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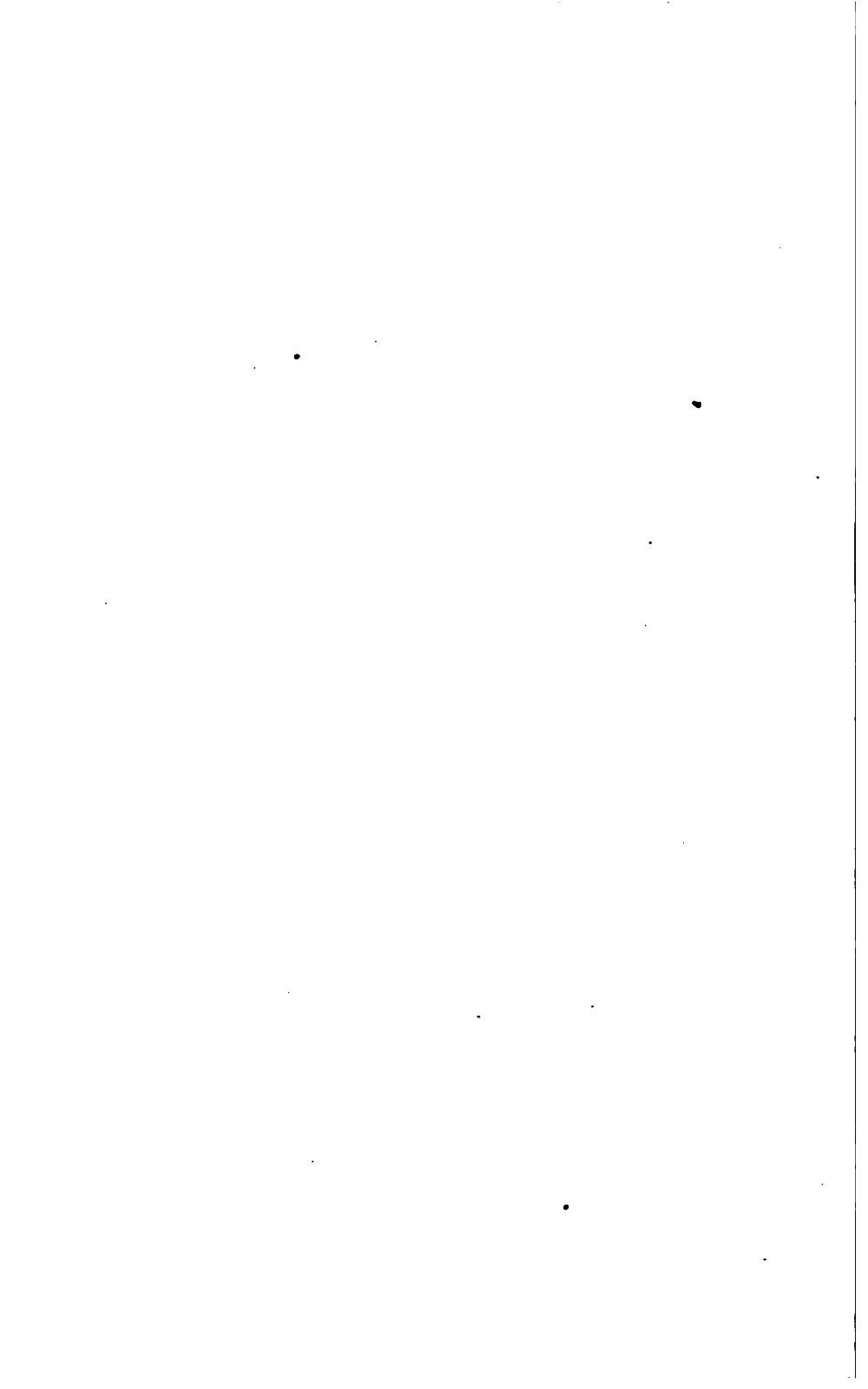




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XLVI A





Archæologia Cambrensis,
A
RECORD OF THE ANTIQUITIES
OF
WALES AND ITS MARCHES,
AND THE JOURNAL OF
The Cambrian-Archæological Association.



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P R E F A C E

THE First Volume of the New Series of the *ARCHÆOLOGIA CAMBRENSIS*, now completed, will be found to contain Papers of equal importance with those in any of its predecessors. Nor have they been limited to one class of antiquities only, but they have been extended to a great variety of subjects and places.

The Paper on St. Cadfan's Stone, at Towyn, is one that cannot fail to be appreciated by the student of Early British History, as it contains the only accurate and scientific account of that monument hitherto published.

The researches of Mr. Ffoulkes on the Clwydian Camps form another important feature in this Volume, and constitute, we believe, the first of a series of similar memoirs.

The Essays on the Architecture of Llandaff Cathedral, and on the Antiquities of Gower, by Mr. Freeman, cannot but attract much attention, from the able manner in which these subjects have been treated by the learned Author of the "History of Architecture."

Mr. Clark has rendered incalculable services to the cause of castle preservation in Wales, by his accurate and laborious communications on Caerphilly and Castell Coch—an example to be followed, we hope, by other Archæologists.

The Report of the Annual Meeting at Dolgellau will be found at the end of the Volume, and forms one of its most interesting portions.

We are bound to notice with thanks the following donations towards the cost of the engravings which illustrate this Volume, viz.:—

W. W. Ffoulkes, Esq.	£6	0	0
E. A. Freeman, Esq.	5	5	0
James Foster, Esq.	2	2	0
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We rejoice to think that the study and preservation of National Antiquities—the great object of the Cambrian Archæological Association—is slowly awakening the zeal of fresh advocates in various parts of the Principality; and we hope that this important result will be found advanced by the publication of the following pages.

Archæologia Cambrensis.

NEW SERIES, No. I.—JANUARY, 1850.

DRUIDIC STONES.

No. I.

THE object of this Paper is simply to furnish the reader of the *Archæologia Cambrensis* with a digest of the Bardic traditions, with a few passing observations, in reference to the ancient monuments of the Druids, under the impression that they will thus conduce to the better elucidation of points on which antiquaries are too frequently divided in opinion.

THE CIRCLE.

ITS SITE.—“The Voice Conventional of the Bards of the Isle of Britain,” said to have been extracted from Meyryg of Glamorgan’s book, in the sixteenth century, and recently published by the Welsh MSS. Society, thus directs:—“A Gorsedd of the Bards of the Isle of Britain must be held in a *conspicuous place, in full view and hearing of country and aristocracy, and in the face of the sun, and in the eye of light*; it being unlawful to hold such meetings either under cover, at night, or under any circumstances otherwise than while the sun shall be *visible* in the sky: or, as otherwise expressed,—a Chair and Gorsedd of the British Bards shall be held *conspicuously, in the face of the sun, in the eye of light, and*

under the expansive freedom of the sky, that all may see and hear.”—(*Iolo MSS.*, p. 432.) And further on we are told:—“It is an institutional usage to form a conventional circle of stones on *the summit of some conspicuous ground.*”—(p. 445.) In another document, published in the same collection, we read, in reference to the Chair of Tir Iarll in particular:—“It must be held in *the sight and hearing of the country and the chieftain, and in the face of the sun, and the eye of light, and under the protection of God and his peace.*” Again,—“The place of assembly may be in any *open ground*, whilst the sun is upon the sky; and it is called the Greensward of Songs.”—(*Ibid.*, pp. 626, 627.)

I shall leave to others the task of ascertaining how far the structures of Stonehenge, Abury, &c., correspond, both in a topographical and social point of view, with the requirements laid down in the foregoing extracts. At the same time, I would direct attention to the reason which is so expressly assigned in favour of the conspicuousness of the Gorsedd, viz.—“that all may see and hear,” which, when such frequent mention is made of the sun, may not be theologically unimportant.

ITS FORM.—“It is an institutional usage to form a conventional *circle of stones*, on the summit of some conspicuous ground, so as to enclose any requisite area of greensward; the stones being so placed as to allow sufficient space for a man to stand between each two of them; except that the two stones of the circle which most directly confront the eastern sun, should be sufficiently apart to allow at least ample space for three men between them; thus affording an easy ingress to the circle. This larger space is called the entrance, or portal; in front of which, at the distance either of three fathoms, or of three-times-three fathoms, a stone, called *station stone*, should be so placed as to indicate the eastern cardinal point; to the north of which another stone should be placed, so as to face the eye of the rising sun at the longest summer’s day; and to the south of it an additional one, pointing to the position of the rising sun at the shortest winter’s

day. These three are called station stones; but, in the centre of the circle, a stone, larger than the others, should be so placed, that diverging lines, drawn from its middle to the three station stones, may point severally, and directly, to the three particular positions of the rising sun, which they indicate.”—(*Iolo MSS.*, p. 445.) “The place of assembly shall be upon the grassy face of the earth, and chairs shall be placed there, namely stones; and where stones cannot be obtained, then in their stead turfs, and the Chair of assembly shall be in the middle of the Gorsedd.”—(p. 627.)

The solar principle, according to which the circles of the Bards are here directed to be formed, is extremely curious; and it would be worth while to put it to the test, especially since so many astronomical theories have already been devised, with a view to explain their characteristic features.

In illustration of the probable origin of the three radiating lines, we may record the following singular traditions:—

“The announcement of the Divine name is the first event traditionally preserved, and it occurred as follows:—God, in vocalising his NAME, said /I\, and with the word all worlds and animations sprang co-instantaneously to being and life from their non-existence, shouting in ecstasy of joy /I\, and thus repeating the name of the Deity.”—(*The Roll of Tradition and Chronology, taken from Edward Williams’s transcript of Llewelyn Sion’s MS., which was copied from Meyryg Davydd’s transcript of an old MS. in the library of Raglan Castle.—See Iolo MSS., p. 424.*)

In another document we are told:—“Immediately with the utterance was light, and in the light the form of the name in three voices thrice uttered, co-vocally, co-instantaneously, and in the vision three forms, and they were the figure and form of the light, and together with the utterance and the figure and form of that utterance were the three first letters, and from a combination of their three utterances were formed by letter all other

utterances whatsoever.”—(*From an old Grammar, apud Coelbren y Beirdd, p. 7.*)

A third tradition says :—“ Einigan Gawr saw three rays of light, on which were inscribed all knowledge and science. And he took three rods of mountain ash, and inscribed all the sciences upon them, as it should seem in imitation of the three rays of light.”—(*See Coelbren y Beirdd, p. 6.*)

It may be remarked that the favourite symbol of the Bards is /1\, and that it stands for the name of God, and is regarded further as a representation of the three diverging rays of light, which Einigan Gawr saw descending towards the earth; and it is somewhat curious that these three lines contain all the elements of the bardic alphabet, as there is not a single letter in it that is not formed of some of these lines.

ITS NAME.—“ The whole circle, formed as described, is called *cylch Ambawr* (the greensward-enclosing circle), *cylch gorsedd* (the circle of presidency), *cylch gwyngil* (the circle of sacred refuge); but it is called *trwn* (a throne) in some countries. The three stones placed near the entrance are called *meini gorsaf* (station stones); the stones of the circle are called *meini gwynion* (sacred stones), and *meini crair* (stones of testimony); and the centre stone is variously called *maen gorsedd* (the stone of presidency), *crair gorsedd* (the token of presidency), *maen llog* (the stone of compact), and *maen armerth* (the perfection stone).—(*The Voice Conventional apud Iolo MSS., p. 446.*)

Ambawr is evidently the original of *ambrosial*, and it suggests a much more satisfactory meaning than may be discovered in the name of Emrys Wledig or Ambrosius, the patron of Stonehenge; much less in Davies’s theory, which professes to find the revolution of the sun in the Greek numerals of which the word may be formed.

Maen llog may be easily recognised in the *logan stone*; and thus there is reason to infer that all stones popularly known by the latter name, wherever met with, once formed part of a druidical circle.

Meini gwynion were not to be removed, according to the Laws of Dyvnwal Moelmud, under pain of death:—"There are three stones, which if any man remove, he shall be indicted as a thief: the boundary stone, the *maen gwyn* of the convention, and the guide stone: and he that destroys them shall forfeit his life, (or be guilty of capital offence)."—(*Myv. Arch.*, v. iii., p. 301.)

It is remarkable that none of these stones is here called a *cromlech*, nor have I been able to find that name in any composition of the older Bards, which certainly tends to confirm the view taken of it by the Irish antiquaries at the Cardiff Congress. Nor ought we to forget that Dr. Owen Pughe considers it but as the *vulgar* name of the *maen gorsedd*, implying thereby evidently that the Bards themselves never used the word.

It would be worth while to examine strictly whether what are called *cromlechau* are found to be invariably connected with a circle; for if they be not, they can hardly be regarded as *altars*, when we consider that all worship, of which sacrifice formed the most essential part, was performed within the sacred inclosure.

ITS USE.—We learn from the bardic traditions that the circle was used—

1. As a place of worship. Thus the "Voice Conventional" speaks of the Druid as one who "acts in accordance with reason, circumstance, and necessity, and that his duties are—to instruct, hold subordinate chairs and conventions, and keep up *divine worship* at the quarterly lunar holy-days," which meetings it elsewhere refers to the circle. The "Rules and Customs of the Chair of Tir Iarll," evidently in reference to the days of Christianity, further allow "every place of worship, and every precinct of a church, to be a place for bardic assembly."—(*Iolo MSS.*, p. 627.)

2. As a place whence to impart all religious and useful knowledge. "The proper privilege and office of the convention of the Bards is to maintain, preserve, and give, sound instruction in religion, science, and morality."—(*Laws of Dyvnwal Moelmud, Myv. Arch.*, v. iii., p. 290.)

3. As a place in which to transact all things relating more immediately to the organisation and discipline of the bardic system. This is so evident throughout the Institutes of the Bards, that it would be superfluous here to introduce any particular extract with a view to establish the point. I will therefore close this part of the subject with a passage from "the Rules and Customs of the Chair of Tir Iarll," which more or less takes in these three several objects of the bardic circle.

"At every Gorsedd of the Chair of assembly, there should be published the Instructions of the Bards of the Isle of Britain; that is to say, the records of the knowledge and sciences, and of the arrangements, and rules, and privileges, and customs of the Bards. After rehearsing the instructions and records, the exhibitions shall be called for; then any Bard, who has anything which he wishes to exhibit, shall exhibit it to the Chair, whether it be poetry, or genealogical roll, or record of honourable achievement, or improvement in knowledge and science. After the exhibitors, hearing shall be given to such claims and appeals as shall be brought forward. And after that, dialogues and chair disputations concerning poetry and its appurtenances; and afterwards they shall proceed to hold a council of judgment upon the merits of what has been brought before the Chair and the Gorsedd; and then shall publication be made of the decision and the judgment, and the presents shall be made. Then the public worship, and after that the banquet and conferring of honours; then shall all depart to their houses, and every one to his own residence."—(*Iolo MSS.*, p. 628.)

NUMBER OF CIRCLES.—"The three chief conventions (prif orsedd) of the Isle of Britain; the convention of Bryn Gwyddon, at Caerleon-upon-Usk, the convention of Moel Ewyr, and the convention of Beiscawen."

Again,—"The three conventions of perfect song (gyvan gerdd) of the Isle of Britain; the convention of Beiscawen in Dyvnwal (Devon), the convention of Caer Caradawc (Salisbury Plain) in England, and the con-

vention of Bryn Gwyddon, in Wales.”—(*Coelbren y Beirdd*, p. 38.)

Both Triads agree in regard to two of the chief conventions, viz., those of Beiscawen and Bryn Gwyddon. It is not unlikely that what is supposed to be the remains of a Roman amphitheatre, but is vulgarly called King Arthur's round table, at Caerleon-upon-Uske, had something to do with the ancient Gorsedd of Bryn Gwyddon. We learn from the Iolo MSS. that the motto of Bryn Gwyddon is “Coel clywed, Gwir gweled,” (hearing is believing, seeing is truth): whilst that of Beiscawen is said to be “Nid byth ond bythoedd,” (nothing is for ever that is not for ever and ever).

The third congress mentioned in the first Triad, viz., Moel Ewyr, will be immediately recognised as that of Abury, or Abury Hill, in Wilts. The reason why Caer Caradawc, or Stonehenge, is substituted in the other Triad, appears to be this—that the Triads refer to different dates; the former to the time previous to the erection of Stonehenge, and the latter to the time when it had superseded Abury. There can be no doubt, when we duly consider the stupendous magnitude of both, and their contiguity to each other, that the one was in a sense the restoration of the other, unless we regard them as rival temples, which is hardly probable. Tradition ascribes the erection of Stonehenge to Emrys Wledig in the fifth century, as a monument to the victims of “the long knives.” That Stonehenge is of comparatively recent date, appears clearly from the marks of the chisel and hammer upon the stones, contrary to the original mode of building adopted in the case of Abury and others, which seems to have come down from the Divine command:—“If thou make me an altar of stone, thou shalt not build it of hewn stone.”

The bardic circle being a *cylch cyngrair*, as it is sometimes called, that is, the circle of concord or federation, makes it highly probable that the meeting proposed for the formation of friendship or alliance between the Britons and Saxons, was held within the circle of Abury,

and that this being now desecrated by treachery and blood, was henceforth totally abandoned. Some of the old Triads say of such places that they were "under the protection of God, and his tranquillity, so long as those who frequented them did not unsheath their arms against those whom they met."

In "A Chronological Account of Times and Remarkable Occurrences," taken from Watkin Giles of Pen-y-Vai's MS., which was a manuscript from one of Caradoc of Llancarvan's chronicles, printed in the Iolo MSS., there is the following passage:—

"In 453, the British chieftains were killed by the Saxons in the treachery of the Hill of Ambri (*query*, Abury?) called also the Hill of Caer Caradawc, in the district of Caersallawg, where they were assembled under the refuge of God's peace, and of national tranquillity."

The above are called chief gorseddau of perfect song, probably in a national point of view, as being the principal conventions, at some particular period of time, of the three great political divisions—Wales, England, and Cornwall respectively; at which efficiency was imparted to what had been initiated, and previously discussed, and recommended at subordinate meetings.

"There are four Chairs of song and bardism in Cambria, viz.:—

"1. The Chair of Morganwg, Gwent, Erging, Euas, and Ystradyw; and its motto is—'Duw a phob daioni,' (God and all goodness.)

"2. The Chair of Deheubarth, Dyved, and Ceredigion; the motto of which is—'Calon wrth galon,' (Heart to heart.)

"3. The Chair of Powys, and Gwynedd east of Conway; its motto being—'A laddo a leddir,' (Who slays shall be slain.)

"4. The Chair of Gwynedd, Mona, and the Isle of Man; the motto of which is—'Iesu,' (Jesus), or 'Iesu nad gamwaith,' (O Jesus repress injustice) according to an old traditional record."—(*Voice Conventional.*)

We also read of the Round Table of Arthur, of

Taliesin, and of Tir Iarll, the motto of which was—"Nid da lle gellir gwell," (nothing is truly good that may be excelled).

Of the Chair of Neath, having the motto—"Hedd Duw a'i dangnef," (God's peace and his heavenly tranquillity).

Of the Chair of Rhaglan Castle, with its motto—"Deffro! mae ddydd," (awake! it is day).

And of that of Urien Rheged, at Aberllychwr (Loughor) under the presidency of Taliesin, having the motto—"Myn y gwir ei le," (truth will have its place).

Many others might perhaps be enumerated, though these are the most notorious and ancient, and they are here mentioned since they may help one to identify any bardo-druidical remains, which may be found in the localities assigned to them; though, indeed, provincial conventions were not invariably held on the same spot, even as it is recorded of that of Tir Iarll:—"The Chair of Tir Iarll was most frequently held on the greensward of Bettws; at other times upon the mound of Crug y Diwlith, on the green of Baedan Morgeila."—(*Iolo MSS.*, p. 625.)

JOHN WILLIAMS ab Ithel.

Llanymowddwy.

(*To be continued.*)

ON THE SIMILARITY OF THE DIFFERENT WELSH DIALECTS.

(*Read at Cardiff.*)

THIS learned and patriotic Association, as its name implies, professes to dive into all the objects of antiquity that are connected with the Principality; and, from the little I know of its progress since its establishment, I should think that it has done noble service. Many useful discoveries have been made, which have thrown light upon the past history of our country—enough to encou-

rage those, who have so worthily devoted their energies to its interests, to go on and take courage. It has also awakened the attention of those who have hitherto neglected its claims, and enkindled a flame of patriotism in their breasts, that shall lead them to love their country, and study its antiquities, so that, even amid the strange innovations of the age, they may find leisure, with Moses in the "Vicar of Wakefield," to "have a touch at the Ancients;" and, when they do so, no doubt they will be forced to say of many things which they now deem obsolete and worthless—" *The old is better.*"

We certainly live in an utilitarian age, and, though I am a friend to progress, I have a high regard for many old things in *Gwynllt Walia*; for, though comparatively useless now, there is no need to destroy them; they ought to be preserved as so many rare and valuable relics, and thus they may become useful in another sense than that for which they were at first intended. It shows a little soul, a narrow mind, as well as bad taste, to pull down the walls of any sort of ancient ruin, for—

" There is a power
And magic in the ruined battlement,
To which the palace of the present hour
Must yield its pomp, and wait till ages are its dower."

It is a sacrilege to use the stones of a venerable pile for secular purposes—it is an invasion of its hoary sanctity, and a profanation of its consecrated ground. Rather than stretch forth my hand presumptuously to remove a single stone, I would plant the ivy around the walls, to bind the crumbling materials, and to perpetuate the holy desolation in eternal verdure. Suppose a line of railway were projected across the Wye in the direction of Tintern, and so arranged that the Abbey should be turned into a station—is there a Welshman that would put up with it? Is there a mountain *Taffy* whose hot blood would not mount up his cheek at such an insult? Is there a Cambrian of any taste at all who would allow a railway director to touch the sacred soil of that classic spot? What delicate ear could endure the shrill sound of the

whistle, and the puffing of the steam-engine, to pollute the holy air of St. Mary, where erst the pious hymn and loud anthem swept along its sacred aisles, and swelled within its lofty dome, and left the soul quite on the verge of heaven? Methinks if such a project were made known to its noble proprietor, with an offer of a munificent sum for compensation, that he would most indignantly act upon the sentiment of his ancestral motto, and emphatically declare, that *nothing on earth could possibly atone for such a piece of modern barbarism.*

The world has laboured too long in the dark; noble energies and splendid talents have been wasted and thrown away in vain, for want of such an Association as this. To attempt working in this manner is to build without a foundation, or, in other words, to make castles in the air. It is an irksome task to the mind to be deprived of its reward, by not obtaining the object in view. How true that well-known phrase—"Happy is he that knows the causes of things." The Philosopher of Syracuse realised the truth of this sentiment, when he exclaimed—"I have found it! I have found it!"

A critical knowledge of the *Cymraeg*, and its kindred dialects, would do much to further the objects of this Society, especially the Erse, Irish, and Armoric. Owing to the different tribes which speak these dialects having been separated for so many centuries, although so many of their words continue the same, they cannot understand each other in conversation. Some words that have lost their true meaning in Welsh are to be found in the other dialects, whereby we are enabled to understand our most ancient bards. We have an instance of this in the word *tra*, which now means "extreme" in the Welsh, but, in Armoric, "a thing."

Dr. Owen Pugh, in translating a line of Taliesin's in his "Lexicon," namely,—

"Gŵr a gynnail y nef Arglwydd pob *tra*,"

renders it—

"He that upholds the heaven, the lord of every *extreme*;" which is absolutely without any sense at all. If the word

“thing”¹ be substituted, we shall obtain the meaning of the original at once.

In treating the subject of language archæologically we must go back to the very beginning of speech, before letters were invented, and study the various sounds produced by all the organs of articulation.

Before language was reduced to a system of grammatical rules, when there was a paucity of words, the rude syllables which were then uttered were very significant. Men, in making known their wants, were obliged to define things phonetically; and this fact explains the cause that the simple roots of the most ancient languages are so onomatopœic, or expressive in *pronunciation*, of the nature of the thing spoken of. This is abundantly evident in almost all the Hebrew radices, especially the monosyllabic ones. It is by referring archæologically to the sounds produced by the organs of speech in gutturals, dentals, and labials, that we are to understand the etymology of words, and thereby their different shades of meaning, in all their ramifications of construction and inflection; and I have noticed the importance of this in the fact that, when the same consonants in the Welsh are used in words of a different signification, amid this general discrepancy, there is a leading and latent idea common to them all, *e. g.*, *cad*, a battle, the object of which is to defend one’s country. Now, the *prevailing idea of defence* runs through all the alliterative derivations in the following series, *viz.*, *cadw*, *cadarn*, *cadwyn*, *cadair*, *ceidwad*. Again, words beginning with the double consonants *cn*, such as *cnu*, *cnoi*, *cnau*, *cnyw*, *cnyff*, *cnwd*, *cnawd*, all of which, like a noun of multitude, possess the idea of assemblage, or collection of parts; *e. g.*, *cnu* means a fleece, *cnwd* a crop, &c.

I shall now give a short vocabulary of Irish, Gaelic, and Welsh words, with their meaning in English, in order to point out the analogy between the three cognate dialects, *viz.* :—

¹ Our correspondent will see that the word “thing” has been substituted in the second edition of the “Lexicon.”—EDD. ARCH. CAMB.

IRISH.	WELSH.	ENGLISH.
Awn-ree	Avon-rhi	King's river
Tigh-mor-ri	Ty mawr rhi	King's palace
Duir	Derwen	Oak
Coll ¹	Collen	Hazel
Lismore	Llys mawr	Great hall
GAELIC.	WELSH.	ENGLISH.
Cath-mor	Cad mawr	Great in battle
Lamhor	Llaw mawr	Mighty hand
Neartmor	Nerth mawr	Great strength
Rothmor	Rhuthr mor	The roaring of the sea before a storm
Malmor	Moel mawr	A great mountain
Moran	Mawr-ran	Major part
Morlath	Mawr ladd	Great in battle
Lochlin	Llychlyn ²	Norway
Morannal	Mawr annadl	Strong breath
Ferg-thon	Brig ton	The rage of the waves
Kean-teola	Cun teulu	Major domo
Innis, Gaelic and Irish—Ynys, in Welsh—Island. ³		

Coom duv, in the county of Kerry, means "the black valley." I know two places in Wales of this name; one of them is within half a mile of my native spot in Cardiganshire, near Tre'-Hedyn; the other in Brecknockshire, where the late celebrated *Carnhuanawc* lived and died, the learned and pious Vicar of *Cwm du*. *Faiodh* is the Irish word for alphabet, and signifies a voice; as *F* has the form of the old Greek digamma, if we substitute *g*, the word will become *Gaiodh*, similar to *Gwaedd* in Welsh, which means the same thing. The Latin *v* comes from the old digamma, and this is the reason that the Latin words which begin with *v* have *gw* prefixed to words of the same meaning in Welsh; *e. g.*, *vacuus*, *gwag*; *vidua*, *gweddw*; *vilis*, *gwael*; *verum*, *gwir*; *viridis*, *gwyrdd*; *vir*, *gwr*, &c. *Rath* is an Irish word, it means a fortress; it

¹ Hence Caledonia, the ancient name of Scotland, because it abounded with hazel groves.

² Probably the Welsh proper names Talylych, and Tallyllchau, are partly cognate with the above.

³ My old friend *Tegid*, that eminent Celtic scholar, has kindly and unsolicited corrected some orthographic errors in the above list, which crept into my MS., for which he has my sincere thanks.

appears to be cognate with the Welsh word *rhaith*, which is retained in the compound *cyfraith*, *i. e.*, a law. If the negative particle *an* be prefixed to *rhaith*, it becomes *anrhaith*, which signifies pillage, or spoil. *Roath*, near Cardiff, having the same radicals, probably belongs to the same root; and, were Roath Court broken into, its respected occupant, C. C. Williams, Esq., would, no doubt, consider it a great *anrhaith*, and the burglars a set of *anheithwyr*. *Roath* is still retained in the Cornish, and signifies *form*, as may be seen in the first chapter of Genesis—"And the earth was without form;" in Cornish is—"Ha thera an noar heb *roath*." *Croom* is an Irish word for temple. *Crom* also, in the same language, is the *Jupiter tonans* of the Irish—very expressive this, as if the whole canopy of heaven were the god himself. *Cromen*, in Welsh, signifies a dome, or roof; hence the compound *cromlech*—the stone that lies horizontally upon the perpendicular ones, as in Stonehenge, Stanton-Drew, and other Druidic altars.

May we not suppose, as *crom* means Jupiter in Irish, that the *cromlechau* were altars erected for the worship of that universal divinity? *Beli*, in *Armoric*, means *Baal*, and I strongly suspect that this is the same word which I often heard when a boy, uttered by some very old men in Cardiganshire, when they were in a passion, who were modest swearers, as—"Ni wn i yn y Feli." "Yn enw *Beli* beth nest di fachgen? Myn *Beli* ti gei wybod," &c.

Carrig-a-choppeen, near Macroom, in the county of Cork, is almost pure Welsh, *i. e.*, *Carreg a Choppen*, which name defines exactly the object spoken of, being a large stone resting on the top of a rock.

I shall now come nearer home, and have something to say to our English friends. As to their language, I am not aware that there is much analogy between it and the Welsh, except those few words which they have purloined from us, as well as our land; but we let that pass now; it must be forgiven, as well as borne with; and I am sure that every true Briton will be ready to do so, when

he remembers that this fact, in the history of our country, was unavoidable; I say unavoidable, for our living in Wales this day is a fulfilment of Taliesin's prophecy, which he said, or sung, more than a thousand years ago,—

“ Eu hiaith a gadwant
Eu tir a gollant
Ond Gwyllt Walia.”

The Welsh names of English places, still retained in many parts of England, bear witness of the truth of this prophecy; whilst, like so many faithful monuments, they point out who the aborigines were; where, notwithstanding that the land has passed into other hands, the *Cymreic* appellatives have stood their ground, maugre all the sibilants of the *Saeson*, and will not be hissed off the stage. *Nomenque laudesque manebunt.*

I shall now adduce a few of these names; and, beginning with the Land's End, I shall take Cornwall by the horns. *Pentraeth* and *Penrhyn* are pure Welsh words; the former means “the top of the strand;” the latter “the top of the cape.” Welshmen sometimes give a literal translation, quite regardless of idiom, such as “the head of the strand,” &c.

Cornwall abounds with names of places beginning with *tre*, the Welsh word for town, as *Treburget*, *Tre-carrol*, *Tre'hac*, *Tregony*, *Trelawny*, *Trelech*, &c. I might quote Welsh names of places in all the English counties; but suffice it to take a step up to Cumberland, whose very name reminds us at once of the *Cymry*, as *Penrith* and *Penruddock* remind us of their language. The word *comb*, found in the names of so many English places, as *Whitcomb*, *Wiveliscomb*, *Combhay*, *Comb Martin*, &c., is none other than a corruption of the Welsh word *cwm*.

Malvern is a corruption of the Welsh compound *Moel-y-farn*; it signifies the hill of judgment, because culprits were executed there. The word *burn*, in *Tyburn*, may be derived from the Welsh *radix*, *barn*; and *Lisburn*, in Ireland, may be synonymous with *Llysborn*—a judgment hall. However, there can be no doubt but that

executions took place on the top of high hills, even in modern times.

Atpar hill, near Newcastle-in-Emlyn, is called *Bryndiodde'*, the signification of which is—the hill of suffering. *Highbury*, on the top of St. Michael's hill, Bristol, was formerly the scene of many executions; and, as skeletons have been found on these unenviable eminences, no doubt the culprits were buried on the spot. This custom may, perhaps, have some connexion with the numerous *cairns* which are seen on many of our native mountains, which *tumuli* are generally supposed to have been places of sepulture. I think that there is a *cairn* on the top of the Garth, near this town.

I shall now give the etymology of a few Welsh names of places. *Llanborth*, the name of an old farm-house in Cardiganshire, near the sea, is a corruption of *Llongborth*—a haven for ships. *Cernos*, a gentleman's seat in the same county, is a corruption of *Carn-rhôs*, being contiguous to an extensive range of peat-land. *Porth-y-cawl*, in this county, does not mean, as vulgarly supposed, a place noted for broth; it is true, there is a never-failing fluid that ebbs and flows there; but, were any of the members of this Association, of the most *archaic* taste, to drink of this truly archæological beverage, he would say that there was too much salt in it. The right word is *Porth-y-Gaul*, which probably took its rise from some Gallic invasion. But, by-the-bye, the word *cawl* has been used sometimes for beer. The old Vicar of Llandovery, in his pious expostulation with the town on the subject of temperance, says:—

“ Esau werthodd ei 'difeddiaeth
Am y phiolaid gawl ysywaeth
Tithau werthaist deyrnas nefoedd
Am gawl brâg do, do, o'm hanfodd.”

Sion Crydd bach, in a satire on a public-house that came to nothing by selling small beer, uses the word in the same sense. His words are:—

“ Tafarn cadarn y cawl—fu unwaith
Yn enwog am ddwr-gawl

O ddigon fe aeth yn ddigawl
Llymrwg heb na chig na chawl."

Penboyr the name of a parish in Caermarthenshire, comes from *Pen-y-Beirdd*, because some chief bard lived, and held a *gorsedd* (an ordination of bards), there. It is a common saying in Cardigan and Caermarthenshire, when a person is absent in mind, that "the one-half of him is in *Penboyr*;" probably this originated in the absence of mind of some Welsh poet, when preparing for an *Eisteddfod* to be held there; or, perhaps, it may be a sweeping reflection upon the whole order of Welsh bards, as a race of mental absentees. I remember being charged with it myself, several times, when I was in a meditative mood, in my boyhood—the golden age of poetry. *Llan* is a Welsh word, prefixed to most of our Welsh parish churches; it is a generic, rather than a specific, term; it means an enclosure, and refers more to the churchyard than to the sacred edifice itself; it is applied to other enclosures also, as *Llannerch*, *Gwinllan*, *Perllan*, *Corlan*, *Ydlan*, &c.

This word answers to the Irish *Kil*, as in Kilkenny, Killarney, and numberless others. As a proof that it means the same, in the few parishes in Wales whose names are prefixed by *Kil*, *Llan* is omitted, as *Kilrhedyn*, *Kilcennin*, *Kilfowyr*, *Kilsant*, in Caermarthenshire; *Kilbebyll*, in *Dyfed*; *Kilcwm*, *Kiliau-Aeron*, and others. This word is likewise cognate with *cail*, the Welsh for sheep-fold; hence the compound *bugail*, from *bu* and *cail*. *Taliesin* uses it in the following couplet, viz. :—

"Gwae na cheidw ei gail
Ac ef yn Fugail."

The Welsh word *cil*, which means recess, retains the same idea in *all its applications*, e. g., *Cil-y-draws*, *Cilboch*, *Cildwrn*. Nouns are formed from it, as *ciler*, a wooden vessel to make butter in—a kind of tray, and *cilfach*, a nook. The verb *cilio* is derived from it, and must be understood *objectively*, in reference to some enclosed place of retirement.

The name of the ancient town of Wrexham comes

from *Gwraig Sam*; the *g* and *s* have the same power as the letter *x*, into which they have glided, as *gamma* and *sigma* in Greek become α . I must confess that I am quite ignorant of the history of this *Sam* and his wife; I shall therefore dismiss the subject at once, with a recommendation to some learned *Venedocian*, in the event of your Association meeting there, to prepare a paper on the subject. No doubt, it would be a very interesting pursuit, to wade through a long line of consanguineous ancestry; and, for aught we can tell, it would afford more gratification than the intricate and tedious enquiry into the pedigree of Owen Tudor, before he married the widow of Henry the Fifth. Who knows but that such a research might eventually issue in an introduction to *Old Sam himself*, as well as to an acquaintance with his wife, and all the family?

Should the Association meet at Wrexham, it will, of course, visit *Erddig*, *Llangollen*, *Llanegwest Abbey*, or *Valle Crucis*, the adjacent royal monument, and *Dinas Brân*, foolishly called Crow Castle—a most absurd and wrong translation.

Were Ovid alive, he would not believe in such a strange metamorphosis as that of a king being transformed into a rook! I hope that, ere long, some member of this Association, who is a good archæological shot, will bring down that foolish bird from the castle, as it has no business there.

Not only is there a strong similarity between the various dialects of our ancient language, but also between the habits, customs, and rites of the different tribes by whom they are spoken.

The inhabitants of Armorica, for instance, very much resemble the Welsh. About twenty years ago, when the celebrated *Le Gonidec* translated the New Testament into *Armoric*, an opportunity was afforded to a few Welshmen who happened to be there about that time to witness this assimilation between the two nations. They discovered that the middle classes supported their own literature, and it appears that they were fond of reading.

The gentry there do not support the press, as they speak French. This is the case in Wales. Whilst our gentry speak English, our literature (and our magazines and other publications are very numerous) is almost entirely supported by the working classes, many of whom contribute articles to the monthly periodicals that would put many a scholar to the blush; and I have been often gratified at our *Eisteddfodau* by seeing labourers, miners, and artizans, covered with the medals they had won, who were, doubtless, as they appeared to be, very shining characters. Our *Cymreigyddion* societies have generally originated with the people themselves; and it is but justice to add, that many of our gentry have nobly come forward to patronise them, among whom may be reckoned several English families of distinction; and some illustrious Saxons and Irish have become so enamoured of the beauty of our *old*, but still *beautiful*, language, as to master, win, and make it their own—among whom Dr. Thirlwall, that consummate linguist, is the most conspicuous; his lordship's prodigious perseverance deserves and commands the admiration of the whole learned world, and that of Wales in particular. With great propriety may be applied to him the lines of the bard to Dr. Burgess, then Bishop of St. David's, viz.:—

“Cymro 'n ei galon yw 'r gwr.”

“Gwr o fraint goreu ei fri
Bugail Duw a bagl Dewi.”

Lady Charlotte Guest has done noble service to the Welsh MSS. Society, by her splendid translation of the *Mabinogion*, and by her ladyship's untiring efforts to advance the welfare of the Welsh people, both intellectually and morally.

Gwenynen Gwent, though an English lady, has learnt the Welsh language. Her ladyship is a most excellent reader of our ancient *Cymraeg*, and speaks the vernacular very fluently. Like her fabled synonym, *Gwenynen Gwent* has extracted a goodly store of honey from the flowery plains of *Gwent*. She must have had great

perseverance in wading through the hosts of gutturals and double consonants she met with—such, for instance, as the following:—

“Hwch goch a chwech o berchyll cochion bach.”

“Ewch o’ch och i’ch iachau
Iach wychach ewch o’ch achau.”

Or,—

“Rhi dau allu rhoid eirwllathr
Rhoed oerllam a’i ’rhyw dirllethr
Rhew diarlloes rhwyd oerllithr
Rhodri Iarll rhaiadr eurlyllythr.”

But, lest our English friends should think our language harsh, I will read an *Englyn* without a single consonant in it, the euphony of which forms a striking contrast with what you have just heard. It is on the spider (that wily operative who defies all competition) weaving from his own raw materials:—

“O’i wyw wy i wau e’ â—o’i wyau
Ei weuau e’ weua,
E’ weua ei wé aua’
A’i weuau yw ieuau iâ.”

To point out a few instances of similarity between the words of different languages may be considered by some labour in vain—quite an useless thing. I trust, however, that it cannot be so to our Archæological Association.

Language is the key to the history of the nations. Sometimes a single word, resembling the one that is used of any particular thing in another language, will lead to important discoveries, and show a close affinity between very distant nations. Look, for instance, at the Irish word *caoin*; it is the name of a funeral dirge, sung by women at wakes and funerals; it is pronounced somewhat like our English word *queen*, and not unlike the Welsh word *cwyn*, which signifies the same thing as the Irish word. Probably it is kindred with the Hebrew *keenah*, from the root *koon*, a female minstrel. The *keenah* of the Hebrew women is very similar to the *caoin* of the Irish, *i. e.*, their lamentation. “Cwyn bendith y mammau,” the wailing of women heard in

the Welsh *toylu*, or the ghost of a funeral, appears to be of kindred origin.

This single word forms a link that connects the most ancient and learned nations in the world. Females lamented over Hector's dead body; and Virgil, speaking of the funeral of Dido says:—

“Fæmineô ululatú tecta fremunt.”

The grief of the Orientals is at this day very violent. As soon as a person dies, the first shriek of wailing is uttered by the females in the family; the same cry is repeated at different intervals, and continues for eight days. St. Paul alludes to the excessive sorrow of the Greeks after their dead, who sorrowed as those who had no hope, because they did not believe in the resurrection.¹

Corach is an Irish word, kindred, no doubt, with the Welsh word *corwgl*, or *corwg*, for not only are the words similar, but the vessels of the two nations also, which they signify. These rude vessels were invented in the East, the cradle of the world, and the native land of all nations.

The ark which concealed Moses was made on the same principle, composed of bulrushes, and daubed with slime and pitch. Herodotus describes the vessels that sailed on the river down to Babylon,² as being composed of skins, with ribs cut out of willows that grew in Armenia, who calls them,—

“Parva scapha ex vimine facta
Quæ contacta rudi corio.”

Strabo mentions their use on the Red Sea, by the Subæi, in sailing to Ethiopia,—

“In navigiis ex corio confectis.”

Mac Cuil, Bishop of Man, sailed in a boat made of skins, “in navê pellicéâ,” when he was cast upon the island.

Gildas says, that the barbarous hordes of Scots and

¹ 1 Thess. iv. 13.

² The Marquis of Northampton told me, after I had read this paper, that the various relics discovered in the ruins of Nineveh, by Mr. Layard, were conveyed on the Tigris and Euphrates in the same kind of vessels.

Picts that invaded our country sailed across the Scythic Channel in their *corrachs* or *currachis*. As we can trace this primeval vessel so far back, it is more interesting to every patriotic Cambrian to see his countryman sailing in the *corwgl* on one of our rivers, than to read the account of the Niger expedition, because it connects him with a land far more distant than the source of that river.

In the foregoing observations, imperfect as they are, we may learn enough to justify the establishment of the Cambrian Archæological Association. We should not forget by-gone ages. If we are fond of history—if we feel a laudable curiosity to find out the cause of every effect—should we not do all we can to trace all things to the fountain head? It was this mental phenomenon—a desire to know the principle of things, and which shows itself so early in children—that gave rise to every antiquarian institution. The first conception of this truly philosophical Association was nothing less than a certain mode of its operation—a kindred development with numerous other, and indeed all, scientific pursuits; and that individual, whoever he was, that first conceived the idea of this Association, must, simultaneously with that conception, have felt the rising of Archæology within his breast. The energy of this wondrous faculty is revealed in the stupendous labours of Geology, which science has a similar bearing on Geography, as archæology on history. It is likewise revealed in the vast fund of information obtained by travellers in the collection of medals, inscriptions, manuscripts, paintings, hieroglyphics, sculpture, &c. These researches, in their various important results, have thrown a flood of light upon many subjects which must otherwise have remained in darkness, or, at best, to the unsafe guidance of mere conjecture.

In studying the objects of antiquity with which our country abounds—its ruined castles, abbeys, and monasteries, and its more ancient camps, *cairns*, and *cromlechs*, we are led naturally to enquire what were the thoughts

and feelings of our ancestors respecting the soul, and its destiny. These ancient remains are the exponents of what their thoughts were, for every material modification of man's fashioning must have existed ideally in his mind antecedently.

This Association lays hold of these primæval objects, to preserve them from decay, and rescue them from oblivion in the records of its archives;—its labours are in perfect harmony with Christianity. I mention this, because I have heard some pious, but weak, Christians speak with concerned tremor against the *Eisteddfodau*, asserting that they had a tendency to revive Druidism!

Experience, however, has proved, that we cannot act properly in anything, if we are ignorant of it. A thorough acquaintance with the relics of superstition is more likely to convince us of their vanity than of their supposed efficacy. The polytheism of the British Museum has not converted a single Christian into an idolater. "Prove all things, hold fast that which is good." Here we cannot err.

The volume of inspiration furnishes us with a Divine precedent;—the abolished laws of the Mosaic œconomy are allowed to remain still on Heaven's statute-book; and, although no longer binding upon us, they aid us to understand the New Testament better—the shadow points to the substance, and type and antitype produce a reflex influence on each other;—so the monuments of antiquity, studied by this Association, whilst, for the most part, recording the tyranny, barbarity, and superstition of our ancestors, tend to make us all better, both as men and Christians, and more fully to appreciate the advantages of civilisation, the privileges of good government, and above all, the blessings of the Gospel.

J. JAMES, (*Iago Emlyn*).

Cardiff, August 27, 1849.

MEMOIR ON THE HISTORY AND ARCHITECTURE
OF THE CATHEDRAL OF LLANDAFF.

(*Read at Cardiff.*)

OUR Cathedral of Llandaff, although it can assert no competition, in the exquisite richness of architectural beauty, with its English sisters of Salisbury, Lincoln, or Ely, and still less venture any comparison with the grand amplitude of Canterbury, York, or Winchester, may still assuredly claim the supremacy, both in elegance of detail, and magnitude of scale, over every other cathedral of our own Principality.

The original foundation of our see is, in the "*Liber Landavensis*," (a compilation apparently of the twelfth century,) ascribed to the influence of the Gallican prelates, SS. Germanus and Lupus, on their deputation from the council held at Troyes, in the middle of the fifth century, in answer to the application made by the British Church of that period for the mission of skilful controversialists, to assist them in checking the growth of the heresy of Pelagius (himself a man of British birth, of the native name of Morgan). Our monkish historian then proceeds to inform us that, after these high authorities had succeeded in the object of their mission, they aimed at providing fresh guards to the preservation of that purity of faith which they had thus re-established, by considerably augmenting the number of the British bishoprics; and that, as one step in the prosecution of this design, they proceeded to consecrate Dubritius (who had previously been elected by the king and the whole diocese) as Archbishop of the Britons of the South, *i. e.*, South Wales; and that Llandaff was then assigned as the seat of his primacy. The general foundation of this narrative does indeed appear to be laid in a faithful traditional recollection of the gradual growth of our episcopal dioceses, in this early period of our ecclesiastical history; but we cannot place much reliance on the accuracy of its details, which were probably much miscoloured

by the local prejudices of a monk attached to our own particular chapter; for it is little likely that the original primacy of Wales had any other site than Isca Silurum (Caerleon), the undoubted metropolis in that age of this portion of Romanised Britain, whence it was subsequently removed to Menevia (St. David's), on account, probably, of the dangerous proximity of its former locality to the encroaching tide of Saxon conquest; it is not, however, by any means contrary to verisimilitude, that this dignity, in the course of its western retreat, may, for a time, have rested on our own Llandaff. But the narration of of the "Liber Landavensis" certainly labours under the most serious chronological difficulties, which must throw over the whole a thick veil of obscurity and doubt; for the latest date assigned to the mission of Germanus and Lupus is 447, and the death of Dubritius is said not to have taken place till 522,¹ no less than seventy-five years after his supposed consecration. Archbishop Usher, in his work, "De primordiis Eccl. Angl.," endeavours to reduce this difficulty by supposing Dubritius to have been consecrated to the bishopric of Llandaff in 470, and afterwards translated to the primacy of Caerleon in 490, thus bringing his whole episcopate within the limit of fifty-two years; but, at all events, it appears quite impossible that Germanus can have done more than merely noticed this our first bishop as a promising youth, during the period of his own visit to our country.

But, however such critical considerations may shake our full confidence in our monastic historian, still his simple description of the humble scale of the architectural relics of that earlier age which his own eyes had inspected bears the full stamp of exact accuracy. He informs us that when Urban, the earliest bishop after the Norman conquest of this district, was preparing to translate to his own cathedral the relics of its canonised Prot-Episcopus from the Isle of Bardsey, where he had been first buried, having retired thither to religious solitude on the resig-

¹ "Liber Landavensis," p. 81, erroneously gives the date nearly a whole century later, in 612.

nation of his ecclesiastical dignities, he found the primitive cathedral, founded by the saint, far too humble to afford a suitable receptacle for his remains, for it consisted rather of a small chapel than a church, its length being only twenty-eight feet, its breadth fifteen, and height twenty. Two small aisles, however, are also mentioned, (which, I suppose, should be added to these dimensions,) as also a circular porch, (by which a semi-circular apse is probably meant,) having a radius of twelve feet; this would, therefore, extend the entire length to forty feet. This account will present an exact analogy to those ecclesiological antiquaries who are acquainted with the small dimensions of the earliest churches of Ireland, ascribed to the age of St. Patrick, and his immediate successors, who also flourished in the fifth century, and who are said, like our Dubritius, to have enjoyed the patronage of St. Germanus. We may therefore conclude that these earliest founders of Christian churches throughout the British Isles were contented with edifices of the most humble pretensions.

