

(From a Photograph by Dr. George Norman.)

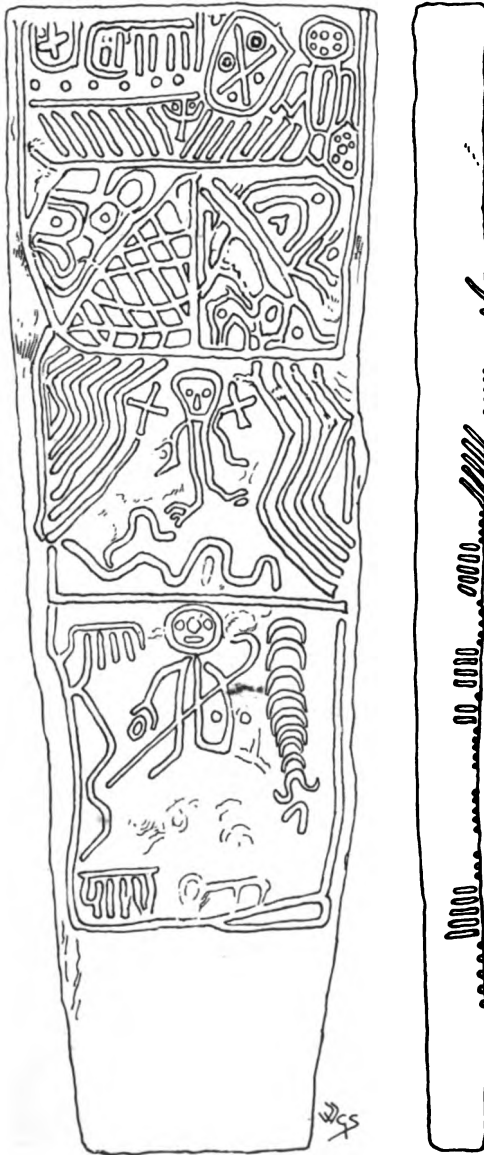


STONE WITH INCISED CROSSES AND CIRCLES AT
LLANSPYDDYD, BRECKNOCKSHIRE.

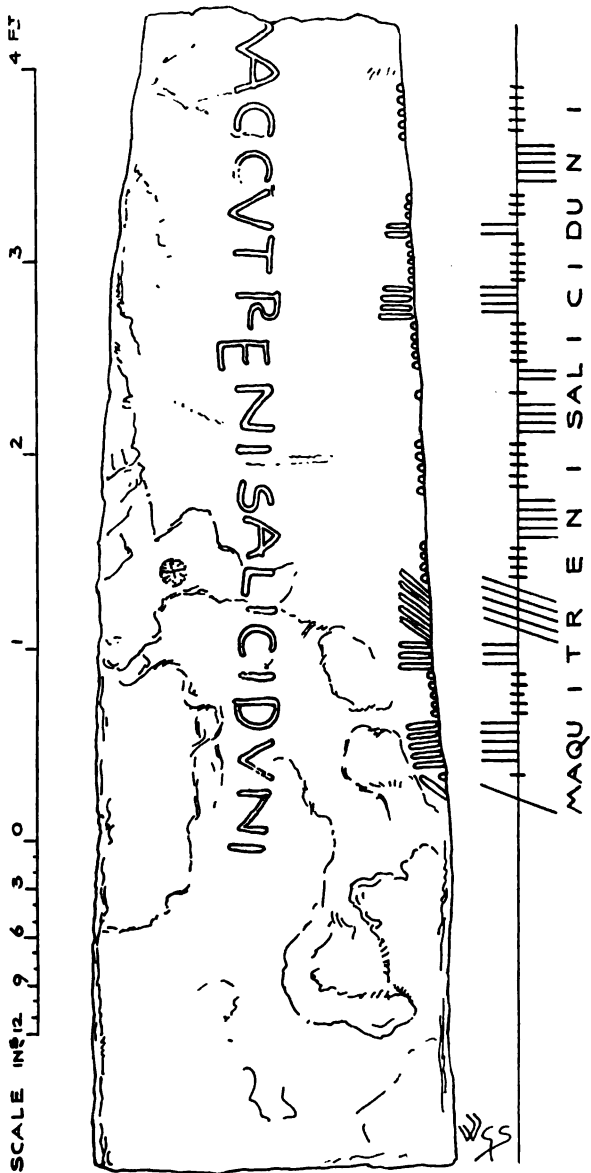
(From a Photograph by Dr. George Norman.)



FIRE-PLACE AND INSCRIBED CHIMNEY-PIECE IN THE OLD MANSION OF NEWTON, BRECON.
(From a Photograph by Lt. G. Edwards.)



The Pentre Poeth Ogam Stone (Back).



The Pentre Poeth Ogam Stone (Front)

Archaeological Notes and Queries.

ENCAUSTIC TILES IN ST. DAVID'S CATHEDRAL.—It would appear that the presbytery, the choir, and the *daïs* before the rood-screen in St. David's Cathedral were originally laid with encaustic tiles. "There has been a good deal of disturbance, both in front of the altar and near St. David's shrine," writes the learned authors of the *History and Antiquities of St. David's*;¹ "but, in the former position



Encaustic Tile Pavement in St. David's Cathedral.

at least, there are signs that the prevailing arrangement was interrupted by a border of tiles laid parallel to the wall. Between the parclose and the lowest step a central passage, equal in width to the doorway of the parclose, is marked off by borders running parallel to the walls. West of the parclose the tiles are set square, and a line of flagstones is laid down the centre of the choir, an arrangement which may or may not be original." The tiles in the *daïs* were set diagonally, but they were replaced by new ones in 1848, as the ancient ones were completely worn out.

The tiles in the presbytery are excellent representations of fifteenth-century encaustic work. Some few are modern, and they are good copies of ancient ones.

¹ See p. 128.

Tradition assigns the construction of the present throne to Bishop John Morgan (1496-1504), and his arms remained upon it until near the time of Browne Willis.¹ The erection of the throne necessitated the removal of the parolose further eastward, and it would appear that the choir and presbytery were laid with tiles about this date.

They are set diagonally, and some of the larger patterns contain as many as sixteen tiles. It seems not unlikely that they came from the celebrated manufactory at Malvern, as the arms of the Berkeley family are found on many of them. The patterns are principally enclosed in plain borders of yellow and purple, and these are



Encaustic Tile Pavement in St. David's Cathedral.

also set diagonally. Some designs represent vine-leaves and grapes, and the Tudor rose is also a notable feature on many of these tiles. The arms of Edward the Confessor, the Beauchamp family, as well as frequent representations of the Berkeley arms, are to be met with. Only one tile is depicted with the sacred monogram I. H. C. upon it, and some of the mutilated inscriptions have the words *Deo gratias* upon them. In the chancel of the church at Carew, in the same county, we find the arms of Sir Rhys ap Thomas, the See of St. David's, and the Berkeley coat, with the legend *Adjuva nos Domine*; and many of the patterns in this Pembrokeshire church may be found in St. David's Cathedral. We are reminded that these tiles in Carew Church were probably placed

¹ Browne Willis, p. 8; *Men. Sac.*, vol. i, p. 23.

there when Sir Rhys ap Thomas held possession of the neighbouring castle.¹ He was born a year later than Bishop Morgan, who probably laid down the encaustic tiles in St. David's Cathedral; and he died twenty years after him. So that the date of the tiles in Carew Church is, doubtless, the same as may be assigned to those in the Cathedral Church of St. David's.

In the well-known *History of St. David's* the authors mention that "between St. David's shrine and the Earl of Richmond's tomb, there are one or two broken tiles shown as the footprints of Cromwell's horse;" and, they add, "the tradition has obtained



Encaustic Tile Pavement in St. David's Cathedral.

such credence as makes it uncourteous, and scarcely safe, to criticise it."²

ALFRED C. FRYER.

AN EPITAPH ON A TOMBSTONE TO BE FOUND AMONGST THE RUINS OF LLANFIHANGEL TREFHELYGEN CHURCH, NEAR LLANDYFRIOG, CARDIGANSHIRE.—"Here lieth the body of the Reverend David Davies, late Vicar of Kenarth; and of his son James. The father died July the

¹ Sir Rhys (or Rice) ap Thomas (1449-1525) played an important part in the revolution which placed Henry VII on the throne; and Fuller remarks that, "well might he give him a Garter by whose effectual help he had recovered a Crown" (*Worthies*, 1662).

² See *History and Antiquities of St. David's*, by Jones and Freeman, p. 129.

20th, aged forty-six years; the son August 1st, aged nineteen years, and both in the year 1763.

“The ritual stone the wife doth lay
O'er thy respected dust,
Only proclaim the mournful day,
When she a husband lost.
In life to copy thee I'll strive,
And when I shall resign,
May some goodnatured friend survive
To lay my bones with thine.”

The above was copied about sixty years ago by Mr. J. D. Jones, of Hawen Hall, who happened to be passing the churchyard, which was very fortunate, as the little song is now nearly obliterated, with the exception of the names. I find, through the kindness of Mr. Barker, the Diocesan Registrar, that the above-mentioned succeeded the Rev. Richard Davies in 1749, and held the living until his death in 1763, when he was succeeded by the Rev. John Davies. It is regrettable that the memorial stones are allowed to decay without an attempt being made to preserve them.

Cenarth Vicarage.

D. H. DAVIES.

POPULAR LECTURES AT THE ANNUAL MEETINGS.

To the Editor of the "Archæologia Cambrensis."

SIR,—A much wider interest is now taken in archæological knowledge than was formerly the case in days gone by, and it is pleasant to find that many artizans take an intelligent interest in the history of their country and the story of the past. I venture to hope that the *Cambrian Archæological Association* may be able to stimulate and direct this zeal for knowledge and guide it into a right direction. Some learned societies give popular lectures at their Annual Conferences. For example, the *British Association for the Advancement of Science* always deputes a member to deliver a popular lecture, illustrated with lantern slides, to the working men of the city they are visiting. These lectures are very highly appreciated, and after the *British Association* had visited Bristol, several working men told me how much they had enjoyed the lecture delivered to them. Could not our Association undertake a similar duty for Welsh Archæology at our Annual Meetings? Many of our members are pre-eminently well qualified to deliver such lectures, and I am sure they would be appreciated by the people of the town we visit.

I am, Sir, yours very faithfully,

ALFRED C. FRYER.

13, Eaton Crescent, Clifton, Bristol,
February 20th, 1903.

Archæologia Cambrensis.

SIXTH SERIES.—VOL. III, PART III.

JULY, 1903.

PRE-NORMAN CROSS-BASE AT LLANGE- FELACH, GLAMORGANSHIRE.

BY J. ROMILLY ALLEN, ESQ., F.S.A.

THE village of Llangefelach is situated four miles north of Swansea, on the high ground between the valley of the Llŵchwr and the Swansea valley. The nearest railway station is Morriston, from which it is two miles distant to the westward. The walk from the station to the village is uphill the whole way.

The tower of the old church of Llangefelach still stands on the south side of the churchyard, but the old nave and chancel have been pulled down and rebuilt on the north side of the churchyard. There are two paths across the churchyard, one going from east to west across the middle of it, and the other going in a north-westerly direction from a gateway in the south boundary wall to the new church, which lies at a much lower level. The ancient cross-base stands to the west of the last-mentioned pathway, and between the tower of the old church and the south wall of the churchyard.

The cross-base is of millstone grit, and measures 3 ft. 9 ins. long by 2 ft. 2 ins. wide at the bottom, and 3 ft.

3 ins. long by 2 ft. wide at the top, by 2 ft. 2 ins. high. The socket for the shaft of the cross is 1 ft. 7 ins. long by 1 ft. wide by 1 ft. 1 in. deep. The batter or slope of the four faces is not the same, the west face sloping very much more than the three others. There is a moulding on the top of the base on the west side, but not on the other sides. The cross-base has two serious cracks, forming irregular

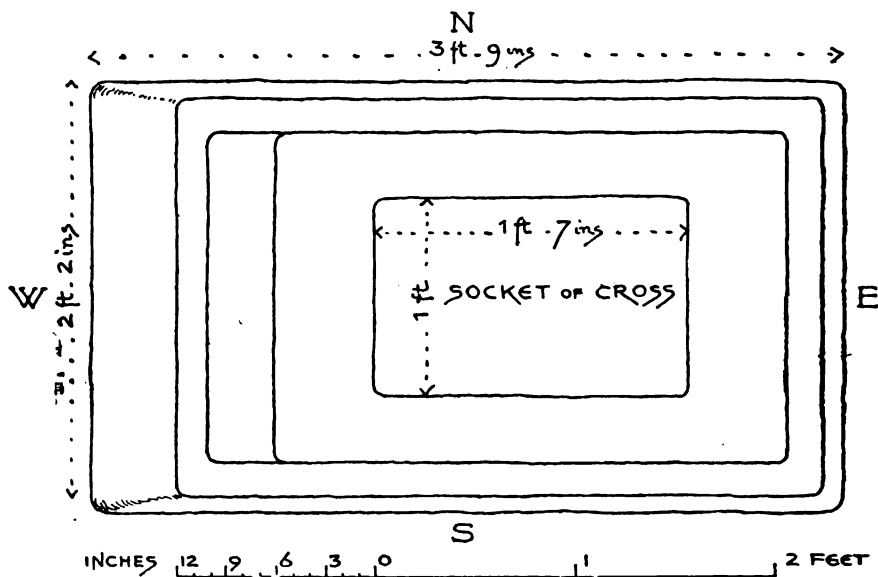


Fig. 1.—Cross-Base at Lllangefelach : Plan.

Scale, $\frac{1}{4}$ linear.

mitre-joints at the north-east and north-west corners. These may have been produced by the freezing of the water which collects in the socket. If a hole were to be bored in the bottom of the socket to allow the water to escape, all danger of further damage would be avoided. The marks of the pick used by the sculptor for dressing the stone can still be very clearly seen, showing that there has been hardly any weathering

during the centuries which have elapsed since the monument was erected.

The cross-base is sculptured in relief on four faces, thus :—

North Face.—A five-cord plait, with round pellets in the meshes of the plait.

South Face.—On the left a diaper key-pattern, and on the right a triangular key-pattern.

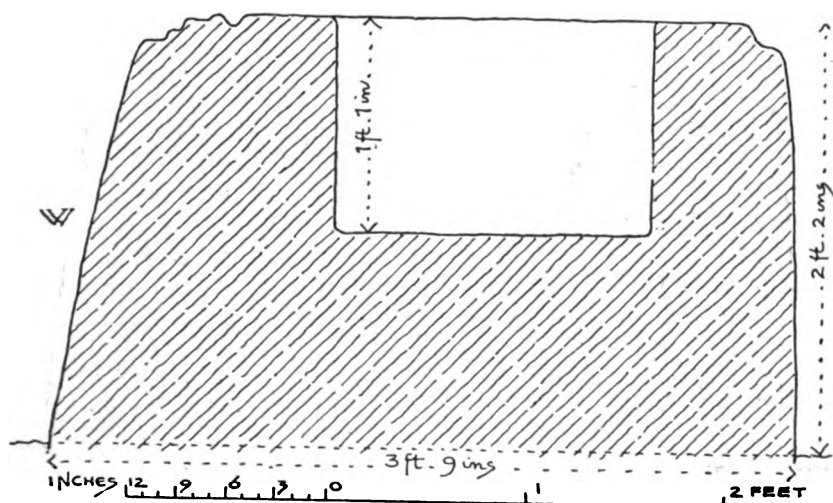


Fig. 2.—Cross-Base at Lllangefelach : Section showing Socket for Shaft.
Scale, $\frac{1}{4}$ linear.

East Face.—Interlaced work, composed of Stafford knots and loops.

West Face.—A triangular key-pattern.

It appears, then, that only two kinds of ornament are used on the Lllangefelach cross-base, namely, interlaced work and key-patterns. The filling in of the meshes of the plait-work on the north face with round pellets is a peculiar feature which does not occur except

in South Wales. When the number of cords in a plait is uneven, the ends cannot be joined together so as to complete the pattern. In this case, the plait being made with five cords, it will be noticed that there are two loose ends. It would have been possible to complete the design by carrying a cord right round the top of the plait and thus joining the two loose ends; but this way out of the difficulty does not seem to have occurred to the sculptor of the monument. The Stafford

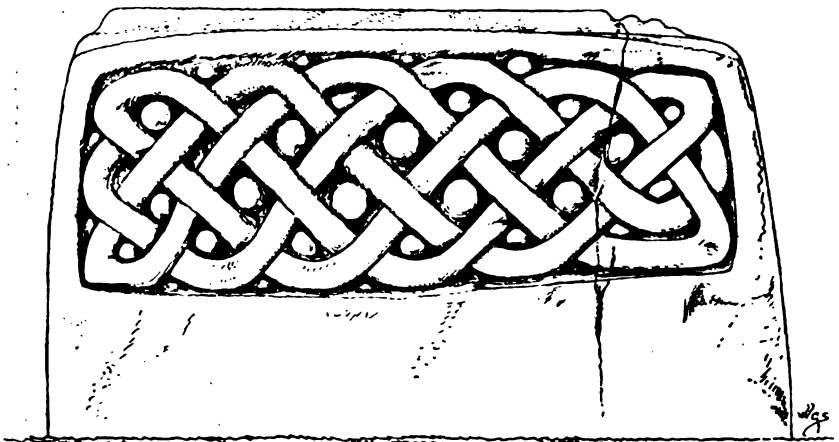


Fig. 3.—Cross-Base at Llangefelach: North Face.

Scale, $\frac{1}{4}$ linear.

knot-pattern on the east face is a very common one in Celtic art; and the only remark to be made about it is that the sculptor has made a mistake in the interlacements at the left-hand lower corner of the panel, which are incorrectly executed.

The triangular key-pattern on the west face is not of unusual occurrence in South Wales, and reaches its highest development on the cross of Houelt, son of Res, at Llantwit Major. A similar triangular key-pattern is to be seen on the south face, combined with a diaper



CROSS-BASE AT LLANGFELACH, GLAMORGANSHIRE. NORTH AND WEST FACES.

(From a Photograph by T. Mansel Franklin, Esq.)

key-pattern (at the left-hand lower corner), of which there are other instances on the cross-base now used as a font at Penmon in Anglesey, and on the crosses at Termonfechin, co. Louth; St. Breacan's, Aran Island; Kilfenora, co. Clare; St. Andrew's, Fifeshire; and Winwick, Lancashire.

The reason why the small square of diaper key-pattern is introduced at the left side of the south face is because the left-hand upper corner of the cross-base

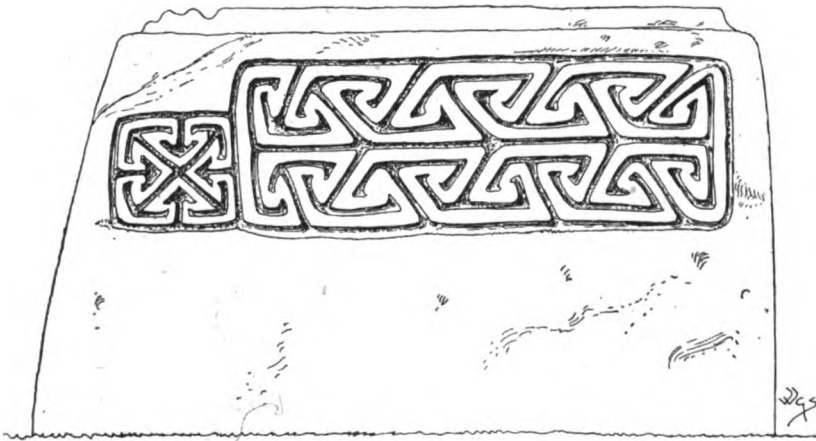


Fig. 4.—Cross-Base at Llangefelach : South Face.

Scale, $\frac{1}{4}$ linear.

was broken off, either before the stone was shaped or during the process of dressing, so that the triangular key-pattern (which is of greater depth) could not be continued right to the end. Perhaps this defect in the block of stone may also explain why the batter of the west face is so much greater than that of the other three faces. We have here a good instance of the difference in the methods of work adopted by the modern stonemason and his predecessor in pre-Norman times. A modern mason would undoubtedly have wasted his time and material in removing the portion

of the stone where the flaw occurred, so as to make the cross-base perfectly symmetrical. The old Welsh mason, on the other hand, "uses his head to save his heels" by ingeniously adapting his ornament so as to conceal the defects in the stone. Another striking instance of the same method of utilising a defective piece of granite occurs in the case of the Maiden Stone in Aberdeenshire. As an instance of the opposite method, we have the grinding away of a large propor-

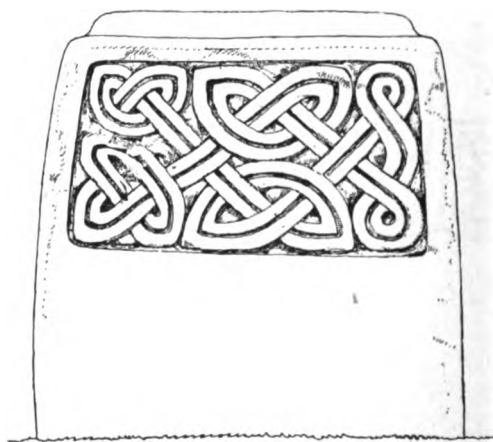


Fig. 5.—Cross-Base at Llangfelach : East Face.
Scale, $\frac{1}{4}$ linear.

tion of the Koh-i-noor diamond to make it suit European ideas of symmetry.

Crosses with socket-stones or bases are the rule in Ireland, but the exception in other parts of Great Britain. The following is a list of the cross-bases still existing in Wales :—

Anglesey.

- Penmon (cross, standing in field near church).
- Penmon (now used as font in church).



CROSS-BASE AT ILLANGFELACH, GLAMORGANSHIRE. SOUTH AND EAST FACES.

(From a Photograph by T. Mansel Franklen, Esq.)

Glamorganshire.

Coychurch (cross of Ebisar).

Llangefelach.

Llandough (cross of Irbic).

Margam (great-wheel cross of Conbelin).

The usual method of erecting a cross in pre-Norman times was to dig a hole in the ground and place the lower part of the shaft, which was left rough, in the hole, and fill in the earth round it. This was very



Fig. 6.—Cross-Base at Llangefelach : West Face.
Scale, $\frac{1}{4}$ linear.

clearly shown in the case of St. Iltyd's cross at Llantwit Major, recently removed.

It is stated in the *Life of St. David* that he built a church at a place called Llangevelach in Gower. It is also referred to as a monastery in the district of Gower, at a place called Llangevelach, in which he afterwards placed the altar sent by Pepian, with which he had cured the blind king Erging by restoring sight to his eyes.

Judging from the dimensions of the socket-stone at

Llangefelach the cross must have been one of considerable size, probably not less than 8 ft. or 10 ft. high. It is to be hoped that if the shaft and head of the cross have not been destroyed, they may some day be recovered. A thorough search in the churchyard might lead to the discovery of some of the missing portions of what must have been, when perfect, one of the finest monuments of the kind in Wales.

We are indebted to Mr. T. Mansel Franklen for kindly allowing us to reproduce his admirable photographs to illustrate this paper.

A HISTORY OF THE OLD PARISH OF GRESFORD IN THE COUNTIES OF DENBIGH AND FLINT.

BY ALFRED NEOBARD PALMER, ESQ.

INTRODUCTION.

THE old parish of Gresford contained, besides the chapelry of Holt, with its sub-chapelry of Isycoed (containing the town and liberties of Holt and the townships of Sutton, Dutton Diffaeth, Dutton y brain, Cacca Dutton and Ridley), the townships of Gresford, Burton, Llai, Gwersyllt, Allington, Marford, Hoseley, Burras Riffri, Erlas, and Erddig.

The parish, therefore, was of enormous extent, containing, with Holt and Isycoed, 19,572.551 statute acres, and without those chapelries, now distinct parishes, 13,427.070 acres.

With Holt and Isycoed I have here no concern. Erddig, Erlas, and Burras Riffri were not only quite distinct from each other, but touched at no point the main body of the parish. Erddig and Erlas were, in 1851, transferred to Wrexham in exchange for Burras Hovah. I have dealt with Erddig, Erlas, Burras Riffri, and Burras Hovah elsewhere (see my "History of the Country Townships of the Old Parish of Wrexham"). What, therefore, I propose to describe as "the old parish of Gresford" in this essay is the area surrounding the parish church of Gresford, comprising the townships of Gresford, Burton, Llai, Gwersyllt, Allington, Marford, and Hoseley—an area containing 12,063.715 acres.

Llai, treated as a *township* at least as early as 1660, was, in Norden's *Survey* (A.D. 1620) spoken of as a *hamlet of Burton*. Hunkley, treated in the same

Survey as another *hamlet* of Burton, had, by 1600, lost that status, and become a mere district. At an earlier date (in 1435) it was put on the same level as Llai, Burton, and Allington, and treated as a township.

Gresford, Burton, Llai, Burras Riffri, and the greater part of Allington were in the mediæval manor of Burton; Gwersyllt and Erddig, in the manor of Eglw-ysegl; and Erlas was in the manor of Isycoed. Hem, in Allington, formed a manor by itself, and another portion of Allington—Cobham Almer—was part of the manor of Cobham Almer and Cobham Isycoed. All these are in Denbighshire, and their courts have long ceased to be held. But Marford and Hoseley, which are in Flintshire, form a manor even now, the courts whereof are still held, though at irregular intervals.

The whole of the parish of Gresford, except Marford and Hoseley, has been for centuries in the lordship, commote, or hundred of Bromfield or Maelor Gymraeg (*Welsh Maelor*). But this was not always so. *Domesday Book*, for example, describes Gresford, Allington, and Hoseley as in Exestan, or Estyn, hundred—that is, in Hopedale, and in the county of Chester. Afterwards the Welsh acquired possession of all this district, which they formed, with other townships, into the commote of Merford, the town and parish of Hope, or Estyn, being, however, not included, as remaining more or less in English hands. Then came the times of the Anglo-Norman lords of Bromfield, who made that lordship co-extensive with its present area, taking into it—that is to say—all the townships which lay within the parish of Gresford. But, in 1415-16, a writ was issued to the escheator of the county of Flint, commanding him to take a moiety of the town of Trefalyn (= Allington) into the king's hands, the same together with the free chapel of St. Leonard having been found by inquisition to be parcel of the lordship of Hopedale (see *Thirty-Seventh Report of Deputy-Keeper of Public Records*). Spite of this, the Earl of Arundel, lord

of Bromfield, seems to have retained the townships in question; and in 1435 there was a suit concerning them, wherein the Queen, as lady of Hopedale, recovered them from the Earl's heirs, the jury on the assize saying that the towns of Llay, Burton, Hunkley, and Trefalun were, from time immemorial, parcel of the lordship of Hope and Hopedale, which lordship was wholly within the county of Flint (see the same *Report*). Five years later, however, we learn incidentally that the widow of the last Earl of Arundel enjoyed as part of her dower, not merely the bailiwick of Almore and the park of Merseley (both within Allington), but also the provostry of Marford, which last is still a part of Flintshire.

All this is very puzzling. But it is perhaps possible to put one's finger on the key to the explanation. I find that, in the seventh year of Edward IV, the lordship of Bromfield was divided into two rhaglotries, representing two earlier Welsh commotes: the rhaglotry of Wrexham, which included Wrexham Regis, Acton, Esclusham, Minera, Cristionydd, Ruabon, Marchwiel, etc.; and the rhaglotry of Merford, which took in Merford, Burton, Gwersyllt, Cobham Almer, Holt (or the district around it), and Sesswick. Gresford and Allington almost certainly belonged to this last-named rhaglotry, as did also Sutton and Eyton. In a copy of a deed of about the same time, which I have seen, "Dytton Diffeth" is described as being "in com. Fflynt," and was, therefore, doubtless in the same rhaglotry. Although the courts for these two rhaglotries were held at Holt Castle, they were nevertheless held separately. Now, it will be perceived, as I shall show more fully hereafter, that the rhaglotry of Merford would have been identical with the Domesday hundred of Exestan, if only it had included Exestan (that is, Estyn, Easton, or Hope) itself. We can therefore understand how the holder of the lordship of Hope might lay claim to the whole rhaglotry of Merford, and, by ignoring actual arrangements and

making an appeal to *Domesday Book*, might get judgment in his favour. For, in all questions of "ancient demesne," as well as in other questions, such as mills, fisheries, and the like, the evidence of *Domesday Book* was long considered conclusive. This is how I explain the temporary success of the attempt of the owner of Hopedale to get hold of a large part of the old rhaiglotry of Merford. This claim, so far as the greater portion of the district claimed, must have been afterwards set aside, probably on the ground of prescription; but it was successful so far as the Lower Merford Mill and the head or *caput* of the rhaiglotry was concerned, for Merford and Hoseley are still parts of Flintshire, and Merford Lower Mill was not severed from that county until 1884. The courts of the two rhaiglotries have long ceased to be held, for the courts of Merford which still persist represent only the two servile townships of Merford and Hoseley, just as the courts of Wrexham Regis, which still persist, represent the township only, and not the rhaiglotry, of which it was the centre and *caput*.

Before I leave this discussion, I will copy from the facsimile of *Domesday Book* all the entries relating to the parish of Gresford which occur in it:—

"Hugo & Osbn^s & Rainald^s ten GRETTFORD . IN EXTAN hd . Thoret tenuit ut lib. ho . Ibi XIII hide geld . Tra ē XII car. hugo ht v hid . Osbn^s vi hid & dim . Rainald^s i hid & dimid . In dnio ē i car & dimid . Eccla & pbr . ibi & vii uilli & xii bord . & un francig . Int^r . om̄s hnt ii car & dimid . In toto m̄ . Silua iii leuu lg & ii lat . & ii aire acciptr . Osbn^s ht molin annona sue curie molente . Tot . T . R . E uuast erat & uuast recep . Modo ual LXV sol . De hac tra hui^s m̄ iacuit i hida T . R . E in eccla S . Cedde dimid in chespuic & dimid in Radenoure . hoc testat^r comitat^s sed nescit quom^o eccla pdiderit."

That is:—

"Hugh, Osbern, and Rainald hold Gretford in Extan hundred. Thoret held it as a free man. There are thirteen hides at geld. There is land for twelve teams. Hugh has five hides, Osbern six and a half, and Rainald one hide and a half. A church and priest are there, and seven villans and twelve bordars and one

Frenchman. Between them all they have two and a half teams, In the whole manor there are a wood four leagues long and two broad, and two eyries of hawks. Osbern has a mill grinding for his own court. The whole in the time of King Edward was waste, and waste they [Hugh, Osbern, and Rainald] found it. Now it is worth sixty-five shillings. Of the land of this manor one hide in the time of King Edward belonged to the church of S. Chad, half in Chespuic and half in Radenoure. This the county testifies, but is ignorant how the church lost it."

Thus we see that in the time of Edward the Confessor, a free Englishman, Thoret, held the manor of Gresford, which, however, was then waste. Then, at the time of Domesday Survey, instead of Thoret, were Hugh, Osbern (probably Osbern fitz Tezzo), and Rainald (probably Rainaldus Venator)—all Normans, and there was one resident Frenchman. A church, served by its priest, was in existence, and Osbern had his own mill—perhaps on the site of Gresford Mill. Note how extensive the manor was, for it included Chespuic and Radenoure, in each of which places the church of St. Chad had formerly half a hide of land. The "church of St. Chad" denotes the bishopric of Lichfield and Chester. "Chespuic" is, undoubtedly, Sesswick, in the parish of Bangor is y coed. But where was "Radenoure"? Mr. William Beaumont identified it with Radnor in Somerford by Congleton. However, it was in the manor of Gresford, and, I believe, on the western side of Dee, as Sesswick is. Mr. Egerton Phillimore most ingeniously conjectures that "Radenoure" stands for "Rhedynvre," a translation into Welsh of the English name "Farndon." The church of Farndon was dedicated to St. Chad, who is called in a late Welsh *Bonedd*, "Siatt Rhedynfre." Moreover, in 1087, the Bishop of Lichfield and Chester actually had a part of Farndon. However, Farndon, in its two portions, is fully described in the *Survey*, under the name "Ferentone." I doubt, indeed, whether the Domesday manor of Gresford extended to the Dee, and feel certain that it did not stretch beyond the river. "Radenoure," it would seem, is to be sought in that

southern extension of the Domesday manor which included Sesswick. "Radenoure" is to be read "Radnor," and designates a hamlet, the old name of which has been lost.

Now I resume my extracts from *Domesday* :—

"Toret lib ho tenuit ALENTVNE . Ibi III hide geld . IN EXESTAN hd. In Eitone tenuit s . CEDDE i hid in SVTONE I hid geld tenuit isd . scs . Hos iiii m̄ qdo hugo comes recep . erant Wasta . Modo ten Hugo f Osbni de eo . & ht dimid car in dno & iiii seruos & vii uill & v bord & ii francig . Int' oms hnt j car & dimid . Ibi molin de iiii sol . & dimid piscaria & iiii ac pte^r . Silua II leuu lg & dimid lat . Ibi II haie . val^rxxx sol . Ibi iiii car plus possent ēe . T . R . E uall XX solid."

That is :—

"Toret, a free man, held Allington. Three hides are there at geld. In Exestan hundred. In Eyton St. Chad held one hide, and in Sutton the same saint held one hide at geld. When Earl Hugh received these three manors they were waste. Now Hugh fitz Osbern holds them of him, and has half a plough team in demesne, and three serfs and seven villans, and five bordars, and two Frenchmen. Among them all they have one plough team and a half. There are a mill yielding four shillings, and half a fishery, and four acres of meadow. The wood is two leagues long and half a league broad. There are two hays. It [the manor] is worth thirty shillings. There could be four plough teams more. In the time of King Edward it was worth twenty shillings."

From this we see that Toret, or Thoret [Thurold], the same free Englishman who held Gresford, held Allington also. If the mill mentioned was in Allington, we may be certain it was one of the two Rossett Mills. If not, it was probably Pickhill Mill, or some other mill on the Clywedog. As to the wood, we have still some reminiscences of it in the names "Holt," "Common Wood," and "Isycoed" (*Below the Wood*). As to the two "hays," or spaces enclosed with a hedge for sporting purposes, we may with some confidence identify them with Mersley Park and Eyton Park, which were not disparked and tilled until about three

hundred years ago, and belonged to the Lord of Bromfield.

There is one other entry in *Domesday Book* relating to Eyton, which is interesting enough to quote :—

“Scs Cedde tenuit Eitvne T . R . E . Ibi I hida . IN EXASTAN hvnd In Eitvne ht isd . s̄cs un uillm & dimid piscaria & dimid acrā p̄i & II ac silue . Valuit v solid . Rex E. ded regi Grifino totā trā que iacebat trans aquā de uocatur . Sed postq . ipse Grifin forisfecit ei : abstulit ab eo hanc trā & reddit ep̄o de Cestre & omib; suis hoībs qui antea ipsā tenebant.”

That is :—

“St. Chad held Eyton in the time of King Edward. There is one hide there. In Eyton has the same saint one villan and half a fishery, and half an acre of meadow, and two acres of wood. It was worth five shillings. King Edward gave King Griffin [Gruffydd ap Llewelyn] all the land which lay across the water which is called Dee. But afterwards the same Griffin forfeited it, and [King Edward] took from him this land, and returned it to the Bishop of Chester, and all his men who before held the same.”

I complete the series of extracts from *Domesday Book* by quoting the following entry concerning Hoseley :—

“Ipsa eccla tenuit & ten ODESLEI . Ibi dimid hida geld . Trā ē i car . Ibi ē un^s uills redd VIII denar . Val. III solid . Wast fuit .”

That is :—

“The same church [of St. Werburgh, Chester] held and holds Odeslei. There is one hide at geld. There is land¹ for one plough team. There is one villan, rendering eightpence. It is worth three shillings. It was waste.”

Of Hoseley I shall speak hereafter. But the frequent occurrence of the word “waste” points to the border feuds that were continually going on. The Welsh, in short, were steadily pressing on the English in the eleventh century. Edward the Confessor would not

¹ I shall hereafter show that the “terra,” the land under cultivation, in Gresford, Allington, Hoseley, and Sesswick, can even now be traced.

have given the land of Eyton to Gruffith if the Welsh prince had not already wasted it; and we have no difficulty in understanding how St. Chad lost his possessions in Eyton, Sesswick, Radnor, Sutton, and Bettesfield.

Of the information furnished by the Domesday Survey we must make much, because for two hundred years and more after the date of it, a dark veil rests on the parish and district; and when it is raised we find not only the mass of the population but all the lords of land are Welsh-speaking. The English have either been driven out, or have been absorbed and assimilated. Such absorption and assimilation would be easy to understand if we assume, as we may fairly do, that in "the first English epoch" the underlying servile part of the people remained Welsh-speaking. Welsh, in any case, the district became, for we know as a fact, that at some date after the taking of the Domesday Survey, the parish of Gresford and the rest of Bromfield became severed from the county of Chester and subjected to the Prince of Powys Fadog; and although after the passing of Bromfield and Hopedale (Maelor Gymraeg and Yr Hôb) into the possession of Anglo-Norman overlords in the time of Edward I, the Anglicising of the parish went gradually on, we see how slow this development was, not merely by an examination of various local deeds, but more clearly and fully by an inspection of Norden's Survey of the Manor of Burton taken in 1620, when most of the inhabitants, and nearly all the fields and farmsteads, bore Welsh names. After this date, however, and especially after the great Civil War, the eastern and central parts of the parish became rapidly Anglicised, and at a Vestry, held on June 3rd, 1764, "the Welsh Testam. and Common Prayer" were ordered to "be lock'd up in church chest and not to be used any longer till ordered by the Bishop."

Here are the names of the townships and districts in the central and eastern parts of the old and *undivided*

parish of Gresford: Burton, Hunkley, Llai, Gresford, Allington, Lavister, Hem, Almer, Horseley, Merford, Hoseley, Burras, Hewlington, Holt, Sutton, Cobham, Dutton, Ridley, and Erlisham. They are all, save perhaps Llai and Burras, English, and can be traced back either to the time of the Domesday Survey, or to the time two or three hundred years afterwards, when all the inhabitants spoke Welsh. They could not have been named—or only Holt could have been named—during this “second Welsh epoch,” as we may call it, and could only have received their appellations in the “first English epoch” which preceded it.

Now is there anything to show under what circumstances this large district ceased to be English in any form, and became again predominantly and almost exclusively Welsh? How was “the second Welsh epoch” ushered in?

First of all, as I have hinted, the mass of the population, even during the first English epoch, probably remained Welsh-speaking, so that the bulk of the inhabitants were quite ready to accept Welsh overlords.

But is there any evidence for the supposition of a Welsh conquest of the district from the English, of a substitution of Welsh for Anglo-Norman overlords?

Harleian MS., No. 1969 (British Museum), one of the third Randle Holmes' MSS.,¹ contains the following paragraphs:—

“Eynydh, one of the 15 Tribes. he was the sonne of Morien, the sonne of Morgenav ap Elystan ap Gwaethvoed. *Aliter*, he was the sonne of Gwerngwy ap Gwaethgar or Gwaedhvawr. His mother was Gwenllian vz Rees ap Marchan of Ruthyn Land.

“This Eynydh lived in the time of David ap Owen Gwynedd, Prince of Northwales [1170-1203, A. N. P.]. He came to Bromfield in the time of Blethyn ap Kynvyn, Prince of Powys [died 1073 A. N. P.] & warred vnder him against the English.

¹ The *third* Randle Holmes was born in 1627 and died in 1700. He quotes his authorities: E. P. [Edward Puleston], E. R. [Edward Roberts], R. M. [R. Matthews of Blodwell], S. V. [Simwnt Vychan] and S. I., or S. C.

The Prince gave him the Townships of Alington and Gresford. He married Ellena f. h. Llewelyn ap Dolphyn."

Eunydd is represented as having two sons, Ithel and Heilin. MS. 1969 continues thus:—

"Ithell ap Evnydh. he had for his part Alington & Gresford & Lleprok vawr & Lleprock vechan and nant in Engfield. He=Gwladys f. h. Griff. ap Meilir ap Rees Sais."

Scores of Welsh pedigrees represent Ithel ap Eunydd as inheriting Allington and Gresford from his father, and Lewys Dwnn declares "Eynydd" to have been lord of Dyffryn Clwyd, "Trevalyn" (= Allington), and "Gressfort," and to have been the son of "Morien ap Morgenev ap Gorestan ap Gwaethvoed, lord of all Powys."

The tradition, hereafter to be more fully discussed, that the sons of Ithel ap Eunydd gave land on which to build the church of Gresford, may here also be mentioned.

Now, not to point out how impossible it was for one who fought with Bleddyn ap Cynfyn to have been contemporary with David ap Owen Gwynedd, we have the fact that at the time when Eunydd, or his son Ithel, is represented to have been in possession of Gresford and Allington, the Domesday Survey was taken, and this Survey knows nothing of either father or son. Nor could Bleddyn have *afterwards* conquered the two townships and given them to Eunydd, for Bleddyn died thirteen years before the great Survey.

What, then, are we to say to this story? In its present form it cannot be accepted, yet it is probable that it represents a distorted version of a series of events which actually happened. For, when we next get to settled ground, we find most of the landowners, or *liberi tenentes*, of Gresford and Allington, belonging to a great Welsh *cenedd*, or clan, *claiming to be descended* from one or other of the sons of Ithel ap Eunydd, from Trahaiarn ap Ithel and Einion ap Ithel mainly. If Eunydd was a historical person at all—as I believe he

was¹—it may even be that he was associated with Bleddyn ap Cynfyn, who promised him all the land in the Marches that he could win from the English; and although neither Eunydd nor Ithel could have won Gresford and Allington during Bleddyn's life, Ithel may have done so afterwards, or, at any rate, the sons of Ithel may have done so. I have elsewhere given reason for believing that about the time of Domesday Survey the Welsh in this district were steadily pressing on the English settlements east of Offa's and Wat's Dykes, and it is certain that not long after 1087 all the eastern part of Denbighshire, mentioned in the Survey as a part of Cheshire, fell into Welsh hands. *Domesday Book* itself does not mention by name a single township or district in the central or western parts of Bromfield: a sure proof to me that these two parts were not then under direct Norman rule. It does not even mention the three western townships of Gresford parish: Gwersyllt, Burton, and Llai.

Gwersyllt, in the middle of the fourteenth century, was mainly in the hands of David ap David ap Morgan Sutton, who is said to have obtained it by marriage with Marsli, daughter of Howel ap David Llwyd, derived from Sanddef Hardd, or Sanddef the Fair. As to the two other townships just named, these may not have been mentioned in *Domesday Book*, because they were already in the possession of this Sanddef Hardd, from whom most of the landowners of the two townships, as well as some in Allington, claimed descent, for example, the Santheys, Lewyses, and Burtons of Burton, the Powells of Horsley, and, in the female line, the Trevors of Trefalyn Hall. To these may be added the Matheys of Hopedale.

Most of the great families of Allington, on the other hand, claimed the abovenamed Ithel ap Eunydd as their stock-father—the Lloyds of Yr Orsedd Goch, the

¹ In 1620 there was a quillet in the fields of Allington called "Erw Eunydd," that is, *Eunydd's erw*, or acre. Now Eunydd is a very unusual name, and not to be confounded with Ednyfed.

Almers of Almer, the Allingtons of Allington and Gwersyllt, the Griffithses, the Trevalyns, the Davieses, the Merediths, and others. The Powells were also descended, in the female line, from Ithel ap Eunydd; while the Langfords of Trevalyn House were descended, on the female side, both from Ithel ap Eunydd and Sanddef Hardd, or at least from the two families of which Ithel ap Eunydd and Sanddef Hardd were the mythical founders.

When we come to the southern part of the undivided parish, our attention is called to the Suttons of Sutton (from whom the Suttons and Lewyses of Gwersyllt sprung), the Erlases of Erlas, and the great family of Burras and elsewhere, represented by two mediæval tombs still standing in Gresford Church. All these claimed to hold their lands by descent from Elidur ap Rhys Sais, which Rhys Sais is believed to be the "Rees" who, according to *Domesday Book*, held Erbistock in the time of Edward the Confessor as "a free man." It does certainly look as though the children of Rhys Sais became after the time of Domesday Survey, the lords of land in the manors of Erbistock, Eyton, Sesswick and Sutton, instead of those named in the Survey.

The Welsh pedigrees are not wholly trustworthy, but they cannot be ignored. And if we remember that the title to land of Welsh freemen was derived by the fact of their descent from a common ancestor, and that the line of this descent was formerly indicated by the possessors' names—names often, therefore, of an inordinate length—we cannot afford to neglect the Welsh genealogies, although these were nearly all written down, in systematic form, at a comparatively late date. We are bound to criticise those pedigrees, and we cannot always accept the early portions of them; but if we deal with them in a rational spirit, they will generally be found to yield a substantial historical result.

I bring forward these pedigrees, therefore, as evidence of the conquest by three great Welsh clans of the

greater part of the old undivided parish of Gresford. Assuming this to have happened, we understand, firstly, the predominantly Welsh character of the parish in the middle of the fourteenth century; and we understand, secondly, the fact of most of the free tenants belonging to one or other of three families, and bearing arms *attributed* to Ithel ap Eunydd, Sanddef Hardd, or Elidur ap Rhys Sais.

This is the best account I can give of the dark era of Gresford history, extending from the end of the eleventh to the middle of the fourteenth century.

I may as well copy here Edward Lhuyd's description of the bridges in the parish of Gresford over the Alyn ("Y Pynt ar Alyn"), as they were about the year 1699:—

"(1) Pont y Kynydhion [*Huntsmen's Bridge*] dhwy vilhdir vychan odhiwrthy lhan" [*two short miles from the church or village*]. This must be that we now know as "Gwastad Bridge." (2) Pont vradley yn is; that is, *Bradley Bridge, lower*. (3) "Pont wersylht qwarter yn is etto;" that is, *Gwersyllt Bridge, a quarter [of a mile] lower still*. This must be now represented by the foot-bridge at Gwersyllt Mill, or the stone bridge at the Wilderness Mill, (4) *Pont y Capel heen, milhdir yn is*; that is, *Bridge of the old Chapel, a mile lower*. (5) "Pont Resford agos i hanner milhdir yn is etto;" that is, *Gresford Bridge, near half a mile lower still*. (6) "Bont issa, led day goitie yn is;" that is, "*The Lower Bridge, the breadth of two fields lower*." (7) "Pont yr Orsedh, vilhdir yn is na'r Bont issa;" that is, *The Orsedd [or Rosset] Bridge, a mile lower than Pont Issa*. (8) "Pont Allington, vilhdir yn is;" that is, *Allington, a mile lower*. This is now called "Cock's Bridge." (9) "Pont Rhyd Ithel, hanner milhdir yn is;" that is, *Bridge of Ithel's Ford, a half mile lower*. It is now simply called "Pont Ithel," and is merely a *foot* bridge.

Edward Lhuyd also mentions "Pont Pulford," or Pulford Bridge, over the Pulford brook, and "Ware hooks Bridge" over the Dee. There is now no bridge over the Dee within the limits of the old parish of Gresford; but a piece of land called "the Weare-hooks," containing about one hundred acres, "parcel

of the manor of Hem," is mentioned in 1649, so that the bridge must have been near Almer.

In Norden's *Survey*, another bridge is mentioned, as being in the manor of Burton, and therefore in the parish of Gresford—"the Receauo" Bridge upon deuen." The Devon, I believe, was a mere brooklet running through Mersley Park, adjoining upon the liberties of Holt; and in Plâs Defon, just over the Holt border, we have a reminiscence of its name.

Samuel Lewis says, in his *Topographical Dictionary of Wales*, published in 1833:—"Fairs for cattle are held [at Gresford] on the second Monday in April, the last Monday in August, Easter Monday, June 24th, August 21st, and October 22nd"—six in the year. I noticed also the following entry in the parish register: "The Fairs began at Gresford 4th Decemb^r, 1752." The 4th of December, it will be observed, does not coincide with any of the dates in the year given by Lewis.

Finally, Edward Lhuyd says: "Their Wakes the Sunday after All Saints."

I shall now proceed to treat of the several townships which make up the old parish, as above defined. I have reason to hope that Mr. Chancellor Trevor Parkins will contribute a separate paper on the history of the parish church of Gresford.