The annals of our church present us with little more than an uninteresting list of the names of twenty-one prelates, the successors of Dubritius, before the Norman conquest of this district, and the erection of our present fabric. The legend, however, of its second bishop, St. Teilo, whose reputation for reputed sanctity and miraculous power even eclipsed that of his predecessor, may demand notice from its singularity, for it is marked by the most distinct record of the *miraculous* multiplication of holy relics, for the increased consolation of their faithful worshippers, with which I have ever met. Such a multiplication may, indeed, be often inferred, from the familiar fact, that the most popular of the saints will be found to have two or three different heads, and some dozen extremities, attributed to them in Romanist churches which boast of their relics; but I do not recollect to have met, in any other instance, with such an express avowal, and precise history, of the practical manner in which the marvel was effected, as is presented in

the "Liber Landavensis." Immediately after the decease of St. Teilo, we are told that, so widely had his reputation been diffused, as to cause a warm controversy for his remains between the clergy of three churches with which, during life, he had been especially connected—Pendy, the place of his own birth, and of the burial of his ancestors; Llandeilo fawr, which he had selected for monastic retirement; and Llandaff, the see of his diocese, became the eager competitors. But, in a spirit of more than ordinary moderation, these clerical rivals agreed to abstain from the arbitration of force, or even of law, and to refer their controversy to the decision of some sign from heaven. They knelt down, therefore, as the night was closing, in prayerful watches around the single corpse; when lo! the first dawn of morning disclosed three corpses lying before them, each marked by the most exact identity of form and lineaments, and by the very same grace and beauty of feature. Each party, therefore, departed, equally content to bear his own peculiar prize to his especial church. But our author, a monk of Llandaff, though nothing doubting the full identity of the three bodies, still asserts that the relics preserved in his own cathedral were assuredly attested by the most signal and distinguished manifestation of miraculous power.

From these anile legends of the middle ages, let us turn to their architecture, which does, indeed, exhibit the strongest contrast, and display the true and ennobling principles of genuine art.

On April 14, A.D. 1120, our then Bishop, Urban, with the sanction and patronage of both Primate and Pope, commenced his great work of erecting a suitable cathedral in this ancient see. As, however, his life was only prolonged for thirteen years, and his time was much occupied by repeated appeals, and several journies to Rome, to effect the recovery of various lands and properties, of which he asserted his see to have been unjustly despoiled, we cannot suppose that he had really completed much of the building before his decease. I am

persuaded that we shall find the traces of his work only in the present presbytery. At the eastern end of this, a handsome Norman arch opens into the Lady Chapel beyond ; of which, however, the actual structure being of the Early Decorated style, must be dated a century and a-half later than the age of Urban ; but, as his Norman arch must have been intended to communicate with some eastern chapel, it is obvious that such an appendage must have entered into the original design. I have thought it not improbable that the diminutive primitive cathedral, or rather cell, previously described, may have occupied this eastern site, and may have been spared for a time, until replaced by the present Lady Chapel, in the close of the thirteenth, or beginning of the fourteenth, century.

This great eastern arch, just mentioned, has its central moulding of the ordinary Norman zig-zag, and the central shafts which ornament the side-jambes of this arch have also their cylinders bent into zig-zags, so as to prolong this moulding vertically downwards, which I believe to be a more unusual feature ; the exterior moulding, also, which forms the superior facing above the curve, is, I believe, peculiar to this cathedral ; it consists of a circlet, marked by studs, enclosing a flower of many petals ; it is repeated in other portions of this Norman presbytery, and is hence figured in "Parker's Glossary," plate xvii.

The side-walls of this Norman presbytery appear, at their original construction, to have had no outer aisles connected with them ; those now existing were clearly superadded more than two centuries later, when Pointed arches, with mouldings, in the style of 1350, were interpolated for communication, by cutting through and removing the great mass of the original walls in the most remarkable manner. That this was the true process, however singular such a mode of architectural construction may appear, is fully demonstrated by the appearances presented in the wall of the presbytery, on the south side. Here we find these interpolated Pointed arches intersecting an original Norman window, of which

the rounded arch, with heavy billeted mouldings, and the western jamb, still remain, intermingling in strange confusion with the Pointed work which has cut through them; the eastern jamb has been entirely cut away. The outer face of the arch of this window may be traced in the wall, beneath the roof of the added side-aisle, adjoining to the apartment over the chapter-house; and the same external moulding already noticed as peculiar to Llandaff, in the description of the great eastern arch, may be here again recognised.

The corresponding north wall of the presbytery also exhibits, although in a less marked manner, proofs of the same original Norman construction, and of the later interpolation of its Pointed arches, for a well-characterised Norman string-course was, in the progress of the restoration now in hand, discovered running along all this portion; and, if we may judge from the rude representation given among the plates of "Dugdale's Monasticon," the clerestory above this part, before its destruction in the last century, was distinguished by low windows with round arches.

We may conclude, then, that the presbytery had been completed before the middle of the twelfth century—but this alone; for no other trace of so early a date appears throughout our whole fabric. The remainder of the choir and the nave would naturally have been the portions next taken in hand; but, in the central aisle of these parts, nothing can be referred to any period earlier than about the last decade of this century. I am inclined to believe that the construction of those parts commenced from their exterior or side-aisles; for, although the true date of the general mass of the walls of the side-aisles has been falsified by the universal interpolation of windows of the Middle Decorated style, yet the south-western and north-western Norman doorways, included in those walls, may be referred to about 1160. The former of these is by far the most rich and remarkable in its decorations; its outer moulding is of a pattern closely resembling the ordinary Etruscan scroll—a circumstance,

I believe, without any other example in our Norman ornaments; the other features consist of three common Norman shafts, supporting arches moulded in the usual style of that æra, the central member bearing a double lozenge moulding, and the inner and outer zone each ornamented with double lines of the common zig-zag mouldings; within this series of receding shafts and their arches, the side-jambs of the doorway and the arch above have a moulding of angles united by straight lines. The corresponding doorway on the north is much simpler, but it is surmounted by a dog-tooth moulding,¹ although this feature is generally characteristic of a style later than the true Norman; beneath this occurs a series of receding mouldings, alternately lozenge and zig-zag; these are supported only by a single shaft.

The western façade of our cathedral is a very beautiful and characteristic specimen of the transition between the Later Norman and Early Pointed styles, which prevailed throughout the last twenty-five years of the twelfth century, contemporaneously with the age of our Richard Cœur de Lion. It appears to rest on the clearest evidence that the principal features of this new style—its pointed arches, with their multifoil or cuspidated mouldings—were borrowed from Saracenic architecture,² and first introduced by the influence of the Crusades; and we therefore naturally associate the style so derived with the name of a monarch so identified with these military adventures.

Our western façade presents a specimen of this style exquisitely beautiful, and nearly unrivalled for the elegance and simplicity of its composition and execution, and, from the great predominance of its Pointed, over its Norman, features, seems to be a late example of the Transition style. It is composed of three stories, besides the extreme angle forming the upper termination of the

¹ I should wish to supersede this barbarous and most inappropriate technical denomination by the more just designation of "quatrefoil."

² The buildings of Cairo afford the most convincing proofs in favour of these views.

pediment. Of these three stories the lowest exhibits the great western doorway, which is Norman just so far as its rounded arch can entitle it to that denomination; but this is supported by triple clustered columns, with slender shafts, surmounted by capitals with long thin necks, overhung by protruding foliage, intermingled with birds, apes, and human figures—all marked characters of the confirmed Pointed style. Within the main arch it is subdivided by turning two minor round arches, not supported, however, by any central pier, but united only by a projecting drip-stone. Above this, the interval between these two subordinate and the general including arch is occupied by a vesica piscis, containing an image of some sainted prelate, with mitre and crozier—probably that of our second bishop, St. Teilo, who was considered as the most especial patron of our church. The second story of the western façade presents three narrow and lofty lancet windows, which, with their two intermediate piers, are faced by an arcade of five lancet arches, alternately broader and more narrow, the former corresponding with the windows, the latter with the dividing piers; these rest on thin shafts, surmounted by foliated capitals of the usual Early Pointed type. The third, or subpedimental story, exhibits a central window, with an arch very nearly, if not exactly, round; this is flanked, on either side, by an arcade gradually lowering, which is formed by a series of three arches, the successive descent of which is thus accomplished: each arch consists, as it were, of two foils, so arranged that the higher side of each arch (that nearest, of course, to the central window) is composed of a single semicircle, from the more remote cusp of which the lowering side is made to fall by dropping a second circular segment which rests on the capital, supported by the shorter shaft. All the shafts and capitals of this arcade are still of the Early Pointed style. The interior of the eastern pediment in the choir of Salisbury presents a central window with lateral descending arcades constructed on similar general principles, only that here the Pointed character is still more de-

cidedly pronounced—every curve, even those of the double foils, constituting the means of descent, being lancet-shaped, and of the most acute form. A comparison of these two examples is necessary to make us sensible of their striking difference of effect, and to convince us of the considerable priority in date of the Llandaff specimen. The pedimental angle crowning this third story contains only a trefoil niche, containing the image of another episcopal saint, which we may consider to be that of St. Dubritius, still overlooking the cathedral he originally founded.

A feature of the shafts which is occasionally presented by those of this portico may require notice, as it is universal in those of the nave, and in every part of this building strongly characterises every part constructed in the earliest Pointed style. It is this: the shafts are not simply cylindrical, but are wrought on their more prominent face to an acutely-angled arris (as I believe it is technically termed), or, as I should more popularly describe it, they are faced by a sharp-edged keel. I would therefore denominate these keeled shafts. They are not unexampled elsewhere; but the more common deviation from the strict cylinder is by facing it with an ordinary projecting rectangular fillet.

The western façade was originally flanked by two towers of the Early Pointed style. That on the south remained perfect, till it was overthrown by the storms which marked the commencement of last century. The northern tower was pulled down, and replaced by the actual Perpendicular structure, in the reign of Henry VII., but a small portion of the original fabric, immediately contiguous to the general façade, was worked into the new pile, and this shows that it had been built on a plan exactly corresponding to that of its southern sister.

The work of the interior of the nave is of a still more pure and unmixed Early Pointed character than that of the western façade; for here not a single rounded arch intrudes. Here, as I have said, the keeled shafts just described universally prevail. The triforial gallery does

not here form a distinct intermediate story, but a gallery is carried through the thickness of the walls of the clerestory itself. Each compartment of this clerestory presents two lancet windows to the exterior, faced, towards the interior, by an arcade of five arches, the whole being constructed in the Earliest Pointed style.

No part of the body of the cathedral appears to have possessed a vaulted stone roof; the timbers of its construction were probably decorated, and left open.

The chapter-house must also be referred to the same Early Pointed age and style. If I may venture to assign an exact date to the portions I have just described, I should be inclined to assign the construction of the western façade to the episcopate of William Saltmarsh, from 1185 to 1193, and the interior of the nave and the chapter-house to his successor, Henry, elevated to the see from the priorate of Abergavenny in 1193, and holding it till 1219.¹ I should consider the chapter-house as his latest work. This presents a square pile of two stories; the lower story has a vaulted roof, springing from a central cylindrical column; it is lighted by narrow trefoil windows.

It is a remarkable fact that this cathedral presents no transepts, and is therefore destitute of the usual feature which imparts to the ground plan of such buildings their general cruciform character.

The Lady Chapel will require the next notice in pursuing chronologically the history of the architecture of our cathedral, as this is constructed in the earliest variety of the style which immediately succeeded to the First Pointed order displayed in the portions before described. This style has been usually denominated the Early Decorated; but it has always appeared to me to present a character so distinctly marked, and of such general prevalence throughout the close of the thirteenth and

¹ This date will assign a period of at least eighty years to the general construction of the present fabric of our cathedral, between its commencement in 1188, and its completion at the end of the twelfth century.

beginning of the fourteenth centuries, as to require a peculiar appellation. I have, therefore, myself, always designated it the Tangential style—deriving this name from the most marked and characteristic feature in the tracery of the windows employed in it. These uniformly consist of two or more lancet lights, always supporting on the back of their arches incumbent circles, (including cuspidated mouldings,) and always resting upon them in *tangents*; for the intersecting lines common in the later geometrically decorated tracery, are always studiously excluded from this earlier style. I have found this designation generally approved by my architectural friends. The most beautiful portions of Lincoln Cathedral afford splendid specimens of this Tangential style. Its earliest examples are found in portions of Salisbury, constructed about 1230, and it continued to prevail till the middle of the fourteenth century, when it is exhibited in the grand Dom-Kirch of Cologne—the very noblest triumph of Pointed architecture. Our Lady Chapel belongs to the earlier period of the Tangential style. It was probably constructed by W. de Breos, the bishop of our diocese, who died 1280, and was buried close to the altar. It has on the sides long double-lighted windows, with the Tangential quatrefoil circle interposed, with Purbeck lateral shafts. The eastern window is modern, and replaces an abomination intruded in the last century, in the pseudo-Italian style, and has been copied from an example of the same style in the Cathedral of York. The Lady Chapel has a handsome stone vaulted roof, of which I have already noticed the deficiency in the nave.

The extension of the side-aisles to the east of the chapter-house, so as to skirt the presbytery, and the arches of communication, which we have described as so strangely cut through the original walls in this part, may, from the mouldings employed, be referred to the period between 1320 and 1350, as may the windows of the Middle Decorated style, generally interpolated throughout the side-aisles. These windows are of the

pattern most common in that age, divided by mullions into three lights, with quatrefoils superimposed between their arches, resting on their ogee curves.

The reredos behind the high altar, consisting of a double row of arched pannels, flanked by two elegant side arches of entrance to the space behind, of which the cuspidated moulding is singularly light, being so much undercut as slightly to detach it from the upper mouldings with which it is connected, appear, from the general character of their execution, to belong rather to the Later Decorated than to the Perpendicular style, though by Browne Willis (in whose time it was surmounted by a third tier of niches) referred to Bishop Marshall, in the reign of Henry VII. His grounds for this opinion were the occurrence of roses, the devices of the Tudor family, emblazoned on the pannels; but it is easy to suppose that these, and other decorations, may have been added by that prelate to an earlier structure, as we have it on record that he had been engaged in the general embellishment of the choir.

If my opinion be correct, our cathedral can claim possession of only one genuine example of the Tudor age, namely, the now only remaining tower, flanking the western façade on the north. This tower was erected by the munificence of Jasper Tudor, uncle of Henry VII., and forms a fair example of the gracefully-proportioned towers, the favourite architectural feature of that period. It was originally crowned, as the finest specimens of that age usually are, with an open parapet, described by Browne Willis as exactly similar to that still remaining on the parochial church of Cardiff. The above author strongly contrasts the neglect of our prebendaries of his day, as to this and the other architectural beauties committed to their hands—for I cannot say care—with the more tasteful and conscientious conduct of the civic authorities of the neighbouring town in this respect. Such neglect soon led to ruin; and the storms, which prevailed in 1740, swept away the tottering remains of this graceful ornament.

The history of our cathedral has now been conducted through the period of its growth and prosperity, and we have next to proceed through that of decay and dilapidation; for the age which, by the spiritual historian of the Church, is hailed as the æra of religious reformation, must still be wept over by the ecclesiological antiquary as the evil days of sacrilegious destruction, and architectural deformity.

The great first cause of these evils in our own case was the infamous episcopate of Anthony Kitchen, from 1545 to 1566. "*Fundi nostri calamitas*," as his successor Godwin justly terms him in his "History of English Prelates." The times in which he lived might well have tried the man even of real principle, and moral resolution; in him they only developed a congenial spirit of tergiversation and dishonesty. He had acted as a bigotted and persecuting Papist in the Romanist days of Mary, and, on the accession of her sister Elizabeth, was the only one of those bishops permitted to retain their sees through the previous reign, who again was ready to resume the Protestant faith, prompt to assist at Elizabeth's coronation, and to vote for and subscribe the act for the ecclesiastical supremacy of the queen. He thus firmly clung to his see, like the ivy to the oak, and for the same purpose—of absorbing and exhausting its vital nourishment; for the one great employment of his episcopate appears to have been the alienation, for his own benefit, of the episcopal property. The property of the chapter also appears to have suffered materially at the same time, though far less than that of the bishopric. Insufficient endowments will, I am afraid, under the general condition of our nation, be found to lead to inefficient administration; and the consequence of this destruction of our resources was a long neglect of our services and our fabric. Browne Willis mentions, in 1720, that a few pipes, and other fragments of our organ were, in his days, scattered over its loft, and that the choral services had been long discontinued, while the building, in which they should have been performed, was

verging, without an effort made to arrest its progress, to ruin.

The storms, which prevailed in the early portion of the eighteenth century, co-operated with this state of things, and accelerated the consummation. The storm of 1705 shook many of the walls; while, on February 6, 1722, the southern tower was reduced to a mass of ruins, and much of the roof of the nave, and a portion of the south aisle, shared in the destruction. A higher sense of official obligations, although, unhappily, not a more enlightened taste, had now begun to prevail; and Bishop Tyler, during the early progress of these dilapidations, had commenced earnest endeavours to procure resources for the work of repair, and, through the assistance of the Archbishop of Canterbury, had obtained £1000 from George I.; and, in the time of his successor, Bishop John Harris (1728 to 1738), these subscriptions are said to have amounted to £7000—a sum which, if judiciously employed, would, at that period, have been sufficient to have repaired all injuries, and to have preserved the ancient features of the venerable fabric. But in this age, unhappily, the public taste had been altogether incompetent to appreciate the merits of the splendid architecture of the middle ages. Smollett, one of the most popular writers of the day, introduces one of his principal characters declaiming against York Minister itself as an unsightly pile, in the Gothic, or Saracenic, or some other barbarous style, and insisting on its manifest inferiority to some modern Italianized buildings in the same town. In this very spirit Bishop Harris employed one Wood, an architect of Bath, to Italianize our cathedral—to efface its Gothic features, and impart to it the classical elegance of his own Pump-Room. A letter from a Rev. A. Davis, to Browne Willis, describes the progress of this work of *the art then prized* in the following highly laudatory terms:—"The church, in the inside, as far as it is ceiled and plastered, *looks exceeding fine*; and, when finished, it will, in the judgment of most people who have seen it, be a *very neat and elegant church*."

I have now, in conclusion, to advert to a far more gratifying subject—the restoration of this ancient and interesting building, commenced six years ago under my active and able predecessor, and which is now, after the interruption occasioned by his lamented death, again proceeding in a highly satisfactory manner.

Since the days of Brother Esni, who was Dean of Llandaff in 1120, and had at that time been the able coadjutor of the then Bishop Urban, in the first building the present cathedral, the decanal office in our chapter was suspended for more than seven hundred years. It was at length restored under an Act of Parliament, by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, and the dignity was, on the first appointment, in 1842, conferred by Bishop Coplestone on an individual who had long, as chancellor, been the most efficient officer of his diocese—the Rev. Bruce Knight. On him the mantle of his zealous architectural predecessor, Brother Esni, fitly fell; and one of his first desires was to remove from the beautiful and interesting remains, thus committed to his care, the accumulated disgrace which neglect, ruin, and the worse disfigurement of Italianizing emplastering, had thrown over the fabric. He at once addressed an emphatic appeal to the clergy and gentry of the district, and, as soon as he had ensured subscriptions to the amount of between two and three thousand pounds, he commenced his work, by the complete restoration of the Lady Chapel, which was brought into its present very creditable condition in the early part of 1844. The joint architects engaged were Mr. Wyatt, of London, and Mr. John Prichard, the accomplished son of our senior vicar choral, whose taste and skill in mediæval architecture were developed under the instruction of Pugin, generally acknowledged as the first authority in this line.

When this happy commencement—the *auspicium melioris ævi*—had proceeded thus far, the fair promise was clouded by the death of this amiable and influential dignitary, in August, 1845.

On my own accession, while I felt how very imperfectly

I should be able to replace the energy of him on whom we all so much relied, I still regarded such a sentiment as having its proper effect in imparting fresh stimulus to exertion, rather than affording any excuse to remiss inaction. I have succeeded in more than doubling the original subscriptions, and have devoted the sums collected to the continuation, westwards, of the restoration which my predecessor had commenced from the eastern extremity. In this order the eastern end of the south aisle, which had been defaced by the insertion of the most truly barbarous pseudo-Italian round windows of the Bath taste, first claimed our attention. Here, on the south side, we found the jambs, and part of the upper mouldings of an almost flat-headed Decorated window. Proceeding on the only sound principles of faithful restoration, we have renewed this according to what was shown to be its exact ancient contour: this, I believe, has exposed us to criticism from such parties as may have read that such flat windows are rather unusual in this style, and have had no opportunities of learning, from actual and extensive architectural observation, that many ancient examples of them may be found in several buildings of that age. In this portion of our aisle, indeed, a window of such considerable breadth being for some purpose required, it would, from the low height of the wall, have been obviously impossible to have covered it in by any other arc than a segment of a very flat ellipse. I would particularly, in this portion of our works, invite attention to the three new windows inserted in the northern aisle, and the open work trefoil parapet with which we have crowned the side-wall of the south aisle to the east of the chapter-house.

We are now actively engaged in the restoration of the presbytery, or eastern compartment of the choir. Here our expenses are increased, because it was necessary to take down entirely the modern Bathonian superstructure, which was altogether incompetent to receive the ancient clerestorial windows and arcade; and we have, therefore, entirely to reconstruct the roof. A large Gothic arch

which we are erecting makes a marked separation between this work and the rest of the body of the church, so that, when finished, it will afford a full and sufficient sample of the effect to be produced by the total restoration; and, after this has been completed, I trust to have about £1000 remaining untouched from the sums at present subscribed and promised. Another £4000 will enable me to complete the total restoration of the cathedral, so far as it at present remains under roof and entire; and on this immediate, easily practicable, and comparatively little expensive work, I think I shall act most prudently in concentrating my whole energy. And when I shall be able to point, from what has been already done, to a full proof of the efficiency with which the funds already contributed have been applied, and have further only to make so reasonable a demand—so obviously limited to objects of urgent necessity—I feel no reason to despair of success; and, in this case, I shall be able to complete the restoration of the whole building, as it was committed to my own charge, at an expense which, even including the restoration of the Lady Chapel by my predecessor, would not exceed £10,000. The further restoration, or rather reconstruction, of the western ruins, which would demand at least another £10,000, I must be content, at the age of sixty-two, to leave to my successor, when a new generation of our Chapter shall have arisen to urge the prosecution of the work, and a new generation of friends will become the subject of their appeal.

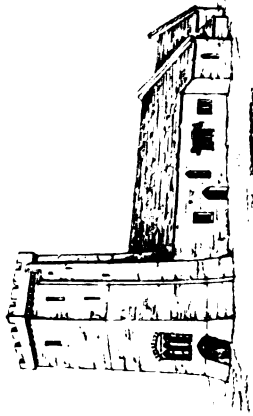
As I have already, in this essay, shown that the original construction of our cathedral occupied nearly three generations of men, it can be no just cause of discouragement to require two for the process of reconstruction, especially when we compare the influence of the clergy, and the superstitious means by which they could urge their appeals in the former period, with the claims which we can address to your piety and taste alone in the present age.

W. D. CONYBEARE.

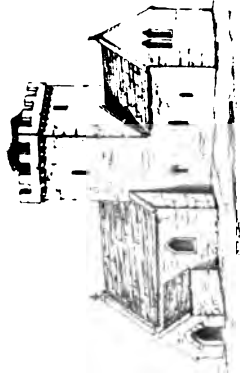




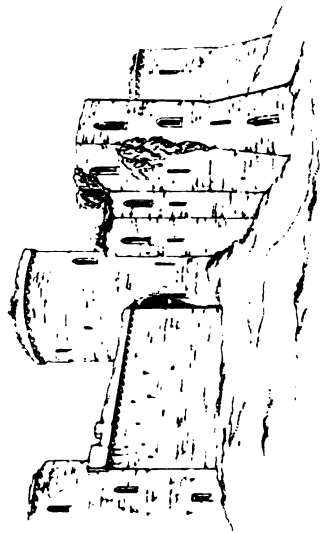
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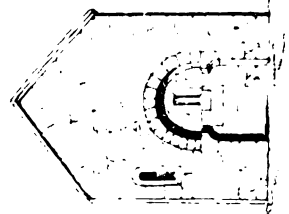
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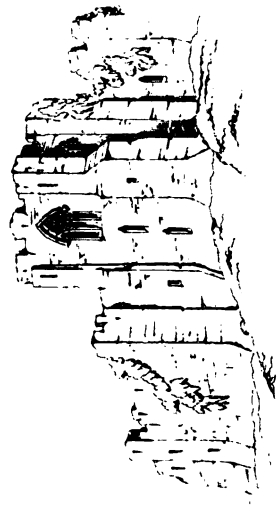
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CHURCH, BRISTOL, ENGL.



CHURCH, BRISTOL, ENGL.

ON THE ARCHITECTURAL ANTIQUITIES OF GOWER.

(Read at Cardiff.)

IN addressing a body formed within a particular country expressly for the study and preservation of its own monuments and antiquities, some diffidence must naturally be felt by a stranger, possessing no connexion with that country beyond that of a passing visitor, and no further interest in its antiquities than the general one which they cannot fail to possess with all who have given their attention to such subjects. With this view I have selected as my contribution to the proceedings of the present meeting a subject which, though fully within the scope of a Cambrian Association, is still one in handling which an Englishman cannot be called an intruder. The district, to a portion of whose antiquities I would now call your attention, though within the limits of Wales, is one which, in its most important respects, if not distinctively English, is at least decidedly Teutonic, and consequently an inquiry into the works of his own countrymen, though in another land, cannot be charged with the same presumption which might justly attach to an Englishman taking upon himself to instruct a Welsh audience in the distinctive antiquities of their own country.

The district of Gower, in Glamorganshire, is one which has deep claims on our attention in many respects. The natural features of the country, its peninsular position, and the superb coast scenery for which it is well known, may afford subjects for the physical geographer and general lover of nature; nor are artificial claims wanting in the form of antiquities of the earliest æra; and, above all, the distinct character of the population, and the uninterrupted retention of their Teutonic language, would supply a most interesting theme for the historical inquirer. But my own scope is more confined. I am not now going to enlarge on the terrors of the Worm's Head, which I have seen and admired as it deserves; nor on the

wonders of Arthur's Stone, my endeavours to discover which only terminated, I regret to say, in losing my way in a moonlight excursion over Cefn Bryn; nor yet on those of Paviland Caves, which, from lack of time, I have not even made an attempt to visit. My present subject is the architectural remains of the peninsula, which is remarkably rich in military structures, and, though all its churches are small and rude, is by no means void of interest in the ecclesiastical department.

In entering on my subject, I am sorry to have to begin by finding fault, and that with an authority which has been of no slight service to me in my inquiries, both in Gower and in other parts of Wales. In Mr. Cliffe's "Book of South Wales," a most interesting account of Gower is given—to which, indeed, my visit to that district was first owing; but, in describing its architectural remains, the word "Norman" occurs a great deal too often; it is applied indiscriminately to almost all the churches and castles in the peninsula; so much so, that my visit was designed under the impression that I was going to examine a district rich in Romanesque architecture, and which would afford a most valuable opportunity of comparing the respective forms assumed by that style in military and in ecclesiastical buildings. But, though I found much in Gower worthy of notice, this, for which I went, I certainly did not find; most of Mr. Cliffe's "Norman" structures are not Norman in any other sense than as being built for lords and patrons of Norman descent. When he tells us of the "Norman entrance" of Penrice Castle, it is only true in the sense in which he might speak of the "Welsh entrance" of Strata Florida Abbey—a phrase which I do not think any architectural student would accept as an intelligible description.

RUDENESS OF WORK.—In fact, the district contains but little to which we can safely assign a Norman date, and exceedingly little that can be called Norman detail, though perhaps not very much less than there is distinctive detail of any other style. For much of the work in

Gower is of that excessive rudeness that it cannot be called an example of any *style*, and can hardly be attributed with confidence to any *date*. Round arches, utterly without moulding, or other distinctive character, may be of any time, from King Bladud to Queen Victoria; pointed ones of the same sort only require a greater limitation of freedom at the former end. Least of all can we attribute any certain period to those—by no means a small class in Gower—which are so rudely constructed that it is impossible to say whether they are to be called round or pointed. Of this rough description is the great mass of the masonry alike in church, castle, and dwelling-house. I speak seriously when I say, that the occurrence of a single chamfer is here fully equivalent to that of a very considerable display of rounds and hollows in most districts of England. Yet are the churches of Gower far from devoid of interest; and, though perhaps none can lay claim to actual beauty, they have an abundant share of picturesque effect. They are decidedly more pleasing to the eye than most English structures of the same humble architectural pretensions, and this mainly from the retention of their high roofs. Without this finish the effect of a small and rude church is at once ruined; with it, however poor may be its architecture, some degree of dignity and character is at once secured. In Gower, the roofs have often been lowered, and now and then the walls raised, but the change is always comparatively inconsiderable; the roof is still high, though it might have been left higher with advantage; and the original gables usually stand free. The alteration of the pitch has had a worse effect within than without; the result being that there is an utter absence of good wooden roofs, whereas in other parts of Wales I have seen several of great merit, as at Llanaber, and Llanbadarn-fawr, and in several churches in the neighbourhood of Cardiff.

OUTLINES OF THE CHURCHES.—The design of these churches is the simplest that can be conceived, consisting only of a nave and chancel, with, most commonly, a western tower and a south porch. Aisles are completely

unknown, unless we except an addition to the south of the chancel at Ilston, which is probably a modern excrescence; but a widening of the nave at some particular point, which produces somewhat the effect of an aisle, occurs in one or two cases. At Penrice are quasi-transepts, more like great porches, projecting from the nave, and opening into it by very low arches. One of these is rebuilt on the old foundation, after being ruined. But this plan is quite unique; and in those of the usual type, with their simple outline, and entire absence of buttresses, it is clear that the external character of the church must depend even more than elsewhere upon the steeple. Here alone is any scope given for introducing architectural composition, without interfering with an outline so plain, and even rude.

TOWERS.—I examined sixteen churches in Gower, not including Swansea, which, neither in its modern nave, nor its Decorated chancel, exhibits any resemblance to the Gower type—a type, indeed, far too rude to have been ever followed in the principal church of a large town. Of these, twelve have towers, nine of them being western, and nearly all these towers, rude as is both their design and their masonry, are quite worthy of an architect's study. I will not, indeed, hold them up for imitation, as their character cannot be called purely ecclesiastical. They belong to a class which, under several varieties, extends throughout a large district of South Wales, and of which the most perfect form is that well known in Pembrokeshire. Partly from actual necessity, arising from the circumstances of the country, partly, doubtless, also from the employment of architects at least as much accustomed to castle-building as church-building, a Gower steeple is built with as much regard to defence as to beauty—it is a stronghold as well as a campanile. Notwithstanding considerable diversity among themselves, and the existence of two marked types, in these respects the towers in the peninsula agree almost universally. There are no buttresses, except in one or two instances a slight projection for a staircase,

which, however, is generally absent; the walls frequently batter, especially just at the bottom, precisely as is usual in the castles; but neither in church nor castle did I see squinches employed at the base, as at Caerphilly and Llandaff Palace. Finally, in every case but one, the whole is finished with an overhanging embattled parapet supported on corbels. Instead of belfry windows we have commonly mere slits; at the very utmost a small lancet, as at Llangennith, or a couplet of such, as at Llanrhidian, but usually a mere loophole, without any architectural character whatever: the rest of the walls is often—perhaps always when the tower is untouched—quite blank, or only lighted by similar slits. There is generally no access to the tower, but through the church; as for the few cases where a western doorway occurs, it appears in some to have been cut through in much later times, while in others the towers themselves are probably of late date. The tower opens to the church as often by a mere doorway as by a true belfry-arch. Within there is sometimes a rude barrel-vault, but it is more frequently absent. I am not so familiar with the Pembrokeshire towers as I could wish; but, from the little acquaintance I have with them, I should certainly rank those of Gower as coming nearer to them than any others I saw in South Wales; they exhibit the military type in greater perfection than any other—than those found in the eastern¹ part of Glamorganshire, for instance, which usually have distinct belfry-windows of late style—though the Gower examples are far less lofty and slender than those in Pembrokeshire, none of them being remarkable for height, and most of them much the reverse. The essentially military character of both

¹ One, St. Donatt's, has the Gower slit for a window, but has *pinnacles!* I should, however, mention Llanfihangel, near Cowbridge, as exhibiting a military feature of which I saw no sign in Gower, namely, a large cross-oylet in each face of the tower, at about half its height. This oylet is often found in parapets, not only in Wales, as at Llantwit, but even in Northamptonshire. My observations on any parts of Glamorganshire, other than Gower, are the result of a very cursory inspection.

hardly requires proof; it is stamped on every stone. And it is worthy of notice that, in later times, when the country was not so constantly in a state of war and tumults, the old character was, as I mentioned above, broken in upon by the introduction of western doorways and windows. When the circumstances in which it originated changed, the mode of building changed also.

TWO TYPES OF TOWERS.—Amidst this marked general agreement, two types can still be discerned; and these remarkably coincide with what would appear to be an ethnographical distinction in the peninsula. It cannot be accidental that all the places in the south-east part of Gower have names either wholly Teutonic, or very considerably Teutonized, while in the north-west we find ourselves again mainly in a region of Llandewis and Llanmadocs. Now, whether the coincidence be a mere coincidence or not, it is certain that with only two exceptions, where a place has a thoroughly English name, as Bishopston or Oxwich, the masonry of the tower ends with a battlement; where the name is purely Welsh, the tower has a saddle-back roof, which, as far as I could see from a very cursory inspection, appears to be a common finish in some other parts of Glamorganshire, though not about Cardiff. The exceptions are, Llanrhidian without a saddle-back, and Ilston with one. The churches with only bell-cots are chiefly English.

THE EMBATTLED.—Of what we may thus call the English type of tower, Oystermouth is in itself one of the best, though disfigured by a debased west window and doorway. It is more lofty than usual, batters very conspicuously, and has a flat stair-case turret. At Bishopston is one much lower, with a low quadrangular capping rising within the battlement. This at Pennard swells into a small quadrangular spire of masonry, now covered with zinc. This tower is very small, and oblong, like those of Bath Cathedral, and the conventual church of Leonard Stanley in Gloucestershire, measuring much more from north to south than from east to west; it also overlaps with corbels below the belfry-stage, as well as

below the parapet. Its west window of two trefoiled lancets—a form to which we shall hereafter recur—may be original, but, if so, is a clear dereliction from the genuine military type. Oxwich has something singular in the treatment of its stair-case turret, and might repay examination; when I saw it, it was too dark to make out anything distinctly. Llanrhidian has a tall tower remarkable for having distinct couplets of lancets in the east and west faces, while the other two retain the mere slit; this is also to be noticed for the enormously deep embrasures of its battlements, and for its boldly projecting turret, those at Oystermouth and Oxwich being mere pilasters. This steeple also has suffered the same insertions as Oystermouth. At Cheriton the tower stands, as at Iffley, between the nave and chancel, without aisles or transepts; this may be called a transitional example, as it has a small saddle-back roof within the parapet, and not interfering with it. Accordingly we find that, though its own appellation is English, it lies quite in a region of Welsh names.

THE SADDLE-BACK.—The saddle-back towers are still more deserving of attention. The form is one which everywhere attracts observation to itself from what I cannot otherwise describe than as the quaintness of its outline—one as far removed from beauty as any architectural form can be, and yet one which no repetition ever makes commonplace. And in Gower it is accompanied by additional singularities, peculiar, as far as I know, to the district—at all events, not to be found in the examples of the form which I have seen in England. The most remarkable is, that while covering his steeple with this peaked roof—a form as opposed as any can be to one's notions of a defensive tower—the Gower architect, even here, did not entirely forsake his military notions, but produced combinations of the two ideas presenting a truly extraordinary appearance. Except in a single instance, Rhosilly, the saddle-back appears in connexion with the overhanging parapet. Even the gables themselves may be made to rise, as at Ilston, from the

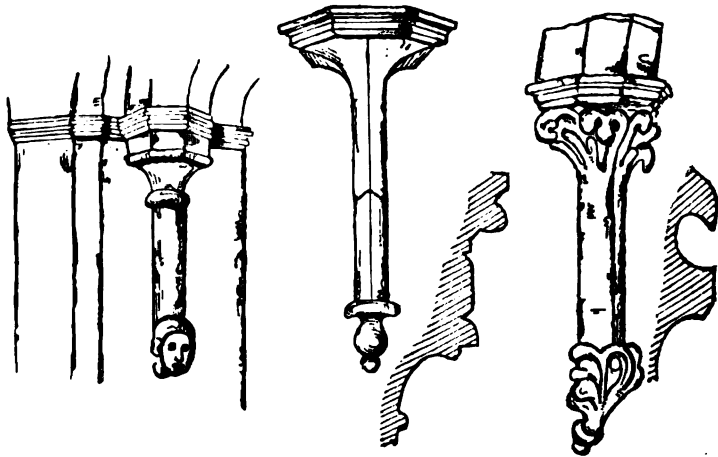
middle of a battlement, and the other two sides it is of course open to fortify in the usual manner. How far this was merely the result of habit, or how far such a position, where the only standing-room is the space, on each side, between a high roof and a parapet, without any communication with each other, could be really available for purposes of defence, is a question which I must leave to the military antiquary to determine. Another striking peculiarity is, that in several cases, instead of the roof of the tower following the direction of that of the church, it runs transverse to it, the gables accordingly fronting north and south. This occurs at Rhosilly, Llandewi, and Ilston; three out of the five examples of this kind of roof. The small roof at Cheriton runs east and west, as do those at Llangennith and Llanmadoc. None of these towers call for any particular observations, except Llangennith and Ilston. Both these are side towers. Llangennith is attached to the north-east portion of the nave; it is massive, but of considerable height, and is of much better finish than usual. Its slits are here advanced to the dignity of windows; small, indeed, and perfectly plain, but still real lancets, and not loopholes. This tower has also, in its eastern face, a blocked Romanesque arch, as plain as can be, but of good masonry, and with a distinct impost. This can only have been intended—as it is clearly no mere arch of construction—to open to some building to be attached to the north of the chancel, but which, as the arch is now filled with a small lancet, was probably never erected. The tower opens to the nave by a pointed door. This church, formerly conventual, is the largest in Gower, but does not otherwise differ from the common type. Unless the monks of Llangennith had some other way of disposing of their treasures than on architectural works, one cannot conceive them burdened with any superfluity of this world's wealth. A farm-house, some of whose appurtenances are attached to the walls of the church, and which probably contain some fragments of the masonry at least of the monastic buildings, still retains

the name of the College. The other tower, Ilston, is attached to the south side of the nave, and is somehow or other not quite parallel to it, though I could not make out perfectly how the change in direction is effected. This steeple is remarkable for its enormous massiveness, in which I should think it surpasses even Leeds in Kent, and Shalfete in the Isle of Wight, two of the towers that I have seen most conspicuous for bulk. I feel sure that I speak within compass when I say that it occupies half the length of the nave.

BELL-GABLES.—The four bell-cots may be quickly passed over, as they present nothing worthy of detailed description. Reynoldston has openings for two bells; but it is not easy to see how the bell-cot was harmonized with the former pitch of the nave-roof. Penmain church is so utterly modernized as to have lost all distinctively ancient character, being the only one in Gower so circumstanced. Knelston is ruined, and the west end is entirely smothered with ivy; but it certainly had no tower, and appears to have had a bell-gable. In all these cases, the bell-cot is over the west end of the nave.

NAVES AND CHANCEL.—And now as to the naves and chancels, and their relations to each other. The latter are usually far smaller in proportion than is common in England, or anywhere where distinct constructive chancels are employed. And as the chancel arches are usually narrow, sometimes so much so as to be little more than a large doorway, the strange, and sometimes dark and cavernous, appearance of the chancels is oftentimes most extraordinary. In some cases the chancel is so very small, that it is difficult to conceive how it could ever have been adapted to its ancient use, and would lead us to suppose that the ritual choir was placed in the constructive nave westward of the chancel arch, just—to compare great things with small—as in Llandaff Cathedral. At Cheriton, there can be no doubt, from the remains of the approach to the rood loft, that it was thrown across the western arch of the lantern, and, consequently, that the choir was under the tower, just as

in St. David's Cathedral, and indeed in every great church of Norman date. Yet the same evidence shows that the choir was, in some cases at least, westward of the chancel arch. The rudeness of these chancel arches is wonderful; they are sometimes round, but more usually pointed, and generally without any moulding, or even chamfers to the arch, and nothing to the responds, except now and then a rude impost. At Llangennith they are chamfered into a kind of octagonal form. At Cheriton is a beautiful exception to this rule of excessive roughness; the two arches under the tower are here of the best Early English, well chamfered, and rising from graceful corbel shafts of four somewhat different patterns,



Nave Arch.

South Chancel Arch.

North Chancel Arch.

Corbel Shafts, Lantern, Cheriton Church.

including some elegant specimens of foliage. These shafts, in their keel shape, and want of a neck-moulding in two cases, resemble some of the shafts in the two South Welsh Cathedrals, as well as at Slymbridge in Gloucestershire.

I before said that, in such rude work as most of that in Gower, it is hard to fix dates, and sometimes even to distinguish between "ancient" and "modern." I venture to make the remark again, to deprecate very severe

censure if I am saying anything absurd in hesitating as to certain appearances which are sometimes found north and south of the chancel arches. To the north, there are some instances of a shallow recess, arched or otherwise; to the south, a passage through the wall. The former now generally holds a tablet, while the latter forms a way to the pulpit. This, if they be really old, may, very possibly, have been their original destination, especially as the pulpits are often set on a basement of masonry which seems not unlikely to be ancient.

DATE OF THE CHURCHES.—But now, after all, what is the date and style of these churches? We are now coming to the feature which will throw most light upon this question—the windows. Nothing could have given me more satisfaction, in my Welsh investigations, than to have come across any monuments occupying at all an analogous position to those ancient Irish buildings with which the unwearied researches of Dr. Petrie have made us acquainted. Unfortunately, however, such has not been my lot during my pilgrimage through Gower. The result of my investigations is, that there are no structures which can be certainly placed earlier than the Flemish occupation of the country in the twelfth century, and that the shells of the existing churches mostly belong to the thirteenth. The rudest work, indeed, taken by itself, might be of any age; there is no inherent improbability in attributing the rough chancel arches to St. David or St. Dubritius, but there are convincing arguments the other way. Much of the work *might* be ante-Norman, but none of it *need* be, and some of it cannot. Thus any argument from the great rudeness of the round arches is met by the fact that the pointed ones are equally rude; and, as these can hardly be earlier than the twelfth century, this fact tells convincingly against the necessity, and very strongly against the probability, of attributing any very remote antiquity to the round ones. My own impression is, that the pointed work in Gower is mainly Early English of the thirteenth century, and, considering the circumstances of the

country, not necessarily early in that century. Even the round arches, though they may be of the preceding age, need not be so; if the round arch was in not uncommon use in Northamptonshire throughout the Early English period, much more might it linger in Gower; and, as I before said, the round and pointed forms of the arch run so much into each other that it is often hard to distinguish them. This at once brings us to the windows, which are usually lancets with a wide splay, and, in many cases, it is really impossible to determine of which form the arch is. Now and then the opening is a mere oblong, and, in many cases, the lancet has a trefoil head—a form always pleasing, and producing a great elegance of effect, without any departure from plainness and simplicity. Often both trefoil and plain lancets are found united in couplets, frequently grouped internally under a square head. A couplet of this kind forms an appropriate east window at Bishopston, Nicholaston, and Cheriton; at Llanmadoc there is a single trefoil light, while at Oystermouth there appears to have been a triplet of distinct lancets, though the composition has been much mutilated. Sometimes we find a later insertion, as the Decorated east window of Llangennith, and the Perpendicular one of Llanrhidian, both of which are excessively poor; much better Decorated ones occur at Oxwich and Rhosilly. The side windows are less frequently insertions, but there is a fair Perpendicular example at Oystermouth.

The prevailing style, then, whenever any definite style can be detected, is decidedly Early English, though it must be remembered that there is no difficulty in supposing, if necessary, any of the nondescript features to be of any later date. The towers, by the same argument, I refer to the same period; where there are any architectural features, as at Llangennith and Llanrhidian, they are Early English—the round arch in the former need be no objection—except when they seem to be insertions. At the same time we may suppose, if necessary, that the type of tower without any distinctive

features, survived throughout the whole period of Gothic architecture.

DOORWAYS.—The doorways are less interesting than the windows; they have arches of different forms, and so plain that a single moulding, or even a chamfer, appears an excess of ornament. At Llanmadoc, and in the ruined church of Knelston, the doorways are square-headed; but I see no reason, especially in the latter case, for attributing a late date to them on that ground. The outer doorways of the porches are very generally round, but not necessarily, therefore, either Romanesque or modern.

Here I must mention one or two exceptions, in individual features, to the rule of great plainness, where we meet with enriched portions, evidently the result of some individual benefaction, and the work of architects brought from a distance. Thus the inner doorway at Rhosilly is a beautiful Norman example, though so grievously defaced with whitewash that the design of its capitals cannot be ascertained. It has the chevron on one order, and a large form of tooth-moulding in the label. This last ornament is found also in the same form in a blocked lancet at Pennard. These two must surely have been made at the same time, and by the same hand. Again, at Cheriton, where we have already remarked the beautiful Early English arches under the tower, there is an inner doorway of the same style, and evidently the work of the same architect—a very good specimen, with banded shafts, floriated capitals, and well cut mouldings. But all these are purely exceptional cases, doubtless owing to external influence; they are not the style of the Gower churches developed and enriched; indeed, they present but very little Welsh localism; the two doorways have no trace whatever of that strong continuity in the decorative treatment of the jambs and the arch, which my little experience of this country leads me to believe is a localism in those Norman and Early English doorways which are most distinctively Welsh in their history, and which connects them, in some degree, with that earlier Irish style, for our knowledge of which we are

indebted to Dr. Petrie. This, not to mention cases where it is less conspicuous, comes out very strongly at Llanbadarn-fawr and Llanaber, and attains its climax in the wonderful portal of Strata Florida.

And I may here remark the extreme judgment displayed by the architects, or their employers, in their choice of a part of the church wherein to make this unusual display of skill. At Llanbadarn, Rhosilly, and Cheriton—excepting the lantern arches of the last—the doorway is the only rich feature of the church; at Llanaber, it is the only rich feature of the exterior. If there was to be one rich feature in plain church, none could be so well chosen for the purpose as a doorway thus isolated by its position within a porch, which therefore is not taken in connexion with anything else, and consequently does not overpower the less decorated portions of the fabric. At Llanaber—the very model of a sea-side church, and which, as well as Towyn, will, I trust, be thoroughly examined and illustrated by the Association, on the occasion of its meeting at Dolgelley—the interior is rich, the exterior naturally plain, because, in its position, external ornament would have been added only to perish; but this position, the only thoroughly sheltered one outside, is judiciously seized on for the erection of a highly ornamental feature.

ECCLESIOLOGY.—In distinctively ecclesiological features Gower is not rich; there are a few lychscopes, or low side windows; at Llanmadoc, a poor attempt at a reredos; at Llanrhidian there is a window-cill prolonged to serve as sedilia, and with a piscina inserted in the jamb; while Rhosilly presents a curious instance of a bench-table along the east wall of the chancel. This, I must confess—though, if I rightly remember, there is a similar instance in the crypt at Wimborne Minster—does look like something ante-Norman, or at least like the retention of an arrangement, if not a portion, of an earlier fabric. It seems clearly to point to an arrangement analogous to those of the basilica; it is like a straight apse; and here again I must refer, as cannot be

done too often, to the researches of Dr. Petrie, which have brought to light this same feature in many of the primitive churches of Ireland. There is not much in the way of monuments; there are some floor-crosses at Llangennith, and what might, if seen by daylight, prove to be an interesting altar-tomb at Oxwich; but these matters rather concern the local antiquary than the architectural inquirer.

FontS.—The fonts in Gower, though plain, are worth notice; they are nearly all Romanesque—the exceptions being one or two plain octagonal ones of later date—but of a considerable variety of forms, some tub-shaped, some square, while others assume more of the form of a capital. At Pennard is a fragment of a much richer one, decorated with an arcade. And I may add that at Oystermouth a Romanesque shaft-piscina was dug up some time ago, and has been very creditably repaired and set up in the chancel.

STATE OF THE CHURCHES.—The present condition of the Gower churches is far from satisfactory; sometimes the nineteenth century has done too much, sometimes too little. Our forefathers have to answer for a good deal; the chancel windows are continually blocked, a comparatively light evil, as admitting of a very easy remedy, while in the naves the most hideous insertions of all have been made in the form of pointed windows with sashes. But quite recently Penmain Church has been utterly ruined; while those at Penrice and Oxwich have been grievously disfigured by the insertion of broad staring square-headed windows, of a mean type of Perpendicular. Even if these replaced others, such disfigurements, though they would have been rightly suffered to continue, should surely never have been renewed, as they utterly destroy the genuine simplicity of the old type. It is just in these little rude old churches that restoration is most to be dreaded; here, where an architect must be content to forego all manner of whimwams and prettiness, and solve the problem of producing work not itself rude, but not incongruous with rude work. I have no

hesitation in saying, that to restore a Gower church requires more architectural genius than to finish Cologne Cathedral. Only a great man will condescend to do it properly. I may however mention some restorations at Ilston, which, though not coming at all near this standard, as having some parts too fine, others rather unskilful, are much better than any other in Gower, and manifest some little appreciation of the character of the fabric. On the other hand, in some places modern hands might be with advantage a little more busy. If our artistic and antiquarian feelings are shocked by incongruous modern insertions, they receive no gratification, while much higher ones are offended, from the sight of a religious building consigned to a state of utter slovenliness and neglect. I am not going to repeat denunciations against pews and galleries for the ten-thousandth time, but I must confess to being startled by the sight of churches with mud floors, and with the exquisite enrichment of a pavement of pebbles reserved for the space within the altar rails. Into matters which might lead to unsuitable, and perhaps unprofitable, ritual controversy, I will not enter.