APPENDIX TO INTRODUCTION.

27 Nov., 1448, Llay, Burton, and Hunkele, inspeximus and confirmation at the instance of John Donne, armiger, of the tenor and record of a plea which was before John de Holland, justice of Chester, in his session at Flint, on Monday the morrow of the Holy Trinity, 7 Ric. 2, between Richard, Earl of Arundel, and the said King, on which the towns of Llay, Burton, and Hunkele, and a moiety of the town of Trefalen were adjudged to the King, in which record it is set forth that the said towns were parcel of the lordship of Hopedale, which lordship extended longitudinally from the towns of Pulford, Dodleston, and Pulton, to a certain stream called Redalok [Rhyd Talog].

running between Yale and Hopedale, and going round by the metes and bounds then known between Yale and Hopedale, to Hanothelyk [Hafod Helyg ?], and thence following the stream called Nantoryvoyle [Nant y forwal?], to the stream called Kegydok [Cegidog], and thence following the Kegydok to the stream called Alyn, and thence following the Alyn to the Dee, on the north part, and from the Redalok, following on the south the bounds and metes of the lordships of Mohald and Hawardyn to the aforesaid town of Pulford; that the said lordship came into the hands of Edward, King of England, conqueror of Wales, by the forfeiture of David ap Gruff, brother of Llewellyn ap Gruff, late Prince of Wales; that the said King gave the said lordship to Eleanor his Queen for life, who demised the same to John, then Earl of Warenne, for a term of years; that the said Earl illegally annexed a certain portion of the said lordship, to wit, the towns of Llaye, Burton, and Hunkele, and a moiety of the town of Trefhalen, to his lordship of Bromfeld and Yale; that the same towns descended consecutively as parts of the said lordship, to John his son, John his son, Richard, Earl of Arundel, and Richard his son. Also inspeximus and confirmation of the tenor of the record and process of an assize of novel disseisin, which John Earl of Huntingdon arraigned in the court of Katharine, Queen of England, at Flint, on the feast of St. Hilary, 1435, against John, Duke of Norfolk; Roland Lentale, Kt.; Edward Nevile, and Elizabeth his wife, touching his freehold in Llaye, Burton, Hunkele, and Trefaleyn, whereon the said Earl recovered against the said defendants 200 messuages, 100 tofts, two mills, two thousand acres of land, 100 acres of meadow, 200 acres of pasture, a hundred acres of wood, and a hundred acres of turbary. The jury on the assize say that the towns of Llay, Burton, Hunkeley, and Trefalen were from time immemorial parcel of the lordship of Hope and Hopedale, which lordship was wholly within the county of Flint, and within the bounds of which lordship the lands set forth in the plaint were, being portions of the said towns; that the said lordship extended longitudinally from the towns of Pulford, Dodleston, and Pulton, in the county of Chester, to a stream called Redealok, running between Yale and Hopedale, and going round by the bounds and metes of Yale and Hopedale to Hanothelik, thence following the stream Nantorevongull to the stream Kekidok, thence following that stream to the stream Alyn, thence following that stream to the Dee, running between the county and [so!] Chester and Hopedale on the north, and from the lower part of the Redealok to the valley between Le Rosl wre and Kilirwa, and following the valley of

the Kekidog, thence following that stream to the stream Anondwy [Afon ddu], in Ughmynyth [Uwch y mynydd], and so by the old bounds to Redemore [Redmoor], crossing from thence to the stream Merebrok, viz., to the spot where of old it was accustomed to run, and so following it to the Alyn on the south and following the Alyn to a place where of old the stream Anonduy in Hopewen [Hope Owen] used to run to the water Alyn, and following the Anonduy to Pontebenehull, and thence to a ditch called Clauth myssh, thence to Le Maynwynion [Meini Gwynion], thence by the old bounds Nantererard, thence to Perthyvellin, thence to Kynarton Bridge on the south, so following the old bounds to Fomonforwell [Ffynnon Forwel] bridge, thence to Pulford bridge, thence by the known metes to the Dee on the east. [27 and 28 Hen. 5, m. 2 (12).]

Oct. 20, 1448. John, Duke of Exeter. An inquisition taken at Northope on Thursday, the Feast of St. Thomas the Apostle last past, finding that the said Duke died seized in his demesne, as of fee tail, of the towns of Llay, Burton, and Hunkelay, a moiety of the town of Trefalyn, together with the free chapel of St. Leonard, and two mills, parcel of the lordship and manor of Hope and Hopedale; that the same descended on the death of the said Duke to Henry his son; that the said Duke died on the fifth day of August 1447; and that the said Henry was seventeen years of age on the said fifth day of August; the sheriff is commanded to take the said lands etc., into the King's hands. [27 and 28 Hen. 6, m. 4 (1).]

From *Thirty-Seventh Annual Report of the Deputy-Keeper of the Public Records*, pp. 271 and 469.

(To be continued.)

FORGOTTEN SANCTUARIES :

BEING SOME THOUGHTS ON THE VANISHED CROSSES AND
CHAPELS IN ST. JOHN'S PARISH, BRECON.

BY GWENLLIAN E. F. MORGAN.

“How is the gold become dim ! how is the most fine gold changed !
the stones of the sanctuary are poured out in the top of every street.”
Lamentations, iv, 1.

WHEN the Cambrian Archæological Association visited Brecon for the first time, nearly fifty years ago, the occasion was made for ever memorable to the town by the Paper read by Mr. Freeman on “The Churches of Brecon,” in the course of which he made use of the following sentence : “I know of no English town of the same size which presents greater attractions to the architectural enquirer, than this of Brecon.” He, of course, referred to the splendid churches at the Priory and Christ College, and to the then interesting Chapel of St. Mary, which remain to us of the extensive ecclesiastical buildings erected in Brecon during mediæval times, and which, by their grandeur, suggest what we may have lost in the monasteries, chapels and crosses, which have disappeared so completely, that their very existence is forgotten even by the oldest inhabitants.

It is not, however, unreasonable to suppose that those, who built the noble churches we still possess, must have erected crosses and chapels not unworthy of the sense of beauty and reverent devotion with which their minds were inspired.

There are consecrated pieces of ground in this parish, on which buildings once stood, where our forefathers worshipped in the days of old, and in which the Divine Service was celebrated, that are now

desolate, or used for secular purposes ; and there are spots in our streets where crosses rose of which no trace remains, and hardly a memory lingers, though closely connected with the religious and civic life of the borough. But though these have perished, and their builders have passed away, the parish church, which was their glory and pride, as it is ours, still watches over the town they created, "the only witness, perhaps, that remains to us of their faith and fear."

THE VANISHED CROSSES OF BRECON.

In mediæval times Wales was particularly rich in the number and the form of its stone crosses ; the few crosses that remain show a surprising variety of design, and by their beauty suggest how much we have lost. There were market crosses and preaching crosses, churchyard crosses and weeping crosses. Crosses of every kind were placed by the wayside, on highways, on lonely moors and mountains, and sometimes at cross-roads and other places suitable for funerals to rest. For in those far-off days of reverent faith, it was not thought strange or superstitious to consecrate the commonest matters of every-day life, by placing the emblem of the Christian religion wherever men gathered together, so that their thoughts might be raised from the things of earth to those of Heaven. In the words of a fifteenth-century writer :—

"For this reason ben crosses by ye waye, that when folke passinge see the crosses, they sholde thynke on Hym, that dyed on the crosse, and worshyppe Hym above all thyng.—Dives et Pauper :
"Printed by Wynken de Worde, 1496."

All varieties of crosses may have been represented in mediæval Brecon, the town of which we know so little as it then appeared ; but there are only three of the position and use of which we are certain. Of their form we know nothing. In 1292, John de Bello (Battle Abbey), mason designed the Eleanor crosses

of Northampton, Stratford, St. Albans, Woburn and Dunstable; these were the most beautiful memorial crosses in Europe. In 1260, Reginald, Prior of Brecon, was elected Abbot of Battle, and there was also constant communication between the two places. Brecon Priory, as a cell of Battle Abbey, was bound to entertain the Abbot and his suite for two days at his annual visitation. The influence of John the Mason's beautiful designs may have affected the Brecon crosses.

It will be interesting to consider the purpose and object of these crosses, as far as we can realise the same from the positions in which they were placed by our forefathers, as shown in Speed's maps of the town of Brecon, published in 1610. These maps are only bird's-eye views, and yet in some of the details we can verify to-day, they are so extraordinarily accurate, that we may safely conclude the crosses were actually standing at that time, as shown, more especially as they are placed exactly where we should expect to find them, from other evidence that is available.

The Market Cross was in front of Mrs. Hughes' shop in High Street Inferior, and its memory is still preserved in the name of Butter Lane, which clings to the adjacent street. These market crosses were also called Butter crosses; they were generally covered with a roof (surmounted by a cross) to shelter the market people from the rain, the sides being open, and they originated in towns where there were monastic establishments, as in Brecon, where the Benedictines at the Priory probably sent a monk on market days to preach to the assembled country-folk, that they should be true and just in all their dealings. The market cross also gave the religious house—in our case the monks at the Priory—a central point to collect the tolls paid by the farmers, etc., for the privilege of selling in the town.

That market crosses were common in Wales is suggested by a line in *Canwyll y Cymry*, published

early in the seventeenth century. Vicar Prichard says :—

“ Be thy conduct in each lonely scene
The same, as if thou on the cross wert placed.”

The Rev. W. Evans, Vicar of Lawhaden, whose translation of 1815 is used, has a note to the effect that the *market* cross is meant. This seems to show that in the good vicar's time it was so general a thing for the business of the mart to be transacted beneath the shadow of the cross that no explanation was necessary, as was the case in 1815, when crosses had disappeared from Llandovery, Brecon and elsewhere.

The Preaching Cross stood on the Bulwark, to the east of the little Norman chapel of St. Mary, to the west of the yew-tree shown in one of Speed's maps. Preaching crosses were connected with the coming of the Friars, who specially used them for open-air services, and for preaching to larger congregations than the smaller churches—such as St. Mary's then was—could contain. The Dominican Friars arrived in England in 1222. In Brecon they built the great church and monastery of Blackfriars, now Christ College, which, in the latter days of Queen Elizabeth's reign, was still called by their name; and we can imagine one of them standing on the steps of the cross, the open space of the Bulwark crowded with people, whilst the Friar preached of Repentance and the Judgment to come.

In the eighteenth century John Wesley also preached on the Bulwark, which recalls a similar coincidence in his career mentioned by Miss Florence Peacock :—

“ There was a Preaching Cross at Massingham, in Lincolnshire : until about thirty years ago there stood a sycamore tree in the village street. It was named “ The Cross Tree,” and no doubt occupied the place where the cross once stood. Did John Wesley realise, as standing beneath it he preached to the crowds that flocked to hear him, that as the shadow of the sycamore fell upon him, so on that very spot had the shadow of the cross

fallen, centuries before, upon those who then spoke to the ancestors of the men and women listening to him of things spiritual and the life eternal?"

The High Cross was the most important of all the crosses in Brecon, and was placed in High Street, where Games' fountain now stands; at its foot public meetings were held, proclamations were made, and much civil business was transacted. The old stocks, which are still preserved in the Guildhall, probably stood in front of the High Cross. On July 4th, 1645, Capt. Richard Symonds, an officer of King Charles I's army, journeyed from Cardiff to Brecon on the King's business, and, in those days of war and strife, yet found time on his arrival here to make the following note in his Diary:—

"Almost in every parish the crosse, or sometimes two or three crosses, perfect in Brecknockshire and Glamorganshire."

We may conclude that the crosses in the town of Brecon were then untouched, but by March, 1650, the High Cross had been shattered, though it still remained in its place.

Henry Vaughan, Silurist, has left us a description of the Assizes held in "our Metropolis" on that snowy March day, the pomp and circumstance of which he watched in bitterness of heart, contrasting the gay gathering in High Street in front of John Abel's timbered Town Hall [whose sundial, bearing its words of ancient wisdom: *Soles nobis pereunt et imputantur* ("Our days perish, and are laid to our account") looked down upon the scene], he says:

"Midst these the cross looks sad."

That dial has long "ceased to mark the drawing nearer of Eternity," and has vanished, with much else that was precious, we know not where.

We may feel sure that the High Cross was destroyed under the Act passed for the demolition of crosses everywhere. The name lingered on into the latter

part of the eighteenth century, long after a conduit given to the town by one of the Jeffreyes of the Priory, had taken its place, being known as "The Cross" in the old Book of Orders. It may be noticed that the High Cross, like the Preaching Cross, commanded an open space. All traces of the three crosses were probably removed when the Act of 1776 came into force, and Brecon was "improved" by the removal of the gates and other relics of its not-inglorious, though in those days unappreciated, past. What fanaticism in the sixteenth century, and the fury of the Civil War in the seventeenth century, had begun, ignorance and indifference completed in the eighteenth. In the words of Mr. Ruskin :

"The feudal and monastic buildings of Europe, and still more the streets of her ancient cities, are vanishing like dreams; and it is difficult to imagine the mingled envy and contempt with which future generations will look back to us, who still possessed such things, yet made no effort to preserve, and scarcely any to delineate, them."

THE LOST CHAPELS OF BRECON.

There were five chapels in various parts of the parish of which records remain; there may have been others, such as the oratories in private houses, but we do not know of them.

The Prisoners' Chapel.—There was a chapel near the Borough Gaol, close to the Struet Gate, in which the prisoners heard Mass. This is mentioned in an Indenture in the Corporation Chest dated 1519. We do not know to whom it was dedicated; might this have been a Brecon *St. Peter ad Vincula*?

Benni Chapel.—About the middle of the thirteenth century, William de Burchell, with the consent of his wife Edith, gave to the Church of St. John at Brecon, five acres of his land at Benni, which extend as far as a certain marsh or moor below the high road leading from "Breken" to Aberyskir. This William Burchell

styles himself Lord of Benni, and states that at the petition of himself and friends the Prior of Brecon had given William's chaplain leave to officiate and say Mass for the souls of the deceased in his *Chapel of Benni*.

St. Nicholas' Chapel.—The chapel within the Castle of Brecon was dedicated to St. Nicholas, a favourite patron of castle chapels, who was also chosen as their patron saint by the Dominican Friars, when they built their church on the other side of the Usk, of which the chancel alone remains entire. The exact site of the chapel in the castle is unknown, but it is possible that the windows in the ruined fragment that remains may have belonged to it. Divine Service was performed here, and the Mass sung by the monks of St. John's. In 1410, Morgan ap Rhys, Vicar of Brecon, was nominated by John, Prior of Brecon, and the convent there, to be Chaplain of the free *Chapel of St. Nicholas within the walls of Brecon Castle*. Though no grants to this chapel are preserved, we learn from Dugdale and Giraldus Cambrensis that there formerly were territorial possessions belonging to it, for the latter tells us that William de Breos detained certain lands which had been given to the Chapel of St. Nicholas at Aberhodne, when the priest serving there, whose name was Hugh, saw in a vision a reverend person assisting him, and heard him speak these words: "Go tell thy lord, William de Breos, who presumeth to hold those possessions, which were anciently given to thy Chapel in pure alms, this saying :

"Hoc aufert fiscus quod non accipit Christus. Dabis impio militi quod non vis dare sacerdoti."

["The public treasury taketh what Christ getteth not! Thou wilt, then, give to an ungodly soldier what thou wouldst not give to a priest!"]

Thereupon the priest went to the Archdeacon at Llanddew, and relating what he had seen and heard, the Archdeacon told him they were the words of St.

Augustine, and showed him where, adding that "the detinue of tythes should be improsperous."

In this chapel Masses must have been said for the souls of the ill-fated Staffords of successive generations, the last being for Edward, Duke of Buckingham.

St. Catharine's Chapel.—Another forgotten sanctuary in the parish is the Hospital of St. Catharine, the name of which at least is kept in remembrance by the designation which has clung to it. The Spital Barn stands near the site of St. Catharine's Chapel in the Watton, nearly opposite the Barracks, and this also is holy ground.

This Hospital seems to have been independent of the Priory, and was probably raised at the expense and for the convenience of the bailiff and burgesses of Brecon, though undoubtedly with the permission of one of the early priors. It may have been a house of entertainment for the pilgrims on their way to St. David's Cathedral, and for the large throngs who came on pilgrimage to present their offerings at the shrine of St. Alud on the hill above, the Hospitium being on the high road from Abergavenny and outside the walls of the town.

The first time we find St. Catharine's mentioned is in a deed dated May 6th, 1475, which Hugh Thomas saw in the Corporation Chest at Brecon, by which "Wm. Vaughan, Esq., Bailiff, and the Burgesses of Brecknocke, grant a lease of the lazar or hospital of St. Catharine in the suburbs of the said towne to Wm. Goldsmyth and Wm. Perpoynt, Burgesses."

There is an indenture, dated April 22nd, 1515, between the municipal officers of Brecknock (amongst whom is Rhys y Cigwr, father of Hugh Price, the founder of Jesus College, Oxford), and Sir Thomas ap Hoell, Chapellan, of the same town, which

"witnesseth that for very love confidence and affection, and for the good and valuable conversation, service and benevolence that the said Sir Thomas hath heretofore done and hereafter intendeth to doe during his life to the said town, they give and graunte

unto him the Chappell of Saint Cateryne, sitting and lying without the suburbes of the said towne, with all other houses, landes, orchers, garden, &c., belonging to the saide Chappell, relickes or pardonners that goeth unto the countrey in the behalfe of the saide Chappell with the commodities almouise deeds of charitie, or anything that shall be given or bequeauen to the sayd Chappell The saide Sir Thomas doynge for the premises this observances following : first, he shall keep his Hall secundary in the quere Sundaies and holydaies at matens, mass and evensong within the Chappell of our Ladie, within the saide towne of Brecknocke, and also kepe our ladies mass daily, having sufficient company with him, with pricked songe, else to be excused, also kepe the organs, and teach two children limitted by the bailie their pricked songe and plaine songe upon his own cost and charge dureing the said tyme, *and also to sing mass at the Chappell of Saint Katreine when he is disposed.*"

This Sir Thomas ap Hoell became Vicar of Brecon a few years later, when he succeeded Sir Thomas ap Ieuan, the vicar who signed the agreement, dated 1520, with Robert Salder, last Prior of the Priory of St. John the Evangelist. In the changes which followed the departure of the monks and the alienation of Church property, St. Catherine's Hospital, and the lands belonging to it, were diverted to secular uses. The Mass was no longer sung before its altar; no priest was set apart for ministering to the sick and dying who worshipped within its walls. The Borough being in debt to Edward Games, Esq., of Newton (first Recorder of Brecon, and Member of Parliament for both shire and town, who lies buried under the high altar in St. John's Church), the grateful bailiff and twenty-four councillors "elected and chosen by all the hole towne and commonalitie of the same of their assent and consent to order and governe the same," gave the Hospital, and all the lands belonging to it, to him and his family, in reward for the good services he had rendered the ancient borough.

Hugh Thomas, in his MS., 1698, says :—

"Within less than a quarter of a mile from the town gate in the Watton ward stands a great barn, called the Spital, of which

there is a tradition and generally believed, that it was once a hospital and chapel that belonged to the noble family of the Gameses of Newton. . . . St. Catherine's is no where now to be found, therefore I presume it must needs be this Spital, as further appeareth by the font now to be seen there, and pair of stairs that lead up to a pulpit, as also a piece of ground adjoining to the Spital is to this day called the churchyard; in which piece of ground there has been seen standing several yew trees by persons now living in the town, and within these ten years skulls and other bones of dead bodies have been taken up here."

There is yet another reference to the Hospital in a deed, which was in the possession of the late Rev. Prebendary Herbert Williams, dated November 30th, 1749, in which Sir Humphrey Howarth, of Maeslough, in the county of Radnor, Knight, conveyed to the Rev. Thomas Williams, Vicar of Brecon,

"the tithes of corn and grain arising, growing and becoming due within the Liberty, Hamlett and precincts of the Watton, commonly called the Spittle or Spital Tythes."

In a letter written lately to the *Brecon County Times*, an "Old Inhabitant" says :

"That seventy years ago she remembers St. Catharine's Chapel as a wheelwright's shop. It had a very high-pitched roof, which was rapidly falling into decay; there were steps at one end, which, the wheelright used to say, led up to a pulpit in old times, when it was a chapel. In a cottage close by, a holy-water stoup was used as a hearthstone to receive the ashes. Behind the cottages (which from their high-pitched roofs and walls, nearly a yard thick, must have belonged to the Hospital), a large arched well stood in a yard (it was a very deep one, and a workman tried to find the depth, but failed). It was then filled up with rubbish, the old barn-like building taken down, and cottages built on the site."

St. Alud's Chapel.—Of the vanished chapels in this parish dependent on the Mother Church of St. John the Evangelist, the most interesting was that built on Slwch Tump, to commemorate the martyrdom of the Christian Saint, Alud, by a pagan Saxon Prince in the fifth century.

St. Alud was one of Brychan Brecheiniog's daughters—the twenty-third—and lived at Ruthin, in Glamorganshire; this may have been Roath or Ruder. The chapel stood to the north of the British Camp on Pencefnygaer, about a mile east of Brecon, and not far from Slweh farmhouse.

In the British Museum is a MS.¹ account by Hugh Thomas, the Breconshire Herald, written about the end of the seventh century, of the legends connected with the life of this saint, which has not been published. Hugh Thomas came of an old Breconshire family descended from Brychan. He was a Catholic, a fact which has nowhere else been recorded excepting in this MS., and in his boyhood he passed some time in Brecon under the care of two Catholic ladies, his kinswomen, from whom he learned the traditions handed down through successive generations since the departure of the monks one hundred and fifty years before.

The MS. (in his quaint but pleasant style) opens as follows:—

[Only the spelling has been altered, and the punctuation—of which there was none—added.]

“S. Lhud, that is Anger; she is commonly called S. Alud or Aled, but Giraldus Cambrensis calls her Almedha, who is the only author that makes any mention of her; his words are these:—

“There are dispersed through several provinces of Cambria many churches illustrated by the names of the children of Brychan; of these there is one seated on the top of a certain hill in the region of Brecknock, not far from the principal castle of Aberhonddu, which is called the Church of Saint Almedha, who, rejecting the marriage of an earthly prince, and espousing herself to the Eternal King, consummated her life by a triumphant martyrdom.”

“But gives no further account of the matter, to supply which defect the country thereabouts gives us all the particulars, which will not be amiss to subjoin in this place, as a testimony

¹ *Harl. MS.* 4181, Ff. 141-143.

of God's Providence to preserve the memory of His servants, and the undeniable credit of the traditions of the innocent country people, which is thus briefly and obscurely touched by authors.

"It seems, that having from her infancy dedicated herself wholly to the service of God, in her riper years being violently pressed by a young Prince to marriage, to free herself from his solicitations and those of her family, she secretly stole away from her father's house in a disguise, resolving for a time to conceal herself in the neighbouring villages, not doubting that God, for whose sake she had renounced the world, would support her. But behold the great patience and victory of the holy, royal maid! All bowels of human goodness were shut up against her, so that her name, Lhud or Anger, seems to have been given her by Divine inspiration (as well as those of all her brothers and sisters), anger being poured out against her like a flood, weight added to weight, and burthen to burthen, till her life was taken away with great violence.

"The first place she retired to was the village of Llanddew, or Trinity Church, about a mile from Brecknock" [in the seven-teenth century the Welsh system of mileage was still in use, one mile being equal to two English of the present day], "where she was so ill-treated, that fleeing from hence, she retired to a village called Llanfillo, three miles farther, to live in greater obscurity, which, joined with her poverty, beauty in rags, was the cause she was treated as a common thief, who despised human good or riches, but sought Heaven, or rather God. From hence, fleeing back again to another village called Llechfaen, within a mile of Brecknock, where the former scandals had reached before her, she was treated with such scorn and contempt that nobody would receive her, but forced her to lie in the street and the high road, which ever since is called of her name in Welsh, Heol S. Alud. After which she resolved to retire to some solitude, never more to converse with mortals; and such a solitude she found upon a hill called the Slwch, now Penginger Wall (a corruption of Pencefnygaer), near the town of Brecknock, which was then overgrown with wood. Here, that she might receive no further insults, she desired the Lord of the Manor to give her leave to dwell, which was very courteously granted, with a promise of other charity, upon which she there built her a little cell or oratory, and was used often to go down to the Castle of the Slwch, to beg her bread, where she was very hospitably relieved, for which she prayed that the Blessing of God and plenty might always be there.

"When her thoughts were settled in a little tranquility after

all these storms, by way of prophecy she said: That by the secret judgment of God a chastisement would rest on the village of Llanddew for the injuries done to her; that the village of Llanfillo should be plagued with thieves, as they are to this day above all others, and the village of Llechfaen with envy, as indeed they are almost continually in contention and law with one another.

“But this sweetness did not last long, nor could any place give her security from the persecutions of our common enemy, the Devil, for the fame of her great patience and piety beginning to be reported in the neighbourhood, her importunate lover, impatient to know if it were his lost mistress, went to her retirement to see, where, finding her alone at prayers, a violent fear surprised her soul at the danger of the place and person, so that she thought to flee down to the Lord’s house at the bottom [of the hill], which the young Prince perceiving, mad with rage and despair, pursues her, and cuts off her head, which, rolling a little down the hill, a clear spring of water issued out of the rock, where it rested. This being presently known, she was taken up and buried in her own little cottage, which was thereupon turned into a chapel, and the secret history of her life by this cruel death revealed to the whole world, and her innocence made to outshine the sun, God working many miracles by her intercessions, in testimony of His great favour for her, in the eyes of all those who so much injured her. I take the following account from Giraldus:—

“The day of her solemnity is every year celebrated in the same place the first of August; whereto great numbers of devout people from far distant parts use to assemble, and by the merits of that holy virgin receive their desired health from divers infirmities. One special thing usually happening on the solemnity of this blessed virgin, seems to me very remarkable, for you may often see there young men and maids, sometimes in the church, sometimes in the churchyard, and sometimes while they are dancing in an even ground encompassing it, fall down on a sudden to the ground. At first they lie quiet, as if they were rapt in an ecstasy, but presently they will leap up, as if possessed with a frenzy, and both with their hands and feet before the people they will represent whatsoever servile works they unlawfully performed upon Feast days of the Church. One will walk as if he were holding the plough, another as if he were driving the oxen with a goad, and both of them in the meantime singing some rude tune, as if to ease their toil. One will act the trade of a shoemaker, another of a tanner, a third of one that is spinning. Here you may see a maid busily weaving, and

expressing all the postures usual in that work. After which all being brought with offerings unto the altar, you would be astonished to see how suddenly they will return to their senses again.

“‘Hereby through God’s mercy, who rejoices rather in the conversion than destruction of sinners, it is certain that very many have been corrected, and induced to observe the holy Feasts with great devotion.’”

Giraldus Cambrensis, Archdeacon of Brecon,¹ was residing at this time at Llanddew, and wrote as an eye-witness of the miracles he records. Hugh Thomas was not correct in saying Giraldus was the only author who makes any mention of St. Alud, for William of Worcester, a fifteenth-century antiquary [B. 1415], has an entry in his *Itinerary* of which the following is a translation :—

“S. Alud, Virgin and Martyr, one of the 24 daughters of the Ruler of Brecknock in Wales at 24 miles west of Hereford, sleeps in the church of cloistered virgins in the town of Usk, and was martyred on a mound at one mile from Brecknock, whence a spring [or well] arose, and the stone where she was beheaded there remains; and as often as anyone in honour of GOD and the said Saint shall say the Lord’s Prayer, or shall drink of the water of said fount, he shall find at his will a woman’s hair of the said Saint upon the stone by a huge miracle.

There can be no doubt that she was buried here on the spot where she was martyred, and not at Usk.

This legend bears a remarkable resemblance to the story of St. Winifred’s life; but our saint cannot be accused of plagiarism, as she suffered two hundred years before the North-Welsh saint.

The infuriated lover, the beheading, the spring of water bursting forth where the saint’s head rested, are all similar; but St. Alud’s end was final, whilst St. Winifred, by a miracle, lived for fifteen years after her decapitation.

Canon Jessop tells us that, “in the thirteenth

¹ B. 1146—D. 1223.

century the *Lives of the Saints* became very different in tone from what they had been in the earlier ages; they were overloaded with fabulous stories and incredible incidents, which were not for edification."

The earliest mention we find of St. Alud's "little chapel" is in a grant made by Bernard, the Norman Bishop of St. David's 1116-1149, to the Prior and Convent of Brecon, of "The Chapel of Saint Haellide *ex nostro proprio dono*" (of our own gift, a free-will offering).

In a document, dated July 5th, 1152, David Fitzgerald, Bishop of St. David's, at the petition of Ralph the Prior and the whole Convent, confirms to them the Church of St. Aissilde granted them by his predecessor.

In the agreement between the last Prior, Robert Salder, and the Vicar of Brecon, Sir Thomas ap Ieuan, in 1520, whilst the parish church and other chapels belonging to it were made over to the Vicar, the Prior excepted the "Chapel of Saint *Eylet* with all the tythes, *offerings*, and emoluments belonging to it," on the condition, that the said Prior and Convent and their successors should cause all Sacraments and Sacramentals to be administered within the aforesaid Chapel. It appears from the care taken to confirm the possession of this Chapel, that it was of some importance. The Welsh Princess was evidently a popular Saint, and the miracles attracted the pilgrims, who brought their gifts and offerings to leave before the altar.

In the Augmentation Office, in a roll of the "Surveys of the possessions in Breconshire of the religious houses of the Duke of Buckingham forfeited to the Crown," the following occurs: "Possessions on the Dissolution. . . . The Curate's stipend for celebrating Divine Service in the Chapel of St. Alice in the parish of Brecknock." Theophilus Jones was of opinion that this was the same building as St. Alud's Chapel.

In the *Inquisitio post-mortem* of Thomas James, Lord of Slwch, 1551, his manor is described as Slwch and Saint Aylett, or Haylett.

From the site of the chapel, at a short distance, can be seen Alexanderstone farm, which Theophilus Jones suggests (vol. ii, p. 151) may be a corruption of Alud or Alyned-stone; in that case it may, before the Reformation, have belonged to this chapel.

The Saint's name is variously written Alud, Aled, and Elyned; but Hugh Thomas doubtless gives the local pronunciation of his time when he says: "A Chapel of Ease called by the people thereabouts St. Taylad." This is an interesting instance of the final "t" of saint being joined to a name beginning with a vowel, as it marks the same corrupt usage which has made such words as "tawdry" and "Tooley Street" so familiar in English annals. These words sprang, of course, from "Saint Audrey" [Etheldreda of Ely], and from "Saint Olave," or Olaf the Dane, by a process of popular elision exactly similiar.

To return to Hugh Thomas' (who believed as firmly in the "Fate of Sacrilege" as ever did Sir Henry Spelman) MS. :

"But since this general profanation of all holy Feasts, and the destruction of her Church and Altar, where she relieved those, whom she chastised, this miracle has ceased, but not her indignation or anger; for Mr. James Thomas, now Lord of the Slwch, who gave me this tradition of the Saint's sufferings and martyrdom, told me this Church was under the protection of the monks of the Priory of Brecknock, and that there was settled upon a Priest, for saying Divine Service there, two meadows adjoining to the north side of the Churchyard, and his dinner every Sunday at the Priory of St. John the Evangelist, and a can of beer every day. When Religion went to rack, and the land of the Priory sold in the time of King Henry VIII, this went off amongst the rest, and the Church stript of all its Ornaments and Pastor, and left to tumble to the ground. Therefore in the time of the Parliament's Rebellion against King Charles I, his father, Thomas James, of Slwch, made it a barn, and built a beast-house at the end of it, till he found himself almost ruined by an insensible decay of fortune for the

punishment of his sacrilege, and that the family had never prospered since; that therefore he cleaned it out, and left it empty, pulled down the beast-house, and often promised to repair the Chapel, but the top is now quite fallen to the ground, and the walls will shortly follow it. To this place the young people of the town did use to come every May Day, and have many sports and diversions, I suppose from an abuse of a devout custom of visiting the Church in former times, but this is now quite laid aside. The land, for maintaining a Priest to say Mass in it, is now in the possession of Sir Edward Williams, Knt., of Gwernyfed."

It was a common belief that a curse fell on those who touched Church property. When Stukeley visited Glastonbury in 1776, he says: "I observed frequent instances of the townsmen being generally afraid to make such purchases [of stone from the ruins], as thinking an unlucky fate attends the family where these materials are used, and they told me many stories and particular instances of it."

In an old map in the writer's possession (of a property belonging to her in the parish of Llanhamlach), one field is called "Close S. Ailed." This may have been land given towards the maintenance of the chapel, or it may have been the place to which the saint fled on being refused shelter at Llechfaen. No Heol S. Alud can be traced at the present time. The chapel once standing at Llechfaen may have been dedicated to her.

A charming sonnet on St. Elyned was written by the late Mr. John Lloyd of Dinas: a poet who was worthy of the wider fame which he has missed.

ELYNED.

"Fair Elyned, this window doth command
A low flat hill, whereon tradition says
Thy life was freely rendered, in the days
When yet the cross on this benighted land
Had feeble hold, by persecution's hand
Fiercely assailed: oh! while secure we raise
Temple and altar, well becomes us praise,
And recollections of the martyr band:

¹ *Itinerarium Curiosum*, Iter. VI,

Nor least of thee, for of a princely race,
 And sex ill-form'd such pang to undergo,
 That thou hast won in history a place
 Is proof thy spirit quail'd not from the blow.
 Would that the conquerors of the earth could trace
 Such proud escutcheon, such desert might shew."

JOHN LLOYD, of Dinas.

St. Alud's Chapel is a little more than one mile from the town of Brecon, and is reached by Cerrig-cochion Lane, which, as its name suggests, is a rugged walk cut in the red rock, overhung with oaks and hazels, bordered with blackberry brambles and ferns and harebells. This ancient "Pilgrims' Way" leads to the site of the chapel, and was the "St. Eilan Layne" mentioned in an account of the revenue of the Priory, 28 Hen. VIII. It was the direct route from St. Alud's, by what is now Wellington Place and King Street to the Monastery. The land now belongs to Lord Tredegar, and on the Ordnance Map is marked as "site of St. Elyned's Chapel." Sir Richard Colt Hoare visited the spot one hundred years ago, and was able to trace some small vestiges of the building.

To-day the spot may be identified by a fine old yew tree, about 6 ft. in diameter, spreading its branches over a well, now almost choked by mud and weeds. The following is an account of a visit paid to the Saint's shrine a few years ago, by Mr. Butcher and Mr. George Hay, of this town :—

"On ascending from the well to the hedge there is a small mound, and on its summit may clearly be traced an oblong square, on which "Capel St. Alud" once stood. The spot is now completely grass-covered, and not even a solitary stone appears above the surface. At a short distance is what might have been the churchyard; there are clusters of plants growing in it at irregular intervals, with leaves resembling the common sorrel, and these, according to tradition, mark out the graves of those who were buried here. On leaving the field, and taking the lane in the direction of Slwch farm-house, we noticed that many of the stones, forming a wall on the right side of the lane, were dressed, and we were informed that these had been taken from the ruins of the adjoining church. Mr. George Hay here

discovered two very interesting stones, one in which a groove was cut for fastening the hinge of a door. On reaching Slwch farm-house, a dressed stone that had been removed from the wall in the lane, and now used as a curb-stone for the fold-yard, was pointed out to us. It was originally the cill-stone of a window, neatly chamfered, and formed the base of the mullion. If some of our local antiquaries could be persuaded to undertake the work of making excavations on the site of St. Elyned's, some interesting information might be obtained."

So, to-day, not one stone is left upon another to tell us of the faith and devotion of a past age. A yew-tree alone marks the spot where the sainted martyr gave her soul to God; a green mound alone recalls the memory of the chants of praise and prayer, which, ascending to Heaven through the long centuries, broke the silence of that lonely height.

Priest and chapel, and the local veneration of the Saint, have passed away; but, standing on this holy ground, we may lift our eyes to the eternal hills and remember, that the Faith once delivered to the saints is still ours, and is of the things which abide for ever.

NOTE ON
A PERFORATED - STONE AXE - HAMMER
FOUND IN PEMBROKESHIRE.

BY J. ROMILLY ALLEN, ESQ., F.S.A.

My attention was first called to the existence of the perforated stone axe-hammer which forms the subject of the following note, by Mr. Edward Laws, F.S.A., the learned author of *Little England beyond Wales*. In the work just referred to, Mr. Laws describes the



Fig. 1.—Perforated Stone Axe-Hammer from Llanrhian, Pembrokeshire.
Scale, † linear.

axe-hammer in question as having been found near the Longhouse cromlech in North Pembrokeshire. When the members of the Cambrian Archæological Association visited the Longhouse cromlech during the Fish-guard Meeting in 1883, the possessor of the axe-hammer, who lived in the neighbourhood, exhibited it at the cromlech, and Mr. Worthington G. Smith made a drawing of it which is now in the volumes of his sketches¹ in the Shrewsbury Museum and Library. After this, it appears to have been lost sight of, and it was not until the end of last year (1902) that I ascertained its whereabouts. The axe-

¹ Vol. v, p. 205.

hammer is now in the possession of Mrs. Marychurch, of Cardiff; and it is my pleasant duty now to thank her, in the name of the Association, for her kindness in allowing this remarkably beautiful little object to be illustrated in the *Archæologia Cambrensis*.

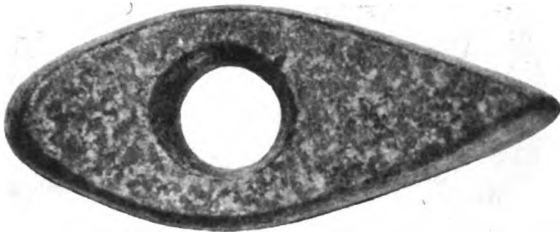


Fig. 2.—Perforated Stone Axe-Hammer from Llanrhian, Pembrokeshire.
Scale, † linear.

Whilst the axe-hammer was temporarily lent to me to be photographed, I took it to the Museum of Practical Geology, in Jermyn Street, London, to find out what material it was made of. The courteous Curator, after submitting it for inspection to his petrologist (who

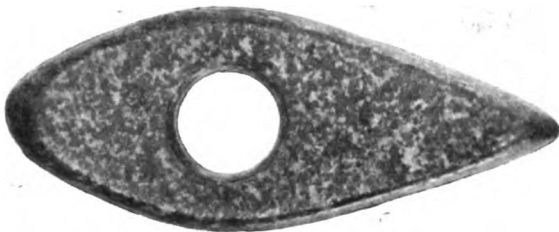


Fig. 3.—Perforated Stone Axe-Hammer from Llanrhian, Pembrokeshire.
Scale, † linear.

kindly refrained from knocking a chip off it), informed me that it was of diorite, a very hard volcanic rock composed of hornblende and feldspar; or, in other words, granite without any quartz in it.

The hammer-axe is 3 ins. long by $1\frac{1}{8}$ in. wide by $1\frac{1}{4}$ in. deep at the axe end, $1\frac{1}{8}$ in. deep at the hammer end, and $\frac{5}{8}$ in. deep at the socket, which is not in the

middle of the length. The socket-hole for the handle is $\frac{3}{4}$ in. in diameter at the top, $\frac{5}{8}$ in. in diameter at the bottom, and $\frac{9}{16}$ in. in diameter at the narrowest part.

The surface is beautifully polished, and feels smooth



Fig. 4.—Perforated Stone Axe-Hammer from Llanrhian, Pembrokeshire.
Scale, † linear.

and almost greasy to the touch. The mottled colour is produced by the black grains of hornblende and the yellowish-white grains of feldspar.

The description of the object given in Mr. Edward

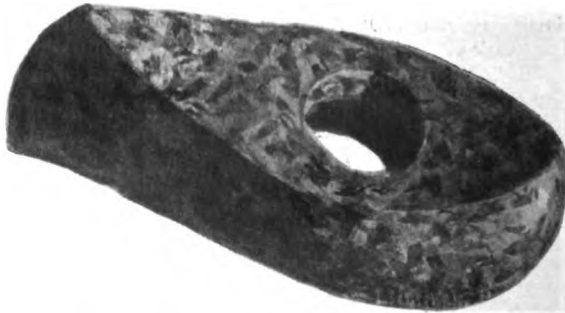


Fig. 5.—Perforated Stone Axe-Hammer from Llanrhian, Pembrokeshire.
(Drawn by Miss Katherine Caswall in 1884.)

Laws's *Little England beyond Wales* (p. 17), is as follows :—

“This is an exceedingly pretty diabase perforated axe, so small and so beautiful that it almost looks as if it had been an ornamental appendage. It was found in a stone coffin (or cist), which, is not very clear. It was accompanied by a coin of some sort, and of course it was only placed as a charm or what-not in

a comparatively recent grave. This tomb was near the great cromlech of Long House."

Mr. Laws appears to have been misinformed, for the present possessor of the object, Mrs. Marychurch, assured me in a letter dated September 13th, 1902, that—

"The hammer I have was not found near the Long House cromlech, but in a stone coffin dug up from the land of my grandfather, Mr. John Williams, of Trearched in Llanrhian parish."

I wrote again to Mrs. Marychurch, asking her whether the stone coffin in question was the one discovered by R. Fenton, the historian of Pembrokeshire,

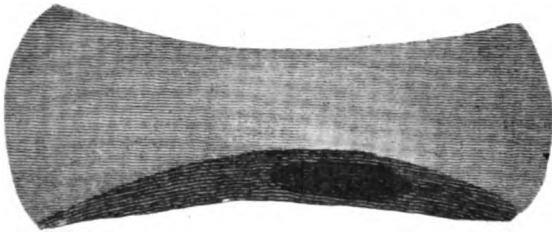


Fig. 6.—Perforated Stone Axe-Hammer from Llanrhian, Pembrokeshire.
(Reproduced from R. Fenton's "*History of Pembrokeshire.*")

in the Beacon tumulus in 1805, and received the following reply:—

"I think you are quite right in your surmise. I have just had a conversation with my cousin, who is a contemporary of mine, and she well remembers, as I do, the legend connected with the hammer. It was found about the date mentioned (1805), in a stone coffin. My grandfather had been blasting the rock you mention (The Beacon), for the purpose of getting stones for repairing the hedges, etc. There was no body in the coffin, but the little hammer was there, and a coin, which I think was a sort of penny. I think my sister has it. I will make inquiries, but I am quite certain in my own mind that the little hammer-axe is the one referred to by Mr. Fenton. There has never been one found near the Long House cromlech."

Next we have the account of the opening of the

Beacon tumulus, given by Fenton in his *History of Pembrokeshire*, pp. 32 to 34.

“ More westward, at the back of a farm called Tref Ednyfed, there is an earth work known by the name of Castell Hafod, or the castle of the summer residence, which, from its form and site facing the north, I am inclined to think was a *Castrum æstivum* of the Romans; the Roman road from Loventium to Menapia, however obscured, and by some disputed, from being miscalled, and variously called, by the names of Via Flandrica, Hên fordd, or the old way; Fordd y Lladron, the thieves' way; and Fordd Helen, being in several places to be traced, not above two miles to the south of this encampment. In a small field above it are many of those stone enclosures denominated Cistvaen;¹ and, still more southward, is an ancient tumulus, or, as the country people erroneously term it, a beacon, which, in company with my friends, Major and Captain Harries, of Cryglâs, who politely contributed every assistance to give facility to my researches, I opened on Saturday, August 3rd, 1805. Over the centre of the tumulus ran a boundary hedge, to make which, much of the height had been lowered, and its shape rendered very irregular. We made our opening as near the middle as the hedge would admit of; and, after taking away the earth and the sods on the surface, found large stones placed round in form of a cone; some loads of which removed, we came to the natural soil, having discovered nothing indicative of interment but a few bits of charcoal. There was a great deal of blueish clay intermixed with the stones, that must have been brought from some distance, the soil here being of an opposite quality—very light and dry. However, not discouraged by our ill success on one side of the hedge, we began our operations on the other; proceeding but slowly, as we came to an immense stone, visibly extending in length six feet, and lost under the hedge. It seemed plaistered, and, as it were, cemented to the stones it covered, with the same kind of clay we found on the opposite side. The gentleman farmer, on whose ground it

¹ “ Cistvaen, Englished, literally a stone chest, whenever it occurs in the following pages, is intended to signify that simple species of sepulchre, consisting of an oblong enclosure, formed of coarse side and end flags, with an incumbent stone of great weight by way of lid. Various are the uses which antiquaries ascribe to them, merely on the ground of conjecture; but I presume I may boldly pronounce them all sepulchral, having opened many of the most perfect ones, and found them, from their contents, invariably of that character.”

was, lent his assistance, and the work went on for a little time more spiritedly; yet, night coming on, obliged us to desist. On Monday morning the operations were renewed with additional powers, and the obstacle to our discovery got rid of: namely, the incumbent stone eight feet ten inches long and very thick, covering a Cistvaen four feet and a-half long, two feet four inches broad, and two feet deep, containing nothing but the finest dry mould, interspersed—as an ingenious medical gentleman then present fancied—with some very minute particles of a substance like bone. The sides of this primitive sarcophagus were formed of two large clegyr¹ stones, unconscious of any tool, only with their inner faces naturally rather smooth, the ends of two large coarse flags, and the bottom paved with smaller of the same kind. Adhering to the clay amongst the earth—thrown out some days after—were discovered a small stone hatchet of the same shape and size as that represented (Plate I, No. 3 of 'Antiquities'), and a small circular stone, of a species easily hewn, with a hole in the centre, and a few marks on one side something like numerals. The hatchet, though perforated to admit of a handle, was too small, and the edge too blunt to be used as a warlike weapon, and was most likely worn as an amulet or an ornament, being composed of a species of marble or inferior gem, known by the name of *Lapis nephriticus Germanorum*,² clouded with different colours, and interspersed with small black specks of a metallic substance, with its surface—though smooth—incapable of a bright polish, from an inherent oiliness it possesses. The circular stone—several of which I have in my possession of different sizes—is found all over the country, and, seemingly, the general concomitant of sepulchral rites."

To make the extracts we have given intelligible to the reader, it may be as well to explain exactly where

¹ "Clegyr, in the Welsh language, is a rook; but, in Pembrokeshire, almost generally, yet chiefly in the English parts of it, it is used as an adjunct to describe any large fragment of coarse stone which has not been wrought into form by the art of man."

² "This is a stone found in several parts of Germany, particularly Bohemia; but it abounds in South America, which the Indians work into various forms, as those of little pillars, fish, heads and beaks of birds—always perforated. The Brasilians suspend them by their lips. Boot, in his book, *De Gemmis*, gives a description of this stone, agreeing with the appearance of that which this little hatchet is composed of: 'Plerumque ex viridi, albo, cœruleo et nigro colore mixtio est—semper enim superficies pinguis quasi oleo inuncta esset videtur.'"

the different localities are situated relatively to Llanrhian, near which they all lie. Llanrhian is on the road from St. David's to Fishguard, and is seven miles north-east of the former place. It is a mile from the north coast of Pembrokeshire, and the Via Flandrica runs within a mile of it to the southward.

The Beacon is marked on the Ordnance Map (scale 1 in. to the mile, Old Survey, Sheet 40 N.W.), at a point 1 mile east of Llanrhian. It is also shown on the Ordnance Map (scale 6 ins. to the mile, Pembrokeshire, Sheet 15 N.W.) on the division between two fields, as described by Fenton, immediately south of the road from Llanrhian to Mathry. The word "Beacon" does not appear on the 6-in. Ordnance Map, but the name seems to survive in Bickny, a house close to the tumulus to the westward. It is on high ground, being 300 ft. above the sea, although only a mile from the coast.

Treyarched Farm, where Mrs. Marychurch's grandfather (from whom she inherited the stone axe-hammer) lived, is half a mile south of the Beacon, and a mile south-east of Llanrhian.

The Long House cromlech¹ is two and a-half miles north-east of Llanrhian, and about two miles north-east of the Beacon.

Tref Ednyfed, mentioned by Fenton, is close to Llanrhian on the east, and on the way to the Beacon, but the earthwork called Castell-Hafod does not appear to be marked either on the 1-in. or the 6-in. Ordnance Map.

From what has now been said there can be no reasonable doubt that the hammer-axe belonging to Mrs. Marychurch is the one described by Fenton as having been found in the earth taken from inside the cist under the Beacon tumulus. It is highly improbable that two axe-hammers, so nearly corresponding in size and character as the one illustrated and described by Fenton and the one now in the possession of

¹ Described and illustrated in *Archæologia Cambrensis*, 4th Ser., vol. iii, p. 140.

Mrs. Marychurch, should have been discovered within two or three miles of each other. The illustration made for Fenton by J. Basire, and published in 1809, is evidently drawn the same size as the original, and corresponds exactly, both in size and shape, with Mrs. Marychurch's axe-hammer.

Sir William Wilde, in his *Catalogue of the Antiquities in the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy*, p. 79, divides the perforated stone hammers and hammer-axes found in Ireland into the following five classes:—

(1) Celt-shaped, with a cutting edge at one end and rounded at the other end, and having the hole for the handle nearer one end than the other.

(2) Like the first variety, but narrower, and with the hole in the centre.

(3) Egg-shaped, with both ends rounded and the hole in the centre.

(4) Maul-shaped, with the hole nearly in the centre.

(5) Stone battle-axes or axe-hammers, with a cutting edge at one end and the other end rounded; deeper at the ends than in the centre, and having the hole nearer one end than the other.

The stone axe-hammer from the Beacon tumulus belongs to the last of these classes.

The following list shows the number of instances in which perforated stone axe-hammers have been found with sepulchral remains.

LIST OF PERFORATED STONE AXE-HAMMERS FOUND IN BARROWS IN GREAT BRITAIN.

Shetland.

Locality not given. (4 ins. long, found in a barrow)—J. Anderson's *Scotland in Pagan Times; Bronze and Stone Ages*, p. 309.

Orkney.

Whitehall, Stronsay (found in barrow)—*Scotland in Pagan Times; Bronze and Stone Ages*, p. 307.

Caithness.

Ormiegill, Ulbster. (4 ins. long; found in a horned cairn with Neolithic implements)—*Scotland in Pagan Times; Bronze and Stone Ages*, p. 246.

Breckingo, Thrumster. (5 ins. long; found whilst demolishing chambered cairn; no burial recorded)—*Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot.*, vol. xxix, p. 6.

Aberdeenshire.

Crichie, Inverurie. (4½ ins. long; found with burnt burial)—*Scotland in Pagan Times; Bronze and Stone Ages*, p. 106.

Kincardineshire.

Cleughhead, Glenbervie. ($3\frac{1}{2}$ ins. long)—*Scotland in Pagan Times; Bronze and Stone Ages*, p. 320.

Perthshire.

Doune. ($2\frac{1}{2}$ ins. long; found with urn of food-vessel type)—*Scotland in Pagan Times*, p. 83.

Stirlingshire.

Craigengelt. (Particulars not given)—Baron A. de Bonstetten's *Essai sur les Dolmens*, pl. 4, fig. 1.

Buteshire.

Island of Aran. ($3\frac{1}{2}$ ins. long; kind of burial uncertain)—*Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot.*, vol. xxxvi, p. 100.

Ayrshire.

Chapelton Farm, West Kilbride. (4 ins. long; found with burnt burial under inverted urn)—R. Munro's *Prehistoric Scotland*, p. 149.

Northumberland.

Seghill, near Newcastle. ($6\frac{1}{2}$ ins. long; found in a cist without any remains of bones)—*Proc. Soc. Ant. Lond.*, Ser. 2, vol. iv, p. 60.

Yorkshire.

Weaverthorpe. ($4\frac{1}{2}$ ins. long; found with unburnt burial)—*Proc. Soc. Ant. Lond.*, Ser. 2, vol. iv, p. 460.

Ganton, No. xviii. (5 ins. long; found with burnt burial)—W. Greenwell's *British Barrows*, p. 158.

Ganton, No. xxxi. ($3\frac{1}{2}$ ins. long and broken, found with burnt burial)—*British Barrows*, p. 179.

Cowlam, No. lviii. ($4\frac{1}{2}$ ins. long; found in barrow unconnected with any burial)—*British Barrows*, p. 222.

Rudstone, No. lxxviii. ($5\frac{1}{2}$ ins. long, found with unburnt burial and bronze dagger-blade)—*British Barrows*, p. 266.

Goodmanham, No. lxxxix. (4 ins. long; found with burnt burial)—*British Barrows*, pp. 36 and 298.

Pickering (5 ins. long; found in a field in which there is a barrow)—T. Bateman's *Ten Years' Diggings*, p. 237.

Robin Hood's Bay. (4 ins. long; found on site of mutilated barrow)—E. Howarth's *Catalogue of Sheffield Museum*, p. 10.

Broughton in Craven (6 ins. long; found in an urn with burnt burial and bronze dagger-blade)—*Ancient Stone Implements*, p. 208.

Skelton Moor ($4\frac{1}{2}$ ins. long; found with burnt burial inside cinerary urn)—*Ancient Stone Implements*, p. 211.

Danby Moor. ($4\frac{1}{2}$ ins. long; found with burnt burial)—*Ancient Stone Implements*, p. 211.

Westerdale Moor. (Found with burnt burial inside cinerary urn)—*Ancient Stone Implements*, p. 211.

Sledmere. (Size not given; found with burnt burial)—*Trans. E. Riding Ant. Soc.*, vol. ii, p. 21.

Huggate Pasture. ($5\frac{1}{2}$ ins. long; kind of burial not recorded)—*Unpublished*.

Lancashire.

Winwick. (5 ins. long; found with burnt burial and bronze spear-head inside cinerary urn)—*Trans. of Hist. Soc. of Lanc. and Cheshire*, vol. xii (1860), p. 190.

Cloughton Hall, Garstang. (Size not given; found in wooden case with burnt burial, and pair of Scandinavian bowl-shaped brooches)—*Archaeological Journal*, vol. vi, p. 74; *Ancient Stone Implements*, p. 210.

Derbyshire.

- Borrowash. (6 ins. long; found with unburnt burial)—E. Howarth's *Catalogue of Sheffield Museum*, p. 4.
 Carder Low, Hartington. (3½ ins. long; found with unburnt burial and bronze dagger-blade)—T. Bateman's *Vestiges of the Antiquities of Derbyshire*, p. 63.
 Parcelly Hay, Hartington. (4 ins. long; found with unburnt burial and bronze dagger-blade)—T. Bateman's *Ten Years' Diggings*, p. 24.
 Kenslow, Middleton-by-Youlgrave. (Broken and imperfect; found with unburnt burial and bronze dagger-blade)—*Vestiges of the Antiquities of Derbyshire*, p. 28.
 Stand Low. (5½ ins. long; found with burnt burial and bronze dagger-blade.)

Warwickshire.

- Hartshill Common. (Size not given; found in a tumulus in 1773, but particulars of kind of burial not stated)—*Bibliotheca Topographica Britannica*, vol. ix, p. 15.

Staffordshire.

- Throwley. (4½ ins. long; found in urn with burnt burial)—*Ten Years' Diggings*, p. 155.

Suffolk.

- Wilton Heath, Brandon. (4½ ins. long; found with urn)—*Ancient Stone Implements*, p. 193.

Sussex.

- Hove. (5 ins. long; found with burnt burial (?), amber cup, and bronze dagger-blade)—*Sussex Archæol. Coll.*, vol. ix, p. 120.

Berkshire.

- Lambourne. (3½ ins. long; found with burnt burial and bronze knife)—*Archæologia*, vol. lii, p. 60.

Gloucestershire.

- Snowhill. (6½ ins. long; found with unburnt burial, two bronze dagger-blades, and bronze pin)—*Archæologia*, vol. lii, p. 72.

Wiltshire.

- Upton Lovel, No. 4. (4½ ins. long; found with unburnt burial and implements of bone and stone)—Sir R. Colt Hoare's *Ancient Wilts.*, p. 76.
 Ashton Valley, No. 6. (3½ ins. long; found under cinerary urn with burnt burial)—*Ancient Wilts.*, p. 79.
 Ashton Valley, No. 8. (4½ ins. long; found with burnt burial)—*Ancient Wilts.*, p. 79.
 Rollestone. (3½ ins. long; found with unburnt burial)—*Ancient Wilts.*, p. 174.
 Normanton, Bush Barrow, No. 158. (Dimensions not given; found with unburnt burial and bronze and gold objects)—*Ancient Wilts.*, p. 204.
 East Kennet. (6½ ins. long; found with unburnt burial)—*Archæologia*, vol. xliii, p. 410.
 Wilsford. (1 in. long; found with unburnt burial)—*Ancient Stone Implements*, p. 213.
 Stonehenge. (9 ins. long; kind of burial not recorded)—*Archæologia*, vol. xliii, p. 411.
 Stonehenge. (7 ins. long; kind of burial not recorded)—*Archæologia*, vol. xliii, p. 411.
 Windmill Hill, Avebury. (5 ins. long; found with incense cup and seven skeletons)—*Salisbury Volume of Memoirs of Meetings of R. Archæol. Inst.*, 1849, p. 110.
 Selwood, Stourton. (5½ ins. long; found with burnt burial and bronze dagger-blade)—*Ancient Stone Implements*, p. 211.
 Bulford Down. (5½ ins. long; found in cist with unburnt burial)—*Unpublished*.

Dorsetshire.

Winterbourne Steepleton. (4 ins. long; found with burnt burial)—*Ancient Stone Implements*, p. 210.

Devonshire.

Locality not given. *Ancient Stone Implements*, p. 195.

Cornwall.

Trevelgue. (4 ins. long; found with unburnt burial)—W. C. Borlase's *Nenia Cornubiæ*, p. 87.

It will be seen from the above Table that, so far as Great Britain is concerned, perforated stone axe-hammers are characteristic of the Bronze Age and not of the Stone Age, except in a few cases in Scotland. In

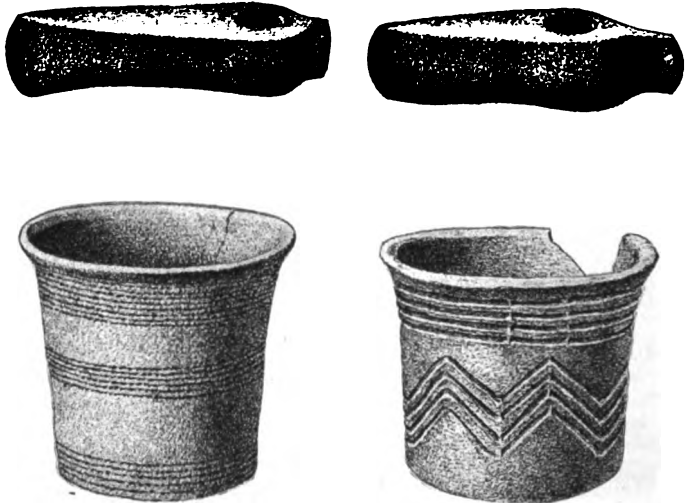
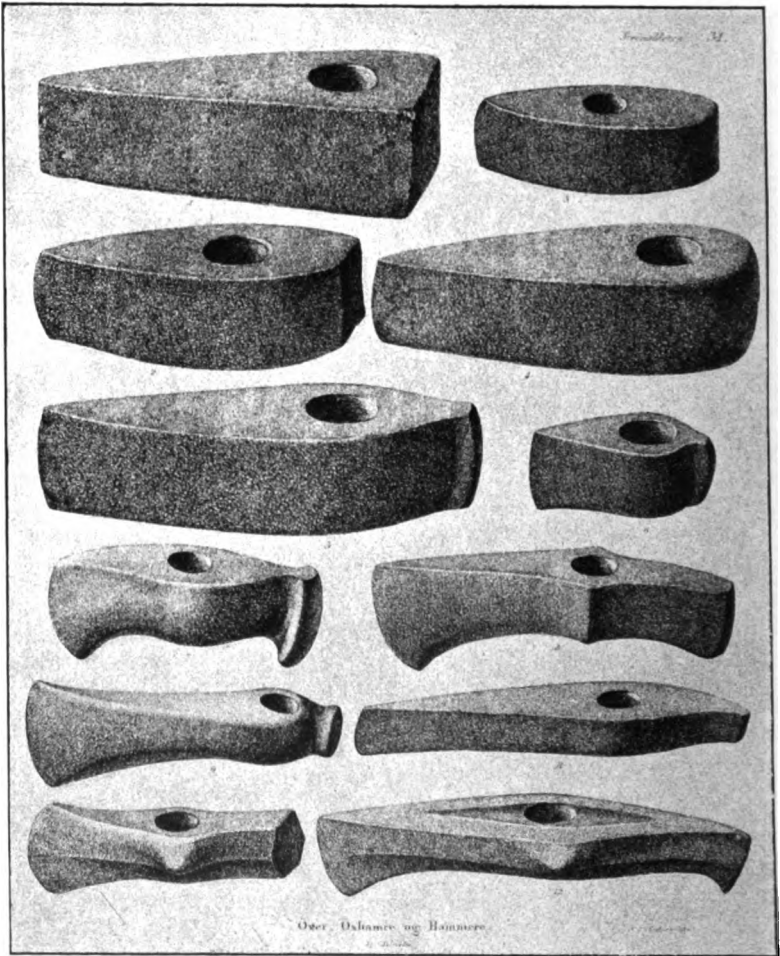


Fig. 7. —Perforated Stone Axe-Hammers and Urns from Stone-Age Burials in Denmark. Scale, $\frac{1}{4}$ linear.

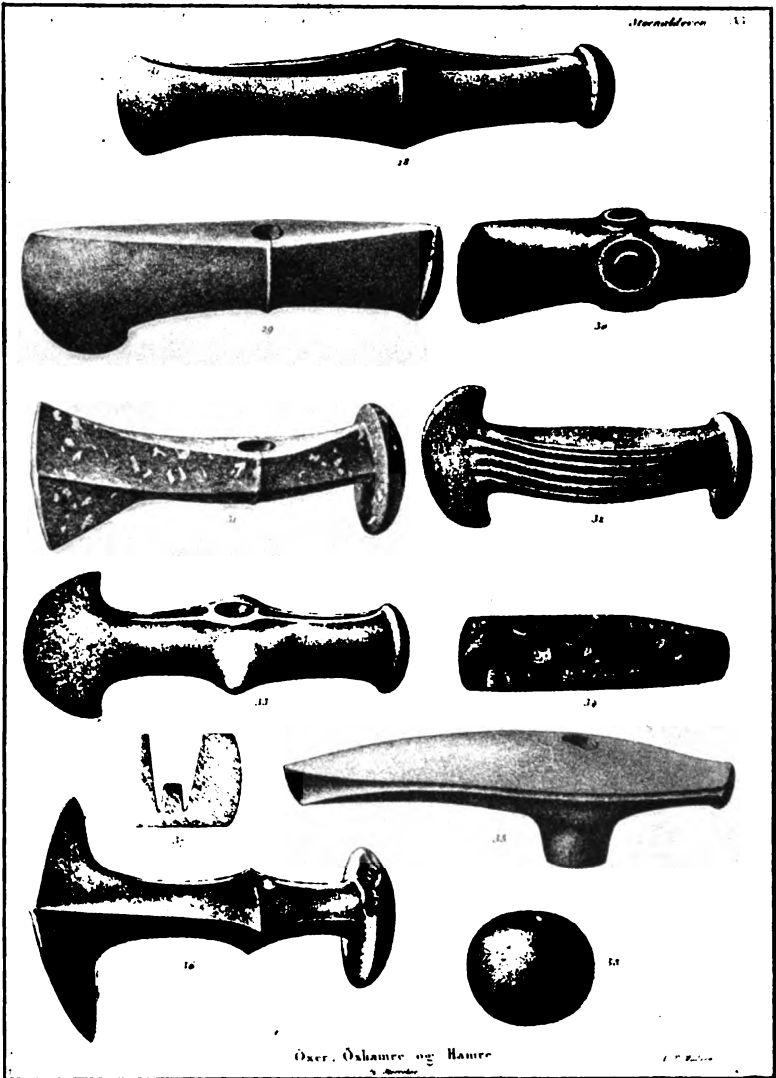
(Reproduced from the "*Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires du Nord.*")

Scandinavia, however, exactly the reverse is the case, as such objects are there very frequently found accompanying Stone-Age burials in dolmens and graves. A large number of beautiful specimens are illustrated in A. P. Madsen's *Gravhøje*,¹ and in his Paper on "*Une Centaine de Tombeaux de l'Age de Pierre*" in the *Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires du Nord* for 1891.

¹ From Dolmens at St. Rörbæk, Udby, and Gundestrup (see Plates 8, 15, and 18).



STONE AXE-HAMMERS FOUND IN DENMARK.
(After A. P. Madsen.)



STONE AXE-HAMMERS FOUND IN DENMARK.
 (After A. P. Madsen.)

There are three reasons which may be suggested to explain why stone axe-hammers are so frequently found associated with burials of the Stone Age in Denmark, and with burials of the Bronze Age in Great Britain: namely, (1) that they were objects prized by the deceased during his lifetime; (2) that he would require weapons in a future state of existence; and (3) that the axe was a symbol associated with the worship of some deity. There is ample evidence that the cult of



Fig. 8.—Perforated Stone Axe-Hammers and Urns from Stone-Age Burials in Denmark. Scale, $\frac{1}{2}$ linear.

(Reproduced from the "Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires du Nord.")

the axe was widely spread in both the Stone and the Bronze Ages.

As instances of the cult of the axe in the Stone Age, we have the remarkable series of sculptures of stone-axes on the dolmens of the Morbihan¹ in Brittany, and the not less remarkable figures, with owl-like heads and stone axes, on the walls of the artificial sepulchral

¹ See Report of Brittany Meeting of C. A. A., in *Archæologia Cambrensis*, 5th Ser., vol. vii, p. 43.

caves in the Department of *la Marne*¹ in France, explored by Baron de Baye. The stone axe-heads on the dolmens of Brittany are represented in some cases without any handle, and in others hafted according to the method practised by the Neolithic inhabitants of France. The best sculptures of this kind occur on the sides of the passage leading to the chamber in the great tumulus on Gavr' Inis, on the roofing slabs of the

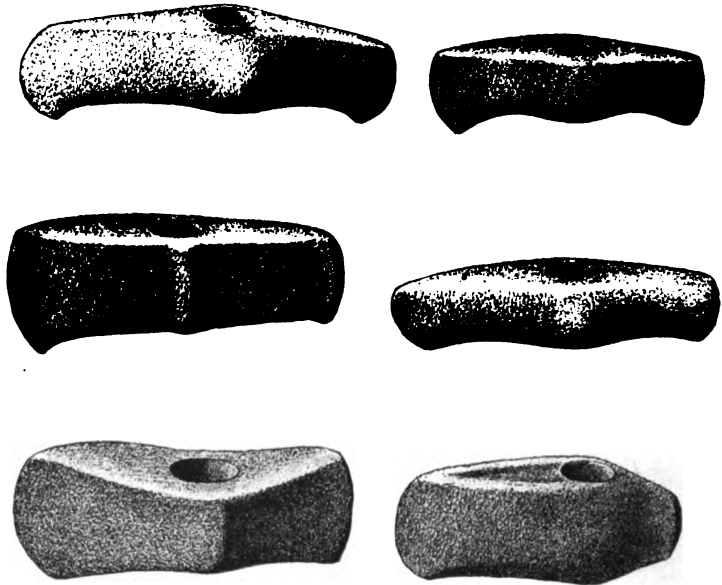


Fig. 9.—Perforated Stone Hammer-Axes from Stone-Age Burials in Denmark. Scale, $\frac{1}{2}$ linear.

(Reproduced from the "*Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires du Nord.*")

chambers of the Dol-ar-Marchand and the Kercado tumulus, and on a stele found in the chambered cairn of Mané-er-H'roëg. The axes are associated with symbols of unknown meaning, but not with human figures.

The artificial caves in the Department of *la Marne*

¹ Illustrated in E. Cartailhac's *La France Préhistorique*, p. 241; and Baron de Baye's *Archéologie Préhistorique*.

are excavated in the chalk, and contain burials of the Neolithic period. On the walls of the Grotte du Courjeonnet is sculptured an owl-headed deity (forcibly recalling similar representations in Mycenaean art), with a complete stone axe in its handle on the lower part of the figure. In another grotto, at Razet à Croizard, the same owl-headed deity appears with the breasts of a female, but without the axe.

Another proof of the prevalence of the cult of the axe during the later Stone Age in Europe is furnished by necklaces of stone and and amber, having perforated pendants in the shape of axes and also of hammers. In France¹ such pendants have been found in the Dolmen de Rogarte at Carnac, in Brittany, and the Allée Couverte de la Justice (Oise).

In Scandinavia they have been found in the dolmen of Stege, Denmark,² and in Bornholm and Bohuslän, Sweden,³ and in Ireland⁴ in one of the chambered cairns at Sliabh-na-Caillige, co. Meath.

Coming next to the Bronze Age we have evidence of the continued existence of the cult of the axe in the sculptures on the cist at Kilmartin,⁵ Argyllshire, and on the rocks of Bohuslän,⁶ Sweden. Stone pendants in the shape of an axe have been found in a Bronze Age cist at Strypes,⁷ Elginshire, and miniature bronze celts, intended for use as pendants, have been found at Glasserton,⁸ Wigtonshire, and Arras,⁹ Yorkshire.

The recent discoveries made in Crete by Dr. A. J. Evans, at Knossos,¹⁰ and Mr. D. G. Hogarth, in the

¹ *Arch. Camb.*, 5th Ser., vol. xvii, pp. 305 and 308.

² J. J. A. Worssae's *Industrial Arts of Denmark*, p. 31.

³ O. Montelius' *Les Temps Préhistoriques en Suède*, pp. 24 and 39.

⁴ *Transactions R. I. A.*, vol. xxxi, p. 32.

⁵ *Jour. Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, vol. xxxvi, p. 146.

⁶ A. Holmberg, *Skandinaviens Hällristningar*.

⁷ *Reliquary* for 1897, p. 46.

⁸ R. Munro's *Prehistoric Scotland*, p. 186.

⁹ In the York Museum.

¹⁰ *Jour. R. Inst. Brit. Architects*, 3rd Ser., vol. x, p. 97.

Birth Cave of Zeus¹ in Dictæ, show that the double-edged axe was the universally-accepted symbol of Zeus in the Mycensæan age. The hammer of Thor,² the Scandinavian god of thunder, is a symbol of the same kind which was used as a charm in the Iron Age.

The last survival of the cult of the axe is the use of stone celts as amulets, and for protection against lightning.³

The cult of the axe is, in fact, spread over nearly the whole world. A Hittite sculpture, in the Royal Museum at Berlin,⁴ shows a divinity holding an axe in one hand and a trident in the other; and in quite recent times the ceremonial stone axes of the Pacific Islands were objects of reverence if not of worship. When we reflect upon the part played in human progress by the axe, which enabled the first clearing in the primæval forest to be made and the first dug-out canoe to be built, thus paving the way to migration of races of men by land and sea, it is not surprising that an implement of such might should be considered as the most fitting to place in the right hand of a god.

I have to thank Mr. Reginald A. Smith, F.S.A., of the Department of British and Mediæval Antiquities in the British Museum, for particulars about the stone axe-hammers in the national collection.

Mr. Edward Laws begs me to say that his information about the finding of the stone axe-hammer near the Longhouse cromlech was derived from the same source as mine, namely, from Mrs. Marychurch.

¹ *Monthly Review* (John Murray) for January, 1901.

² *Monadsblad* of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Stockholm for April, 1872, and March, 1875.

³ Sir John Evans' *Ancient Stone Implements*, p. 61.

⁴ *Report of the U. S. National Museum* for 1896, Plate 28.

LLANGURIG CHURCH, MONTGOMERYSHIRE.

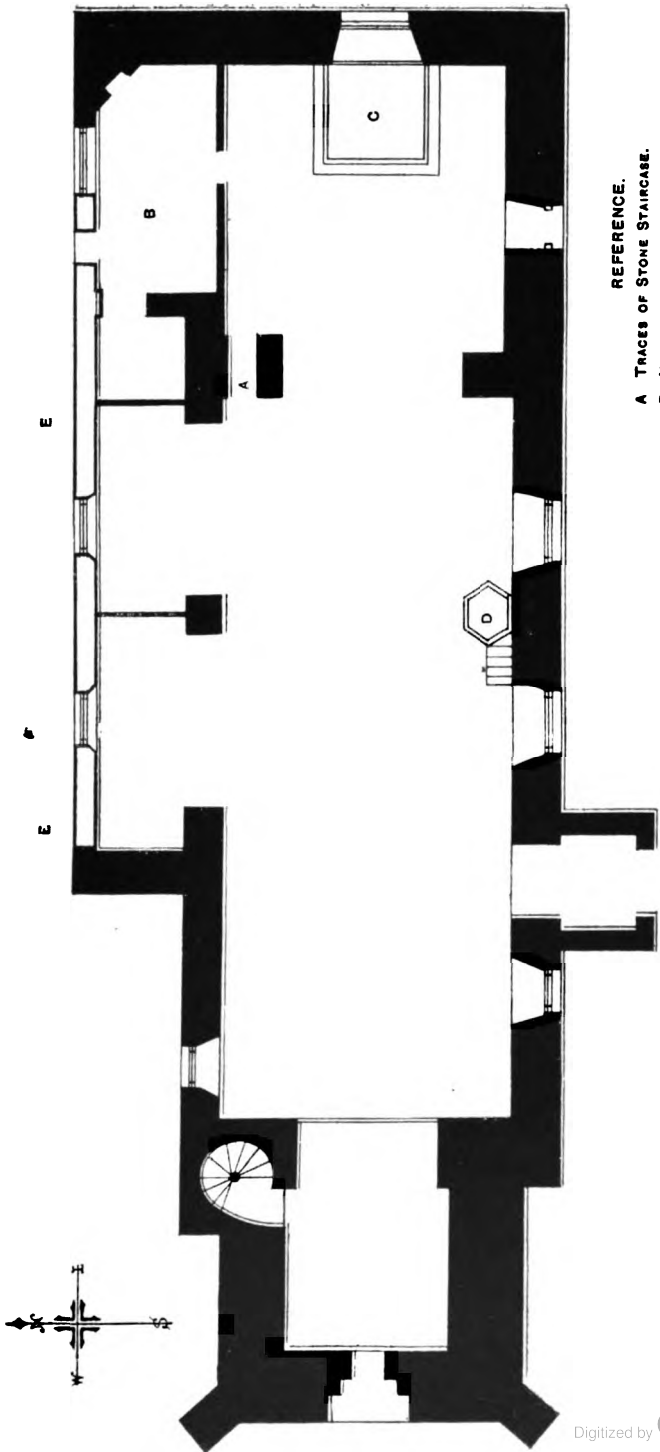
BY THE VEN. ARCHDEACON THOMAS, M.A., F.S.A.

WHEN the late Sir Stephen R. Glynne, Bart., visited this church about the year 1830, and described it in minute and faithful detail as it then was,¹ he declared it to be upon the whole "singular from its rudeness." Since then, thanks to the unstinted munificence of the late Chevalier Lloyd, K.S.G., of Clochfaen, and the master-hand of the late Sir Gilbert Scott, it has undergone a thorough restoration and adornment, and may now be fitly described as singular in its massive simplicity and enrichment. No attempt has been made to interfere with the lines of the edifice, nor even to enlarge the north aisle to its former size; but no expense has been spared to secure excellence in material and workmanship, and to render it worthy of its sacred purpose. A series of richly-painted windows depicts the legendary story of its foundation, while a number of historic personages and heraldic shields portray the line of the chieftains of Clochfaen, the ancestors of the restorer. The sum expended by the Chevalier on the memorial was £11,000.

The legend of the foundation is curious and instructive, and although it became overladen with later and foreign matter, it bears the stamp of consistence and probability. The founder, Curig Lwyd (Curig, the Blessed, or Holy), was one of that large body of Armorican refugees who, having been forced to quit Brittany in the sixth and seventh centuries, rounded the Land's End, and coasting northwards, finally landed at the mouth of the Ystwith, where Padarn had already settled, and had made the evangelisation of Powys, or Mid Wales, his special aim. As Cadvan and Tydecho,

¹ *Arch. Camb.*, 6th Ser., vol. i, p. 144.

and Sulien and Trinio and others, had already advanced north-eastwards, so Curig, either from choice or under direction, proceeded eastwards along the trackway that led up the ravines of the Rheidol, and across the bleak moorlands of Plinlimmon towards Kerry and Elvael, where indeed Padarn had already preceded him, as we may infer from the foundation of Llanbadarn Fynydd, Llanbadarn Fawr, and Llanbadarn y Gareg. After resting on the eastern brow of Plinlimmon, at a spot thence, and still called after him *Eisteddfa Gurig* (Curig's Seat), and having taken a survey of the wilds of southern Arwystli, stretched out before him, he continued his course along the main trackway till he reached the point on the banks of the Afon Gwy (The Wye), where the road bifurcated in two directions, one trending north-eastwards towards Cedewen and Kerry, the other south-eastwards towards Gwarthrenion and Elvael (Radnorshire). In this lonely and wild but beautiful spot he raised his primitive oratory, that he might from it, as a centre, carry his mission of glad tidings to the surrounding district, and at the same time provide shelter and guidance to travellers across that mountainous waste. The typical story of the opposition and miraculous conversion of K. Maelgwn is a counterpart of the legends of St. Tydecho and St. Cyndeyrn, and represents the conflict between Paganism and Christianity, with some of the material changes which the latter introduced. The sanction at last extended to the new comers was wise and politic; for it inaugurated a new epoch in the people's life: for the yoking of wild beasts to the plough typified the change from hunting to agriculture, from the precarious prey of the chase to the settled cultivation of the land. An institution so benevolent, useful, and Christian must soon have attracted others, both men and women, to join it; for the genesis of the Celtic Church was tribal and familiar, rather than monastic or heremital. It was probably to this trait that Huw Arwystli alluded when he sang:—



- REFERENCE.
- A TRACES OF STONE STAIRCASE.
 - B VESTRY.
 - C COMMUNION TABLE.
 - D PULPIT.
 - E MODERN WALL.

GROUND PLAN OF LLANGURIG CHURCH.

“Da fyd fu ar dŷ fendwy
A'i leian gynt ar lan Gwy.”¹

And the local name of a part of the village may be the tradition, in this particular instance, of this founder's original home, *Frankwell*. Later on, Curig appears to have been made a bishop, probably of Llanbadarn, or at least in the district of which Llanbadarn was the ecclesiastical head, and his “staff” continued long afterwards to be treated with great veneration at the neighbouring church of St. Harmon's. With his reputation for sanctity there grew also an ascription of miraculous powers and an increasing *cultus* :—

“Nerthwr 'n yw'r gwr a garwyd
Gwych iawn ac a chwyr addolwyd.”²
HUW CAE LLWYD.

Nor were these powers confined to himself personally ; they were extended to his “staff” also, and Giraldus Cambrensis tells an amusing story of the strictly business terms on which they were put into operation.

“ In this same province of Warthrenion and in the church of St. Germanus there is a (reputed) staff of St. Curig³ covered on all sides with gold and silver, and resembling in its upper part the form of a cross ; its efficacy has been proved in many cases, but particularly in the removal of glandular and strumous swellings, insomuch that all persons afflicted with these complaints, on a devout application to the staff, with the oblation of one penny, are restored to health. But it happened in these our days, that a strumous patient on presenting one halfpenny to the staff, the humour subsided only in the middle ; but when the oblation was completed by the other halfpenny, an entire cure was accomplished. Another person also coming to the staff with the promise of a penny was cured ; but not fulfilling his engagement on the day appointed, he relapsed into his former disorder ; in order, however, to obtain pardon for his offence he

¹ Prosperity rested on the house of the hermit and the nun on the banks of the Wye.

² Our protector is the man beloved . . . and honoured with waxen tapers.

³ “Baculus, qui sancti Cyrici dicitur.” Editio 1585, p. 67.

tripled the offering by presenting three pence, and thus obtained a complete cure."¹

This staff continued in great repute until the Reformation, when it was committed to the flames and destroyed.²

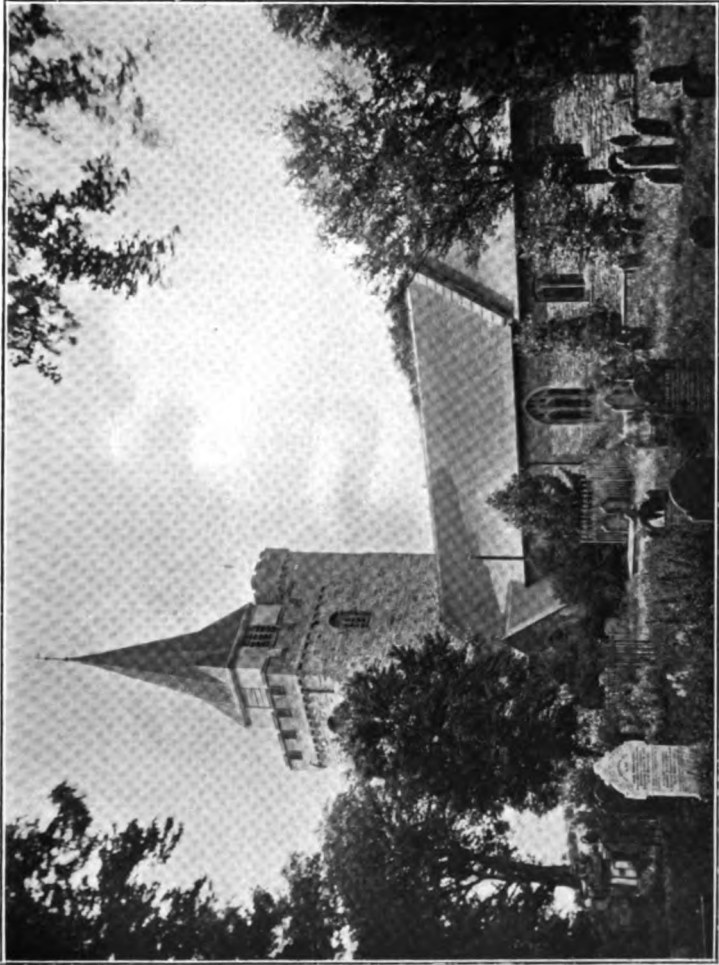
Long, however, before this, an element of much confusion had been introduced through the adoption of the legend of another Curig, the child-martyr of Tarsus, and his mother, Julitta. This probably took place at some renovation of the church; for it was the custom of the Normans to re-dedicate edifices built under the British rule; and it was no doubt due to the influence of Crusaders, who in their travels abroad had become acquainted with the story of the youthful martyr and his widespread *cultus*. The effect of it was to mix up the two stories, and, regardless of chronology, to treat them as one; and the endeavour to combine them in the painted windows tends to perpetuate the confusion and to stereotype their inconsistency. We will now take the windows in detail, beginning with the east window, and following the order and substance of the late Col. Lloyd-Verney's Handbook.³ The east window, a Perpendicular of three lights, has in the head of the tracery "figures representing King Maelgwn Gwynedd handing to the nun Julia a box containing the deeds of the land which he devoted to the Church." That is to say, King Maelgwn, sixth century, is made contemporary with the child martyr of the fourth century, and the donation is made in the manner of far later centuries. On each side are angels bearing scrolls, from the Te Deum: "Te martyrur candidatus laudat exercitus."⁴ On the left is depicted the martyrdom of the boy, and beneath it a representation of Julitta, also martyred, with the inscription "Beatus Julitta martyrio corona-

¹ Giraldus Cambrensis, *Itinerary* (Bohn, p. 335).

² *History of Radnorshire*, p. 548.

³ *A Description of the Parish Church of Llangurig, Montgomeryshire*, by Col. Lloyd-Verney, of Clochfaen. London, 1892.

⁴ "Thee the white-robed army of martyrs praiseth."



LLANGURIG CHURCH, MONTGOMERYSHIRE. EXTERIOR VIEW FROM SOUTH-EAST.

tur." The central figure in the window is that of the other St. Curig, represented as a bishop, with a pastoral staff or crook turned outwards, which, however, is not in accord with the description of the real one seen and described by Giraldus Cambrensis as a crozier: "In hac eadem prouincia de Warthrenion in ecclesia videlicet Sancti Germani, Baculus qui Sancti Cyrici dicitur inuenitur; *superius in crucis modum paulisper utrinque protensus, auro et argente undiq. contactus.*"

To the right is a representation of his landing at Aberystwith: "Beatus Cyricus Ystwyth fluvii ostio navem appellat;" and, below, another of his building the church at Llangurig: "Sancta Cyricus ecclesiam ædificat," betraying an unhappy transposition, by the workman, of the adjectives in this and the martyrdom of Julitta.

At the base of the window are the representations of the four brothers of Llangurig, Ieuan, Owain, Siencyn, and Gwilym, and their (eldest) sister Elen; all of whom are subjects either of complimentary poems or of elegies, by Huw Cae Llwyd and Huw Arwystli.

Of the five windows on the south side all but the third contain armorial shields of ancestors of the house of Clochfaen, from Madog Danwr (Madoc the Fire-bearer), who in 1197 received from Prince Gwenwynwyn for his services in the field, Llangurig, Aberhafesp, and Dolfachwen, down to Rhys Lloyd, 1699 to 1737, with their matrimonial alliances. The third window has a representation of St. Michael, with scales and sword weighing the dead; and in allusion to the good works of the three ladies commemorated the seven corporal works of Mercy, plus that of burying the dead: "Pan æddit yn claddu'r meerw yr oeddwn i gyda thi hefyd" (*Tobit*, xii, 12, 13).

The centre of the fourth window is a representation of Dunawd or Dinotus, first bishop of the celebrated

¹ *Itin. Camb.* 1585, 67. "The staff is extended just a little on each side after the manner of a cross, and is covered all over with gold and silver."

college or monastery of Bangor Iscoed, but with the arms of the See of Bangor, in Carnarvonshire : perhaps an allusion to the foundation of that See by his son Deiniol.

In the fifth window is a representation of (1) St. Elidan holding a spear in one hand and the model of a church in the other, in allusion to the legend of Julitta making waxen images of him ; and (2) of St. Maurice, the patron of soldiers : " *Militum patranus*" (*sic*), the Commander of the "Theban Legion."

In the west window the central figure is that of St. David, and on either side of him the arms surmounted by a crown of six of the Welsh kings, viz., Trahaiarn ap Caradawc, Gruffydd ap Cynan, Howel ap Ieuaf, Rhys ap Gruffydd, Gwenwynwyn ap Owain Cyfeiliog, and Gruffydd ap Wenwynwyn.

On the north side the first window from the west represents in the first light King Maelgwn in full armour (of the fifteenth century), surrounded by his attendants, with the river Wye in the background. " *Maelgwn F. Rhysevelauni* (should be *Cassivelauni*) *Arwysliæ Rex* ;" in the second, Julia, or Julitta, is seen making wax images of St. Elidan at her shrine on the banks of the Wye : " *Virgo sanctimonialis Vagæ fluminis ripis cereas S^u Elidani imagines fingit.*"

In the third-light, King Maelgwn, overcome by religious fervour, offers a deed with a red seal attached, of the church lands of Llangurig, to an image of the infant St. Curig, his white horse running away and the Castle (or Court) of Clochfaen embedded in the lands under the hills ; the background of the whole represents the view seen from the north above the church : " *Stm Cyriacus a Maelguno Rege tribus agri portionibus donatum*" (for *donatur*).

In the second north window the central figure is the Blessed Virgin, with the Infant Saviour on her knee and Angels holding a crown above her head. In the lights on each side are two figures with their coat-armour. On her right are Trahaiarn ap Caradawc,

who was slain on Carno Mountain: "*Trahairn Venedotiæ et Provisiæ* (should be *Povisiæ*) *Rex occisus est 1080;*" and Howel ap Ieuaf, who succeeded him as Lord of Arwystli; "*Howel filius Ieuau Arusthiæ (sic) Dominus, qui obiit A.D. 1186.*" On her left Meilir, who, with his brother Gruffydd, was slain in the same battle of Carno; "*Meilir qui cum fratre ejus Griffudd occisus est 1080;* and below him Merinedd, daughter of Gruffydd ap Cynan, who brought Arwystli as her dower to her husband, Howell: "*Merinedd Howelis uxor, Griffini Regis filia.*"

A brass on this window bears the following additional Latin inscription:

"*Trahaiarn F. Caradoci Venedotia Povosiæque Rex Dominus Arwystliæ et Meilir F. Rhiwallawn F. Cynwyn Princeps Qui in præliis apud Carnan Montem in Dimetia commisso Eheu occisi sunt Anº 1080. Merinedd Howel F. Ieuav uxor Domina Arwystliæ Quam provinciam Pater ipsius Griffinus Conani filius Rex Venedotiæ ei concessit. Idem Howel F. Ieuav Arwystliæ Dominus qui obiit Anº 1185. Quorum animabibus (sic) Propitietur Deus. Amen.*"

The third window has for its central subject St. Michael, and on one side of him Prince Gwenwynwyn, "*Gwinwynwyn Povosiæ Princeps;*" and on the other Madoc Danwr, the Fire-bearer: "*Madocius Ignifer Dominus de Llangurig.*"

A brass beneath the window bears this further explanatory inscription:—

"*In Memoriam Gwenwynwyn Provisiæ Principis Anno Salutis MCCXVIII vita defuncti qui Militi suo Comitique fideli Madoco Ignifero terras omnes apud Dominium de Llangurig manerias de Aber Havesp atque Dol Vachwen magnamque Parochiæ de Llanidloes partem dono concessit Arwystle anno MCXCVII post Xp^{tum} subacta Quorum animabus propitietur Deus. Amen.*"

In briefly reviewing this series of painted windows we are struck, in the first place, with their predominantly local bearing, each person, scene, and event depicted being connected, or believed to be connected,

with the district, and helping in some way to illustrate and reproduce its ancient story. In the next place, we note the novelty of the subject-matter, and the skill with which the designs have been worked out. But, when we remember the lavish outlay so ungrudgingly made by the donor, we cannot but regret that so little care was exercised over the wording of the inscriptions, alike on the windows themselves and on the brasses beneath.¹

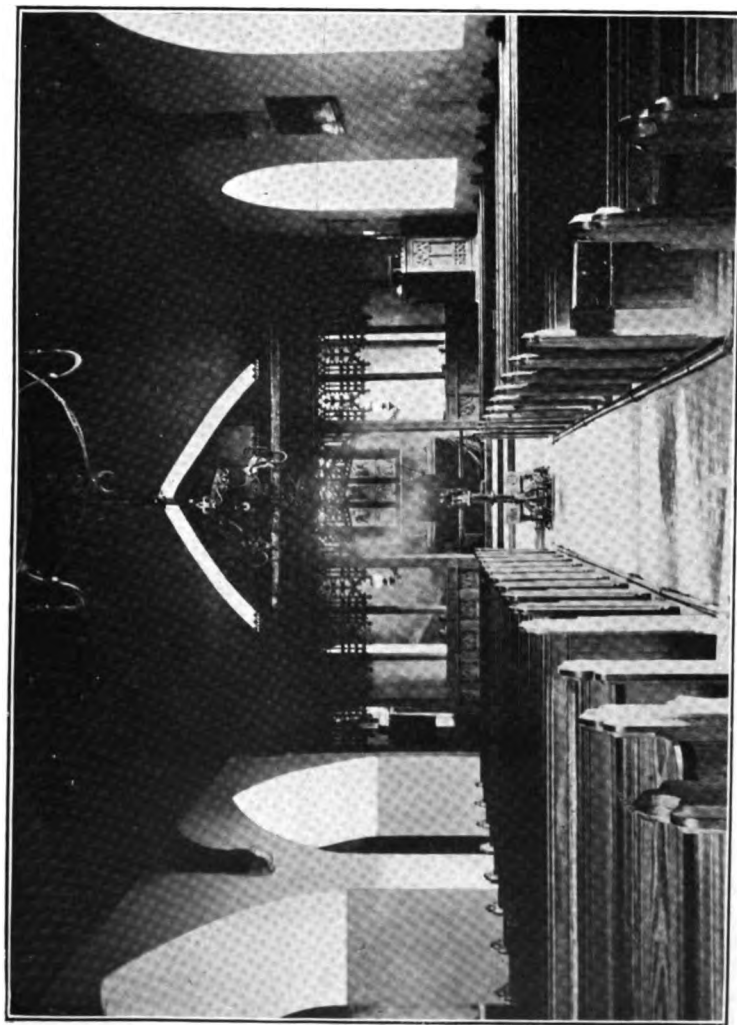
The most interesting individual feature in the interior is the restored rood-screen. Originally there was a loft above it; but in the year 1836 the whole was taken down, and the vicar and churchwardens appear to have allowed anyone to help themselves to the remains; so that only a small fragment was left, and that has been replaced in its original position on the new one. When Sir Stephen Glynne visited the church he found "a large portion of the rood-loft screen remaining, having pretty good carved woodwork and vine-leaf cornices;"² and, fortunately, in the previous summer the Rev. John Parker, Vicar of Llanmerewig, had made most accurate sketches of the interior of the church and of the details of the screen.³ With the aid of these sketches and the fragment the new screen reproduces the old one exactly, save that the loft is omitted here. The style is late-fifteenth century, and the execution is excellent.

The font is of Perpendicular character, an octagonal basin upon similar stem and moulded base. Each face of the basin is ornamented with a double panel of arcading, with foliated heads and spandrels. The upper part is much broken and mutilated, probably during the Commonwealth, for it is evident that a change was then effected in the ancient loyalty of the

¹ The whole of the windows were designed from Mr. J. Y. W. Lloyd's instructions, and executed by Messrs. Burlison and Grylls, London.

² *Arch Camb.*, 6th Ser., vol. i, p. 144.

³ *Montgomeryshire Collections*, vol. ii, p. 31; and *History of the Parish of Llangurig*, p. 31.



LLANGURIG CHURCH, MONTGOMERYSHIRE. INTERIOR VIEW LOOKING EAST.

parish, "a place formerly of very strong fame, but now pointed at as the Puritans and Roundheads of Wales."¹ The name and the date cut upon its side mark the Restoration of the old order and the joy of the inscriber in 1661.

The brass-eagle lectern stands upon couchant lions, and is very handsome—and a most rare thing in such a situation—the church is illuminated by acetylene gas. An organ occupies the north chamber of the chancel, and the pulpit stands in the south-east angle of the nave.

The roof is of the hammer-beam type, and in the chancel the angels bear on their shields the implements of the Passion, and are copied from the old church of Cilcain, in Flintshire. In the nave the shields have instruments of music, the harp, horn, lyre, pipe and flute, dulcimer and triangle. The stone corbels that carry the principal rafters are carved to represent the ruin of St. Curig, the Bishop St. Curig, the arms of Madoc Danwr and King Maelgwn—Maelgwn himself, and a bunch of lilies (purity).

Externally a great improvement has been wrought by the rebuilding of the south wall and the porch, and by raising the tower and superimposing upon it a loftier steeple. In the south wall the priest's door into the chancel has been omitted, and two windows, with double-foiled lights inserted. On the tower a corbel table supports a battlemented parapet, and the newel stair at the north-east angle has been similarly treated, so as to raise it some feet above the tower, upon which a picturesque spire, the lower portion square and the upper octagonal, has been erected of timber covered with sheet lead; the height of the tower is 48 ft., and that of the spire and vane 16 ft. This tower is very massive, and has some noteworthy features; its base is formed of huge undressed boulder-stones, and the western door, at one time the main entrance, has a broad elliptical arch formed of only two stones.

¹ *History of Protestant Nonconformity in Wales*, 2nd ed., p. 71.

The Church having been early appropriated¹ to the Abbey of Strata Florida, occurs in the *Norwich Taxation*, A.D. 1253, as "Cist' Ord'is—Ec'cia Lanberit que est monachor' cist' ord'is 11 . m'ra." This tenth of two marks (26s. 8d.) rose in the next forty years to thirty-two shillings, for in the *Lincoln*, or *P. Nicholas Taxation*, A.D. 1291, we find "Beneficia Abb'is de Strata Florida Cycester' ordinis £16 dec. £1 12s." The monks were probably good friends of the fabric; but it was more fortunate in the munificence of the local lords of Clochfaen, to whom respectively the rebuilding in stone, the font, the arcade, the tower and the rood-loft are attributed. In 1535 the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* of Henry VIII returns the gross value of the Vicarial Income as £10 2s., net £9 9s. 10d.