SWANSEA CHURCH.—I before excluded Swansea old Church from the class I am now considering; but I am not sure whether its tower is not a Gower steeple modified or enriched. And its fine Decorated chancel may perhaps connect it with the name at least, by more than an accidental homonym; if there be no documentary evidence to the contrary, I should be inclined to attribute its erection to the Wykeham of South Wales, Bishop Gower of St. Davids, a native of the peninsula, and more certain traces of whose architectural skill are to be found in the castle of the same town.

MILITARY ANTIQUITIES.—We must now turn from the ecclesiastical to the military and domestic architecture of this interesting district. With regard to the former, I wish it was in better hands, for I must plead entire ignorance of castles as such, and confess myself altogether incompetent to elucidate any peculi-

arities which may exist in their fortifications and lines of defence; any remarks or criticisms which I may venture to make will be purely architectural; a tower or a gateway I can only regard not with reference to its actual use and end, but simply as presenting certain forms to the eye, as a round, square, or polygonal mass of masonry, with or without certain architectural embellishments; and, though I may be able to throw some little light on a hall or a chapel, I should be altogether out of my element if I endeavoured to establish any distinction between a bailey and a barbican. As far as I can profess to judge—and even in this matter I am driven to judge solely by architectural features, not by constructive or defensive arrangements—I saw little or nothing earlier than the Edwardian æra, certainly nothing earlier than the Norman invasion. The castles, like the churches, are but comparatively rude structures, with hardly any decorative features, but what there is certainly bespeaks, in all the main portions, an æra of confirmed Gothic architecture; the magnificent Romanesque forms of such buildings as Rochester Castle do not occur even in the faintest approximation.

OYSTERMOUTH CASTLE.—COMPARISON WITH KIDWELLY.—The most celebrated and extensive castle remaining in Gower is that of Oystermouth, which forms so striking and stately an object on the road from Swansea to the Mumbles. I examined this building in a point of view both advantageous and disadvantageous; I had the very day before inspected Kidwelly. This gave me an excellent opportunity of instituting a comparison between two castles of, I should suppose, pretty much the same general pretensions; while it tended to diminish the impression produced by Oystermouth to have seen it so immediately after a building which, in every point of view, is so greatly its superior. The general outline of Kidwelly is much more than merely grand and striking; it approaches very nearly to the nature of an architectural composition. Four massive round towers surround the keep; two others flank the great gateway; a design

sufficiently regular to be caught and understood by a person not acquainted with castellated technicalities, while the shiftings and different groupings of so many towers produce an endless variety of picturesque effects. Oystermouth, on the other hand, is merely a grand, but, to the untechnical eye, unintelligible, mass; it doubtless has a design as a castle, but it can hardly be said to have any as a building. And it has what, in my view, is another fault; it is not, architecturally speaking, so much of a mere fortress as Kidwelly. Now, in a building of such a gigantic scale as Caerphilly, it is allowable to combine the palace with the fortress; in such cases there is abundance of room for such displays of strictly architectural splendour as in the superb hall of that castle. But in smaller buildings like the two we are considering there is no room for this, and therefore Kidwelly, which is all tower and defence, is so far vastly superior to Oystermouth, which by introducing, or at least putting forward much more prominently, a great extent of windowed and gabled wall, deteriorates from its character as a fortress, without at all substituting in its purity that of any other class of buildings. At Oystermouth, also, the gateway is by no means the stately and prominent object which it is at Kidwelly; but above all the difference is shown in the respective treatment of the chapels of the two castles. That at Kidwelly is a triumph of art; a building amply satisfactory, both in an ecclesiastical and architectural point of view, has room found for it in a structure purely military, without in the least interfering with the genuine character of the latter. At Oystermouth, a building of more pretensions, though far less beauty, is thrust in to its utter ruin. At Kidwelly the chapel forms the upper story of three in a building projecting from the main line of the castle towards the east, and as this building terminates in a semi-hexagon, an apse is at once provided for the chapel. It is lighted by single trefoil lancets, whose small size and delicate execution at once call attention to this portion of the building as something distinct from the rest,

without forcing it on the view in an inharmonious prominence. Just the same is the effect of the admirably selected form and position. And the effect is heightened by the addition of a square projection to the south, whose upper story forms a vaulted chamber, which has clearly been the sacristy. Within, the whole architecture, perfectly plain, yet exquisitely finished, is precisely what that of a military chapel should be. Let us now contrast this with Oystermouth. Here the chapel is in an upper story, as at Kidwelly, and in a partially projecting structure; but the south side being internal, and the north external, the opportunity for the exquisite addition of the sacristy is thrown away. And especially the polygonal form, so happily combining ecclesiastical and military requirements, is deserted, to make room for the introduction of a large east window, which is not very graceful in itself, and, as well as the other traceried¹ windows at the sides, is utterly out of keeping with the small windows below, and produces a painful effect of inharmonious contrast. And though Kidwelly is Early English, and Oystermouth Decorated, it was of course open to an architect to employ single-light windows at any period of Gothic architecture, whenever circumstances, as in this case, rendered it advisable. In Oystermouth chapel there are some remains of frescoes.

PENRICE CASTLE.—Penrice Castle must have been a grand and extensive structure, but to the untechnical eye it presents only irregular remains of walls, within a vast frowning gateway with huge towers rounded inwardly. At Pennard also, which must have been a much smaller edifice, nothing remains of any consequence besides a bold but rude gate, with rude flanking towers. The arches of these gateways are segmental pointed, and, I should imagine, not older than Edwardian times.

WEBLEY CASTLE.—Webley Castle is, to my mind, a

¹ Very recently, the tracery, or part of it, has been renewed, with mullions brought, as I was credibly informed, from some other building! Church-restoration, in itself one of the best of good works, has become a bye-word: let us at all events be spared castle-restoration.

more interesting structure than any in the peninsula. Two sides only are at all perfect, and these have a character of their own, not that of pure and perfect military defence, like Kidwelly, but simply that of a picturesque range of irregular walls and towers, which, as they do not equally affect the pure military type with Oystermouth, do not equally offend by their dereliction from its most perfect form. The multitude of breaks, angles, and projections, square, round, and octagonal, and the number of elegant little windows, two especially, one a quatrefoil, the other, I think, a sexfoil, produce a very pleasing effect. On the other hand, the only remaining entrance is very poor; but, as a great part of the castle has been destroyed, it may not have been the principal one.

These are the chief castellated remains in Gower which present anything intelligible to the merely architectural inquirer; but the military antiquary would doubtless find much to interest him in the smaller remains at Scurlage, Llandewi, and Llandymor, which, as there is little but earthworks, foundations, and rude fragments of wall, afford nothing at all bearing on my present subject. The number and proximity of these remains is wonderful; every precipice bristles with these vulture's nests, and may make us really thankful that we live in the year 1849, under the dominion of law, and without any occasion of visiting their terrific keeps and dungeons in any other character than as archæologists.

TRANSITION FROM MILITARY TO DOMESTIC ARCHITECTURE.—OXWICH CASTLE.—Turning to the domestic remains of the peninsula, we shall find a valuable connecting link between them and its military edifices supplied by the Castle at Oxwich. Here we have a manifest case of transition between the old type of fortress, only accidentally domestic, and the fortified mansion, Thornbury for instance, only accidentally military. The result at Oxwich is certainly not satisfactory; the appearance being that of a large Perpendicular mansion carried along at the complete elevation of a castle tower. There are a multitude of small square-

headed windows, of two lights, and—chiefly in the more exposed front—of broad single-light windows with depressed heads, a most untoward form, but which is probably owing to a retention of castellated ideas. In the upper range is a row of very large Perpendicular windows, showing that the hall and other principal apartments must have been placed in this elevated and airy position. A great part of this castle is converted into a farm-house, which contains some very good bits of domestic work, of which it is not always easy to say whether they are parts of the original building, or have been added at a subsequent, though not very distant, period.

DOMESTIC ARCHITECTURE.—But all this is simply common Perpendicular, and contains nothing local or distinctive. There are, however, a few remains in Gower of a more characteristic type, not indeed peculiar to the peninsula, but common to it with other parts of Wales. These chiefly consist of rough arches, of many of which, as of those in the churches, it can hardly be affirmed with certainty whether they are round or pointed. Examples will be found at Cheriton rectory, and at Landgrove farm and the Court-house, near Ilston. In the latter we also find a piece of more ornamental architecture in the shape of a double trefoil-headed window, a form not uncommon both in churches and castles in Gower, and which we may therefore fairly set down as a localism.

In conclusion, may I be allowed to hint that the district which we have been considering naturally suggests to us perhaps the most interesting and important subject which the present Association can follow up. Gower, like the Englishry in Pembrokeshire, presents the phenomenon of a complete occupation of an inhabited country by invaders of another blood, at a comparatively late period of history. It is no mere political or even territorial conquest; it is a complete substitution of one set of inhabitants for another, the result being that remarkable juxta-position of languages which in some parts is, or lately was, marked by so distinct a line as hardly to leave any debateable or bi-lingual ground.

What became of the Welsh inhabitants of Gower and southern Pembroke? The last-mentioned fact militates against the notion of any considerable Celtic population remaining in a state of bondage, and gradually acquiring the language of their conquerors.¹ We can hardly fail to conclude that the mass of the old inhabitants were either exterminated or expelled. And if so, where are the records, and what was the nature, of the process? But more than this, Glamorganshire and Pembrokeshire are in this respect but epitomes of all Britain. Our country is one originally Celtic, the greater part of which has been occupied, at different periods, by Teutonic immigrants. The process which has Teutonized Gower and Pembroke only differs in scale from that which has Teutonized all Britain from the Wye to the German Ocean. And of the nature of this process, and of its results to the present day, the exact proportion in which the blood and concomitants of the two races are mingled in the population of their common country, has never yet been satisfactorily investigated. It is only quite recently that such a work could have been entered upon with the slightest probability of success; it is only in our own day that the real nature of the national migrations and territorial conquests of those times has been in the least degree understood. And besides this, other causes have usually interfered to prevent this subject, till quite lately, from ever being examined with the gravity and impartiality which so great an historical question demands. There has been mutual ignorance to contend with; Welsh scholars have seldom been suffi-

¹ I am here only throwing out hints, not proposing a complete and definite theory on a subject which I have not sufficiently examined for that purpose. The retention of Celtic names of places in north-western Gower looks at first sight like a difference in blood between the two districts; but it does not necessarily imply it, if the evidence should be found, as it probably would, to look, on the whole, the other way. If the south-eastern part was occupied first, and by a sudden incursion, and the rest resisted for a while, the conquerors would have the opportunity of giving entirely new names to the places they seized, while they would be become familiar with the native names in the other part of the peninsula before they came into their possession.

ciently versed in Anglo-Saxon, or Anglo-Saxon scholars in Welsh, literature; and it needs no argument to show that really to grapple with these questions requires a thorough—I might almost add, an equal—familiarity with both. But there has been worse than mere ignorance; mutual dislike and prejudice have been allowed to mingle with inquiries where everything should give way to the unbiassed, uncorrupted search after truth. History has been approached under the influence of strong national enmities, and truth been sacrificed on both sides to a vain point of national honour. But we may now fairly hope that these questions may be approached at last in a better spirit. The advances recently made both in Welsh and Anglo-Saxon scholarship, and the numerous monuments of the literature and history of both nations which have been spread open before us, ought soon to remove all difficulties on the score of ignorance. And may we not hope that the still more grievous difficulties which beset the inquiry may vanish also? It is surely high time for scholars and historians to make up the quarrels of the predatory chieftains of old; and not to continue with their pens the disputes which their ancestors may have commenced fourteen centuries ago, sword to sword, and axe to axe. And now that both countries are thoroughly merged into one, with a common government and laws, and a common glory, there can be no longer an excuse for the Briton to depreciate the Saxon, or for the Saxon to depreciate the Briton, of a thousand years past; or for either to deplore it as a loss of national honour, if the result of an impartial inquiry should be that his own ancestors contributed less to the common stock than he had imagined. Large countries speaking solely English have probably far more Celtic blood in their population than is commonly supposed; between the pure Teuton of Norfolk and the pure Celt of Cardiganshire probably every shade of intermixture might be discovered. All these questions I would recommend to the attentive study of this Association as the most interesting and important of any that

can be brought before its members. We must find out by what right the modern Briton claims an exclusive ancestry in the first defenders of our soil against the Roman eagle; and ascertain whether large tracts of Britain were not, long before Hengest or Cæsar, in possession of the same race which, ages after, produced Alfred and Æthelstan, Canute and Harold. We must discover whom and what the Romans left behind them, of what blood they sprung, and what tongue they spoke; whether the retention of the Welsh tongue to this day—the only primæval European speech, unless we except the strange dialect of the Basques, which has lived through both Roman and Teutonic conquests—be not in truth a sign how imperfect the Roman conquest was, and that at all events their domination over the fastnesses of the present Wales was hardly more established than that of their Germanic successors. We must finally examine by what steps the final immigration spread itself over the greatest part of Britain; we must ascertain the destiny of the conquered people, where they were exterminated, where expelled, where enslaved, where reduced to mere political bondage; and mark what traces these different conditions have left in the blood and manners of different parts of England. These are inquiries than which hardly any nobler can be proposed to the philosopher and the historian; and if a direct answer to them lie beyond the scope of our archæological pursuits, still archæology, if it all does its duty, and subserves its real end, can at least clear away difficulties from the path of the historical, just as from that of the architectural, philosopher. By carefully noticing and recording every peculiarity of language, manners, local custom, or physical conformation which can bear upon the points at issue, the archæologist may at least accumulate the materials, by dividing and arranging which the historian may be enabled to arrive at the full solution of the deepest questions which can be propounded out of the history of Britain.

E. A. FREEMAN.

MANUSCRIPTS RELATING TO WALES.

In the "Stowe Collection," recently purchased by the Earl of Ashburnham, is a curious folio MS., containing 335 pages. It consists of four parts. 1st.—"An ancient Treatise of Armes, written in British, with a fair, antique, sett hand, on vellum, by Lewis Glynne Cothi, describing the severall coats of the Kings of Greate Brittain, that altered their coat-armour, beginning with Brute, until Edward the Third; and from that time, continued, to King Charles, whome God longe blesse and continue in his happie reigne." 2nd.—"The arms of all the nobility of Great Britain, and Ireland, blazoned according to Guillim's method, with the arms of the Archbishops, and Bishops of Great Britain and Ireland." 3rd.—"The five kingly tribes of Cambria, their coats, &c., blazoned according to their dignities, together with the fifteen princely tribes of North Wales, their coates, places of abode, &c.; and also certaine of the Princes, Nobilitie, and Gentry of Wales," &c. 4th.—"The differences of brethren in the same coat-armour, from the eldest of the first house, to the ninth brother of the ninth house." The tables of contents prefixed to these four parts are followed by a transcript of part of the White Book of Hergest, a folio MS. on vellum, containing a large collection of Welsh poetry, heraldry, and history, compiled in the reigns of Henry VI., and Edward IV., by Lewis Glynne Cothi, who was himself a Welsh poet, and served under the Earl of Pembroke, to whom, and to his brother, many of his compositions were addressed. The original MS., in the "Wynnstay Collection," was unfortunately destroyed by fire, when in the hands of Mackinlay, the bookseller, in 1800. This transcript is in Welsh, and is illustrated by the arms of the principal families in Wales. It is followed by a "True Coppie of an Ancient Memorable Treatise touchinge the Pedigree of the Herberts, by commission from Edward IV., A.D., 1460." The next article is a Welsh poem, which bears at the end the name of John Evan Klywedog, and to which is subjoined the "names, titles, cheiff coats, of all the nobillitie of Great Britain and Ireland." The last hundred pages contain pedigrees of families in Wales, in the Welsh language. The latest date to which the descents are carried down is 1629; and, on the first leaf is—"1630, Evan Feney, his booke—his again in 1642."—*Bibliotheca MS., Stowensis*, by Rev. Charles O'Connor, D.D., vol. ii., p. 536.

In the same collection are—"Miscellaneous Poems, in the Welsh language, written in the sixteenth century," folio, in the ancient oak binding.

Also—"Original Memoirs of apparitions and spirits in Wales," 4to. The pages are fifty-one, written in 1738, by Mr. L****, who professes to have seen some of the events he relates.

John Salisbury, of Erbistock, made a collection of pedigrees of all the gentry of North Wales. The original MS. was at Wynnstay.

A Visitation of the county of Pembroke, with the arms emblazoned, is still in the library of the Chetham Hospital, at Manchester.

The original MS., compiled by George Owen, for a history of the county of Pembroke, was in the possession of Howel Vaughan, of Hengwrt. *Query*—Was not this lent, or given, to the late Mr. Fenton?

In the "Harleian Collection," in the British Museum, are a great number of pedigrees of Welsh families.—See *Moules' Bib. Herald*, p. 606, &c.

In the collection of letters addressed to Prince Rupert, which were purchased by Mr. Bentley, from Mr. Bennett, of Pyt House, and have *not* been included in "Warburton's Memoirs" of the prince, there are many relating to events which occurred in Wales during the civil wars, and to individuals who took an active part both for, and against, the king.

Correspondence.

To the Editors of the Archaeologia Cambrensis.

GENTLEMEN,—During the past summer the following members of our Association spiritedly raised a small subscription towards the expense of making a systematic examination of the encampments on the Clwydian Hills, by carrying on a series of "diggings" therein, with the hope of gaining some clue to their history. The partial results of their liberality will, with your permission, appear in a future number of the *Archæologia Cambrensis*, under the title "Castra Clwydiana."

The Lord Bishop of St. Asaph	£5	0	0
F. R. West, Esq., M.P., Ruthin.....	2	0	0
Rev. L. Barnwell, ditto	1	0	0
L. Morris, Esq., ditto	1	0	0
The Ven. Archdeacon Newcome, ditto	1	0	0

£10 0 0

Rev. Edward Thelwall.....The labour of a man for one week.
 J. J. Ffoulkes, Esq.The same.

The subscription, with a trifling addition of my own, enabled me to employ five men in digging for four weeks, at 12s. per week each; during which time Moel Fenlli, Moel Gaer, and Moel Arthur were successively visited—the two last with little or no success. The thanks of the Association are due to such liberality; it affords an example which I hope may be followed by other members in their respective districts, and tends greatly to the elucidation of matters of antiquity.

I am, &c.,

W. WYNNE FFOULKES,
Loc. Sec. Denbighshire.

To the Editors of the Archæologia Cambrensis.

GENTLEMEN,—I observed in No. XV. an announcement, that the ancient rood-screen in the old church at Newtown is about to be sold, and it is hoped attention will be paid to this sad matter. There are in the same church an altar, the slab of which is of veined marble, and an altar-piece, painted and presented by Dyer the poet, the subject being the Last Supper. What is to become of these, and the monuments and vaults, and their contents, within the venerable edifice, which is about to be left to its fate? The framers of the Church Building Acts were sadly remiss in not providing that, in every case, and at whatever sacrifice, the old site should be occupied by the new church, and which would have prevented the revolting desecration which will take place in this instance, and in similar ones.

I am, &c.,

W.

[We are of opinion, but we speak under correction, that the closing and abandoning, much more the destroying, of any parochial church, without special faculty from the Bishop, is *illegal*.]—EDD. ARCH. CAMB.

PEMBROKESHIRE CHURCH TOWERS.

To the Editors of the Archæologia Cambrensis.

GENTLEMEN,—Having observed in the last number of your periodical a wish expressed to the effect that "some competent antiquary would make a complete survey of the towers which abound in the county of Pembroke," I beg to throw out a few remarks on the subject, which may serve, if of no value in themselves, at least to stir up some more able person to undertake a thorough examination of these remarkable fabrics.

In No. XV. of the *Archæologia Cambrensis*, in a paper on "Gumfreston Church," signed "H. L. J.," these words occur:—

"This tower may be considered a *fair type of those which abound in the county of Pembroke*, and, taken by itself, would not afford many data for an approximation to its date; but, considered conjointly with others in this district, and along the southern coast of Wales, does not appear to be older than the *fifteenth century*." Now elsewhere in this same paper the writer admits the architecture of these churches to be *sui generis*; and therefore, though I dare not deny his assertion, I think I may venture, without incurring a charge of presumption, to suggest that there may be grounds for considering their date considerably earlier.

If asked at what time the church in question—and, consequently, the Pembrokeshire churches generally (for they are all, within the limits of a certain district to be presently defined, of the same *type*)—were built, I should answer, at the latest during *the thirteenth century*. And for this opinion I think the following facts are sufficient foundation:—

Perhaps some of your readers may remember an article in No. XV. on "Manorbeer Castle;" if so, they will recollect that one of the towers is described as being in all respects similar to our church towers. It is square; it has an embattled parapet supported on a corbel table; it batters out at the base;—all which things "H. L. J." speaks of as being the characteristic features of Gumfreston, and the other Pembrokeshire churches. Add to this, that the style of the masonry, and the degree of preservation of the churches and this tower of the castle so fully coincide, that it is impossible not to remark the coincidence. Is it not a fair inference, then, that Manorbeer Castle and the Pembrokeshire church towers are of *nearly the same date*? Say that the same *type* of architecture continued in vogue for a century after the castle was built; it follows then that the churches must have been built within a century of the castle. Now, we have a *definite date* for the castle itself, and consequently a very fair approximation to that of the churches. The date of the castle is found thus: Giraldus Cambrensis was, by his own showing, born in the above-named castle;—the date of his birth is fixed by Sir Richard Colt Hoare in the year 1146;—the castle must therefore have been standing in that year;—and, on the above supposition, the Pembrokeshire church towers must have been built before a century from that time had elapsed, that is, before 1250, or the middle of the *thirteenth century*. May I then consider my point proved?

But there is further confirmation of the correctness of my surmise, and the deduction made from it. It is currently reported in this part of Pembrokeshire, and, I believe, allowed by anti-

quaries generally, that the architecture of our church towers and castles south of a line drawn, as nearly as may be, east and west through the towns of Narberth and Haverfordwest (and it is within this limit that these remarkable towers occur, the churches north of that line being simple one-aisle buildings with a bell-gable, *e. g.*, Llandissilio) partakes of a *Flemish* character. Now we know from William of Malmesbury, who died 1143,—from Giraldus, whose date has already been given,—from Hollinshed,—from the Welsh Chronicle, and from several other sources, that a colony of Flemings was located in this district in the reign of Henry the First, A.D. 1107 or 1108. Here, then, were the architects who built our churches and castles—who imported the designs, and carried them into execution. And the surmise and date I have given above are confirmed by this fact; for if our buildings are of a later date than that assigned, *viz.*, 1250, in all probability both the Flemish architects and the Flemish design would have died out before their erection.

If they should be deemed worthy of a place in your Journal, I shall be happy, on a future occasion, to forward you some half-dozen extracts I have collected from the authors named above, on the subject of the Flemings in Pembrokeshire.

I remain, &c.,

TYRO ARCHITECTONICUS.

Tenby, December 4, 1849.

Miscellaneous Notices.

THE CELTIC SOCIETY OF DUBLIN.—We are compelled, from want of room, to postpone till our next number an extended notice which we purpose giving of the constitution and transactions of this learned society, as well as a review of the first two volumes of its publications. These works have been forwarded to us in a very handsome manner by the society, and we shall gladly profit by any opportunity of showing our sense of the civility intended.

THE "GODODIN."—Our readers will not be sorry to hear that the Rev. J. Williams (ab Ithel) is preparing a new translation of Aneurin's celebrated poem, the "Gododin," illustrated with numerous annotations both historical and critical. The Welsh text is, we understand, to be collated with several ancient MS. copies of the work, and the various readings are to be given at the foot of each page. After the translations by Celtic Davies and Mr. Probert, it would scarcely appear necessary to add a

third. But those translations being so opposite to each other, and both of them representing the pre-conceived opinions of the translators rather than being faithful renderings of the Welsh original, the Abergavenny Cymreigyddion last year offered a premium for the best translation of the poem; for which, however, there were not any competitors, and the subject was left open until the next Eisteddfod, in 1851. In the meantime, Mr. Williams—having grappled with the difficult task and nearly completed the same, we trust successfully—has determined to publish a revised text, accompanied with an English translation, by subscription, in the hope that the Battle of Catteraeth, although disastrous to the Britons, may, after a lapse of thirteen centuries, prove of service in furnishing the means for the restoration of the church founded by Aneurin's cotemporary, Tydecho ab Ammwn Ddu, in the beautiful vale of the Mawddwy. We sincerely trust that this laudable design will meet with every encouragement, and that Mr. Williams may soon have his subscription list filled to repletion.

NOTES AND QUERIES.—Such is the title of a weekly paper, consisting of a quarto sheet filled with correspondence—"Notes and Queries" by antiquaries and literary men. It is likely to be of great use, though its value will depend much upon its circulation and permanency. We had fancied that the old *Gentleman's Magazine* had established a monopoly of this kind of literary communication; but the price of the new publication—threepence instead of thirty pence—is ten to one in its favour. Nevertheless, we should be sorry to see it, or any other publication, trenching upon the prerogative of Mr. Sylvanus Urban, for whom we have a profound respect, and to whom we have often been under great obligations. It should never be forgotten that the *Gentleman's Magazine* was the only periodical publication that held up the cause of Archæology in dark and adverse times; and, though other works better illustrated have since appeared, yet few contain more interesting information of a certain class than our venerated friend's pages. The first number of these "Notes and Queries" contains a letter from "A Student," requiring information about Madoc the Welsh prince, who was the first man, we guess, that ever went to the "diggings" in California. The last intelligence received from that "everlasting Britisher" was contained in one of our late numbers, we forget which. The publisher is Mr. Bell in Fleet Street.

HERALDRY.—An important book of reference for heralds and genealogists has just been compiled by Mr. R. Sims, in the form of an "Index to the Pedigrees and Arms contained in the Heralds' Visitations, and other Genealogical MSS. in the British

Museum." All persons engaged in collecting for county histories will find this an useful work, likely to save them much time and trouble; and, doubtless, it contains many particulars interesting to the Welsh antiquary.

HISTORIC SOCIETY OF LANCASHIRE AND CHESHIRE.—A society bearing this name has been established in Liverpool, and, ever since the 20th June, 1848, has been in full operation. We have to apologize to the officers of that society, and to our readers, for not having, at an earlier period, noticed their proceedings, and expressed to the former our warm sympathy in their welfare. We are delighted to hear of this, and of all similar societies; and, as far as our objects are in common, or insomuch as the antiquities of Wales must necessarily be intermixed (as our own pages have more than once shown) with those of the Counties Palatine, we have only to say, that the pages of the *Archæologia Cambrensis* will be always at the service of the society in question. We may take this opportunity of observing, that it is in our power to communicate an anecdote of considerable interest to that society, relative to the foundation of the Cambrian Archæological Association, and directly referring to what the Liverpool Society now takes cognizance of, inasmuch as it would complete what may be termed the "previous history" of that body. The objects of this Historic Society seem to be closely analogous to those of the Cambrian Archæological Association, and it publishes a monthly bulletin of its proceedings, consisting of a single octavo sheet, illustrated with wood-cuts and lithographic plates. The Earl of Ellesmere is the president, and the secretaries are, our learned friend and fellow-member, the Rev. A. Hume, LL.D., and C. H. Pidgeon, Esq. The society possesses a library and a museum.

NEWCASTLE EMLYN, CAERMARTHENSHIRE.—A Correspondent wishes to be informed of the derivation of *Emlyn*, as applied to this place. The castle, of which but little remains, belongs to Lord Cawdor, and, therefore, is safe from any further dilapidation.

WHITEWASHING.—A correspondent at Knighton writes thus:—"The names of whitewashers should certainly be always commemorated—their villanous tribe is only too numerous. In an ancient church on the English border, the sedilia and locker have been lately blocked up, plastered over, and whitewashed; and, upon closely inspecting two or three other churches in the same district, I am pretty confident that they have been served in a similar manner. The clergy are, generally speaking, inattentive and careless in these matters."—Very true; but so are the gentry. Perhaps in no part of Great Britain is there such a positive dislike for monumental antiquities as in certain districts of Wales.

WHITCHURCH, NEAR DENBIGH.—Another correspondent calls our attention to the disgraceful state of the monuments in the churchyard of the old parish church of Denbigh, and very appropriately observes,—“In the midst of all this neglect and desolation arises that wretched attempt called a church, in the Park! Why this latter fabric should have been built, rather than that Whitchurch should have been repaired, and Divine service re-established within its venerable walls, has always been a puzzle to us. Could any Christians have intended to sacrifice the eternal welfare of the poor farmers and cottagers upon the altar of fashionable and selfish utilitarianism? Let them make haste to remove the stigma which otherwise cannot but cling to them in this matter.”

CAER GAI, NEAR BALA.—There is now little doubt of Caer Gai, at the S.W. end of Llyn Tegid, being a Roman station, and of its forming the link in the communication between **MEDIO-LANUM** (Mathrafal?) and **HERIRI MONS** (Tomen y Mur). It would be a good thing if any Merionethshire gentleman would undertake to explore, and map down carefully, the lines of Roman and British roads crossing this part of that wild, and highly interesting, region.

BRITISH BEACONS.—A complete series of beacons, and camps serving also as beacons, may be made out all along the line of hills known as the Clwydian range, between the counties of Denbigh and Flint. A similar series exists all along the March country, from the mouth of the Dee to that of the Severn. It is most probable that other series of communication by beacons may be traced all along the southern shore of Wales, from Gwent to the furthest point of Dyfed, and again on the western coast, from Ty Ddewi to Caernarvon. We would solicit some of our antiquarian friends, living on these two last-named lines, to take up the subject, and to try and make out how far the conjecture is well or ill founded. Other lines, very probably, cross the country, for we suspect that our Celtic ancestors had much quicker and more frequent means of communication by beacons than is generally supposed.

OFFA'S DYKE.—It has been suggested to us by the Venerable the Archdeacon of Cardigan, that Offa's Dyke was not constructed by the king of that name, whose resources and whose extent of territory did not tally with the extent and position of the work; and, further, that it is evident to whoever examines it, that it never could have been a line of *defence*, not only on account of the direction it in several places assumes, but also on account of its small elevation and breadth. A glance at it, Mr. Archdeacon Williams observes, is sufficient to show that it was

a line of demarcation, and, no doubt, was constructed for purposes of peace rather than of war. It may have marked the boundary of certain territories, and was perhaps adopted by Offa, who found it constructed, for the purposes which tradition has assigned to it. The Archdeacon was, many years ago, informed by his brother, since deceased, that this dyke is, in more than one place, visibly *cut through by Roman roads*; and, if so, this would immediately throw back its construction to some time previous to the Roman occupation of the island. It becomes, therefore, a point of high historical interest to determine whether this is the fact, or can now be proved. Some antiquaries have already commenced researches with this object in view, and we would recommend the subject as one well worthy of active observation, wherever it is probable that a line of Roman road crosses the line of the dyke. This occurs, perhaps, as many as five times throughout its entire length; and the localities may be found by means of the Ordnance maps.

LLANARTH, NEAR ABERAERON, CARDIGANSHIRE.—In the churchyard of this parish, on the south side of the church, is an inscribed stone (not hitherto published) of the twelfth century. It bears a cross, covering the stone, with four circular holes at the junctions of the arms. The inscription is on the lower limb of the cross; but, as it is made of a micaceous sandstone, part has been split off, and the inscription is much mutilated. If ever we go there again, and do not again forget our rubbing apparatus, we will essay to give our readers some idea of this monument. The current tradition of the place concerning it is, that one stormy night, some centuries ago, there was such a tremendous “shindy” going on up in the belfry that the whole village was put into commotion. It was at last conjectured that nobody but a certain ancient personage could be the cause of this, and, therefore, they fetched up his reverence from the vicarage to go and request the intruder to be off. Up went the vicar, with bell, book, and candle, along the narrow winding staircase, and, sure enough, right up aloft among the bells, there was his majesty in person! No sooner, however, had the worthy priest began the usual “*Conjurate in nomine,*” &c., than away went the enemy up the remaining part of the staircase on to the leads of the tower. The vicar, nothing daunted, followed, and pressed the intruder so briskly that the latter had nothing else to do than to leap over the battlements. He came down plump among the grave-stones below; and, falling upon one, made with his hands and knees the four holes now visible on the stone in question, which, among the country people, still retains his name.

PEMBROKE CASTLE.—Some repairs are urgently required in this magnificent pile, which, if *now* judiciously executed, would preserve the threatened portions for several centuries, at a trifling expense. We allude more particularly to the circular tower, on the right hand of the entrance from the street. Some large cracks extend in it from the top to the bottom, which might be stopped by more support being given to the ruinous portion at the base within. The vaulted roof, too, of this tower shows signs of decay, but might be easily made good. About £300 would effect a careful repair of all the parts now endangered.

PENALLY CHURCH, NEAR TENBY.—We understand that this church is about to be repaired, and, by some it is said, *restored*. If there be any truth in this report, it is earnestly to be hoped that the works will be entrusted only to some architect of ability and experience, and not exposed to the dangers arising from the freaks of any young practitioner. To all who have a feeling for the picturesque, we need hardly say that Penally Church, with its irregular outline, its mantling verdure, and its quiet churchyard, constitutes a picture of village beauty almost unrivalled in the whole island; and, whatever repairs the walls of the edifice may require, we trust that the good taste of the person employed will prompt him to interfere as little as possible with this exquisite specimen of nature's fairest dressing. The church, however, is highly curious and valuable in an architectural and antiquarian point of view—circumstances which an architect of eminence would immediately distinguish, but which a country builder may, very possibly, fail to discern. The stone vaulted roofs of the nave and transepts—the curious oblique passages, or *squints*, cut from the transepts into the chancel—the ancient arches in the transepts, and the tomb of the thirteenth century in the southern one—all these features demand careful preservation. The whole of the interior requires to be fitted with new seats, while the barbarous gallery at the western end should be removed. The early inscribed stones, now consigned to a dusty hole under the tower, should be imbedded vertically in the chancel wall, near the altar, and preserved from all possibility of injury; while, as we before remarked, the exterior should not be altered at all. No architecture in the world can ever approximate to the extreme and unusual beauty of the present covering; though windows, with monials of the same style as the rest of the edifice, should be inserted wherever modern ones now occur. We have heard it hinted that some Tenby people recommend Penally Church to be well whitewashed, outside and inside—*sed credat Judæus!*

Reviews.

THE LITERATURE OF THE KYMRY; being a Critical Essay on the History of the Language and Literature of Wales, during the Twelfth and two succeeding Centuries. By THOMAS STEPHENS. Llandoverly: W. Rees. 1849.

This valuable production is divided into four chapters, which are again respectively subdivided into several sections, containing dissertations upon the different forms of literature that prevailed during a given period of time. The opening section is occupied with a historical sketch of the state of learning in Wales prior to the twelfth century; and though necessarily brief, it presents us with faithful portraits of the bards of the sixth century, and ably establishes the high probability that the Welsh had, in addition to their poetry, valuable prose histories, in their own language, about A.D. 858.

The author states it as his opinion that, whilst both Aneurin and Taliesin have been honoured with the title of the "King of the Bards," the title has been given with least propriety to the latter. We presume that he refers to bardism simply as a literary or philosophical system, the express object of which was the discovery and promulgation of naked TRUTH, particularly as the claims of the Gododin are grounded merely upon its historical value, whilst the poems of Taliesin are said to "show more skill in composition, finer ideas, bolder images, and more intense passion than any poet of the same age." These qualities are in exact accordance with the statement of the the following Triads:—

"The three embellishments of Song: fine invention, happy subject, and a masterly harmonious composition."

"The three elegancies of Song: a highly comprehensive language, charming luminous thought, and ingenious composition."

In that respect then Taliesin must ever be regarded as pre-eminent over his contemporaries.

We are pleased to find that the author duly appreciates the value of the peculiar construction of such stanzas as "Englynion y Clywed," and "Chwedleu y Fran," which, he says, "instructively show how an intelligent people supplied the defect felt in the want of a written literature."

In the second section of chapter I. we have the history of poetry, from A.D. 1080 to A.D. 1194; and Meilir, Gwalchmai, Owain Kyveiliog, Hywel ab Owain, Periv ab Kedivor, Einion ab Gwalchmai, and Llywarch Llaety, are made to pass in review before us. Extracts from their compositions are given illustrative of their respective merits, though Mr. Stephens fairly infers that the verses generally imputed to the last named belong in reality to another person, called Llywarch Llew Cad.

A very striking improvement took place in Welsh poetry during the life of Gruffydd ab Kynan; as Mr. Stephens observes, "the muse

which limped so lamely in 1080, after a lapse of fifty years, takes such flights, that but few succeeding bards have been able to equal them." Accordingly even between Meilir's poems a vast difference is discernible; whilst his first was tame and uninteresting, the latter were full of poetic traits, vigorous thought, and weighty observations. A noticeable feature moreover in the poems of Meilir is the metre, wherein we are for the first time made acquainted with the recurrent rhyme, which, in the language of the bards, is called *Ban Kyrch*.

Some Englynion by *Periv ab Kedivor*, being, as they are, free from the refinements, technicalities, and affectations of the more celebrated bards, exhibit such intelligible Welsh as strongly to support the opinion that the language of Wales, seven hundred years ago, is easily understood by a *Cymro* of the present day.

The most charming poet of the age however is by our author considered to be *Howel ab Owain*, and the specimens he gives of his compositions certainly bear him out in that opinion.

In the section on music Mr. Stephens rejects the extreme opinions of both Dr. Powel and the Rev. Thomas Price as to the influence of the Irish teachers in the reign of *Gruffydd ab Kynan*. Whilst agreeing with *Carnhuanawc* that there was no revolution effected in the musical taste of the Welsh, he thinks it probable that the pipes were introduced amongst them at that time. From a passage in *Giraldus* he infers further that at least some of the musicians of Wales were imitators of the Irish music, though certainly not to the exclusion of their own national melodies.

The last section of chapter I. is devoted to an investigation of the nature of "*Hud a Lledrith*," which the author, with much ability and success, makes out to be certain dramatic exhibitions of native origin, which prevailed in Wales as early as the twelfth century.

The second chapter opens with a clever dissertation on "*Bards and Bardism*." The bards were the historians, teachers and companions of their patrons, and so respected were they that princes were ambitious of being admitted into their order. By the law of *Gruffydd ab Kynan* they were classified as *Prydydd*, *Teuluwr*, and *Clerwr*. The "*Teuluwr*" was the family bard; the "*Clerwr*," was the wandering bard; but the "*Prydydd*" took a higher rank than either. We are afraid, however, that Mr. Stephens does not keep this distinction sufficiently in view, when he speaks of the venality of the bards, a charge which ought to have been made against the strolling rhymers alone, and not against the bards, properly so called, whose motto was invariably "*Truth against the world*."

Mr. Stephens utterly rejects the tale respecting the murder of the bards by order of Edward I., on the strong ground that many bards of note were living at the date of the alleged massacre, A.D. 1294-1300. A list of these is given, as well as of all the bards from A.D. 510 down to 1390, together with the number of poems which each of them left behind.

The bards are represented as in general hostile to the monks; but

what does our author mean when he says that the former's "theology was in advance of that of the church?" His translation of "Drwy undeb erchir Drindawd," which he has rendered "and by impressing unity upon the Trinity," in an extract from Lewis Glyn Cothi relative to a mendicant friar, is not good; it should have been "the Trinity in Unity is besought," an expression similar to what may be found in the Athanasian Creed, and the collect for Trinity Sunday.

We can hardly go along with our author in his estimate of the druidism of the twelfth century, which he calls a fiction of recent origin. On this subject we are much better pleased with the information which we derive from "the voice conventional of the bards of the Isle of Britain," in the Iolo MSS. p. 430, &c.; though we willingly admit that the religious department of the Druids was completely absorbed in the Christian priesthood.

In the second section of the said chapter we have an account of Welsh poetry from A.D. 1194 to A.D. 1240, and copious extracts are given from the poems of Kynddelw, Llywarch ab Llywelyn, Einion ab Gwgan, Davydd Benvras, Elidir Sais, Gwynvardd Brycheiniog, Philip Brydydd, Einion Wann and Gruffydd ab Gwrgeneu. In one of Llywarch ab Llywelyn's poems there is an allusion apparently to the departure of Madoc ap Owain Gwynedd for America; in another to the ordeal of "the hot iron."

The third and fourth sections are taken up with the mythological poems, and here our bardic friends will be surprised at the quantity taken from Merddin, Taliesin, Aneurin, Llywarch, Meugant and Golyddan, and fixed in the twelfth and succeeding centuries. We must confess however that the arguments whereby our author endeavours to establish his points are in general extremely strong and ingenious. Some of the poems attributed to Taliesin are shown to bear a great similarity to the "Arabian Nights," and the bardic philosophy which they contain is considered by Mr. Stephens to be merely the production of an imaginative mind revelling in the marvellous. Of seventy-four poems, bearing the name of Taliesin, Mr. S. allows him the undisputed possession of a dozen only.

He is equally unsparing of the alleged property of the Merddins. Indeed he annihilates the very person of one of them—denying his reality, though not, as we think, with his wonted success. Our author maintains that the dialogue between Merddin and his sister was written to further the views of Rhys ab Tewdwr at the commencement of the eleventh century. The poem entitled "the predictions uttered by Merddin out of his grave," is clearly posterior in date, inasmuch as it refers to *Coch o Normandi*, meaning William II., the Red King from Normandy, and contains moreover an allusion to Henry I. The Avalleuau and Hoianau are treated of at great length, and after a severe analyzation of their contents, Mr. Stephens comes to the conclusion that they could not have been written prior to the thirteenth century—and with much ingenious plausibility he assigns the authorship of the latter to Llywarch Prydydd y Moch,

whilst he supposes the former to have been composed either by Gwalchmai or Kynndelw. The Gorddodau are attributed to Gruffydd ab yr Ynad Coch.

The "Destiny of Great Britain" usually attributed to Golyddan, towards the close of the seventh century, is likewise by our author transferred to the middle ages.

Meugant is permitted to retain possession of one of the two poems usually assigned to him, whilst the other is supposed to have been composed in the early part of the reign of Owain Gwynedd since its language is comparatively modern, and the said monarch mentioned in it by name.

The fame of Aneurin must rest wholly and solely upon the earliest of modern heroic poems—the Gododin. The verses of the months are not his though they were attributed to him as early as the fifteenth century. In these stanzas mention is made of Saints Breda and Bernard, the latter of whom was born in 1091, died in 1153, and was canonised by Pope Alexander III. in 1174—which brings them down to the twelfth century. Mr. Stephens is certainly wrong in supposing that the couplet in the September stanza,

Merch frenhinawl a aned
An duc òn dygn gaethiwed,

which he translates,

A royal daughter was born
Who will deliver us from our grievous captivity,

refers to Gwenllian the offspring of Llywelyn and Eleanor de Montford. The allusion is assuredly to the nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary, which falls on the 8th of this month. We should have accordingly rendered the passage,

A royal maid was born,
Who delivered us from our grievous captivity,

captivity, that is, of a spiritual kind.

A set of triplets are taken from old Llywarch; and two sets more from his son, y Mab Clav.

The succeeding section is taken up with prose literature. We have no space to follow our author in his critical and sensible remarks on the Chronicles, Geoffrey, Walter Mapes, Caradoc, Liber Landavensis, and the mental idiosyncrasy of the Kymry.

Chapter III., section 1, presents us with a historical survey of Welsh literature from A.D. 1080 to 1322. Mr. S. here recurs to the alleged massacre of the bards by Edward I., and adduces additional argument to disprove it. The tale about Scolan and the burning of the MSS. in the Tower of London is likewise cleverly explained and disposed of. The state of Cambrian manuscripts is examined, and specimens of popular songs are given.

In section 2, Welsh poetry from A.D. 1240 to A.D. 1284 is considered, and extracts are given from the compositions of Llygad Gwr, Einion ab Madawc ab Rhahawd, y Prydydd Bychan, Hywel Voel, Bleddyn Vardd, and Gruffydd ab yr Ynad Coch. The last named's

Elegy on Prince Llywelyn is a noble composition, full of poetry and historical value: as our author observes, it "is worthy of the occasion which called it forth, and forms a fitting wail on a hero's fall."

The religious poetry of the bards forms the subject of the next section; nor does Mr. S. omit all notice of prose composition, specimens of which from the petition of the Cambrian princes in favour of Giraldus, are inserted. Moreover Mr. S. states it as his belief with reference to the letters which passed between Archbishop Peckham, and the princes Llywelyn and David ab Gruffydd, and the men of Snowdon, "that in manly reasoning, eloquent indignation, and combined wit and logic, the letters of Prince Llywelyn, the men of Snowdon, and Prince David, far excel those of the archbishop."

A learned dissertation on the Mabinogion follows, in which their origin, history, and influence are clearly traced.

It is to be regretted that Mr. S. has not devoted a larger space to the consideration of the Triads, though perhaps they lie beyond the period of his essay.

In his interesting section on the Welsh language; we think that Mr. Stephens is rather too dogmatic in reference to the verbal termination *ynt* in the passage,

"Ni ddodynt, nid ydynt, nid ynt parawd."

He should have satisfied us that the last verb is really in the future, and not in the present tense.

The second section of chapter IV. treats of Welsh poetry, from A.D. 1280 to A.D. 1350, and here we are introduced to Gwilym Ddu, Rhys Goch, Davydd ab Gwilym, and a host of other bards, who flourished at that period.

The volume is closed with some general criticism on the bardic poems of uncommon interest and value to all students and admirers of the literature of Wales.

The plan of the whole work is judicious; the style copious, vigorous and often eloquent; the arguments are fairly chosen, and such as generally carry the readers with them; whilst the translations of the numerous extracts given are for the most part faithful and elegant. We heartily recommend the volume.

CLAUDIA AND PUDENS. AN ATTEMPT TO SHOW THAT CLAUDIA, MENTIONED IN ST. PAUL'S SECOND EPISTLE TO TIMOTHY, WAS A BRITISH PRINCESS. By JOHN WILLIAMS, A.M., Oxon., Archdeacon of Cardigan, F.R.S.E., &c. Llandoverly, W. Rees, 1848.

Difficult subjects cannot be properly grasped by other than gigantic minds; we were therefore extremely pleased to find prefixed to the present pamphlet the name of the Venerable the Archdeacon of Cardigan, who is in himself a host, and has never wielded his pen without effect. Mr. Williams has treated the question under consideration with his usual ability and success. The following is a summary of his line of arguments:—

"We know, on certain evidence, that in the year A.D. 67 there were at Rome two Christians, named Claudia and Pudens. That a Roman, illustrious by birth and position, married a Claudia, a "stranger" or "foreigner," who was also a British maiden; that an inscription was found in the year 1723, at Chichester, testifying that the supreme ruler of that place was a Tib. Claud. Cogidunus; that a Roman, by name "Pudens, the son of Pudentius, was a land-holder under this ruler;" that it is impossible to account for such facts, without supposing a very close connexion between this British chief and his Roman subject; that the supposition that the Claudia of Martial, a British maiden, married to a Roman Pudens, was a daughter of this British chief, would clear all difficulties; that there was a British chief to whom, about the year A.D. 52, some states, either in or closely adjacent to the Roman province, were given to be held by him in subjection to the Roman authority; that these states occupied, partly at least, the ground covered by the counties of Surrey and Sussex; that the capital of these states was "Regnum," the modern Chichester; that it is very probable that the Emperor Claudius, in accordance with his known practice and principles, gave also his own name to the British chief, called by Tacitus, Cogidunus; that after the termination of the Claudian dynasty, it was impossible that any British chief adopted into the Roman community could have received the names, "Tib. Claudius;" that during the same period there lived at Rome a Pomponia, a matron of high family, the wife of Aulus Plautius, who was the Roman governor of Britain, from the year A.D. 43 until the year 52; that this lady was accused of being a votary of a foreign superstition; that this foreign superstition was supposed by all the commentators of Tacitus, both British and continental, to be the Christian religion; that a flourishing branch of the Gens Pomponia bore, in that age, the cognomen of Rufus; that the Christianity of Pomponia being once allowed, taken in connexion with the fact that she was the wife of A. Plautius, renders it highly probable that the daughter of Ti. Claudius Cogidunus, the friend of A. Plautius, if she went to Rome, would be placed under the protection of this Pomponia, would be educated like a Roman lady, and be thus an eligible match for a Roman senator; and that when fully adopted into the social system of Rome, she would take the cognomen Rufina, in honour of the cognomen of her patroness; and that, as her patroness was a Christian, she also, from the privileges annexed to her location in such a family, would herself become a Christian; that the British Claudia, married to the Roman Pudens, had a family, three sons and daughters certainly, perhaps six, according to some commentators; that there are traditions in the Roman Church, that a Timotheus, a Presbyter, a holy man and a saint, was a son of Pudens, the Roman senator; that he was an important instrument in converting the Britons to the faith in Christ; that intimately connected with the narrow circle of Christians then living at Rome, was an Aristobulus, to whom the Christian Claudia and Pudens of St. Paul must have been well known; that the tradition of the Greek Church of the very earliest period record, that this Aristobulus was a successful preacher of Christianity in Britain; that there are British traditions that the return of the family of Caractacus into Britain was rendered famous by the fact that it brought with it into our island a band of Christian missionaries, of which an Aristobulus was a leader; that we may suppose that, upon Christian principles, the Christianized families of both Cogidunus and Caractacus should have forgotten, in their common faith, their provincial animosities, and have united in sending to their countrymen the word of life, the gospel of love and peace." (p. 50, &c.)