The sources of this income were :—

	£	s.	d.
Tithe of corn and hay	1	6	8
Tithe of wool and lambs	4	0	0
Offerings at the four seasons	4	13	4
Glebe land	0	2	0
	10 2 0		
 Deductions :—			
Procuration to Bishop	10	0	
" at Visitation	2	2	
	0 12 2		
	9 9 10		
Tenths	0	19	0
 In the last century the Commuted Value was returned at			
To which were added from Llanidloes	177	0	0
" " Trefeglwys	106	0	0
	18	0	0
	301 0 0		
Commuted Value of Vicar's Income, T. R. C.	301	0	0

The Rectorial Tithes were returned 26 Henry VIII, *i.e.*, 1534, as worth 24 marks, *i.e.*, the same as in 1291.

¹ Mr. S. W. Williams, F.S.A., suggests with great probability that the grant was made by Howel ap Ieuaf, the first of the Lords of Arwystli, buried in the Abbey, 1184.

In 1547 (1 Edw. VI) they were in the hands of Sir Richard Devereux, Receiver-General of the Abbey property, to whom they were leased. In 1577 they were leased for twenty-one years to Robert, Earl of Essex; in 44 Elizabeth (1601-2) to Sir Henry Lindley for a similar period; but, in 1605, James I restored them to the young Earl of Essex. Subsequently they passed into the hands of the Steadmans (who had likewise possession of Strata Florida), and thence to the Powells of Nanteos, who held them in 1722; but before 1762 they were sold by Dr. Powell to Sir Watkin Williams Wynn, Bart., in whose family they still remain.

In the "History of the Parish," by Edward Hamer and H. W. Lloyd, published in 1875, it is stated that "at present only two volumes of registers are in existence. A third volume, which existed thirty years ago, was accidentally destroyed through the wilful carelessness of the Parish Clerk,"¹ and the same statement is repeated in the "Handbook," p. 12. But, on the occasion of my visit, I made particular inquiry about the missing volume, or any fragments that might have survived, and Mr. Hughes, the Vicar, brought down from a shelf in the vestry cupboard a bundle or leaves of most dilapidated entries, eaten into and worn away by damp and decay, and in an apparently hopeless condition of confusion. Entrusted with the care of the papers I have succeeded in arranging them in complete consecutive order, as follows: baptisms, 1686-1758; marriages, 1683-1754; burials, 1686-1756. They are too seriously injured to make out the register complete, but there is enough left to set out in order the bulk of the names and a large proportion of the dates. The binding will require the greatest care and skill, as each page, or fraction of a page, will have to be laid out most tenderly and gummed on transparent sheets, through which it can be read. I am now, at the request of the vicar and churchwardens, arranging for its

¹ P. 34.

binding, and, if successful, it will be a notable rescue of a lost and valuable record.¹ This register is on paper, not parchment, and, as so often the case, has sundry forms and memoranda on the outer leaves: a Certificate of Character, Form of Certificate for Burial in Woollen, and the names of those that were excommunicated.

The second volume contains the baptisms and burials from 1758 to 1812; the corresponding marriages are missing.

From these and other sources we are able to present the following list of the Vicars of Llangurig:—

1561. Lloyd, D(om). Thomas, Priest, resident and kepeth house.²

1572. Gwyn, John, M.A., 4th son of Owain Gwyn of Llanidloes.³

158-. Lewis, David.⁴

[1668. J . . ., Relicta Thoma Harding, Clici nuper Vicarii de Llangirricke. Sep. 18^o Junii.]—*Trefeglwys Register*.

1683. Wilson, Hugh, Vr. of Trefeglwys, 1674 (Tho. Williams, Curate).

1689. Williams, William (Tho. Williams, Curate).

1698. Jones, William, B.A.

1700. Ingram, Thomas, LL.B. of Jesus College, Oxford; Canon of Bangor 1703-1711.

1712. Pritchard, Thomas, B.A., 1758, John Jones, Curate.

1765. Price, Edmund.

1788. Lewis, Thomas, M.A.

1805. Anwyl, Maurice, B.A.

183 ? James, James.

1841. James, Evan, Curate from 1831.

1852. Evans, John, J.P.⁵

1876. Griffith, Griffith Williams, Rector, Llanfihangel Yscei-fiog, 1883.

1883. James, Evan.

1892. Hughes, Thomas Henry, Association Secretary C.P.A.S., 1879 to 1891.

¹ This has now been very successfully carried out. May, 1903.

² Bishop Meyrick's Return. Browne-Willis's *Bangor*, p. 267.

³ *Powys Fadog*, vol. ii, p. 292.

⁴ *Add. MS.* 9865.

⁵ Built Plas yn llan as a residence, which was bought by Mr. J. Y. W. Lloyd.

ANCIENT BRITISH CAMPS, ETC., IN LLEYN, Co. CARNARVON.

Transcribed by EDWARD OWEN, ESQ., from the British Museum
*Additional MSS. No. 28,860.*¹

Folio 5. *Castell Odo*, on Mynydd Ystum, in the parish of Aberdaron; with a special enclosure in the centre for the commander-in-chief of the district, with a high mound in the upper part of the oval, either for erecting the beacon lights—their mode of telegraphing—or for the flagstaff. There are two huts for the

[¹ This is a small manuscript volume, written in the year 1871 by Mr. J. G. Williams, of Penllyn, Pwllheli, a gentleman who, I believe, has been for some years deceased. He had manifestly taken great interest in the prehistoric remains of his neighbourhood; and as some of these (not strictly within the district of Lleyn) will be visited by the Association during the forthcoming meeting at Portmadoc, the descriptions of a careful observer, penned over thirty-five years ago, cannot but be of value to those members who attend. They will be so good as to remember that the remarks in the present tense refer to the year 1871 or thereabouts. The account of each camp is accompanied by a plan, and in view of the changes that many of these structures are undergoing it is desirable to reproduce these; but I understand from the Editor that there are difficulties in the way. I have omitted some passages which are in the nature of speculations rather than records of direct observation, but I have otherwise adhered closely to the manuscript, except in the matter of punctuation, as to which the writer seems to have had peculiar ideas. The opinions occasionally expressed may not commend themselves to modern antiquaries. It should, however, be borne in mind that the manuscript is published for its author's facts and not for his fancies, and that had he lived to publish it himself he would possibly have modified and improved it in various directions. I have reproduced his remarks upon the scandalous neglect of local history in our elementary schools, as they are not without interest in view of the forthcoming changes in our educational system. Any additions of my own are placed within square brackets. It would appear that the author had written a larger work upon the Moated Mounds of Wales, which the publication of the present work may bring to light.—EDWARD OWEN.]

sentries. Said to be in a fair state of preservation. (With plan.)

Fo. 6. *Castell Caeron*.—The remains of an oval British camp called Castell Caeron, in the parish of Bryn croes. This is nearly destroyed, but the original form can be distinctly traced. (With plan.)

Fo. 7. *Castell Llanengan*.—An oval British camp on the farm of Ty newydd, in the parish of Llanengan. This camp commands the mines at Penrhyn du, and communicates with Castell Odo and Castell Caeron. The powder magazine for the use of the Tanrallt mines is erected in the upper part of this camp. In a fair state of preservation. (With plan.)

Fo. 8. *Castell Cilan*.—A circular British camp on the farm of Cilan, in the parish of Llanengan, near the Penrhyn du mines. This is in a fair state of preservation. (With plan.)

Fo. 9. *Castell Yscuborhin*.—A British camp, with moat, on the farm of Yscuborhin, in the parish of Llanengan, near the Penrhyn du mines. The precipice overhanging the sea is too steep to continue the rampart. The farmer is now carrying away the soil from the rampart as top-dressing for his farm. It is also being undermined by the miners, who are working the antient mine here, so in a few years this camp will be lost. (With plan.)

Fo. 10. *Pen y Gaer*.—A British oval camp on the hill above the village of Llangian. This is nearly destroyed by the farmers, and the miners working the ironstone quarries on the north and south of the camp. The form is distinctly visible. (With plan.)

Fo. 11. *Castell Abersoch*.—The remains of an oval British camp near Abersoch. This commands St. Tudwell's Roads, the mines at Penrhyn du, and the confluence, or aber, of the two rivers. This camp is nearly destroyed. The above form [referring to the

plan] was pointed out to me by the present tenant, whose father-in-law held the farm when the present turnpike road was made, when a number of stone hammers were found, which he described. [The plan shows the turnpike road from Pwllheli to Abersoch running almost through the centre of the camp. (With plan.)]

Fo. 12. *Castell March*.—A circular British camp in the sand-hills, on the farm of Castellmarch, in the parish of Llangian. This is well placed for strategy, being out of sight, yet it commands, through the opening of the sand-hills on the sea shore, the St. Tudwell's Roads and the mines of Penrhyn du. (With plan.)

Fo. 13. *The Camp on Rhos Bottwnog*.—The remains of a group of cyttiau gwerysllt, or huts in the encampment, on the farms of Ffrid and Cefn y Gaer, on Rhos Bottwnog, in the parish of Llaniestyn. There appears to have been a large camp on this plain, as there are several distinct remains of circular huts here. Mr. Pritchard, the farm bailiff to Robert Lloyd Edwards, Esq., Nanhoron, informed me he has destroyed many of them last year in cultivating the land hitherto lying waste, and these will also be destroyed, as all the land about here is to be brought into cultivation.

The distance between the two ovals is about 100 yards, and about 20 yards between each of the others. *N.B.*—I look upon these [the above] nine camps as the mine-protecting camps, the same as those in Cardiganshire. (With plan, showing five hut-circles.)

Fo. 14. *Tomen Fawr*.—A circular British camp on the farm of Glanllynan, in the parish of Llanystumdwy, near the Afonwen Station on the Cambrian Railway. This is in a fair state of preservation. The tenant informed me that about twenty years ago, when his father was carting away the soil from the south part of the rampart, he found a cannon ball of from three

to four pounds in weight, which shews that this camp was occupied by soldiers when Criccieth Castle was besieged, and that it was bombarded from the sea. (With plan of a circular camp and moat.)

Fo. 15. *Tomen Pendorlan*.—The remains of a British camp near the Afonwen Station on the Cambrian Railway. This is now very imperfect. The north part of the rampart and part of the moat is intact. Near this camp, in the adjoining field, were the remains of an old house called Llys Einion, which was entirely destroyed in 1870. This is supposed to have been the residence of Captain Einion, the brave governor of Harlech Castle, who being compelled to surrender from starvation, erected this house in view of the old castle. This house was also heavily bombarded from the sea; as I was informed by the old woman who was the last tenant, that when she and her husband wanted weights to keep down their fishing-nets in the sea, they had only to go to their garden, to dig up cannon balls which weighed about four pounds. (With plan of a circular camp and moat, very greatly ruined.)

Fo. 16. *Castell Gwgan*.—The remains of a British camp on the farm called Castell Gwgan, in the parish of Llanybi. The moat and rampart have been destroyed, but the original form can be distinctly traced. (With plan, showing a house built upon the exact site of the camp.)

Fo. 17. *Ancient Fortress at Nevin*.—The remains of a British camp on the promontory at Porthdinllaen, in the parish of Nevin. (With plan.)

Fo. 18. *Graig y Dinas, Pistyll*.—A British camp on the farm of Graig y Dinas, in the parish of Pistyll. Great importance, in a strategical point of view, must have been attached to this camp, being situate on the brow of the hill fronting the south-east, and out of sight of the enemy landing on the shore immediately underneath. This being, in a manner, a double camp, the enemy would be surprised by a superior force. This

camp also commands the entrance to the pass through the Eifl mountains, so that the enemy coming through them would also be taken by surprise at their exit, intelligence of whose movements would be conveyed to the camp from either Tre'r Ceiri or Caer Cribin, on the summit of which the late Government erected a beacon to communicate with Ireland during the late rebellion. (With plan of three adjoining enclosures.)

Fo. 19. *Castell Gwrtheyrn*.—A double camp in Nant Gwrtheyrn, otherwise Vortigern's Valley, in the parish of Llanelhaiarn. This is a suitable retreat for such a tyrant. (With plan of a double camp.)

Fo. 20. *Tomen Gwindu*.—The remains of a British camp on the farm of Gwindu, in the parish of Dolbenmaen. This was destroyed by the present owner of the property in 1869, but the original form can be distinctly traced. It is now part of a gorse field. (With plan.)

Fo. 21. *Camp y Foel*.—A British camp on the farm of Y Foel, in the parish of Clynnog. This is in a good state of preservation, and communicates with Dinas Dinlle. (With plan.)

Fo. 22. *Dinas Dinlle*.—Plan of a British camp on the farm of Tan Dinas, in the parish of Llandwrog. This camp shows considerable military skill in the formation of a curtain or blind. The same mound is here, as in the other Dinases, as a station for the commander-in-chief. (With plan.)

Fo. 23. *Pen y Gaer*.—A British camp on the hill called Pen y Gaer, in the parish of Llangybi. The rampart was only formed on the west and south, the east part being too steep and rocky to continue it. This camp commands the pass leading by Llanelhaiarn to the sea, as well as the narrow vale leading through the vale of Dolbenmaen to the sea at Portmadoc. (With plan.)

Fo. 24. *Caer Engan*.—The remains of a British camp

on the farm of *Caer Engan*, in the parish of *Llanllyfni*. It is nearly all destroyed, but the remains of the rampart are distinctly visible. (With plan.)

Fo. 25. *Dinas Criccieth*.—The present castle erected by Edward I occupies the ancient British camp, as the name "*Dinas*" implies. That term is always used by the natives when referring to the hill on which the Castle stands.

Fo. 26. *The Camp on Llys din isa*.—The remains of a camp on the farm of *Llys din isa*, near the *Brynkir Station* on the *Carnarvon and Avonwen* line of railway. The mounds of the huts are distinct; some of them are now about 2 ft. in height. The oval indicates the quarters of the commander. I was informed by the tenant that he has destroyed a great many of the huts within the last few years, when cultivating the fields hitherto lying waste, but never found any relics. The space between the oval and the circular huts may be about 20 yards, and between the circular huts about five yards. (With elaborate plan, showing the arrangement of the hut-circles.)

Fo. 27. *Section of the Ramparts*.—Shewing the formation of the earthworks of the early British camps formed previous to the invasion of Britain by the Romans, shewing the first military period. The second [period] shews the camps are all made on the type of the early British, but during the period of, or after, the Roman invasion, as all the ramparts are formed of stone instead of earth. (With plan, showing section of rampart formed of earth capped with stone.)

Fo. 28. The second military period, or stone ramparts:—

Graig y Dinas.—A British camp on the farm of *Lluar Bach*, in the parish of *Clynuog*. The great peculiarity of this camp is that it has three ramparts formed of large stones quarried out of the moats on the north side, fronting the sea, the south being too steep to continue the ramparts. The same mound is

formed here as in the other Dinas, for planting the standard, or for the commander-in-chief. (Plan of triple-walled camp.)

Fo. 29. *Dinas ddu*.—A British camp on the rock above the turnpike road leading from Portmadoc to Beddgelert. This is worthy of its name and situation, being almost impregnable. It also commands a view of the sea at Portmadoc, which formerly flowed to the base of this rock; also the Pass of Aberglaslyn. This Dinas, like the others, has its prominent mound, or high rock within the camp. (With plan.)

Fo. 30. *Dinas Emrys*.—A British camp on a high rock above the road leading from Beddgelert to Llanberis, which Pass it commands. There are the foundations of eight cyttiau gwerysllt, or huts, in the camp. This camp is well placed for strategy, being difficult from the adjoining rocks, and surrounded with oak trees. (With plan of the camp, showing the sites of the hut-circles.)

Fo. 31. *Carn Pentyrch*.—A British camp on the hill called Carn Pentyrch, in the parish of Llangybi. The loose stones inside the camp appear to have been thrown up out of the moat. The south part of the camp, being too rocky, was formed as a terrace, which is distinctly visible. There are the foundations of five stone-built cyttiau gwerysllt, or huts, within the camp. (With plan, showing the hut-circles.)

Fo. 32. *Carn Bodean*.—A British camp on the hill called Carn Bodean, in the parish of Nevin, shewing the foundation of eight cyttiau gwerysllt, or soldiers' huts, within the camp. (With plan, displaying the hut-circles.)

Fo. 33. *Carn Madryn* (not examined).

Fo. 34. *Tre'r ceiri*.—The plan of Tre'r ceiri, as copied from *Arch. Camb.* for 1855.

[In a lengthy description, which seems to be based on the account of Sir T. L. D. Jones-Parry, the writer dissents from the Rev. E. L. Barnwell's view

that Tre'r ceiri was earlier than the time of Cunedda, and one of the last refuges of the Gael. Contends that it was erected entirely by the later Britons, or after the Roman invasion.]

Under this section the author observes :—

“ In examining all the camps in this district along the coast from Dinas Dinlle to Aberdaron on the west, and on the south to Moel y Gest, or Portmadoc, then in the east to Dinas Emrys, or Beddgelert, then along a north line to Dinas Dinlle, there are no less than twenty-four camps formed of earthen ramparts, and are either circular or oval, some with a moat, others without, some of them with only one entrance, others with two, there are no appearances whatever of anything approaching a stone wall—in fact, nothing but pure mother earth and gravel. Therefore these camps were all formed by the Antient Britons upon one model, long before the Romans invaded this island, or there would have been some variation in form and make.”

Fo. 38. *Tomen Nevin*.—The Tomen or judicial mound near the town of Nevin. This is 225 ft. in circumference at the base, and from 18 to 20 ft. in perpendicular height. It is now used by the sailors as a look-out station, who have erected a tower on the summit. (With plan.)

Fo. 39. *Tomen Dolbenmaen*.—The Tomen or mound of judicature in the village of Dolbenmaen. This is 360 ft. in circumference at the base inside the moat, and about 20 ft. in perpendicular height. (With plan.)

Fo. 39b. *Camp at Tomen y Môr*.—A British camp near Tomen y Môr or Mons Hiriri, in the parish of Trawsfynydd. According to Pennant it had two entrances, through which the tramway is now made. It is nearly destroyed. I have seen this camp described by the Rev. Mr. Barnwell as a Roman amphitheatre. (With plan, which shows an almost perfect oval formation.)

Fo. 40. *Tomen y Môr*.—Plan of the Tomen or mound of judicature at Mons Hiriri, in the parish of Trawsfynydd. The circumference at the base inside the moat is 381 ft., and about 36 ft. in perpendicular height. (With plan.)

FO. 41. *The Tynwald Mound*, Isle of Man.¹—This mound is 246 ft. in circumference, and 18 ft. in perpendicular height, with three terraces. (With plan.)

FO. 42. *A Short History of these Mounds as Places of Judicature*.—These mounds were all made after the model of those erected by Moses, and adopted by the great Welsh law-giver, Dyffnmal Moelmud. The Romans were more civilised than the modern Frenchmen, for they respected the monuments erected by the people whom they conquered, as in this instance, the Judicial Mound at Tomen y Môr is left intact, also the oval camp near it, against which they must have fought to have gained possession of the place. For they erected or formed their camp of masonry, bricks and stones, on the plain to the south of the mound, as no buildings of any kind had been discovered on the north, east, or west, according to the testimony of the present tenant, who was born and bred in the farm; and it is only during the last century the mound has been so injured in the summit. The same with the mound at Dolbenmaen; the summit was scooped out in the first instance to form a cockpit, about sixty years ago; afterwards an attempt was made to sink a shaft in hopes of finding treasure. Instead of which, as I was informed by an old man of the village who was one of the workmen, they found nothing but soil—not a stone larger than his fist.

About the year 1840, a similar mound to these had to be removed to make way for extending the ore-dressing floors at the Goginan lead mines, near Aberystwyth. This was done under the superintendence of the late Geo. Fawcett, Esq., the head manager of the extensive mines worked by John Taylor and Sons. Being determined to ascertain whether this was a sepulchral mound or not, he caused two levels to be driven right through it, under his own immediate

[¹ Introduced, without doubt, for purposes of comparison with the tomennau previously described.]

direction, as now described to me by one of the miners who worked in one of the levels. He says the whole mound was composed entirely of earth, scarcely a stone a pound in weight, and [they] were sadly disappointed at not finding any relics of the supposed dead

If these mounds, and others of a similar type, as well as the oval and circular camps in England and Wales, were examined by an Indian officer accustomed to hill-forts, and not by non-military men who are too fond of writing on military subjects, fewer mistakes would be made. It would also tend to enhance the value of the early history of our country. He would then separate the Early British from the Roman, instead of, as at present, Romanising everything in Wales. During my search in this district of Carnarvonshire, *i.e.*, from Beddgelert on the east to Aberdaron on the west, I have not found a footprint of the Romans in hill or dale.—*Note*: The above is an extract from my larger work on the Tomens of Wales in MSS.

Fo. 49. *Cromlechs* (Table of).¹

Parish.	Site.	Present Condition.
1. Rhiw ...	Plas yn Rhiw	Down ; supports and capstone perfect.
2. Rhiw ...	Tyn y Muria .	} These three are in a line, north and south, about 20 yds. from each other. They are partially down ; the capstones are perfect. The upper one is now used as a sheep-fold.
3. Rhiw ...	Tyn y Muria .	
4. Rhiw ...	Tyn y Muria .	
5. Penllech	Fridd Coch ...	In a good state of preservation, and protected by the landlord.
6. Abererch	Cromlech ...	Two of the supports are down ; the capstone perfect, reclining on the third.
7. Dolbenmaen	Ystum Cegid bach	The capstone was thrown down in 1863 by the tenant for the sake of one of the uprights to be used as a lintel for his new buildings on the farm ; but he was disappointed, as it fell in such a position under the capstone as not to be removed.
8. Dolbenmaen	Bedy Cromlech	This is perfect, and protected by the tenant.
9. Clynnog	Penrhiawn ...	Ditto ditto
10. Clynnog	Bachwen ...	Ditto ditto

[¹ Some of these are figured in Mr. J. E. Griffiths's beautiful *Portfolio of Photographs of the Cromlechs of Anglesey and Carnarvonshire.*]

Note.—I have searched the parish registers of Abererch for the word “Cromlech,” as there is a farm in the parish of that name with a cromlech (No. 6 in the above list), but the earliest entry records the death of Mrs. Elizabeth Roberts, Cromlaech, in 1783. I assume this district all went under one general name of “Llys Patric,” as there are several entries of births, deaths, and marriages from 1679, made in the presence of a justice of the peace from Llys Patric, but when the district became enclosed, and divided into farms, this was then called ‘Cromlaech,’ from the cromlaech being on it, to distinguish it from Llys Patric.

Fo. 52. *Meini Hirion.*—Two meini hirion, about 200 yards apart, in a field on the farm of Pemprys, in the parish of Llanor. No. 1 is 7 ft. high and 11 ft. in circumference. No. 2 is $8\frac{1}{2}$ ft. high, and 11 ft. in circumference. (With sketch.)

Fo. 53. Maen hir in the farmyard at Plasdu, in the parish of Llanarmon. This is 10 ft. 2 in. in height, and 10 ft. 3 in. in circumference. (With sketch.)

Fo. 54. Maen hir on the farm of Penybont, in the parish of Llangwnadle. This is 9 ft. in height, and 2 ft. 1 in. in the square. This, like the others, is well protected by the tenants. (With sketch.)

Fo. 55. *Note.*—I have prepared a history, in the form of questions and answers, of the parishes comprised in the Union of Pwllheli, for presentation to the public schools here, but find the schoolmasters cannot use them, as being contrary to the orders of the Council of Education in London, they being specially confined to the books sanctioned by them, which are non-historical. For I find by an examination of the boys who have left these and other schools, they are as ignorant of the past or present history of their own country as a babe. In reference to these monuments of the past, I refer to them in the following familiar way:—

Q. Should these monuments or memorials of our forefathers be destroyed or preserved?

A. They should be preserved, and every care taken of them ; they should be looked upon in the same light as gravestones are in a church- or chapel-yard.

Q. What are the cromlechs supposed to represent ?

A. Little doubt now exists but that the same idea has been carried down with respect to the cromlechs as with the judicial mounds from the time of Moses : as the cromlechs represent the ark in a rough way, the same as the open chests over the graves in our church-yards do the cromlechs.

Q. What do the Meini Hirion represent ?

A. Headstones over the grave of some distinguished person, other than a Druid or a soldier.

Q. What is the difference in sepulture between these three persons, so as to distinguish the one from the other ?

A. The chief Druids, or high priests, are supposed to have been buried under the cromlechs, as representing the sacred ark. The soldier, or commander-in-chief, when he falls in battle, is buried under a 'carn'; stones are thrown over the grave by passers-by, so that in time a large carn is formed as a monument. The civilian of eminence is buried with a large stone at the head of the grave, now called Maen Hir, some of which bear inscriptions, others do not, according to the period of time when they were erected.

Reviews and Notices of Books.

THE LIFE AND WORK OF BISHOP DAVIES AND WILLIAM SALESBURY, with an Account of some Early Translations into Welsh of the Holy Scriptures and the Prayer Book, together with a Transcript of the Bishop's Version of the Pastoral Epistles of St. Paul, etc. With Illustrations and Facsimiles. By the Ven. D. R. THOMAS, M.A., F.S.A., Archdeacon of Montgomery. Oswestry: The Caxton Press. 1902.

THIS book will be welcomed by all students of Welsh History and Literature. It is the first scientific attempt to give a succinct account of the movement which led up to the printing of the Bible and other books in the Welsh language. It differs from the earlier works of the Rev. W. Hughes and Charles Ashton, in that the author has gathered together a great amount of additional material, and that he has thoroughly sifted his facts. The book shows on every page evidence of careful and painstaking research, and in this respect forms a striking contrast to the usual class of book on Welsh literary subjects.

Archdeacon Thomas deals with the early versions of Holy Scripture, as found in the New Testament and the Book of Common Prayer. He traces the origin of each version, and brings out clearly the efforts that were made by Bishop Davies and William Salesbury to perfect the translation. He also brings together, in the form of memoirs, all that is known of Davies and Salesbury. Apparently, the Archdeacon was led into this study by his discovery, in 1891, of the original manuscript of Bishop Davies's translation of the Pastoral Epistles of St. Paul. The circumstances under which this discovery was made are interesting. It appears that an exhibition of Ecclesiastical Art was held in connection with the Rhyl Church Congress of 1891. In the Catalogue of Loans appeared the item, "Lent by P. B. Davies-Cooke, Esq., of Gwysaney, Mold: 91. MS. in Welsh, Epistles of St. Paul, etc." This was quite sufficient to excite the curiosity of the Archdeacon, and, on an inspection of the document, he discovered that the MS. was in the autograph of Bishop Richard Davies.

The owners of the Gwysaney collection have always allowed students the use of their manuscripts, and for this reason the contents of the library were supposed to be well known. The discovery of such an intensely interesting document came as a surprise, and suggests the existence in other less-known libraries of valuable MSS. relating to Welsh History.

Bound up with the Gwysaney MSS. was a Draft Petition and a Bond on parchment. The Petition, of which only a fragment re-

mains, was addressed to "Your good Lordships"—apparently the Welsh Bishops. It asks them "to wyll and require and commaund the learned men to traducte the boke of the Lordes Testament into the vulgare Welsh tong."

Unfortunately, there is no clue as to the identity of the petitioner or petitioners, though it has been suggested that this might be the Petition which Iolo Morganwg mentions. Iolo states, on the authority of the Rev. Evan Evans (Ieuan Brydydd Hir), that such a petition, addressed by Thomas Llewelyn of Regoos in Glamorganshire to Bishop Davies, was preserved in the Llyfr Gwyn Rhydderch at Gloddaeth.

Archdeacon Thomas is inclined to doubt that this is the petition referred to. We agree that it is unlikely to be Thomas Llewelyn's petition, but we think that Iolo may have misstated the information given him by Evan Evans. The latter was the last man in the world to make the mistake of referring to Llyfr Gwyn Rhydderch, one of the treasures of the Hengwrt Collection, as a Gloddaeth manuscript. He was well acquainted with both libraries, as his letters and transcripts prove. There is at Gloddaeth (now incorporated in the Mostyn Collection) no MS. known as Llyfr Gwyn Rhydderch. But it is quite likely that Evan Evans did inform Iolo that he had seen a petition presented to the Welsh Bishops, asking for a translation of the Bible into Welsh.

A reference to Evans's Letters shows that he was allowed access not only to the Gloddaeth Collection, but also to that at Gwysaney. He appears to have borrowed a large number of MSS. from the latter collection, and it is therefore almost certain that he did see the petition now printed in the book before us. He may have informed Iolo of this, but the addition of Thomas Llewelyn's name is so characteristic of Iolo's well-known mania for attributing every honour to his native county of Glamorgan, that we cannot help suspecting its genuineness. We think that the Archdeacon's suggestion that the petition emanated from William Salesbury is plausible, and a certain amount of confirmation is found in the evidence quoted from his other works.

The bond which accompanies the petition is in the common form of those days. It was usual, on the purchase or mortgage of land, for the vendor to enter into a separate bond to maintain the usual covenants. The bond refers to a "payr of Indentures of bargeyne and sale made betwyne the said William Salesbury on thone parte, and the above named Thomas ap Ryce Wyn on thother parte." We should be inclined to say that, this being a conveyance by "bargain and sale," must refer not to money borrowed from Thomas ap Ryce Wyn, but to land bought by the latter from Salesbury. There is no evidence that any connection exists between this bond and the money required for printing the Welsh Testament; but if there was any connection, then it is reasonable to assume that Salesbury actually sold his land to raise money to pay for printing his book.

Deeds of bargain and sale were supposed to be enrolled either at Westminster or in the Courts of Great Session, and a search at the Record Office might bring this deed to light.

Perhaps the most valuable chapter in the book is that devoted to the life of Bishop Richard Davies. It contains a mass of fresh material, and puts the Bishop in quite a new light—as far, at any rate, as the administration of his diocese is concerned. Bishop Davies was accused of being a “great impoverisher of his See, and that his successor complained that all his Lands, even to his very doors, were on Lease by his Predecessor; and that all his houses, excepting one, were down to the ground, and in great ruin.” To this the author replies, that the houses were in a state of dilapidation before ever he saw his See, and that he had probably no option but to lease his lauds. Judging from the bequests in the Bishop’s will, he certainly did not die a rich man. He left his wife a water-corn mill at Pontargothi, with two parcels of land adjoining, also tenements and lands at Abergwili and Llanpumpsaint. His son Richard got eight score sheep and lambs, eight kyne, and two oxen. His daughter Margaret got the sheep and cattle at Llawhaden, and the sum of £20. His son-in-law, Hugh Butler, was allowed to choose either “the graye geldinge called Llanllochayrne, or the baye holland,” with saddle, bridle, and furniture, and also the “Abridgements of the Statutes of England.” His other sons got his books, but the whole estate appears to have been small. Unless it can be shown that he was prodigal or thriftless, we think the will affords clear proof that he was not successful in enriching himself at the expense of the See.

Though the Bishop was nominally in the possession of the estates of the See, the Archdeacon shows that his actual revenue was very small. It was stated in the year 1888, that of the tithe in the diocese of St. David’s amounting to £35,000 per annum, only some £9,000 found its way into the coffers of the Church.

The fact is, that this diocese, as well as the other Welsh dioceses, suffered severely after the Dissolution of the Monasteries. The Court favourites got the major share of the lands and possessions of the Church; and, not content with the property thus obtained, they continually harassed Bishop Davies and his predecessors. The Bishop, as may be seen from the documents printed in this book, waged incessant warfare with the lay impropiators, and threw down the gauge to such powerful noblemen as the Earls of Pembroke, Leicester, and Arundel.

Corroborative evidence of this will also be found in the preface to Dr. David Powell’s edition of *Gerald’s Itinerary*. It would be tedious to enter into the details of these disputes; but the facts garnered by Archdeacon Thomas from the Record Office and other sources have done much to retrieve the Bishop’s character from the aspersions cast upon it with regard to his conduct and administration of the affairs of the See.

The Archdeacon has not been able to throw much additional light

upon the history of William Salesbury. The dates of his birth and death still remain a matter for conjecture. He was certainly born at Llansannan, if the copy of his work on Botany, now at the Welsh Library of Aberystwyth College, is genuine.

In that work, which is an eighteenth-century copy of a lost original written by Salesbury, the following words occur:—"I saw it (a plant) growing in the meadow below the Hall ap Meredydd ap Gronow, in Llansannan, *the parish in which I was born.*"

Local tradition places his birthplace at Cae-Du; but the Archdeacon inclines to think that a ruined house near Hendre Aled, a quarter of a mile further south, was the actual spot. We do not know whether the remains of a terraced garden at Cae-Du was pointed out to the Archdeacon; but, some years ago, when we visited the place, the form of the old garden could still be distinguished, and we were told that many rare and curious plants grew on the spot. This may be some corroboration of the theory that Cae-Du was the dwelling-place, if not the birthplace, of Salesbury; and, in a matter of this kind, it is perhaps safer to follow local tradition. Judging from the present appearance of the house, too, it must have been a place of some consequence many years ago—the home, at any rate, of a prosperous yeoman.

We cannot agree with Archdeacon Thomas, even though he is backed by the opinion of Dr. Gwenogvryn Evans, that the Book of Proverbs published by Salesbury has any claim to be considered the first book ever printed in Welsh. Dr. Evans has set forth his reasons in the lucid and bright preface to the reprint of the book. The case stands thus: Sir John Price, of Brecon, brought out his *Primer* in 1546, which date appears on its title-page. William Salesbury, about this time, also published a Book of Proverbs, known as *Oll Synnwyr Pen Kembero*; but this book is not dated. It was printed by Nicholas Hill, or Hyll, who is known to have printed other books between the years 1546 and 1553. Apparently, only one book printed by Hill in 1546, has survived; no book printed by him in 1547 is known; but there exists one book printed in 1548. All his other books were printed between 1550 and 1553. Two books printed by Hill bear no date.

From internal evidence it appears that *Oll Synnwyr Pen* could not have been printed before 1546, as the author refers to John Heywood's *Collection of Proverbs* first printed in that year.

In any case, therefore, Salesbury's book cannot claim precedence in point of time over the *Primer*; at best, it may have been printed in the same year.

Dr. Evans, in support of his opinion that it was printed in the same year, relies upon certain peculiarities of orthography found in the *Oll Synnwyr Pen* and in Salesbury's *Dictionary* of 1547, but not in his other works. But these peculiarities of orthography, though they might be of importance in considering the case of other writers, are beside the point when we deal with William Salesbury, because,

as his subsequent books show, he was continually changing his orthography.

Dr. Evans's argument may also be used to prove the exact opposite of that which he wishes to demonstrate, for Salesbury, in the *Synnwyr Pen*, uses forms not to be found at all in his *Dictionary* of 1547, but which are the prevalent forms in the books published by him in 1550 and 1551.

In the Preface to *Oll Synnwyr Pen* Salesbury says:—"If some of my country had been so good as to leave me my own, I should, it may be, have done as much benefit and general good, in such matters as lay within my power, as any other Welshman. But now that they have so utterly plundered and despoiled me; well, instead of doing, I can only wish, my country a good turn, and pray God to put a better spirit in the hearts of my opponents."

Archdeacon Thomas thinks that the occasion of the wrong referred to here was the abolition of the Welsh custom of gavelkind in 1543, by means of which Salesbury lost his claim to certain lands.

Dr. Evans disagrees with this view, and attributes the trouble to differences of opinion between Salesbury and his father caused by the former's adherence to the Protestant faith. We do not know what evidence there is for the statement that Salesbury's father quarrelled with his son. On the other hand, there is some evidence that Salesbury fell out with his nieces, the daughters of his brother Robert, over the partition of some lands. This is referred to by the old genealogist, John Griffiths, of Cae Cyriog, and a petition sent by William Salesbury to the Court of Star Chamber affords some confirmatory evidence of the fact.

In this petition Salesbury states that, as he was going to London "from hys sayd cuntree about hys necessare affayers," having in his possession a certain box of evidence concerning diverse lands of inheritance, "on 21 Jan. last past [no year is given], about 7 o'clock in the morning, and in the highway betwixt Wrexham and Holt, certain persons: that is to say, Ellys Price, Doctor of Lawes; John Lloyd, Esquier; Richard ap John, and Kydwaladr ap John Wyn, with one other whose name as yet is unknown, made an assault and affraye upon the said William Salesbury, and violently plucked him beside his horse, putting him in fear and danger of his life. Then and there they feloniously took from him the said box of evidence, and one wallet of canvas wherein was certain things and stuff to the value of 20 shillings and above, and they still keep the same. And for further accomplishment of the same their evil and mischievous purpose, they procured ye same Richard ap John to pursue and dog ye said William Salesbury by the space of thirty miles, till he came to the place aforesaid, where they accomplished their said purpose. And, as your poor orator is but 'a very pore gentylman havyng ffewe ffrynds in the cuntree,' he asks his Majesty that letters of privy seal be directed to Ellis Price and John

Lloyd, directing them to appear in the Star Chamber at Westminster."¹

From this petition it appears that Salesbury's quarrel lay with Dr. Ellis Price and John Lloyd, Esquire, the former of whom was the uncle and the latter the husband of one of Salesbury's nieces.

Archdeacon Thomas says that Salesbury "has been accused of usurping possession of Plas Isa, and depriving his brother's daughters of their inheritance, and of even trying to do more, but that he was prevented by Dr. Ellis Prys." We see, therefore, that there is some ground for the statement that Salesbury's troubles arose out of litigation as to the rights of his nieces in certain lands.

The suggestion that the change in the law of gavelkind had something to do with this litigation is very plausible; but Archdeacon Thomas, following other writers, is mistaken as to the nature of this change.

On the death of the father, according to the Welsh laws, his land was partible among his sons; but, in the event of his having no sons, the daughters did not inherit. The *Statutum Walliæ* of 1284, though it preserved the old Welsh laws, nevertheless made many changes in them, so as to bring them more into consonance with English law. One of these changes was to make land partible among daughters, if there were no sons. This had always been the rule with regard to gavelkind in England. By the Statute 34 and 35 Henry VIII, c. 26, all gavelkind lands in Wales were made descendible to the heir, according to the common law of England.

Applying these principles to the case of Salesbury, we find that his brother Robert, having died in 1540, before the new Act was passed, his lands would be divided among his daughters.

But when Foulk Salesbury, William's father, died in 1546 or thereabouts, William, by reason of the Act passed in 1543, and not Robert Salesbury's daughters, would inherit the land. This may have been the cause of the dispute, or, it may be that William claimed the lands left by his brother Robert; but we fail to see what legal claim he had in 1540 to his brother's lands, seeing that Foulk Salesbury, his father, was alive.

We disagree with the Archdeacon's remarks about the authorship of the *Welsh Primer* of 1546. He thinks that the cost of publication was borne by Sir John Price, and that he employed "his friend and fellow-student," Salesbury, to do the editorial work. Apart from the fact that there is no evidence that Sir John and Salesbury knew one another, and that it is most unlikely that they were fellow-students, we do not think he has sufficient grounds on which to base his opinion. It is said that the preface to the *Primer* is similar in its phraseology, its purport, and its tone to other Prefaces and Dedications by Salesbury. On the question of phraseology, we join issue, and the purport and tone of prefaces written to

¹ *Star Chamber Proceedings*, Bundle 29, No. 178.

religious works of this character are always apt to run in the same groove.

Besides, it is inconceivable that the man who wrote the *Primer* of 1546 also wrote the *Dictionary* of 1547, because not only the orthography but the linguistic system of the two are diametrically opposed. In both of the books, for instance, the Welsh alphabet is printed. In the *Primer* it is given as follows:—

a, b, c, d, d, e, ff, f, g, h, i, k, l, lh, m, n, o, p, r, rh, s, t, u, v, y, w.

In the *Dictionary* it appears as:—

a, b, c, ch, d, dd, e, f, ff, g, gh, h, i, k, l, ll, m, n, o, p, r, s, ss, st, th, v, u, w, y.

But, apart from this, it is, we think, clear that the author of the *Primer* was a native of South Wales; for not only does he use words which do not occur in the North Wales dialects, but he spells other words as they were, and are, pronounced in South Wales. We do not get the North Wales plurals; the author writes *pynckeu*, not *pynckieu*. It would be easy to point out many of the distinctions of the South Wales dialects in the book.

Salesbury himself, in his preface to the *Lectionary* of 1551, says:—"One more caution I add: that I be not made subject to the judgment of the men of Dyfed alone; for, as a native of Gwynedd, *unskilled in the dialect of Dyfed*, I may perchance have employed, not only some terms, but even sentences (for we differ in both respects), which may sound in their ears somewhat ridiculous, inapt, or irreverent;" so it is quite clear that he did not write the preface or any part of the *Primer*.

Moreover, we have the direct testimony of Bishop Davies that Sir John Price was the author of the book, and we think his testimony should alone be sufficient to decide the question.

There are other interesting questions raised by the account of William Salesbury; whether, for instance, there is any substance in the story that the Salesburys were descended from one Adam de Saltzburg. We were under the impression that the Rev. John Williams (Glanmor), in his *Records of Denbigh*, had successively demonstrated the origin and source of this myth. Salesbury's sojourn at Oxford has never, we believe, been proved, though it has been generally accepted as a fact.

Many intricate questions arise out of the different renderings of parts of the Bible, of which the Archdeacon gives us specimens. Apparently, Salesbury made use of the older versions when they were accessible to him, but his translation is always more faithful to the original, and he did not hesitate to sacrifice style in order to convey the exact meaning.

Archdeacon Thomas thinks that the version of the Pastoral Epistles in the *Gwysaney MS.* is a late revision of the printed text of 1567. Apart from a comparison of the two versions, there is no means at present of testing the truth of this statement. Besides,

the fact that one version is more finished than the other does not really prove anything, because it is clear that Salesbury himself translated the printed version of 1567, while it is equally clear that the *Gwysaney MSS.* text was the work of Bishop Davies.

It is idle, therefore, to form conjectures on this point, and Archdeacon Thomas has wisely refrained from discussing the question at length. Nevertheless, we are not sure but that the unearthing of this particular MSS. may not help us to solve another very perplexing question.

We refer to the translation of the Bible and the Apocrypha into Welsh by Bishop Morgan. It has always been a mystery how the learned Bishop succeeded in completing his difficult task within so short a space of time. He was only forty-seven years old when it was published. Is it probable that one man unaided succeeded in carrying through this immense task within a space of not more than twenty years?

Sir John Wynne tells us that Bishop Davies and Salesbury were busily engaged for two years in translating books into the Welsh language; and the Bishop himself, in the Epistles to the Welsh People which precedes the New Testament of 1567, states that they were working upon the translation of the Old Testament.

The existence of the *Gwysaney MSS.*, though it points more directly to a recension of the 1567 version of the New Testament, may in the face of the above facts, have been part of an attempt by Bishop Davies to translate the whole Bible. It is not merely that Bishop Morgan succeeded in carrying through his great undertaking within so short a space of time, but we must also consider the excellence of the translation and the purity of the language.

In spite of the introduction by Morgan of many idioms foreign to Welsh, his translation of the Bible is admitted on all sides to be a masterly example of pure and idiomatic Welsh.

This leads us to ask whether Morgan had the aid of Bishop Davies's MSS. translation of the Old Testament. At present there is no evidence that he ever saw Davies's MSS. translation, but it is within the range of probability that this MSS. may some day be discovered, and we shall then be able to apportionate the credit to the two men, or to continue to marvel at the industry and ability of Bishop Morgan.

Archdeacon Thomas has done a distinct service to Welsh literature by bringing together in his book all that is at present known of the first translators. The book is well printed, and its get-up reflects great credit on the printers: The Caxton Press Co., of Oswestry.

J. H. DAVIES.

ABERYSTWYTH, ITS COURT LEET, ETC., 1690-1900. By GEORGE EYRE EVANS, *Welsh Gazette Office, Aberystwyth.*

THIS handsome and beautifully-printed work reflects great credit upon the author and upon the publisher. Mr. Evans has edited the various documents embodied in the work with most commendable care and accuracy. From the lists which he gives, together with his annotations, it is possible to construct a very satisfactory history of the town of Aberystwyth during the last two centuries. Moreover, we obtain, especially with the aid of a description of Aberystwyth Castle by Mr. Harold Hughes, a valuable insight into the mediæval condition of the town and neighbourhood. One of the most valuable lists in the book is that giving an account of the books printed from time to time at Aberystwyth. There is also a list of the chief events connected with Aberystwyth in the nineteenth century; but this list is not so uniformly complete as it might have been. The work contains much interesting information, as, for instance, that Lewis Morris (Llewelyn Ddu o Foa), of Penbryn was presented as a burgess in 1760. We learn also that in 1799 eleven jurymen were unable to write their names. The valuable revenue which Aberystwyth derives from its leases is traced to the foresight of a Mr. Job Sheldon, a Scotchman, who became Mayor of the Borough. Those interested in apparent references to Irishmen in Welsh place-names will welcome the name *Wig y Gwyddyl*, given in a map by Lewis Morris to a part of Aberystwyth Beach, opposite the Queen's Hotel. There is also an interesting account of the "Corpse Bell" rung by the bellman through the streets of the town before funerals, a custom still existing in Machynlleth, and also, until lately, found at Carnarvon. Mr. Evans duly chronicles the visits of distinguished men, such as Edward Irving, Keble and Tennyson, to Aberystwyth. Among the most interesting sections of the work are the accounts of punishments now obsolete, and the history of religious movements in the borough. The work appears to be singularly free from inaccuracies, but a few minor blemishes occur here and there. For example, in a note on p. 62, *Lithfaen* should be *Llithfaen*, while '*Meylltyrn-yn-Lleyn*' has apparently been taken to be the full name of a farm: the name of the farm is simply *Meylltyrn*, or *Meillteyrn*, and the words should read "*Meylltyrn in Lleyn.*" *Capel y Groes* should be given as "*The Chapel of the Cross*" not "*The Chapel of Cross.*" On p. 75, "*homiletic*" is wrongly written as "*homeletic*," and on p. 102 "*flagelators*" is given for "*flagellators.*" "*Mawddwy*" is also given as "*Mawddy.*" "*Clorianneu Eur*" should be rendered "*Golden Scales.*" In the list of subscribers the name "*J. Mortimore Angus*" should read "*J. Mortimer Angus.*" It is to be hoped that Mr. G. Eyre Evans will continue his investigations into the history of Aberystwyth and the neighbouring districts, and that others will follow his example in publishing records of other towns and districts which are still unedited.

E. ANWYL.

Archaeological Notes and Queries.

THE INSCRIBED PILLAR OF SAMSON AT LLANTWIT MAJOR, GLAMORGANSHIRE.—The dividing of the words of the inscription on this stone, given by Mr. Westwood and Messrs. Haddan and Stubbs, leaves two words in it quite meaningless, and also destroys the construction of the words immediately preceding them.

Mr. Westwood reads it thus:—

“In nomine Dī summi incipit crux Salvatoris quæ preparavit Samsoni apati pro anima sua et pro anima Iuthabelo rex et pro Artmali tecan (?).”

Messrs. Haddan and Stubbs have read it in the same way, except that they have correctly left out the word *pro* before *Artmali*, following the inscription, and have made the last word *tecan*. By reading the whole sentence, which on the stone runs on throughout without any spaces between the words, in the way suggested below, a better sense is made out of it, and the meaning of two words in it is shown, which, according to the other dividing, have no sense at all. I therefore believe it should thus be read:—

“In nomine Dī summi incipit crux Salvatoris quæ preparavit Samson *i apati* pro anima sua et pro anima Iuthabelo rex et Artmal *i tecaon*.”

The words put in italics, in this suggested reading of the inscription are, I believe, exactly the Early Welsh words, *i apati*, for the Modern Welsh *Yr abad* (the abbot), and *i tecaon*, *Y deacon* (the deacon), which we would expect to see used in Samson's time, in the ninth century. It may be objected to the last words *i tecaon* (the deacon), that the *i* should belong to Artmal to mark its oblique case. I cannot see that any of the proper names in the inscription has the terminal sign of oblique case, and the nominative form of the word *rex* joined to *Iuthabelo*, goes far to prove the entire disregard of this in the inscription. With this suggested dividing of the inscription, I would read it thus in English:—

“In the name of the Most High God, the Cross of the Saviour was begun, which Samson the abbot, *for* his soul prepared, and for the soul of Iuthabelo the king, and Artmal the deacon.”

The word *for*, put into italics in my translation of it, is put on the stone twice, evidently through the negligence of the carver, by *i* in Welsh, and *pro* in Latin.

JOHN DAVIES.

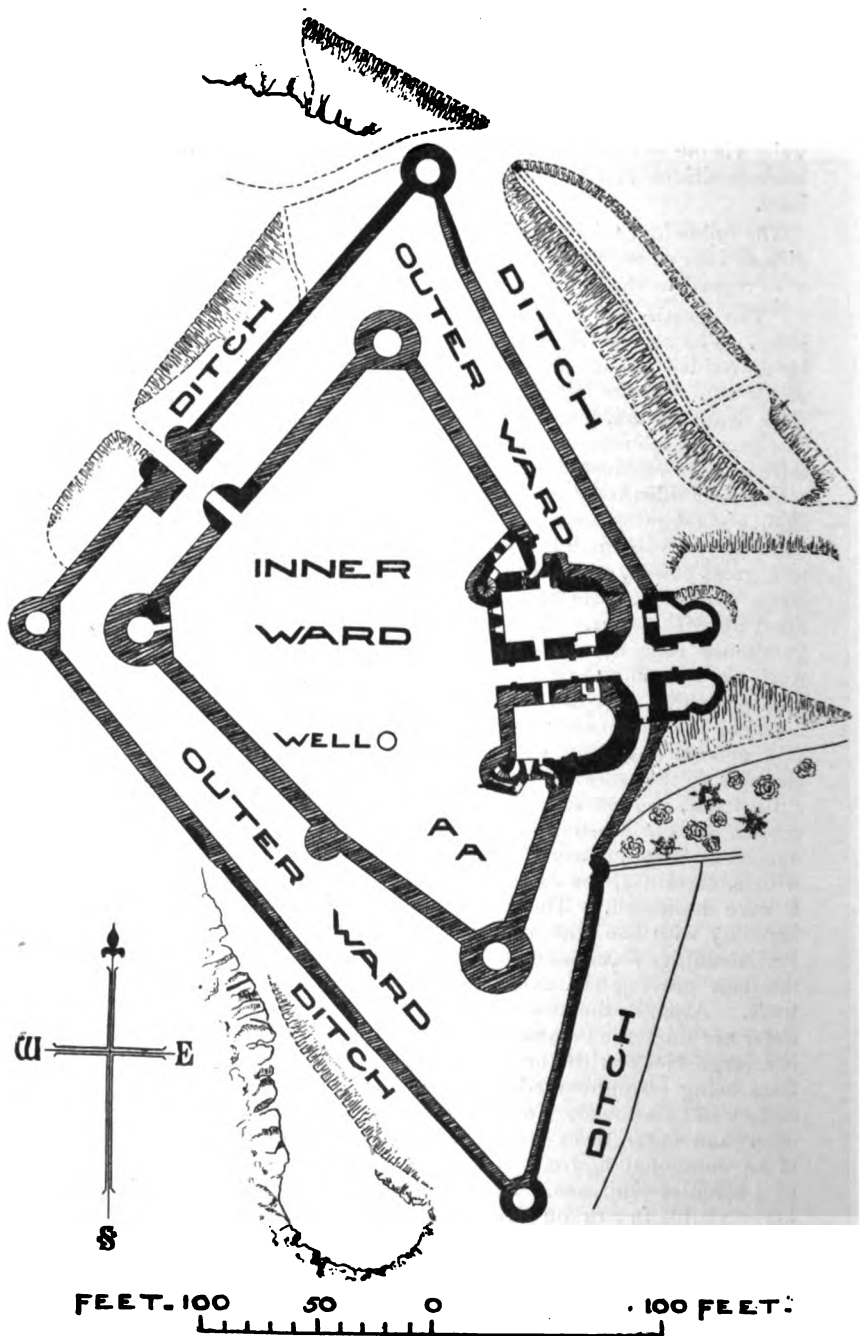
EXCAVATIONS PROPOSED TO BE CARRIED OUT AT ABERYSTWYTH CASTLE.—In July last, on the advice of Dr. Henry Owen, I had the honour of being invited to inspect the Castle at Aberystwyth, with the view of reporting to the Mayor and Corporation as to the advisability

of carrying out excavations, the general lines to be followed, and the added interest in the buildings to be expected therefrom.

With my report I submitted a plan (here reproduced). The walls visible above the ground are indicated in block. The probable positions of the remaining portions are drawn with hatched lines.

The following, taken from my report, dated July 22nd, 1902, will give an idea of the work at present visible, and my recommendations with regard to the question of carrying out excavations.

“The Castle consisted of an inner ward contained within an outer. The containing walls of each ward formed a slightly irregular four-sided lozenge-shaped figure, the longest diameter lying north and south. At the north, west, and south angles of the inner ward were drum towers, probably three-quarters exposed on the outside. The great gatehouse occupied the eastern angle. The gatehouse and towers were connected by curtain walls. On the north-west and south-west sides were intermediate towers, the former containing a small second gatehouse. Of the large gatehouse, much is visible. The buildings on the north side of the entrance-way have been excavated to a great extent, probably in 1845. On the southern side, however, large portions of the walls are covered over, and the interior is filled up with *débris*. The northern and southern buildings of the gatehouse each contains the remains of a turret staircase. The work *in situ* shows that the gateway was defended on the outside by a portcullis and doors, and on the inside by doors. The gatehouse in the north-west wall still exists with indications of a three-fold defence — a loop extending vertically, the full width of the passage, to the working chamber of the portcullis above, the portcullis itself, and the inner doors. Of the other towers, only a small portion of the western is visible *in situ*. There are, however, numerous large masses of masonry scattered around, which prove, with a certainty, the existence formerly of towers in the positions I have indicated. The appearance of these masses is quite in harmony with the statement that the Castle was blown up by the Parliamentary forces about the year 1646. I will briefly enumerate the data proving the existence of the various towers and curtain walls. Around the position I have indicated for the northern tower are numerous masses of masonry. To the north of the tower is a large block with the outer face worked to a curve, the inner faces being straight-sided. This evidently formed a portion of an outer wall of a tower. To the north-west is another large mass with inner and outer faces straight, the angles apparently being those of an octagonal figure. Within the mass is contained a portion of a circular staircase. Besides the small portion of the western tower visible *in situ*, on the east is a mass containing a fragment of a circular staircase. A mass in the centre of the tower combines the fragment of the well of a staircase with the internal and external faces of a tower; while a mass to the west evidently forms a portion of the same structure, though its exact position is not



Plan of Aberystwyth Castle.

quite clear. Of the intermediate tower in the south-west curtain, two masses indicate: one, the curved external face of a tower with internal straight sides; the other, the fragment of the well of a circular staircase. Around the position I have indicated for the southern tower are numerous large fragments of masonry, though, for the most part, they do not contain sufficient data to indicate the shape or size of the tower. A mass, however, combines a portion of a staircase well with the internal straight sides of a tower.

"The position of the curtain walls are fairly well defined by the mounds and fragments which follow their course. The plan I have shown can only be taken as approximately correct. The exact positions of the towers and walls must remain hidden, till revealed by the pick and shovel. Of the exact position of the junction of the curtain walls with the gatehouse towers I am uncertain.

"Of the outer ward, drum towers, three-quarters of their circumference exposed on the outside, exist, to a great extent, at the northern and southern angles. The outer gatehouse occupies the eastern angle. Of the western angle nothing is visible. Probably, any tower which occupied this position has disappeared with the cliff on which it stood. Opposite the gateway, in the inner north-west wall, are the remains of an outer gateway between the two bastions. In the south-east wall are the remains of a small bastion. The towers were connected by curtain walls. A large extent of the outer face of the north-west curtain, between the gateway and the northern tower, is visible. The starting of the wall to the south-east of the gateway is to be seen. Of the south-west wall the work of excavating, carried on lately by your Surveyor, has opened up the outer face for the extent of about 53 ft., measuring from the southern tower. Further portions are again visible about the centre of the wall. Of the north-western portion, I fear all remains will have disappeared, together with the cliff which supported it. The outer face of the south-eastern wall, between the south tower and the bastion, is in a very perfect condition, though the upper part has been destroyed. There are indications of the wall starting again on the north side of the bastion, though the exact line it took is entirely conjectural. The starting of the north-eastern wall from the northern tower is visible for the length of about 35 ft. The position in which it terminated at the other end remains to be discovered.

"Of outer defences we have the remains of a ditch (probably dry) on all sides, with the exception of a portion of the south-west. The steepness of the cliff probably rendered it unnecessary in this position. It would appear that the ditch continued till it opened out on the ground sloping towards the sea beyond the northern tower, and on the cliff on the south-west side.

"The general scheme of the defences, I believe, is incomprehensible to most of those who visit the ruins. It would, undoubtedly, be of great historical interest to trace accurately the positions of the various towers and walls. There should be little

difficulty in tracing those of the inner ward. The approximate positions of the ancient towers is an ascertained fact. The inner and outer faces of the remaining walls should be laid bare. I would further recommend that the southern gateway building be excavated in a manner similar to the northern. By lowering the ground slightly, it might be possible to bring to light the foundations of the eastern wall of the northern gateway building. It would be of great interest to discover the manner in which the curtain walls were connected with the gateway building. There appears to be some foundations of buildings, at A A on Plan, at the south end of the inner ward. It would be well to cut a trench in this position. With reference to the outer ward, the work your Surveyor has commenced in reopening the ditch on the south-west side might be continued with advantage. It would be well to ascertain if the south-west wall takes a turn inwards beyond the last point where it is visible; but, as I mentioned above, I fear the remainder of this wall has entirely disappeared. The bastions and portion of the north-west wall, not at present visible, can easily be brought to light. I further recommend that the ditch be opened in front of the bastion gateway, and a simple light wooden bridge be constructed across it. The manner in which the eastern walls terminated each side the great gateway is a point of much interest. South of the gateway the ground has been so much disturbed for pathways, etc., that it may not be easy to trace the foundations of the wall. To the north, however, the entire length of the wall could be traced. Possibly there may have been a small bastion projecting from this wall. Of the outer gateway, it would be well to clear out the southern building in a manner similar to the northern. By lowering the ground slightly at the entrance, it might be possible to come across signs of a drawbridge.

“With reference to the mounds without the walls, I feel strongly against the removal of either that to the north-east, or that in front of the entrance. These mounds probably were connected originally, and formed the outer work of the ditch.

“Of other works, it would be of interest to open up the well. A parapet wall, about 3 ft. in height, might be built around the top, and the well protected by a simple wrought-iron grid. The interior of the northern tower of the outer ward might be cleaned out. The rubbish should be removed from the so-called ‘dungeon’ of the outer gateway. Certain heaps of rubbish should be cleared away from the grounds, and the buildings should be treated with that reverence their historic and artistic associations demand.

“I trust you will allow me to emphasise one point, namely, that all works of excavation should be carried on with greatest care not to damage old work, and that rubbish excavated should be carefully examined; and, if any articles, even fragments, be found, they be carefully kept, and their exact position be noted—such fragments may include portions of old broken bottles, clay smoking-pipes, coins, etc., not to mention objects of greater interest.”

Should excavations be carried out, I hope, at a later date, to have an opportunity of describing the result in the pages of *Archæologia Cambrensis*.

It may be of interest to note the various vicissitudes through which the structure of the Castle has passed. I have to thank Mr. George Eyre Evans for the following data.¹

Of the early Castle of Aberystwyth and its successors, which stood on the hill above Tan-y-Castell Farm, the other side of the river Ystwyth, we have no concern. In 1277, at "the feast of St. James the Apostle, Edmund, the King's (Edward I) brother, came with an army to Llanbadarn, and began to build a castle at Aberystwyth.² It is with the remains of the Edwardian castle we are at present interested. In 1282, at "the feast of St. Mary of the Equinox, Gruffudd, Son of Maredudd, Son of Owain, Son of Gruffud, Son of Lord Rhys, and Rhys, Son of Maelgwn, Son of the Lord Rhys, possessed themselves of the Town and Castle of Aberystwyth; and they burned the Town and Castle, and destroyed the Rampart that was round the Castle and the Town, sparing the lives of the Garrison because the days of the Passion were near."³

* Within a year or two, Mr. Evans informs us, the Castle was repaired by King Edward.

In 1404, the Castle was taken by Owen Glyndwr, and retained till 1407, when it was retaken by Prince Henry (afterwards Henry V). The same year, however, it was again taken by Owen Glyndwr, but retaken again by Prince Henry in 1408.

In 1637, Charles I ordered a mint to be erected within the Castle. The mint was removed to Oxford in 1642.

In 1644, "some thirty men of the King's Garrison in the Castle, thinking to surprise fifty of the Parliamentary Forces then at Llanbadarn, were repulsed, and thirteen of them drowned in the Pond or Leet near the Town, which supplied water to our Lady's Mill; Lieutenant Powell was one."

About the beginning of November, in the following year, 1645, Parliamentarians, consisting of Cardiganshire men, laid siege to the Castle. On April 14th, 1646, Colonel Whiteley delivered the Castle to the besiegers. Probably it was in this year that the Castle was mined and blown up by the Parliamentary forces.

From the Court Leet presentments we gather, that in 1739 stones were being pulled down and carried away from the towers and Castle walls; and, in 1742 and 1743, the large tower was being undermined.

In 1835, the ruins were generally repaired and propped up.

In 1845, certain excavations were made; the eastern gateway and entrance cleared; a so-called dungeon discovered in a tower on the north side of the gateway; the well was opened. We are informed that it was filled to the top with stones and other portions of ruins,

¹ George Eyre Evans, *Aberystwyth: Its Court Leet*, A.D. 1690-1900, pp. 91-96.

² *Brut y Tywysogion*, Rolls Edition. p. 368.

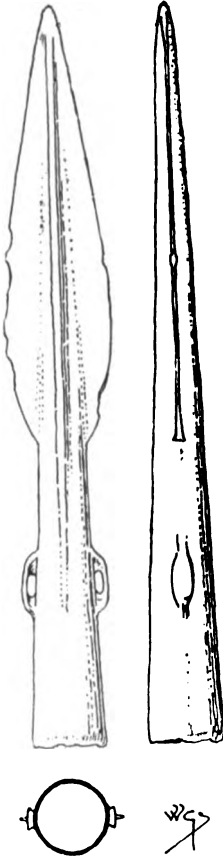
³ *Ibid.*, p. 372.

including fragments of hewn freestone, and that it was cleared out to the bottom, a depth of 60 ft.

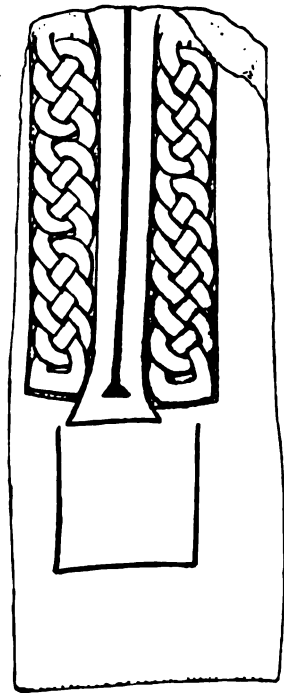
In 1901, the extension of the marine promenade round the Castle point was commenced.

HAROLD HUGHES.

SMALL BRONZE SPEAR-HEAD FOUND AT TREGARON, CARDIGANSHIRE.—
This object is now in the possession of the Rev. D. L. DAVIES, Vicar



Small Bronze Spear-Head
found at Tregaron,
Cardiganshire.
Scale, $\frac{1}{4}$ linear.



Lower Portion of Pre-Norman
Cross-Slab at St. Ismael's,
Pembrokeshire.
Scale, $\frac{1}{4}$ linear.

of Talgarth, Brecknockshire, and was exhibited by him on the occasion of the visit of the Association to Talgarth, during the Brecon Meeting in 1902.

PRE-NORMAN CROSS-SLAB AT ST. ISMAEL'S, PEMBROKESHIRE.—The illustration here given of the lower portion of a pre-Norman cross-slab at St. Ismael's, Pembrokeshire, is taken from a rubbing supplied by Mr. Henry Edwards, of Priory Street, Milford Haven. It was found about the year 1884, half buried in rubbish and grass, when the church was being restored, and is now on the north side of the tower. The slab is 3 ft. 8 ins. long, by 1 ft. 6 ins. wide. In the centre of the slab is the shaft of a cross with a four-cord plait, having horizontal breaks at regular intervals on each side of it. We are indebted to Mr. Edward Laws, F.S.A., for communicating the above account.

THE "GOLDEN GROVE BOOK" OF PEDIGREES.

To the Editor of the "Archæologia Cambrensis."

SIR,—With reference to Mr. Edward Owen's paper in your April number, it may be worth while to note that Theophilus Jones, in a letter dated April 8th, 1810, writes ". . . I wish to continue the pedigrees in the books given me by my late respected friend Mr. Vaughan, of Golden Grove, down to the present day . . . The books I have just alluded to I have undertaken by Mr. V.'s direction, to place at my death, either in the Bodleian, the Heralds' College, or some other public literary depôt. . . ."

The first Lord Cawdor acquired Golden Grove from the Mr. Vaughan above mentioned.

Your obedient servant, E. A.

WELSH INSCRIPTION IN THE CHURCHYARD OF LLANGATOC FEIBION
AFEL, MONMOUTHSHIRE.

To the Editor of the "Archæologia Cambrensis."

SIR,—Last Good Friday I paid a visit to the above church, which is five miles west from the town of Monmouth. In the churchyard, immediately east of the south porch, I found a Welsh inscription on a freestone slab lying flat on the ground. I took a copy of the lettering, and checked it on a subsequent visit ten days later. In the reign of Elizabeth, Welsh was the vernacular, even in the streets of Monmouth; but it died out very considerably in the immediate neighbourhood of the county town before the Civil War, and has now retreated west of the river Usk. Hence it is interesting to find a Welsh tombstone inscription so far east, at such a late date. The question is as to the true reading of the words. So far as I have been able to decipher them, they run as follows:—

"HEARE VNDER LYETH / THE BODIE OF IAMES / WATER DECEASED /
THE 18 DAY OF APRIL / ANNO DOMINI 1690 / GWEDDIVN BAWB
AR / Y IESV HWN DDYC / ON YN HAWDDNHE / PY ADANGOS YNNI /
GWIR O LEVNIPNYD / DDE Y GWIWION YN / GWELY W H "

which in modern spelling would perhaps be "*Hereunder lieth the body of James Walters, deceased the 18th day of April Anno Domini 1690. Gweddiwn barwb ar yr Iesu hwn ddigon yu hawdl adnabu a dangos i ni gwir oleuni pryd y ddaw y gwiwion i'w gwely. W. H.*" The Welsh of this would mean: "Let us all pray to this Jesus (that He will) sufficiently plainly manifest and show to us true light when the worthy ones come to their bed." The reading presents, however, certain difficulties, and my interpretation is merely tentative. I hope some Welsh scholar will throw a better light on the subject. So far as I can ascertain, the existence of this interesting inscription is at present unknown to anyone but myself. This is hardly surprising, since the lettering is very much worn by the boots of the village boys, who make a Sunday playground of this part of the churchyard. I should add that the stone has a debased wheel-cross carved at top, and several crosses in the top margin. Until some clear and satisfactory interpretation of this inscription is forthcoming, it will almost rank with the Welsh cryptograms at Usk and Peterston-super-Ely. Can there have been a desire to puzzle posterity, or why all this mystery in the wording of epitaphs?

Yours faithfully,

JOHN HOBSON MATTHEWS.

Stanley Lodge, Monmouth, May 7th, 1903.

"THE LLEDWIGAN THRESHER."

To the Editor of the "Archæologia Cambrensis."

SIR,—Would you kindly insert, in one of your issues, the following correction of an error which has appeared for many years, from time to time, in different periodicals and books, such as *Cambro-Briton*, vol. i, p. 264; Catherall's *History of North Wales*, p. 53; *Hanes y Cymry*, by Rev. O. Jones, vol. i, p. 305; and several others, under the heading "The Lledwigan Thresher" (*Hen Ddyrnwr Lledwigan*).

Lledwigan is a farm in the parish of Llangristiolus, near Llangefni, Anglesey, and Morys Lloyd is said to be the well-to-do occupier of the farm at the time of the rebellion, in the reign of Charles the First. A party of the Parliamentary soldiers, about thirty in number, according to tradition, visited Morys Lloyd's farm, and found him in the barn threshing. They demanded a large sum of money of the farmer, or his life in case of refusal. He instantly replied that he would only yield the one with the other, and partially closed the barn door, so that his assailants could only enter one by one. He then attacked them as they appeared with his flail, and managed to kill eight or ten of them, and would probably have killed more, had not the thongs which connected the two parts of the flail accidentally got broken. The party soon overpowered the defenceless man, and they showed him no mercy.

Probably the tradition is well founded, as far as the incident is in question, but the topography is certainly at fault. All local evidence

tends to show that this happened, not at Lledwigan, but at a farm three miles from Lledwigan, called Plas Bach, in the parish of Cerrigceinwen. Morys Lloyd was buried by the church of Cerrigceinwen, and his tombstone was removed from the churchyard, and used for many years as a flagstone in the floor of the church. Fortunately, it had been placed face downwards, and the inscription was preserved from injury.

In making certain alterations in the church, the stone was discovered, and the matter was reported to Mr. John Williams, of Lledwigan, who was then churchwarden, who took care of the precious relic, and placed it beyond the reach of further desecration. Whether Mr. Williams's share in restoring the stone is accountable for the error of locating the incident at Lledwigan I cannot say.

I have in my possession an old MS. in which the incident is related as having happened at Plas Bach, and a well-established tradition points to a mound near this farmhouse as the place where the soldiers were buried.

The other day, while searching old wills in the Bangor Probate Court, I came across the will of Morys Lloyd, where it is distinctly stated that he lived in the parish of Cerrigceinwen, and not in that of Llangristiolus.

I beg to enclose a photograph of the inscription on the tombstone, which is now secured in the wall of the church. In all the transcriptions I have seen the "X" after the word "Dros" is omitted. Its use in the sentence is not very evident, but as X is equivalent to *Ch*, I am inclined to the opinion that it stands for *Charles*, and, if I am right, the sentence will read as I represent it in the translation below.

DYŶ A YR LLE Y DAYARWYD MO
 LLOYD Y 3 O HYDREF 16 A7 HWN
 AYMDRECHODDYMDRECH DEG DROX I
 FRENIN AI WLAD WRTH IYSTLYS I
 CLADDWYD I ASSEN EF IANE
 REESOWEN YN CYWELY Y 4 O DACHWEDD
 1 6 5 3

The inscription is interesting from the fact that it is in Welsh; those of such an early date are almost invariably Latin or English
 (Literal Translation.)

This is the spot in which Mo(rys) Lloyd was interred on the third day of October, 1647, after having fought a good fight for Charles his King and his country. By his side was buried his rib, Jane Rees Owen, as bedfellow, for him the fourth November, 1653.

Bryn Dinas, Bangor.

J. E. GRIFFITH, F.L.S.

A NOTE UPON MURIAU'R DRE (TRE'R GWYDDELOD), CARNARVONSHIRE.—Muriau'r Dre is a collection of hut-circles and walls, upon a marshy piece of land belonging to Gwastad Annas farm, upon a Nant Gwynen. It is exactly one mile below the Pen y Gwrhyd Hotel.

Six hut-circles of small stones yet stand 1 ft. or 18 ins. above the ground: these are lettered A, B, C, E, F and G in the accompanying plan. Two other circles, D and H, are complete in outline only. Foundations of walls, always curved in plan, sometimes almost "scalloped," cross and recross the site in the most bewildering way. One can only suppose that the town was inhabited for a considerable time, and that the six larger circles are the newest, and are mainly built out of the superstructure of older dwellings—dwellings whose foundations were left because the builders were too lazy to remove them. But even this theory does not fully explain what is found at I and M, unless one also assumes that the huts in the earliest village were joined, each to the next, by a piece of wall, so that huts and joining walls together form an enclosure. So purposeless did these foundations appear, until they were planned, that really the suggestion of the *Gossiping Guide* that they were "dry paths for use in wet weather," seemed not improbable. At K on the plan is an indication of a dam to form a lodge for water. N is the only rectangular structure on the site: from the fact that a streamlet flows through it one may conjecture it to be a house, but its connection with the long foundations is puzzling. Upon the opposite site of Nant Cynnyd is an acre or two of those tiny angular fields which mark ancient culture. Along the very brook lies an ancient trackway. There is a ruined cromlech about 300 ft. to the south; and some standing stones, which may be artificial, are found between the cromlech and the river.

The town has never been properly explored; but, apparently many years ago, a hole 3 ft. deep was made in the centre of circle G, holes 1 ft. deep in A, E and F, and circle C has been pecked at. All else is untouched.

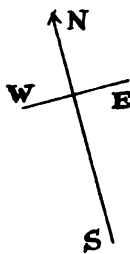
The bibliography of the site is scanty in the extreme. The 25-in. Ordnance Map marks the huts "old sheep-folds." Prof. Rhys quotes in "Celtic Folklore," p. 532, from the *Archæologia Cambrensis* for 1862, a remark based upon a note from Charles Reed, Esq., communicated in 1860 to the *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries*, Ser. II, vol. i, p. 161, which states that "within half a mile of Llyn Llydaw there are the remains of a British town not marked on the Ordnance Map, comprising the foundations of numerous circular dwellings. In some of them quantities of the refuse of copper smeltings were found." There is no British town within half a mile of Llyn Llydaw, but Muriau'r Dre is only just over one mile away. Though a brief inspection last summer revealed only charcoal and no copper slag, yet the existence of excavations, which that casual explorer of forty years ago did not trouble to fill up, is conclusive as to the identity of the site.

There is some rustic folklore relating to the site in Jenkin's *Bedd*

MURIAU'R DRE IN NANT GWYNEN.



400 CONTOUR

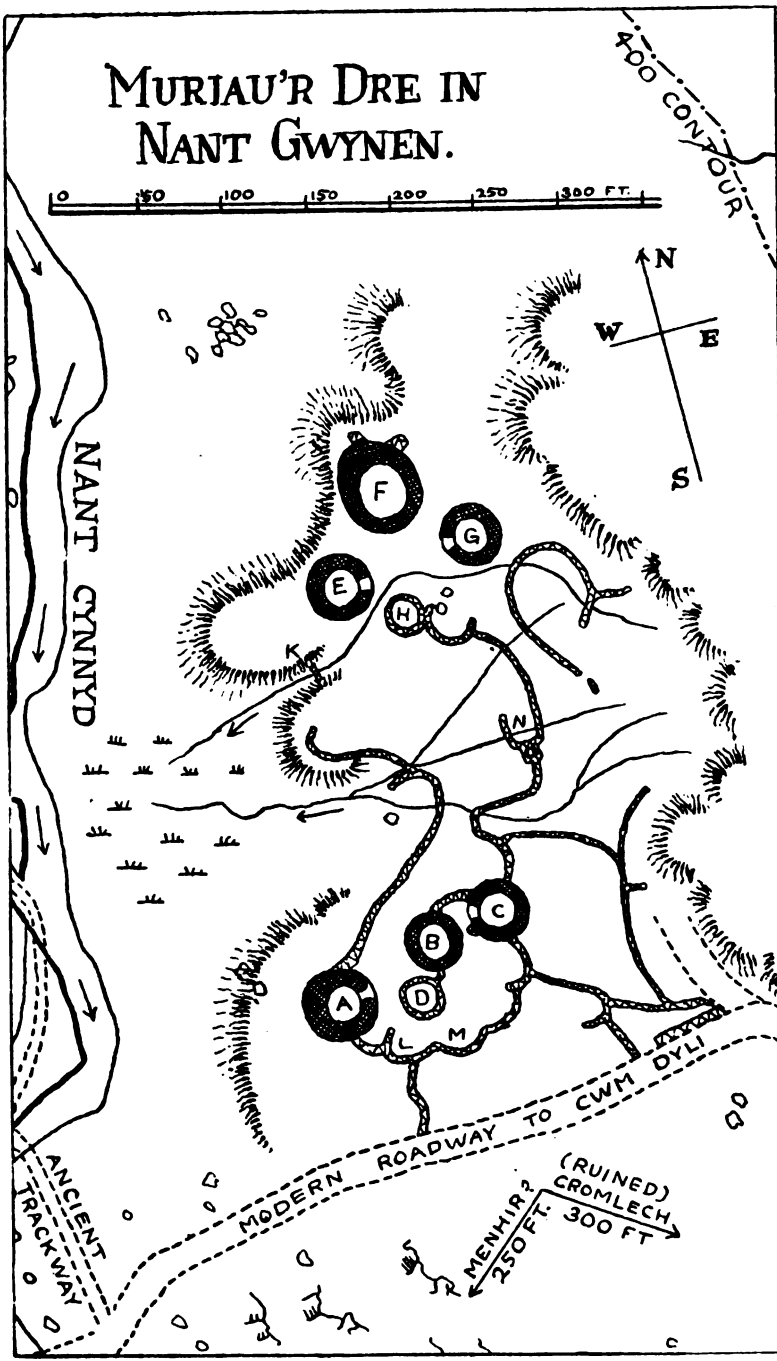


NANT GWYNYD

MODERN ROADWAY TO CWM DYLI

ANCIENT TRACKWAY

(RUINED) CROMLECH 300 FT.
MENHIR 250 FT.



Gelert (Portmadoc, 1899), which Prof. Rhys discusses in the work mentioned above.

Doubtless the modern roadway to Cwm Dyli has swallowed up a good many huts and walls. A mischievous boy, if the idea occurred to him, could easily perplex beyond all understanding the foundations which still remain. It is greatly to be hoped that, when the Association meets this summer at Portmadoc, some competent antiquarians will visit and investigate this promising site.

REV. G. C. CHAMBERS.

RESTORATION OF ST. MARY'S CHURCH, HAVERFORDWEST.—We gladly publish the following appeal for help to repair one of the finest churches in South Wales:—

“We beg to solicit your kind interest and help in connection with the above work, which we hope to take in hand at once. It practically means the completion of the Restoration of this ancient and historic building, parts of which (the north aisle and chancel) were finished some years ago. A great deal, however, still remains to be accomplished, some of the work being of absolute urgency; especially on the tower, where the bells and town clock are situated, and in the nave, the roof of which is in a very bad state and part not even watertight.

“Plans and specifications are being prepared by Mr. W. D. Caröe (the architect to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners), but, as the sum required will not be less than £3,000, we feel that it is a task beyond the hope of local effort to accomplish; but, considering the very important and in some respects unique position which the church occupies, as mentioned in the brief details given on the annexed page), we consider it has a special claim far beyond the limits of its own surroundings or of its own congregation, and we feel confident that an appeal made on its behalf to all interested in Pembrokeshire will not be in vain. We, therefore, venture to place these details before you and to solicit your kind help, either by a subscription or donation, or in any other form you prefer.

“Trusting to receive a favourable response to our appeal,

“We are, yours faithfully,

C. E. G. PHILIPPS, BART.,

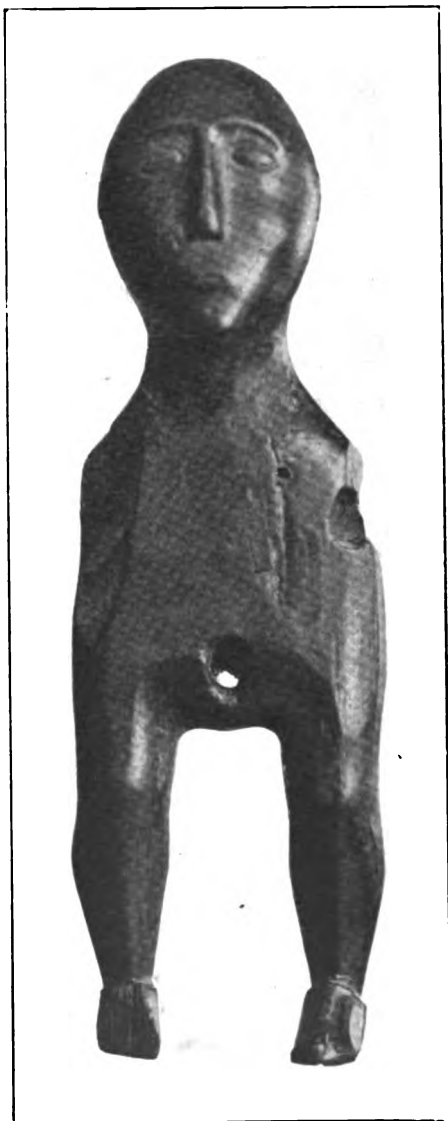
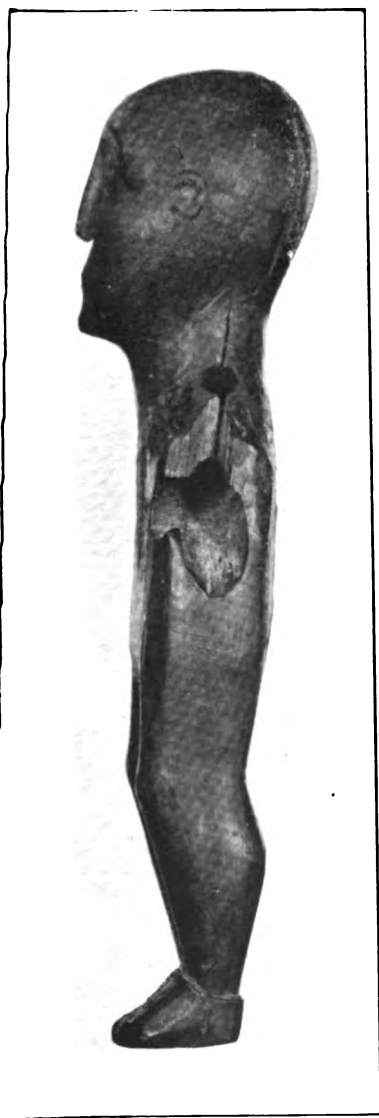
Lord Lieutenant of the Town and County of Haverfordwest.

J. H. DAVIES, M.A., Vicar.

F. R. GREENISH, Mus. Doc. (Oxon) } Church-
HERBERT J. E. PRICE } wardens.

“Subscriptions may be sent to the Rev. J. H. DAVIES, M.A., St. Mary's Vicarage, Haverfordwest.

WOODEN FIGURE FOUND AT STRATA FLORIDA, CARDIGANSHIRE.—The remarkable carved wooden figure here illustrated belongs to the Rev. D. L. Davies, Vicar of Talgarth, and was exhibited by him when the Association visited his church during the Brecon Meeting



Wooden Figure found at Strata Florida,
Cardiganshire. Scale, $\frac{1}{2}$ linear.

Wooden Figure found at Strata Florida,
Cardiganshire. Scale, $\frac{1}{2}$ linear.

in 1902. It is stated to have been found at Strata Florida, Cardiganshire. Mr. C. H. Read, F.S.A., of the British Museum, to whom the figure has been shown, expresses an opinion that it is of foreign origin, probably North American.

TWO FOURTEENTH-CENTURY INSCRIPTIONS AT PWLLCROCHAN, PEMBROKESHIRE.—There are in Pwllcrochan Church, Pembrokeshire, two fourteenth-century inscriptions in Lombardic capitals which, although of considerable interest, have never been previously illustrated. The first is built into the corner of the north aisle outside, and the second into the south wall of the nave inside. The photographs were taken by Mr. Gauntlett Thomas, son of the Rector.



Fig. 1.—Inscription No. 1 in Pwllcrochan Church, Pembrokeshire.

The readings are as follows:—

No. 1.

ANNO : DÑI : M : III : XL
 ERAT : IſTA : ECCĀ : COſRVCTA
 CŪ : CAPELLA : IſTA : PER : DNM
 RADL̄M : BENEGER : CŌDA
 RECTORĒ : HVIVS : ECĒCE : q
 REXIT : ECCĀM : P : ANNOS

II
 DE NOVO

“In the year of Our Lord, 1342,
 was this church constructed anew
 with this chapel by Sir
 Ralph Beneger, sometime
 Rector of this church, who
 held the living for — years.”



Fig. 2.—Inscription No. 2 in Pwllerochan Church, Pembrokeshire.

No. 2.

QVI : TRANSIS : PER : EVM : SEPE
 PRECARE : DEVM : VT : SIBI : SĀCTO
 RVM : DET : GAVDIASVMA : PO
 LORVM : ECCAM : REXIT
 CONSTRVXIT : ET : HANC
 BENE : TEXTIT : AC : ALIAS
 EDES : IN : CELIS : SIT : SIBI : SE
 DES : AMEN : PATER : NR

“Who passes over him often
 let him pray God that He
 may give to him the highest joys
 of the Saints of Heaven He ruled over
 this church built it and
 well covered it and other
 buildings. May his seat be in Heaven.
 Amen. Our Father.”

We are indebted to Dr. Henry Owen, F.S.A., and the Rev. David Bowen, Vicar of Monkton, for directing attention to these inscriptions, and supplying photographs of them.

An account of the Benegers will be found in Dr. Henry Owen's *Old Pembroke Families*, p. 65. Pwllcrochan Church is described by Sir Stephen Glynne, in the *Arch. Camb.*, 5th Ser., vol. v, p. 127. It was visited during the Pembroke Meeting of the Association in 1880 (see "Report" in *Arch. Camb.*, 4th Ser., vol. xi, p. 343).

INSCRIBED STONE AT LLYSDINGWYN, CARNARVONSHIRE.—The monument here illustrated has been recently discovered, and will be visited during the forthcoming Meeting of the Association at Portmadoc, in August. Llysdingwyn is situated three-quarters of a mile north-east of Brynkir railway station, on the line from Carnarvon to Pwllheli. The inscription is in debased Roman capitals, in three horizontal lines near the top of the stone at the right-hand side. It reads

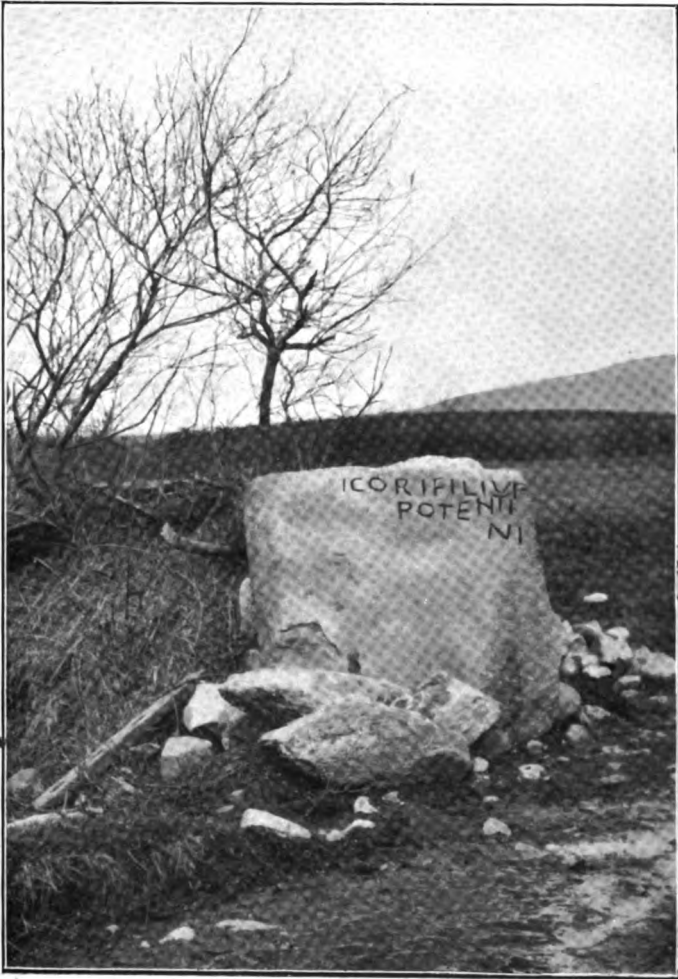
ICORI FILIVS
POTENTI
NI

We are indebted to the courtesy of Mr. J. Allen Jones, High Street, Criccieth, for allowing us to reproduce his photograph of the stone.

OLD SWORD AND CANNON-BALL FOUND AT RHYD LLYDAN, RADNORSHIRE.—The sword and cannon-ball, of which we give an illustration, were dug up some years ago at Rhyd Llydan, in the parish of Llanbedr Painscastle, Radnorshire. Rhyd Llydan is situated on the Bach Nowey, and is the ford below the eminence crowned by the site of the famous fortress of Painscastle, where many a sanguinary battle was fought in days gone by. To those who care to read between the lines, what a tale of tragedy these ancient relics unfold! We seem to see the warrior girding on his sword, and bidding an unconscious last farewell to his home and family, and setting out to the attack of the famous castle. But the ford which guards the approach is fiercely defended; we hear the din of battle and the shouts of the leaders, mingled with the roar of the cannon; our warrior uses his sword well, but against the cannon it is useless; the fatal ball strikes him, he falls to rise no more, and finds a grave on the spot where he fell.

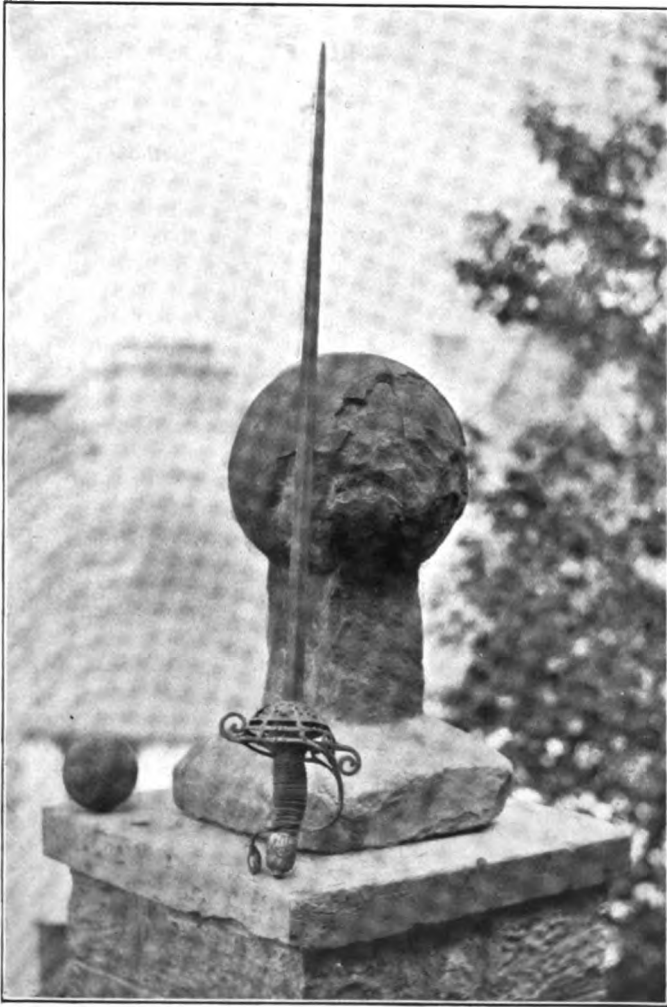
The sword and cannon-ball are now in the possession of Mr. Lyke, of Rhyd Llydan, to whom we are much indebted for his kindness in allowing them to be photographed, and bringing them down to Hay for that purpose.

M. L. DAWSON.



INSCRIBED STONE AT LLYSDINGWYN, CARNARVONSHIRE.

(From a Photograph by J. Allen Jones, High Street, Criccieth.)



**OLD SWORD AND CANNON-BALL FOUND AT RHYD LLYDAN,
RADNORSHIRE**

PROPOSED REPAIRATION OF ST. ILLTYD'S CHURCH, AT LLANTWIT MAJOR, GLAMORGANSHIRE.—Mr. G. E. Halliday, F.R.I.B.A., Diocesan Surveyor and Reparation Architect, reports on the condition of the Tower thus:—"Evidently this crushing of the columns"—on which the Tower rests—"and the gradual thrusting outwards of the arches, more particularly to the east and west, has been going on for a very considerable time, and at some period beyond present recollection it must have been of a very serious nature, as we find the early carved caps have in some cases been replaced with roughly-masoned stones, and without any regard to the original intention of their corresponding shafts. These and other precautions, such as placing two buttresses in the western church to receive the thrust of the arches, have answered a purpose for some time, but of late years the Tower has been, and is still, moving in a south-westerly direction. It is impossible to say exactly how long this gradual subsidence may continue without doing serious damage; but it is certain that the matter must be faced at an early date, as the western piers are now 3 in. out of perpendicular in their height of 6 ft. 3 in., and the eastern piers are 2½ in. out of perpendicular, all inclining the south-western pier. When this pier is unable to withstand this combined pressure, the Tower will fall."

As fully a third of the floor of the Eastern Church will be taken up for the Tower reparation, it is proposed to lower the whole to its original level—a work which, through lack of funds, was deferred when the Western Church was restored in 1899. During the past thirteen years, £2,300 has been expended on the Church, and the parishioners are organising a bazaar to help the present venture. The resources of the neighbourhood being totally inadequate, an appeal is hereby made to the liberality of all interested in the preservation of the ancient monuments and church of Llantwit Major.

Subscriptions may be forwarded to I. B. Nichol, Esq., F.S.A., The Ham, Cowbridge.

CORRECTIONS IN "ARCHEOLOGIA CAMBRENSIS" FOR APRIL, 1903:—

Excursion I.—Page 170, line 4, for "Penpont" read "Aberbran." Tea at Brecon was provided by H. O. Avelyne Maybery, Esq., The Priory.

Excursion II.—Page 171. Tea at Llangorse was *not* provided by Col. Garnons Williams, but by "Mrs. Bradley, Cefn Parc."

Excursion III.—Page 171. Tea at Llanfrynach was provided by Lt.-Col. R. D. Garnons Williams, Tymawr.

Excursion IV.—Pages 171 and 172. *Route*, lines 4 and 5. The return journey was not made by the "same route," but by carriages all the way to *Ffrwdgrech*. Tea was provided at Brecon by J. A. Jebb, Esq., Watton Mount.

“THE HERMITAGE OF THEODOBIC.”

To the Editor of the “Archæologia Cambrensis.”

SIR,—In the Plan and Elevation of the “Hermitage of Theodoricus” a blunder has been made: I never thought of looking at the scales.

Now in the Plan I sent up there are two scales given: the one for Plan and Elevation, 4 ft. = 1 in.; scale for details $\frac{1}{2}$ -in. to the foot.

In the print one scale is given, 2 feet to an inch, which is nothing to the Plan or details.

The Plan and Elevation should be marked: scale 14 ft. to an inch; scale for details, $\frac{1}{8}$ -in. to a foot.

I give in the letterpress the length of the building: 85 ft.; by the scale it works out, 12 ft.; the slab, 5 ft. by the scale, 10 ins. also!

Perhaps you will correct this in next Number of *Arch. Camb.*

Yours truly,

THOMAS GRAY.

Underhill, Port Talbot, April 26th, 1903.

SCULPTURED CAPITALS IN ST. MARY'S CHURCH, HAVERFORDWEST.—The four plates of sculptured capitals are from photographs kindly supplied by Mr. J. W. Phillips, of Haverfordwest. They are the most remarkable specimens of thirteenth-century figure-sculpture in Wales. The monkey will appeal to our young friends who believe in the now-discredited doctrines of evolution.

MEETING OF THE ASSOCIATION AT PORTMADOC.—The Annual Meeting of the Association for this year will take place at Portmadoc, Merionethshire, on the 17th of August and four following days. The President-Elect is R. H. Wood, Esq., F.S.A.



SCULPTURED CAPITAL OF ARCADE IN ST. MARY'S CHURCH, HAVERFORDWEST.



SCULPTURED CAPITAL OF ARCADE IN ST. MARY'S CHURCH, HAVERFORDWEST.



'SCULPTURED CAPITAL OF ARCADE IN ST. MARY'S CHURCH, HAVERFORDWEST.



SCULPTURED CAPITAL OF ARCADE IN ST. MARY'S CHURCH, HAVERFORDWEST.

CAMBRIAN ARCHÆOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION.

Statement of Accounts, 1901.