We regret that our limits will not allow us to extract specimens of the skilful manner in which the Archdeacon works out and establishes these several points, especially the geographical position of the "some states give to Cogidunus" (p. 17), which struck us as being particularly ingenious, and withal convincing, irrespectively even of the sure testimony of the Chichester stone.

Archæologia Cambrensis.

NEW SERIES, No. II.—APRIL, 1850.

CASTRÀ CLWYDIANA.

No. I.

MOEL FENLLI.

THERE are few valleys in England or Wales more extensive or more luxuriant than that to which the river Clwyd gives a name. Spreading from the north-western shore of Flintshire in a southernly direction into Denbighshire for about twenty-five miles in length, richly wooded, and plentifully rewarding the toil of the husbandman, it may perhaps be regarded as the garden of the counties in which it lies. The waters of the Clwyd wind along the midst of it, receiving tribute from various mountain streams, and, uniting in their course with the Clwydoc, Astrad, and Elwy, find their way into the sea at Y Forryd, on its northern extremity. On the east, the vale is bounded by a chain of mountains—the natural barriers of this part of Wales, running north and south—the summits of which command a very extensive view on the one side into Lancashire and Cheshire, and on the other of the interior alpine country of Caernarvonshire and Merionethshire. Agriculture, with infant steps, has climbed high upon their sweeping sides, and upon them smile the cheerful homestead, and quiet cottage, beneath its shady clump of stunted trees,

nurturing a hardy and industrious race—a striking contrast to their heath-clad summits, which speak to us now of a time when a race, brave and more hardy, whose only toil was war, their home the camp, breathed their invigorating air.

The chain of encampments, six in number, which crown these heights, tell us of some mountain chief who here held his sway amidst his faithful band, hovering over the adjacent country, his ready prey; or of some victorious invader who, distrustful of the conquered, would here have kept himself aloof from treachery and surprise; or, perchance, mark the boundaries of some warlike tribe, protected thus by art engrafted on nature, against aggression.

Aided by the spirited liberality of some of our members resident in the neighbourhood of the Vale of Clwyd, I undertook, during the past summer, a series of systematic excavations, or, more technically, “diggings,” in these encampments, with the hope of obtaining results which would throw light upon their history, and commenced, on the 21st of August last, with that on Moel Fenlli, the southernmost in the chain, situated about three miles to the east of Ruthin.

THIS ENCAMPMENT, the area of which measures in circumference about three-quarters of a mile, of an oval form, following strictly the contour of the ground, in length about 1500 feet, by about 800 feet in breadth, occupies the summit of a steep, conical mountain, about 1600 feet above the level of the sea, easy of access only on the east, guarding, on the north, the western extremity of a pass called Bwlch Pen Barras, and another pass on the south, named in the Ordnance map Bwlch Agricola—a nomenclature about which I have some doubts. It is fortified with a fosse and double agger¹ on all sides,

¹ With a view to the classification of our camps in Wales, of which there appears to be some variety, the *form* of the fosse, and *structure* of the agger, as well as the position and number of the gates, should be attended to. On Moel Fenlli the *fosse* alternates with the *agger*; an agger being next the area, and also outside the outermost fosse,

except the east, where there are two fossæ, and the agger is quadrupled, the innermost measuring, on the inside, about eight or ten feet in height, while in other parts its height is not more than three or four feet. On making an incision into it on the northern side of the camp, I found it was formed with earth and stones, heaped up promiscuously. It has now two GATES, the one facing the north-west, the other the south-east. The former, which appears to have been originally the only entrance, is protected by an agger on either side, running at right angles with those enclosing the encampment, and extending several feet into the area, between which the roadway, not more than a yard in width, appeared to have an artificial surface, formed with stones of some size, laid flatways as a rude pavement; from it a road, leading in pretty regular zig-zag down the side of the mountain, is to be traced into the first-named pass, Bwlch Pen Barras. The latter having no protective agger as the former, and evidently of subsequent date, inasmuch as, on making a section, it was found to pass over the original agger, which had apparently been levelled for it, connects the camp with a road which skirts the mountain above the so-named pass, Bwlch Agricola, and leading eastward is, after some distance, lost in the heath. A continuation of this road inwards from the gate, is traceable in a circuitous course towards a never-failing crystal SPRING, which is near the centre of the encampment, and in front of which there appears, from embankments still visible, to have been a circular reservoir. But whether this road is contemporaneous with any period of the early history of the encampment is perhaps doubtful. The area undulates considerably, rising to its greatest height on the east. In various parts of it I observed numerous circular

the outermost agger being lower than the one next the area. The *fosse* is in form what the Romans termed *fastigata*, *i.e.*, its sides meet in an acute angle at the bottom of it like a V. "Fastigata (*i.e.*, fossa) dicitur, quæ a summâ latitudine lateribus devexis in angustiam ad solum conjunctam pervenit."—(*Hygini de Castramet Liber.*) The *agger* is constructed with earth and loose stones thrown up out of the *fosse*, as above stated.

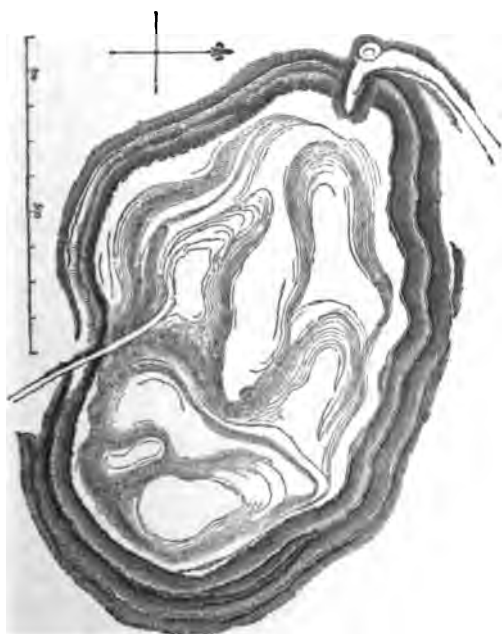
hollows, which appeared to mark the site of "Cyttiau;" I excavated in several of them, but without success.

The "diggings," commencing at the north-west gate, were carried along the west and south-west sides of the camp, under the joint superintendence of the Rev. J. Williams, now rector of Llanymowddwy, and myself. For some hours our hopes seemed doomed to disappointment;—trench after trench was dug out without success. Perseverance, however, at length brought to light a piece of white pottery, the rim of some vessel, the fabrication of which was so coarse and peculiar as to induce a belief that it belonged to a very early period—prior, possibly, to the Roman invasion. Continuing our researches in the same direction, by cutting trenches wherever the ground appeared inviting, this satisfactory beginning was soon followed up by fresh discoveries of fragments of similar pottery, some in a state of great decay, and occasionally of small fragments of coarse red pottery, which appeared to be Roman.

The **WHITE POTTERY**, which is made of extremely white but ill-tempered clay, and is encrusted on the inside with small stones imbedded in the clay, has been pronounced by Mr. Way, Fellow of the Archæological Institute, to be Anglo-Roman—that is, made by the Romans in this country. Pottery of a similar kind has been recently found on the site of a Roman town on the borders of Essex.

We subsequently divided our labours, Mr. Williams following up our discoveries on the west and south-west, while I commenced digging along the north rampart, proceeding from the north-west gate eastward. Mr. Williams soon dug up a remarkable stone knife, together with more white pottery, and very good glazed **ROMAN POTTERY**, partaking of the nature of Samian ware.

The **STONE KNIFE**, the greatest curiosity we found, I forwarded to the lord of the manor, F. R. West, Esq., M.P., (to whom we are much indebted for his liberality, and kind permission to carry on our excavations,) at Ruthin Castle, where it is now carefully preserved. It is unlike



Ancient Camp on Mount Senni.



any stone instrument which I have ever seen ; it is more slender, and made with more design, than usual ; the stone of which it is made resembles that ordinarily found on these mountains, is rather soft, and not more than a quarter, or half-an-inch, in thickness, throughout the whole breadth of it. It has a back, which is flat, like that of our knives, except near the point, (if we may so call it,) where it is scarped off in a similar way to our sword blades. The edge is like that of our axe, and is neatly and regularly made ; and, from the end where the handle (if it ever had one) was affixed, it will be observed (*see plate*)¹ longitudinal lines are cut, by way of ornament—a finish in these days made somewhat more useful, and consisting generally of the maker's name, as ("^{Rogers & Son,} Sheffield"). I could find no resemblance to it in the collection of stone instruments in the British Museum. It measures about five inches in length, and, in the absence of more certain information respecting it, I should judge from its slight make, and the softness of its material, as well as from its form, that it never was used for any other than domestic or sacrificial purposes.

On the north side I continued the "diggings" along the rampart, eastward, and turned up, in nearly every trench opened, fragments of ROMAN POTTERY, varying both in colour and fabrication—both coarse and fine—red—black—red outside and black inside—and cream-coloured ; also IRON, so corroded that its form was no longer ascertainable ; GLASS of a superior kind ; a LEADEN ornament ; part of a BRASS OR BRONZE ring ; and, in one of the easternmost trenches, just under the rampart, and below the *original* surface, (a fact somewhat material in determining the age of the rampart and the white pottery,) the rim of a vase, or urn, of white pottery ; and, pursuing the excavations more towards the interior, I found fragments of FLINT ARROW-HEADS, and two almost entire, the points only being broken (*see plate*) ;

¹ It is due to Mr. Ffoulkes to state that he kindly contributed £1 towards the engraving of the illustrations which accompany his valuable and interesting paper. — EDD. ARCH. CAMB.

and, to close the catalogue, some small pieces of rather coarse red pottery, rough-cast (if I may be allowed the term) with atoms of spar, with which the mountain abounds. I have seen a small vase, curiously shaped, of black pottery, in the possession of the Rev. Mr. Morris, of Ashwell, Herts, which was dug up in a burial-place in that neighbourhood, and is rough-cast on the outside somewhat similarly, but with small white stones.

The excavations were carried on for about eight days, and I think the discoveries they led to may serve to throw some light upon the history of this ancient stronghold. In the present state of the history of POTTERY, whether Roman or British, we cannot, from such evidence alone, arrive at any very conclusive presumptions respecting dates; yet, on the other hand, in tracking out the *abodes* of those who have lived before us, pottery is, generally, one of our surest guides. In COINS we have a negative proof of periods of time, though not of the race who either *constructed* or *occupied* the encampments where they may be found; for, being easy of carriage, ever an object of plunder, as well as a medium of exchange, they were as likely, after a time, to be found among the Britons as among the Romans. When, however, they are found conjointly with pottery which we can predicate to be Roman or British, our conclusions as to the character of the pottery may be with reason a guide to us in deciding the property of the coins. In WEAPONS we have another kind of evidence, pointing out certain æras in the history of the world, as well as national character. Stone first, bronze succeeding, and iron next, are thought to have supplied nations with instruments and weapons both for domestic and warlike purposes. How necessary then is it narrowly to watch facts which, though appearing in themselves insignificant, become, by their connexion with other links, most important in the chain of evidence.

From the discovery, then, of the stone knife, and flint arrow-heads, I think we may infer that this was, as Pennant¹

¹ *Pennant's Tour*, 8vo., vol. ii., p. 61, *et seq.*

says, one of the posts originally formed by the Ordovices for the defence of their territory, when, as yet, they were untamed by the conquering, but civilizing, sword of Rome, though already, perhaps, rumour from the south had stirred them into activity to resist its approaching shock; and, doubtless, its size, as well as its position, with its plentiful supply of water from within, must have rendered it a very important, and, to ordinary foes, an almost impregnable, post. Not so, however, to the well-disciplined arms of Rome; for our discoveries of Roman pottery clearly show that they, at some period or other, possessed themselves of it. Perhaps, too, we may infer, from the position in which, as I have already stated, some of the white pottery was found, that part of the present ramparts were made by them—though, to my eyes, I confess they appeared uniformly constructed; and, although it may be difficult, perhaps impossible, to fix the precise period when they first occupied it, and the duration of their occupancy, I think our discoveries, taken in conjunction with others made there some years ago,¹ and with what history tells us, may furnish some clue to it.

Some thirty years ago an extensive conflagration of the heath in this encampment led to the discovery of an immense number of Roman coins, which were found lying on the surface of the inner rampart, on the north-east; and others, as a former number of this Journal tells us, have since been found, some few of which have been preserved. One appears to be a fine gold coin of Nero;² another a silver one of Antoninus Pius; the rest are of the reigns of the two Constantines and Constans. Now, the discovery of these coins, taken in conjunction with our recent discoveries of Roman pottery and glass in the same camp, raises a strong probability that they were brought there by the Romans; and, it being obvious that coins would not precede, although they might long survive, the emperor “whose image and superscrip-

¹ Vide *Archæologia Cambrensis*, vol. ii., p. 108.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 109, 110.

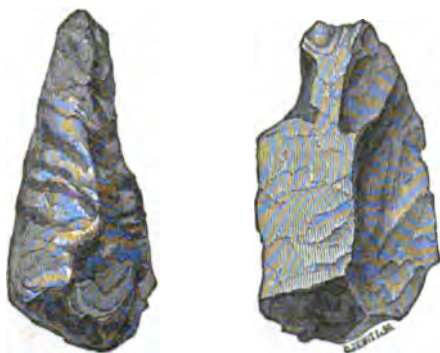
tion" they bear, I therefore venture to conclude that this camp was possibly occupied as early as the reign of the emperor Nero, and again in that of Antoninus Pius—a conclusion in some degree countenanced by its curious coincidence with history, which tells us that, in the reign of the former emperor, about A.D. 62, Suetonius Paulinus carried the Roman arms into Anglesey;¹ and that, in the reign of Antoninus Pius, about A.D. 144, the Brigantes, who had invaded Genouinia, (by Camden considered to be Guinethia, or North Wales,) were driven back by Lollius Urbicus.² I also infer, from the discovery of coins of Constans, that this post was occupied, (whether continuously, or at intervals, I will not venture to say,) as late at least as A.D. 350.

Such, then, is the probable history of this encampment, as derived from archæological research. *We* may, I think, *safely* conclude that this encampment was of Cambro-British origin, existing at the time of the Roman invasion, and subsequently occupied by the Romans, either continuously for a considerable period, or during different expeditions; and, if so, we have possibly, in Moel Fenlli, another claimant to the site of *Varis*;³ but I do not know at present how the *existing* distances between Chester and Caerhun affect this claim. Richard of Cirencester states it to be thirty miles from Chester to *Varis*, and from thence to Conovium twenty; Antoninus thirty-two and nineteen respectively. And, while on this point, I should be glad to know whether the name of the northern pass, Bwlch Pen *Barras*, can have any etymological affinity to *Varis*. It is clear that, at an early period, it was an important

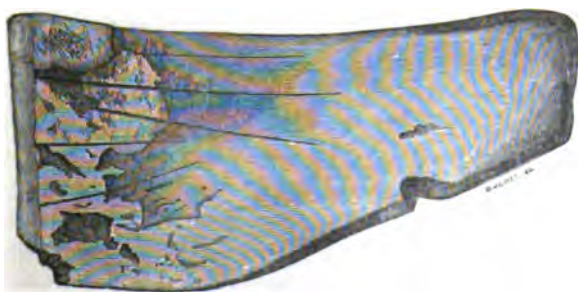
¹ Tac. Ann. Lib. xiv. cap. 29 and 30.

² Pausan. Arcad.

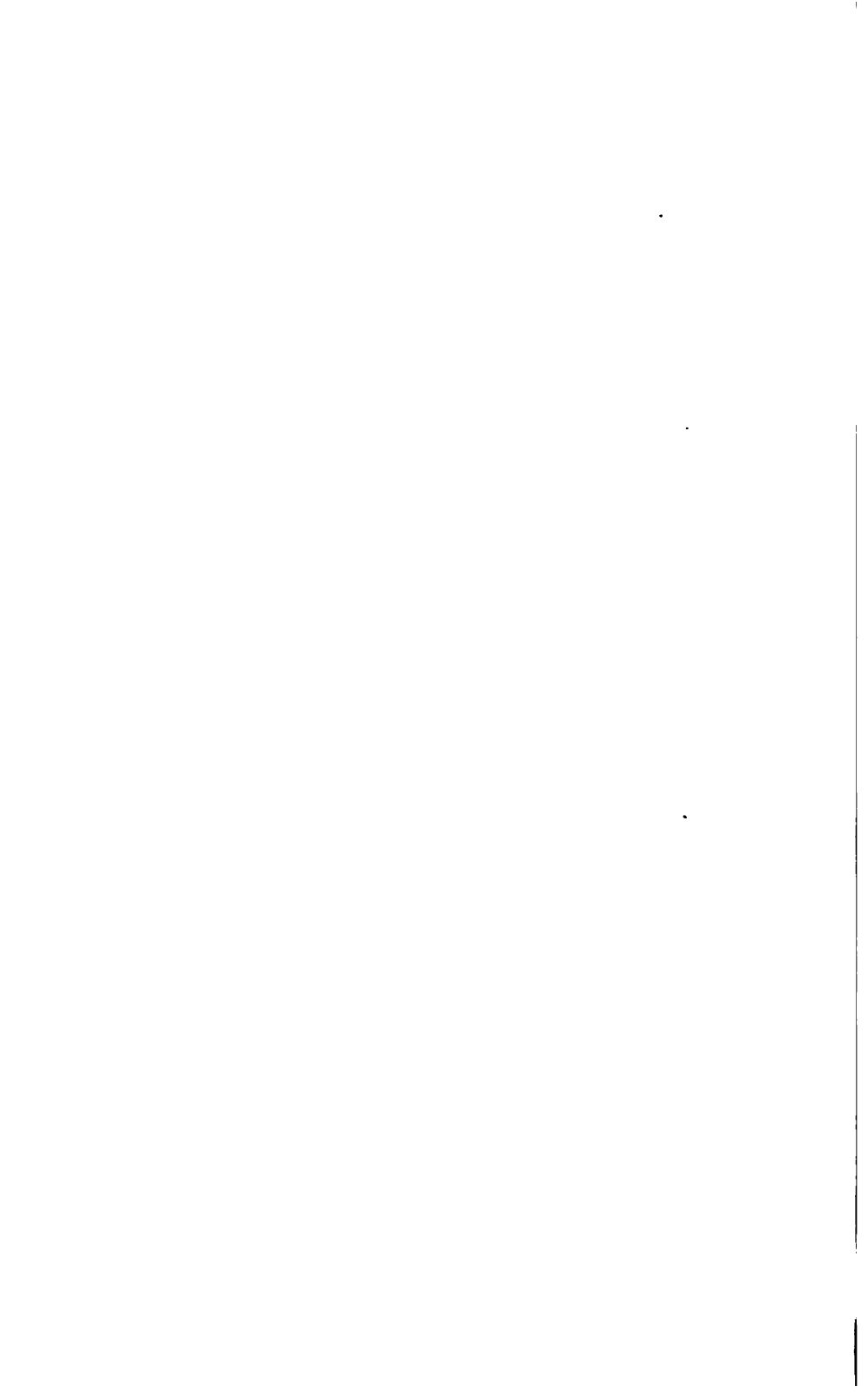
³ The site of *VARIS* is no longer uncertain, having been ascertained by Mr. Aneurin Owen to exist at Pont Rhyfydd, between Bodfari and the Clwyd, where the Roman walls of the station are to be clearly discovered at the present day. In the same way the site of *MEDIO-LANUM* is now *fixed* at Mathrafal, near Meifod; and thus *all* the Roman stations in North Wales, mentioned in the Itineraries, are now known.—EDD. ARCH. CAMB.



Flint Arrow-heads, Mool Fenli.



Stone Knife, Mool Fenli.



post; its present name attests that it continued to be so in comparatively late times. The name is taken from Benlli, or Belinus, a prince who reigned in the territory of Yale, (now a lordship,) within which, I believe, the mountain lay, towards the latter end of the fifth century, and the site of his palace, on this mountain, is recorded in the name of a farm, about midway on the ascent, called Llys Benlli. His son is said to be buried at Llanarmon yn Yale.

With regard to the name Bwlch Agricola, I cannot but think with my friend Mr. Williams, notwithstanding that Pennant and the Ordnance map have adopted it, that there is some error. Pennant says, he conjectures that it points out the passage of the Roman general, because the Welsh word is incapable of any other interpretation; but that, I believe, is not the case. The word Agricla, or Agricola, as Pennant has restored it, may be derived from the two words *crûg-glas*, signifying "green mounds," three or four of which are very conspicuous in the pass from a great distance, and give quite a character to it; and, in confirmation of this, upon my questioning some half-dozen of the rustics who lived upon the spot, they called it some "Bwlch Saeth criccaeth," and others "Bwlch criglas," but none had ever heard of "Bwlch Agricla," much less of "Bwlch Agricola." Besides, if this were derived from the name of that general, we might reasonably expect some further traces of his onward course, in the nomenclature of other spots in the neighbourhood, whereas there are none. I am therefore inclined to believe, though somewhat reluctantly, that the true name is "Bwlch crûg-glas."

W. WYNNE FFOULKES,

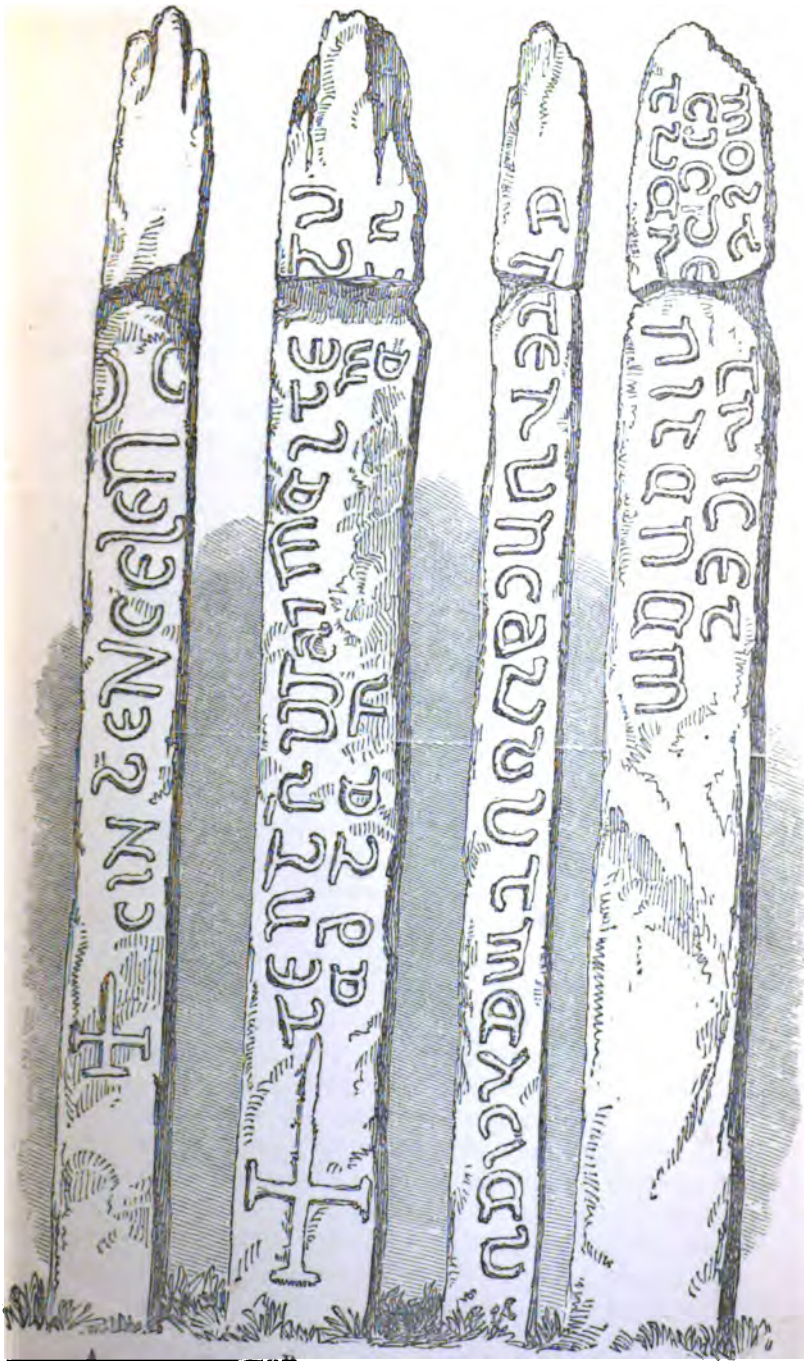
Loc. Sec. Denbighshires.

OBSERVATIONS ON THE STONE OF ST. CADFAN,
AT TOWYN,

AND ON SOME OTHER INSCRIBED AND CARVED STONES IN
WALES.

THE genuineness of the remains of the ancient literature of every country, as well as the veracity of its historical traditions, are intimately dependant upon the existence of unquestioned documents, either written or carved. It follows, as a necessary principle, that the higher the antiquity of such documents, and the nearer their age to the period to which they refer, the greater will be their value, being so much the less likely to have undergone any alteration, either wilful or unintentional; whereby either their language, or the facts they are intended to perpetuate, may have been varied.

Such documents are either written or carved. Referring to the Christian period, we may take as examples of the former the manuscripts of the Scriptures, or those of the works of early historians, such as Eusebius or Bede, and we at once perceive that a manuscript of the Gospels of the fourth century, (such as the one recently obtained by the British Museum,) or one of the "*Ecclesiastica Historia Gentis Anglorum*" of the eighth, are documents which it is impossible not to venerate, as affording incontrovertible proofs that at such early periods the relations contained in such manuscripts were considered as truths. With such a document as the last named, for instance, before him, no one would attempt to deny the fact of the existence of Christianity in England to a great extent at the time when Bede wrote. But, unfortunately for Wales, there is not a single genuine Welsh manuscript in existence, so far as I know, either historical, religious, or poetical, earlier than the twelfth or thirteenth century. Hence the ease with which doubts are thrown upon the productions of the earlier Welsh writers, (who are only known by copies made by comparatively recent scribes,) and hence it is that, except from the relations of con-



A B C D

The Stone of St. Cadfan.

temporary Anglo-Saxon or Irish writers, there is no means of proof (so far as this class of documents is concerned) earlier than the twelfth century of the existence of religion, literature, or science, in Wales.

But Wales does possess a series of documents of very high antiquity, the genuineness of which is unquestioned, and which, extending back to the Roman period, afford proofs of the truths which the want of manuscripts might cause, and indeed has caused, to be questioned.

The carved and sculptured stones of Wales are, in fact, the only unimpeachable proofs which exist in Wales of the extent to which religion, literature, and science was there cultivated, from the third to the twelfth centuries. Of their value, therefore, I need scarcely say a single word. They are worthy to be prized as highly as the most costly executed manuscripts, and yet, as will appear in the subsequent part of this article, it is to be feared that many of them are in danger of immediate destruction; whilst others, even within the last few years, are known to have been, either accidentally or wilfully, destroyed. On both these accounts, therefore, it is of the utmost importance that correct copies should be published of them all; for, although many are engraved in the works of Pennant, Camden, Gibson, &c., their figures are so rude as to be almost useless.

Many of these stones record but a name, with the accompaniment of some certain indication of the profession of Christianity by the party thus commemorated. Still oftener we meet with the Latin formula, "Hic jacet A. B., filius C. D.," or some analogous words.

But with the exception of the pillar of Eliseg (*see* vol. i., p. 32, for its mutilated inscription), in which some Welsh words are introduced among the Latin ones, a stone found at Tregaron, moved to Goodrich Court by Sir S. R. Meyrick, (supposed by him to be of the sixth century, inscribed with the words *Potenina malher*, read by Sir S. R. Meyrick, *Bod yn yna Mael Hir*, and to be dedicated to a British prince,

Mael Hir,¹) and the stone of St. Cadfan, I am not acquainted with any other memorial bearing an inscription in the ancient Welsh language.

The stone of St. Cadfan, at Towyn, has been engraved in the works of Gibson and Pennant, but so inaccurately that it is not to be wondered at that it has never yet been deciphered. At the meeting of the Cambrian Archæological Association, held in 1848, at Caernarvon, as already stated in vol. iii., p. 364, casts of the four sides of this stone were presented to the museum by W. W. E. Wynne, Esq., who has also kindly placed in my hands a series of rubbings taken from the stone itself. These materials have enabled me to present the readers of this Journal with representations of the inscriptions, which have been reduced from the originals with the greatest care, by means of the *camera lucida*.

The stone itself is about seven feet long, and about ten inches wide on the two widest sides, the other two sides being considerably narrower. The figures on the accompanying plate are arranged according to the occurrence of the inscriptions on the several sides of the stone. Supposing the stone to be standing erect, (it is now, however, lying flat on the floor of Towyn Church,) the inscription on the side marked A is to be read from the ground upwards. It appears complete by the two ornamental curved marks after the terminal *n*. Walking round the stone from left to right, the next side, B, has the inscription also carved so as to be read from the ground upwards. The crosses inscribed on these two sides show that each is the commencement of a distinct inscription to the memory of different individuals. The third side, C, in the same manner of progression, is a narrow one, and bears a series of letters along its entire length; but here the order is reversed, beginning at the top and reading downwards. There is here no indication of the commencement of a fresh inscription, and, unless the sense will assist us, we are unable to guess whether it be a continuation of the inscription commenc-

¹ *Cambrian Quarterly Journal*, vol. ii., p. 142.

ing on the opposite narrow edge, A, carried over the top of the stone; or whether the continuation of that on the broad side, B; or whether, following the ordinary arrangement of the letters, it is the termination of the inscription on the fourth side, D, which has the letters arranged downwards in the same manner, and which might accordingly be considered as the commencement of the inscription, if we do not here adopt the idea that the sculptor has carried his paragraph from the broad side, B, over the top of the stone to the top of the broad side, D. The solution of this question must be left to the philological skill of the Rev. J. Williams. It will be observed that the stone is broken across, near the top, and this, on the fourth side, D, seems to have influenced the characters of the letters, those of the lower division being much larger than the upper.

The inscription on the first side is tolerably clear and legible. The three letters between the first *c* and *ε* are the only ones respecting which there can be any doubt. They appear to me to represent a *u* and *n* conjoined, followed by a reversed *g*,¹ rather than *INb*. The terminal letter is a small *n*, showing that both capital and minuscule letters were commingled indiscriminately. The line is therefore to be read,—

+ CUNGEN CELEN ∩

The second side, B, has the latter part of the inscription partially injured, by the fracture of the stone near the top. The first seven letters are plain; the seventh is a *g* of curious unreversed form, but exactly similar to the *g* in the British or Irish Gospels of St. Gatien at Tours, of the seventh century. (*Nouv. Tr. de Dipl.*,

¹ This form of the minuscule *g*, either with the ordinary straight top bar resting upon a *s*, or in its reversed form, has much perplexed persons not used to ancient palæographical monuments. Instances of it in its unreversed position occur in the Catamannus inscription, engraved in a former volume of this journal, and in the Catacus inscription at Llanfihangel Cwm du, Brecknockshire. (*Cambrian Quarterly Magazine*, v., 519.) The reversing of letters, turning them upside down, or even laying them upon their sides, were usual faults with the ancient stone engravers.

iii., *pl.* 37, iv. ii.) The next letter is difficult, the stone having apparently been injured; it looks like *n*, and is so given by Bishop Gibson, but in Pennant's figure it looks like *ci*.¹ I read the next five letters *malte*, the top bar of the *t* being plain. In the now broken space of the top line, both Gibson and Pennant represent a *d*. The last two letters are *gu*. The first five letters of the second line are plainly *adgan*, completing the name GUADGAN, *i.e.*, CADVAN, but the small letters at the end, forming two lines, are now doubtful, in consequence of the fracture of the stone. They appear to me to be a *m*, beneath which is *a*, the second stroke of which is ill-defined, so that it may be only *c*. In the broken space there is room for two letters, followed apparently by *n*; but Llwyd gives these last letters (as seen before the stone was broken):—

mc
cra

This line, therefore, appears to me to be intended for—

+ tengrug c(?)i malte(d)gu
adgan m
a?...tr (or a)

The third side, *c*, is clear, with the exception of the second letter, now broken, which looks like part of *r*. (Pennant gives it *n*, before the stone was broken here.) The eleventh letter seems certainly intended for *b*. The whole is therefore to be read—

an?terunc dubut marciau

The fourth side, *d*, has the top line plain: the middle line is more difficult, the first letter is evidently *c*, the next is more like a *l* without the little bottom curve, which seems to have been turned in the opposite direction; the following appears to me to be an *o*, although the circle is not quite complete on the right side; the next is given by Camden and Pennant as *p*, but it seems to me to be *d*; all the letters in the bottom line seem to me to be plain.

¹ In our engraving this letter is represented too much like a *a*.

This side of the inscription must therefore be read—

molt	tricot
clode	
tuar	nitanam

I trust these observations will now enable Mr. J. Williams to decipher these ancient inscriptions. Of their age it is difficult to speak, judging alone from the characters of the letters; but, as they are written, for the most part, in very debased minuscule Roman characters, I think we may refer them to a considerable period after the Romans had left the country, and their capital letters had fallen into disuse; such characters may have been used, therefore, from the sixth to the ninth century, when the improvements introduced by Charlemagne would doubtless influence even the scription of Welsh writers. I should scarcely hesitate, however, in regarding them as productions of the seventh or eighth centuries. As such, we have here a series of sentences in the old language of Wales more ancient by several centuries than any other in existence,¹ and which accordingly offer the means of testing the correctness of the more ancient of the relics of Welsh literature which have come down to us only in copies of a later date. As such, also, this stone is one of the most precious monuments of Welsh religion and literature, and merits every care which can be bestowed upon it, to place it in such a position as will secure it to future ages.

I must reserve my notes on some of the other early inscribed and carved stones for the following number of this Journal.

¹ I do not here overlook the inscriptions in the Gospels of St. Chad, (fac-similes of which are given in the first volume of the Publications of the Welsh MSS. Society, and in my "*Palæographia Sacra Pictoria*,") since, judging from the form of the letters in which they are written, they are more recent than those upon the Stone of St. Cadfan, and indicate considerably more Anglo-Saxon influence.

J. O. WESTWOOD.

Hammersmith, October, 1849.

THERE can be no doubt that the crosses on the Cadvan Stone indicate the commencement respectively of two distinct inscriptions, and it being formerly the usual practice to begin commemorative sentences with the symbol of Christianity, we may fairly resolve the whole of the present writing into the said number. But the question is, as Mr. Westwood observes, whether the crossless inscriptions are a continuation of their opposites, carried over the top of the stone, or whether they are merely a continuation of the inscription on the side, B. It seems to me that the former mode is the one to be adopted in the present instance, and more especially so since the side D, as well as the side C, is traced downwards, thus violating the zig-zag order, which otherwise, it might be argued, was the intention of the engraver to observe, for the greater facility of reading. And, with due deference to Mr. Westwood's superior skill and experience in these matters, (had not this stone been somewhat *sui generis* I should not have hazarded the remark,) I cannot with him regard the curved character at the top of the side A as denoting the completeness of the inscription, but as inserted there simply with a view to fill up the vacant space, or as a hyphen to connect the two sides together.

I would therefore read side A and its opposite thus:—

† CUNGEN CELEN ARTERUNC DUBUT MARCIAU.

In modern orthography,—

CYNGEN CELAIN AR TU RHWNG DYBYDD MARCIAU.

That is, as I would render it,—

“The body of Cyngen is on the side between where the marks will be.”

Again, the sides B and D, as follows:—

† TENGRUGCIMALTEDGUADGAN MARTH MOLT CLODE TUAR
TRICET NITANAM.

In modern orthography,—

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

Which might be thus translated,—

“Beneath a similar mound is extended Cadvan, sad that it should enclose the praise of the earth. May he rest without blemish.”

The proper division of words and sentences was very much neglected in old Welsh MSS. Thus, in a MS. at Cambridge, under the title of “Juvencus,” as copied by Llwyd, (*Archæologia*, p. 224,) we have,—

“Nigourcosam nemheunaur henoio mitelu nit gurmaur mi amfranc dam ancalaur.”

Which, divided into the form of its verse, in the orthography of the present day, would be,—

“Ni worchysav, ni'm hunawr henoeth,
Vy nheulu nid gorvawr;
Mi a'm franc dav a'n callawr.”

See *Dr. Pughe's Grammar*, p. 9.

In the above extract we see also how the *m* was anciently used where we would now use the *v*, or the soft *f*. The same we likewise find in St. Chad's Book, which is supposed to have been written before the year 720, where *irham* and *irgaem* stand for *yr hav* and *y gaeav* respectively. In accordance with this usage, I have read CIMAL, CYVAL, and NITANAM, NID ANAV. The former word, however, might have been intended for CINMAEL, a place of retreat, or a corner. If so, I should translate the line,—

“*In the retreat beneath the mound is extended Cadvan.*”

The substitution of *u* for *w*, *i* for *y*, and *t* for *dd*, is further apparent in the stanza quoted above, as indeed it is in all the old Welsh MSS.

E for *A* was also extensively used, such as *deu* for *dau*, *men* for *man*, which would justify my reading TEN, TAN; and that *e* was used for *y* is very clear from the following passage at the end of a copy of the Welsh Laws, a MS. of the thirteenth century:—

“Mae elle etal estraun o alanas kemint abraut enelle cenicier ar alanas maab ad duco iuam ikenedel arall o kan i eneb aueicus drostau.”

That is, in modern orthography,—

“ Mae y lle y tal estrawn o alanas cymaint â brawd yn y lle cenygier ar alanas mab a ddyco ei vam i genedl arall y gan y neb a veichws drosto.”—*Dr. Pughe's Grammar*, p. 9.

As the double L was not introduced until the twelfth century, we could not, of course, have looked for it in **MOLT**, but why the last letter should be there might prove to some persons a difficulty. It is a fact, however, that some words ending simply in *ll* are vulgarly pronounced as if there were a *t* added; e.g., *oll* and *deall* are pronounced *ollt* and *dallt*; and when we consider, moreover, that the letter *t* enters into an extended modification of *deall*, viz., *dealltwriaeth*, without any apparent reason, but rather contrary to etymological analogy, we cannot help thinking that the said letter did anciently often terminate words of that description.

I have not been able to find *daear* elsewhere written *tuar*, though it is to be found in various forms in the “*Myvyrian Archaology*,” as *daiar*, *dayar*, *dyar*; the last of which, be it observed, varies but slightly from the word on the stone, so that I have no doubt both are intended to express the same thing.

The plural termination in the early poems of the “*Myvyrian Archaology*” is most commonly *eu*, and not *au*, as at present. Nevertheless there are instances of the latter, such as,—

“ Ac enwerys cyfrwyau

Pan farner y Cadeiriau,”—vol. i., p. 66,

which makes it not so surprising that **MARCIAU** should exhibit that form. It is necessary to bear in mind that our ancestors had no fixed or uniform system of orthography.

But to leave the subject of orthography, and turn to other features of the inscription. **MARCIAU** evidently refer to certain monuments which were placed to mark the spot where the deceased lay interred, probably stones, which, according to the Welsh Laws, were used as marks for various purposes. Such, no doubt, was the stone found in the Isle of Bardsey, bearing the inscription

MARC VELIO. There might have been a stone, a maen hir, at each end of the grave, as was the case with the grave of Beli ab Benlli Gawr, (*see* "Hanes' Cymru," p. 35,) and thus the body of Cyngen would in truth be between the marks.

As the word at the end of the side B is imperfect, it would of course be difficult to ascertain its true meaning. I have above conjectured it to be *marth*, as being the nearest approximation to Llwyd's version. *Marth* is a word very much used by the poets in connexion with death and the grave; thus,—

"*Marth* ym pa vro ladd un mab marco."

"There is *sadness* in the plain where the only son of Marco was slain."—*Aneurin*.

"*Marth* marw eurdeyrn Gogledd."

"*Evident* the death of the splendid prince of the north."

Myrddin.

"Ail *marth* mawr mor de—yw lladd Llywelyn."

"Like the great *swell* of the south sea is the slaying of Llywelyn."—*Gwalchmai*.

"Er madawg ys mau

Marth goviau gyfesgar."

"For Madawg *sad* memorials of regret afflict me."—*Ibid*.

The meaning given to the word in Dr. Pughe's Dictionary is *evident, certain, swelling, heavy*.

Or could the inscription have been intended for *marchog*, in reference to the knightly character of Cadvan? or *merthyr*, a martyr?

Triged nid anav, "may he dwell without blemish," is an expression equivalent to *requiescat in pace*, or *rest his soul*, which pious ejaculation assumes various shapes in the elegiac compositions of the bards.

But who are the persons here commemorated? As to Cadvan there can be no doubt. He was the son of Eneas Lydewig, by Gwentairbron, a daughter of Emyr Llydaw, one of the princes of Armorica. In the earlier part of the sixth century he came over into Wales, and founded the churches of Tywyn, Merionethshire, and Llangadvan, Montgomeryshire. (*See* Rees's "Welsh Saints," p. 213.) In a poem written between the years 1230 and 1280, he

is celebrated as the patron saint of Tywyn, "eglwys gadyr gaduan." And it would appear from the couplet,—

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

"Happy is he who shall enjoy the refuge
Of the place where dwells the sovereign of the region of
reanimation,"

as if the poet believed the saint to have been buried in the said church.

Tric, it will be observed, is the same word as that on the stone, only they are in different moods.

Cyngen was probably the same with the son of Cadell, who would thus be a contemporary of Cadvan, for he flourished between 500 and 542. He succeeded his father in the Principality of Powys, and is distinguished for the patronage which he afforded to the saints, and for the liberal endowments which he gave to the Church. ("Welsh Saints," p. 161.) It was he who, no doubt, gave Tywyn, being within his dominions, to God and St. Cadvan, and thus old associations, and admiration of his friend's virtues would naturally induce the prince to desire that, "when he died, he should be buried in the sepulchre wherein the man of God was buried, and to have his bones laid beside his bones," a wish which seems to have been duly accomplished.

JOHN WILLIAMS ab Ithel.

Llanymowddwy.

DRUIDIC STONES.

No. II.

WE now proceed to enumerate some of the stones which, though forming no part of the circle, had still their use in druidic times.

THE STONES OF GWYDDON GANHEBON.

These are spoken of in the "Triads of memorial and record, and the information of remarkable men or things,

which have been in the Island of Britain; and of the events which befel the race of the Cymry, from the age of ages," printed in the *Myvyrian Archaiology*, vol. ii. A note annexed to the copy from which a transcript was made for that work states, moreover, that the said Triads were taken from the Books of Caradoc of Nantgarvan and Ievan Brechva, both of whom lived about the middle of the twelfth century, by Thomas Jones, 1601:—"The three chief master works of the Isle of Britain: the ship of Nevydd Nav Neivion, which carried in it a male and a female of all living, when the lake of waters burst forth; the drawing of the avanc to land out of the lake, by the branching oxen of Hu Gadarn, so that the lake burst no more; and the stones of *Gwyddon Ganhebon*, on which were read the arts and sciences of the world.— (*Triad 97.*)

Great antiquity was assigned by the Bards to these stones, as may be inferred from two points in the triadic history of Gwyddon Ganhebon. First, he is represented as living prior to Hu Gadarn, who was present at the deluge (*Triad 92*); secondly, as being "the first man in *the world* who composed poetry," (*Ibid.*), and as having engraved on his stones "the arts and sciences of *the world*," and not merely of the *race of the Cymry*, which is the ordinary language of the Triads. It is to be observed, however, that an older date still is attributed to wood engraving. Our readers will recollect that its origin was briefly touched upon in No. I., in connexion with the name of Einigan Gawr; we may illustrate the matter further with the following extract from an old catechetical document cited by Taliesin ab Iolo, in his *Essay on Coelbren y Beirdd*, p. 38:—

Q. "I would fain know upon what and how were letters first formed?"

A. "They were first made on sticks; the wood was hewn into four squares, and on each side small notches were cut in the form of letters. Subsequently upon a *slate*, the letters being engraved thereon with a steel style or a flint; and where it was done on wood, the same was

called Coelbren, and the rows of letters Coelbrai ; whilst the inscribed *stone* was designated *Coelvain*."

MAEN CETTI.

This is also mentioned in the Triads, as follows:—
 "The three mighty labours of the Isle of Britain : lifting *Maen* (or the stone of) *Cetti* ; building the work of Emrys ; and piling up the mount of Cyvrangon."—
 (*Triad* 88.) Hence, no doubt, arose the proverb, "Mal gwaith *Maen Cetti*," (like the labour of the stone of *Cetti*). The following notice of a *Maen Cetti* occurs in the *Iolo MSS.*, p. 473:—" *Maen Cetti*, on Cevn-y-bryn, in Gower, was, says ancient tradition, adored by the pagans ; but Saint David split it with a sword, in proof that it was not sacred ; and he commanded a well to spring from under it, which flowed accordingly. After this event, those who previously were infidels became converted to the Christian faith. There is a church in the vicinity, called Llanddewi, where it is said that Saint David was the rector, before he became consecrated a bishop ; and it is the oldest church in Gower."

It would seem that this is identical with that pile of which we thus read in Camden's *Britannia*:—"They (the stones) are to be seen upon a jutting at the north-west of Kevyn Bryn, the most noted hill in Gower. Their fashion and posture is this : there is a vast unwrought stone, probably about twenty tons in weight, supported by six or seven others that are not above four feet high, and these are set in a circle, some on end, and some edgewise or sidelong, to bear the great one up. The great one is much diminished of what it has been in bulk, as having five tons, or more, by report, broken off it to make mill-stones : so that I guess the stone originally to have been between twenty-five and thirty tons in weight. The common people call it Arthur's Stone. Under it is a well which, as the neighbours tell me, has a flux and reflux with the sea."—(*Gibson's Camden*.)

MAEN GOBAITH,

or the Guide Stone, was one of those stones which, accor-

ding to the Welsh Laws, could neither be removed or destroyed under pain of death. (*See* No. I., p. 5.) This stone was intended as a guide to travellers over mountains and desolate tracts of land, in the absence of well-formed roads. It is supposed also to be the same with the *Post* or *Maen y Brenhin* (the king's post, or stone), on which were affixed public notices or proclamations. Thus we read in the Laws of Dyvnwal Moelmud:—"Three persons that ought not to be punished: one born dumb and deaf; a child before he can reason; and a natural born idiot: thus it is said, no punishment falls upon the idiot, but there shall be a warning of the country in writing on the *king's posts*, or *stone pillars*, as a sufficient warning for every body to avoid the idiot, and the dumb and deaf born; and that they be put under their marks by horn and cry of country, and border co-country. Therefore it is said, the idiot goes upon the post."—(*Myv. Arch.* v. iii., p. 287.)

"Three persons who should be debarred the use of arms: a captive; a boy under fourteen years of age; and an idiot proclaimed on the *posts of country and lord*."—(*Ibid.*, p. 301.)

"The three proclaimed odious characters of a nation: he who kills his fellow countryman; a thief; and a deceiver. They are so called because it is just that the avenger of the nation should proclaim them by horn of country in court, and place of worship, and in every orderly crowd, and on the *posts of the king's idiots*."—(*Ibid.*, p. 305.)

Perhaps the following notice of a "Gobaith" may somewhat assist such as are conversant with the topographical and political history of our ancestors in their search for the stone under consideration:—"Three things which may not be done without permission of the lord and his court: there ought to be no building on a *gobaith*, no ploughing on a *gobaith*, and no clearing of woodland on a *gobaith*, for the country and nation in common own every wild and *gobaith*; and it is not right to give any one a distinctive claim to much or little of

such lands.”—(*Dyvnwal's Triads, apud Myv. Arch., v. iii., p. 301.*)

MAEN TERVYN.

This was the boundary stone, the removal of which, like that of the preceding, was punishable with death. (No. I., p. 5.) In reference to it another Triad remarks:—“It is ordered and established, for the purpose of preventing the uncertainty of a claim, that the Bards shall keep an orderly record of pedigrees, nobility, and inheritances. For the same purpose also is the memorial of the back-fire stones, the *maen tervyn*, and the horse-block, and he that removes them offers an insult to the court and the judges.”—(*Myv. Arch., v. iii., p. 301.*)

These passages will forcibly remind our readers of the penalty annexed to a similar offence in the law of Moses:—“*Cursed* be he that removeth his neighbour's landmark; and all the people shall say Amen.”—(*Deut. Ch. xxxii.*)

Whenever we hear of ancestral domains terminating here and there at some particular stones of notoriety, as is frequently the case, we may fairly presume that such stones are some of the old *Meini Tervyn* of the Welsh Laws.

MAEN PENTAN,

or *pentanvaen* (the back-fire stone), stands, as we have seen above, equally with the *maen tervyn*, as a memorial of hereditary estates. It is further mentioned as such in the following Triad:—“Three things preserve the memorial of land and its site, and stand as testimonies in regard thereto: *pentanvaen*, kiln-stones, and a horse-block; because they bear the mark of the nation. And whoever will remove them without the permission of the lord of the property, shall be pronounced guilty of theft by the judgment of court and law; inasmuch as they are strong witnesses, and whoever destroys a strong testimony is worthy of death.”—(*Myv. Arch., v. iii., p. 301.*)

What this “mark of the nation,” *nod y genedyl*, is, I am unable to determine; it might be a certain inscrip-

tion, or perhaps nothing more is to be understood thereby than that the stones in question were objects of national cognizance.

MAEN ODYN.

In another Triad, (*Myv. Arch.* iii. 324,) instead of *Maen Odyn*, (kiln-stone,) we have the "site of an old kiln" mentioned as one of the three memorials of landed property. It is not very clear whether *maen odyn* refers to some one particular stone, or to any portion of the structure in general.

As the *odyn* seems to have constituted an important feature of ancient farms in Wales, is it not possible that some of those circular huts, which are so universally termed "cyttie" by archæologists, are remains of British kilns?

ESGYNVAEN,

or the horse-block, is alluded to in the "Mabinogion" as a mass of stone of no inconsiderable size and importance. The following note in reference to the subject is appended to the romance of the "Lady of the Fountain:"—"Ellis, in his notes to Way's 'Fabiliaux,' has the following remarks upon horse-blocks, which are mentioned in a vast number of the old romances:—'They were frequently placed on the roads, and in the forests, and were almost numberless in the towns. Many of them still remain in Paris, where they were used by the magistrates in order to mount their mules, on which they rode to the courts of justice. On these blocks, or on the tree which was generally planted near them, were usually suspended the shields of those knights who wished to challenge all comers to feats of arms. They were also sometimes used as a place of judgment and a rostrum, on which the barons took their seats when they determined the difference between their vassals, and from whence the public criers made proclamations to the people.'"

MAEN HIR.

This is considered to be very common in the country. There is nothing, however, in its name which would in-

dicating its original use, or the object for which it was raised, unless, indeed, we give the word *hir* the sense of longing, or regret, as being the root of *hiraeth*; in that case it might imply that the stone was a memorial of the dead. There is no doubt that, in some instances, it was used as a monument to point out the grave of a particular person. Thus an extract from an old document is inserted by Mr. Price, in his "Hanes Cymru," p. 35, to the following effect:—"The *Meini Hirion* of Maes-mawr. There is a spot on the mountain between Yale and Ystrad Alun, above Rhyd y Gyvartha, called the Great Plain, where occurred the battle between Meilyr ab * * and Beli ab Benlli Gawr, and where Beli was slain: and Meirion erected two stones, one at each end of the grave, which remained until within the last forty years. It was then that a wicked person, one Edward ab Sion ab Llywelyn of Yale, owner of the piece of land which had been enclosed out of the mountain where the grave and stones were, came and pulled up the stones, and placed them over the pipe of a lime-kiln. There, in consequence of the intense heat and great weight, they broke. Whereupon he burnt them into lime in the kiln, though they had been there for many hundred years; and a bad end happened unto him who had thus defaced the grave of the deceased soldier, about which the bard, in the 'Stanzas of the Graves,' sang this triplet:—

'Whose is the grave in the Great Plain?

Proud was his hand on the weapon of war—

It is the grave of Beli the son of Benlli Gawr!"

CARN OR CARNEDD.

This was a heap of stones piled upon a grave. There are numerous cairns in Wales, many of which still bear distinctive names, such as *Carn Vadryn* and *Carn Heudwll*. Allusion to them is made in the works of our earliest bards; for instance, Taliesin observes,—

"Ev gobryn carawg

Cymmru *carnedlawg*."

"Carawg will purchase

Wales abounding with *carneddau*."

(*Myv. Arch.*, v. i., p. 40.)

It is said that, in druidic times, the cairn was a species of monument awarded only to persons of distinction. The following passage on the subject occurs in the *Life of Gruffydd ab Cynan*:—"Now the mountain, on which the battle was fought, is called by the people of the country the *carn* mountain, that is to say, the mountain of the *carneidd*; for in that place there is an immense *carneidd* of stones, under which was buried a *champion* in primitive ages of antiquity."—(*Myv. Arch.*, v. ii., 594.)

The cairn was of gradual growth, inasmuch as it was the custom for every passer by to fling an additional stone upon the common heap, out of reverence to the memory of the person who was interred underneath.

We are told however that, when the practice of burying in churchyards became general, the cairn was condemned as fit only for great criminals. Hence the expression, "*carn ar dy wyneb*," (may a cairn be upon thy face,) when one wishes ill to another man. In this case travellers cast their stones out of detestation. Owing therefore to such a change of popular feeling in regard to the cairn, it would now be impossible, from its mere outward appearance, to conjecture the character of the persons whom it covers. Moreover, the size would vary not only according to the honour or disgrace with which the deceased was in his life time regarded, but also according to the situation of the grave itself, whether it was near a public road or not. It may be, however, that the position of the body, or form of the *cistvaen*, or some other interior arrangement, would prove a clue to the solution of this question. It is, therefore, very desirable that, in opening any of these *carneiddau*, we should mark every little circumstance, however trivial it may seem: by a comparison of these details, we may in the end be able to ascertain some great principle at the bottom of all.

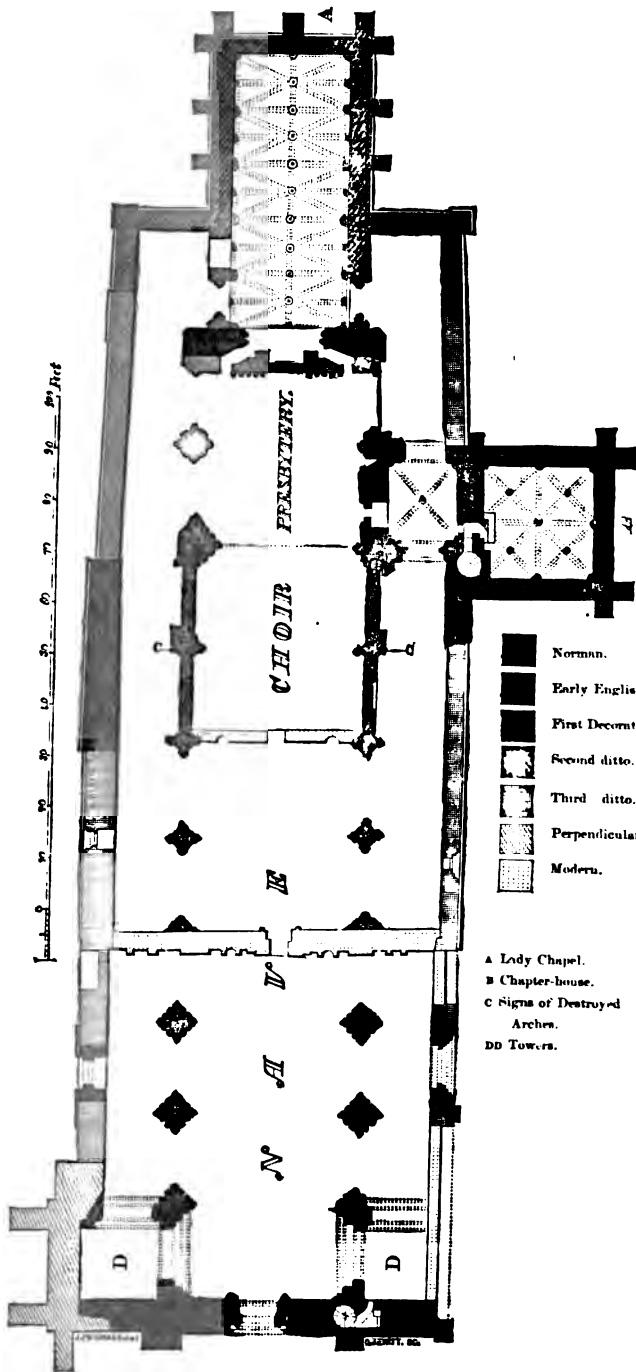
JOHN WILLIAMS ab Ithel.

Llanymowddwy.

SOME REMARKS ON THE ARCHITECTURE OF THE
CATHEDRAL CHURCH OF LLANDAFF.

THE following notice of one of the most interesting churches in Britain arose out of the visit paid to the cathedral by the CAMBRIAN ARCHÆOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION, at their late Cardiff Meeting. The omission of some of the peculiarities of the fabric by other speakers led to some extemporary remarks, and these again to a fuller investigation of the building, which resulted, through the assistance and co-operation of Mr. Prichard,¹ the architect of the restoration, in the discovery of several features throwing much light upon the history of the cathedral. I have endeavoured to point out both the general architectural peculiarities of the building, many of which are singular, and some almost, if not quite, unique; and also to trace out, as far as circumstances allowed, the several changes which the church has undergone since its first foundation. At the same time this paper does not at all pretend to the dignity of a regular architectural history of the cathedral. Such a work would require a more minute examination of the building than I had the time—though I certainly did not lack the inclination—to bestow upon it; and would, besides, involve researches into documents and records for which I have had no opportunity. Since I was at Llandaff, I have had no access to any of the works in which information would most probably be found; and I was informed by the Dean that the archives of the cathedral—which, however, I should have had no time to examine, had it been otherwise—contain very little that bears upon the history of the fabric. Still, imperfect as so hasty a sketch must necessarily be, it may be accepted as *an essay towards* an architectural history of a church of which, as far as I am aware, no full or accurate ac-

¹ To the gratuitous kindness of this gentleman the author and the Association are indebted for the original drawings of the illustrations to the present paper.



Ground Plan of Mandaff Cathedral.

- Norman.
- Early English.
- First Decorated.
- Second ditto.
- Third ditto.
- Perpendicular.
- Modern.

- A Lady Chapel.
- B Chapter-house.
- C Signs of Destroyed Arches.
- DD Towers.

count has ever been published; and, on this ground, though part of my work consists in the ungracious task of examining points on which I have the misfortune to differ from other observers, I would entreat indulgence to probably very many errors of my own.

But, in considering the undoubted merits of this church, which are very great, and the singularities, which are still greater, I must venture to remark that its excellent Dean has assigned it too high a rank, when, in his paper in the last number of the *Archæologia*, he unhesitatingly gives it the first place among the existing churches of Wales at once for size and beauty. Now, in the former point, Llandaff is far exceeded by St. David's; it is a simple matter of fact; and, though the latter must be always more or less a question of taste, yet I can hardly imagine any one familiar with the two buildings hesitating to give the palm to the same church—even though it has no single feature comparable to the west front of Llandaff—on account of its far juster proportions and really cathedral outline, and the gorgeous store of detail contained in its interior.

OUTLINE AND GROUND PLAN.—The outline and plan of Llandaff Cathedral is its most remarkable point. Its most marked peculiarity is the absence, in a church of so great a size, not only of a central tower, the usual crown of our great churches, but of transepts in any form. In this respect it is unique among the cathedrals of South Britain, and has but few parallels among churches of equal size, even when not designed as episcopal sees, as the present Cathedral of Manchester, Dorchester Abbey, Boston, and St. Michael's, Coventry. And even among these, the distinction of the several parts of the church is generally more strongly marked than at Llandaff, where there is no constructive difference whatever between nave and choir, the only perceptible external change in the main body of the fabric being between the choir and the presbytery, and that consisting only in the different arrangements of the clerestory. The plan and arrangement of the church is altogether singular; there can be no doubt but that the

constructive nave included both the true nave and the ritual choir, the only *architectural* mark of distinction being a slight change of detail, and that confined, as far as we can judge, to the interior. What would ordinarily be called the choir is really the presbytery. This is not very uncommon; the grand peculiarity is the absence of transepts, which usually divide either the nave from the choir,¹ as in most of our large churches, or else, as at Westminster, the choir from the presbytery; or again (where there are two pair of transepts) discharge both functions in the same building. Thus, from the extreme west to the east end of the presbytery, the only break of any importance—there not being so much as a porch—is that produced on one side by the position of the chapter-house, which, projecting from the south aisle of the presbytery, has very much the air of a transept, and we shall find that within, its arrangements are quite unique among English cathedrals. The general external appearance of the church, viewed especially from the east, can never have been really beautiful, though highly interesting from its unique character. The entire want of any central point to produce harmony and pyramidal effect, the long unbroken line of roof, running between the two low western towers, and the want of buttresses and general plainness of design, must have always produced a great appearance of heaviness and flatness. The absence of the central tower and transepts hinder all external cathedral effect from any point but the direct western view; the general notion suggested is that of a large parish church of extraordinary length, an idea strengthened by the large and beautiful Lady chapel, which, projecting, as it does, at a slightly lower elevation than the main body, has quite the appearance of a parochial chancel. Yet, viewing it as a parish church, we miss the predominant western tower, which is precluded by the only really cathedral feature of the exterior, the superb west front. In short, its

¹ With these we must reckon *architecturally* the churches where the ritual choir is beneath a central tower.

general appearance is a mixture of two altogether different types, neither of which is allowed to appear in any degree of perfection.

The architectural history presents, as might be expected from so strange an outline and ground plan, no small share of difficulties. When we find a church of cathedral dignity, of a size fully entitling it to a place among minsters of the second class, with Southwell, Romsey, and St. David's, and still more with its internal architectural composition quite corresponding to its size, but which yet exhibits in its exterior only a single cathedral feature—the natural conclusion is that a much smaller original design has been expanded into the present structure without any complete rebuilding. This was the case with the somewhat similar church of Dorchester in Oxfordshire. Here an originally small church, by enlargement in different directions, has swelled into a vast pile, but without acquiring, either within or without, any of the distinctive features of a large church. The like has been the case with Llandaff, though it has acquired far more of those distinctive features. That is, at Llandaff, the individual parts, the nave, choir, &c., are quite cathedral or abbatial in their character, though the general effect is not; at Dorchester even the parts taken singly exhibit only an exaggeration of the parochial type.¹

And, besides this, the church has been subjected to such a number of alterations following so closely upon one another that it is often almost impossible to ascertain their exact extent; and, moreover, additional difficulties are produced by the most important reparations having been so gradually carried on, as to allow of considerable changes of style during their continuance; some of them, too, have produced such strange and unaccountable patching; in a word, the whole character of

¹ At the present moment the resemblance between Llandaff and Dorchester in a distant view is, from an incidental cause, extremely striking. The towers rise pretty much the same height above the main building, and the small portion of roof raised at the east end produces a most singular effect in both cases.

the building, and of the changes which it has undergone, is so thoroughly anomalous, that to unravel its history is one of the hardest tasks that the architectural inquirer could have undertaken.

In arranging the history of the cathedral, we shall find, observing the caution given in the last paragraph, that its existing features may be referred to three main heads. I.—The original Romanesque fabric of Bishop Urban, the earliest building on the site of which any portion remains. II.—Large Early English additions, which prolonged the church to its present extent westward. III.—A systematic Decorated repair, remodelling the Norman portions left under No. II., and rebuilding nearly the whole of the external walls. Under this head I reckon the Lady chapel, though rather Early English than Decorated, because it has no connexion with the earlier Lancet work, while it can hardly be separated from Decorated repairs apparently carried on uninterruptedly from its completion. Finally, we have Jasper Tudor's Perpendicular tower; but this, as an incidental rebuilding of an individual feature, does not affect the general history of the building.

I.—THE ROMANESQUE CHURCH.

THE BRITISH CHURCH.—The first question that meets us is as to the destiny of the small British church which Bishop Urban, the original founder of the present structure, found standing in 1120. The Dean of Llandaff has expressed his opinion that he built his cathedral westward of it, leaving it to serve as a Lady chapel, and that the great Norman arch at the east end of the presbytery was made to open into it. If so, we have a fair chance of some part of its masonry still existing around and above that arch. But in the first place, it seems much more in accordance with the general proceedings of the Norman builders, even when they came into contact with structures of much greater pretensions than this primæval Cathedral of Llandaff, to suppose that they would entirely destroy so small a building, and carry

out their own designs without reference to it. Secondly, the existing arch appears far too large to have ever opened into so small a structure as the British Cathedral is said to have been; even if it could have been contained within its limits, it would most assuredly have violated all proportion. If, then, it did not lead into the British church retained as a Lady chapel, did it lead into an original Norman Lady chapel? or may not Bishop Urban's choir have occupied the site of the present Lady chapel, and consequently this arch have really been the chancel-arch of his edifice? This view was originally suggested to me by the eminent authority of Dr. Petrie, and, though involving some difficulties, seems probable on two grounds. First, a Lady chapel of the size and prominence which such an arch seems to imply, is by no means a common feature even in Norman churches of very great size, much less in such small fabrics as Bishop Urban's cathedral must, on any view, have been—one far too small to have required a Lady chapel at all as a distinct architectural feature. Secondly, one great arch of this size, embracing the whole width of the church, by no means resembles the ordinary approach to a Lady chapel of any date; we generally find the entrance made by a greater number of smaller arches. On the other hand, it has altogether the character and appearance of a chancel arch. On the whole, then, the probability seems to be in favour of the belief that Bishop Urban's choir, of which no trace remains, occupied the site of the present Lady chapel, and that the fragments of Early Norman work, retained in the present presbytery, are portions of his nave.

EXTENT OF THE NORMAN CHURCH.—The original Norman cathedral, then, must have been a structure of comparatively small size, though, as its remains attest, of a very considerable degree of ornament. Its extent, east and west, could probably not be ascertained without an examination of the foundations. It is almost unnecessary to state that the *late* Norman doorways in the present nave, which will come in for consideration hereafter,

throw no light on the extent of the *early* Norman church of Urban. No one can imagine that his building extended so far west; while it is almost as difficult to suppose that his nave was confined within the limits of the present presbytery.

Urban's church probably consisted only of a nave and choir, as we can hardly suppose that a tower or transepts existed eastward of the present presbytery; they would surely have left some signs. It had probably no aisles. Our evidence on this subject is derived from the appearance of the south wall of the presbytery—Urban's nave. Here we have, as every visitor to the cathedral must have observed, the remains of two Norman windows cut through by the present Decorated pier-arches. On the north there are two complete pier-arches, entirely obliterating all such traces. Fragments of a Norman string were, however, discovered during the restoration. On the south we have only one complete arch, with the head of a Norman window appearing above it, and the beginning of another, which cuts into another Norman window, and stops suddenly, leaving the western jamb of the latter quite perfect. It is clear, then, from this and from other reasons, that this Decorated arch never could have been intended to be completed, and it is difficult to understand why it was ever commenced. To the west of this is a solid wall, perforated only by a doorway, leading into a portion of the present south aisle, remarkable as the only part of the church covered with a vault.

TOWER PORCH.—But this is not all connected with this window; otherwise we should have only inferred from it that Urban's nave had no aisles, and remarked the strange and unaccountable freak of the Decorated architect in his treatment of his predecessor's window. A singular phenomenon remains behind. The vaulted bay just alluded to opens into the part of the aisle eastward of it by a rather low arch, of which more anon. Over this, on the east side, I remarked a seam in the masonry with a chamfer of ashlar, as of the southern jamb of some opening, which was not readily intelligible,

though I ought to mention that Mr. Prichard at once suggested that it was a squint to the window in question. On removing the masonry with which it was blocked, a long splay presented itself, which finally led to the outer shaft of the window imbedded in the wall, and revealing the original section. The first inference would be that the vaulted bay, whose existing features are Early English, or Transitional, was added to the Norman work, and the masonry splayed off to prevent the necessity of interfering with the window. But the ashlar of the splay is part of the same stones as the Norman shaft; consequently this building, however much disguised, is an integral portion of Urban's work. It has been vaulted, as I before said, in Early English, but its walls, at this point at least, must be essentially Norman. I conclude that, at the Early English repair, the greater part of this bay was internally cased with ashlar, as all the decorative features are evidently of a piece with the ashlar surface. A small extent of rubble in the north wall may be a bit of Urban's work peeping through. In the ground plan I have not marked Norman work, except in the north-eastern mass, as the only part where we can be quite certain of its existence. The core of the other walls is very probably of the same date, but we cannot be quite sure, and all the visible features are later.

If, then, we have here a further portion of Urban's building, what was this structure, so curiously, I may say, so awkwardly, attached to his nave? To decide this we are left to conjecture; but the most probable conjecture is that it was a tower, whose lowest story served as a porch.¹ And, if so, considering the general position of side doorways, we may make a good guess at the extent of Urban's nave, namely, that it extended one bay westward of this porch, *i.e.*, of the present arch into the pres-

¹ The bases of the jambs of a Norman doorway were found where a new Early English one now opens into the presbytery. They may have been original, or they may have been no earlier than the Early English or Transitional casing. I have not seen the fragments.

bytery. Whether such a tower was ever completed seems very doubtful. Yet a small circumstance occurs which at least seems to show that we have not the full height of the Norman masonry in the east wall of the vaulted bay. The ashlar of the splayed jamb terminates suddenly, as if the wall had been altered at that point. Either the Norman work was left unfinished at this point, or else whatever was above it has been rebuilt. In either case, we have not the full height of the building as first designed. But as the masonry above seemed part and parcel of that with which the opening was blocked, we must incline to the latter belief, and conclude that some upper part was destroyed,¹ and a small portion rebuilt, when the window was blocked, though of course it may only have been a small piece of wall, and not a completed tower. It is clear that this blocking took place when the Decorated arches were made; it joins with their masonry, and fragments of the shafts and moulded stones of the other side of the window, which could hardly have been available except when they were removed to make way for the pier-arch, were used up among the rubble with which the opening is blocked.²

If this was a tower, it is not improbable that its upper stages were, or were intended to be, of an irregular octagonal form, and that the splay we have been examining was part of one of the smaller sides. There is, indeed, no such appearance at the south-east corner, but at that point there was no reason for bringing the chamfer down so low, as was supplied by the window at the north-east.

We have thus made a fair guess at the general plan

¹ This later masonry cuts across the upper part of the window, as may be seen by ascending the staircase of the chapter-house.

² It is, however, an extraordinary fact that on the piece of wall thus brought to light were manifest signs of *whitewash*. A wall whitewashed at some time earlier than the fourteenth century is certainly repugnant to our ordinary notions of mediæval proceedings. Perhaps as the use of whitewash in Wales is now more extensive than elsewhere, it may also have been of earlier introduction. I have somewhere read of a Spanish church whitewashed about 1480.

of the first Norman Cathedral of Llandaff, a building which, small as it was, perhaps as much surpassed its British predecessor, as it is itself surpassed by the stately fabric into which successive ages have developed it. But still there remain one or two considerations with regard to some of its parts.

It is difficult to believe the aperture of whose opening an account has just been given, and the other Norman arch to the east of it, to have been anything else than original external windows. Yet it must not be concealed that there appears no way by which the former can ever have been glazed; not only is the usual groove not to be found, but there is no space left for it; all is splay. Still it is easier to believe that the windows were glazed, or otherwise filled up, in some unusual manner, than that they served any other purpose. It is almost impossible to imagine that Bishop Urban's nave had aisles divided from it by a wall perforated in this manner. *Choirs*, indeed, are occasionally surrounded by a wall, continuous, or nearly so, but even they do not present such appearances as these. At the same time, even this view would only be the greater of two not inconsiderable difficulties; for we shall soon find reason to believe that, if this was not its original condition, it is one to which it was actually brought by a subsequent alteration.

SUPPOSED CLERESTORY.—And there is another question, to which I should not myself have attached much importance, had it not been supported by the opinion of the Dean and Mr. Prichard. Both of them infer from the plate in Dugdale, supported by the circumstance of many fragments of shafts and other Norman fragments having been found imbedded in the walls, that there was an upper—a quasi-clerestorial—range of windows, if not a regular triforium and clerestory. The plate does certainly represent an upper range of round-headed windows; and though no one would, under ordinary circumstances, build anything on the authority of representations in which to represent pointed arches—especially if at all obtuse or four-centred—under the garb of round ones;

is almost the general rule, yet in the present case they do derive something like trustworthiness from having represented the lancet windows in the nave clerestory with tolerable accuracy.¹ Still I must confess that I should require some much more unsuspected witness to convince me of any point—especially one of so minute a character as this—against which there rested any important *à priori* objection. Now this view requires us to admit one of two things, both so unusual and anomalous that I can hardly believe either, unless it were supported by some direct and trustworthy evidence. If the openings in the south wall of Urban's nave were genuine windows—however glazed or otherwise closed—we then have two ranges of windows over each other in the sides of the aisleless Norman nave—a thing certainly not impossible, as it is common in transepts, but hardly to be credited without some stronger testimony than this. The other alternative—that is, if we conceive the apertures to have been *originally* blind windows into a quasi aisle²—is that of the ordinary double or triple elevation, with the pier-range assuming the form of such a series of fenestriform perforations looking into the aisle. Surely to accept either of these alternatives we require some stronger evidence than an old and inaccurate engraving. And one of these we must admit on the south side; on the north, as the traces of Norman windows do not appear, there *may* have been an aisle, with an ordinary pier-range. But one certainly would not expect Urban's church to have been thus lopsided, and as there is some Norman masonry in the north wall—which is proved by the fragments of the string discovered there—the Decorated arches must have been substituted for Norman ones under a Norman clerestory,³ a possible process, but one

¹ Yet the same plate adds a row of buttresses to the aisle of the presbytery, which one can hardly conceive having been destroyed.

² If this *was* the case, I should be half inclined to accept the upper range of windows, as otherwise Urban's nave would have had no direct lateral light at all.

³ Pier-arches cut through blank walls, as at Cuddesden, Oxon, and Iver, Bucks, are common enough, but I do not at this moment re-

not to be lightly imagined. Further, if there were such an upper range, the masonry of the walls must have been nearly or quite as high as at present, so that either the difference in height between the nave and the choir must have been much greater than was usual in Norman churches, or if we suppose Urban's choir to have been higher than the present Lady chapel—no very probable supposition—we should have an unusually enormous blank space over the chancel-arch.¹ And as for the fragments of Norman detail found in the walls, even on our view, the original west front, the original choir, the windows in the north wall, would furnish a very good supply of such.

II.—EARLY ENGLISH ADDITIONS.

DATE OF THE NAVE.—If then Bishop Urban's Cathedral was the small structure which there is every reason to suppose it to have been, the changes by which the church was brought to its present state could not have commenced very long after its completion. The enlargement of the building began while Romanesque architecture was still not quite extinct, and was concluded (for a time) in the earliest days of the pure Lancet style. The western part of the church, in which this style appears in its perfection, the Dean attributes to a date as early as 1180; while, in the article on "Cwmhir Abbey," in the fourth volume of the *Archæologia Cambrensis*, (p. 247,) the author seems inclined to place it still earlier, if indeed he does not conceive it to be the genuine work of Bishop Urban. But leaving this last view, which can be

member an instance of pier-arches thus substituted for earlier ones. There may, however, be such, as piers inserted under earlier arches certainly occur, as in the choir of St. Cross, and in Burton Latimer Church, Northamptonshire.

¹ I believe, if we came to examine, we should find that the very great blank space over Norman chancel arches of any width—I do not mean such apertures as those in Gower—is usually to be attributed to a subsequent increase of height, either actually, by raising the walls, as where a later clerestory has been added, or as far as internal effect is concerned, by the removal of the original flat Norman ceiling.

paralleled with nothing except the notion that Coutances Cathedral was built in the eleventh century, even the more reasonable date assigned by the Dean is hardly consistent with the facts of architectural history. No recorded building of so early a date as 1180 is anything like so advanced as these parts of Llandaff. The Dean refers to Canterbury choir; but that structure, commenced by a foreigner, William of Sens, is, not unnaturally, far more advanced than any contemporary building in England. And even this bears no resemblance to Llandaff; Canterbury is the most decided possible case of Transition or intermixture; its Corinthianizing columns, and ornaments half Romanesque, half Gothic, have not the slightest similarity to the clustered piers and pure Early English details of Llandaff. No English building of 1180, or even 1190, can rank higher than the Transition; many are still decidedly Romanesque, late, indeed, in character as well as date, but yet not Gothic, or even Transition, but still Romanesque. Our finest naves in that style, Peterborough and Ely, were actually in progress at the time that we are told that a pure Lancet structure was being executed at Llandaff. The earliest genuine Lancet work known is certainly to be found in the low eastern aisles at Winchester, commenced about 1202 by Bishop de Lucy. And even these are in advance of their age, as much later work is often not clear of Romanesque. The nave of Wells, completed in 1239,¹ is Early English, but by no means free from traces of the preceding style. And to come nearer home, and to an example less advanced than Wells, the choir and transepts of St. David's Cathedral, which appear to have been rebuilt after the fall of the tower in 1220,² though they agree in some points with the work at Llandaff, and have shafts of the very same keel form to

¹ Mr. Rees, in the article on "Cwmhir Abbey," antedates this nearly a century, assigning it to "Bishop Robert, who held the see from 1139 to 1166." Cwmhir itself may have been *founded* in 1143, but the arches he describes must be nearly a hundred years later.

² Some parts are as late as 1240.

which the Dean called attention, are yet decidedly far less advanced, and from the Romanesque details still employed in their capitals and arch mouldings, can only be considered as Transitional. And though nothing is more common than to find architectural forms in use at a period *later* than their ordinary date, as the work at St. David's just mentioned, yet to assign them to one *earlier* ought not to be done without most cogent demonstration. To suppose the former is only to suppose an old-fashioned taste in a particular architect, while the latter involves a revolution in the received ideas of the history of architecture. And though the fact that work of any particular kind in Wales is usually, from the length of time which innovations took to find their way into so remote a country, considerably later than similar work in England, would not apply in its full force to cathedral churches, still Llandaff is not exactly the place in which one would look for architectural developments so far outstripping those of all contemporary buildings.

We may then most probably attribute the Lancet work of the nave and choir, the west front and arcades, to a date somewhere about 1220, which seems to agree very well with its character, which exhibits the style when it has just worked itself free from Romanesque elements, and yet has not attained the same fulness and freedom which we see at Ely, or in St. Mary's at Haverfordwest.

EXTERNAL WALLS.—Our next question, then, is as to the two doorways, north and south of the nave, which would appear to point to operations going on at some period intermediate between the time of Bishop Urban and the date just fixed. These are quite late Norman; the southern one, indeed, contains no detail actually inconsistent with the purity of that style; but even a slight comparison of it with the early Norman work in the eastern parts will show that architecture had made no inconsiderable advance in the interval between the two. On the north side the case is yet far stronger; there we have in the label the genuine tooth-moulding

of the Early English, though certainly not in at all an advanced form. Yet a doorway containing such a feature must be called at least Transitional, and there seems no reason to doubt but that this doorway and its fellow are of the same date. Now we must remember how very long the use of the Romanesque doorway, not only with the round arch, but often with actual Norman detail, prevailed, especially in some districts,¹ even when in other respects the Early English was fully confirmed. Now I must confess that, from my experience of not a few similar examples, I should not think it altogether monstrous, if the evidence looked at all that way, to regard these doorways as actually part and parcel of the Lancet work. Still one would not suppose this without some cogent reason, and in the present case the evidence is at least doubtful. For the doorway, which is certainly part of the Lancet work, namely the portal in the west front, though it retains the round arch, has quite cast off all Romanesque detail. We may therefore fairly suppose these doorways to be a little earlier than that. Not that we need imagine any erection to have taken place in this part of the church after Bishop Urban, which was destroyed to make room for the Early English nave; all that we need suppose is, that the aisle walls were built before the arcades, and the stoppages which often took place, or even the mere slowness with which such great works were carried on, will allow us ample time to account for the slight advance of style between them.

In the eastern part of the church we have a small portion of work which is probably contemporary with these doorways; this is the vaulted bay leading to the chapter-house, already mentioned as being probably originally the base of a Norman tower. The work here, both in the vaulting-ribs and two of the capitals, (two

¹ Especially in Northamptonshire, a county several of whose localisms, characteristic, though, of course, not absolutely distinctive, have, somehow or other, found their way to Llandaff. May I refer to a paper in the *Ecclesiologist*, No. LXXXVI., p. 289, and to my "History of Architecture," p. 324?

being pure Early English,) retains a considerable Romanesque tinge, and is clearly earlier¹ than the Early English of the nave. One can hardly doubt but that it assumed this form with intention to be made the entrance to the chapter-house, though that building, as it now stands, probably followed the erection of the other Lancet work in the church.

ARCADES.—The external north and south walls having been thus erected sufficiently early to allow them to exhibit Romanesque architecture in its latest form, the west front and arcades were continued in the earliest form of pure Gothic. The character of the Early English work of the church is singularly good; besides its excellent proportions, it combines, in a most remarkable degree, a great lack of ornament, with not only the utmost excellence of detail, but a considerable effect of richness. This is probably owing to the finish of execution, which is most conspicuous, taking away all notion of rudeness, and to the presence of floriated capitals, which certainly impart a much greater character of enrichment than any other individual member. The internal treatment of the west end is especially excellent, and deserves the more attention, as the mean internal appearance of a western portal is often a marked blot upon churches of great magnificence.

ROOF OF NAVE.—It is a fact well worthy of notice that this part of the cathedral was manifestly intended to be covered by a flat ceiling, a feature more common in Romanesque and Early Gothic churches than is usually supposed. This is shown by the roof-shafts, which are

¹ On further inspection, I am less clear of this. The western arch of the vaulted bay is, in its masonry, clearly of a piece with the vaulting, while, in its architecture, it does not differ from that of the choir and nave. I must again remark that it is safer to attribute the Transitional work to an unusually late period than the pure Lancet to an unusually early one, and it is no great marvel to find contemporary work, even in the same building, widely differing in character, especially about this period. But this need not affect the doorways; that part of the aisle walls may well have been commenced before this bay was vaulted and cased.

continued up to the summit of the masonry, instead of being terminated much lower down, as they must have done, had vaulting of the ordinary kind been intended. And that these shafts were designed to carry a flat ceiling, and not an open or canted timber roof, or a barrel vault, appears from the internal view of the west end, where the ledge for the ceiling to rest upon is distinctly visible, and while the masonry below is of ashlar, that above, which would have been concealed by the ceiling is of rubble. This arrangement we cannot conceive co-existing with any other form of internal covering.

DIVISION OF NAVE AND CHOIR.—The part of the church now erected, namely, the constructive nave of eight bays, contains, as I mentioned before, both the true nave and the ritual choir. The limits of the two may readily be ascertained, especially as the old arrangements of the choir appear to have been retained after the changes of the last century. The stalls occupy the same position now as they did in Browne Willis' time, namely the two eastern bays of the constructive nave, which are distinguished by a solid screen between the pillars, which is contemporary with the arcades, as is shown by the stiling of the bases, and by the insertion of an Early English sepulchral niche in the western bay on the south side. The third arch from the east may well have been filled by the rood-loft, and the remaining five have remained as the real nave. This is distinguished from the ritual choir, not by any constructive feature, but by a change in the architectural detail, precisely as is the case in Westminster Abbey, where the same arrangement is followed. The piers in the ritual choir are of a different section from those in the nave, being composed of fewer members, and having recessed instead of projecting roof-shafts.¹ The width of the ritual choir from pier to pier

¹ Similarly there are, in the nave, shafts towards the aisle supporting no part of the arch, which are absent in the choir. We may perhaps infer that the nave aisles were designed for vaulting, and the choir aisles not, but this is not absolutely conclusive, as there are similar shafts in the choir aisles at St. David's, where no contemporary vaulting could have existed.

is thus made somewhat greater than in the real nave, probably to gain more room for the woodwork required for the former, without trenching more than was absolutely necessary upon the open central space.

The arrangements of the church were thus completed, as to the interior of the fabric, much as they still remain, the nave and choir being added to the west of Bishop Urban's work, (except probably one bay of the latter taken into the choir,) while his nave became a presbytery, and his choir a Lady chapel.

EASTERN TOWERS.—One very remarkable circumstance connected with this extension remains to be noticed, which, if my view be correct, shows that its designers contemplated a very different external outline of the cathedral from what at present exists. I allude to some singular appearances in the eastern bay of the aisle on each side of the ritual choir. This pair of arches are continued of the same height as the other members of the arcades, but a considerable portion of their height is blocked, and a much smaller arch, but of the same date, formed beneath. In the choir itself no reason appears for this deviation from the general design, but on entering the aisle the cause is conspicuous enough; the intent was, by strengthening the piers, to find abutment for a large arch thrown across each aisle from this point. The arches themselves do not exist, but their spring may be very clearly seen against the flat inner surface of the piers at the points marked *A* in the ground plan. Unfortunately no traces are visible against the aisle walls, as these have been rebuilt from the window-cill at a later period; and, as the arch died into the wall, nothing can be looked for in the way of bases of shafts. In fact there can be little doubt but that the arches were destroyed when the reconstruction of the walls took place.

But what was the end and object of these arches? I strongly incline to believe that they are the western arches of a pair of towers, the original Romanesque tower-porch, if such it really was, being destroyed or left unfinished, and its base converted into a passage to

the chapter-house. On the south side the eastern arch also is distinctly visible, a strong arch of construction thrown over the lower one leading into the vaulted bay. On the north side the springing of the eastern arch cannot be traced in the same manner as in the other places; but there is an extreme roughness of masonry at the point whence it would have risen, so that it may be merely that it has been more effectually destroyed than its fellows. The Early English design then embraced two steeples flanking the choir, while two larger ones flanked the west front. Regarding the choir as, what architecturally it is, a portion of the nave, and the presbytery as the architectural choir, the position of these towers would have been exactly similar to those at Exeter, except that the latter have the aisle between them and the main body of the church, while these at Llandaff must have risen out of the aisles. The difference, in fact, is just analogous to the different treatment of west fronts; the Llandaff arrangement answers to the common west front with towers terminating the aisles, while that of Exeter recalls the fronts of Rouen and Wells, where the towers are built beyond the line of the aisles.¹

The towers thus placed must have served very much to break up the flat and heavy outline of the church, and must have imparted a good deal of German character to it. But on any circumstances of shape, design, or finish, it is in vain to hazard conjectures; it is indeed very doubtful whether they were ever finished at all, and, if so, they were doomed to destruction in the course of the century after that in which they arose.²

¹ Not only recalls, but is actually the same, if it be true that the Exeter towers are the western ones of a Romanesque church which has been extended westward.

² It has been suggested to me that these arches were intended to lead, not into towers, but into short transepts. This is hardly possible; one might imagine transepts the full height of the choir and yet not projecting beyond the aisles, as at St. John's Church, Coventry, or again transepts no higher than the aisles, but projecting beyond them, as in very many parish churches. But here the arcade shows that

SOUTH AISLE OF PRESBYTERY.—To return to the aisles, there seems reason to believe that some alteration took place in the eastern part at some stage of this extensive repair, of which hardly any traces remain. It is by no means impossible but that aisles were added to the presbytery, as suggested above, but at present without disturbing the original Romanesque walls. The evidence on which this supposition rests is the fact that the eastern arch of the vaulted bay is clearly part of the Early English work, and as it must have opened into something, some building must have been added to its eastern face at this, or an earlier period. But no trace of it remains, and its outer walls must have been completely rebuilt afterwards, as the rubble wall of the aisle immediately adjoining has no connexion with the excellent ashlar from which the arch springs, and is divided from it by the widest fissure in the whole building.¹

CHAPTER-HOUSE.—Very soon after the completion of

they were not the full height of the choir, and the chapter-house that they did not project beyond the aisles; for in that case the south transept would have left some traces against its southern wall. But a transept which exceeds the aisle neither in ground plan nor in elevation is no transept at all; it is at best what is sometimes called a false transept. But even in this case, one cannot account for the arches between the choir and these bays being lower than the rest; if anything, one would naturally have expected them to be higher; whereas this means of providing a more massive pier by diminishing the span of the arch is just what we continually find in the case of engaged towers, as indeed we find in a smaller degree in the western tower of this very church.

¹ A point of some difficulty is to be found in the existence of a *pointed* arch, blocked, immediately above the western face of this arch, looking at first sight exactly like that of a window destroyed when the arch was made. A *round* arch would be intelligible enough, but it is hard to conceive any *Pointed* work being destroyed to make way for this, which itself is not clear of Romanesque. The arch does not go through the wall, and has no splay; from this latter circumstance Mr. Prichard inclines to the belief—which, curious as it is, is by far the lesser crux of the two—that it was merely an arch of construction. If so, its insertion over the excellent piece of masonry below looks as if it had some greater weight to support than at present, and as if its designers had found, and perhaps even intended to preserve, Bishop Urban's tower complete.

the nave and choir, the chapter-house must have been added; its architecture may be considered a little more advanced, as its lancet windows have foliated heads. This chapter-house is, among English cathedrals at least, absolutely unique. There are two normal forms, the earliest and latest being simple oblong rooms, while the intermediate period produced the polygonal form, which, with the two exceptions of York and Southwell, is vaulted from a central pillar. But at Llandaff we have a square building with a central pillar; the effect is not pleasing, being that of a square playing at a polygon, just as the sexpartite vaulting over the eastern bay of the choir of St. Cross, and of the south aisle of Dorchester, give their flat east ends the appearance of playing at apses; but, viewed historically, there can be little doubt but that we have here not a confusion of the two types, but a genuine example of transition between them. The architect evidently preferred a vault of a greater number of bays to the heaviness of one vast square bay over the whole apartment, or even to two oblong bays. He designed his roof of four bays, which consequently required a central pillar to support it; it is exactly the same arrangement as in the great staircase at Christ Church, though that, perhaps from its greater size and different use, does not in the same way suggest the polygonal form.

III.—DECORATED REPAIRS.

THE LADY CHAPEL.—The whole interior of the church, from the west doorway to the chancel-arch, was thus brought to its present condition, saving the alterations effected by the Bath reformer of the last century. Of the external walls of the aisles we cannot speak with certainty, as hardly any trace of their original state remains, but the whole internal elevation remains unaltered, with the important exception just made. But all this time Bishop Urban's church existed to the east of the splendid fabric which had supplanted it, its nave serving as a presbytery, and its choir as a Lady chapel. The next great work was the rebuilding of the latter part

of the church in a more stately form, to which we owe the present very beautiful specimen of early Geometrical architecture, whose character agrees very well with the supposition that Bishop de Bruce was its founder. We thus have architectural works going on in this cathedral almost uninterruptedly through the whole of the thirteenth century; and we consequently find an excellent study of the Early English style, as traced, in a series of pure though plain examples, from its first development out of Romanesque, as seen in the passage to the chapter-house, to its gradual sinking into Decorated, as exhibited in the chapel we are now considering. The details are mostly quite Early English, with well-cut mouldings and Purbeck shafts, but the bosses of the roof have more of a Decorated character, and the tall and delicate windows exhibit tracery in its earliest form.

I have already remarked that this chapel has, in a general view of the cathedral, very much the effect of a parochial chancel; as such, it might claim a high rank. It is, externally, of course with the exception of the west front, decidedly the most pleasing portion of the church, as its fine alternation of windows and buttresses presents a striking contrast to the unmitigated flatness of the other parts of the building. It was a complete erection from the ground, and retains no trace of Romanesque work, except the grand arch opening into it from the presbytery, which shows that the wall between Urban's nave and choir was preserved intact, while the latter was completely destroyed to make room for the present chapel. It has also been subjected to no alteration in any subsequent style.

AISLES.—Immediately on the completion of the Lady chapel appears to have commenced that extensive repair which has brought the presbytery to its present form, and reconstructed the aisles throughout the church. This appears to have been done from one uniform design, commencing eastward, but so slowly carried out as to present great changes of detail in different parts. We shall see that some parts of the aisles were now built from the

ground, while some contain portions of earlier work ; but throughout it practically amounts to an entire reconstruction, as no architectural feature of the earlier building has been allowed to remain, except the two Romanesque doorways in the nave aisles. The general appearance is that of complete Decorated aisles ; only, as the lower part of the walls is in some parts original, we may conclude that in the great flatness and want of buttresses which disfigures all this part of the cathedral, the Decorated architect did but reproduce the errors of his predecessor. Internally, as I before said, we owe to this reconstruction of the aisle walls their absence of any testimony as to the appearances which I have supposed to indicate the bases of towers. If these were ever completed, they must have been destroyed at this time.

AISLES OF PRESBYTERY.—The reparation which we are at present considering began at the extreme east end of the aisles, and followed so immediately on the completion of the Lady chapel that its earliest portions are actually part and parcel of the same work. The east wall of the aisles is continued from that of the chapel, the buttresses at the south and north-east angles are of similar design, and the same Early English string runs along the east end of both aisles, and, on the south side at least, under the most eastward of its windows.¹ The extent of this first portion of the Decorated work is probably marked on the north side by a singular break in the wall, like an enormously wide pilaster sloping backwards and dying into the wall. As this is in a line with the piers of Bishop Urban's chancel arch, we may probably conclude, though the wall there does not appear to afford any evidence, that it extended to the same point of the south aisle also, taking in one bay, namely that attached to the two western bays of the Lady chapel.

The details of this first portion are by no means clear

¹ The string here is modern, but a restoration of the original one ; to the north there is at present a *Decorated* string, but I believe conjectural, the old one not having been preserved. I feel sure that an Early English one would have been the true restoration.

of Early English; besides the strings, we have Early English corbels in the corners of the north aisle; and the window-jambs, though under Decorated labels, belong rather to the earlier style. In the south aisle they have a shaft with a broach above the abacus, in the north a continuous roll with a shaft, but no capital. The arches into the Lady chapel on each side partake also of the same mixed character; the bases are Early English, the floriated capitals certainly so, if clear of all Norman traces, while the abaci are Decorated.

The next portion embraces the two bays forming the north aisle of the presbytery; here the architecture is decidedly Decorated; the two window-jambs are merely moulded without shafts. I should mention that all the Decorated windows I have mentioned thus far, with the exception of those in the east ends of the aisles, which have had Perpendicular tracery inserted, are reconstructions; round-headed ones having been thrust into the old jambs; the tracery is well selected and well executed, being just of the point we have arrived at, the later æra of the Geometrical form.

In the south aisle we have no work of this portion, probably because of the building added to the vaulted bay being still preserved. The only window here is later.

PRESBYTERY.—But contemporary with these two bays, we have a still more important change, no other than the transformation of Urban's Romanesque nave, which up to this point must have remained, internally at least, without any alteration of importance, into the present Decorated Presbytery. The existing arches were now cut through the Norman walls. On the north side, as we have already stated, this was effectually done, two arches being completely formed, and no trace of the older work, beyond the portion of a string already mentioned, allowed to remain. On the south side we find the extraordinary appearances which have been already described.

When this was done, we may undoubtedly say that

the golden age of architecture, as far as Llandaff is concerned, was now passed. The comparison between the Early English and Decorated parts is, as is so often the case when those two styles are brought into close juxtaposition, extremely painful. I am not clear that the section of the piers is not an imitation of the older one, but the beauty of proportion is lost, and the poor moulded capitals at once strike the eye by their inferiority to the beautiful foliage of the earlier portions; one wonders that some of the approximations—distant indeed—which the Decorated style could supply to the consummate loveliness of its predecessor, such as we see in Bishop Gower's work at St. David's, were not called in to avoid so humiliating a contrast. Still the general effect of the presbytery, though spoiled by its contiguity to such a rival, is by no means to be despised.

AISLES OF CHOIR AND NAVE.—The third period of the Decorated repair brought with it the remodelling of the aisles of the Early English choir and nave in harmony with the recently erected aisles of the presbytery. Throughout the greater portion of their extent the walls were, as has been already hinted, rebuilt from the ground; but there are the following exceptions: First, The doorways in the nave. Secondly, A small piece of masonry continued from that of the vaulted bay in the south-east angle of the south choir aisle; we have here the basement of the south-east tower; the wall being naturally somewhat thicker. But the wall, except a very small portion immediately adjoining the arch into the vaulted bay, has been rebuilt at least from the cill. Thirdly, On the north side the two eastern bays were probably only rebuilt from the cill, as there is a break in the masonry just east of the small north door, and a marked difference in the basement. I may remark that this north wall, thus built at three or four different periods, presents much irregularity in its direction; at the point of junction between the choir and presbytery it is especially remarkable.

Something was also effected about this time in the

south aisle of the presbytery, as is proved by the existing window, which has beneath it a Decorated string. But it is not clear whether the whole wall was built at the first repair, and this window only inserted in it, or whether the western part of the wall was built now. At all events the present wall, as the great seam shows, belongs to some period of the Decorated repair.

With the exception of this window, all the others of this date are uniform; the jambs have octagonal shafts and capitals, and the tracery consists of the monotonous Reticulated form under ogee heads. These are a localism of Northamptonshire, and we find a third assimilation, whether they be accidental or otherwise, to the architecture of the same distant county, in the single exception, a broad window with a flat lead. Such windows are common enough in clerestories and low aisles, where it is often necessary to have a certain amount of width inconsistent with the use of a pointed arch: but they are not usual, because not often necessary, in large churches, and this particular instance looks like a mere freak.

PERPENDICULAR.—THE NORTH-WEST TOWER.—These changes brought the whole church, within and without, in all its most important particulars, to its present condition, or at least to its condition previous to the exploits of Mr. Wood. All the peculiarities in plan and outline, which render it so remarkable, had now been brought to perfection. The Perpendicular period, though introducing one of the most beautiful individual features of the building, was not marked by any alteration at all affecting its general character and proportion. Besides the insignificant insertion of tracery in the eastern windows of the aisles, all that remains, all probably that ever existed, of Perpendicular architecture in Llandaff Cathedral is the very *fine north-west tower*. This however was not built from the ground, as in the lower part, both inside and out, considerable traces of its Early English predecessor exist; enough indeed to show that the two original western towers were not perfectly identical in design. This tower,

from the stone lattice-work of the belfry-windows, and the open parapet, since destroyed, seems, like its neighbour at Cardiff, to be built on the model of those on the opposite coast of Somerset, though neither of them present the Somersetshire type in at all its richest and most perfect form. A comparison—though perhaps rather an unfair one, as the Llandaff steeple is by far the better in its own kind—might well be instituted between the two, as showing the difference in the proportions, both of the whole structure and of its several stages, which is naturally found between a tower standing disengaged, and one forming part of a façade.