	<i>£ s. d.</i>	<i>£ s. d.</i>	
RECEIPTS.		PAYMENTS.	
Balance in hand	190 0 1	Mr. Romilly Allen: Salary (Three Quarters)	30 0 0
Subscriptions for 1901, and Arrears received from English and Foreign Members, and Members residing in North Wales and the Marches	141 15 0	" " Disbursements "	1 10 0
Subscriptions for 1901, and Arrears received from Members residing in South Wales and Monmouthshire	178 10 0	Canon Trevor Owen: Salary	10 0 0
Books sold	0 8 6	" " Disbursements	4 19 0
Dividends on Consols	2 14 2	Rev. C. Chidlow: Disbursements	6 3 0
		Printing (April, July, and October Numbers, 1901)	101 10 4
		Illustrations	54 3 6
		Rent (Three Quarters)	9 7 6
		Insurance	1 10 0
		Subscription to Archæological Congress	1 0 0
		Cheque Book	0 2 0
		Balance in hand	293 2 5
	£518 7 9		£518 7 9

Examined, compared with vouchers, and found correct,

D. B. THOMAS, }
J. FISHER. } *Auditors.*

April 30th, 1903

CAMBRIAN ARCHÆOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION.

Statement of Accounts, 1902.

RECEIPTS.

	£	s.	d.
Balance in hand	293	2	5
Subscriptions for 1902, and Arrears received from English and Foreign Members, and Members residing in North Wales and the Marches	163	16	0
Subscriptions from Members for 1903, paid in advance	4	4	0
Subscriptions for 1902, and Arrears received from Members residing in South Wales and Monmouthshire	191	13	0
From Brecon Meeting	55	5	3
Dividends on Consols	5	8	2
<div style="float: right; width: 10%; border-top: 1px solid black; border-bottom: 3px double black; padding: 2px 0 2px 10px;">£703 8 10</div>			

PAYMENTS.

Mr. Bomilly Allen : Salary	40	0	0
" " Disbursements	2	0	0
Canon Trevor Owen : Salary	10	0	0
" " Disbursements	5	0	0
Rev. C. Chidlow : Disbursements (including those of Brecon Meeting)	14	12	3
Bedford Press : Printing, etc. (<i>Journal</i> , £164 0s. 8d.; <i>Index</i> , £73 15s.)	237	15	8
Illustrations	69	15	6
Special Illustrations	4	3	0
Rent	9	8	2
Messrs. A. Constable (Copies of <i>Index of Archæological Papers</i>)	3	2	6
Insurance (Royal Insurance Company)	1	10	0
Messrs. T. Owen and Son (Printing Circulars)	1	2	6
Gelligaer Exploration Fund	10	0	0
Balance in hand	294	19	3
<div style="float: right; width: 10%; border-top: 1px solid black; border-bottom: 3px double black; padding: 2px 0 2px 10px;">£703 8 10</div>			

Examined, compared with vouchers, and found correct,

D. R. THOMAS, } *Auditors.*
 J. FISHER. }
 J. LI. MORGAN, *Treasurer.*

April 30th, 1903.

Archæologia Cambrensis.

SIXTH SERIES.—VOL. III, PART IV.

OCTOBER, 1903.

INCISED CROSS-STONE AT YSTAFELL-FACH, BRECKNOCKSHIRE, AND THE TRADITION OF AN ANCIENT TOWN.

BY W. T. GRANVILLE LEWIS, BARRISTER-AT-LAW.

CANON LIDDON well said, "The veneration for antiquity, especially antiquity in association with human history, is a natural and a legitimate sentiment; indeed, not to feel it is to lack some of the finer elements of a well-balanced mind." With this leading thought before me, I will endeavour to describe the circumstances attending the discovery of the stone which forms the subject of this account, as well as an ancient tradition connected with the locality, and which, I trust, may prove interesting to the readers of the *Archæologia Cambrensis*.

It appears that in 1897 the County Council of Brecknockshire required a quantity of stones for highway and other purposes in this district, and one of its employés, named Daniel Jones, was engaged, on March 26th of that year, in getting them from a dismantled cottage called Ystafell-fach. It is situate on the farm known as Llawdre. On the following day these stones were removed to the main road between Llanwrtyd and Llandovery, and at a point about

1½ mile from the former town. Subsequently, Ernest Davies, a rural postman of Llanwrtyd, while speaking to Daniel Jones, chanced to observe amongst them one with, to him, some strange incisions upon it, and thereupon asked him to place it on the side of the road for preservation. It was accordingly put in an



Stone with Incised Cross at Ystafell-fach, Brecknockshire.

erect position near the end of Berthddu Bridge, which spans the brook known as Nant-cae-fach, that is, the Brook of the Little Field. Doubtless many persons must have seen the stone, but no particular notice seems to have been taken of it till Mr. Robert Lloyd Williams, solicitor, Grays, Essex, who, while paying a

visit to Llanwrtyd, evinced much interest in this object of antiquity, which resulted in his writing a letter to the chairman of the Llanwrtyd Parish Council as follows :—“ I assure you and all your Council the stone is almost of incalculable value to archæologists, and your Council ought to take the greatest care that it is not taken away and placed in some museum, where but few would journey to see it. I must tell you also that such stones are so rare that I believe there are not more than two others existing in Wales, and three in the Isle of Man, where they have been placed in the churchyard at Onchan for preservation, and jealously taken care of. They are termed Runic stones. I do not know of one in England. The stone must be to the memory of some Welsh chieftain or prince, who lived at least 2,000 years ago, before an alphabet was in use. It is claimed by no one, but is now in such a position that I am astonished that it has not ere this been irretrievably defaced.” A copy of this letter appeared in *The Brecon and Radnor Express* of the 6th November, 1902.

No further steps were apparently taken to gather a few facts as to the history of this stone, until the present writer called upon the Vicar of Llanwrtyd, the Rev. W. Tudor Thomas, who manifested such a kindly interest in the matter as to promise me his valuable assistance. We accordingly sallied forth to view the stone, and with the said Daniel Jones as our guide, we were conducted to Ystafellfach. This cottage would seem to have been made such out of what was once apparently a large house or building. And now we may ask: Does the name “Ystafell” shed any light upon the history of this spot? The word “ystafell” may generally be rendered chamber, upper room, or stable. Philologically, however, “ystafell” is immediately borrowed from the Latin “stabulum,” which has the various meanings of standing-place, abode, habitation, dwelling, cottage, hut, but especially a stall, stable, or inclosure. Without entering at great length into

the question as to how "stabulum" in Latin became, after passing through its several phonetic and other changes, "ystafell" in Cymraeg, the statement will, I think, be generally accepted. "Stabulum," like many Latin words that may be cited, passed, as the result of the Roman occupation of Britain, into the Welsh language. I am inclined to think, then, that in this name, "Ystafell," we are carried back to Roman times. Again, we ask for evidence. I have already mentioned that this stone was found on Llawdre Farm. This is the local pronunciation of the name, but I think it is simply a corruption of Llawr-dref, that is, Town-Area. But what evidence do we possess that this was at any time the site of a town? We made careful inquiries, and found a tradition still existing among the people of this locality that there was a town, to quote the words of our informant, "yn amser y Rhufeiniaid," *i.e.*, in the time of the Romans; and in proof of this we were told that on Llawr-dref Farm, over an area of about three or four acres, large stones weighing from three to five tons have been unearthed. It is somewhat strange that these stones, which in bygone ages formed the foundation of what was probably an ancient ecclesiastical edifice, were used in our modern times in the laying of the London and North-Western Railway which runs hard by. Furthermore, on this same farm is a field known as "Cae'r-groes," that is, "field of the cross." And here I may remark that the word "croes," a "cross," is met with in the names of a few fields in this neighbourhood, one of which, called "Bon-y-groes," *i.e.*, "base of the cross," is near the parish church. Mr. Jones, Ty'nypant Farm, Llanwrtyd, who is well versed in local antiquities, is of opinion that a town existed there in ancient times. He showed me at his house an incised cross-stone, rather similar to the one found at Ystafell-fach. He also informed me that two or three similar stones might be seen in the vicinity. Whether this stone was erected to the memory of a member of the Ancient British Church, or served some other

purpose, is a problem which will receive a proper solution at the hands of the learned readers of this Journal.

The photograph here given of this stone was kindly taken by Mr. Hugh Mortimer, of Messrs. Mortimer and Sons, photographers, Llanwrtyd. They have a number of mounted photographs of it for disposal, price one shilling each.

The greatest length of the stone is 3 ft. $3\frac{1}{2}$ ins., and its greatest breadth is $11\frac{3}{4}$ ins.

It was removed on 21st January to the parish church of St. David.

THE OLDEST PARISH REGISTERS IN PEMBROKESHIRE.

BY THE REV. J. PHILLIPS.

II.

My friend, Mr. C. F. Egerton Allen, has kindly pointed to me a slip of the pen in my former Paper, which I hasten to correct. It was, of course, not John Laugharne, of St. Bride's, but his successor, William Barlow, whose death called forth Sir John Philipps's characteristic letter to the Council, offering to represent Haverfordwest in the second Parliament of George I.

My references to Robert Holland, Rector of Prendergast in 1591, and of Walwyn's Castle in 1607, have led to an interesting correspondence with his descendant, Thomas Erskine Holland, K.C., Chichele Professor of International Law at Oxford. Professor Holland is unable to accept the statement that his ancestor was at one time Vicar of St. Mary's, Haverfordwest. No direct evidence that he held the living has come to light, and there is a strong presumption that if he had actually done so, there would have been some indication of the fact in the family papers in the possession of the Professor. But if he never was the incumbent of St. Mary's, his connection with the parish has to be accounted for. His name appears at least twice in the fragments of the Registers, bracketed with that of "Mr. Eynon." One of these instances I have given on p. 125 of the *Arch. Camb.* for April, 1902; the other will be found on p. 121, where the extract given should be read "of Mr. Holland and Mr. Eynon," as I have at

last been able to decipher "Ey." Now "John Eynon, Clerk," died in September, 1612. It was natural to regard him as Robert Holland's successor. This view is, however, scarcely borne out by the evidence.

Possibly an examination of the Diocesan Registry archives at Carmarthen would throw some light on what must be left for the present an open question.

The problem is further complicated by the way in which Robert Holland's name first appears in the parish papers.

In the Churchwarden's account for 1588, the receipts are given as follows:—

The hole booke w'ch was then rated for the preestes wages and the Preacher amounted unto	. xxiiijlb. iijs.
Whereof I have received as followeth :	
Imprimis, received for the preestes wages and the Preacher the sum of	. xviiijlb. 8s. 8d.
Item, more I re'd for burials and lead the some of	. jlb. iiijd.
Item, more I received for offring the some of	. xxxiijs.
It., more I re' of M'r W'y Walter, merchante, the some of	. xs.
The hole some of my chardge what I have received amounteth unto	. xxjlb. xiijs. jd.

Then come, "as disbursements":—

Imprimis, paid unto Mr. Holland, by M'r T. Walter	. xxxijs. iiijd.
Item, more p'd unto M'r Parrie at the first entringe	. xxxvjs.
Item, more paid unto Parrie the 22 of mydsom'	. iiijlb. vjs. viijd.
Item, more paid unto Middleton for Michaelmas quarter	. iiiijlb. vjs. viijd.
Item, more paid unto the clerke for his hole yeares wages	. iiijlb. vjs. viijd.
Item, more paid unto M'r Kinner	. jlb. xs.

The account is unusually lengthy, and with some other churchwarden's accounts of the last quarter of

the sixteenth century will, I hope, be dealt with in another article.

If it were not for the express mention of the "preeste, one would take it for granted that the payments to Messrs. Holland, Parrie, and Middleton were made to them as "Preachers" for the time being—and this seems to me the more probable explanation. But what about the "preest"? Was the living vacant for the whole year? or was the Vicar under suspension? Unfortunately, the Churchwarden's accounts for 1587, 1589, and 1590, are missing.

It will be remembered that the first entry in the "Holland" Register was the burial of "Thomas Lewes, Clark." The position of this entry at the beginning of a new book suggested the double inference that it marked the beginning of a new incumbency, and that the new incumbent was Robert Hollaud. The former inference was, in all probability, correct; the latter was probably incorrect. On this point the Churchwarden's account for 1588 throws no light, but it shows that Holland was in Haverfordwest three years before he obtained the Rectory of Prendergast, on the opposite bank of the Cleddau.

At one time he lived in Dew Street. The house is not known, but it could not have been many yards from that in which I am now writing. This fact, known from some old deeds, has been confirmed by the discovery of the account of the "Rate to pay the preestes and clarkes wages" in 1591. Robert Holland's name appears amongst the Dew Street occupiers, but with no sum entered against it. This exemption is easily understood if he was himself the "preeste;" or if, as is much more probable, he simply took part of the duty in which he was a resident. Perhaps John Eynon was himself a non-resident pluralist. At any rate, his name has not been found in any rate-book of the period as an occupier.

Since the appearance of my first article on the Registers, I have succeeded in deciphering some dates

which had sorely puzzled me. I have thus ascertained that the "Holland Register" and the "Ormond Register" were originally parts of one book. The last entry in the former is a baptism on April 20th, 1627; and the first entry in the latter is a baptism on May 7th of the same year.

I have also been able to add another sheet to those previously examined. There are thus sixteen in all.

The sixteen sheets range over fifty-eight years—1590 to 1648 :—

Burials.

1590, October—1599, September.
1612, September—1615, July 22nd.

Marriages.

1599—1600.
1613—1614.
1627, March—1646, November 12th.
1647, May 20th—1648, August 20th.

Baptisms.

1614, January (O.S.)—1643, December.

There is an *hiatus* from December, 1621, to September, 1624. The two missing pages correspond to the *hiatus* in the Burials Register from May, 1593, to January, 1595 (O.S.).

The older portions, dating from Queen Elizabeth's reign, have been dealt with already. The Burials Registers for the reigns of James I and Charles I have been lost, except for one period of two years and ten months—September, 1612, to July, 1615.

The first entry is :—

"John Eynon, Clerk, was buried Septem."

Above this entry a few letters are faintly traceable :—

"es Heverfordwest
mond clerck
1612."

It may safely be assumed that this marks the com-

mencement of the incumbency of William Ormond, the successor of John Eynon. William Ormond died in 1665. If he was eighty at the time of his death, he would have been twenty-seven when he became Vicar of St. Mary's. His advanced years explain his not having been reinstated at the Restoration in the living from which he had been ejected fifteen years before, and which appears to have become vacant in 1660 by the retirement of Adam Hawkin, the Puritan incumbent. At any rate, there was an Episcopalian clergyman in the living long before the great ejection—the Black Bartholomew—of 1662, when Hawkin had to quit St. Ishmael's. This living, on the northern shore of Milford Haven, some ten miles from Haverfordwest, he had held together with St. Mary's. Nominally, Hawkin was a "bloated pluralist"—nominally only—for though he was appointed in 1657 to the charge, not only of St. Mary's, but of the other two town parishes and of Prendergast as well, his income was a very uncertain quantity. He was supposed to receive £100 a-year from his Haverfordwest parishes; but it was principally charged on the revenues of the Cathedral, the tithes of some parishes being allotted for the purpose. Now, the North Pembrokeshire farmers were quite as unwilling to pay tithes in the seventeenth century as they were in the last quarter of the nineteenth century; and poor Hawkin, with his four town parishes, and St. Ishmael's to boot, was often in sad straits for cash. His correspondence—begging letters included—may enliven the sober pages of the *Arch. Camb.* at some future time. If Adam Hawkin held St. Ishmael's with St. Mary's, William Ormond had similarly held Walton West. It must be confessed that the combination is not quite so outrageous in the case of the Episcopalian; for Walton West—not six and a-half miles away—could be served with much less difficulty. When I was a boy, the Rector of Walton West, an eccentric old man named Brown, lived in Haverfordwest, at the foot of Prendergast Hill, and

kept a school, which turned out some very respectable scholars. When the troublous days of the Puritan rule were over, this quiet country parish would offer the old man a calm retreat, while his former parishioners in the town were handed over to the care of a younger clergyman.

I am not quite sure that William Ormond had not other cures besides St. Mary's and Walton West. We shall see that entries from other parishes found their way occasionally into the registers of the town parish; while the connection with Walton West was only brought to light by the accidental discovery of an entry in a book in the Diocesan Registry.

He could not have been exactly a model parish priest; for the parishioners (acting through the corporation) sometimes, if not regularly, engaged another clergyman to do the preaching.

One of these "lecturers"—as they were usually called—was Stephen Goffe, the father of the three brothers of that name, who played more or less important rôles in the ecclesiastical and political turmoils of the Civil Wars and the Protectorate. Another—a man of a different ilk—appears as the Preacher in St. Mary's during the first Civil War. He was paid £7 10s. a quarter. He is called "Dean Warren;" he signed his receipts "Edw'd Warren." Now, who can tell where this Dean came from? There was no Dean at St. David's then, nor for two hundred years after. Was he an Irish refugee? He was certainly a Royalist. But it is time to return to our Registers.

These four pages contain the burials for two years and nearly eleven months—September 1st, 1612, to July 22nd, 1615. The total number is 164, an average of about 55 per annum. The monthly summary is as follows. The years are O.S. throughout:—

1612.

September—February	...	...	10
March	...	...	4
			— 14

		1613.		1614.		1615.
March ...	...	2	...	2	...	5
April ...	...	4	...	1	...	2
May ...	...	4	...	4	...	4
June ...	...	2	...	2	...	4
July ...	...	4	...	3	...	2
August ...	...	5	...	5	...	—
September ...	...	11	...	1	...	—
October ...	...	17	...	1	...	—
November ...	...	17	...	3	...	—
December ...	...	11	...	2	...	—
January ...	...	7	...	6	...	—
February ..	...	6	...	2	...	—
March ...	...	6	...	5	...	—
Totals ...	...	96	...	37	...	17

The contrast becomes even more striking when the figures for the earlier period are analysed.

On the entries from 1590-2, no stress can be laid, for "the last two years in the ould record are vary unperfecte." There is, however, no reason to distrust the record from January 1595, to September 1599. For these three years and seven months we have 114 burials—an average of 30.4 per annum. This, however, includes the heavy death-rate from September 1596, to March, 1597, when there were 82 burials in about eighteen months: 24 of them in two months, September 5th to November 4th, 1597. In the previous eight months, January 1595, to August 1596, there were 19 burials: six of them being in the first three weeks. In the last eighteen months of the period, April 1598, to September 1599, there were only 13. Thus there were 32 burials in twenty-six months, or, excluding three weeks of January, 1595, 26 in twenty-four months.

It will be remembered that the missing leaf—of two pages—covered the two years and eight months: May 1593, to January 1596; which, with the average number of entries to a page—twenty-four—would give an average of 18 burials a year.

The fewness of the burials in 1598 and 1599 is most

remarkable. One expects an epidemic, in a time of extreme sickness and heavy mortality, to be followed by a low death-rate for the next year, or year and a-half; but even this would not account adequately for the fact that there were only eight burials in 1598, and only five in the first six months of 1599.

Was there any other burial-ground used by the parishioners?

There is a well-attested tradition that, for some generations after the suppression of the monasteries, the burial-ground attached to the Dominican house in Bridge Street was used as a town cemetery. This ground was in St. Martin's parish, and burials there would not be entered in the Register of St. Mary's. Thus, if people from St. Mary's Parish were occasionally buried there, it would help to explain the extraordinarily low death-rate indicated by the Burial Registers for the last decade of the sixteenth century. Doubtless, there were not a few still living who cherished a secret reverence for the faith of their fathers, and of whom some would desire that their dust should rest beneath the walls of the desecrated shrine. It is deeply to be regretted that all traces of the ecclesiastical buildings have been ruthlessly swept away. The monuments and effigies of the dead were wantonly destroyed, and the very graves were plundered. Within the memory of some who are not yet old, there were lead coffins broken up and sold. Ground was never so valuable in Haverfordwest that there could have been any urgent necessity for the profanation of the old "God's Acre" that lay between the town wall and the banks of the Cleddau.

I give this conjecture for what it may be worth. For my own part, I regard it as offering the most probable explanation of the fewness of the burials registered in 1598, and also of the very low death-rate which the registers indicate for the other years, when neither plague nor famine swelled the tables of mortality.

Some explanation is certainly needed, for we have other means of testing the accuracy and completeness of the record, and of estimating the probable death-rate of the Parish.

The Baptismal Register is practically complete from January, 1614, to December, 1621; and from September, 1624, to December, 1643. In the years 1630-1634, inclusive, though none of the leaves are missing, there is so much that is wholly or partially illegible, that no reliable figures can be given. In 1615 and 1616, the number of baptisms was 37 and 41. For the four years 1617-1620, the average was 31.5; for the five years 1625-1629, it was 33.2. For the eight years 1635-1642, it was 35.1—the highest number being 42 and the lowest 28.

The steady increase in the annual average of christenings was, no doubt, due to a corresponding increase in the population of the Parish. A document of the year 1574, recently unearthed by Dr. Henry Owen, throws a little light on this. This document, the report of a Royal Commission on the Lordship of Haverford, out of which the borough was carved, states that originally the town lay more to the north of the castle than it did in Queen Elizabeth's time. This statement becomes more significant when we remember that, in 1405, old Haverford was burned by the French allies of Owen Glendower. The only building within the walls which we know to have escaped this destruction, and to have survived to our own day, is the Church of St. Mary. It is not improbable, but by no means certain, that St. Martin's was equally fortunate. Standing in the centre of the doomed Castle-town, its peril would be greater. St. Thomas's, as well as the Dominican House by the river-side, lay outside the walls. The stately pile of the Augustinian Canons was still farther removed from the perils of the siege.

The town was not rebuilt exactly on its old site, but more to the south and south-west. In the sixteenth

century, the centre of its civic life was the Church of St. Mary. Close under the shelter of the church stood the Guildhall. The Council Chamber stood above the north porch. The other Municipal buildings were in the immediate vicinity. Around the churchyard walls and in the burial-ground itself were held the Saturday market, the largest and most important of the then principal markets of the county. The expansion of an English provincial town in the sixteenth century was a slow process, though the capital was growing at a rate which already awakened the anxiety of the Government, and which led to enactments for the arrest of its growth that proved to be worse than futile. Such expansion as Haverfordwest was capable of achieving would be for the most part in St. Mary's parish. The position of Bridge Street would secure to it a good share of any increase of the trade of the town; but the arrested development of the other parts of St. Martin's parish is curiously attested by what we know of City Road and Barn Street. City Road was known in old time as Cokey Street, being the road to Cokey Grange, the old mansion which figures in thirteenth-century lawsuits, and which is now represented by the substantial farmhouse of Cuckoo Grove. It figures in the municipal papers of the seventeenth century. Here, in 1652, was the "house of recouerie", or convalescent home for those plague patients whose strength of constitution, aided by the kind nursing of the "strange woman," had enabled them to survive the attacks of this terrible pestilence, in spite of the appalling nostrums which were prescribed for them by "Mr. Benjamin Price, Apothecary." It was always one of the principal thoroughfares for the rural traffic upon which then, as now, the prosperity, and even the existence of the town depended, for through it must have passed the greater part of the trade of St. David's and Western Dewisland. Yet it scarcely extended beyond the present site of Rock Cottage, above the Crescent, unless the few cottages on the bank immediately beyond Rock Cottage may

be regarded as representing the furthest limit of the old street.¹ The Terrace and the rows of cottages that make it one of the most respectable artisan quarters in the town, were all built in the nineteenth century.

Barn Street, too, was one of the old streets. Its name is so old that no reliable tradition of its meaning has been preserved. Yet, above the localities now known as Spring Gardens and Kensington Gardens, there were at the end of the eighteenth century only a few cottages. Kensington Terrace, Perrott's Terrace, and Lloyd's Terrace, were all built within my own recollection. The row of smaller houses adjoining Kensington Terrace can scarcely be older than the beginning of the last century.

That half of the population of the town in the time of James I lived in St. Martin's parish, may be regarded as certain; but the bulk of them were very poor. For this we have conclusive evidence in the accounts of the collectors for the Army Assessments under the Long Parliament. One paper will be sufficient to quote. It is the account for the autumn quarter of 1647. The total amount was £30 7s. 6d. The following is the summary :—

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
High Street Ward ...	...	5	15	10		
Market Street ...	...	4	1	0		
St. Maryes Ward ...	...	2	14	6		
Landholders ...	...	1	19	6		
					14	10 10
Bridge Street Ward ...	...	4	16	8		
Ship Street Ward ...	...	1	7	2		
St. Martyn's Ward ...	...	3	4	0		
Landholders ...	..	1	0	6		
					10	8 4
St. Thomas Ward ...	...	2	8	10		
Dew Street Ward ...	...	1	12	0		
Landholders ...	...	1	7	6		
					5	8 4

¹ In a field just behind those cottages, tradition locates the burial-ground of the victims of the Plague. The "pest-house" was somewhere in North Gate. No doubt, like the "House of Recoverie," it was outside the town wall.

The collectors' districts not being identical with the parishes, the £4 7s. 6*d.* under the head of "Landholders" can only approximately be divided between them; but more than half is certainly charged on St. Mary's. The figures show that, apart from the Landholders' payments, St. Mary's Parish paid £15 10s. 6*d.*; St. Martin's, £8 0s. 8*d.*; St. Thomas's, £2 8s. 10*d.*

The thinness of the population of St. Thomas in the last quarter of the sixteenth century, and the comparative poverty of the parish at that time, is shown by a fragment of paper which came into my hands some years ago: apparently the only parochial paper of that century which had escaped destruction.

In 1578, the rate for the relief of the poor for St. Thomas's Parish amounted to £2 17s. 4*d.*, of which £1 2s. 8*d.* was contributed by fifteen persons in quarterly payments, and £1 14s. 8*d.* by five persons in weekly payments. The recipients of the relief were three in number, each of whom received 4*d.* per week. The names of the three are worth preserving: Thomas Cathlott, Elnor Batho, and Irysh Ellen.

Poor Ellen may well have been a survivor of the immigration from the Sister Isle which was bitterly complained of in the time of Henry VIII. Batho is an old Pembrokeshire name, which had not become extinct in the last quarter of the eighteenth century, for the Bathas of Deem's Hill, by Steynton, were among the early Pembrokeshire followers of John Wesley. Possibly "Elnor" was a relation of John Batho, the last Prior of the Augustinian Canons of Haverford, who cut such a sorry figure in the Star-Chamber trial about the Priory lands in 1560. Cathlott is to me the most interesting name of all. It is the old form of Cartlett; and this, as far as my observation goes, is its only appearance in the Haverfordwest papers.

It is high time to return to the study of our Registers; but, I hope that no apology will be needed for

this lengthy, yet I venture to think, not uninteresting, digression.

In King James's day, the Baptismal Register of an urban parish like St. Mary's would be practically equivalent to a Register of Births. One consideration, however, must not be overlooked. As St. Mary's Parish was the wealthiest and most important of the three town parishes, though not the most populous, so its church was the fashionable church of the town—it was, in fact, *the town church*, and the Baptismal Registers would frequently include names of children, born in other parishes, but brought to St. Mary's to be christened: because their parents had been christened there, or because their relatives attended service at St. Mary's, or because it was fashionable to have one's children christened there. Some deduction must therefore be made from the numbers on the Baptismal Register if we would ascertain the birth-average of the parish. In 1615 and 1616 there were more christenings than usual—37 and 39; and there had been 12 in the last eleven weeks of 1614. There were probably some local circumstances to account for this. Possibly the zeal of Stephen Goffe, the newly-appointed "Preacher," helped the young Vicar to ferret out parents who had been negligent of that which both Puritan and Anglican regarded as a sacred duty: the presentation of their children for the initiatory rite of the Christian fellowship.

Making due allowance for the christening of the children of non-parishioners in St. Mary's, the 126 Baptisms registered for the four years, 1617-1620, will indicate an annual average of rather fewer than 30 births. This would represent a population in the parish of between eight and nine hundred—about one-third of the population of the borough—a result which agrees with the conclusion arrived at in my former paper. The proportion of births to deaths in London in 1583, a year comparatively free from plague, was 29 to 23. This proportion holds good even if we hesitate

to accept Dr. Creighton's low estimate of the death-rate of that year, which he puts at 23 per 1000. In the absence of any data to the contrary, we should not be prepared to find the death-rate of the overcrowded capital exceeded by Haverfordwest—a rural town, with every advantage in its facilities for natural drainage, and with a water supply which was fully adequate to the requirements of the population. If we assume an annual birth-average of 30, and an annual death-average of 25, we shall certainly not be putting the latter figure too low. It would mean a death-rate of 30 per 1000. In 1613 there were 96 deaths—more than one-tenth of the inhabitants of the parish. There is no conceivable local reason that the mortality should have been heavier in St. Mary's than among the poorer, and at least equally crowded, population of St. Martin's. Of these 96 burials, 56 took place in four months—September to December.

The proportion of burials to christenings—to the annual average of christenings—was much greater than that in London in the plague year, 1636. In London, in that year, the proportion was 25 burials to 10 christenings. In Haverfordwest it was at least three to one. Dr. Creighton calls the London Plague of 1636 “one of the second degree.” In 1625 the mortality from plague had been more than three times as great; and the proportion of burials to christenings nearly eight to one. But no other year between 1625 and 1665 witnessed a mortality in London approaching that of 1636.

The mortality in Haverfordwest in 1613 thus exceeded the death-rate of a plague year “of the second degree” in the capital.

But was the plague in Haverfordwest in 1613? No evidence to that effect has yet been discovered. There was “a great plague at Carmarthen” in 1604, and again in 1606. In both years the Great Sessions had been held at Golden Grove. The plague was there again in 1611, when an ex-Mayor, Evan Long,—Mayor in 1606—was among the victims; but Spurrell's *His-*

tory contains no further reference to the plague before the terrible year 1651. Unfortunately, the Register of Burials for our parish for the years 1601-1611 has disappeared.

In 1613 the Mayor of Carmarthen, Edward Atkins, died within a fortnight of his election; but neither in the list of mayors, nor on the inscription on his tombstone in St. Peter's, is there any reference to the plague.

The internal evidence of the Register is not decisive. The heavy mortality in the autumn had its parallel in the London Plague of 1636; and other instances might be quoted from the *Notes on the Plague in Lancashire*, which we owe to the indefatigable industry of Mr. W. E. Axten. There was not, however, the wholesale sweeping away of families, which was a usual feature of the plague mortality, and which is clearly traceable in the records of the Haverfordwest plague of 1652.

Prices of wheat and other grain ruled high in 1612 and 1613, but they were not so high as to suggest anything like the veritable famine of 1596.

Apart from the heavy death-rate which it reveals, and of which as yet I have not been able to discover any explanation, this fragment of Burials Register contains comparatively little of interest. The nomenclature calls for no special remark. The only "Ap" is Jenkin ap Jevan, who died in November, 1613, when the sickness was at its height. "Housewife" occurs as a surname, "Woogan" turns up more than once, and Margaret Barlow was buried August 20th, 1613; but there is nothing decipherable to connect the wearers of these names with the influential families of Wiston and Slebech. The exceptional mortality, whatever its cause, had its victims among the well-to-do, for there were several interments in the church and some in the "Chauncell," both of which, and especially the latter, were reserved for the burial of members of the "Upper Ten." Jenken Vawer was buried in the church on January 29th, 1614. He was the brother of the William Vawer, of Bristol, who founded the "Blackcoat

Charity," out of which twelve or thirteen "decayed burgesses" of Haverfordwest receive an allowance of 5s. per week. I had almost forgotten the first appearance of one surname, which is supposed to have been a variant of the old Pembrokeshire name of Carew = Caerau. On November 8th, 1614, Jane Powell and Marie Carrow "were buried in one grave." Such double interments in the same narrow bed are not infrequent in these pages. George Carrow was buried "Decembris primo." One lengthy entry, which has become tantalisingly incomplete, records the burial in the church on December 18th, 1613, of somebody from Bristol, and the first letter of the Christian name was "J"; the rest of the name is illegible. But the visitor from Bristol must have been a person of some importance, to have been buried in the chancel.

Among the burials in the gloomy autumn of 1613 were "a little beggar boy of the Almshouse," and, again, "a little boy out of the Almshouse." The pastor of the parish evidently did not take the trouble to find out the names of these little waifs. Perchance the "Chief Shepherd" gave them a more cordial welcome!

"Henry Smith, Freemason," was buried "July 16th, 1613."

A hundred years later, or even fifty years later, there would be nothing very remarkable in such an entry. Its occurrence in the time when James I was king is somewhat startling.

One only remains to be noted :

"William Gwin of Moilgrove, whose corpse was seized for debt due to Edmond Packer for his diet during the time of his imprisonment—he was buried in the north [ais]le before Mistresse Scourefeylde's seat on fryday, Januarij 14, 1613."

Under the third window of the north aisle, nearly opposite the pulpit, a stone in the wall bears the following inscription:—

“ Here lieth under this place
the body of James Scourfield gent.,
who died ye 2 day of March 1614.
Also Margaret his wife who
died the 28 day of September
1627.”

James Scourfield was buried on March 5th, 1614. The day and the year of his wife's death are difficult to read.

Not far from this stone the inpecunious gentleman from Moilgrove found his last lodgings. Presumably, he was a kinsman either of Mistress Scourfield or of her husband. One is tempted to identify him with the William Gwynne who, twenty-five or thirty years before had been the principal defendant in the law-suits brought before the Privy Council by George Owen against the men who, to gratify the spite of their master, Sir John Perrott, or their own, had on his showing treated him with cruel indignity.¹

On January 9th, 1614, eight weeks before the funeral of Mr. Scourfield, Edmond Packer was buried in the same church.

This fragment of the Burial Register, the latest extant,² ends with the burial of “Thomas Tanner, an apprentice to Arthur Harris, smyth, July 22nd, 1615.”

The Churchwardens' account for the year enables us to add a few names to the list. It contains an unusual feature.

“ A note of the burials in this year 1615.”

Imprimis, John Phillipes daughter was buried in the bell house on Whitsondaie	iij ^s . iiij ^d .
Arthur Harris father was buried in the bell house the 8 of Julie, 1615	iij ^s . iiij ^d .

The first of these was “Johan Phillips, May 28,” but old Harris does not appear in the Register unless there is an error somewhere in the date, and he is the “Richard Harries, Janij 30.”

¹ See Owen's *Pembrokeshire*, vol. ii.

² See note at the end of the article.

Four other items follow.

P'd 22s. iiijd. p'd. The 22 of november, 1615, M'r Carne was buried in the chauncell and the bell v's	xxs. vs.
Rec' The 24 of November John David's wieffe was buried in the bell house	iijs. 4d.
Rec' The 2 December Catterin Lloyd's child was buried in the Church path	vjs.
The 22' M'ch 1615, Matthew Synnet was buried in the Chauncell, the bells vs. xxs.	xxvs.
Receyved of Mr. Adams for the bells	vs.

The explanation of these entries is furnished by the "Order of Burialls" and the "Order of the Bells," which appear at the end of some of the Churchwardens' accounts. The copies which follow are taken from the Churchwardens' account for 1633—the earliest I have been able to find, but they are evidently transcripts of much older documents.

ORDER OF BURIALLS.

For as much as in the Church of St. Maries . of the towne and County of Haverfordwest and in the chauncell of the same much disorder hath bin heretofore suffered and used . touching the burialls in allowinge soe many of the meener sorte . as well strangers . as townes men and women . to be buried in the sayd church an chauncell soe as by the meanes thereof there is little or . no . Roome left for the buriall of those who are of the auncient sorte of people and such as have borne the chieffe places of office within this towne as other gent' of quallitie . and worth that may happen to dy within the same for redresse whereof wee the maior Justices of peace Aldermen and Sheriffe of the sayd towne and county and the churchwardens and others of the parish of St. Maries whose names are subscribed beinge now . assembled & mett to gether for Conference there aboute and of other concerninge the repayre of the steeple and spire and other decacies of the sayd Church doe fully agree and order from henceforth no manner of person or persons whatsoever either stranger or freeman women or children shall be admitted to be buried within any p'te of the body of the sayd Church Chauncell or Isles thereof . savinge such as have beene Aldermen of this towne or ther wives and for everie such as shall be there buried ther shall be payd unto the Churchwarden for the time beinge before the grave be opened

the some of twenty shillings towards the repayer of the sayd Church & chancell & other good uses of the sayd Church and likewise between that there shall be none buried heereafter in the north side of the Church as far as the Chancell extendeth against but such as have beene on of the Comen Councell of the Towne or ther wives and for every such as shal be ther buried to be payd as aforesayd the some of thirteene shillings iiij*d.* and there shal be none buried within the body of the sayd Church above Church doores of either side of the sayd Church but such as ther shal be payd for them the some of six shilling viij*d.* And such as shal be buried beneath the Church doores to pay for everysuch buriall the some of three shillings iiij*d.* And for every on that shal be buried in either of the Church porches of the sayd Church the some of two shillings and a faire stone to be layed on evrie of these burialls and that ther shall be a due and fit difference held of the persons so allowed to be buried in these places that it may be done accordinge to their Antiquity and Qualitie . And allso it is agreed that if ther happen any stranger of note and worth to die within ther towne who desireth to be buried in any of the places afforesayd that yet notwithstandinge ther shalbe noe such buried before the maior and two or more of the cheefest of the brethren shall assent there unto & to paye doble the Rate for his so admittance to be buried within the sayd Chauncell Iles or . bodie of the sayd Church before the grave be opened and to be at the charge of a fayre stone to be layed upon him accordinge to this order.

ORDER OF THE BELLS.

For as much as upon consideracion had by the mayor and Coñon Counsell of this towne and County of the state of the bells of the p'rish of St. Maries within this towne & County which are greatly decayed and of the ill usage . of the sayd bells in ringeing of them at the death of every one whereby no benefit comes to the p'rish. Therefore it is at this time by the sayd Mayor and coñon counsell Churchwardens and others the p'rishioners of the sayd p'rishe of St. Maries ordered and decreed that if any p'rson shall desire to have all the bells Rung after the death of any person beinge a burgesse of this towne a burgesse wiffe or a burgesse childe that then they shall paye for the same viijs. and after the death of any Foreiner or stranger xvjs. And allsoe if any p'rson shall desire to have but on bell ringed after the death of any such p'rons beinge burgesses . there wives and children that they shall pay . for every . day

that they shall have the sayd bell ringed *ijs. vid.* and after the death of any forenier or stranger *vs.* and that the churchwardens of the sayd p'rishe for the time beinge doe take order for the payment of those somes by them that shall soe desire it before such time that any bell be ringed the third bell for the burriall only excepted and all such somes the sayd Churchwardens shall soe receive aforesayd to be by them accompted for to the p'rish in their accompt of Churchwardenship at th'end of their yeare.

Mr. Synnet had been Mayor in 1615, and was thus ex-Mayor when he died in March 1615 (O. S.). The account contains another entry relating to the funeral.

Paid George Carrow when Mr. Synnet was buried for mending the great clapp of the great bell by the appointment of the mayor *ijs.*

Also

More paid for gloves to the ringers *iijs.*

Opposite to the Order of Burial in the 1633 account is the following :—

The some of *xxijth viijs. viijd.* is Rated on the inhabitants of St. Maries which is to be disbursed as followeth

For the minister for his yeeres wages which is to be paid quarterly *xiiij^{lb.} vjs. viijd.*

To the clarke for his yeeres wages which is to be paid quarterly *v^{lb.}*

Moore to the said Clarke for keeping the clocke for washinge the surplusses & table clothes & oyle for the clocke & broomes for the Church is to be paid quarterly *ii^{lb.}*

Also it is agreed that the churchwarden shall from tyme to tyme see the leads cleaned and to get one to cleene them to whom he is to paye six pennies to the pece *xs.*

Sum'a *xx^{lb.} xvjs. viijd.*

Ethelred Wogan	William Bowen.
John Fryn, Churchwardon.	William Baetman.
John Gibbon	W. Morgau.
William Williams	Rice Vaughan.
Morgan Walter	

Of the signatories to this account, Ethelred Wogan had been Mayor in 1629, and was again in 1639.

William Williams was then Mayor, and filled the same office in 1641 and in 1649. William Bowen had been Mayor in 1627, and was probably William Williams's successor after his third mayoralty. William Bateman had also been Mayor twice, in 1627 and 1631. Rice Vaughan reached the chair in 1645, and John Pryn in 1648.

William Bowen is one of the few worthies of that day whose sepulchral monuments have escaped the vandalism of eighteenth-century churchwardens and nineteenth-century church restorers.

He has, in fact, two monuments. The older contains the names, etc., of himself and wife and his son Thomas, also an Alderman, and his wife. The second monumental stone, erected by his grandson, William Bowen, in memory of his wife, also records the names of his grandfather and father, and their wives. William Bowen, senior, died in 1656, at the age of 70. His grandson, born in 1657, died in 1731. All three were Aldermen of Haverfordwest.

N.B.—Since this article was sent to the press another fragment of four pages has been discovered. It contains marriages of 1595 and 1596, and burials of 1618 and 1619. It is very much torn.

(To be continued.)

THE EARLY LIFE OF ST. SAMSON OF DOL.

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(A Lecture delivered at Caldey Priory, December 13th, 1901.)

475.—Birth of St. Dubric.	552.—St. Samson leaves Caldey Island.
491.—Birth of King Arthur.	555.—St. Samson crosses to Brittany.
517.—St. Dubric crowns King Arthur.	557. ¹ —St. Samson at the Council of Paris.
525.—Birth of St. Samson and St. Teilo.	560.—Death of St. Dubric.
530.—St. Samson goes to Llantwit.	580.—Death of St. Teilo.
550.—St. Samson goes to Caldey Island.	593.—Death of St. Samson.

RANGED round the centre of the great reading-room in Russell Square is what is perhaps the largest book in the world. At all events the British Museum has no other which can rival it. It is not yet complete, but it consists already of some seventy folio volumes, each containing six or seven hundred closely-printed pages. It is the *Acta Sanctorum*, the Lives of the Saints, the tales, that is, which once upon a time were told by many a Calefactory fire, as

“Each in turn essayed to paint
The rival merits of their saint,”

or which were read in the Refectory, what time the silent monks consumed their frugal meal. A treasure indeed, if it were but authentic history! We find, however, that in almost every case some centuries elapsed between the death of the saint and the compiling of the legends of his life; so that although the *Acta* show us what was thought about these holy men in later days, and therefore have in any case their value, yet they in general show us little more. There

¹ This date only is trustworthy. The others are merely conjectural, and, at best, approximate.

is however for the most part an historical substratum, much as it may have been idealised, and there are just a few of the Lives, some five or six, perhaps, although, alas! no more, which are in the main trustworthy narratives.

And such a one is the life of St. Samson, Prior of Caldey, Abbot of Llantwit, and in later life Archbishop of Dol. It is true that it was not compiled, as we now have it, for many years after the Archbishop's death; it however follows very closely a much older life, written by one Enoch, whose uncle was a kinsman of the saint, and who had conversed with Anne, St. Samson's mother. And of this life there are happily three texts, the French, the Breton, and the English, as they have been called, which are represented by the *Acta*, by a life which has been edited by one Dom Plaine in the *Analecta Bollandiana*, and by the *Liber Landavensis*; and all alike are founded upon Enoch's Life, and follow it very closely, so that it is possible to reconstruct the original account with very considerable success.

In dealing, therefore, with St. Samson's life we are on historic ground. There may, indeed, be miracles recorded which are only due to the devout imagination of the writer; but they are few, and they are not grotesque, as when we read elsewhere of some decapitated Cornish saint, who carries his own head under his arm, or crosses from Armorica upon a paving-stone. They are rather, when they do occur, devout imaginings of pious souls, to whom the eternal world seemed very near, and angel ministry a fact of everyday occurrence.

The life of St. Samson will divide itself most readily into two parts, the first extending from his birth, about the year 525, to the year 555, when at the age of thirty he crossed to Brittany, the second covering the remainder of his life. It is with the first part only I propose to deal; the years, that is, which Samson spent at Llantwit and on Caldey Island, and in the neighbouring districts of South Wales.

Not far from Cowbridge, in that fertile tract of land which separates the uplands of Glamorgan from the sea, there lies a little village known to-day as Llantwit Major. It lies to the south of the great coal-basin of South Wales. The Vale of Glamorgan, which is the name the district bears, has little in common with the hill country to the north. The one is agricultural and peaceful, and the other mercantile and busy. The northern carboniferous districts tell of modern life; the Vale suggests the spirit of an older world, ecclesiastical and feudal, which indeed has long since passed away, but which is represented there by many a ruined castle, many an ancient church or desecrated priory, and, in the little village of Llantwit, by the remains of what was fourteen hundred years ago, and for many centuries to follow, a thriving University. And though the sympathies of some may rather turn to the teeming valleys full of hope and industry, the sources as they are of that sea power on which the Empire must depend, yet there are others to be found who take a very different view; the Abbé Duine, for example, who has done so much for the saints of Brittany, writes as follows: "When I had thus," he says, "seen Cardiff, the modern town, the material town; when I had breathed the fog of the coal-carrying city, it was delicious to escape to Llantwit, village of peace, with air so pure, so mild, where life itself is hushed to silence, motionless, and lulled to sleep by the magic rays of the bright August sun! Place," he goes on to say, "before your eyes a very modest row of houses, small, with old thatched roofs, walls red or yellow, or white with lime, the doors bright green; within the windows, flowers; upon the window-sill a cat, her paws tucked in, as solemn as a sphinx! All that one saw was smiling, child-like, primitive."

Doubtless the Abbé Duine has his share of the romantic spirit of his race. His words are those of sentiment; but a more balanced and prosaic writer

bears a similar witness: the late Professor Freeman writes as follows;

“The whole series of buildings at Llantwit Major is one of the most striking in the kingdom. Through a succession of civil and domestic structures of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the traveller gradually approaches the grand group composed of the church and the buildings attached to it; lying as they do in a deep valley below the town, they present a miniature representation of the unequalled assemblage at St David’s.”

And no doubt the Professor is quite justified in what he says. The church itself is most remarkable, and in the churchyard there are relics witnessing to a far distant past. There is a cylindrical pillar, described by Mr. J. Romilly Allen in the *Archæologia Cambrensis* for 1899; there is a fragment of a cross, erected, as its legend tells us, by one Abbot Samson—not our saint—for his soul’s weal, and for the souls of King Juthael, and Arthmael the Dean; there is a cross, long buried out of sight, but found and re-erected in 1793; and there is yet another monument, which bears the inscription: “Samson placed this cross for his soul.”

There was also an ancient tithe-barn to be seen until quite recently. It was a structure of huge size, which dated from the thirteenth century. And there were other buildings which have disappeared. And we still have a fragment of the mediæval monastery, and a dove-cot of the thirteenth century, cylindrical in shape, and covered by a domical vault, such as we find at Angle and at Manorbier in Pembrokeshire.

And to this secluded spot there came, in the sixth century, one Iltud, called the Knight. He was a native of Armorica, which we to-day call Brittany, and was great-nephew of Germanus of Auxerre, who had in his time, with his companion Lupus, come to Wales to combat the Pelagian heresy; and he was also pupil of St. Cadoc, Cadoc-Doeth, the famous Abbot of Llan-carvan, five miles north of Cowbridge, who, with a more than princely hospitality, was wont, it is said, to feed

each day one hundred clergy, and one hundred workmen, and one hundred men-at-arms, as well as one hundred widows and one hundred poor, together with servants, squires, and guests almost innumerable.

But Iltyd, Iltyd "Farchog," or the "Knight," preferring poverty and self-denial to a rough soldier's life, established in this sequestered spot a monastic College, erecting, not of course a noble pile of buildings such as we find to-day at Oxford or at Cambridge, but, as the manner was, a square enclosure with a mound and palisades, and in the enclosure bee-hive huts for his monks, and seven churches, which are said to have been built of stone, though this, in the sixth century, appears incredible.

And by degrees this quiet and remote community became a school for learning, nay, a University, which lasted, little as men now remember it, for certainly not less than a thousand years. And amongst St. Iltyd's early pupils were David, patron saint of Wales, Paulinus, Gildas, Padern, Teilo and Oudoceus, famous men each one of them, and last, not least, St. Paul de Léon, whose tapering spire is now the glory of the north of Brittany.