I have now traced the history of the cathedral, as far as my opportunities have enabled me, throughout the period of mediæval architecture. To chronicle the decline and fall of Llandaff, after the elaborate statement of the Dean, is altogether superfluous, and any extensive criticism on its present happy restoration would be alien to the purpose of an archæological publication. There is no fear of the unnecessary destruction of a single stone of ancient work, and the minuter details of the comparatively small portion of original design would seem to belong to the scope of another, though kindred, pursuit.

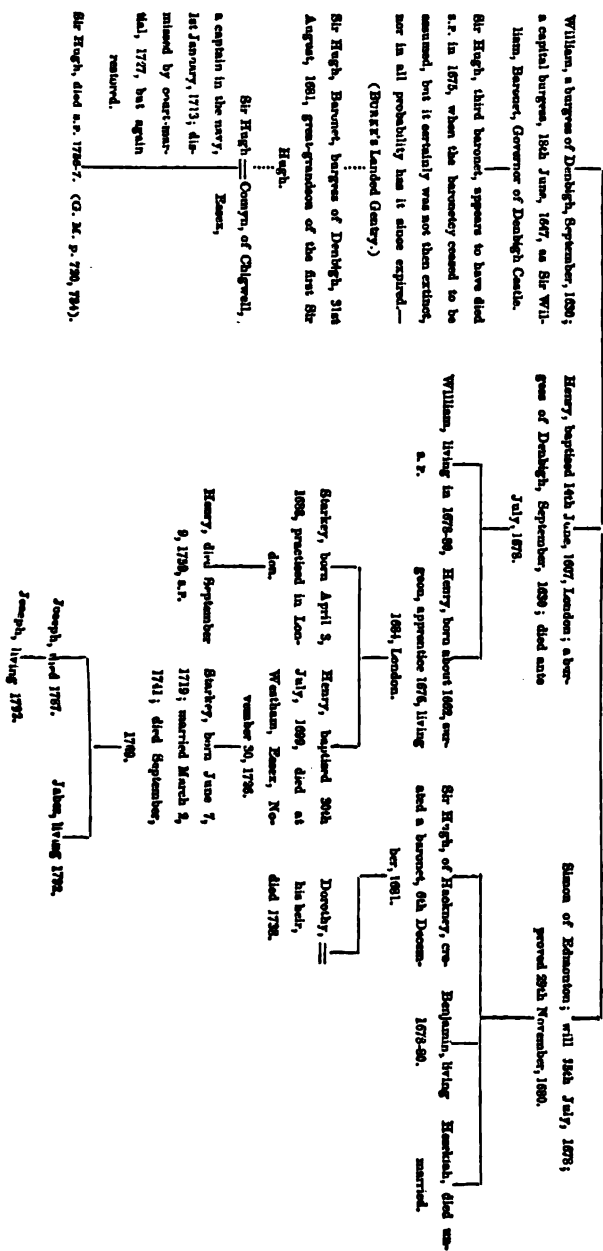
EDWARD A. FREEMAN.

SIR HUGH MYDDELTON.

THE following pedigree is derived from the *Gentleman's Magazine* for the year 1792; the notices connected with Denbigh are from some extracts (as made by a friend) from the corporation records, and prove the existence, in August, 1681, of a baronet Sir Hugh, hitherto, I believe, unrecorded in print:—

HUGH MYDDELTON

on the 20th September, 1597, signed the bye-laws made under Elizabeth's charter, which he appears to have been instrumental in obtaining; he was first alderman under that charter. On the back of the same paper is another autograph, some writing commencing with "Tafod aur yngenuau dedwydd," followed by



some expressions of regret at parting with his brethren, the citizens of Denbigh, whom he seems to have specially visited on this occasion. On the 5th September, 1616, is recorded the presentation of Hugh's cup; the cup bears his name, arms, and motto, "Omnia ex Deo." He continued a capital burgess till his death, in 1631, Hugh Lloyd of Foxhall having been elected a capital burgess in his place on the 31st of December. He was made a Baronet of Ruthin 22nd October, 1622; his will was proved 21st December, 1631.

Collins did not know "whether the captain was son, grandson, or nephew, of the *last* Sir Hugh." Almon, in 1769, makes the captain to have been of the Hackney baronetcy, and with Heylin (edit. 1773), makes that title not extinct, but the Ruthin and Chirk title to have been extinct. "Pennant's Tour," 1781, has—"The last baronet of this branch (Ruthin) died a few years ago."

Now, this is to be observed that the Sir Hugh who was made burgess in August, 1681, could not have been of the Hackney branch, upon any supposition. An entry of the *grandson* having been made a burgess would probably have proved whether the former was son of the third baronet, as I have above conjectured, or of William. No Sir Hugh of the Chirk baronetcy (created 1660) ever existed.

Simon left a charge on some of his New River shares of £100 a-year to his deceased brother Henry and heirs, and £20 legacy to each of his nephews William and Henry; and, from the descendants of 1792 knowing nothing of this £100 a-year, it has been conjectured that William did not die s.p., but that *his* heirs inherited it, and the baronetcy.

As the grandson William was not called a baronet in the 1678-80 will, and if there was a third baronet Sir Hugh, who died in 1675, it is clear that the great-grandson of 1681 could not have been the son of William. Again, as William was not the baronet in 1678-80, and if the great-grandson Sir Hugh was not, then it is improbable that whoever was, should, as well as William, have died between 1678-80, and August 1681—the only way of making the great-grandson to have been William's son.

It therefore is probable that there *was* a Sir Hugh, third baronet, who did *not* die s.p., that the great-grandson was his son, and, judging from dates, that the captain was the fifth Baronet of Ruthin, and that Joseph, of 1792, might have claimed the title.

The Goldsmiths' Company, to whom Sir Hugh left a New River share, for the benefit of poor members bearing his name,

of his kindred, or country, probably possess information regarding his descendants; and the transfer books of the New River Company would probably show in whose hands the shares charged with the £100 have passed from time to time. The tradition of a large sum of money at the Bank, lately revived in a Welsh Guide Book, is probably an idle tale; but I was told, in 1844-5, that the Denbigh Register had been searched by some parties interested in the above questions.

On the 1st May, 1617, Sir Thomas Myddelton, senior, Knight, Alderman, and late Lord Mayor of London, and Lord of Chirk Castle, was elected a burgess, and on the 18th January, 1633, a capital burgess.

At Michaelmas, 1645, the aldermen and bailiffs of the year were continued a second year, by reason of the siege before the castle. In 1672 is entered a resolution to remove the lead from the Burgess Tower, for the repair of Whitchurch and St. Hilary's Chapel. Governor and Alderman Twyselden, and his associates of the Parliament party, attempted to reform the abuses of the corporation monies.

This, the second volume of the Transactions of the Corporation, contains a list of subscribers to a fund for maintaining the contest in Parliament with the burgesses of Ruthin, whose right to participate in returning a member was disputed towards the end of the seventeenth century, but without success.

At the commencement of the eighteenth century, the corporation resisted the admission of a Cotton to the office of alderman, were defeated, and submitted to a judgment of the King's Bench.

Members of the following families of Denbighshire and the adjoining counties have been admitted, at different times, to the corporation:—Clough, including Sir Richard; Wynne, of Gwydir, of Melai, of Plas Newydd, of Twr, and Gof; Ffoulkes, Heaton, Mostyn, Pennant, Lloyd (several), Madocks, Salusbury (several), Cotton, Peake.

Sir John Trevor, Lister, and other names, appear occasionally in this volume.

On a late visit to Whitchurch, (see vol. i., 347, 348, note 2,) I found the brass of Sir Hugh Myddelton's father (the mother and family) to be quite safe. The Humphrey Lloyd memorial requires the care of some member of the family of Lloyd of Aston. The Salusbury monuments are worthy of the inspection of Lord Combermere, or Sir J. C. Salusbury. Other tablets exist to the families of Davies, Dryhurst, Heaton, and Shaw. The yard and its monuments were in a sad state of neglect; and it is surely to be regretted that this old church should never be used

for public worship; and this regret must the more be felt when, on leaving it, the new erection in the park first comes in view.

In the *Caernarvon and Denbigh Herald*, of September 1, 1849, appeared a letter, signed William Owen, Denbigh, with a translated copy of four letters from Henry Percy, dated Denbigh and Caernarvon, in 1401, published in "Minutes of the Privy Council," by Sir Harris Nicolas, with the latter's usual discriminating remarks on them; they are worthy of record in the *Archæologia Cambrensis*, where it is to be hoped some results of Mr. Owen's local information may appear.¹

ANGLO-CAMBRIAN.

THE FLEMINGS IN PEMBROKESHIRE.

THE following extracts from several old authors, in reference to the settlement of a colony of Flemings in the southern part of the county of Pembroke, during the reign of Henry I., A.D. 1107 or 1108, will be read with interest, as bearing upon the remarkable architecture of that part of the country. The quotations have been arranged according to the respective dates at which the authors themselves flourished. It will be remarked that the two first are from a historian who lived contemporaneously with the event which he records; and that the next is from the pen of one who was born but a few years after the event, at Manorbeer, a village in the very district originally colonized, and then inhabited by the Flemish settlers, and who was subsequently Archdeacon in the diocese of St. David's.

I.—William of Malmesbury. A.D. 1096–1143 :—

"King Henry, who now reigns, a man of excellent talents, discovered a mode of counteracting their (the Welsh) designs: which was,

[¹ It appears from some notes sent to the Editors, that the third baronet, *Sir Hugh*, married at Croyden (see Register) Frances, the daughter of Thomas Morton of Whitehouse, on the 10th November, 1650,—that a son *Hugh* was born on the 6th April, 1653, and that a son (name not given) was buried June 22, 1655.

It is stated in Cunningham's "Hand-Book for London," that the £100 a-year ceased to be claimed about 1715.

The question arises, who was the last claimant?

The will of the third baronet, *Sir Hugh*, would probably prove whether he died s.p., or left male issue. s.p. appears in Nichol's "Collectanea," vol. ii., p. 294. s.p., 1675, is apparently added to the 1650 marriage in Croyden Register.—EDD. ARCH. CAMB.]

by stationing in their country the Flemings, to be a barrier to them, and constantly keep them within bounds.”—(*Chronicle*, Book IV., chap. 1, p. 333. Ed. Bohn's *Antiquarian Library*.)

“The Welsh, perpetually rebelling, were subjugated by the king in repeated expeditions, who, relying on a prudent expedient to quell their tumults, transported thither all the Flemings then resident in England. For that country contained such numbers of these people, who, in the time of his father, had come over from national relationship to his mother, that, from their numbers, they appeared burdensome to the kingdom. In consequence, he settled them, with all their property and connexions, at Ross, a Welsh province, as in a common receptacle, both for the purpose of cleansing the kingdom, and repressing the brutal temerity of the enemy.”—(*Idem.*, Book V., p. 435.)

II.—Giraldus Cambrensis. Born A.D. 1146:—

“The inhabitants of this province derived their origin from Flanders: and were sent by King Henry the First to inhabit these districts: a people brave and robust, ever hostile to the Welsh: a people, I say, well versed in commerce and woollen manufactures: a people anxious to seek gain by sea or land, in defiance of fatigue and danger; a hardy race, equally fitted for the plough or the sword: a people brave and happy, if Wales (as it ought to have been) had been dear to its sovereign, and had not so frequently experienced the vindictive resentment and ill-treatment of its governors.”—(*Itinerary*, Book XI., Vol. I., p. 189. “*De Haverfordiâ et Ros.*”—Edit. by Sir R. C. Hoare.)

III.—Kynddelw. Flourished A.D. 1160:—

“In 1144 we find Howel ab Owain and his brother Kynan leading an army into South Wales, *defeating the Flemings*, and taking Caermarthen Castle from the Normans. This feat is referred to by Kynddelw:—

About the Forts of Caermarthen
Were collected warlike men
And the hero of battle victorious.”

—(*Stephens' Literature of the Kymry*, p. 46.)

IV.—Leland. Died 1552:—

“Richard, Tancred, and *the Flemings* (Flandrenses) who had been sent into Wales, were troublesome to Caradoc, the Hermit. Caradoc died A.D. 1124, and was buried in St. David's Cathedral.”—(*Itin.*, Tom. VIII., p. 72.)

V.—Holinshed. Died 1580:—

“A.D. 1107.—About this season a great part of Flanders being drowned by an enundation or breaking in of the sea, a great number of Flemings came into England, beseeching the king to have some void place assigned them, wherein they might inhabit. At the first they were appointed to the country lieng on the east part of the river Tweed, but within four years after, they were removed into a corner by the sea-side in Wales, called Pembrokeshire, to the end they might

be a defense there to the English against the unquiet Welshmen. It sh^d appeare by some writers that this multitude of Flemings consisted not of such onelie as came over about that time by reason their countrie was overflowne by the sea (as ye have heard) but of other also that arrived here long before, even in the daies of William the Conquerour, through the friendship of the queene their countrie-woman, sithens w^h time their numbers so increased, that the realme of England was sore pestered with them; whereupon King Henrie devised to place them in Pembrokeshire, as well as to avoid them out of the other parts of England, as also by their helpe to tame the bold and presumptuous fierceness of the Welshmen, w^h thing in those parties they brought very well to passe; for after they were settled there, they valliantlie resisted their enemies, and made verie sharp warres upon them, some times with gaie, and some times with losse.”—(Vol. II., p. 34.)

VI.—“The Welsh Chronicle.”—Powel. Died 1598:—

“The yeare 1108, the rage of the sea did overflow and drowne a great part of the lowe countrie of Flanders, in such sort that the inhabitants were driven to seeke themselves other dwelling places, who came to King Henrie, and desired him to give them some void place to remaine in, who being verie liberall of that w^h was not his owne, gave them the land of Ros, in Dyvet or West Wales, where Pembroke, Tenby, and Haverford, are now built, and there they remaine to this daie, as may well be perceiued by their speech and conditions, farre differing from the rest of the countrie.”—(Page 163.)

VII.—Camden. Born 1551, died 1623:—

“Touching the Flemmings w^h flocked hither 400 yeares since, and by permission of the kings received a place in Wales to inhabit, it is not requisit to speak of them now, elsewhere I will treat of that matter.”—(*Britannia*, p. 154.)

“This tract was inhabited by the Flemings out of the Low countries, who by the permission of King Henrie the First were planted heere, when the ocean by making breaches in the bankes had overwhelmed a great part of the said Low countries. These are distinctly knowen still from the Welsh, both by their speech and manners, and so neere joined they are in society of the same language with Englishmen, who come nighest of any nation to the low Dutch tongue, that this their little country is termed by the Britains, *Little England beyond Wales*.” [Here follows the quotation from Giraldus.] . . . “whose work is here seen (as they are a people passing industrious), viz., *The Flemish High Way* reaching out a great length. The Welshmen have many a time banded all their forces in one, and to recover this countrie belonging sometimes unto their ancestors have violently set upon these Flemings and overrunne their lands, spoiling and wasting wherever they went, yet they most courageously have alwaies from time to time defended their estates, their name, and life.”—(*Idem.*, “Pembrokeshire,” p. 652.)

VIII.—George Owen's Description of Pembrokeshire in General. 1603:—

"I reade alsoe that about the fifth or VI^{to} yere of Kinge H. I. a greate parte of Lowe Countreys in Flaunders was suddinly overflowen by the sea and never afterwarde recovered whereby the Inhabitanes of that place were sent by the Earl of Flaunders to his Cozen Kinge H. to seeke habitacōns, for that divers partes of England laye waste and wanted people, by reason that most of the Saxons were distroied by the Normans about the Conquest tyme. Whereupon Kinge H. I. placed them with their wives and children in Comberlonde, neere Carlile, as Mr. Camden noteth, where they contynued for a space. But afterwarde Kinge H. wanteing people to supplie his garrisons w^{ch} he was forced to keepe in Wales, for that the people and princes of Wales made greate distructions of his people there dayelye, he thought better to send those Fleminges thither to gett their lyveinges by contynuall fightinge with the Welshmen then to spend his owne men in that service, Wherefore the said Fleminges were sent thither to Gerald Stewarde of Penbrok, who gave them habitacōns and dwellings in Rowse, and about Penbrok. and Tenby. and other places in the countrey adjoininge whoe were for the safegarde of themselves forced to begine to builde the Townes of Tenby, Penbrok and Haverfordwest, and to keepe themselves within garrisons for manye yeeres, enduringe continuall warres with the Welshmen. The said Gerald builded againe and reedified the Castle of Penbrok, w^{ch} Arnulph Mountgomerie begone at a place called Congarthvychan, w^{ch} I thinke if those Fleminges and Saxons cold have pronounced or written the same truelye should rather be Y Gongolvychan and this appeth manieifest by the situaçōn of the said Towne of Penbrok; which standeth in a little nooke of lande, stretchinge itselfe into Milford Havn, It seemeth that this Gerald did not bestowe anye greate chardge in strengtheninge and fortifieinge the saidd Castle in his tyme, neyther maye we Judge that the Castle and Towne of Penbrok were anye thinge more in force and strength as sethence we see it hath ben made by the Earles that succeeded, For we reade that Owen ap Cadwgan beinge in love with the saied Gerald's wief beinge his neere Cozen came suddainelye in the night from his fathers house with a fewe companie entred the Castle and Gerald conveyeinge himselfe awaye through a privie, Owen ap Cadwgan tooke his wief and children and ledd them captiye to Powys."—(*Harl. MSS.*, No. 6250, folio 8.)

Such are the chief notices left us of the colonization of the hundreds of Ros and Castlemartin by the Flemings. Other historians have doubtless noticed the fact, though probably by none is a more detailed account given. The early Welsh Bards, in singing the exploits of their patrons, might also be expected to allude to the subject, for the animosity between the natives and the new comers appears to have been deep and implacable, and

their struggles for the mastery neither bloodless nor infrequent. The above quotations, however, are sufficient to establish the fact, and to determine its date. Mr. Fenton, in a note appended to his "History of Pembrokeshire," mentions a notice in the "Welsh Chronicle," to the effect that Henry II. strengthened the colony some fifty years after its first introduction; and Mr. Norris, in a very interesting work, entitled "Etchings of Tenby," adds that this reinforcement consisted of the "soldiers from the Low Countries, who had been employed against that monarch during his contest with Stephen." The following extract from Mr. Norris will form no bad conclusion to the present paper:—

"From certain peculiarities in their houses, as well as in all their more substantial edifices, it cannot be disputed but that the Flemings were almost exclusively employed as architects. This opinion receives some confirmation from the following circumstance:—On the banks of Coniston Lake, in Cumberland, are situated the remains of Coniston Hall, a family mansion belonging to the Le Flemings. This house, and many of the neighbouring farm houses and cottages, exactly resemble the most ancient buildings in Tenby and its vicinity. Conformity of style is chiefly remarkable in their chimneys, which are so substantially constructed as frequently to outlive every other part. The people by whom these edifices were erected, originally came over to the assistance of William the Conqueror, under their leader, Sir Michael le Fleming."

LETTERS FROM AND TO EDWARD LHWYD,

From a large Collection of them, nearly all originals, in the possession of W. W. E. WYNNE, Esq.

[MANY letters from the same collection from which these are taken were published in the *Cambrian Quarterly Magazine*, but in the letters as published in that work, several errors occur, to which we direct attention:—

Cambrian Quarterly Magazine, Vol. III., p. 372, Letter xii., the date should be *March 8, 1694*.

Ditto, Vol. IV., p. 246, Letter xvi., the date is omitted; it should be *Oxford March 23d. 1694*; p. 247, last line of page, *y^e* should be *y^t*.

Ditto, Vol. V., p. 380, Letter xx., second line of the Letter, for *Camden* read *Camden*; last line of page, for *tho'* read *that*.]

Oxford, Nov. 29, 94.

Hon^d Sr

Your last obliging letter came to my hand at such a time that I thought unseasonable to trouble you with any Answer to it: nor did I think it proper to propose any further Queries

on the subject then in hand. I ought however to have returned you my thanks long ere this, and must therefore humbly beg your pardon for neglecting it. Camden is now wholly printed off, except y^e preface and Index, but will not be publish'd I suppose till next Term. I have made bold to send you Monmouthshire (Translat. & Addit.), with a copper plate to be added at y^e end of Wales; as also the two first Counties of my Task, all directed to Mr. John Lloyd of Ruthin. Those are y^e only Counties that have been sent me from London, so y^t I could not send you as I intended, North Wales: and indeed Monmouthshire of all y^e Counties in Wales affoards y^e greatest variety of Roman Antiquities. But I can not pretend to have made any curious search into y^e monuments of any County. When it comes to your hands, which I suppose will be about a week or fortnight hence I should be very glad to be informed of what you think amisse as well as of your approbation of what you like. I have observ'd your directions in making mention of your name: but have taken y^e Liberty (Speaking of the Antiquities of Kaer hun) to mention your Brother; supposing it no Breach of modesty nor any sign of Flattery if we make honourable mention of y^e deceas'd. I am

(Hon^d S^r)

Y^r much obliged

& humble Servant,

Edw. Lhwyd.

To y^e hon^d Richard Mostyn Esq.

at Pen Bodw in

Flintshire.

Chester post.

Dear ffreind,

I have sent you some small requitance of your kindnesses; being a parcel of young trees and shrubs, some very choice, others pretty ordinary; wth a few flower seeds w^{ch} you may sow in borders, about your garden in such order as you shall judge fittest for Ornament. Those Books you have, can furnish you wth directions how to manage them. The Virginia Cedar is a plant lately come from y^t Country; & I am confident was never in Wales before. I must desire y^r usual trouble of furnishing us with your Mountain Plants; it will be the best time in y^e year, at y^e next return of the Carrier: You need not take y^e trouble of gathering soe much Mavyar Berwin, as you usually doe; a douzen or 15 roots will suffice; but pray trace y^e roots as far as you can; for soe much y^e likelier they'l be to grow. I would desire not onely all the plants you sent last time;

but also a root or two of any thing you meet with in traicing some ril of water y^r comes through y^r rocks, pretty nigh y^r top of the highest mountain that's near you; especially such plants as you suspect not to grow in the plain.

Two or three small roots of Gwrđhling (if it grow near you) & some Corn y car would be very welcome.

Pray give my kind respects to Will. Jones; I suppose if he be at home; he'l goe up along wth you, if you tell him it is the request of his, &

Y^r unfeigned ffreind,
Edw. Lloyd.

I need not tell you how to pack up y^r plants; for the last were done as well as could be.

I have yet an other request to make to you, w^{ch} will perhaps at first seem ridiculous. I must therefore to procure y^r good opinion of it, explain my meaning in't. In y^e Royal Society at London they have a collections of ab^t 600 Eggs; being all they could procure fró most parts of the world to the end, that having such a collection before them, they might draw some usefull observations concerning y^e shape, size, colour &c. of eggs in general, for y^e improvement of real Knowledge. A sumptuous new Buylding w^{ch} we have here at Oxford calld the Chymistry; is exactly for such an other use as the Royal Society; but it being but lately founded; we are collecting all natural things we can from all parts to furnish it. By this time I suppose, you may guesse, that I desire you'd get some boys to bring you in all eggs y^y meet with when they are at work. I would desire but 2 eggs of a kinde. when you have 'm you must prick 'm at each end with a pin; and blow out y^e matter. When you send 'm, it should be in some pitifull litle basket with hay* or fine mosse betwixt each Shell. and you must write in y^r Letter; how y^e birds are called in Welch; ex. gr. the pale blew one is y^e egge of Aderyn y Dinflam; y^e large one wth blew spots, y^e egg of a Magpie &c. I would have except noe wild fowl; but y^e Rook, y^e Crow & Sparrow.

Our physyc Gardener being from home, I could send you noe seeds; but I have sent you 2 or 3 flowers. pray be pleased to water all these plants evening and morning constantly for y^e first ensuing fortnight; and defend 'm from y^e heat and y^e sunne with plates, peices of broken pots, boards or any thing.

* Perhaps a little wool, feathers or flú'r Gwennidd would doe better.

Ffor Mr. David Lloyd at Blaen y Dhól in
Meririonydsh. to be left with a box; at Mrs.
Katharin Lloyds in Ruthin.

LOCAL TRADITIONS, &c.

ANGLESEY.

At the time when the Parliamentarians invaded Anglesey, there was many a loyal heart within the little island. Among others who fought for the King at St. Mary's Field was a substantial yeoman of the name of Howell, who resided in Wern Llanddona. This hero, when he found that the loyalist party was routed, and had fled for refuge to Beaumaris Castle, retired stealthily to the beach of that town, under the Green, and having turned one boat on the top of another over himself, he fired from his hiding-place on the besiegers, who were on the Green, until his ammunition was all spent. He then crept from between the boats, and reached the Friars unobserved, where a servant was waiting for him with a horse, which he mounted, and rode towards home with all speed. However, by the time he was on a part of his own land, called "Mynydd y Wern," he was surrounded by a party of the Parliamentarians, who seemed determined to take him prisoner; seeing which he urged his horse over a precipice, and was killed on the spot, or, perhaps, injured greatly by the fall, and finished by the enemy at this very spot, under the brow of a rock called to this day "Craig Howell," or "Craig Owen." The horse and his rider were buried together, and over the grave a little mound of stones was raised, which, until within the memory of a late tenant of Wern, Mr. William Owen, was white-washed occasionally by the descendants of the loyalist hero.

Another loyalist of the above period was Buckley of Brynddu, near Llanfechell, and one of the ancestors of the present W. B. Hughes, Esq., M.P. When he heard of the dethronement of King Charles, he swore he would not shave himself until the restoration of the monarchy, which oath he kept sacred, and for which cause he was called "Buckley y Farf." Such a zealous royalist was not to be despised; a party of armed men therefore came to Brynddu one day to arrest him, but the two servant girls, taking each a long axe in their hands, met them, in a menacing attitude, at the threshold, and so kept them at bay, until their master was safe through the back, and far on his way to his chosen hiding-place—a capacious cavern in Cremlyn Bay; and it is said that he spent most of his time there until the restoration. Moreover, it is currently reported that his provisions were carried to our hero regularly by some females from Llanfechell, by whom he had many illegitimate children while hiding himself in the said cave, and the Buckleys of Mynydd Mechell to this day are said to be the descendants of those illegitimate children.

A great many cruelties were practised by those men on the in-

nocent and peaceful inhabitants, without any grievous provocation; thus, for instance, a great-grandmother of Mr. Morris Williams, Plas Goronwy, Llanbedr Goch, of the name "Myvanwy," resided in a place called Plasbach, near the Marian, Llanddyfnan. Ten or twelve of the Parliamentarians came one day towards Plasbach, and having asked for some drink, she cheerfully gave them plenty of good milk, after drinking which one of them took his sword and cut her across her breast, and her blood and milk mixedly gushed forth. She was suckling a child at the time, which was left motherless through the wanton cruelty of those fiends. At that time, the lord of Plas Llanddyfnan was called Mr. Griffiths, if my information is correct, and he had an illegitimate son, who probably made himself rather prominent as a loyalist; however, he was overtaken, and cruelly murdered at a place called *Lon y Bwbach*, near Llanddyfnan, and probably by the same party as committed the bloody deed before mentioned at Plasbach. These dreadful atrocities filled the country people with superstitious awe, and many strange tales were told of the appearance of Griffiths' ghost about the narrow old road where he was massacred, hence the place is still called "Lon y Bwbach," or the "*Hobgoblin's Lane*."

There is a place near Dinsylwy, in the parish of Llanddona, called "Nant Dihenyd," and the traditions connected with the place is, that the Romans killed the Christians there, by putting them in barrels having long iron spikes through, and then rolled them over the precipice. There is a similar tradition connected with Cwm Cerwin, about Nant Nantlle, in Caernarvonshire.—(See *Caernarvon Herald* for July 24, 1847.)

Is there not reason to believe that the Romans and the heathen portion of the aborigines joined together to persecute the few Christians that were in the country about the time of Diocletain, &c.? And may not these last traditions have some reference to such an event?

O. J.

GEORGE OWEN'S MS. HISTORY OF THE COUNTY OF PEMBROKE.

THIS MS. is preserved in the British Museum, Harleian Collection, No. 6250, folio 2. The author calls it the First Book, and intimates his intention of compiling another; but the latter never appears to have been carried into effect, and it is supposed he died leaving his work in its incomplete state, which is much to be regretted, as this First Book contains so much that is valuable and interesting relating to the county.

The MS. is written in a beautiful, clear hand, and arranged very methodically in twenty-eight chapters, and, it appears, was concluded on the 18th of May, 1603.

Mr. Fenton, great-grandson of the author, besides the numerous extracts which he incorporated in his own "Tour in the County of Pembroke," subsequently printed in the *Cambrian Register* much additional matter from the same source, but in so doing he entirely omitted the 7th and 24th chapters, besides copies of several ancient deeds, &c., &c.

FROM G. OWEN'S MS., BRITISH MUSEUM.—"Pembroke markett is on the Saturdaye, and Tenby on Saturdaye for victuelles, and on Wensdaie for corne; these two Townes, for their marketts, are much inferior for plentie of victuelles, and corne, to that of Haverfordwest, by reason those townes are seated, the one verie neere the lower partes of the shire, and much hindered by reason of a Ferrie on the one side; and Tenby seemeth as y^t were a Towne running out of the country, and staied on the sea cliffe; by reason whereof they stand not so comodious for resorte of people, w^{ch} maketh lesse trade, and utterance in their marketts; but both these Townes being seated in a more fruitefull soyle than Haverfordwest is, for goodness of victuell are nothing inferior, if not better than Haverfordwest, and soe for goodness of corne, and for fishe, especially Tenby, where is a daylie markett thereof, passeth Haverfordwest markett, and therefore it is in Welshe called Denbigh-y-pysgod, that is fishe Tenby, for difference between it and Denbigh in North Wales.

"But as these marketts are highly to be comended for plentie, and goodness of victuelles, so hath each of them a great mayme of a good markett, w^{ch} being reformed, as easylie y^t might be, would greatlie turne to the good of the markett and the markett men: That is, there is noe use of sale of lyve cattle, in any of these marketts, w^{ch} is the chiefest comendaion, and comeditie, of many great marketts in England: For in these marketts there are neither Horses, Oxen, Kine, Calves, Sheepe, Lambs, Swyne, or anie other kinde of lyvinge cattle, brought, or offered to be sold, soe that the poore man wantinge money, and havinge cattell to spare, cannot have money for the same, till the summer faires come, w^{ch} beginne not before the xvi. of June, and one in November; whereby it cometh to passe, that whatsoever the husbandman byeth, in the sixe months of December, Januarie, Februarie, March, Aprile, and Maye, he buieth all at devise, to be paide for at the faire daies, when he may have money, for oxen, kine, sheepe, or lambes, and by this means, the ritche man eateth up the wealth of the poore man."

“ Robert Recorde, Doctor of Phisicke, a Tenby man born, was in his tyme a man as much renowned for his learninge as he is after honoured for his workes, w^{ch} for Cosmographie, Arithmetike, and Geometrie, are the rudimentes best esteemed above anye others, before or seethence his time. Much is our Englishe beholdinge to the author, neyther can his praise be sufficientlie blased, for the good he left behind him. He compiled—

- ‘ The Grounde of Artes.’
- ‘ The Whetstone of Witt.’
- ‘ The Pathe Waye.’
- ‘ The Castle of Knowledg.’
- ‘ The Urinal of Phisick.’

He died in the reign of Queen Mary.”¹

“ Robert Lougher, Doctor of Lawes, borne in Tenby, was for his learninge of greate estimaion, and held the cheyre in Oxford for many yeares, beside other chief places in the Universitie, till worthielye he was advanced to be Chauncellor of York, holdinge w^{ch} place he dyed, the 3rd of June, 1585, at Tenby, where he was borne.”

Cambrian Archaeological Association.

A SPECIAL GENERAL MEETING of this Association was held at Gloucester, on Tuesday the 5th March. The objects of this Meeting, which had been previously announced to the various members, was for the revision of the Rules, and for the adoption of several measures calculated to promote the future interests of the Society.

Every accommodation for members had been made in Gloucester, through the exertions of C. F. Cliffe, Esq., Local Secretary for Gloucestershire, and two Societies in that city, the *Literary and Scientific Society*, and the *Gloucester Antiquarian Society*, had expressed their readiness to co-operate with

¹ Kennet says that he died in 1558, but he does not give his authority. Mr. Halliwell, in his pamphlet entitled “The Connexion of Wales with the Early Science of England,” thinks it probable he did not long survive the making of his will, which is dated the 28th of June, 1558, at which time he was a prisoner in the Queen’s Bench. Mr. H. gives an interesting account of Recorde’s works, which are enumerated by the author himself in verse.

their Cambrian brethren. The former Society had kindly opened their rooms to the Association; and several gentlemen of both these bodies offered to accompany members in their inspection of the antiquities of the city.

The General Committee proceeded to business at twelve o'clock, and the proposed new Rules of the Association were then read over and discussed.

It was resolved to propose the following gentlemen as Vice-Presidents:—J. Capel Hanbury Leigh, Esq., Lord-Lieutenant of Monmouthshire, and the Right Hon. J. Nicholl, M.P.

The resignation of the Rev. D. S. Evans, as Local Secretary for Cardiganshire, was received.

The following gentlemen were confirmed as second Local Secretaries:—Rev. D. S. Evans, Bottwnog, for Caernarvonshire; Rev. J. Griffiths, Aberdare, for Glamorganshire; C. F. Cliffe, Esq., Gloucester, for Gloucestershire West of the Severn.

At two P.M. the General Meeting was held, Sir Stephen R. Glynne, Bart., in the Chair, in the absence of Lord Adare, and the new Rules, as proposed by the Committee, were severally laid before the Association, and put to the vote.

A discussion ensued upon some of the Rules, and various alterations brought forward by members were adopted. The Rules, as finally amended and agreed to by the Meeting, are as follow:—

OF MEMBERS AND THEIR ELECTION.

I.—The Association shall consist of Corresponding and Subscribing Members.

II.—All Members shall be admitted by the General or Local Committees, on the proposal of one of the General or Local Secretaries, or any two Members.

III.—All members of the Royal Family, Bishops, and Peers of the realm, who may signify their intention of joining the Association, shall be admitted as Patrons.

OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE ASSOCIATION.

IV.—The Government of the Association shall be vested in a Committee consisting of a President, six or more Vice-Presidents, two General Secretaries, seventeen or more Local Secretaries, viz., one at least for each county of the Principality and the Marches, a General Treasurer, and twelve or more ordinary Members.

V.—The President shall hold office for one year, and shall be re-eligible.

VI.—The election of the President, Vice-Presidents, and Members of the Committee shall be made on the last day of the Annual Meeting. One out of every six Vice-Presidents, and three ordinary Members of the Committee, shall go out annually, according to seniority in office, and the Committee shall nominate a President, together with a sufficient number of Vice-Presidents, and other Members to fill up the vacancies. The names of those who go out, and of those who are proposed to supply their places, shall be hung up in the Local Committee Room during the whole time of the Annual Meeting. Any Member of the Association is at liberty to add to the list any other name or names besides those proposed by the Committee.

VII.—The Committee shall be empowered to fill up *pro tem.* by election all occasional vacancies that may be caused by the death or resignation of the President, of any of the Vice-Presidents, or of any of the ordinary Members of the Committee.

VIII.—The General and Local Secretaries, and the General Treasurer, shall be elected by the Committee.

IX.—In all elections made by the Committee it shall be allowable for any Member thereof to demand a ballot.

X.—Members are invited to form themselves into Local Committees in the several districts of the Principality and Marches.

OF SUBSCRIPTIONS.

XI.—All Subscribing Members shall pay £1 annually into the hands of the General Treasurer, either directly, or through such persons as may be appointed by the Committee for that purpose.

XII.—All subscriptions shall be paid in advance, and become due on the first of October in each year.

XIII.—Members not intending to continue their subscription will be expected to give three months' notice to the Publisher.

XIV.—All Subscribing Members shall receive the *Archæologia Cambrensis*, and other publications of the Association, from the first of January following the payment of their subscriptions, together with a ticket giving free admission to the Annual Meeting.

OF THE MEETINGS.

XV.—A Meeting of the Committee shall be held annually, for the purpose of auditing the accounts, nominating Officers, and framing Laws for the government of the Association.

XVI.—The Annual Meeting shall be holden in one of the principal towns of the Principality and its Marches, at which the elections, the appointment of the place of Meeting for the ensuing year, &c., shall take place. Due notice of this Meeting shall be given publicly by one of the General Secretaries, by order of the Committee.

XVII.—The President shall have power to appoint a Special Meeting, when required; and for such Special Meeting, a notice of at least three weeks shall be given, by advertisements in the public papers.

XVIII.—At any Annual or Special Meeting, the President, or in his absence, one of the Vice-Presidents, shall take the Chair, and in their absence the Committee shall appoint a Chairman; and the Chairman of the Annual, or any other, General Meeting, shall have an independent as well as a casting vote.

XIX.—A Report of the Proceedings of the Association for the whole year shall be submitted to the Annual Meeting.

XX.—At the Annual Meetings, tickets shall be issued to Subscribing Members gratuitously, and to Corresponding Members and Strangers on the payment of Ten Shillings each, admitting them to the Excursions, Exhibitions, and Evening Meetings.

XXI.—Wherever it is practicable, the Local Committees shall cause Meetings to be held in their several districts, and shall encourage the formation of Museums.

OF THE RULES.

XXII.—It shall be lawful for any Member, who may conceive it expedient to add to, alter, or omit, any Rule, or Rules, of the Association, to signify the same, in writing, to the Committee.

XXIII.—In case any such alteration shall appear to the Committee to be worthy of consideration, it may be proposed to the Association at the next Annual Meeting.

XXIV.—The Committee shall be empowered to make such Bye-Laws as may from time to time appear to them expedient, subject to confirmation by the Members of the Association at the next General Meeting.

The following are the names of those members who have agreed to subscribe, according to the Regulations of the Society:—

His Royal Highness Prince Albert.

The Most Noble the Marquis of Northampton.

The Most Noble the Marquis of Westminster.

The Right Hon. Viscount Adare, M.P.

The Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of St. David's.

Sir Stephen R. Glynne, Bart.

Sir Benjamin Hall, Bart., M.P.

The Right Hon. J. Nicholl, M.P.

Sir George Tyler, Cottrell, Cardiff.

The Very Rev. the Dean of Llandaff.

Allen, T. Esq., Freestone, Pembroke.

Barnwell, Rev. E. Lowry, Ruthin.

* Bayly, Rev. F. T. J., Brookthorpe Vicarage, Gloucester.

Beaumont, W., Esq., Warrington.

Cobb, J. R., Esq., Brecon.

Cliffe, C. F., Esq., Gloucester.

Those marked thus * are New Members.

- Dearden, J., Esq., F.S.A., The Manor, Rochdale.
 Earle, Rev. J., B.D., Oriel College, Oxford.
 * Felix, Rev. P., B.D., Llanilar Vicarage, Aberystwyth.
 Foulkes, W. W., Esq., 4, Middle Temple Lane, Temple, London.
 * Foulkes, Rev. Edmund Salusbury, M.A., Fellow and Vice-Principal
 of Jesus College, Oxford.
 Freeman, E. A., Esq., Oaklands, Dursley.
 Gilbertson, R., Esq., Aberystwyth.
 Gilbertson, Rev. L., Llangorwen, Aberystwyth.
 Griffith, Rev. J., Llangynnor, Caermarthen.
 * Guise, W. Vernon, Esq., Elmore Court, Gloucester.
 * Hughes, J. Esq., Lluestgwilym, Aberystwyth.
 Hume, Rev. A., LL.D., 9, Currer Street, Everton, Liverpool.
 Jones, W. Tilsley, Esq., Gwynfryn, Machynlleth.
 Jones, Rev. W. Basil, Queen's College, Oxford.
 Jones, T., Esq., M.A., Chetham Library, Manchester.
 Jones, Rev. H. Longueville, M.A., Tan-y-Coed, Bangor.
 * Jones, Rev. Owen, Towyn, Machynlleth.
 * Jones, J. T. Walker, Esq., Mayor of Caernarvon.
 * Jones, S. T., Esq., Llanerchgrugog Hall, Wrexham.
 * Leigh, J. Capel, H., Esq., Pontypool Park, Monmouth.
 * Lewis, Rev. Evan, M.A., Llanllechid, Bangor.
 Meyer, Dr., Buckingham Palace.
 Morgan, C. Octavius, Esq., M.P., The Friars, Monmouthshire.
 Morgan, T. O., Esq., Aberystwyth.
 * Ord, J., Esq., Tenby.
 Philipps, J. B. Ll., Esq., Mabus, Aberystwyth.
 Philipps, F. Ll., Esq., Mabus, Aberystwyth.
 * Redwood, C., Esq., Boverton, Cowbridge.
 Rees, Rev. W. J., Cascob Rectory, Presteign.
 * Reveley, Hugh, Esq., Bryn-y-Gwin, Dolgellau.
 Rogers, E., Esq., Stanage Park, Knighton.
 * Shillingford, A. N., Esq., Railway Post Office.
 Thelwall, Rev. E., Llanbedr, Ruthin.
 * Thomas, R. Goring, Junr., Esq., Llysnewydd, Caermarthen.
 Traherne, Rev. J. M., Coedriglan, Cardiff.
 Wakeman, T., Esq., Chalfont St. Giles, Gerrard's Cross.
 Williams, Rev. C., Holyhead.
 Williams, Rev. J., Llanymowddwy, Mallwyd.
 Wynne, W. W. E., Esq., Sion House, Oswestry.

Some minor business was then disposed of, and votes of thanks having been passed to the officers and members of the "Gloucester Antiquarian Society," and the "Literary and Scientific Society," the Meeting dissolved.

The Fourth Annual Meeting of the Association will be held at Dolgellau, in the week commencing August 26, 1850.

Correspondence.

To the Editors of the Archæologia Cambrensis.

GENTLEMEN,—I hope that your correspondent (vol. iv., p. 140) will inform your readers where they can find that Henry II. gave *Lleweny* to Adam de Saltzburg, or that it was forfeited by the David of that date (1154-1189). He appears to possess proof of Adam's descent from Charlemagne; but, if so, can he show evidence of his, or his descendants, having become Salusbury of *Lleweny*?

It appears in "Powell" that Llewelyn gave Denbigh to Edward I., and that Edward gave it to the last David in 1277—that it was forfeited in 1283, and given to H. de Lacy in 1284; and, although it would appear from "Powell," and from the interesting account of the Banastre family (vol. i., p. 346), that as part of one of the four cantreds, it had been more or less under English rule from the time of William I., the probability is against the supposition of any English having *held lands* in *Lleweny ante* 1277. More in favour of that idea is the complaint of Llewelyn, that the four cantreds had, *for a long time*, been rudely oppressed by the king's officers; also, that David's wood, "*nemus suum de Lleweni*," had been cut after 1277, the earliest date I have seen the word. The Banastre's manor was in a part always more under England.

"Burke's Peerage" has—"Adam de Saltzburg, captain of the garrison of Denbigh; (if so, not *ante* 1277?) and his grandson, John, "seated at *Lleweny*, and died 1289." Under Conway, in the "Landed Gentry," is "Black Sir Harry S.," a favourite of Edward I., who gave him *Lleweny*, forfeited by David's attainer. John founded the abbey, and gave it, in 1284, to Bardsey (see vol. ii., p. 65). "An English family here before the time of Henry III." (1216), says Pennant.

The Extent of 1334 would show if the Salusburys held their lands in *Lleweny* on different tenure to the other hereditary tenants. This and the Inq. p. m. of Henry de Lacy would be worth the inspection of some competent antiquary and of transfer to your pages.

From their early local eminence, it would appear probable that their grant was from the king himself, and, if so, that their part of *Lleweny* was not in the lordship granted to Lacy.

The reason why I named *Lancashire* as their possible origin was given (p. 69) with reference to former ages. True, if they really were of one so much more noble, it is a pity that further proof should not appear.—I remain, &c.,

ANGLO-CAMBRIAN.

X

VESICA PISCIS.

To the Editors of the Archæologia Cambrensis.

GENTLEMEN,—In the Dean of Llandaff's paper on "Llandaff Cathedral," when speaking of the west doorway, the learned author observes:—

"Above this, the interval, between these two subordinate and the general including arch, is occupied by a vesica piscis, containing the image of some sainted prelate," &c.

Now I think it is of importance that, if any antiquaries still remain unacquainted with the fact, they should be informed that the term *vesica piscis* is satisfactorily determined to be perfectly fanciful, and unfounded in anything like analogy or proof. It has long since been shown by continental antiquaries, and especially by our learned French Secretary, M. Didron, in his "Iconographie Chrétienne," that this supposed *vesical* enclosure is nothing more than the sculptured, or painted, representation of the *aureola* surrounding the body of a holy personage, in the same manner as the *nimb* surrounds some particular portions of the body, such as the head, or the hand. We believe that the term *vesica piscis* is not older than the days of Mr. Kerrich (an antiquary, by the way, of extraordinary taste and acumen); and it is high time for it now to be finally laid aside.

I am, &c.,

A MEMBER OF THE ASSOCIATION.

OYSTERMOUTH CASTLE.

To the Editors of the Archæologia Cambrensis.

GENTLEMEN,—In the article on the "Antiquities of Gower," in the last number of your Journal, its author has inserted a note at p. 59 which may hereafter lead to error, unless corrected. I regret much I had not the pleasure of seeing Mr. Freeman, as I might have facilitated his researches in this district, and have prevented his "credible informant" from stating that which is incorrect. The note alluded to would lead the reader to infer that windows of another building were inserted in the walls of the castle chapel!

Now, what are the facts?

The five windows in this, as in every other room in the ruin, had been long ago walled up with rubble work, leaving only slits fit for firing musketry through them. On clearing out the chapel windows I found *the north-west window intact*; the mullions of the others were gone, but the arches, sides, and, in several places, the intersections of the arches where they join at the top, remained as sound and sharp as the day they were erected.

Whilst digging out the rubbish from the hall beneath, we discovered many of the original mullions; all, therefore, that was necessary was to find "Sutton stone"¹ sufficient to complete the *missing* parts; this I was enabled to do, through the courtesy of Lord Dynevor, from stone of the same quarry in the walls built from the fallen ruins of Neath Abbey; and it was from one of these very stones I repaired and fixed in its old site the pillar piscina in Oystermouth Church, which is done to the satisfaction of Mr. Freeman, at p. 55.

I may, perhaps, be permitted to remark that, if there was one point more than another which I especially enforced on the workmen doing the repairs at Oystermouth, it was *strict attention to the original counterparts*, whether in mullion, doorway, or angle; and my attention in this respect, as well as my success in converting a miserable, filthy, and almost unapproachable quarry into a visitable, interesting specimen of the castellated structures of the middle ages, has received the commendation not only of those who reside near it, and recollect what it was before I commenced operations in 1845, but of eminent architects and archæologists.

I remain, &c.,

GEO. GRANT FRANCIS, F.S.A.,

Hon. Sec. for Glamorganshire.

Burrows Lodge, Swansea,
March, 1850.

Miscellaneous Notices.

A ROMAN COIN.—A rare bronze coin of Pupienus was recently found in Newborough Marsh. It is in a good state of preservation, and bears on the obverse a head of the emperor, surmounted with a radiated diadem, and having the inscription—IMP. C. PVPPIE . . AVG. On the reverse is inscribed—HERCVLVS. OM. . SI, the legend being a figure of the hero, with a club in his right hand, and a garland in his left. Pupienus reigned A.D. 233.

OGHAM CHARACTERS AND BRITISH REMAINS IN MERIONETHSHIRE.—A correspondent informs us that in the neighbourhood of Llanbedr, in the county of Merioneth, about three miles from Harlech, and two miles from Llandanwg, there is an upright

¹ The Sutton quarries are situate near Dunraven, in Glamorganshire, and were extensively used for the ornamental work of castles and abbeys in this county in the middle ages. It is a white limestone, which preserves the chisel marks fresh for ages.

stone, or maen-hir, standing near a cist-vaen, and bearing Ogham characters. We recommend this stone to the care and diligence of C. F. Cliffe, Esq., and the Rev. G. Roberts, who, next to W. W. E. Wynne, Esq., of Peniarth, know more about the British antiquities of Merioneth, than any other Welsh antiquaries. These two gentlemen have informed us of their suspicion that numerous habitations, and even fortifications, are to be traced on the slope of the hills to the seaward, near Cors-y-Gedol,—not to be confounded with the British forts on the summit of the mountain range in the same district. The members of the Cambrian Archæological Association little know what a rich store of British remains, to be observed *in situ*, is kept for them against the next Annual Meeting, at Dolgellau.

GRANT OF FISHING IN THE MENAI.—We have seen it stated in some place—we believe in the *Cambrian Quarterly* (?)—that the original grant of the fishing of the Menai Strait to the Bishops of Bangor is contained in the library of the Archbishop of Canterbury at Lambeth. To what fishery does this allude? Can any of our London correspondents verify the statement for us?