And to this seat of learning and of prayer there was attached an island known as Ynys-y-pyr,¹ an island to whose shores, the wind being fair, one tide would take

¹ This island must be certainly identified with Caldey. Archbishop Usher did indeed suggest that it coincided with a part of the present town of Llanelly, called Machynnys, formerly an island; and, as the matter seemed of little importance, the suggestion was, until quite recently, accepted without question. It was, however, only an *obiter dictum*, resting on no evidence; whilst, on the other hand, not only do we find in Caldey Island a site more easy of access for the Llantwit monks, and with clear evidence upon it of early ecclesiastical occupation, but, in the Life of St. Paul de Léon, written by one Wromac "moine de l'Abbaye de Landavensis," in the year 884, we are expressly told that there was a certain island, *Pyr* by name, within, it is said, the border of Demetia, in which St. Iltyd spent much of his time, and where he was associated with, amongst others, St. Paul de Léon, St. David, St. Gildas, and St. Samson. And this decides the matter, for Pyr (see Dugdale's *Monasticon*, Camden, Leland, and others) was most indubitably the former name of Caldey.

the hardy and fearless sailor monks from their own little harbour.

And, one day, in the early part of the sixth century, there came to the monastery gates a certain Amon, with Anna his wife, a daughter of King Meurig of Glamorgan, bringing with them a little lad of five years old, as Hannah and Elkanah brought of old the infant Samuel to Shiloh. Like Samuel, he was also a child of miracle. With prayer and fasting Amon and Anna had asked a child of God. No child, however, had been vouchsafed to them until, at the advice of St. Dubricius—"Dubric the high saint"—they resorted to a certain wise and holy man, who instructed Amon to make a silver rod, whose height should equal that of his wife, and give it to the poor. He, nothing loth, made three rods, not one only as prescribed, and with the desired effect; for on the following night an angel came to Anna in a dream, and said; "Thou shalt bear a son, and call his name Samson, and he shall be seven times whiter than that silver which thy husband gave for thee to God." And so, obedient to the heavenly messenger, St. Ilyd at the sacred font gave to the child the name of Samson.

And now five years have passed away, and Amon, resolutely putting from him what must certainly have been the very strong temptation to retain his son, and make of him a leader of men, brings him to Llantwit, and he is made a neophyte; and in due time becomes a student and a monk, a priest, an abbot, an archbishop. He was, it is said, instructed in the Old and the New Testaments, and in all manner of philosophy, to wit, geometry, and rhetoric, and grammar, and arithmetic, and all the arts then known in Britain. Indeed, so apt a scholar was he, that on one and the same day he learnt the alphabet,¹ and also the digits such as were then in use, and in a single week the mysteries of syntax; whilst in the interpretation of the Holy Scriptures he surpassed his master.

¹ *Sub uno eodemque die vicenas eleas, tessarasque agnovit totas.—Actu SS. Julii, vi, 576.*

And there are charming legends told of him, which possibly may not be true, but which at least bear witness, and with no uncertain voice, to the simple healthful lives lived by these monks, their fondness for the animals of whom they saw so much, and for the open air in which their lives were spent. Indeed, in reading of the Celtic monks, we seem to live beneath the open sky; we breathe the air of the Book of Ruth; we are with David on the hillside, or with Abraham at his tent door; nay, even with One Greater, as He walks and teaches amidst the wayside flowers of Galilee.

For instance, all the boys are one day in a field engaged in winnowing corn, when suddenly an adder darts out of a bush and strikes one of the monks. "Run, one of you boys, tell Father Iltyd," cries the steward. And Samson runs, and asks with tears for leave to attempt the cure himself. And, Iltyd having given him leave, he runs back quickly, rubs the bite with oil, and by God's blessing cures the monk.

Again, we read how the boys would take it in turn to scare the sparrows from the barley, and how, when it came to Samson's turn, he gathered them all together like a flock of sheep and drove them into a barn, and then lay down himself in the field and went to sleep; and how the other boys, who had little love for him, surprised him in his sleep, and, being glad that they had found him thus neglectful of his duty, went to the master, saying: "Master, him whom thou lovest we have found sleeping, disobedient, lazy"; and how, when Iltyd came, the boy said quietly, "I found the plunderers in the corn, and, with the aid of God, I keep them in prison for the common weal." And this appears to have been St. Samson's way, for, when an old man, and Archbishop of Dol, he treated¹ in like manner the wild birds of Brittany, collecting them

¹ This is, of course, a very common monastic legend. A similar tale is told, for example, of the hermit Sigar, of Northaw, near St. Albans (*Gesta Abbatum*, vol. i, 97-105), and of many more.

together in the monastery court, and there imposing silence on them till the morning, lest they should disturb the prayers of the monks.

Of course we need not take these legends for more than they are worth ; but when we find such tales told over and over again, as of St. Jerome and his lion, or St. Hugh of Lincoln and his swan, and very many others, we understand that they imply a simple, quiet mode of living on the part of the monks, which did not scare, still less do any harm to the timid denizens of wood and mere. Their dumb companions recognised the saints and hermits for their friends, and kindness generated trust. In fact, the old monk understood, as the modern tripper now seems powerless to understand, the sanctity of animal life, and of them the words of Coleridge had come true a thousand years and more before the *Ancient Mariner* was penned ;

“ He prayeth best who loveth best
All things both great and small.”

But now the time had come for Samson to be made a deacon ; and the Archbishop Dubric coming one day unexpectedly to Llantwit, Iltyd and the brethren prayed him that he would confer this dignity upon the youthful scholar. Their prayer was granted ; and to the eyes of the Archbishop and the Abbot, and of the Deacon who was serving at the Holy Sacrifice, the eyes perchance of the soul to which the things of the spirit are more real than those of which the senses may take cognizance, it seemed as though a dove descended visibly and rested on his shoulder, there remaining till the mass was at an end.

And, after this, St. Samson seems to have redoubled those austerities which had already evoked his master's protest. We are told of abstinence in food and drink, of fasting, cold, and nakedness ; how in the summer-time he avoided shade, and in the winter-time declined to use the second garment which was customary in the monastery ; how his one garment served him night

and day ; how he refused to eat all flesh ; and how, it is quaintly added—and what a flood of light this throws upon the habits of the Celtic monks!—no one ever saw him tipsy, or unable to speak plain.

But all were not as Samson was. There was at Llantwit no immunity from jealousy and bickerings, or from that struggle for preferment which, from the time when the mother of James and John asked that her sons might sit on the Saviour's right hand and his left, has never left the Church, still less the world : and certain nephews of St. Iltyd, who were afraid that Samson's merits might secure for him the post of Abbot, which in the Celtic church was more or less hereditary, and might therefore be expected to descend at St. Iltyd's death to one of them, were not content with ordinary measures, but even tried to remove their rival by the use of poison. Their agent was the monastery baker. He was forgiven by Samson ; but he did not repent, and, on presuming to receive the consecrated cup at Samson's hand, was seized and torn by the evil spirit, and only rescued by the prayers of the saint.

And now St. Samson had been made a priest, the Heavenly Dove appearing at his ordination as before, and by this time he must have become of some importance in the Brotherhood. He probably, however, felt that such an atmosphere of strife and jealousy was bad for all concerned ; and it was therefore no doubt much to his satisfaction that he received one day an intimation from his master, Iltyd, that in the night the Abbot had seen a vision, and had been bidden to ask him whither he desired to go, and to speed him on his way. St. Samson felt but little hesitation as to what reply to make. There was, as we have seen, not far from Llantwit an island monastery, lately founded by an "excellent and holy priest" called Pyro, and it appears that Samson had long wished to join him there, but had refrained from taking any action in the matter lest he should offend St. Iltyd. His opportunity had now, however, come. He told the Abbot of his wish, and

Iltyd, though in great distress, and beating, it is said, upon his breast, and counting it as though his very soul were being torn from him, was yet obedient to the heavenly vision, and forwarded the youthful Samson on his way.

And so St. Samson came to Caldey, then called Inys-y-Pyr, Pyr's Island. There is a neighbouring village on the mainland, which is now called Manorbier, but which was probably then known as Maen-y-Pyr, Pyr's Stone; the stone, a cromlech, is there still. These two names have been not improbably derived from Peredur, of whom the *Mabinogion* has so much to say, but possibly were due to this same Pyro, "excellent and holy priest." But, be this as it may, upon this island he renewed, and certainly with better opportunity than he had hitherto enjoyed at Llantwit, his accustomed life of quietness and prayer, and even something more than his old austerities; though whether more were possible we may well doubt; for, in addition to what has been above recorded, we are told that from the time of his diaconate he had never used a bed, but, when compelled by natural weariness, had learned to lean himself against the wall,¹ and so to snatch a little sleep. To some of us such stories seem, perhaps, to be alike unedifying and incredible; but we must not forget that Samson, whether in Ireland or in Wales, in Cornwall or in Brittany, did, under these austere conditions, missionary work which might have taxed the powers of a Selwyn or a Patterson; and not, I think, incredible; for those who have seen the little chapel of St. Gowan, planted in its rocky gorge, on the wild coast of Pembrokeshire, will not forget a sort of niche in the rock, of which foolish things are said by August trippers, but which is probably the place where one of these old hermit monks was wont, instead of lying down, to take, as Samson did, the little rest which he

¹ "Quod si, ut homo, opus haberet pro carnali fragilitate quiescendi, seipsum parieti, aut alicujus rei duræ firmamento inclinans, nunquam in lecto dormitabat."—*Acta SS. Julii*, vi, 579.

allowed himself; believing, as did Samson, that the sufferings of this present time were not worthy to be compared with the glory which should be revealed in him; and that through suffering came detachment from things earthly, and through detachment knowledge of God.

But Samson was not destined long to enjoy the quiet and secluded life which was so dear to him. One day, as the monks were going forth to their daily labour in the fields, they found at the monastery gate some strangers who had spent the night in the Guest-house, and who asked to see St. Samson. St. Samson's many austerities do not seem to have deprived him of some sense of humour, so he asked them what their business was, and when they said it was for Samson's private ear, "Unless," he said, "you state here in my presence what is the object of your journey, you shall not see Samson as you desire to do." And Pyro seems to have been mightily amused,—perhaps it did not take much to amuse a monk,—but, thinking that the joke had been carried far enough, explained to the strangers who the young man was; on which, we are told, they fell on his neck, and told him of their errand. That errand was a sad one: Amon, Samson's father, was very ill, and he desired to see his son once more before his death. And here we find an instance of that strange detachment, as it seems to us, from the relationships of human life, which was and is so characteristic of monastic life. Christ had said, "He that loveth father or mother more than Me, is not worthy of Me;" and this St. Samson characteristically held to mean that it was wrong for him to go to his father's bedside even at such a time. "I have come out of Egypt," he said, "and it is not for me to return to it, for God is able Himself to heal the sick;" and, saying this, he turned away, and went off swiftly to his work. But Pyro seems to have had more of the milk of human kindness, or, as the biographer very justly says, a truer guidance of the Holy Spirit. He laid no

stress, indeed, upon the duty of a son ; but he recalled St. Samson, and he gently urged him not to neglect his duty to a departing soul. "It might be God would grant to him to sow the seeds of spiritual life." He clearly knew what arguments were likely to prevail. And he was right. St. Samson says at once : "May such indeed be the will of God ! I am prepared to suffer all things for His sake, and that I may win souls ;" and, turning to the messengers, he adds : "Go back, and on the morrow I will follow." So in the morning he commenced his journey, in company with a young man who was a deacon, and on the third day came to Amon. Yet not without adventure by the way. The Celtic monks were sailors, and the dense and awful forests which then clothed the land were to them full of witchcraft, and of evil powers, of serpents, and of unclean things. They passed into the sombre depths, as Stanley did into the forests of the Pigmies, and the oppression and the gloom weighed hard upon them. So we are not surprised to find that Samson found "a horned and hairy witch," who, with eight sisters and a mother, dwelt in the darkness of the forest, and whom he slew in the name of Jesus Christ ; or that, on his return, in company with Amon, whom he had healed of his disease, and with his uncle Umbrafel, he met and slew a serpent of prodigious size.

He left behind, apparently upon the western border of Glamorgan, his mother Anna and her sister Afrella, well and carefully provided for ; and, with his father and his uncle and the deacon, came back to the island, where they again found Dubric the high Saint, whose custom¹ it was to spend his Lents upon it.

St. Samson's troubles were, however, not yet at an end. It is said, in the life of St. Dubricius, in the *Liber Landavensis*, that he was wont² to visit in the

¹ "Mos erat illi episcopo totam pene paschae quadragesimam in eadem ducere insula."—*Acta SS. Julii*, vi, 581.

² "Vir beatæ memoriae Dubricius visitavit locum beati Ilduti, tempore quadragesimali, ut quae emendanda erant corrigeret, et

season of Lent a place belonging to St. Iltyd—which was no doubt Caldey Island—"that he might correct what wanted amendment, and might confirm such practices as might deserve to be retained; for," it is added, "there lived there many very holy men, but also many who were led astray by jealousy." This estimate of the community on Inys-y-pyr is certainly abundantly confirmed by what is found in St. Samson's life. St. Dubric had received, we are told, from the deacon who accompanied St. Samson, a full account of the journey. He had told the Archbishop of the witch and of the serpent, and of Amon's cure, of all, in fact, that had befallen, not concealing his own cowardice; and Dubric had, in consequence, promoted Samson to the post of cellarer, an office of much importance in a monastery, but one whose duties were, we should have supposed, not much in accordance with the young monk's austerity and other-worldliness. And so it proved to be the case. Complaint was made by the disappointed candidate that the new cellarer wasted the mead; and the Archbishop and St. Samson went together to the cellar to investigate. Nor does it appear that Samson was absolved from the charge of over-liberality; though, as it was believed, the miracle of Cana was repeated,¹ and the cellarer's bounty thus received Divine approval.

But Samson soon received promotion. The Abbot, Pyro, "excellent and holy priest," was himself perhaps not always sober; and one dark night, returning to the monastery, he fell headlong into a well, which, from the permanence of geological conditions, could not be far from that which still supplies the island with its pure and abundant streams.² His cry—he only uttered

servanda consolidaret. Ibidem enim multi sanctissimi viri conversabantur, multi quadam livore decepti, inter quos frater Samson morabatur filius Amon."—*Lib. Lan. Vita s. Dubric*, p. 78.

¹ "Lanternis signum crucis imposuit; et dum episcopus venit plena omnia et perfecta reperta sunt."—*Acta SS. Julii*, vi, 582.

² "Idem Piro in tenebrosa nocta, et, quod est gravius, ut aiunt, per ineptam ebrietatem in claustra monasterii deambulans, solus in

one—was heard by the brothers, who drew him from the water in an almost dying state. Their help, however, had come too late. Poor Pyro died in the course of the night. The Archbishop held a chapter after matins ; and the monks with one accord elected Samson as their Abbot. He ruled his little flock for a year and a half, and set to the brothers—some of whom perhaps had walked in Pyro's footsteps—an example of moderation, and something more, in food and drink and sleep. And such an example was perhaps much needed, for we must not think of these Celtic monks as being strict ascetics. On Caldey, at least, the food was plentiful, the cups were overflowing with mead. But hunger and thirst, not meat and drink, rejoiced the Abbot's heart ; nor, as we have said, did he ever rest upon a couch. He lived, whatever others round about him may have done, the spiritual life ; and we are therefore not surprised to read that as from time to time he offered the Holy Sacrifice his eyes were opened, and he saw the angels worshipping the Sacred Presence.

But, at the end of the year and a half, there came to Caldey certain Irishmen on their way home from Rome ; and, for some reason, Samson, with the leave of the Archbishop, went with them ; and as he went from place to place, the blind, we are told, received their sight, the lepers were cleansed, the evil spirits were cast out, and many were converted from the error of their ways. How long he remained in Ireland does not appear ; but in those days, although all journeying by land was difficult and perilous, yet was the sea as easily sailed as it is now ; and so we find St. Samson now in Wales, and now in Ireland ; now giving a name to a Cornish church, or to an island in the far-off Scillies ; now ruling as Archbishop of Dol, and now awaiting in the Channel Islands opportunity for a successful expedition. The fact is, Ireland, Wales, Corn-

puteum valde vastum se præcipitavit, atque unum clamorem ululatus emittens, a fratribus fere mortuus a lacu abstractus est, et ob hoc ea nocte obiit."—*Acta SS. Julii*, vi, 582.

wall and Armorica were nearer to each other than St. Davids, for example, was to Lichfield. So, when the time was come, St. Samson—not, however, without something like a mutiny on the part of his crew, which he quelled easily enough with the Divine assistance—came back to the island, reaching it, as it is said, the wind being favourable, upon the second day.

On Caldey he finds his father, Amon, and also his uncle, Umbrafel, whom he sends back to Ireland, there to fill the place of an Abbot, from whom he had cast out a devil. But he has convinced himself, and he is probably right, that God is calling him to live a life of more austerity than can be lived amidst his monks. And so he “passes into the silent life.” He takes with him his father, Amon, and the aforesaid Abbot, and a brother who was a priest, and, crossing to the main land, goes out into the “wilderness,” not far away, however, from the sea. They probably went westwards into the peninsula which lies between the “Severn Sea” and Milford Haven, now called Castle Martin Hundred; and, as it happens, there is still to be seen near Stackpole, at Rock Point, a cave which satisfies the main conditions of the narrative, whilst in the immediate neighbourhood there is a farm, which, for whatever reason, bears the name of Sampson’s Farm. But, whether at Stackpole or elsewhere, he found an appropriate place, where, in an enclosure, was a fountain of delicious water; and there he left the three who were with him, left them, if we may dare to parallel the solemn scene within the Garden of Gethsemane, to watch, whilst he went on to pray. For himself he found a cave “whose mouth was towards the east.” We all have read of the cave in Shakespeare’s *Cymbeline*, six miles from Milford Haven, where the lowness of the roof compelled the old Belarius and the two sons of Cymbeline to stoop and say their morning orisons; and it was in some such cave, at Rock Point or elsewhere, that Samson spent his quiet days, accustomed, it is said, to the discourse of angels, through whom he

commended himself to the Most High. The brethren brought to him one loaf every month, a large one, we may hope, and every Sabbath day he went to commune with them, and they joined together in the breaking of the Holy Bread.

And here at last he had found seclusion and repose. But he could not long be hid. St. Iltyd had apparently retired from Llantwit. The mother-house was in want of an Abbot; and the retreat of Samson having been betrayed to the sacred synod, they came and lovingly compelled him, much against his will, to undertake the duties of Abbot of the 'Monastery founded by St. Germanus.'

It was the custom in the Celtic Church, not only that three Bishops should unite in ordination, but also that three Bishops should be ordained together; and Dubric, coming one day to the "Monastery of St. Germanus,"—Llantwit, as we may presume—brought with him but two candidates for the episcopate, and therefore needs must have a third. Why not St. Samson? Others, however, greater than St. Dubric had preceded the Archbishop, for, as St. Samson waited his arrival, he had seen in a vision three Bishops crowned with golden crowns, who told him that they were Peter the Apostle of Christ, and James, the brother of the Lord, and John the Evangelist. And so St. Dubric, knowing of the vision by the revelation of an angel, doubted much if he might dare to consecrate again a Bishop who had thus been consecrated by the Chief Apostles; his doubts, however, were overruled, the sacred number three being thus completed to the honour of the Holy Trinity. And at this time not only Dubric, Iltyd, and the Deacon, as before, but all who stood by saw the Heavenly Dove, which rested on St. Samson's shoulder; and to St. Dubric and the monks, who, like Sir Galahad or Sir Percival had power to gaze on heavenly things, there seemed to flow from

¹ "Abbatem eum nolentem in monasterium quod ut aiunt a Sancto Germano fuerat constructum constituerunt."—*Acta SS. Julii*, vi, 583.

St. Samson's mouth a stream of fire as he rehearsed the sacred canon of the Mass.

But we are near the end. St. Samson's work was henceforth to be done in Brittany, and not in Wales; and on a certain Easter Eve, when, as his manner was, he had prayed all night before the altar, there stood by him a man in shining raiment, who admonished him to play the man, and to depart out of his native land and from his kinsfolk, and to serve God beyond the seas. Nor was he disobedient to the heavenly vision. He put the matter before St. Dubric, who could not resist the will of God, but, with St. Iltyd, gave to him his blessing. And when he had ended the solemnities of Easter he set sail, and coasted, eastwards as it would appear, along the shore of what is now the Bristol Channel, until he came to a monastery called Docunni, or Dochor;¹ visiting by the way his mother, who was, as we may remember, daughter of the King of Glamorgan.

Arrived at Dochor, he was induced by a certain monk called Winnian to travel on by land, that on his way "he might destroy the works of the devil." And so, by way apparently of Gwent, Morganwg and Demetia, or what is now South Wales, he passes on to the 'Aufferrean Sea,' which washes the south-west coast of Pembrokeshire, that, in obedience to the heavenly voice, he may cross to Brittany. And legend gathers thickly round his retreating steps.² He overthrows an

¹ Clark, in his *Charters*, Dowlais, 1885, identifies this Dochor, or Docunni, with Llandough, called also Llan Dôch, or Llan-Dôch-Penarth, near Cardiff. To many of the charters in the *Liber Landavensis* we find appended the names of the Abbots of Lancarvan, Llantwit, and Docunni. They were clearly the three leading abbots of the diocese. Docwin, who gave his name to the Abbey of Docunni, was the same as Cyngar of Somerset, son of Geraint, who, after founding Badgworth and Congresbury, returned to Wales, and founded there the Abbey of Llangenys and "Llandoc." (See Capgrave, *Vita Cungiari*, and Usher's *Ant.*, pp. 473, 1117, 4th ed.).

² These miracles are usually located in Cornwall. If, however, Dochor was Llandough, and it is difficult to resist the identification,

idol, slays a serpent, raises a dead man to life, brings water out of the living rock. And it is said that as he went a company of monks preceded him with psalms and hymns; then came the Saint alone, engaged in constant prayer by night and day, and then another company of monks sang their recessional. These are of course but legends, but they are legends which were written down, unlike most legends of the saints, almost within the lifetime of the holy man, and therefore show to us at least the estimate then entertained of him. Nor are they indeed, in the highest sense, untrue, for they are but the expression in material terms of heavenly things. There were spiritual giants in those days: a Boniface, an Aidan, a Columba, would go forth in prayer, and in their inmost selves alone with God, and kingdom after kingdom would be won for Christ; whilst meaner men would be companions of these master spirits, near to and yet apart from them; and so it was the victories of Christianity were won. But here we end. Of Samson's work in Brittany we may not speak; but here in Wales, at Llantwit, on the Isle of Caldey, and in the Cave at Rock Point or elsewhere, his character was formed; and it is pleasant to remember that, some thirteen centuries ago, there went out from amongst us one whose life indeed was moulded in a very different form from what to-day is possible, or even much to be desired, but who had surely a sevenfold measure of that spirit of self-surrender which is the only force by which great things are done.

the land journey must almost of necessity have been from thence to Pembrokeshire; a journey undertaken possibly with the aid of St. Samson's Irish horses, which we afterwards find in Armorica, and which would have joined him from Llantwit. From Pembrokeshire he would have crossed the "Auferrean Sea" to Padstow, on his way to Brittany.

SUGGESTED IDENTIFICATION OF ST. SAMSON'S
CAVE.

On leaving Caldey with his four companions, St. Samson made his way, as his biographer informs us, to a most lonely desert (*vastissimam eremum*).¹ Now, a glance at the map will show that on crossing to the mainland he had two lines of country, and two only, open to him, one towards the north, and the other towards the west. But towards the north he would soon have come to Narberth and the important Abbey of Whitland; whilst on the other hand, towards the west there lies a district, now the Castle Martin Hundred, which has, even at this day, comparatively few inhabitants, and which in St. Samson's time was probably a very lonely desert indeed. It is to the west, then, that we may assume him to have bent his steps. And presently he finds a "fort," and in it a spring of water, near the River Severn, which was the name then borne by the whole of the Bristol Channel, and further on a cave,² which is described as being underground and facing to the east, and which is said to be *planissimus* and *secretissimus*. And there soon afterwards he brings to light a pleasant spring, *fons dulcis aquae*.

Now what *planissimus* may mean is doubtful; but all the other conditions of the problem are sufficiently well satisfied by a cave, which is sometimes called "Rock-shelter," and which is to be found near Bosheston, in the immediate neighbourhood of Stackpole Court. It does not face, indeed, directly to the east, but rather somewhat east of south. The biographer, however, was not writing for an Ordnance Survey, and doubtless

¹ *Vastissimam eremum (sic) adire fecit, ac juxta Abrinum (sc. Sabrinum) flumen castellum admodum delicatum reperiens, atque in eo fontem dulcissimum inveniens, habitaculum suis fratribus in eo facere cogitavit.—Acta SS. Julii, vi, 582.*

² *Quodam die silvam perambulans, reperit planissimum atque secretissimum specum, ostiumque ejus ad Orientem situm.—Acta SS. Julii, vi, 582.*

south-south-east, is near enough. And it is a cave which very properly would be described as "most secluded," and, as Plaine's biographer puts it, "underground" (*sub terra*). It is situated on a tongue of elevated land known as Rock Point; and on another hill which faces it towards the west, but which is separated from it by the Bosheston Mere, are traces of an ancient camp, at a distance from the "Severn Sea" of something over a mile. The country also in the immediate neighbourhood is exceptionally well-watered and well-wooded. The cave and camp are at no great distance from each other as the crow flies, but it requires a very considerable *détour* to cross the Mere, which lies between them. The cave, which is not a large one, was explored some years ago by Mr. Laws and others, and there were found in it some unburnt human bones, and a portion of the handle of a sword. These objects are now in the Tenby Museum.

A mile to the north of the camp and cave we find "Sampson's Farm," "Sampson's Cross," and "Sampson's Bridge," but no tradition of St. Samson now remains upon the country-side. The farm (*see* Fenton) has been Sampson's Farm for at least one century, and probably for many more. Again, a mile to the north of Sampson's Farm we have St. Petrox Church, which bears the name of St. Petroc, Samson's contemporary. The cave is now both small and low, but the configuration of the ground suggests that it may at one time have been larger. There are in the immediate neighbourhood menhirs and other primitive remains, but they are of no great size or importance.

THE CALDEY STONE.

It has been suggested that having regard to the close connection of Dubricius (*Dyfrig*) with the island, the Ogam inscription "Mail Dubr" on the well-known Caldey Stone may possibly refer to him, and be taken to mean "The (tonsured) servant of Dubricius."

GILESTON CHURCH, GLAMORGAN.

BY GEO. ELEY HALLIDAY, ESQ., F.R.I.B.A.

THE church of St. Giles, at Gileston, stands within a few feet of the manor house, the old churchyard, with its cross and yew trees, forming part of the lawn, and combine in the making of so picturesque an old-world group rarely met with in these days.

The church and manor overlook the Severn, near Aberthaw, and command a splendid view of the Channel, with the Somersetshire hills in the far distance.

The quaint little church, only 50 ft. from east to west, is full of archæological interest. Within a few feet of one another are the well-preserved remains of each period of architecture, from Norman to the fifteenth century. It is, however, to the latter period that the church more particularly owes its distinction: first, perhaps, to its curiously embattled and corbelled belfry, but more especially to the almost unique south door, which has remained for some four hundred and fifty years in an almost perfect state of preservation. The wrought-iron hinges are as when first attached to the oak; so is the drop-handle, although the plate, with its cloth backing, is somewhat damaged; yet, strange to say, the lock and key are coeval with the door itself. The latter assertion is on the authority of Mr. John Acutt, expert to Messrs. Chubb and Co., who is a very able authority in matters connected with locks and keys, both old and new. The coat-armour and foliage carved between the ribs in the upper portion of the door is not cut in the solid, but is planted on and rebated into the frame and ribs. It is wonderfully preserved, even to the powdering on the shields, which is quite distinct.

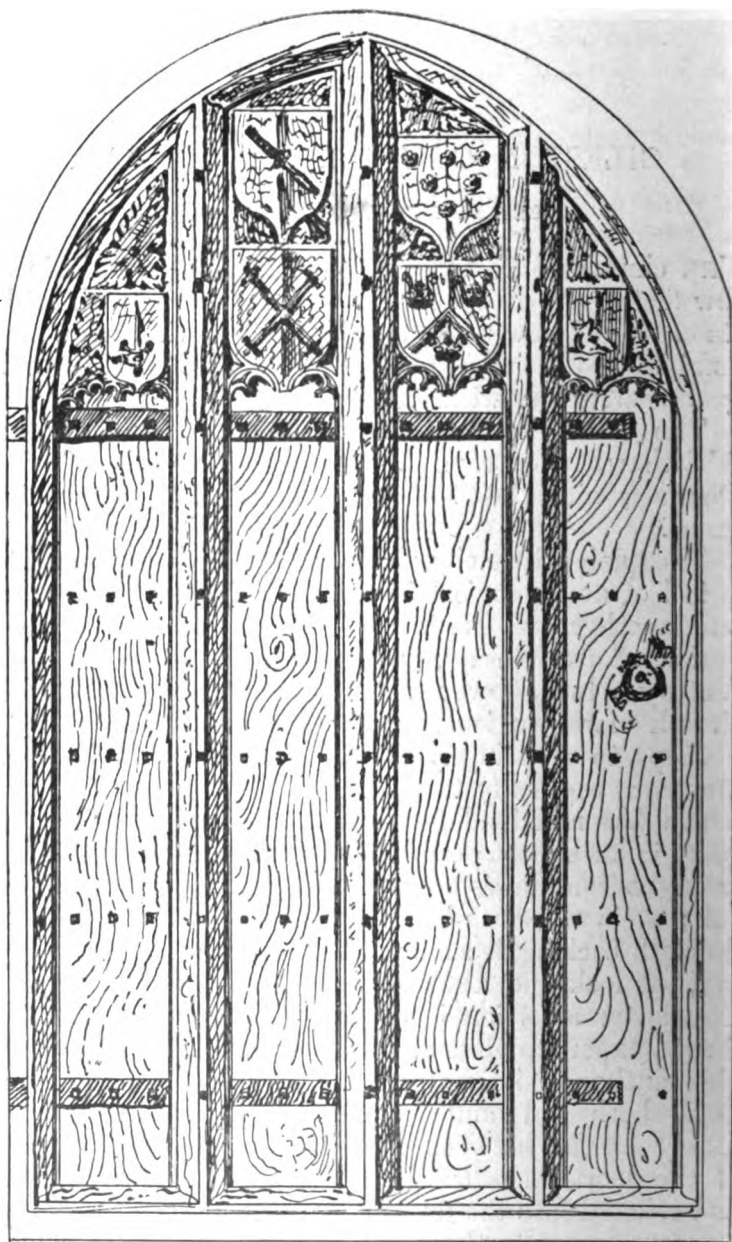


Fig. 2.—Gileston Church : South Door. Drawn to inch scale.



GILESTON CHURCH.—SOUTH DOOR.

From a photograph by Guy Clarke.

I am indebted to Mr. Iltyd Nicholl, of The Ham, Llantwit Major, for the following information respecting the six carved shields:—

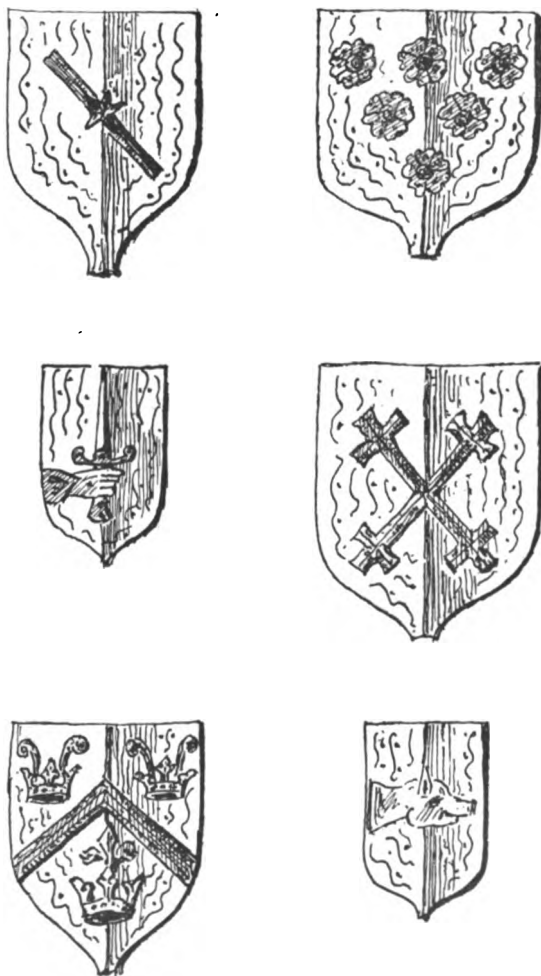


Fig. 3.—Coats of Arms on South Door of Gileston Church.

No. 1.—“(Ermine) a bend (*gules*), a mullet for difference.

“Probably the arms of the Walsh family, who held half the manor of West Orchard in St. Athan, adjacent to Gileston, and

also the Lordship of St. Mary Church, near Cowbridge. Elizabeth Welsh, heiress of the elder line, married John de Anne, *temp.* Henry VI, and so conveyed those manors with Llandough Castle to the Anne (*alias* Van) family, by whom they were subsequently sold.

No. 2.—“Umfreville, Lords of Penmark 1104-1350.

“There were several families of this name, the most important being the Earls of Angus. The various branches were distinguished by differences in their shields, but in all the chief charge was one or more cinquefoils. The heiress of Umfreville married St. John, but an heiress of a junior line married Cantelupe of Cantelupestone (now Candleston), in Merthyr-Mawr.

No. 3.—“A hand couped, holding a sword, was the crest used by Giles (see monument in Gileston Church).

No. 4.—“(*Sable*) a cross-crosslet in saltire (*argent*).

“This was the arms of the Giles family, who held Gileston in 1262, and probably earlier, and who continued to reside there until the failure of the direct male line at the latter end of the seventeenth century. A younger branch acquired Nash Manor before 1377; their coheir married Carne, and the crosslet or cross ‘Julian’ of Juel appears among the Carne quarterings on monuments in Cowbridge Church and Ewenny Priory.

No. 5.—“As carved on church door at Gileston, and on the Giles slab in the church; appears as a ‘chevron between three coronets, out of each issuing two feathers.’

“These same arms, impaled by Boteler, are to be seen on a carved stone over the porch at Binham House, co. Somerset, which was the property of Robert Boteler, who married Anne, sister of Mathew Giles, of Gileston, who died 1618. It would therefore at first sight appear that this coat-of-arms was considered by Boteler to be the arms of Giles. But I have reasons to believe that this coat is intended for the arms of Cantelupe, and should be correctly: ‘a chevron between three leopards’ heads, *jessant de liz*.’ This might easily, by inaccurate or by careless copyists, be altered in the course of time to an appearance of crowns and feathers. This coat is also to be seen in the Carne shields at Cowbridge and Ewenny.

“The earlier part of the pedigree of the Giles family, preserved in old genealogies, and to some extent corroborated by references in contemporary charters, is deficient in details as to the families with whom the Giles’ intermarried; but it is not

improbable that they were descended from Walsh, Cantelupe, and Umfreville, as were so many other families in that part of Glamorgan.

No. 6.—“A boar’s head: may be a crest, or denote a connection with the Cradoc family.

“Sir Matthew Cradoc bore three boars’ heads, as on his fine altar-tomb at Swansea, 1531. Jennet Cradock, of the same family, was the first wife of John Giles, of Gileston; she died before 1529. Assuming that the door of Gileston Church is of the date *circa* 1510, though from its style it might be earlier, that marriage would account for the boar’s head.”

The writer quite agrees with Mr. Nicholl “that from its style it might be earlier,” and that the whole appearance of the door, taken with its ironwork, mouldings and carving, point to an earlier date, probably between 1450 and 1480. If this is so, the “boar’s head,” as connected with the Cradock family in 1510, would surely be a coincidence. It appears to the writer that the door is coeval with the old roof-timbers, which have only been exposed to view during the last few weeks; they were formerly hidden by a plaster ceiling.

This roof is certainly earlier than 1510. The cornice, moulded principals, stopped for bosses at their intersections with the longitudinal tie, speak for themselves.

Again, the door to the rood-stairs, although somewhat patched, still retains a portion of the iron plate once attached to the drop-handle, of similar character to the south door.

The rood-staircase is in excellent preservation, and gives an example of the disregard paid during the fifteenth century to the remains of an earlier period. In this instance a portion of the stairway is roofed by a late thirteenth-century sepulchral slab.

In the neighbouring church of Llantwit Major, this fifteenth-century desecration is even more apparent; there these early stones were used for window-sills, steps, and in fact wherever a large stone was wanted.

The Manor House is not without its interest, although most of it is comparatively modern. The porch and

fine oak staircase are said to have been designed by Inigo Jones, but a few of the early oak principals and moulded purlins may still be seen re-used in the roof.

In conclusion, the writer would like to draw attention to the great similarity existing between Gileston Church and Nicholaston Church, in Gower. Both these churches overlook the sea : their internal dimensions are identical, viz., 47 ft. The fonts are practically of the same design, the former composed of Sutton stone and the latter of stalagmite. The holy-water stoup at Gileston is similar in shape to the piscina at Nicholaston : the one church has a pedestal piscina and the other a pedestal stoup, and in both cases the chancel arch is of rubble masonry and of very similar outline.

ST. BRYCHAN, KING, CONFESSOR.

BY S. BARING-GOULD, M.A., AND J. FISHER, B.D.

THIS great father of a saintly family is most difficult to treat of satisfactorily. He was not inaptly described by Skene as "the mysterious Brychan."¹ The short Latin tract generally known as the *Cognatio de Brychan* is almost our sole authority for his legend. There are two versions of it. The older one occurs in the *Cottonian Collection*, Vespasian A, xiv, entitled "De situ Brecheniauc," and was written in the late twelfth or early thirteenth century, but evidently copied from a MS. probably a couple of centuries earlier. It has been printed by Rees in the *Cambro-British Saints*,² "with the greatest inaccuracy;"³ but a list of *Corrigenda* will be found in *Y Cymmrodor*.⁴ The other version also occurs in the *Cottonian Collection*, Domitian i (at the end), but differs widely from the previous one. This was written about 1650, but the copyist had before him a MS. of probably the thirteenth century, which he was not always able to read. It has been printed, with many inaccuracies, by Theophilus Jones in his *History of the County of Brecknock*.⁵ Both documents give the list of Brychan's children in nearly the same order.

According to the legend, there was a King Tewdrig of Garthmadryn, who came to live at a place called Bran Coyn, near Llanfaes. This was supposed by Theophilus Jones to be a field called Bryn Gwyn, near

¹ *Four Ancient Books of Wales*, vol. i, p. 43.

² Pp. 272-275.

³ Mr. Egerton Phillimore, in *Y Cymmrodor*, vol. vii, p. 106, further remarks that the original copyist clearly did not understand Welsh.

⁴ Vol. xiii, pp. 93-95.

⁵ Vol. i, pp. 342, 343.

Llanfaes, in the neighbourhood of Brecon. Tewdrig had a daughter named Marchell. He said to her: "The sharpness of the cold weather doth greatly affect thee; wherefore it is well to procure for thee a fur garment. I will send thee to Ireland, along with three hundred men, to Anlach, son of Coronac, King of that country, who will marry thee." Then Marchell departed with her retinue, and arrived at Lansemin on the first night, and there a hundred of the men died of cold. There are to-day two places called Glansefin, on the brook Sefin, near Llangadog, in Carmarthenshire.

On the second night she reached Metbrum, which has been supposed to be Meidrim, in Carmarthenshire, and there a second hundred died. The third night was spent at Porthmawr, a warmer place, by St. David's Head.¹ Thence she sailed, with the hundred men left, to Ireland, and arrived safely, along with her attendants, at the court of Anlach, who received her with dancing and joy, and made her his wife. Afterwards Marchell brought forth a son, who was called Brachan, later Brychan.² "And Anlach returned with Queen Marchell, and the boy Brychan," and several captains to Wales. Brychan was born at Benni, the ancient Bannium, near Brecon, and was sent to be fostered by one Drichan. "And in his seventh year, Drichan said to Brychan, 'Bring my lance to me.' And Drichan in the latter part of his life became blind; and whilst he lay watching, a certain boar came from the wood, and stood by the banks of the river Yscir; and there was a stag behind him in the river, and also a fish under the belly of the stag, which then portended that Brychan should be happy in abundance of wealth.

¹ Caerfarchell, near Solva, is supposed to take its name from her.

² The name Brocagni (= Broccagni) occurred on a stone, now lost, which is said to have been at Capel Mair, near Llandyssul, South Wales. We have here the early form of Brychan, in Irish Broccán (Prof. Rhys, *Welsh Philology*, p. 393). Brychan, as a common noun, means in Welsh a coarse kind of home-made cloth, a tartan or plaid, and is a derivative from the adjective *brych* (Irish, *brec*), variegated or speckled.

Likewise there was a beech-tree standing on the side of the aforesaid river, in which bees made honey, and Drichan said to his pupil Brychan, 'Lo, I give thee this tree full of bees and honey, and also of gold and silver; and may the grace of God, and His love, remain with thee here and hereafter.'

After that Anlach gave Brychan as hostage to the King of Powys; "and in process of time Brychan violated Banadlinet, the daughter of Benadel (the King), and she became pregnant, and brought forth a son named Cynog."¹

The *Cognatio* goes on to give the names of the wives and sons and daughters of Brychan, and adds that he was buried in Ynys Brychan, near Man (*Mannia*), apparently in Scotland.²

The grave of Anlach his father "is before the door of the Church of Llanspyddid," where there is also to be seen in the churchyard, on the south side of the church, a stone with crosses and circles, popularly called the "Cross of Brychan Brycheiniog."³ Llanspyddid is usually said to be dedicated to a reputed son of Brychan, St. Cadog.

The first difficulty we have to surmount is the identification of Brychan's father.

In *Cognatio Vesp.* he is given as Anlac and Anlach, the son of Coronac; in *Cognatio Dom.* as Aulach, the son of Gornuc; and in Jesus College (Oxon.) MS. 20 (first half of the fifteenth century), as Chormuc, the son of Eurbre the Goidel. The later genealogists generally have fallen into two mistakes as regards Brychan's father's name. One is to give his grandfather's name as that of his father,⁴ and the other to

¹ "Banhadlwedd, daughter of Banhadle of Banhadla in Powys," *Peniarth MS.* 127 (circa, 1510), *Myv. Arch.*, p. 421.

² In *Cognatio Dom.* he is said to have been buried "in Mynav in valle que dicitur vall Brehan" (*sic*).

³ Figured in Westwood, *Lapidarium Walliæ*, p. 70.

⁴ Korvmawc (*Peniarth MS.* 74), Korvniawc (*Peniarth MS.* 75), Korinwy (*Peniarth MS.* 137), all three of sixteenth century; Korinawg (*Cambro-British Saints*, p. 270).

treat his grandfather's name as a mere epithet of his father, meaning "crowned" or "tonsured."¹ They describe him as "King of Ireland," and "King in Ireland."

Several theories have been proposed for the location of Anlach—

1. That Anlach or Aulach stands for Hua Lagh, sons of Lugh, a Leinster family.

2. That Anlach is Caelbadh, who had a son Braccan, and was King of Ulster for one year, and was slain in 358.

3. That Anlach stands for Amalgaidh (now pronounced Awley).

Amalgaidh was son of Fiachra of the Flowing Locks, brother of Dathi, who succeeded Niall of the Nine Hostages as King of Ireland in 405, whereupon Dathi surrendered to Amalgaidh the crown of Connaught. He reigned till 449, and had at the least three wives, and twenty-one sons are attributed to him besides daughters.

4. That the "Chormuc, son of Eurbre the Goidel, of Ireland," whose son Brychan is said to have been, in the Jesus College MS., is Cormac Caoch, son of Cairbre, younger son of Niall of the Nine Hostages, son of Eochaidh by Carthan Casduff, daughter of the King of Britain.

Cormac's wife, Marchell, was sole daughter of Tewdrig by an Irishwoman, a daughter of Eochaidh Muigh-medhuin. This is the identification proposed by Mr. Henry F. J. Vaughan in *Y Cymmrodor*.²

Shearman, in his *Loca Patriciana* (Geneal. Table VIII), gives a pedigree of Brychan from Caelbadh, King of Ulster. He makes Caelbadh father of Braccan, who is father of Braccanoc, the husband of Marchell, daughter

¹ Anllech corvawc (*Peniarth MS.* 127, circa 1510); Anllech Goronawc (*Iolo MSS.*, pp. 118, 140; *Myv. Arch.*, p. 418); Aflech Goronawc (*Iolo MSS.*, p. 78); Enllech Goronawc (*Iolo MSS.*, p. 111); Afallach ap Coriuwc (*Peniarth MS.* 132); Enllech ab Hydwn (*Iolo MSS.*, p. 109); Anlach, son of Urbf (*Vita S. Cadoci*).

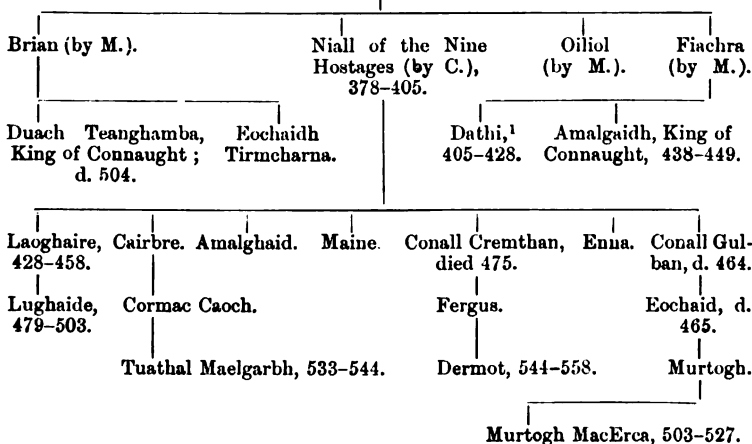
² Vol. x, p. 86.

of Tewdyr ap Tudwall ; and Braccanoc and Marchell are parents of Brychan, who marries Dwynwas or Dina, daughter of the King of Powys. As his authority he refers to the Naemsenchas, *Leabhar Breac*. The Bollandists, relying on Shearman, have adopted this pedigree. But the Naemsenchas in the *Leabhar Breac* gives no such pedigree, which seems to have been entirely drawn out of Mr. Shearman's imagination. Nor does Duaid MacFirbiss, in his great work on genealogies, the *Leabhar Genealach*, give any countenance to this derivation of Brychan. It must be dismissed into the limbo of fantastic pedigrees.

The conjecture of Mr. Vaughan is unsupported by Irish authorities. The pedigree was as follows:—

Eochaidh Muighmedhuin = Mongfinn and Carina (a Saxon).

358-378 (or 356-365).



Duaid MacFirbiss says, in his *Leabhar Genealach*,² "Cairbre, son of Nial, left 10 sons:—Cormac Caoch (the blind). . . . This Cormac Caoch had two sons, viz. : Ainmire and Tuathal Maolgarbh, King of Eire."

The first of the proposed identifications is the most

¹ Dathi was father of Oiliol Molt, 459-478.

² P. 167.

satisfactory. Marchell crossed from Porthmawr to Leinster; and it is precisely in Leinster that several of the children of Brychan have left their names as founders.

That a migration should take place from Ulster or from Connaught to South Wales is improbable. The set from Ulster was to Alba, and in Connaught the Milesians obtained as much land as they required, by exterminating or expelling the native Tuatha Dé Danann.

The name of Brychan, or Braccan, is somewhat suspicious, signifying the "Speckled" or "Tartan-clothed;" and it looks much as though he to whom it was applied was an eponym for that clan of the Irish Goidels who certainly did invade and occupy Carmarthen, Pembroke, and Brecknock. We know that these invasions and colonisations were frequent, and that for a time Britain was subject to the Irish Goidels, and obliged to pay tax to them. It was after the reign of Dathi, who died in 428, that the Irish hold upon Britain came to an end, or was gradually relaxed.

Rees conjectured¹ that Brychan's father was captain of one of these Irish invading bands, a supposition that is supported by a passage in the *Iolo MSS.*,² wherein three invasions (*gormesion*) of Wales by the Irish are mentioned, one of which "was that of Aflech Goronawg, who took possession of Garth Mathrin by invasion; but, having married Marchell, the daughter of Tewdrig, King of that country, he won the good will of the inhabitants, and obtained it as his dominion in virtue of the marriage; and there his tribe still remains, intermixed with the Welsh."