DEAN MAURICE.—A correspondent wishes to know “where Dean Maurice was buried, and what is his coat of arms?” Does our correspondent refer to Henry Maurice, D.D., A.D. 1648–1691? If so, we refer him to “Williams’ Biography,” &c., p. 317-18.

THE VAUGHANS OF BRECON.—Relative to this family a correspondent has furnished us with the following fragment:—

“Howel Vaughan, alias David Gen,

Llewellyn,

David = daughter of Sir William Jones,

Daughter = Sir Henry Wogan, of Weston,

Margaret = Sir William Perrot, of Yestington, Pembrokeshire,

Owain Perrot = Katherine Poins, of Iron Acton,

which Owen was the grandfather of Sir John Perrot, Lord Deputy of Ireland, temp. Henry VIII.”

THE CELTIC SOCIETY, OR IRISH LITERARY AND HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION.—We are glad to announce the prosperous condition of this Society, which, formed in the sister island, and devoted to the study of cognate antiquities, deserves the warm sympathy and co-operation of every Welsh antiquary. The main objects of this Society is to publish original documents in the Irish language, illustrated with introductions, English translations, and notes; also documents and reprints in English, and in other tongues translated into English, illustrative of the language, history, and antiquities of Ireland. It was our intention to have given an extended review of the first two publications of the Society, but want of space compels us to defer this till our next.

WILLIAMS' BIOGRAPHICAL DICTIONARY OF EMINENT WELSHMEN.—Parts V. to IX.—Five parts of this valuable book of reference are now lying on our table, and bring us far on the way towards the completion of so interesting a work. The biographical notices contained in them, succinct as usual, are characterized by the author's habitual accuracy, and, as far as we can judge, omit no particulars worthy of note. It is no small merit in a book to be brief, if brevity be not attained at the expense of information; and this is precisely one of the main excellencies of Mr. Williams' writings. In the present number will be found the lives of many eminent Welshmen, of whose names the following are a sample:—Owen Glyndwr, Lord Herbert of Cherbury, Judge Jeffreys, Iestyn ab Gwrgant, Jones of Llanddowror, *cum multis aliis*, St. Illtyd, Edward and Humphrey Llwyd, Llywarch Hen, all the Llywelyns, Sir Samuel Rush Meyrick, Beau Nash, General Nott, and no end of Owains.

THE ENGLISH AND WELSH DICTIONARY, by the Rev. D. S. Evans, has now reached its sixth part, and maintains its place, as it well deserves, in public estimation. The scientific terms are rendered into Welsh in this work with far greater care and skill than has been hitherto attempted, and a large portion of them are altogether new. We have no doubt that Mr. Evans's work will be considered one of our standard works of reference.

BOUTELL'S MONUMENTAL BRASSES OF ENGLAND.—The 12th number of this admirable book is now published, and completes the work. It is not inferior to any of its predecessors; and it contains, besides seventeen plates, the descriptive notices, with classified and topographical lists of the various monuments. The plates in this number, as indeed throughout all the work, are curious instances of the great facility with which wood engraving, in the hands of an intelligent artist like Mr. Utting, may be applied to objects of this nature. The whole book forms a copious repertory of brasses of all kinds, and will make its way into the collections of all antiquarians.

VESTIGES OF OLD LONDON.—This is the tempting title of a series of views and descriptions of the remarkable monuments of London, of all dates, principally taken from the large collection of drawings made by W. Twopeny, Esq.—a most accomplished antiquary. It is coming out in quarterly parts, six shillings each, at Bogue's in Fleet Street. We heartily wish it success, and should like to see appearing "Vestiges of Old Chester," "Vestiges of Old Caernarvon," "Vestiges of Old St. David's"—in fact, of all and every old town and corner of the land.

Reviews.

A HISTORY OF ARCHITECTURE. By EDWARD A. FREEMAN, M.A., late Fellow of Trinity College, Oxford. London, 1849.

THE SEVEN LAMPS OF ARCHITECTURE. By JOHN RUSKIN, Author of "Modern Painters." London, 1849.

The past year has contributed two most valuable additions to the literature of art. Differing widely, as well in points of detail as in their general scope and tendency, they completely agree in this, that they treat architecture as a branch of "high art," ignoring alike ecclesiologists and archæologists—pokers in holes and corners, and diggers and delvers after pagan pots and pans—to whose domain it had unhappily been relegated, and regarding it as what it is in truth, a reflection of the imaginative faculty in man, and, as such, to be studied with the same views and principles as regulate the study of music, painting, and sculpture, of poetry itself, and—as our fair readers will be disposed to add, not without the authority of the Stagyrte—of the *gai science* of Terpsichore. It is true that we antiquaries have nothing to do with this side of the subject; we care more to determine the date of Coutances, than to draw out the central principle which animated its builders; we prize more highly the driest records of the erection of Rouen, than the most elaborate discussion of the utmost degree of "realization" which could be conceded to the scores of grotesques that decorate its portal. Still, as long as architecture is an important part of archæology—which it must surely be while stone and timber are lasting materials—any work professing to treat of it, must fall so far within our proper province. Mr. Freeman's History, indeed, does so in a special manner, by virtue of its historical character. Its principal object is to trace the progress and actual development of the art from the wooden hut, supposed by the author to be the parent of the earliest Grecian style, to the latest specimens of Perpendicular or Palladian. The grotesque and barbaric magnificence of Eastern and Western Asia, of India and Egypt, is rather summarily dismissed, as having exercised little or no influence on the works of after ages, though these have elicited some most valuable and ingenious observations from the author. Our old friend the Cromlech is not even allowed to come into court, but is treated as fairly *ἀτιμος* in an architectural point of view.¹ The Grecian, the Roman,

¹ We may well call the Cromlech our old friend, for it gave us rare sport at Cardiff. An excellent contributor had been seduced into the belief of its derivation from one god Crom, a sort of Irish cloud-compeller, and that in the nineteenth century!

Τὸ ΚΡΟΜ νομίζειν ὄντα τηλικουτονί.

However, Dr. Todd annihilated the Milesian idol, as completely as his Hellenic prototype was overthrown by Socrates, and happily without inaugurating Vortex in his place.

and Romanesque, and the Gothic and Arabian styles, are regarded as one family, the breed having been considerably modified by "crossing" with the plain round-arched style of ancient Italy. This produced the strange hybrid known as Roman architecture, the principal feature of which is the retention of the old decorative system of the entablature, side by side with the new constructive system of the arch. However, our hybrid, contrary to the maxims of naturalists, proved prolific, and gave birth to a large family of daughters, who gradually attained that artistic consistency to which their parent was a stranger. In the East arose the Byzantine style, which in due time produced the Saracenic; while, under the auspices of the Western Church, the Lombard and Provençal grew up, the Romanesque of Germany, the Irish, Anglo-Saxon, and Norman styles. At length out of the northern Romanesque arose that glorious form of art, of which the Pointed arch is the most characteristic, though not an inseparable feature.

We turn awhile from Mr. Freeman's book to that of Mr. Ruskin. We have already intimated that they differ widely—as widely, indeed, as any two books, treating the same subject in at all the same way, can possibly be supposed to do. We speak not of such points of discrepancy as the following:—

"Truly the Abbey of St. Ouen may claim the first place among all the edifices that human skill has ever reared. * * Nothing is introduced * * which derogates from its claim to be the noblest of Gothic churches, and, consequently, of all human creations."—*Freeman's History of Architecture*, p. 399.

"I do not know anything more strange and unwise than the praise lavished upon this lantern; it is one of the basest pieces of Gothic in Europe."—*Ruskin's Seven Lamps*, &c., p. 35.

"Nor is it only the tower of St. Ouen that is overrated. Its nave is a base imitation, &c. * * There is nothing truly fine in the church but the choir, the light triforium, and tall clerestory, the circle of Eastern chapels," &c.—*Ibid.*, *Notes*.

"Who shall decide when doctors disagree?" Yet the disagreement of doctors is sometimes instructive;—it shows what a man may come to who deserts his common sense for the sole guidance of theory. Perhaps we ought not so much to marvel at the opposition in this case, as Mr. Ruskin and Mr. Freeman start from totally different points. The latter gives us the history of the art, while the former is chiefly occupied in developing its *morale*. In fact, he seems to us to have carried this to a length not altogether philosophical, occasionally confounding moral with artistic considerations, as in the chapter entitled the "Lamp of Sacrifice;" and, while he perhaps possesses a higher and more expansive reach of mind than our other author, he sadly lacks his soundness, clearness, and precision. Gifted with a keen and fervid imagination, he looks upon architecture with the eye of a poet and a painter; but this same imagination occasionally leads him into paradoxes, and nearly always draws him away from what is, after all, the characteristic and distinctive principle of the art—the due and consistent harmonizing of the modes of construction and decoration. Mr. Freeman's mind, evidently accustomed to trace historical

causes in their effects, could not fail to see this, and to give it its due prominence. At the same time, it must be confessed that he labours under a great disadvantage as compared with Mr. Ruskin, in not having become acquainted with the great buildings of continental Europe by personal observation;—it appears so, at least, from his own statement. This may have tended to make his views more definite, as having been unconsciously moulded upon a single class of instances: still it could not fail to have a narrowing effect, and to imbue his mind with a pardonable predilection for forms to which his eye was accustomed. We could have wished that he had seen fit to bestow one tith of the praise which Mr. Ruskin has lavished, on the Campanile of Giotto, or the ducal palace of the Bridegroom of the Adriatic.

ANTIQUITIES OF IONA, ARGYLESIRE. By H. D. GRAHAM, Esq.
London: Day & Son, Lincoln's Inn Fields. 1850.

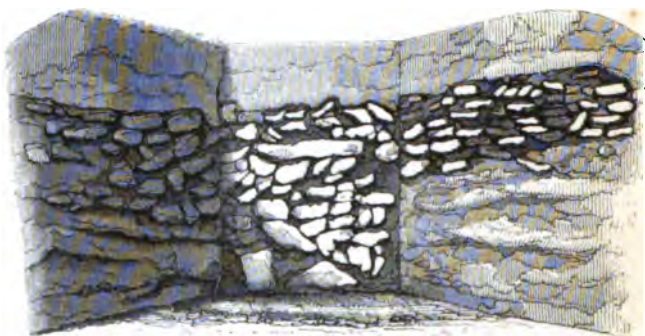
We feel great pleasure in drawing the attention of our readers to this interesting volume, but fear that the unavoidable brevity of our present remarks will hardly do justice to its intrinsic merit.

It contains fifty-two lithographic plates, with explanatory letter-press. The former comprise views of St. Oran's chapel, of the cathedral, and monastery; but the more remarkable series are those which we believe are for the first time brought before us—the monumental effigies and sculptured slabs which cover the remains of princes and chieftains who found repose within the hallowed precincts of those sacred edifices.

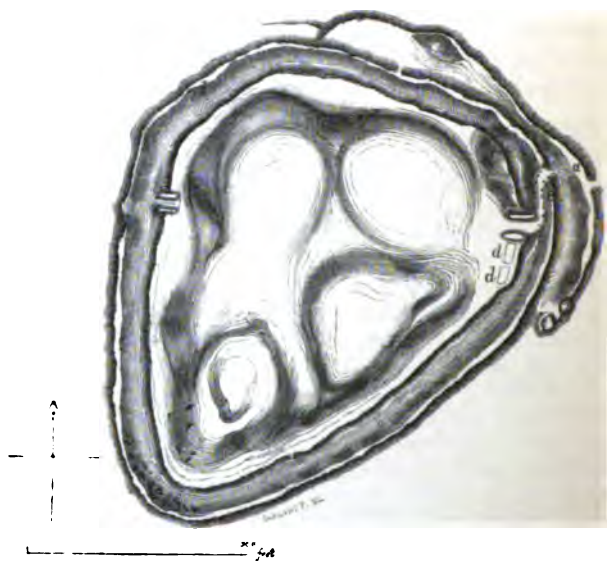
Time, neglect, and wanton injury, have done much to mutilate and disfigure these specimens of ancient art; but, if we may judge from the plates—and we have no reason to doubt their accuracy—we may safely pronounce, that they surpass in curiosity, richness, and variety, any which have hitherto been submitted to the public.

We confess we are no admirers of lithographic plates for architectural, or even monumental, subjects, in a general way; but these are so clear, and the quiet tinting of the back-ground so admirable an assistance, that, considering the moderate price of the volume, viz., One Guinea, we are not only satisfied, but thankful, to Mr. Graham, for affording us so great a treat, and we feel sure that those who may be induced, by our humble testimony in its favour, to purchase this volume, will have no cause to regret having done so.

Amongst the effigies, the most remarkable are those of Maclean of Coll, Abbot Mackinnon, and the Prioress Anna; of the sculptured slabs, that of the four Priors, of the Rider, four stones in Reileag Orain, and four in the nunnery. There are also three plates of crosses, all more or less remarkable for the richness of the sculpture which covers them; they are all that remain of 360 which it is recorded at one time existed in different parts of Iona.



SECTION OF THE AGGER, SHEWING ITS STRUCTURE.



ANCIENT CAMP ON MOEL GARB, PART OF MOEL FAMMA.

Archæologia Cambrensis.

NEW SERIES, No. III.—JULY, 1850.

ON THE INFLUENCE OF ARCHÆOLOGY ON ARCHITECTURE.

ARCHÆOLOGY has long since been so far reduced to the form of a science, and has been so far carried into practice, that we may reasonably expect the results to be now showing themselves in various branches of science, arts, and manufactures, but in none more strikingly than architecture. Indeed, it is this very branch of scientific art which has been the largest and the most extensively inquired into and illustrated by antiquaries—unless, indeed, numismatics and diplomatology be excepted; and, as architecture is calculated at all times to have a lasting effect upon the public mind—more, perhaps, than any other art—it is not devoid of interest to inquire what good effects may have been hitherto produced on it by the labours and researches of careful observers.

The attention of antiquaries has hitherto been chiefly directed to ecclesiastical architecture, because buildings of that kind have been the best preserved, and have presented the greatest store of enriched details. Hence, the main effect of the archæological movement of the present century has been witnessed in the restoration and edification of ecclesiastical buildings. Some attention has been paid to castellated remains, and a still smaller degree of observation has been exercised upon domestic buildings;

but in both these branches of the art, this effect, as testified by public and private buildings, has been much less considerable than in the first-named department.

On the whole, considering the time that the public mind has been strongly excited and turned to subjects of this kind, the æsthetical effect produced is much less satisfactory than might have been anticipated. The cause of this has been the crude, and partial, and imperfect manner in which archæology has, until late years, been treated. It has entered men's minds only in a superficial and desultory manner; by few has it been studied systematically and scientifically; by very few has it been taken up professionally. Hence, it has resulted that men have practised upon buildings more according to their own ungrounded theories and fancies, than according to the spirit in which ancient edifices were erected; and it has not been, until within a very recent period indeed, that this spirit of the past has been sufficiently interrogated and understood, to allow of its principles and dictates being revived and acted upon. Reparations of buildings, restorations and additions, have been made, of the most fatal description—done with excellent intent, but with very little judgment; and such as, in a few years—if the means and the spirit shall then exist—will have to be removed, or altered, or done over again, upon better and sounder data. In the same way, with scarcely an exception, many ecclesiastical edifices erected more than ten years ago from the present time, (1850,) will, at some future day, be condemned as utterly worthless, and devoid both of style and correct taste, because they militate against historical tradition, as well as against architectural science.

We are not inclined to limit our remarks to edifices in the mediæval style only; the churches of the present century, erected in imitation of Greek, Roman, Egyptian, and other supposed styles of architecture, are, generally speaking, as far as possible removed from the spirit of their originals, and are painfully striking examples of all that is inappropriate and unfortunate in point of taste

and science. We may perhaps be accused of passing too sweeping a condemnation ; but we believe that, in England, architecture has been at a very low ebb in these respects during the first third of this present century. There has been no truly national school of architecture ; architects have been learning their profession, and have been experimenting upon all kinds of materials—brick, stone, stucco, &c.—and, what is worse, leaving their crude studies and experiments standing, as evidences of the transitional and unsatisfactory state of the public knowledge in such matters.

Of late the case has been different. The isolated and irregular efforts of architectural students have been directed by ecclesiologists into a more positive and practical line of action. Architects have come to study the *arcana* of the subject ; and the whole science having been reduced into something like a body, the public mind has seized upon it, mastered it, and has made a practical use of it. More good churches have been erected within the last ten years than during the previous three centuries. We hope, indeed, that the school of architecture now founded in England, though held together only by the bonds of practice and tradition—by a kind of virtual freemasonry, rather than by any bodily or outward form of incorporated existence—will yet endure for some time, and will be able to throw some faint lustre upon the declining days of national renown, by the substantial buildings with which it is now enriching the land.

Its results, however, are subject to numerous objections, nor is its existence so insured as to make us free from all anxiety as to the resuscitation of architectural taste and science. We hope, but cannot predict, that its influence will be felt for good in future ages.

One of the points upon which the national mind is still very unsound is the rage for the destruction of old ecclesiastical edifices, for the sake of replacing them by new ones, whether under the appellation of restoration or re-edification. Reasons, plausible enough, may be adduced

for the erection of new edifices; and churches may now be built which, in a few years, may be occupied by the followers of a different faith, or may be destroyed by the fanatical ignorance of a degenerate democracy. But all the historical associations of the national mind, all the moral influences of the national character, demand imperatively that the ancient edifices of this country should be *preserved*, not destroyed—should be repaired and maintained, not removed. If other buildings are required, let them be erected on other sites, but let the old ones not be put out of sight, nor out of mind. In many parts of this country, and more especially in the Principality, where antiquity and archæology are held in dishonour as superstitious and hierarchical, the crusade against old churches is so hot, and is so warmly aided by the enthusiasm of builders and architects, that scarcely an ancient church may be expected to remain in another fifty years. The heads of the Church, the diocesan building societies, the inferior clergy, and the parochial authorities, all unite, too frequently, to have a fling at the old church; and, regardless of cost, even in bad times, seem to take a delight in levelling all mediæval walls with the ground. What from neglect, what from rash destruction, we look upon the ecclesiastical antiquities of Wales as doomed to almost total destruction, and that within a comparatively short period.

The question, then, has arisen very pertinently, as to what may be expected to be the positive good of archæological science, as applied to the wants of the church, and the conservation of national ecclesiastical monuments? And we confess that we had rather look for the practical exemplification of that good in the reparation and adaptation of old buildings, than in the erection of new ones. Were this age one distinguished for purity of practice and unity of faith—were it one that showed symptoms of a tendency to give durable proof of a general care for the national dignity—then the erection of new buildings, in the place of old ones, might be accepted as a result of a good impulse; but, in the decline of nations, such feel-

ings do not exist, and this substitution of new for old must be looked upon rather as a symptom of feverish restlessness than of healthy vigour. We do not hope to counteract such tendencies, nor to stay any such downward movement; we write with the conviction of despair; still we consider it our duty to point out in what respects we conceive things to be going on well, and in what ill.

One of the main practical benefits, then, to be derived from archæology at the present day, is the intelligent and reasonable conservation of ancient buildings; and a second is, the improvement and advancement of architectural science, by a scientific and systematic study of existing monuments.

The former of these benefits we esteem for two causes: one, connected with these buildings as objects, instances, and proofs, of ancient art; the other, as material monumental records and proofs of national history.

We all know the value set on the architectural remains of Greece and Rome—upon the wonders of Egyptian or Assyrian science; we know, too—for we daily read of them—the enormous prices set by amateurs upon the pictures, the drawings, the sketches, of those painters of modern Europe called the *old* masters; we witness the extraordinary store set by the fine results of early typographers—the large sums given for the rare specimens of the Italian, German, and French presses; we have all heard of the inestimable value of ancient gems and coins: surely the remains of mediæval architecture, as a science and an art, are of some, we do not say the same, but of some certain value, as objects of that very science and art which they illustrate; they cannot be *valueless*, as they are generally considered. A rude village church of the thirteenth or fourteenth century may, for anything the clergyman and parishioners know about it, be of great architectural value, as proving and illustrating some particular practice, or invention, or adaptation, or advance, of architectural skill and science. As much may be learned very often from a series of simple build-

ings as from the most elaborately adorned cathedrals. At all events, they have *value*, as corroborative and supplementary proofs and illustrations; they cannot, we repeat, be *valueless*. All the pictures of Raffaele d'Urbino are not of the same value; but is that any reason why all except his mightiest works should be destroyed or neglected? There is many an obscure painter of the Flemish and French schools, whose productions are infinitely behind those of Rubens or Poussin in merit; but do we therefore *destroy* them? We do not give a thousand guineas for them, but at all events we do not burn them, nor do we order their canvasses to be painted over again, because they are old. We can perhaps produce equally good, or better, pictures at the present day, and by masters of the moment; but still we do not destroy the old, nor value them a farthing the less. So should it be with ancient buildings of anything like architectural character. It may be that we do not exactly perceive their present, their possible, their relative value; but others who come after us may, though we do not; and, as the old buildings can do *no harm* by standing, stand they should, if not for the present generation, yet at least for a future one.

It should be remembered that true architectural knowledge and taste—like true knowledge and taste in pictures—are exceedingly rare qualifications, notwithstanding the numbers of *soi-disant* antiquaries and connoisseurs who swarm in society; and, therefore, that the mere fact of an ancient edifice not being generally considered valuable is no proof whatever of its intrinsic demerit. Nothing but the opinion of some one well qualified to judge can pronounce upon this. Parochial authorities, therefore, and clerical builders, should hesitate ere they condemn the edifices of former days, and rush into the arms of greedy contractors, under the specious pretence of the spiritual good of their neighbours and flocks. Let everything old, that can tend to illustrate the science, the art, or the history of the nation, remain and be preserved by friendly hands, as long as its materials will hold together; let it

be enlarged, or added to, or restored, if with judgment and science; but, at all events, let it not be destroyed.

And yet how vain perhaps it is to give advice of this nature! The spirit of destruction, the blind, restless spirit of change, seems to be one of the phænomena attendant on the human mind; and to form part of the great laws of nature, by which old things are doomed to pass away, and new ones to succeed. Did the new ones offer any reasonable proof of their being better than the old ones, there might not be so much cause to complain; but when a declining art is practised in a declining age, and by a rapidly declining people, an unsatisfactory result cannot but be anticipated; and the same confidence cannot be placed in the doings of ourselves, or of our descendants, as we have, and know we have upon good grounds, in the past deeds of our ancestors.

For, if not as objects of art, yet at least as mementos of national and social history, our old buildings should be preserved. We cannot understand the grovelling and selfish spirit that feels no respect for the memory and the works of our forefathers, and that would not desire to hand down to our children some tokens, and as many as possible, of what their progenitors really were. If we wish that we ourselves should not be forgotten by a succeeding and a careless age, we should endeavour to promote a future spirit of respect for what is now present to us, by the care we ourselves take of what to ourselves is past. If we venerate not our parents' memories, we do not deserve that our children should respect our own.

It is not only, however, by its spirit of conservation that archæology may be expected, and indeed *required*, to act on the public mind; it is also by its influence in improving the architecture of the present and future ages that its real value will be fully brought out and proved. Old buildings are not only to be preserved as much as possible—and this "*possible*" goes a long way—but they should also be studied; their good and their bad points carefully sought out and observed; their principles examined; their style and character deciphered. We

include the monuments of all ages in this category; they are all worthy of some degree of study, greater or less—but still of some; and among them the national architecture of the middle ages holds no inferior place.

We do not by any means think that we are to bind ourselves down to a blind and servile imitation of the style and practices of past days; but rather that we should thoroughly imbue our minds with the real principles upon which our predecessors acted; and from these to deduce laws for regulating our own system—our own proceedings. We fully believe that, could the spirit of the palmy days of Athens and Corinth be ever evoked by some modern enchanter, the glorious story of Grecian art might be continued, amplified, and improved upon. Could we but become Egyptians in our spirit and knowledge, we might build mightier works even than the pyramids. Witness our facilities and our skill in raising gigantic embankments, in constructing bridges, and in laying down lines of road which even the greatest of Roman works can hardly surpass. We have got at the secrets which actuated the former masters of the world; we are impelled by the same desires, spurred on by the same necessities; we require the means of extensive and rapid locomotion, and by going straightforward and scientifically to our point, we compass the end desired; and our wonderful railroads—monuments which will leave traces to our latest posterity—are the result. So, too, could we fully understand all the meanings—the secret ideas, and necessities, and intentions, of the builders of the middle ages, we should construct edifices as good as York or Westminster, and we should cover the land with really good churches;—as certainly good, though perhaps different in detail, as they did.

In looking, however, to the study of ancient edifices for a discovery and an appreciation of the practices of former architects, we should not be ourselves driven implicitly to the adoption of all their forms; their principles, the golden rules of their science, the results of their experience, the traditions of their craft—these are

the really valuable parts of architectural knowledge; and once soundly fixed in the possession of these, we may go on fearlessly, and invent and adapt for ourselves. The architecture of any age, the real style of any age, and the general character of its edifices, may be taken as positive indices of the wants, and feelings, and even of the pursuits, of the men of those days; at least the characteristics of national mind have been at all periods reflected in architectural constructions, and have found tangible evidences of their magnitude, or their worthlessness, in the buildings of the day. The times that witnessed the architectural wonders of Egypt and Nineveh rising from the bosom of the earth were gigantic in mental form, compared with the debased and effete days of the Georgian æra. In the former, men were originators, in the latter, clumsy imitators of those who had themselves copied from the first; and, however we may now unduly estimate the relative value of the various groupes of centuries and years, it is certain that the former, rather than the latter, have had the most lasting and important effect upon the history of mankind.

We do not, therefore, counsel architects to be imitators—we could wish them to be inventors; only, in a period of decline, it is almost impossible to invent great things. Men must be content to copy and to adapt, to tread servilely in the steps of their progenitors, and to reverse the Homeric boast of being better than their fathers. Unless some great national want or idea comes forth—some pressing necessity arise, which cannot be avoided—some great social problem be proposed, which must be solved—men will not be able to call forth the latent powers of their souls, and to originate either deeds or monuments that shall bear the innate marks of greatness and immortality.

We would rather say that, if architects really could eliminate from ancient styles all that was accidental and unnecessary, and if they could really deduce from them the true principles upon which their framers proceeded,

they might then go on fearlessly, and carry forward a new style of national architecture to its extreme limits.

The necessities of the case have reintroduced the principle of horizontal support, and the Egyptian lintel has again triumphed over the Etruscan arch. The immense level lines of railway bridges and tubes prove to us the resuscitation of a great principle of construction—that of horizontal rigidity—just as, a few years previously, the flowing lines of suspension bridges had consecrated the introduction of a new principle—that of the catenary curve—into the list of our suspensive contrivances.

Science can never enter too much into the study and practice of architecture: mathematical and physical science is the very basis of the art; while harmony of proportion, and beauty of form, are its soul and guide.

Much original invention—or, at least, much original application of ancient ornament—has certainly begun to make its appearance in our ecclesiastical buildings; we hope that it may lead to the introduction of much original contrivance and construction; but we are perfectly sure that our architectural efforts can never result in buildings worthy of admiration in future ages, unless they are founded upon, and raised up to, the full level of constructive science. True it is, that until architecture becomes generally established on surer ground, it is better to imitate than to invent; but then we must meanwhile renounce our claim to immortality. The question of how far architectural ornament should be made identical with sculpture properly so called, that is to say, whether the representations of animate, or vegetable, or other, objects upon buildings should become the actual portraiture—the scientific and artistic portraiture—of the object, instead of a conventional representation, is not yet decided among archæologists. Some of the most philosophic antiquaries of our day maintain the dogma—not in itself by any means unreasonable, nor wholly unpoetical—that in all ornaments the nature of the material should never be obliterated by the subjects which it represents; that the struggle of

material atoms against immaterial ideas should always be evident; that stone should still appear intractable when attempted to be "tortured into life;" and, therefore, that all architectural representations of such objects should not pretend to throw off—they should rather purposely retain—a certain degree of conventional rigidity and constraint. On the other hand, the poets of the art maintain, that no limits should be put to the powers of the soul or the hand, and that, if a nymph is to lurk embowered amongst the flowery tendrils of a frieze, or if an ivy leaf is to intertwine with a vine branch round a capital, nature, and nature in her fairest, truest, symmetry, is to breathe forth from, and to animate, the insensate stone. Egypt is with the former, Greece with the latter, school; and the question seems doomed to oscillate between the distinct, yet not unconnected, influences of Grandeur and Beauty. It is fairly open; we will not pronounce upon it; though we are conscious of the direction in which our own sympathies expand.

As far as domestic buildings are concerned, it is certain that modern constructive skill, or at least practice, is greatly inferior to that of the middle ages. Excellence in building is now falsely considered to be synonymous with cheapness—suitableness and durability are conditions seldom taken into account, either by builders or employers. A vain display of cheap and unsatisfactory, because false, ornament—the very negative of real ornament; partial decoration to suit the eye of the world, not of the owner of a house; the decorating of the front, and the neglecting of the back; the building of houses against time, to last so many years, to answer their purpose by a given date, and then to cease; all this may suit a particular condition of society, and is, indeed, a fair exponent of it; but it is not calculated to confer either honour or immortality on the memory of the age, nor can it convey any real gratification even to contemporaries. In it we discern no love for posterity, no honour of ancestors; no faith in the future, no respect for the past. It is the true exponent of the selfish feeling

that characterizes all the operations of the public mind, and it is an example of the principle of expediency which has long since expelled the doctrine of right. It is at once a negative of civilization, and an infallible symptom of decline. Decline may be beautiful—meretriciously so—but it is still decline. We do not anticipate a revival of national domestic architecture, for we do not suppose that any revival of the great moral laws of nature will take place in this country; we only protest against false appearances of beauty being taken for real ones, and against temporary appearances of strength or fitness being preferred to what will stand the test of ages.

The condition of our ordinary domestic national architecture of the present day is still of the most meagre, and fleeting, and paltry character; it is nothing else than what might result from a *rifacciamento* of all the possible and impossible styles that have ever been heaped up and pitched upon the shoulders of a people not naturally discerning in matters of taste. As a nation, we are completely in the hands of a legion of builders, whose "books" are of the most unscientific and anæsthetical description—full of repetitions of weak and ineffective forms, sections, and elevations, whether of parts or wholes, of mouldings or ornaments. Until some architect, or body of architects, of real science and taste, shall undertake to compile a completely new set of "books" for the builders, the common domestic architecture of this country—no matter what may be the style abused in it—whether "small Doric," or "heavy Palladian," or "chaste Norman," or "florid Gothic," our common domestic architecture will never have a chance to become improved. The ordinary street architecture of this blessed nineteenth century of progress and probity is far behind that of the seventeenth, whether in solidity or effect; it is even behind the dear old dumpy Dutch taste of Queen Anne's days; it is *sui generis*; and we devoutly wish the whole *genus* a speedy extinction. The efforts of architectural archæologists cannot be directed to a more generally useful object than to the amendment

of the practices of builders, and to the infusion of new ideas into their heads.

In this inconsistent age of the world, when expenditure in unessential things causes undue parsimony and retrenchment in those that are indispensable, and when ornament comes in for that share of cost which ought to be devoted to solidity of construction, it is important that men of science and art should derive from the study of the past those lessons of pure taste, and of common sense, which may enable them to enlighten the mass of mankind as to the best way of employing their resources. We should not then see millions of money thrown away on stucco façades, when the same money, laid out in plainer but bolder stone-work, would have produced a grander effect, and more durable buildings. We should not then see millions lavished on palaces, when the same number of hundreds of thousands would have been amply sufficient, and more appropriate. We should see symptoms of national grandeur pervading national monuments, and, if the fleeting and declining character of the nation permitted it, we might hope to witness a revival of good taste and practice, even in private constructions. But until this occurs—if it ever occur—we may indeed go on labouring and observing desultorily as amateur archæologists; but the architecture of our country will remain a chaos of confused absurdities, *striking* and pleasing to some for the time being, but *destined* in future times to disappear, and to be forgotten, *along* with its promoters.

H. L. J.

CASTRALWYDIANA.

No. II.

II.—MOEL GAER, PART OF MOEL FAMMA.

WE next proceeded to the above-named encampment, which lies about a mile and a quarter northwards of Moel Fenlli, and is about four miles from Ruthin. The form and structure of this encampment exhibit more design and skill than that which we have just quitted. It crowns the summit of a hill of very inconsiderable altitude, when compared with Moel Famma, towering above it on the east, from which it juts out westward towards the vale like a promontory—its only approachable side, however, for the purpose of attack, is on the east, where it is connected by a narrow neck of land, itself precipitous to the north and south, to the mountain already named; and, on this side, it will be observed a third agger is added, which following the contour-line of the hill, is brought very near the intermediate one on the north-east, and then is carried round an excrescence from the hill, which, had it been left unfortified, would have afforded a resting place for an enemy attacking the position. The area enclosed by the inner rampart, measuring in the broadest part, east and west, about 500 feet—north and south, about 600 feet—rises rather abruptly from the rampart on the north-west and west, and on the south-east, as far as that part where the third agger commences; here the inner rampart is higher than the area, and in traversing the neck of land already mentioned, northwards, follows the course of a ridge of rock, with which nature had fortified it. The hill being unapproachable on the west and south-east, it is probable that the ramparts were never very high on these sides. Now there is but little more than a trace of them, with the exception of those protecting the western gate, the elevation of which, though probably not now so great as it once was, is very visible. Nearly opposite to this, on

the east, another gate similarly guarded will be observed, from which I thought a roadway was traceable in the direction of the dotted lines, to the unguarded opening in the second rampart; from thence I could not satisfactorily trace it to the opening in the outer rampart, which, from the fact of its having no protecting ramparts, and of no roadway laid with stone passing through it being discoverable, I consider to have been made at some period (probably a very late one) subsequent to the formation of the camp. On this side, as may be expected, being the most vulnerable, the ramparts appear to have been much bolder, and are still more perfect. I may say the same, too, of that one which encompasses the excrescence on the north, already mentioned. The fossæ on this side are in good preservation, and their form, which is certainly remarkable, is very distinguishable.

Those around Moel Fenlli are of that description, which a Roman writer¹ on Castrametation terms "*Fastigatae*," i.e., when the sides of the trench meet in an angle at the bottom thus V—the fossæ, in this encampment I am now speaking of, have a flat bottom, with sides perpendicular to it, or nearly so. "*Fossam pedum XX directis lateribus duxit; ut ejus solum tantundem pateret, quantum summa labra distabant.*"² *Solum* and *summa labra* here are opposed, the former meaning *the bottom*, the latter *the brinks*, of the trench, whence we catch the meaning of the word *directis* to be perpendicular, and the form of the trench to be thus L, which closely resembles that of the trenches on the eastern side of Moel Gaer. We also find this kind of fossa to have been again used by Cæsar for fortifying his camp,³ when he was carrying on a campaign against the Bellovaci. And as in each of these instances Cæsar⁴ appears to have been bent upon making fortifications the best calculated for strength and protection, and, in

¹ *Hyg. de Castramet*, ad finem.

² *Cæs. de Bal. Gal.*, Lib. vii., Cap. 72. ³ *Ibid.*, Lib. viii., Cap. 9.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Lib. vii., Cap. 72, 73; and Lib. vii., Cap. 10.

each gives a preference for these fossæ, (which for brevity's sake we will call *fossæ directæ*.) we may infer that it was one of the best and most secure kinds of trench, and perhaps, from his special mention of it in connexion with other extraordinary munitions, one not ordinarily used—an inference, too, somewhat supported by the fact, that Hyginus¹ does not mention this variety of trench.

There are two of these trenches (*fossæ directæ*) in the present encampment, one on the *inside* of the *outer* rampart, the other on the *inside* of the *second* rampart. The former I excavated to the depth of about five feet, about the spot marked (*a*) near the opening in the outer rampart, and found the surface, to the depth of about fifteen inches, consisted of soil, below which was a layer of stone cut from the adjoining rock, about three feet and a-half in thickness, and then I came to the solid rock. The western side of the trench, too, was solid rock, whence it appeared that the rock had been scarped off, in order to give the trench the desired width, which is about five feet. Underneath the layer of stone, and lying among some ashes upon the surface of the rock, I found a piece of Roman pottery, well fabricated, and of a deep red colour, with the remains of a glaze upon it, but so extremely rotten, as to bear no trace of what description of vessel it was a fragment. I “tapped” this trench in several other places on the eastern side of the encampment, and, from the sound it emitted, I conjecture that it is filled with loose stone all along that side, much in the same way that I found it to be where I opened it. Generally speaking, the line of the ramparts in those parts of the encampment where they are in good preservation, is tolerably regular; their height, being about four feet, but in those parts on the eastern side, where the second and inner ramparts coincide with the natural barrier of rock, they may have been somewhat

¹ Hyginus mentions two varieties only—the *fastigata* above described, and the *Punica*, which had the outer side perpendicular, and the one next the agger sloped thus ▼

lower. In order to ascertain the mode of their construction, I had an incision made in the side of the rampart, about the spot marked (*b*,) on the north-west; and here again much more skill was displayed than in the construction of the ramparts at Moel Fenlli. The outer covering at the top of the agger, to the depth of about one foot, or fifteen inches, is loamy soil, then comes a quantity of stone roughly laid together, forming a sort of wall, which, in the centre of the agger, is carried down to the foundation, and, to the depth of about fifteen inches, extends also laterally, the whole breadth of the agger; the substructure under this lateral extension of the stone-work being composed of what appeared to me, and in the opinion of some of the labourers, to be a gravelly clay. I did not carry the incision further than the centre of the agger; for, finding that sufficient to show *the nature of the construction*, I thought a complete breach would only be an useless disfigurement. In the rough sketch annexed, which I took on the spot, I have attempted rather to represent the *mode* of construction, than to give a correct likeness of the viscera of the agger, as displayed by the incision. I had another incision made in the *outermost* rampart, on the southern side of the opening in it, on the eastern side of the encampment, and found that this was merely an earth-work, consisting of loam at the top, with gravel and sand underneath. The inner rampart, in its course northwards from the eastern gate, just before it turns to the west, passes over a high natural mound, the surface of which, about the spot marked (*c*,) to the depth of about three feet, I found to consist of a debris of soil and splintered rock-stone, so thoroughly burnt as to look, when fresh turned up, like brick-earth, and having occasionally veins of ashes, about two or three inches in diameter, running into it horizontally—a fact which induced me to believe that it had never before been disturbed since the time it had been first fired. A rustic assured me that, at this spot, two iron *balls* had been picked up some years ago, but he did not know what

had become of them. For what cause the rock could have been fired here, I am at a loss to conjecture; it could not, I think, have been from its being the site of a beacon, for I should have found ashes in greater quantities, and mixed up with the debris of soil and stone. Is it possible that fire may have been used here for the purpose of splitting the rock? I also grubbed up the surface of the supposed roadway, marked by the dotted lines, just where it passes through the second rampart, and found the surface of it to be composed of rock-stone, broken up small, while that part of it which passes through the entrance in the inner rampart, was laid down with a rude sort of pavement, formed with large flat stones, varying in size from six to twelve inches long. And, I may here mention that, on cutting a trench from the south side of the southern rampart of the eastern entrance, along the inside of the inner rampart, (*see plan d,*) the ground, a few inches below the present surface, appeared to have been covered with a similar sort of rude pavement, made with flat stones of a like size, which, from the great quantity of ashes and burnt stone found there, I conjecture to have been the site of a watch-fire, or watch-post. The entrances here are wider than that in the Moel Fenlli camp, but the protecting ramparts on either side are lower. Close to the opening on the east in the second rampart, and in the fossa, a few inches below the surface, about the spot marked (*e,*) some ashes were found lying upon soil, but enclosed on three sides by three large stones, placed so as to form three sides of a square, a fourth being placed over this little receptacle as a covering; they appeared to be wood ashes, and I could not discover any remains of bone among them.

With the exception of the piece of pottery already mentioned, and a piece of mountain stone rudely chipped down into a circular form, which was discovered on the south-western side, among a quantity of ashes, and was probably used as a lid for some vessel, and a solitary piece

¹ *Plin.*, Lib. xxiii., Cap. 1; Lib. xxxiii., Cap. 4; Lib. xxxvi., Cap. 18.

of limestone of peculiar shape, we could discover no traces of habitation in this encampment. We opened numerous trenches in different parts of the area, with no other result than the discovery of very great quantities of burnt oak, which abounded to that degree in some of the trenches as to make the men digging it out as black almost as colliers; and, in one instance, I succeeded in uncovering, about ten inches below the surface, the entire stool of an oak tree,¹ which had apparently grown on the spot. The roots had been neatly lopped off, and the stool had been burnt as it stood; the heart of it was completely burnt out; the remaining shell, about a quarter or half-an-inch thick, was reduced to charcoal, and measured in diameter, two feet six inches, by three feet six inches; in height about fifteen inches.

Taking this discovery in connection with that of burnt wood so frequently found in the other trenches, I think it not improbable that this hill formerly had a considerable quantity of wood upon it, and, consequently, that it must have received its present name since the removal of the trees, as the term "*Moel*,"² I am told, particularly designates a mountain destitute of trees. Our labours were continued here for about eight days; and, though they did not bring to light anything of intrinsic value, I trust, they may furnish some useful

¹ The savages (as they are called) of our day, it appears, "when about to fell a tree with stone hatchets, avail themselves also of the assistance of *fire*, in the following manner:—In the first place, some of the bark is peeled off, by means of the hatchet, from the tree which is to be felled. In the opening thus made coals are placed, which are fanned till they are consumed. By this means a portion of the stem is charred, which is then hewn away with the hatchet, and fresh coals are continually added, until the tree is burned through. In our peat bogs old stems of trees have been found, which appear to have been thus felled by stone hatchets with the aid of fire." "*Worsaae's Primæval Antiquities of Denmark*," p. 13, (a book, at the same time most instructive to the antiquary, and interesting to the general reader—written with great ability). It is quite possible that the remains above described may be those of an oak felled at a very remote period, in the manner detailed by Mr. Worsaae.

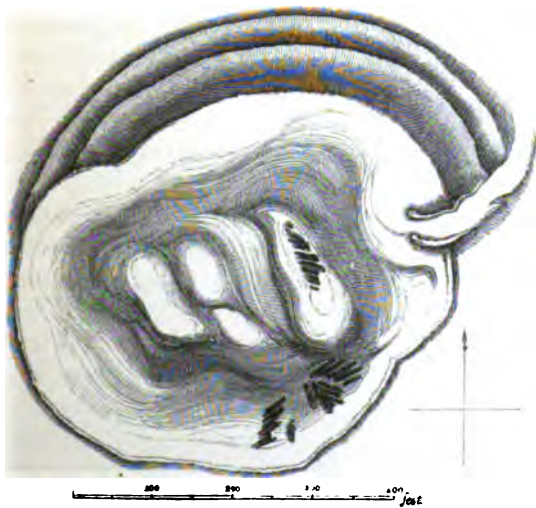
² *Moel*, in its primary use, means, I believe, a bald head.

data to those engaged in examining camps, with the view of ascertaining by whom and when they were formed.

From the peculiar formation of the fossæ, the uniformity in the height, as well as the more careful and regular construction of the agger, the position of the gates, and the general design of this encampment, I certainly think that this camp either was not contemporaneous with that on Moel Fenlli, or that they were made by different races. That on Moel Fenlli certainly was, originally, a post of the Ordovices, and probably the present structure there may be attributed to them; but I cannot speak so confidently with regard to Moel Gaer. If I were to suggest that it was *constructed* by the Romans, I should, I fear, involve myself in a controversy with many antiquaries of greater learning and experience than I can boast of; and yet the only trace of nationality found in it was Roman, in the shape of a piece of pottery, and that, too, at the very bottom of one of the fossæ. It is, however, certainly true that one swallow does not make a summer. I will then leave the affirmative side the question, and confine myself to the opinion, that it is either not a British camp at all, or, at least, one of a period when the science of castramentation was much more advanced than when that on Moel Fenlli was constructed. I am inclined to think that it was occupied at some period since the Conquest, as some pieces of coins, not unlike those of the three first Edwards, were shown to me by a farmer, who dug them up on the western side of the hill, near its base. I also saw a sword, certainly not more than two or three hundred years old, which was found in the neighbourhood of the encampment; and, in conclusion, I may mention a local legend, which, if true, fully accounts for the discovery of burnt wood in such quantities. An old man, who died a few years ago, at the great age of 105 or 106, had, as I was informed by gentlemen residing in the neighbourhood, who remembered the old man alive, often said that his father had told him "that when he was a boy, there were many trees growing on the hills,



STONEWORK OR WALLING



ANCIENT CAMP ON MOEL ARTHUR

and that the people then used to cut them down for the purpose of making charcoal." How far this will carry us, I do not exactly know, as we have not got the age of this patriarch's father; but it is not improbable that this spot might have been occupied during the civil war, as a temporary post. There is no spring or well within the area, whence I infer that it was not *permanently* occupied at any time; but, about half-way down the western side of the hill, below the entrance on that side, there is a strong spring of clear water, from which the neighbouring population now draw water.

III.—MOEL ARTHUR.

The above-named encampment was the next and last examined, the amount of funds at my command not enabling me to proceed further; and, indeed, the weather was now getting so cold, that it rendered the postponement of operations almost necessary.

This encampment occupies the summit of a very conical hill, quite unapproachable for the purpose of attack on the west, south, and east, on the northern side of another of the passes in the Clwydian range, and about four or five miles to the east of Denbigh. From whence it obtains its name it would be difficult now to determine. Local tradition points it out as the residence of a prince, and as a spot charmed against the spade of the antiquary. "Whoever digs there," said an old woman in Welsh to some of the men going home from their work after a drenching wet day, "is always driven away by thunder, and lightning, and storm; you have been served like every body else who has made the attempt." Then there is a current belief that treasure, concealed in an iron chest with a ring-handle to it, lies buried within the camp, and I was told that the place of concealment was often illuminated at night by a supernatural light;¹ several had seen the light, and some,

¹ We find a similar tradition existing in Denmark, with regard to a tumulus at Bolderup, in which one of those primitive oaken cists

more fortunate than the rest, had even grasped the handle of the iron chest, when an outburst of wild tempest wrested it from their audacious hold, and blasted their aspiring hopes of wealth. To such stories as these I think there are two solutions. They may have been grounded upon the fame of some celebrated chief who, while he held this spot, acquired some degree of power and renown; or they may have been fabricated by those who, having really discovered treasure here, devised them as a means of securing it to themselves; and, from stories told me when examining these Clwydian camps, I think there is reason to believe that treasure has been discovered on these hills, and made away with by those who were lucky enough to find it.

In Ritson's "History of King Arthur," there is, besides the Arthur of celebrity, an "Iardurus or Iarddur ab Diwrig"¹ mentioned. I cannot, however, discover whether he was a person of renown, or where he lived. But possibly from one of these two this mountain may take its name. The renowned King Arthur was very popular; he is said to have fought his ninth battle at Caerleon²—either Chester or Caerleon-on-Usk; if the former, it is possible this mountain may have gained its name from having been the scene of some exploit of his about that time, it being within twenty-five miles of Chester; but it seems that his dominions³ did not extend to North Wales. There is a spot within twelve or thirteen miles west of this camp where the name of Arthur is commemorated in "Bwrdd Arthur," "Arthur's Table."

or coffins was discovered. "The tumulus in which this primitive coffin was found was celebrated in the traditions of the neighbourhood. According to some of these, it was the burial place of a great hero, named Bolder, or Balder; and, according to others, a *light* was often burning on its summit, which was held to be a *sure sign* that the mound contained *hidden treasures*." "Worsaae's Primæv. Ant. of Denmark," Editor's Preface, p. xvii.

¹ *Llwyd. Brit. desc. Commentariolum Accur.* Mose Gulielmo, London, 1731, p. 115. Quoted in Ritson's "King Arthur," p. 77, note. ² Ritson's "King Arthur," p. 73. ³ *Ibid.*, p. 61

The form of this camp is adapted to the contour of the mountain. Pennant seems to have thought that there was no agger where the mountain is inaccessible, but that a sort of terrace for exercising was formed on these sides by the escarpment of the mountain. I am, however, inclined to think that there was a low agger carried all round from the north-west, round by the south, as far as the gate on the north-east, where the camp is most vulnerable—consequently from thence, along the north side, as far round as the north-west, the ramparts are trebled, and raised to the height of fifteen or twenty feet, measured from the bottom of the trench. It has only one gate, which is protected by an agger on either side projecting several feet into the area, at right angles with that enclosing it. Its ramparts and trenches have *exactly* the same character, both in form and construction, as those at Moel Fenlli. The former are composed of earth and loose stones heaped up promiscuously, and the latter are of that form to which I have already ventured to apply the specific term *fastigatæ*. The area rises somewhat abruptly from the ramparts to a high cone, from the summit of which, to the east, several other camps a short distance off, in Flintshire, are distinctly seen. My researches here only brought to light one or two pieces of coarse red Roman pottery, which were found on the north-west, about the spot marked (*o*,) occasionally veins of black soil, and some fragments of flint arrowheads or knives, and corroded iron. I also uncovered, to the south of the gateway, (about the spot marked *oo*,) about a foot below the surface, two curious pieces of stone work, as to the use of which I can offer no suggestion. Both were built in a solid mass, (like a wall,) without cement of any kind, alongside of the rampart. Not being able to guess their use, I hardly know whether to call them walls or buildings; but, as they enclosed no space, but were solid, the former appellation may be most proper. The larger piece measured fourteen feet in length, and in form was irregular, but gracefully rounded at each extremity. Its back rested against the

rock, which, though covered with turf, here rises within a few feet of the rampart almost perpendicularly. For about ten feet of its length, it had an uniform height of about three feet, and then sloped off suddenly to a height of only a foot, or thereabouts; at the broadest part it was eight feet thick. Within a couple of feet of this, but not in a line with it, was the other piece, of similar work, and of triangular shape, standing about a foot in front of the rock, and measuring in length about six feet, by about four feet in breadth; in height not more than one foot. On a stone on the side of it nearest the rampart was a small lump of ashes. Ashes, too, in very small particles, as well as small pieces of flint, were found amongst the soil about both these relics. The stones, in size from six to twelve inches square, were laid one upon another in regularity, and the front of the larger piece was faced like a wall. I cannot venture to assert that these are really relics of antiquity, but I think, from the depth at which they lay under a smooth bed of sweet grassy turf, as well as from the discovery of ashes and pieces of flint among the soil about them, there is great probability that they were the foundations of some ancient erections, as ancient, perhaps, as the camp itself. I had them pulled down in the hope of finding something in or beneath them, and I afterwards regretted I had done so, as they proved, as I might have expected, a mere mass of stone walling.