Garthmadrin, according to the *Iolo MSS.*,³ had at one time been part of the district called Morganwg, but was severed in Brychan's time. His grandfather, "Tewdrig the Blessed," is there described as being "King of Morganwg, Gwent, and Garthmadrin."⁴

¹ *Welsh Saints*, p. 112.

³ P. 111.

² P. 78.

⁴ P. 118; cf. pp. 140, 147.

Old Brycheiniog was commensurate with the present county of Brecknock, less the Hundred of Buallt or Builth.¹ The name Garthmadryn gave way to one derived from its new regulus, who was called Brychan Brycheiniog, with which compare Rhufon Rhufoniog and other similar formations. In the *Book of Llandav* the district is called *regio Brachani*, and the people *Brachanii*.²

The Goidel invasion came probably from one of the harbours of Pembrokeshire or Carmarthenshire, and the Irish made their way up the valley of the Towy. Perhaps to them may be attributed the stone camp at Garn Goch, on an isolated rock commanding the river. Beneath it lies Llys Brychan. Then, pushing up to Llandovery, where the old Roman town of Loventium lay in ruins, they struck the Roman paved road, the Via Julia, that led over the pass of Mynydd Myddfai, above the River Gwydderig, to the Roman camp of the Pigwn; and so tramping on upon the road straight as a bow-line, looked down on the broad, richly-wooded basin of the Usk. Crossing the little stream Nant Bran, they halted in the walled city of Bannium, with its stone gateways still standing, among the ruins of Roman villas and baths, and made that their headquarters. Here it was that Brychan was born; and a little further down the Usk, at Llanspyddid, before the doorway of the church, Anlach was buried.

These Irish invaders had entered on a fair land, well watered, the rocks of old red sandstone, crumbling down into the richest soil conceivable; and here they were well content to settle, and to bring into subjection

¹ In the beginning of the ninth century, Buallt and Gwrtheyrnion (in modern Radnorshire) formed a kingdom by themselves (see *Owen's Pembrokeshire*, p. 203).

² Pp. 219, 256. In a *Bonedd y Saint* (which contains a list of his children) in the late eighteenth-century MS. known as *Y Piser Hir*, pp. 294-296, in the Swansea Public Library, Brychan, we are told, was "Lord of Brecknock, Earl of Chester, and Baron of Stafford!"

the natives, who probably offered little resistance. To the South shot up the purple Brecknock Beacons; away to the East the range of the Black Mountains, abruptly dying down, and forming a mighty portal through which, many centuries later, the Normans would pour and make Brecon their own.

To the North were only wooded hills, stretching away to the Epynt range: a fair enclosed land, some twelve miles across, a happy valley as that of Rasselas, to all appearance, but one to be battled for from generation to generation: so rich, so lovely, that it was coveted by all who looked upon it.

That Anlach was a Christian we must suppose, but of a rude quality. His wife was one, certainly, and his son Brychan was brought up in the Christian faith.

Within the walls of Bannium, now Y Gaer, on a hot summer, the grass burns up over the foundations of a villa, and reveals the plan, with atrium and semi-circular tablinum opening out of it, and chambers to which access was obtained from the atrium. It was the most notable building in Bannium—perhaps in the fifth century not wholly ruinous. And in it Anlach may well have dwelt; and in one of those chambers now under the sod, Brychan, who was to give his name to all that country, may well also have been born.

Of the life of Brychan we know nothing, save only what has been already related: how he was instructed by the Christian sage Drichan, and how he was sent hostage to the King of Powys.

The following represent the principal printed Welsh lists of Brychan's children. There are, needless to say, more still in various MSS.

1. The *Cognatio* of Cott., Vesp. A., xiv (late twelfth or early thirteenth century): eleven sons and twenty-five daughters.
2. The *Cognatio* of Cott., Dom. i (circa 1650): thirteen sons and twenty-four daughters.

3. Jesus College, Oxford, MS. 20, known as *Llyfr Llencelyn Offeiriad* (first half of the fifteenth century) : eleven sons and twenty-four daughters.
4. The *Achau* compiled by Lewis Dwnn, a Welsh herald, temp. Queen Elizabeth, printed in the *Heraldic Visitations of Wales*, vol. ii, p. 14, 1846, edited by Sir S. R. Meyrick : fourteen sons and twenty-two daughters.
5. *Myvyrian Archaeology*, p. 419, from an Anglesey MS., written in 1579 : twenty-three sons and twenty-five daughters.
6. *Iolo MSS.*, p. 111, from a Coychurch MS., written circa 1670 : twenty-four sons and twenty-six daughters.
7. *Iolo MSS.*, pp. 119-121, from a Llansannor MS. : twenty-five sons and twenty-six daughters.
8. *Iolo MSS.*, p. 140, from a Cardiff MS. : twenty-five sons and twenty-eight daughters.

To these must be added :—

9. The list given by Nicolas Roscarrock, the friend of Camden, in his MS. *Lives of the Saints*, now in the University Library, Cambridge. He was assisted by Edward Powell, a Welsh priest, who had in his possession a number of Welsh pedigrees and calendars. Thirty-two sons and thirty-one daughters—sixty-three in all—the most liberal allowance given him, we believe, in any list extant.
10. The list in the tract on “the Mothers of the Saints” in Ireland, attributed to Oengus the Culdee : twelve sons in all.
11. The list given by William of Worcester : twenty-four children.
12. The list given by Leland : also twenty-four children.

Giraldus Cambrensis, who speaks of Brychan as “a powerful and noble personage,” says that “the British histories testified that he had four - and - twenty daughters, all of whom, dedicated from their youth to religious observances, happily ended their lives in sanctity.¹ No doubt Fuller had this passage before him when he wrote, in his *Worthies*, of Brychan :—

¹ *Itin. Kamb.*, Bk. I, chap. ii.

“This King had four-and-twenty daughters, a jolly number; and all of them saints, a greater happiness.”¹ He had, of course, no other conception of saintship than that of the Latin Church.

Caw, the founder of one of the Three Saintly Clans, is also credited with having been the father of a numerous family—twenty-six sons and five daughters; but some of his sons followed a warlike life.

The following is an alphabetical list of Brychan's children, as given in the *Cognatio* of Cott., Vesp. A, xiv, by much our earliest authority, with identifications from the later lists:—

Sons:

1. Arthen.
2. Berwin (Berwyn, Gŵrwyn).
3. Clytguin (Cledwyn).
4. Chybluier (Cyffefyr or Cyflewyr); son of Dingad in the Jesus MS.
5. Kynauc (Cynog).
6. Kynon (Cynon); son of Arthen in *Cogn. Dom.*
7. Dynigat (Dingad).
8. Papay (Pabiali).
9. Paschen (Pasgen); son of Dingad in *Cogn. Dom.*, and the Jesus MS.
10. Rein (Rhun or Rhun Dremrudd).
11. Rydoch or Iudoc (Cadog).

Married daughters:

1. Aranwen (Arianwen), wife of Iorwerth Hirflawd, King of Powys.
2. Kehingayr (Rhiengar), mother of St. Cynidr.
3. Gladis (Gwladus), wife of Gwynllyw Filwr, and mother of St. Catwg or Cadog.
4. Guaur (Gwawr), wife of Elidr Lydanwyn, and mother of Llywarch Hen.
5. Gurycon Godheu (Gwrgon), wife of Cadrod Calchfynydd.
6. Hunyd (Nefydd), wife of Tudwal Befr.
7. Luan (Lleian), wife of Gafran, and mother of Aidan or Aeddán Fradog.
8. Marchel (Mechell), wife of Gwrin Farfdrweh of Meirionydd.

¹ Vol. iii, p 514, ed. 1840.

9. Meleri (Eleri), wife of Ceredig, and grandmother of St. David.
10. Nyuein (Nefyn), wife of Cynfarch Gul, and mother of Urien Rheged.
11. Tutglid (in quite the later lists Tudful and Tanglwst are confounded with her), wife of Cyngen, and mother of Brochwel Ysgythrog.

Daughters not mentioned as being married :

12. Belyau (possibly Felis of the Jesus MS., and Tydieu of the other lists).
13. Bethan (unidentified).
14. Kein (Ceinwen).
15. Keneython (Cyneiddon).
16. Kerdych (Ceindrych).
17. Clydei (Clydai).
18. Duyn (Dwynwen).
19. Eiliueth (Eluned).
20. Goleu (Goleuddydd).
21. Guen (Gwen).
22. Ilud (the Llod of the Jesus MS.).
23. Tibyei (Tybie).
24. Tudeuel (Tudfil).
25. Tudhistil (Tangwystl, otherwise called Tanglwst).

We now give them as they occur in the various later lists :—

Sons :

1. Arthen. Attlien in the Jesus MS.
2. Cadog. He is the Rydoch or Iudoc in *Cogn. Vesp.* ; Ridoc in *Cogn. Dom.* ; Reidoc in the Jesus MS. ; Radoc in the *Achau* (No. 4).
3. Cai.
4. Cledwyn or Clydwyn.
5. Clydog or Cledog. The son of Clydwyn according to the *Cognatio*.
6. Cyflefyr or Cyflewyr.
7. Cynbryd.
8. Cynfran.
9. Cynin. No doubt Cunin Cof, the son of Brychan's daughter Hunyd (Nefydd), by Tudwal Befr.

10. Cynog. By Banadlined, daughter of a King of Powys.
11. Cynon, in the Jesus MS. *Cogn. Vesp.*, has "Kynon qui sanctus est in occidentali parte predicte Mannie;" *Cogn. Dom.*, "Run ipse sanctus ycallet (*sic*) in Manan;" the Jesus MS., "Runan yssyd yny (lle) a elwir Manaw."
12. Dingad.
13. Dogfan, Dogwan, or Doewan.
14. Dyfnan. Probably the Dustnon of *Achau*.
15. Dyfrig. By Eurbrawst (*Iolo MSS.*, p. 119). He must not be taken for the well-known Dubricius or Dyfrig, who as we know from his *Vita* was the son of Efrddyl or Eurddil, the daughter of Pepiau or Peipiau, King of Erging, but his father's name is not mentioned.
16. Gerwyn or Berwyn.
17. Hychan.
18. Llecheu.
19. Mathaiarn. Marthærun in *Cogn. Dom.*; Marchairjun or Marcharanhun in the Jesus MS.; and Matheyrn in *Achau*.
20. Nefydd.
21. Neffei. Possibly the Dedyu or Dettu, given in the *Cognatio* as son of Clydwyn. In *Iolo MSS.*, p. 119, he is said to have been a son by Proistri, his Spanish wife.
22. Pabiali. Papai in the Jesus MS. Son by Proistri (*Iolo MSS.*, p. 119).
23. Pasgen. Son probably by Proistri (*Iolo MSS.*, p. 119).
24. Rhaint or Rhain.
25. Rhawin.
26. Rhun or Rhun Dremrudd. Drem Dremrud in the Jesus MS.; Rhevn in *Achau*. Succeeded his father as King, according to *Cogn. Dom.*
27. Syredigon. In *Achau* only.
28. a Valath (*sic*). In *Achau* only.

Daughters :

1. Anna. *Iolo MSS.*, p. 140, only.
2. Arianwen. The Wrgrgen of the Jesus MS. is a misscript for this saint's name.
3. Bechan. *Cogn. Dom.*; the Bethan of *Cogn. Vesp.*; in none of the other lists.
4. Ceindrych. Kerdech in *Cogn. Dom.* and the Jesus MS.
5. Ceinwen.
6. Cenedlon.
7. Clydai.
8. Cymorth or Corth.

9. Cyneiddon. Only in *Cogn. Dom.* as Koneidon, and the Jesus MS. as Ryneidon.
10. Dwyntwen.
11. Eleri (properly Meleri, unrubricated). Meleri in *Cogn. Dom.* and the Jesus MS; Elen in *Achau*. Daughter by Eurbrawst (*Lewis Dwnn*, vol. ii, p. 64).
12. Eluned, Elined, or Elyned. As Eliweet in *Achau*. The Almedha of Giraldus Cambrensis.
13. Enfail. Of Merthyr Enfail. Her name has probably been evolved out of the Merthir Euineil of *Cogn. Vesp.*, a misscript for Tutuul, *i.e.*, the Tudful of Merthyr Tydfil.
14. Goleu. Only in *Cogn. Dom.* as Gloyv, and *Achau* as Gole. The same as Goleuddydd.
15. Goleuddydd.
16. Gwawr.
17. Gwawrddydd.
18. Gwen.
19. Gwenddydd.
20. Gwenfrewi. Only in *Iolo MSS.*, p. 140, and *Achau*.
21. Gwladus.
22. Gwrgon. Grucon Guedu in *Cogn. Dom.*, and Grugon in the Jesus MS.
23. Hawystl.
24. Lleian.
25. Lludd. In the Jesus MS. only.
26. Mechell. As Marchell in *Cogn. Dom.*, the Jesus MS., and *Achau*.
27. Nefydd. In *Myv. Arch.*, p. 419; Hunyd in *Cogn. Vesp.*; Nunidis in *Cogn. Dom.*; Goleuddydd in the Jesus MS.
28. Nefyn. The Nyuen of *Cogn. Dom.*
29. Rhiengar or Rhiengan. Keyngair in *Cogn. Dom.*, Kingar in the Jesus MS., and Kyngar in *Achau*.
30. Tanglwst or Tangwystl. Taghwystyl in the Jesus MS.; probably the Tutbistyl of *Cogn. Dom.*
31. Tudfyl. The Tuglit of *Cogn. Dom.*, and Gutuyl of the Jesus MS.
32. Tybieu or Tybie.
33. Tydieu or Tydeu.

Nicolas Roscarrock, in his MS. *Lives of the Saints*, on the authority of MSS. possessed by Edward Powell, priest, gives another list as follows:—

Sons :

1. Cenawcus, Martyr. The Cynog of the *Cognatio*.
2. Cladwin, and (3) Cledwin, "whoe conquered South Wales, and had a great saint to his son, named Clydocus." He duplicates Cledwyn, the Clytguin of *Cogn. Vesp.*
4. Cifiver. The Chybliuer or Cyflewyr of the other lists.
5. Berwin. This is Berwyn or Gerwyn, the son of Brynach Wyddel and grandson of Brychan.
6. Maethiarn. Occurs in *Cogn. Dom.* A saint of Cardigan-shire.
7. Cinan. The Cynon of *Cogn. Vesp.*, and son of Arthen in *Cogn. Dom.*
8. Kembrit. The Cynbryd of the later lists. A martyr at Bwlch Cynbryd, Llanddulas.
9. Cimfram. In the later lists Cynfran, founder of Llysfaen, Denbighshire.
10. Hichan. In the later lists. The saint of Llanychan in the Vale of Clwyd.
11. Diffrig. In the later lists.
12. Cain, a Martyr. This is the Cai of the *Iolo MSS.* pedigrees.
13. Allecheu. The Llecheu of the later lists. Of Llanllecheu in Ewyas.
14. Dingad. *Cogn. Vesp.* He was father of Pasgen according to *Cogn. Dom.*
15. Cadocus, the Rydoch of *Cogn. Vesp.*
16. Rawn or Rohun. The Rein of *Cogn. Vesp.*, otherwise called Rhun Dremrudd. Succeeded his father as King. See also 25.
17. Arthen. (*Cogn. Vesp.*). Father of Cynon.
18. Difnan. In the later lists. Founder of Llanddyfnan in Anglesey.
19. Anewi. Possibly Neffel.
20. Paball. In *Cogn. Vesp.* and *Dom.* Papay; in the later lists Pabiali.
21. Ridorch, and (22) Rodorch, the same duplicated, the Rydoch of *Cogn. Vesp.*
23. Caradocus. This is Caradog Freichfras, great-grandson of Brychan, by his granddaughter Gwen of Talgarth.
24. Helim, the Helye or Helic of Leland and William of Worcester.
25. Run. The same as Rawn, No. 16.
26. Japan. Not recorded elsewhere.

27. Doguan. The Dogfan of the later lists. A martyr at Merthyr Dogfan, in Pembrokeshire; founder of Llanrhaidr yn Mochnant.
28. Auallach. A mistake of Roscarrock, who has inserted the father of Brychan among his sons.
29. Lhoiau. Possibly the Llecheu of the later lists.
30. Pashen. Paschen in *Cogn. Vesp.* Son of Dingad, according to *Cogn. Dom.*
31. Idia. Not found elsewhere.
32. Io. The Iona or Ioannes of Leland and William of Worcester.

Daughters:

1. Gladus, *i.e.*, Gwladys, in all lists. Wife of Gwynllyw and mother of Catwg.
2. Gwawr. In all lists. Wife of Elidr Lydanwyn and mother of Llywarch Hen.
3. Eleri. The Meleri of *Cogn.*, but Eleri in later lists; wife of Ceredig.
4. Arianwen. In all lists.
5. Triduael. The Tudeuel of *Cogn. Vesp.* Martyr at Merthyr Tydil.
6. Winifred, "called in some copies Gurgon." The Gwenfrewi of one list of Brychan's daughters, in which Gwrgon also occurs (*Iolo MSS.*, p. 140).
7. Cindreth, "of some Mechel," *i.e.*, Marchell or Mechell, wife of Gwrin Farfdrwch (*Cogn. Vesp.*). Her name, however, matches Ceindrych of the later lists.
8. Newin, *i.e.*, Nyuein or Nefyn, wife of Cynfarch Gul, and mother of Urien Rheged.
9. Neuidh, the Hunyd or Nunidis of *Cogn.*, wife of Tudwal Befr, and mother of Cynin.
10. Gleian, *i.e.*, Luan or Lleian, wife of Gafran, and mother of Aeddau Fradog.
11. Macella. See 7.
12. Roscarrock omits this name; was probably unable to read it.
13. Gweadhydh, "in some copies Gwawardhydh, the mother of Kenedir." The Gwenddydd of the later list. The mother of Cynidr was Ceingair (Rhiengar).
14. Goliudhed. The Goleu or Goleuddydd of the other lists.
15. Meldrada, "mother of Cinfinn," not identified.
16. Keingir, "mother of St. Kenedar." The Ceingair (Rhiengar) of the other lists.

17. Gwen, "mother of Sannan, the wife of Malgo Venedoticus." Gwen of Talgarth was granddaughter of Brychan, and wife of Llyr Merini. *Cogn. Vesp.* gives Sanan as daughter of Tudglid, wife of Cyngen.
18. Cenelin. The Cyneiddon or Cenedlon of the lists.
19. Clodfaith, probably Clydai. Clodfaith occurs once in the Welsh lists (*Myv. Arch.*, p. 426), where she is confused with Gwen of Talgarth.
20. Hawistle, and (30) Hudwistle, reduplications of Hawystl or Tangwystl and Tutbistyl (*Cogn. Dom.*).
21. Townen. A blunder for Gwen.
22. Tibies, *i.e.*, Tybieu. Martyr at Llandebie.
23. Enuael. The Enfail of the later lists. Probably a mistake for Tudful (Tydfil).
24. Elinedh, "whom Giraldus calleth Almedha."
25. Elida, the Ilud of *Cogn. Vesp.* and Llud of the Jesus MS. She is called Juliana by Leland and William of Worcester.
26. Tideu. The Tydeu or Tydieu of the later lists.
27. Diganwen, and (28) Dwinwen, "July 13," are Dwynwen. January 25th is Festival of St. Dwynwen; July 13th, of St. Dogfan or Doewan.
29. Conoin, no other than Ceinwen, or Cain, the celebrated S. Keyne.
30. See 20.
31. Malken. Probably Mechell or Marchell.

There is a "Life of St. Ninnocha," or Gwengastle, a saint of Brittany, contained in the *Cartulary of Quimperlé*, that states she was a daughter of Brychan, and that her mother's name was Meneduc:—

"Quidam vir nobilis fuit in Combronensia regione, Brochan nomine, ex genere Gurthierni, rex honorabilis valde in totam Britanniam . . . Ipse Brochanus accepit uxorem ex genere Scottorum, filiam Constantini regis, ex stirpe Juliani Caesaris, Meneduc nomine."

The "Life" was written in 1130, but is of little value. It teems with blunders. The *regio Combronensia* is probably Cambria, and not Cumbria or Cumberland, as Mr. Egerton Phillimore supposes.¹ The Gurthiern to whom Brochan is akin is described in the "Life" of that saint, in the same *Cartulary*, as son of Bonus,

¹ *Y Cymmrodor*, vol. xi, p. 100.

son of Glou (Glywys), and traced it back to Outham (Eudaf ?), son of Maximian (Macsen Wledig).

The wife from the Scots, or Irish, is a daughter of Constantine. The writer of the "Life" lived in the twelfth century, when it was forgotten that Scot signified Irish: and, as he knew that there had been a Constantine of Scotland, he made Brychan marry a daughter of the King of Alba of that name. In the "Life," St. Patrick sends Germanus to the court of Brochan, but he is also visited by St. Columcill from Hy. The Germanus who did go to Wales died Bishop of Man in 474 (not he of Auxerre, who died 448), and St. Columcill in 598. Brychan can hardly have lived later than 500; consequently, we have here a pretty confusion. Brychan's wife Meneduc, and his daughter Gwengastle, or Ninnocha, are unknown to the Welsh.

These various lists by no means exhaust the number of children attributed to Brychan by the Welsh, *e.g.*, in the Calendar printed in *Y Greal*¹ four more are mentioned: two sons, Gwynan and Gwynws; and two daughters, Callwen and Gwenfyl.²

Brychan is said to have had three wives. In *Cogn. Vesp.* their names are given as Prawst,³ Rhibrast, and Proistri; and in *Cogn. Dom.* as Eurbrast, Rhybrast, and Proestri. The last-named is elsewhere given as Peresgri and Prosori.⁴ It is stated in the *Iolo MSS.*,⁵ that Rhybrast, his first wife, was his cousin, being the daughter of Meurig ab Tewdrig. Eurbrast was "a daughter of a prince of Cornwall"

¹ P. 288 (1806). There are several copies of it, differing slightly.

² Among other names and forms occurring in *Peniarth MSS.* 74, 75, and 178, are the following: Sons—Avallach, Kaian, Kain, Heilin, Lloyan, Llonio, Pabal, Rydderch; Daughters—Keindec, Clodfaith, Goleuvedd, Gwenllian, Tudwystl. In the Calendars in *Peniarth MS.* 187 and *Llyfer Plygain*, 1618, against November 2nd, we have another daughter, Gwenrhiw.

³ Another Prawst was wife of Einion Yrth, the son of Cunedda. Another compound, Onbrast, occurs.

⁴ *Myv. Arch.*, p. 418; *Iolo MSS.*, pp. 118, 119.

⁵ P. 147; on p. 119 she is said to have been Eurbrast.

by "an emperor of Rome."¹ Proistri, his third wife, was a Spaniard.²

According to Welsh hagiology, Brychan's family forms one of the Three Saintly Clans of Britain, the other two being those of Cunedda and Caw. The most powerful and influential of the three was Cunedda's, and Brychan's next. His was the most Goidelic. One of the *Triads* credits him with having "given his children and grandchildren a liberal education, so that they might be able to show the Faith in Christ to the Nation of the Welsh, wherever they were without the Faith."³ This *Triad* has been adduced to show how the names of some of the grandchildren have crept into the lists. "The sons of Brychan were Saints in the Cōrau of Garmon and Illtyd; and they afterwards formed a Cōr with Bishop Dyfrig in the Wig on the Wye,"⁴ that is, Hentland, in Herefordshire, the foundation of which is ascribed to Brychan.⁵ Brynach the Goidel, who married his daughter Cymorth, or Corth, is said to have come over with him to this Island, and to have been his confessor (*periglaur*).⁶

Welsh tradition does not strictly confine Brychan's children to Wales. We are told that Neffeï, Pabiali, and Pasgen, his sons by his Spanish wife, went to Spain. Cadog was buried in France, and Dyfnan in Ireland. Berwyn, or Gerwyn, founded a church in Cornwall. Nefydd was a Bishop in the North, and Cynon went to Mauaw.

Mr. Copeland Borlase is too sweeping when he says that the children of Brychan were merely natives of the country over which Brychan once ruled, and that they might be regarded in much the same way as when we speak of the Children of Israel;⁷ and we believe the *Cognatio de Brychan* to be too early and trustworthy

¹ Dwnn, *Heraldic Visitations*, vol. ii, p. 64.

² *Iolo MSS.*, p. 119.

³ *Myv. Arch.*, p. 402.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 121.

⁷ *Age of the Saints*, p. 147.

⁴ *Iolo MSS.*, p. 120.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 121, 140.

a document to enable us to quite dismiss the whole family as a "mythical progeny."¹ Drayton, whilst not denying the existence of twenty-four daughters to Brychan, says that they all underwent metamorphosis by becoming so many rivers. He is very probably incorporating some tradition, now lost. He says:—

"For Brecan was a Prince once fortunate and great
 (Who, dying, lent his name to that his nobler seat)
 With twice twelve daughters blest, by one and onely wife :
 Who for their beauties rare, and sanctitie of life,
 To Riwers were transform'd ; whose pureness doth declare
 How excellent they were, by beeing what they are :
 Who dying virgins all, and Riwers now by Fate,
 To tell their former loue to the vnmarried state,
 To Seuerne shape their course, which now their forme doth
 beare ;
 Ere shee was made a flood, a virgine as they were.
 And from the Irish seas with feare they still doe flie :
 So much they yet delight in mayden companie."²

It cannot be believed that the reputed children of Brychan were all really his. Welsh hagiology, as in the case of Cunedda and Caw, designates them his *gwelygordd*, a term which means in the Welsh Laws a tribe derived from one common ancestor ; and in the Welsh Tribal System the *gwely* was the family-group, embracing sons, grandsons, and great-grandsons. Some of those reputed to be sons of Brychan are known to have been grandchildren ; and allowance must also be made for duplications, of which there are clearly some, as also for blunders on the part of copyists. This will considerably reduce the number of his progeny, as they appear in, especially, the later lists.

In any enumeration, however, of the children of Brychan, it must be borne in mind that there were several persons of the name known to Celtic hagiology. A King Brychan, with many children, who all, or nearly all, became saints, figures in Cornish, Breton, and Irish, as well as Welsh, hagiology. Mr. Egerton Phillimore

¹ Prof. Hugh Williams, *Gildas*, p. 27.

² *Polyolbion*, Second Part, p. 57, ed. 1622.

has endeavoured to show¹ that the best authenticated children in the Welsh lists are pretty clearly the children of at least two distinct Brychans: one belonging to Breconshire, the other to what is now Southern Scotland. The Breton Brychan he traces to Scotland,² and thinks that he admits of being plausibly identified with one of the Brychans who together made up the composite Brychan of Welsh hagiology. The names of his children are mostly not preserved to us; but Mr. Phillimore assigns to him the children who are in the *Cognatio* said to be connected with Cumbria or its neighbourhood. These are (1) his sons Cynon, Rhun, and Arthen, and his daughter Bethan, or Bechan, all said to be commemorated or buried in Mannia or Manaw (no doubt Manaw Gododin, stretching all along both sides of the Forth below Stirling); and (2) his four daughters who are said to have married Northern princes, viz., Gwrygon, Gwawr, Nyfain, and Lluan. The statement respecting Brychan's burial, he thinks, must needs also refer to a Northern, not to a strictly Welsh, Brychan. To this it might be added that there is some evidence of a Brycheiniog also in, apparently, Southern Scotland.³

The tract on the "Mothers of the Saints" in Ireland, attributed to Oengus the Culdee, but actually by MacFirbiss, says of Cynog, whom it calls Canoc: "Dina was his mother, daughter of a Saxon King. She was the mother of ten sons of Bracan, King of Britain, son of Bracha Meoc: to wit, St. Mogoróc of Struthuir; St. Mochonóc the Pilgrim of Cill-Mucraisse and of Gelinnia, in the region of Delbhna Eathra; Dirad of Edardruim; Duban of Rinn-dubhain alithir; Carennia of Cill-Chairinne; Cairpre the Pilgrim of Cill-Cairpre,

¹ *F Cymrodor*, vol. xi, pp. 100, 101, 125. The Brychan ab Gwynon mentioned in the note in *Cambro-British Saints*, p. 606, is a misreading for Bricon, son of Guincon (*Book of Llandav*, p. 203).

² The only authority for this is the *Vita Sæ Ninnocheæ*; but it does not state this, and is a most unreliable document. See what has already been said thereon.

³ Skene, *Four Ancient Books*, vol. ii, p. 150.

Isiöl Farannan ; Iust in Slemnach Albanix ; Elloc of Cill-Moelloc juxta Loch Garman ; Pianus of Cill-Phian in Ossory ; Coeman the Pilgrim in Cill-Coemain in regione Gesille and elsewhere. And she was also the mother of Mobeoc of Gleann Geirf ; for he also was the son of Brachan, son of Bracha Meoc."¹

We will now give the list of the sons and daughters of Brychan who were reputed to have settled in East Cornwall.

William of Worcester, in 1478, visited Cornwall, and extracted the following from the "Acts of St. Nectan," in a MS. he saw on St. Michael's Mount. It has been printed by Nasmith, but not correctly. We have been able to collate it with the original MS. preserved in Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, and we give the revised extract :—²

"Brokanus in partibus Walliarum regulus, fide et morum &c. per Gladewysam uxorem ejus genuit 24 filios et filias, et hiis nominibus vocabantur: (1) Nectanus, (2) Johannes, (3) Endelient, (4) Menefrede, (5) Delyan, (6) Tetha, (7) Maben, (8) Wentu, (9) Wensent, (10) Marwenna, (11) Wenna, (12) Juliana, (13) Yse, (14) Morwenna, (15) Wynip, (16) Kerhuder, (17) Cleder, (18) Kery, (19) Jona, (20) Helye, (21) Canauc, (22) Kenheuder, (23) Adwen, (24) Tamalanc. Omnes isti filii et filix postea fuerunt Sancti et Martires vel Confessores, et in Devonia, vel Cornubia, hereticam vitam ducentes ; sicut enim inter omnes quorum vitæ meritis et virtutum miraculis Cornubiensis vel Devoniensis irradiatus ecclesia, beatus Nectanus primo genitus

¹ Colgan, *Acta SS. Hib.*, vol. i, p. 311. Of these the *Martyrology of Donegal* gives "Dubhan, son of Brachan, King of Britain, by Diu, daughter of the King of Saxon-land," and "Moghorog, son of Brachan, King of Britain, son of Brachaineoc by Dina, who was also mother of nine other saints." Shearman got his Brachaineoc from this. But the martyrologist misunderstood the title Brychan Brycheiniog for Brychan, son of Brycheiniog, instead of Prince of that territory.

² William of Worcester wrote a most atrocious haud, and scribbled in his note-book as he saw anything that struck him. He probably intended to have made a fair copy, but never did this. Nicolas Roscarrock had a transcript sent him from the MS. of such portions as concerned the Cornish Saints, and we are able to check off our reading of the names by the reading sent to him.

fuit, ita cæteris omnibus honestate vitæ major fuit, et prodigiorum choruscitate excellentior extitit.

“ Fuit in ultimis Walliarum partibus vir dignitate regulus, fide et morum honestate præclarus, nomine Brokannus, a quo provincia ipsa nomen sortita nuncupatur Brokannok usque in præsentem diem ; hic itaque Brokannus, antequam ex uxore suâ Gladewysâ filium vel filiam genuisset, in Hiberniam profectus est, uxorem suam et omnia sua relinquens ; timuerat enim ne si cum uxore suâ remaneret, generacionem ex eâ procrearet, quâ impediretur ne libere Domino servire potuisset. Mansit igitur in Hiberniâ 24 annis, bonis operibus intendens ; postea autem visitare patriam suam volens, rediit in Walliam, ubi uxorem suam adhuc viventem invenit. Post aliquantulum autem temporis sicut Deus preordinaverat, licet ipse homo non proposuisset, uxorem suam cognovit, ex quâ postea 24 filios et filias genuit. Videns Dei virtutem cui nemo resistere potest, ait, ‘ Jam Deus in me vindicavit quod contra dispositionem voluntatis ejus venire frustra disposui ; quia enim 24 annis ab uxore meâ ne sobolem procrearem illicite effugi, dedit mihi pro quolibet anno illicitæ continentiæ sobolem unam quia jam 24 filios et filias post 24 annos ab eâdem uxore suscepi. ’ Prædicti autem 24 filii et filiæ, quos prædictus Brokanus ex uxore Gladewysa genuit his nominibus vocabantur, Nectanus et cætera.”

Gwladys was not the name of any wife ascribed to Brychan in the Welsh accounts, but she was his daughter, and the most eminent of all. She became the wife of Gwynllyw Filwr, and mother of St. Catwg. The account given by William of Worcester supplies an omission in the Welsh *Cognatio*. It shows us that Brychan did visit Ireland, though probably for a very different reason from that assigned by the monkish writer. He went either to assert his rights in Ireland, or to collect more Irishmen to surround him, and to extend his kingdom in Wales.

Leland, in his *Collectanea* (vol. iv, p. 153), gives a list of the children of Brychan from a legend of St. Nectan, which he found at Hartland. His list is this : (1) Nectan, (2) Joannes, (3) Endelient, (4) Menfre, (5) Dilic, (6) Tedda, (7) Maben, (8) Weneu, (9) Wou-sent, (10) Mørewenna, (11) Wenna, (12) Juliana, (13) Yse, (14) Morwenna, (15) Wymp, (16) Wenheder, (17) Cleder, (18) Keri, (19) Jona, (20) Kanauc, (21) Ker-

hender (Kenheuder), (22) Adwen, (23) Helic, (24) Tamllanc.

We will now concern ourselves only with those children or grandchildren of Brychan who are named in the lists of William of Worcester and Leland, both of which we have quoted.

We will take the latter list as our basis :—

1. Nectan is the Saint of Hartland. He is not included in the Welsh lists.
2. Joannes and (19) Jona are clearly the same. This is the Ive of St. Ive; his settlement there is in connection with those of his cousins, St. Cleer (Clether) and St. Keyne.
3. Endelient. This is misprinted or miswritten by Nasmith in his William of Worcester list as Sudbrent. She is Cenedlon in the Welsh lists. Her foundation is St. Endelion.
4. Menfre or Menefrida, the foundress of St. Minver, is probably Mwynfriw, and may be Mwynen, the daughter of Brynach the Goidel, and Cymorth or Corth, the daughter of Brychan.
5. Dilic is given by William of Worcester as Delyan, and is possibly the same as (3) Endelion.
6. Tedda in William of Worcester. Tetha is St. Teath, pronounced Teth. She is actually St. Itha, but may be Tydieu.
7. Maben is St. Mabenna of St. Mabyn, also unknown to the Welsh.
8. Weneu or Wentu is the same as (11) Wenna. This is Gwen. Gwen of Talgarth was a daughter or granddaughter of Brychan, who married Llyr Merini, and was the mother of Caradog Freichfras, who certainly was in Cornwall, in the Callington district.
9. Wensent cannot now be traced; probably same as (8) and (11); Wen-sant, or St. Wenn.
10. Merewenna and (14) Morwenna are doubtless the same, patroness of Marhamchurch and of Morwenstow. Not known to the Welsh.
11. (See 8 and 9).
12. Juliana is the Juliot of North Cornwall; her name probably occurs as Ilud in the *Cognatio*.

13. Yse, clearly the patron of St. Issey. This is no doubt a mistake of the legend writer. The Episcopal Registers gave St. Itha as patroness of St. Issey, and she was an Irish saint. Her cult may have been introduced by the Brychan family.
14. (See 10).
15. Wymp is St. Wenappa, the Gwenabwy or Gwenafwy of the Welsh lists, a daughter of Caw. Patroness of Gwennap (see 16).
16. Wenheder is the same as Wenappa (see 15).
17. Cleder is possibly Clydog, who was grandson of Brychan and son of Clydwyn. He is St. Clether in Cornwall, probably also St. Cleer.
18. Keri is clearly intended for Curig, patron of Egloskerry. His ancestry is unknown, but as he settled in the Brecon colony he was reckoned as a son of Brychan.
19. (See 2).
20. Kanauc. By this Leland means Cynog. He was Brychan's illegitimate son by the daughter of the Prince of Powys. He was killed at Merthyr Cynog, in Brecknockshire. Probably patron of St. Pinnock.
21. Kerhender in William of Worcester is Nasmith's misreading for Kenheuder, *i.e.*, Cynidr, St. Enoder, who was the son of one of Brychan's daughters.
22. Adwen or St. Athewenna is probably Dwyn or Dwynwen, a virgin, daughter of Brychan.
23. Helic or Helye. The patron of Egloshayle is intended.
24. Tamlanc is given by William of Worcester as Tamalanc. The patroness of Talland is St. Elen. This may be the Elined or Almedha of the Welsh lists, and the MSS. may have had "Elena cujus ecclesia in Tamlanc," and both transcribers may have committed the same careless blunder of taking the name of the place for that of the patron. Talland = (Sain)tEline(d), as Awdry became Tawdry.

We have accordingly been able to account for about seventeen persons out of the twenty-four names.

Nicolas Roscarrock gives April 6th as the day of St. Brychan. The saint is represented in fifteenth-century glass, with a lap full of children, at St. Neot, Cornwall.



St. Brychan, from Stained Glass Window in Church of St. Neot, Cornwall.

In the *Iolo MSS.*¹ he is said to have founded the church of Gwenfo or Wenvoe, now dedicated to St. Mary, in Glamorganshire.

There is a place called Llys Brychan (his Court), near the site of the ruined church of Llangunock, or Llangynog, near Llansoy, Monmouthshire, and also another under Garn Goch, in Carmarthenshire, as already mentioned.

Dafydd ab Gwilym, the contemporary of Chaucer, in his well-known poem addressed to St. Dwynwen, implores her to grant him his request "for the sake of the soul of Brychan Yrth with the mighty arms."²

We fear that we have been able to throw but little light on a peculiarly obscure topic, but it may be of some avail to have collected together all that is recorded relative to this most shadowy but prolific father of a saintly family.

¹ P. 221.

² *Poems*, Ed. 1789, p. 156. The epithet *Gyrth* seems to mean "touched" or "stricken"; cf. Einion Yrth, son of Cunedda, whose name occurs as Enniaun Girt in the very early pedigree in *Harleian MS.* 3859.

Archaeological Notes and Queries.

PORTMADOC MEETING.

To the Editor of the "Archæologia Cambrensis."

SIR,—May I offer a suggestion for the consideration of those who organise expeditions for the Association in future ?

At Portmadoc the number of members was unusually large. The carriages were unusually small and numerous. The first contained the officials of the Association; it stopped when it reached a point of interest to be visited, and the occupants descended, and began their survey on the spot. No. 2 drove up shortly, and its occupants quickly followed those of No. 1, having but a very little distance to walk. But when it came to No. 10, and to No. 15, each one being a little later than the one in front, and the passengers in it having a little farther to walk, the time lost before the vehicle stopped, and in walking to the object to be seen, was not inconsiderable. So it happened that the whistle sounded almost as soon as the last had reached the place they wanted to see. There was soreness on the part of those who felt themselves unduly hurried, on the part of our excellent conductor, and on the part of our no less excellent officials; who, having seen all there was to see with a minimum of labour and a maximum of comfort, and ensconced themselves again in vehicle No. 1, close at hand, cried out: "Why won't those people get in to their seats?"

I beg to suggest that in future the officials get into the middle carriage, not the first; that it shall stop as soon as it reaches the place to be visited, those in front going on a little farther, so that those behind may get somewhat nearer; and that thus the delay consequent on leaving the last a long way behind may be obviated.

Chwaren teg i bawb.

Yours truly,

CHARLES HENRY GLASCODINE.

Cae Parc, Swansea, 6th October, 1903.

LIFE OF THE LATE RICHARD FENTON, K.C., F.A.S.—Messrs. Edwin Davies and Co., publishers, Brecon, have in the press a life of the late Richard Fenton, K.C., F.A.S., by his grandson, Ferrar Fenton, F.R.A.S., to precede a new edition of Fenton's *Historical Tour through Pembrokeshire*, the well-known County History. To this work will be made important additions from the papers left for that

purpose by Richard Fenton and his son John Fenton, and which are being edited by Ferrar Fenton for the new issue. The added drawings include ogam and other lithic monuments, plans of additional explorations of prehistoric camps and tumuli, as well as church monuments, by the pencil of J. Fenton. Mr. B. Quaritch, of Piccadilly, is the London publisher.

PEMBROKESHIRE ANCIENT MONUMENTS.—A meeting of the committee of the Pembrokeshire Association for the Preservation of Ancient Monuments was held at the Temperance Hall, Haverfordwest, on Saturday afternoon. Mr. Edward Laws presided, there being also present: The Ven. Archdeacon Williams, Dr. Henry Owen, Mr. T. L. James (Mayor of Haverfordwest), Mr. James Thomas (Rock House), Mr. H. W. Williams (Solva), and the Hon. Sec. (Mr. J. W. Phillips).

On the reading of the minutes, a question was asked as to the ownership of the Carn Fawr Camp, and the Secretary said he had been unable to ascertain who was the owner.

Mr. James Thomas seemed to think that the Ecclesiastical Commissioners were the ground landlords, and it was understood that he would make enquiries.

ANNUAL REPORT, 1903.

Llawhaden Castle.—Since the last report was issued your committee have again endeavoured to obtain permission from the tenant to cut the trees which are causing such damage to the walls, and to do the urgently-needed repairs to the octagonal tower; but permission has been persistently refused, although we undertook to make good any damage which the tenant might have sustained. At Michaelmas the Association will become tenants of the Castle and moat, and it is our intention to proceed with the repairs, etc., at once.

Haverfordwest Castle.—It would greatly add to the appearance of this building if the northern curtain were opened out; it would also be of great interest to excavate the central courtyard, where underground passages and at least three dungeons are known to exist.

Rock Castle.—This Castle is still under restoration, the roof has been put on, and the tower made weatherproof. The work so far reflects great credit upon those concerned in it. The additional building has been adapted to its surroundings with much skill.

St. Mary's Church, Tenby.—In the chancel of this church are five plain flat-headed clerestory windows, which were closed, in the last decade of the fifteenth century by Dr. John Smith, Archdeacon of St. David's and Rector of Tenby, when he put up the very handsome carved-oak ceiling. This was an extraordinary proceeding on his part, as now that they have been reopened (without in any way in-

terfering with the carved work), they render visible this fine ceiling, which formerly was quite obscured.

Tenby Castle.—The little keep of Tenby Castle hill has for many years been in the hands of the Admiralty, and was in a sadly dilapidated and degraded condition. The Corporation of Tenby have of late reacquired possession of this interesting turret, probably one of the oldest bits of masonry in the county of Pembroke; and that body are to be congratulated in that they immediately took steps to repair the building, and then handed it over to the managers of the local Museum, who carried out such further repairs as they deemed necessary for the security of the structure. It is now open to the public.

Destruction of an Old Building at Tenby.—Visitors to Tenby may remember a little building nearly opposite to the south-west gateway, used of late as a blacksmith's shop, in which were some curious arches, and one of those huge stone chimneys formerly attributed to the Flemish colonists. This building was known of late years as the "Leper House," though there is no reason for believing that it was ever used as a hospital; we know that it did serve as an outwork in the Civil Wars, and was probably erected for that purpose. It is much to be regretted that the owner has destroyed the features of this building, by pulling out the doorway and substituting a shop window. This arched doorway has been secured, and is to be placed in the tower on Black Rock, Penally, and this is perhaps making the best of a bad job. The Black Rock Tower mentioned in Fenton (page 445) seems to have lost its door-arch in his time; and now, probably owing to the percussion of the constant explosions in an adjoining quarry, shows signs of movement, so that it has become absolutely necessary to replace the arch in order to preserve the building. As the Tenby doorway is composed of two arched pieces of limestone, it represents no period, and will not be out of place in the little tower, which is without any architectural detail.

Llanunwr Cross.—This cross has been removed from the passage where it was found, and will shortly be fixed in a safe position in front of the house, the lessee, Mr. W. R. Thomas, having kindly undertaken to have this done.

St. Mary's Church, Haverfordwest.—Your committee has much pleasure in reporting that the much-needed restoration of this church is being pushed forward as rapidly as possible. The work of restoring the first bay of the nave roof has been placed in the hands of Messrs. Cornish and Gaimler, of London, a firm of great experience in church restoration, and we believe the work will be strictly carried out in accordance with the original design. A large amount of deal work has unfortunately been inserted in the carved ceiling, which will all have to be replaced by oak; this work is necessarily very expensive, and money is much needed. The tender for the restoration of the tower has been let, and the work will be commenced at once.

Erratic Block of Pieris near St David's.—The ironwork protecting this block has been well painted, and the stone is now safe from further damage.

Carr Fawr Camp.—Great damage has been done to this camp, the road contractor having removed the better part of about 70 yards of the third line of walls from the east side. Strong representations have been made to the Haverfordwest Rural District Council on the matter, and the surveyors have been warned against removing any more stone from the spot.

We would again appeal to members to find out and note the antiquities which exist in their own immediate neighbourhood, and to inform the Hon. Sec. at once of any damage being done or in contemplation.

Account of Receipts and Payments to September 26th, 1903.

RECEIPTS.			PAYMENTS.		
	£	s. d.		£	s. d.
By Balance from last Account ...	63	8 8	To Mr. T. J. Morris for Printing ...	0	7 6
„ further Subscriptions July 1st, 1902 ...	11	1 0	„ Mr. H. W. Williams for Printing ...	0	12 0
„ Subscriptions due July 1st, 1903 ...	14	11 0	„ Mr. J. W. Phillips for Postages, etc. ...	1	5 4
			Balance at Bank ...	86	15 10
	£89	0 8		£89	0 8
Balance brought down	£86	15 10			

WILL OF SIR JOHN DE LA ROCHE.—In *Arch. Camb.*, 2nd Ser., vol. iii, p. 266, there is given what purports to be a transcript of the original will of Sir John de la Roche, of Roch Castle, in the county of Pembroke, in which there is a bequest of a book called the *Sirculus*, which has perplexed me.

The original will has recently come into my possession from the Middlehill Library. The words of the bequest are: *ille liber rithmarum qui vocatur Firenbras*.

This would seem to mean the poem of *Syr Ferumbras*, the old English version of *Fierabras*, the most popular of all the *chansons* of the Charlemagne cycle.

As the will is dated 17th May, 1314, the notice of the poem is early and interesting.

Poyston.

HENRY OWEN.

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- Canyat yr egl
 Ti du6 a adol6n
 10 ti a wedi6n
 a thi a adef6n eidun douy6d
- Ti argl6y6d nefawl
 tat tragy6y6da6l
 to dayar ath fa6l ysa6l yssy6d
- 15 Eghyl6n gerdeu
 nef ae medyanneu
 oll ath ua6l ditheu rieu ryy6d
- Cerubin gym6ys
 seraphin uro6ys
 20 a ganant yn l6ys leis wa6t ne6y6d
- Sant Sant Sant argl6y6d
 sabaoth cul6y6d
 santeidua6r hyl6y6d haul h6yl lle6eny6d
- 25 Tla6n yw nefa6l chwant
 oth ua6r ogonyant
 a hyllo aryant holl daeery6d
- Gogonedus gor
 ehystyl nefa6l bor
 ath ua6l ualeh gyngor ganghen det6y6d
- 30 Molyannus yn ri
 rif prof6y6di
 ath ua6l crist (keli) colofn bedy6d
- annait lu creud6yse
 a gerdant yth 6yse
 35 (yn llu aur) dur ur6yse yn llwyr dorf ry6d
- Santes egl6ysa6t
 dr6yr holl uedylssia6t
 dyro hael deua6t othlin dauy6d

8. The *Te Deum* has been variously entitled, The Song of St. Ambrose and St. Augustine, of St. Hilary, of St. Abundius, of St. Sisebutus; but this is the earliest instance of its title as "The Angels' Song."

9. A, om in M.A.

17. Rhiau rhiydd, M.A.

18. Gynn6ys, M.A.

23. Heul h6yl loewdyd, S.S.; hwyl haul, M.A.

29. Gangau, M.A.; gagen. S.S.

32. Keli in margin.

33. Canneit, white robed, Rev. vii., 9, 14.

35. Yn llu aur durfrwysg yn ll6yr dorfrwydd, M.A.