On the whole, I think there were more traces of habitation in this camp than in Moel Gaer. It, like Moel Fenlli, is of Cambro-British construction, and was, probably, visited by the Romans; but the occupation of it must at all times have been of short duration, as I could find no spring or well anywhere about the mountain.¹

¹ How remarkably does the position of this British stronghold verify the account given by Dio Cassius of those of the Mœætæ and Caledonians. "They inhabit," says he, (*ὄρη ἀγρία καὶ ἀνυδρά*) "mountains, wild and destitute of water." Lib. lxxvi., Cap. 12, (*Severus*). The Greek words are so expressive that translation can hardly convey their peculiar force, which is enhanced by their very sound. On comparing the above passage with *Cæs. B. G.*, Lib. v.,

There can be little doubt but that it was made for the protection of the pass already mentioned, on the southern side of the mountain.

I had now arrived at the termination of the fourth week of my researches, and with it, I regret to say, to the last of the funds at my disposal, which obliged me to stay further proceedings. To some, perhaps, the undertaking may appear to have failed of its object; to those, however, who are animated with that spirit of enterprise which alone can sustain the inquiring efforts of the antiquary, a review of its results cannot be otherwise than satisfactory. The *character* of British, and other camps not considered to be Roman, is but little understood, still less defined, at present. Indeed, the examination and knowledge of Roman camps themselves is only in these days assuming a systematic and definite shape. Form is now the only guide to a specific distinction in the classification of camps. Whatever is not rectangular is British, or at least not Roman. The material construction of the ramparts and trenches, &c., from whence a camp takes much of its character, receives but little attention, while such knowledge assuredly would form no inconsiderable link in the clue by which we hope to grope our way to the manners, customs, habits, and condition of our patriotic and sturdy forefathers. The hope of obtaining such knowledge roused me to the present undertaking, and, remembering that we all waddle before we walk, our expectations in the commencement of a pursuit must not be too great. We hoped "to throw light on the character and early history" of these camps,—bearing in mind the cloud of darkness which overshadows this branch of antiquarian lore, and the deficiency of *à priori* reasoning in investigations such as these, is it not satisfactory to know, with more certainty than hitherto, the early British origin of Moel Fenlli, the possession (at a probable date) of it by the Romans, and its subsequent

Cap. 12 and 14, it will be manifest either that the Britons of the north were a different race from those in the south, or that the latter were much more advanced in civilization than the former.

importance as connected with Belinus?—to have clear proof of such peculiarities in the characters of Moel Gaer as would allot it to a different period or race—as well as, in a remarkable manner, of the presence of the Romans there?—and lastly, to find in Moel Arthur a camp visited likewise by the Romans, a counterpart of Moel Fenlli, and equally with it, a contrast to Moel Gaer. Such, shortly, are the results of our researches, and I trust that they will prove of sufficient interest, as well to those whose liberality has mainly contributed to them, as to others to whom they are now for the first time made known, to induce them to lend their assistance to further investigation. Much remains yet to be examined;—the most remarkable encampment in the whole chain, Pen y Cloddiau, (I believe I might say in the county of Denbigh,) meets our view next, in our progress northwards along these mountains towards the sea. Its extraordinary size, the multiplicity, strength, and boldness of its fortifications, bespeak for it a high place in the catalogue of ancient encampments existing in this island; and, though now reduced to the humble and strangely contrasted condition of a sheep pasture, it calls forth our wonder, mingled with a feeling of admiration, of the mighty efforts of patriotic zeal, whether Danish, Roman, or British, which gave to it existence. *Bodfari* next comes in view—the supposed site of the Roman station, *Varis*; and, lastly, on this range, *Moel Hiraddug*, in addition to which the course of the Roman road, which crosses the vale somewhere in these parts, as well as the verification of the site of *Varis*, has yet to be determined. While on the other side of the vale are numerous remains as yet untouched, and even almost unknown to antiquaries, as, for instance, *Mynydd y Gaer*, near *Llanefydd*, (a village about six miles north-west of *Denbigh*,) a pentagonal encampment of very similar construction to *Moel Gaer*, which I have just described; to the south of which is *Bwrdd Arthur*, *Bedd Robin Hood*, with several tumuli in the neighbourhood. Few there are, I am sure, who do not take some interest in the history and topography of

our country; many, I believe, are not only interested deeply in it, but derive very great pleasure in improving their knowledge of it. One and all, I would most earnestly then entreat, whether country gentlemen or clergy, ere these venerable monuments, which are every day mouldering beneath the inextricable grasp of time, are lost, to aid the officers of our society in the investigation of them. The clergyman especially, in his daily walks about his parish, and constant connexion with his flock, may contribute much useful information respecting them, derived from local tradition and family history; the country gentleman, too, without interruption to his rural sports and pursuits, has opportunities, which others have not, of marking the position and site of such remains—a notice of which, forwarded to our Journal, would be extremely useful, with a view to future examinations;—while, by the contribution from each of a trifling sum, an aggregate may be raised sufficient to secure the services of labourers for such a period as would ensure a satisfactory examination of them. And I would earnestly urge upon them *the necessity* of their co-operation, inasmuch as, by such means only, can we hope to obtain a perfect knowledge of facts. Without such knowledge, I scarcely need remind them, we cannot form general principles, and in the absence of generalization, we cannot form any conclusions upon those matters, which I think I may consider as admitted by the spirit of the age to be important features in historical detail, as well as legitimate and reasonable sources of amusement, interest, and instruction. I cannot therefore conclude without thanking most warmly, on behalf of the Association, those whose spirit and liberality have so far forwarded its objects, at the same time expressing my earnest hope that what they have done may not be without its example, and that our operations may be renewed hereafter.

W. WYNNE FFOULKES,
Loc. Sec. C. A. A., Denbighshire.

NOTES ON THE ARCHITECTURAL FEATURES OF THE CATHEDRAL CHURCH OF BANGOR.

(Read at Caernarvon.)

THERE is a comprehensive and satisfactory account of this edifice to be found in "Storer's Cathedrals"—a work possessing more merit than is generally supposed, and having more claims to architectural fidelity than is sometimes allowed. In Browne Willis' "Survey of Bangor," will be found nearly all the documentary history that is of any importance as connected with this building and the see; so much so that Members are referred to these works—of very ready access—for any further information which they may require.

Although a bishopric was established here in the sixth century, probably on account of its having been a school of Christian priests from as early a period as the second century, yet we cannot find any architectural features remaining of earlier date than the thirteenth, and these are very few and unimportant in character; while the principal part of the edifice, as it now stands, is of the sixteenth century, having been erected not many years before the Reformation.

The cathedral church is cruciform, having a nave with side-aisles, north and south transepts, a choir without aisles, and a chapter-house, with a registry beneath, attached to the northern side. At the western end of the nave is a tower, and the following internal dimensions, taken from Storer's work, may be accepted as correct:—

	Feet.
Length of the church from east to west.	214
Length of nave as far as the transepts.	114
Width of transepts	27
Length of choir	53
Length of transepts from north to south	96
Breadth of nave and side-aisles.	60
Breadth of choir	28
Height of nave to the top of the roof.	34
Height of tower.	60
Side of the tower	19

The tower is of three stages, with bold diagonal buttresses of six stages each. It was erected in 1532 by Bishop Skevyngton, and this, no doubt, marks the termination of that prelate's work, which included the nave and part of the transepts. There is a western doorway, with an unusually elegant curvature for its arch, under a square label; and this forms the best feature in the tower, being worthy of imitation in other buildings of the same style. A window of three lights, without foliations, but with plain Perpendicular tracery in the head of the arch, occurs in the western side of the second stage; and the third, or belfry-stage, has a window in each side of three lights. A battlement of three embrasures in each side, with gurgoyles and crocketed pinnacles at the corners, terminates this tower, which, on the whole, is the best architectural portion of the edifice.

The nave is lighted by six windows in each aisle, and by a corresponding number of clerestory windows above the arches separating it from each aisle. The openings of the arches do not correspond to those of the windows. On the southern side five of these windows, which are all of three lights, trifoliated, have their heads occupied by three quatrefolied circles, and have a decidedly Decorated character about them. According to tradition, all the windows of the nave were brought from the ancient Church of St. Mary's, which stood in the bishop's grounds, to the north-east of the cathedral; but some of them having been subsequently injured—including all those in the northern aisle, and one in the southern—have had their heads filled up with vertical monials in an unsightly manner. The clerestory windows are all of three lights, without foliations.

These windows may have formed part of the church as it stood previous to its destruction by Owain Glyndwr, in 1402; but we have no means of verifying the supposition.

The arches of the nave are all four-centered, of two orders, with hollow chamfers and discontinuous impostes, and stand on octagonal shafts, with bases of three stages.

A doorway, without a porch, leads into the nave in the south aisle, in the last bay but one towards the west, and is answered by a corresponding doorway on the northern side, both being of plain Perpendicular character.

The roof is rather flat and plain; the tower is opened to the nave under a lofty arch; and, in the south-west corner, stands the font—an octagonal basin with enriched pannels on a similar shaft, the latter bearing shields. It is of rather late, though good, work.

The choir and stalls have been brought down to the end of the second bay from the east in the nave, and all the portion westward of this forms the church for Welsh service. The seats, and other arrangements of this part of the edifice, are of an exceedingly plain description, without any architectural character about them, and the position of the pulpit and reading-desk against the same wall as the communion-table, immediately to the north and south of it, militates against all rules of ecclesiological propriety.

The transepts have each a large four-centered window of five lights, without foliations, and with vertical tracery in the heads, at the northern and southern ends. These windows are so similar to that which is to be seen in the Collegiate Church of Clynnog fawr that they may be conjectured to have been erected by the same architect; and it is by no means improbable that Bishop Skevyngton employed for his work whoever it was that erected that more stately pile to the south of Caernarvon. There were formerly side clerestory windows in the transepts, but they have been blocked up.

The south transept has, at its exterior angles, two Early Pointed buttresses, and, beneath its window, the upper portion of a third—all three having had gabled heads, with detached shafts, enriching the chamfered spaces at their angles. These are the fragments alluded to above as being of the thirteenth century, and they are the oldest extant portions of the present edifice. At the north-eastern angle of the north transept is a turret staircase mounting to the roof.

The arches separating the transepts from the cross portions of the church, and also those at the ends of the nave and old choir, were much lower than the actual ones. They were of early character, and of three orders, with imbedded shafts in the piers. Browne Willis conjectures from their proportions that they were intended to carry a central tower; and if so, then they must have formed part of that church, the other relics and characters of which are to be found in the quatrefoiled tracery of the southern windows of the nave. These arches have, however, been removed, and replaced by four central ones, at the height of the clerestory, resting on corbels. This alteration was effected at the time of the choir being enlarged, by taking into it both transepts, and two bays of the nave.

In the southern wall of the south transept used to be seen a tomb, under an Early Pointed arch, said to be the tomb of Gryffydd Gwynedd, who died A.D. 1137. It bore a floriated cross on a plain slab; but its position only is now indicated by an inscription affixed to the wall. It is much to be regretted that so valuable a feature of this building, and the only monument of any historical value which it contains, should be allowed thus to remain built up, and concealed from view, within the thickness of the wall, whereas the expense of re-opening and restoring it would be but trifling.¹

¹ The following is an inscription on the wall above the spot where the tomb lies concealed:—"The body which lies interred within this wall, in a stone coffin, is supposed to be the remains of Owen Gwynedd, sovereign Prince of Wales. He reigned thirty-two years, and died A.D. 1169. Both this prince, and his brother Cadwallader, were buried in this cathedral church. History represents them as highly distinguished for courage, humanity, and courteous manners. Their father, Gryffydh ap Cynan, the last sovereign known by the title of King of Wales, overthrew Trahaern ap Caradoc, and ascended the throne of his ancestors, A.D. 1079. He was afterwards taken by treachery, and imprisoned in the Castle of Chester twelve years—he escaped—recovered the entire possession of his kingdom—reigned fifty-seven years, and died in his eighty-third year. He was buried near the great altar, which, with the larger part of the fabric, was destroyed during the insurrection of Owen Glendwr, about A.D. 1404.

The choir is principally to be remarked for its eastern window, which is of Perpendicular character, of excellent design and proportion, and of good workmanship. It is of five lights, cinquefoiled, and divided by a transom, with vertical tracery in the head; and it is the more interesting, because it is known to be of very late date, as much so as the beginning of the eighteenth century, when the appearance of any good restoration or imitation of mediæval work may be truly considered a phenomenon of the most rare occurrence. Very probably this window replaced another of the same design and dimensions alluded to by Browne Willis, who speaks of the window itself, and the stained glass belonging to it, as being in bad condition. It is now filled with modern glass throughout. In the southern wall of the choir is a large four-centered window, similar to those in the transepts; but it is now kept with the light excluded, because it is supposed that the cross light would injure the effect of the eastern window; and no persons in the diocese have as yet had the munificence to fill this and the other windows of the cathedral with their almost indispensable accompaniment—stained glass. All this choir is said to be of the end of the fifteenth century, about 1496, and to have been erected by Bishop Dean.

Whatever windows there may have been on the northern side of the choir, they have been blocked up by the erection of the chapter-room, and other buildings in modern times, against that part of the edifice.¹

The present church was erected about A.D. 1496, by Henry Dean, who was at that time Bishop of the Diocese, Lord Justice, and Lord Chancellor of Ireland, and in A.D. 1500, Bishop of Salisbury, and in A.D. 1501, Archbishop of Canterbury."

¹ In the chapter-room is contained the collection of books belonging to the Dean and Chapter of Bangor. The members of this learned body are such studious men, and make such constant use of this library, that they have not time to replace on the shelves the books taken down for consultation; but they throw them in confusion into a corner of the room, where between four and five hundred volumes of all kinds and sizes lie in dust, a chaos of literary confusion—at least we cannot otherwise account for this fact. Some of the works of reference deposited here are of considerable value; and

The choir is used for the performance of English service, the church being parochial as well as cathedral; and on account of the population increasing, it was considerably enlarged, not many years ago, by the additions alluded to above. Unfortunately these additions and alterations took place at a time when the knowledge of mediæval architecture hardly existed in this part of the Principality; and hence the style of the wood work and other fittings of the choir is of a meagre and unsatisfactory description. To do justice to the building, which, though exceedingly plain, is worthy of better internal decorations and arrangements, the whole of the present choir work should be removed, and be replaced by a screen, stalls, and seats, having a due architectural analogy with the other features of the edifice. The same may be said of the western portion of the interior; for the whole edifice, so far from having the dignified appearance of a cathedral and collegiate church, is surpassed by many ordinary parochial churches in other parts of Wales and England. In a diocese like that of Bangor, containing many noblemen and gentlemen of great fortune, and where both the clergy and laity are distinguished for unlimited devotion to the honour and welfare of their church and their country, it might have been expected that, long ere this, a local movement would have taken place to give some positive evidence of such patriotism; and that, as of old, some one or more might have been found, who would have considered it an honour, and a proud privilege, to be allowed to restore and improve this cathedral church at their own sole expense.

H. L. J.

there are many of the choicest editions—rare Aldine's, and Stephens's—as well as some early black-letters and specimens of wood engraving. The collection of state pamphlets, and of the public records, is of unusual choice, and of some value.

HERALDRY OF THE MONUMENT OF QUEEN ELIZABETH, AT WESTMINSTER.

THESE Notes on the Heraldry of the Monument of Queen Elizabeth, in Henry the Seventh's Chapel, Westminster Abbey, were not originally intended for publication. The author, the Rev. Joseph Hunter, F.S.A., Deputy Commissioner of Records, placed them at the disposal of the Rev. John M. Traherne, who has kindly transferred them to the Editors. The monument in question is the only royal tomb on which the arms of Wales are blazoned :—

The following Paper contains the results of a careful examination of the armorial bearings with which the Monument of Queen Elizabeth is profusely decorated, with the view of determining who the persons were whose armorial ensigns are there exhibited, and on what principle the framers of the tomb had proceeded, in the selection of the shields of arms, from the innumerable multitude which might, with propriety, have been displayed on the monument of a lady whose descent was so illustrious.

It is to be observed that the monument is now by no means in a satisfactory state; it wants a thorough cleaning, or rather new painting, the colours of the heraldry being in most of the shields dimmed by dust and dirt, and even the figures not easily to be discerned when we have shields with many quarterings, or when there are nice distinctions, such as charges on the drops of a label.

We have no assistance from the writers who have described the monuments in the abbey. It did not enter into the plan of Dart to describe the heraldry on the monument, and Dr. Crull, though it was in his plan to describe the arms which he found in the abbey, has omitted to notice those on the monument of Queen Elizabeth, for what reason does not appear.

The monument is surmounted by the English lion, below which, in the upper story, are, facing the south, the arms of the queen (France and England) and, facing the north, those of King James the First, by whom the monument was erected (Scotland, impaling France and England, with the motto, *Beati Pacifici*).

Within the central arch, where the effigies of the queen lies, are five shields at the head, and as many at the feet.

At the head :—

- (1.) A carbuncle impaling two lions passant.—This seems to

be intended for Maud the Empress, and her husband Geoffrey Plantagenet.

(2.) Two lions passant in pale impaling one lion passant.—This must be Henry II., son of Maud, and his queen Eleanor, daughter of William Duke of Aquitaine.

(3.) Three lions passant impaling lozengy or and....—King John and his second wife Isabel, daughter of the Earl of Angouleme.

(4.) Three lions passant, impaling four pales.—Henry the Third and Eleanor his queen, daughter of the Earl of Provence.

(5.) Three lions passant impaling Castile and Leon.—Edward the First and his queen Eleanor of Castile.

1. Geoffrey, Earl of Anjou, Maud the Empress, daughter and heir of Henry I.

2. Henry II. Eleanor of Aquitaine.

3. John. Isabel of Angouleme.

4. Henry III. Eleanor of Provence.

5. Edward I. Eleanor of Castile.

The five shields at the feet exhibit the Queen's descent on her mother's side, Ann Bullen.

(1.) Bullen (a chevron between three bull's heads) impaling Hoo (quarterly).—For Geoffrey Bullen and Ann his wife, daughter of Thomas Lord Hoo.

(2.) Bullen, as before, impaling or a chief indented azure, Bullen.—For Sir William Bullen, and Margaret his wife, daughter of the Earl of Ormond.

(3.) Bullen impaling Howard.—For Thomas Bullen Earl of Wiltshire, and Elizabeth his wife, daughter of Thomas Duke of Norfolk.

(4.) Howard impaling a chevron between three griffins' heads, Tilney.—The second Duke of Norfolk, and Elizabeth his wife, daughter of Sir Frederick Tilney.

(5.) Howard impaling Paly wavy of six, Molyns.—The first Howard, Duke of Norfolk, and Catherine his wife, daughter of William Lord Molyne.

1. Geoffrey Bullen. Ann, daughter of 4. John, first Howard. Catherine, d. of Lord Hoo. Duke of Norfolk, Molyns.

2. Sir William. Margaret Bullen, d. of 5. Thomas, second Duke. Elizabeth Tilney. the Earl of Ormond.

3. Thomas Bullen. Elizabeth Howard. Earl of Wiltshire.

Henry VIII. Ann Bullen.

Queen Elizabeth.

We go now to the shields with which the frieze on the outside round the monument is decorated.

The west end :—

(1.) France and England with a border, impaling Mortimer quartering Burgh.—This must be meant for Richard Earl of Cambridge (son of Edmund Duke of York) and his wife Anna, sister and heir of Edmund Earl of March, though the shield of this Richard is usually said to have been differenced by a label, not a border.

(2.) France and England with a label, impaling gules a saltier argent, Nevil.—Richard Duke of York and Cecily Nevil his wife.

(3.) France and England impaling quarterly of six.—The first is a lion rampant, and the last a fess and quarter, the well known coat of Widvile; the rest are not, in the present state of the monument, easily to be made out, but they may be seen engraved in Miller's *Catalogue of Honour*, p. 205, and it is evident that this is the shield of King Edward IV., and Elizabeth Widvile his wife.

(4.) France and England impaling quarterly—

1. France and England,
2. and 3. Burgh,
4. Mortimer.

This was the way in which the heralds of the time marshalled the arms of Elizabeth, daughter of King Edward IV., wife of Henry VII., as may be seen in "Miller," p. 221. So that here we have King Henry VII., and Elizabeth his queen.

(5.) France and England impaling quarterly of six—

1. England with a label,
2. France with a label,
3. A lion passant,
4. Bullen quartering a lion rampant,
5. England with a label,
6. Checkie.

Thus the heralds marshalled the arms of Queen Ann Bullen, ("Miller," p. 229).—Henry VIII. and his queen.

We have, therefore, here the Queen's descent from the House of York :—

1. Richard, Earl of Cambridge, — Ann Mortimer, sister of the Earl of March.
2. Richard, Duke of York, — Cecily Nevil,
3. Edward IV. — Elizabeth Widvile,
4. Henry VII. — Elizabeth of York,
5. Henry VIII. — Ann Bullen,
Elizabeth.

So the shields on the east end represent her descent from the House of Lancaster :—

(1.) France and England with a label of three points.—This having no impalement cannot well be appropriated.

(2.) France and England with a label of three points, impaling gules three catherine wheels or.—John of Gaunt and Catherine Roet.

(3.) France and England with a border, impaling England with a border.—John Beaufort, Earl of Somerset, and Margaret his wife, daughter of Thomas Holland, Earl of Kent.

(4.) France and England with a border, impaling gules a fess between six martlets.—John Beaufort, Duke of Somerset, and Margaret his wife, daughter of John Beauchamp of Bletsoe.

(5.) France and England with a border, impaling France and England with a border.—Edmund Tudor, Earl of Richmond, and Margaret Beaufort his wife.

2. John of Gaunt, — Catherine Roet,

3. John Earl of Somerset, — Margaret Holland,

4. John Duke of Somerset, — Margaret Beauchamp,

5. Edmund Earl of Richmond, — Margaret Beaufort,

Henry VII.,

Henry VIII.,

Elizabeth.

On the south side, left hand compartment :—

(1.) Edward the Confessor.

(2.) Two lions passant, impaling Gyronny and an inescutcheon.—These are the arms assigned to the Conqueror and his queen, a daughter of the Earl of Flanders.—(See "Miller," p. 62.)

(3.) Two lions passant in pale, impaling the lion rampant and double tressure of Scotland.—Henry I. and his queen, Matilda, daughter of the King of Scotland.

These precede, in point of time, the royal persons commemorated within the arch, as before described, and connect with them thus :—

2. William the Conqueror, — Daughter of the Earl of Flanders,

3. Henry I., — Daughter of the King of Scotland,

Maud the Empress, &c., &c.

Then on the north side, the right hand compartment, we have other three shields, which connect the persons whose insignia are within the arch with the lines of York and Lancaster, and other persons about to be named :—

(1.) England impaling France.—Edward II. and his queen, Isabel of France.

(2.) France and England impaling quarterly four lions rampant.—Edward III. and his queen, Philippa of Hainault.

(3.) France and England impaling Castile and Leon.—Edmund Duke of York, and Isabel his wife, daughter of Peter King of Castile.

1. Edward II., son of Edward I. and Eleanor of Castile, Isabel of France,

2. Edward III., Philippa of Hainault,

3. Edmund Duke of York, Isabel of Castile,

Richard Earl of Cambridge (see before).

On the north side, on the left hand compartment, are other three shields :—

(1.) France and England with a label impaling Burgh.—Lionel Duke of Clarence, and Elizabeth de Burgh his wife, daughter of the Earl of Ulster.

(2.) Mortimer impaling France and England with a label.—Edmund Earl of March, and Philippa, daughter and heir of Lionel Duke of Clarence.

(3.) Mortimer impaling England with a border.—Roger Earl of March, and Eleanor his wife, daughter of Thomas Holland, Earl of Kent.

1. Lionel Duke of Clarence, son to Edward III., Elisa de Burgh,

2. Edmund Mortimer, Earl of March, Philippa,

3. Roger Earl of March, Eleanor, daughter of Thomas Holland, Earl of Kent,

Ann, wife of Richard, Earl of Cambridge, (see before).

It will now be evident that it was the intention of those who designed the heraldic part of this memorial of the queen, to exhibit *her descent from the Conqueror, in the several lines by which she descended from King Edward the Third*—i. e., her descent from the Conqueror through Lionel Duke of Clarence, John Duke of Lancaster, and Edmund Duke of York.

It will further be evident that it was *not* their intention to exhibit a series of the Kings of England, her predecessors, but to leave out those from whom she did not actually descend—viz., Rufus, Stephen, Richard I., Richard II., Henry IV., Henry V., Henry VI., Edward V., and Richard III. Only Edward the Confessor appears, whom, on all occasions connected in any way with religion, and particularly with the Abbey Church of Westminster, the ancient sovereigns of England delighted to honour.

It remains, however, to be observed, that in the right hand compartment of the frieze on the south side three shields are yet undescribed. These do not belong to ancestors of the Queen,

but are intended to show the connection of her successor on the throne with the royal personages from whom the Queen descended :—

(1.) Douglas with quarterings, and on an escutcheon of pretence a lion rampant (probably with the tressure) impaling France and England.—Archibald Douglas, Earl of Angus, who married Margaret, Queen of Scotland, daughter of King Henry VII.

(2.) Three fleur-de-lis within a border charged with buckles, quartering a fess and border, and impaling Douglas with quarterings as before.—Matthew Stuart, Earl of Lennox, who married the daughter and heir of Archibald Douglas, Earl of Angus.

(3.) Three fleur-de-lis with a border charged with buckles, quartering three lions rampant, and the three legs of Man, all impaling the lion rampant and tressure of Scotland.—Henry Stuart Lord Darnley, and Mary Queen of Scots.

1. Archibald Douglas, Earl of Angus, — Margaret, daughter of King Henry VII.,

2. Matthew Stuart, Earl of Lennox, — Douglas's daughter and heiress,

3. Henry Stuart, Lord Darnley, — Mary Queen of Scots,

James I.

There is something remarkable in the King preferring to trace his descent from Henry VII. and Elizabeth of York, through his *father* rather than his *mother*; and to exhibit so obscurely that his great-grandmother was also Queen of Scotland.

On the basement story are the harp of Ireland—the four lions passant for Wales—the ten roundels for Cornwall—and the three garbs for Chester.

There are also four badges :—

The rose of England,

The fleur-de-lis of France,

The harp of Ireland,

The portcullis of Beaufort and Tudor.

In the plate of the Monument in Dr. Crull's *Antiquities of St. Peter, Westminster*, 8vo., 1722, vol. i., p. 10, there appear two shields of arms, one on each side the arch. One exhibits an escarbuncle charged with an inescutcheon, the other the two lions passant of England. Possibly the escarbuncle of the plate may really have been in the original gyronny, and then we should have the Conqueror, and Matilda his Queen, the founders of the dynasty; but these shields are now removed—at least there is nothing respecting them in my notes.

JOSEPH HUNTER.

MERIONETHSHIRE.

[FROM MR. EVANS'S COLLECTION.]

MERIONETHSHIRE, so called of Meirion, the son of Tybiawn, the son of Cunedda, a noble Briton, sometime lord thereof, hath on the south and east the counties of Cardigan and Montgomery, on the north Caernarvon and Denbigh, and on the west the Irish Ocean, which so beateth the skirts thereof that (according to our British Histories) a whole cantred¹ stretching itself west and south-west above twelve miles in length, hath been overwhelmed by the sea and drowned: and surely a great stone wall made as a fence against the sea may be clearly seen from the main land to extend from Haddlech towards St. David's land a great way. And is called Sarn Badrig, that is Patrick's Street. This county aboundeth rather in high mountains, rivers, fish, fowl and cattle, than in corn. The chief wealth of the inhabitants consists in cattle and white cottons. This shire hath in it two whole cantreds, besides the comots of Arduwy, Edeirnon and Mowddwy, that is cantref Meirionydd and cantref Penllyn. Cantref Meirionydd containeth two comots, Estumanner and Talybont. Estumanner hath in it four parishes, Pennal, Tywyn, Llanfihangel and Tal y Llynn. Pennal consisteth of two townships, Cwmcadian and Pennal. Here by the church is a place called Cefn Caer. I have seen a piece of silver, which had been there lately found, having thereon the title of Domitian the emperor, which argueth the antiquity of the place. Near this place was fought the battle of Pennal in the days of Edward the Fourth by the men of William Earl of Pembroke, and Thomas Gruffudd ap Nicholas, with the House of Lancaster, when the said Thomas obtained the victory.

Towyn hath * * * * townships. I could not learn of any place of note in this parish, saving Aberdovey, a small haven town. Llanvihangel hath three townships,

¹ Cantre 'r Gwaelod.

Llanllwydau, Pennant, which is a part of the commot of Tal y bont, and Llanfihangel. There upon the bank of the little river Llaethnant on a rock was situated a strong castle called Castell y Biri. I think the Earl of Chester, when Griffith ap Conan Prince of North Wales remained in his prison did build this castle. We read in the author of Griffith ap Conan's life, that the Earl made diverse castles in North Wales, and one in Merionethshire, which unless it be this, I know not where it should be. Thomas of Walsingham saith, that after¹ the death of the last Prince Leoline, the Earl of Pembroke took the same from the said prince's garrison. Tal y llynn, that is, the Head of the Lake, so called of the Pool Llynn Meingul that is a mile long from which the river Dysyni takes its journey towards the sea, containeth six townships, viz., Ceiswyn, Corys, Ystradwyn, Rhiwogo, Maes Llan. Edris, and Maes Trefnant. We find in an old Inquisition that the land between Dyfi and Dulas, that is the whole parish of Llanwryn was in time past part of the commot of Estumanner. For one Einion² ap Seisyllt who held the same land in capite of Llywelyn vawr ap Meredith ap Conan ap Llywelyn Vychan his brother, then Lords of Meirionydd, upon some discord between them and him, fled to the Lord of Powys, and did fealty and homage to him for that land; and from that time hitherto it became part of Powys, which of right belonged to this comot.

Tal y bont is separated from Estumanner by the river Dyssyni, and hath in it four parishes, viz., Llanegryn, Llann Gelynin, Dolgelleu, and Llan Fachraith. Llanegryn hath two townships, Rhyderyw and Peniarth. Llann-gelynin containeth these townships, Crogen (Crygynan), where are seen the ruins of Caer Bradwen. This Bradwen was father to Ednowain ap Bradwen, who was one of the fifteen tribes of North Wales. Morfannog, Llwyn Gwryl, Bodgadfan, and Llannfendigaid. Dolgelleu hath three townships, Dol Gludair, Cefn 'r Ywen, Deffrydan, Garthmaelan (Garthgynfawr) Brithdir, the manor of

¹ 1284.² In King John's time, or Henry III.

Gwanas, and Dolgelleu which sitteth under the great hill Cadair Idris, which for height giveth place to none in Wales but Snowdon Hill, in the pleasant little valley between the two rivers Aran and Mawr; the river Mowddach ebbeth and floweth within a mile of it, whose banks are much frequented by reason of the herb scurvy grass there growing plentifully. Llanfachraith hath only the township of Nannau in it. Here is the seat of the eminent family of the Nanneys lineally descending from Cadwgan ap Bleddyn Prince of Powys and ruler of South Wales. In this township is situated the Abbey of Cymer founded by Meredith and Griffith Lords of Meirionydd and the sons of Conan the son of Owain Gwynedd Prince of North Wales, A.D., 1198. Upon a little bank near the monastery called y Pentre sometimes stood Castell Cymmer in Meirionydd, which the sons of Cadwgan ap Bleddyn overthrew, A.D., 1113, upon some displeasure conceived against the sons of Uchdrut ap Edwin who had built the same.

The comot or lordship of Mowddwy lieth eastward between Tal y Bont and Montgomeryshire, it containeth two parishes, Mallwyd and Llann y Mowddwy. Mallwyd hath in it these townships, Gartheiniog, Nant y Mynach, Maesglasre, Camlan, Gweinion a Mallwyd, Dugoed, Dinas Mowddwy, a little market town, and Keryst. Llann y Mowddwy hath these, Cwm Cewydd, Cowarch, Llannerch Fyda, and Pennant, in which riseth the river Dovey, and runneth southward to Montgomeryshire. The comot Arddwy is separated from Tal y bont by the river Mowddach, which Giraldus calls Macria, and containeth as many townships as parishes. It is divided into two bailiwicks, Uwch Artro and Is Artro, the latter whereof containeth four parishes, viz., Llann Ulltud upon the banks of the Mowddach over against Cymmer Abbey, then Llann Aber, there at Aber Mowddach usually called Bermo, in English Barmouth, a haven town, the river Mowddach divideth itself into two heads making a little island called Ynys y Brawd, and so poureth itself in the ocean. In this town also there is a

military fence or trench cast about the top of the hill, and called Dinas Gortin. Next upon the shore is the township and parish of Llanddwywe, then Llanenddwyn.

Is Artro hath these townships and parishes following, Llann Bedr. Here in a rock are found the Roman coins of Philippus, Cæsar, Victorinus, Posthumus, Tetricus, some having the effigies of a woman's head with this inscription about the same, *DIVAE MARNIANAE*, on the other side the picture of a man with a javelin in his hand sitting between the wings of a flying eagle within this inscription, *CONSECRATIO*.

The next parish is Llann Fair, then Llann Dannwg, wherein is the town and castle of Harddlech. Maelgwn Gwynedd (as our antient histories do testify) built this town calling it *Caer Colin*. David ap Ieuan ap Einion kept this castle for the house of Lancaster, till William Earl of Pembroke with his great army caused him to yield upon conditions. Not far from hence is the parish of Llanfihangel y Traethau, and the parish of Llann Teccwyn, and between those two arms of the sea, called Traeth mawr and Traeth bychan is Llan Frothen. The next parish is Maentwrog, wherein are seen the ruins of *Mur Castell* now called *Tommen y Mur*. Here the Kings of England were wont to encamp themselves when they came against North Wales. In the parish of Ffestiniog upon Helen's Portway are seen a great number of graves, which the inhabitants call *Beddau Gwyr Ardudwy*, that is the graves of the men of *Ardudwy*.

In the parish of Trawsfynydd stood sometime *Pryssor Castle*, the walls of which are yet to be seen there. Here also not far from *Rhiw goch*, is a stone with this inscription,—

HIC IN TUMULO IACET EPOREUS QUI HOMO XRIANUS FUIT.

The cantred of Penllyn some time had in it three comots, *Uwch Meloch*, *Is Meloch* and *Migneint*, but now all these three make but one comot, which is divided in the bailiwick of *Uwch Trewerin* and *Is Trewerin*.

In the parish of Llanuwchllyn upon the south bank of the river Lliw on a high craggy rock are seen the walls of an old castle called Castell Corn Dochen. Over against it is *Caer Gai* built in the time of the Romans as many suppose by the antient coin of the Emperor Domitian found there of late; here also was digged up a stone with this inscription,—*HEC IACET SALVIANVS BVRSOCAVI FILIVS CVPETIAN*. This place was called *Caer Gai*, of *Cai Hir ap Cynyr*, that was King Arthur's foster-brother who dwelt there. But by what name it was called in the Roman time, I know not.

This parish hath in it the township of *Penn Aran* and *Tref Pris*, *Pennanlliw* and *Tre Castell*. *Llanfihangel* hath these townships, *Maestran*, *Strevelyn* and *Cyffty*, *Gwernefel*, *Bedwarien*, *Llannycil* and *Bala*, a market town having in the end thereof a great mound whereon sometimes stood a castle, which A. D. 1202, *Leolini Prince of Wales* fortified, *Llann Gower* and *Dwygraig*. In this are two small mounts upon the east bank of the river *Dee* near the lake of *Llynn Tegid*, whereof the one bears the name of *Grono Befr o Benllyn*, the castle of *Grono* the fair of *Penllyn*. He lived in *Maelgwn Gwynedd's* time. Is *Trewerin* containeth two parishes, *Llanfawr* and *Llandderfel*, which according to the extent of North Wales contain nine townships, viz., *Rhiwedog*, here at a place called *Neuaddau Gleision*, dwelt sometimes *Ririd Flaidd* the tribe of *Penllyn*. Then *Penmaen*, *Cil Talgarth*, *Llann Dderfel*, *Cymysgadwy*, *Hengair*, *Nann Ffreuer*, *Selour* and *Nanllydiog*.

In the church wall of *Llanfawr* is a piece of stone, with these letters thereon *CAVOS ENIARSII*, the rest is lost. Hard by is a circle of great stones, which the inhabitants call *Pabell Llywarch Hen*, that is, *Llywarch Hen's Pavilion*, who lived in *Arthur's* time. In the parish of *Llann Dderfel* there is a mountain called *Cefn Crwyni*, about whereof is a great military trench. In the comot of *Penllyn* is that famous lake so much spoken of by all authors, from which the river *Dee*, which we call *Dyfrdwy*, begins its journey, with so gentle and slow a

motion, that oftentimes when it rains, in those western mountains, the river Treweryn that passeth by Bala runneth into the Dee, with such force, that the Dee is fain to give place and return back to the lake. In times past Edeirniawn and Glynn Dyfrdwy were feudal comots, but now both go under the name of the comot of Edeyrniawn, through the midst thereof passeth the river Dee to Denbighshire, about whose banks are these parishes, Llandrillo, Llangar and Corwen, where Owain the great Prince of North Wales encamped himself A.D. 1164, when Henry II. who came against North Wales, the trenches are yet to be seen; over the river Dee is Rug, now the mansion of Mr. William Salesbury of Glynn Dyfrdwy. Here Gruffudd ap Conan Prince of Wales, being desired by the Earl of Chester to meet him with a small guard, little thinking of falsehood, was treacherously taken by the said Earl, and imprisoned for a long time. Next is Llan St. Ffraid, then Bettws, and last of all Gwyddelwern, which church Saint Beuno built upon the ground that Conan ap Brochwel Yscithrog King of Powys had bestowed upon him, as the author of Saint Beuno's life doth testify.

ROBERT VAUGHAN of Dolgelly.

[This was the celebrated antiquary, author of "British Antiquities Revived," and other learned works. He lived A.D. 1592-1666.—EDD. ARCH. CAMB.]

THE STONE OF ST. CADVAN.

THE excellent papers of Mr. Westwood and the Rev. John Williams upon the subject in the last number, leave no room to doubt that the so-called Stone of St. Cadvan, at Towyn, is a sepulchral monument to the memory of two individuals named Guadgan and Cingen, and it only remains to inquire who these parties really were, and the times in which they flourished.

The first is identified in popular opinion with a religious personage or saint of the name of Cadvan, who, we are told, was son of Eneas Lydewig, by Gwentairbron, a daughter of Emyr Llydaw, who came over to this country in the sixth century, with

a vast number of his countrymen, of whom he was the leader, the majority of whom are represented as the sons and grandsons of the same Emyr Llydaw, and others, the children of one Ithel Hael, another Armorican chieftain, all of them being enrolled in the catalogue of saints in certain lists called Bonedd y Saint and Achau Saint. I cannot but agree in sentiment with Mr. Westwood that, "unfortunately for Wales there is not a genuine Welsh manuscript in existence, so far as I know, either historical, religious or poetical, earlier than the twelfth or thirteenth century;" and with respect to the Achau Saint, every one that has hitherto been published appears to be compilations made by different individuals, upon what authority is unknown, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The one called Bonedd y Saint is said to be in part taken from a list compiled by Llewelyn Offeiriad, supposed to have lived, I believe, in the thirteenth century. This is rather better evidence, though still not written till some six or seven centuries after these saints are supposed to have lived, and it would have been more satisfactory had Llewelyn's work been published in its integrity, without interpolation or retrenchment. Whence he derived his information it were useless to inquire; there can be no doubt that there were many more ancient documents in existence at that period than at present, which he may have consulted; but a considerable portion of his list may very probably have no better foundation than tradition. Of the Welsh Chronicles, which were in Wales, as elsewhere, kept in the different monasteries, it is strange that not a single copy exists that can be traced into the possession of any religious house, but all appear to be transcripts, not without evident marks of interpolation, and, if perfect, would throw no light upon the period in which Cadvan is supposed to have arrived in this country, as they all commence about the beginning of the eighth century, leaving the three centuries between the departure of the Romans and the death of Cadwaladr almost a blank in our history, to be filled up as we may from the short and imperfect accounts of Gildas and Nennius, and notices of events inserted in the genealogies and legends of the saints, which of themselves are, to say the least, very doubtful authorities, upon which little dependance can be placed unless they can be supported by the extrinsic evidence of foreign writers; a source of information, which, by the way, Welsh authors, either through prejudice or want of opportunity, have altogether neglected. The story of the arrival of Cadvan and a large body of his countrymen in this country, at a time when the same documents record the emigration of a great many Welsh saints to Armorica, on account of the ravages of the Saxons, as it would seem, is sufficiently

extraordinary to excite our attention and curiosity, and to induce the inquiry whether there could be any foundation for such a statement, and what possible cause there could have been for their visit to this part of the world, which, as we have been taught to believe, was at that period in a state calculated to render it anything but a desirable place of residence? It is natural to suppose that so many persons leaving their native country was not altogether a voluntary act, but one of necessity, arising from some cause of which, it might be expected, an account would be found in the history of Armorica. To that country therefore we must direct our inquiries, and I think, before I conclude, that I shall be able to show the causes and the times of these sudden immigrations of foreign saints, who arrived here not altogether and in a body, as stated, but at three several times between the beginning of the sixth and the middle of the seventh centuries, which three events our collectors have confounded altogether. These anachronisms have arisen in a great measure from our collectors having mistaken a title for a proper name. The majority of these religious exiles are stated to have been the children, or in some way related to, Emyr Llydaw. No such name appears in any genealogy of the princes of Armorica, and, in fact, there never was any particular individual of the name, it being a title indiscriminately applied to several of the princes of the Armoricans. Lewis, in his History of Britain, is the only one of our Welsh authors who uses it in its proper sense; not having the book at hand I cannot refer to the passage, but he mentions Budic Emyr Llydaw; which Budic was, in fact, the ancestor of several of those supposed companions of Cadvan. The expression, son of *Emyr Llydaw*, means nothing more than son of a *Prince of Llydaw*. Possibly this title may be a contraction of Emmerawd, or Emperor, which the vanity of these petty princes induced them to assume upon the departure of the Romans, when left to their own government about the year 410, in the time of the Emperor Honorius.

A Armorica, like Britain at that period, appears to have been divided into several petty states, each governed by its own chieftain, who, it seems, were titled Macteyrns, and of whom probably the Emyr was considered the chief and general in war time, but, at others, having very little authority beyond the limits of his own immediate territory. Whether the dignity was hereditary or elective we have no means of ascertaining, for the history of that country, like our own in the fifth century, is extremely obscure and uncertain, and, in fact, all that we really know about it is derived from the contemporary Latin writers, Gregory of Tours, and the early chronicles of the Franks. The

transactions of the sixth and seventh centuries are little less obscure, but some particulars may be gleaned from Gregory of Tours, Eginard, who was contemporary of Charlemagne in the eighth century, the fragment of a chronicle by Ingomar, of uncertain date, the chronicles of the churches of Nantes and Mount St. Michael, and the lives of some of the Breton Saints, by contemporaries. The earliest of the professed historians of Brittany only dates in 1531, and was soon followed by two others—their names were Alan Bouchard, Peter Lebaud, and Dargentré, and lastly, at the beginning of the last century, appeared the work of Lobineau. Very little dependence can be placed upon either of them, as far as relates to the period in question. They are not, however to be entirely rejected, as no doubt among an immense mass of fable, some truths may be found. I have enumerated the authors above-mentioned in order to draw the attention of Welsh authors to them as calculated to throw considerable light upon the history of our own country, when compared with our own traditions. I may, perhaps, be excused for deviating a little from the immediate object of this paper, to notice a fact recorded by a contemporary author, and confirmed by another indirectly, which is calculated to give us a very different idea of the state of Britain in the fifth century, from that usually entertained from the statements of our own writers. Iornandes tells us that Enric, King of the Visigoths, was endeavouring to make himself master of all Gaul, in consequence of which the emperor sent to Britain for assistance, in compliance with which request King Riethimus passed over the sea, at the head of twelve thousand men; but, before he could join the Roman forces, he was attacked by Enric, and defeated, with the loss of the greater part of his army; the remainder with their leader fled into Burgundy. Sidonius Apollinarius, another contemporary writer, addressed the ninth letter of his eleventh book to this same British chieftain, which, in a measure, confirms the account. This event seems to have been about the year 468. This defeat of the Britons is noticed by Gregory of Tours, but he makes no mention of their leader. Mr. Turner, in his "*Hist. Anglo-Saxon*," remarks upon this transaction, which he places in about 457,—“either Riethimus was Arthur, or it was from this expedition that Jeffry, or the Breton bards, took the idea of Arthur's battles in Gaul.” I cannot agree with the learned author that this British general could be Arthur, who, if any credit is due to the accounts we have of him, was living a century later. The transformations that Welsh names undergo in the attempt to Latinize them, very often defy all attempts to identify them; in this instance it does not, however, appear to me to be so difficult to

recognize the person as in many others, and I have no hesitation in submitting to the consideration of the reader that Riothimus was no other than the Vortimer of Geoffrey, the Gwrthifyr of the Chronicles; for, if we divest the name of the titular prefix, *Ri*—king, and the Latin termination, and supply the initial which is dropped in construction, according to the well known rule it becomes Gothimer, differing but little from Gwrthifyr.

What became of the British chieftain afterwards, nowhere appears. Gregory of Tours mentions this defeat in a very obscure passage in the 18th chapter of his Second Book, but he has so mixed it up with several other transactions, that it seems impossible to make out at what time it happened. The Chronicle of Mont St. Michael relates it under 481, which seems evidently too late. From other occurrences recorded by different authors, it would seem to have been between 568 and 575. It seems clear that Geoffrey knew nothing of this, or he would not have failed to magnify the glory of some one of his heroes, by relating how he had been applied to by the Roman Emperor for his assistance. He had lost sight of Vortimer after his defeat of the Saxons, and so very quietly dispatched him to the other world by poison. It is more probable that he died in Gaul. After this digression, we return to Cadvan and his companions. It appears that in the latter part of the fifth century, Budic was the Emyr, or superior chieftain, of the Armoricans, and in alliance with, if not under the dominion of, the Romans. In 497, Clovis, King of the Franks, had got possession of all the country north of the Loire, including Armorica, and reduced the inhabitants to subjection. In 509 Budic revolted, was attacked by Clovis, defeated, and killed. His eldest son, Howel, and many others of the family, escaped, and sought refuge in Britain. This accounts for the first immigration into this island. This is the Howel, King of Armorica, whom Geoffrey falsely represents as bringing over an army to the assistance of Arthur, instead of seeking safety and protection, as was really the case, from that hero. He is also the Howel ap Emyr Llydaw of our Achau Saint, the compilers of which, owing to the mistake respecting the father, have so mystified the genealogy, that it is difficult to make out who, out of the long list of exiles, were really brothers or contemporaries of Howel, and probably formed part of this first party, and who were not, with the exception of Padrwn, father of St. Padarn, who may possibly have been a brother. Cadvan is said to have been a nephew, but from what is related of him, if in existence, could have been but an infant, and, therefore, if he were brought over by his parent, in company with his uncle at this time, he probably never returned, which

would account for his name not occurring in any lists of the saints of Armorica. Clovis, King of the Franks died in 511, and his dominions were divided among his sons. The exact limits of their respective territories is not very well defined, and it does not appear very clear whether Armorica was in the portion assigned to Childebert, King of Paris, or to Clotaire, King of Soissons, or divided between them. Howel, however, returned to his own country in 513, and made his submission, and that part of the country which had belonged to his father was restored to him. Ingomar, supposed to have flourished in the eleventh century, informs us that he appeared before Clotaire, (? Childibert) in his palace at Paris, and humbly petitioned to be allowed to possess, and peaceably enjoy, the said province, &c., which was granted to him. This return of Howel is magnified and distorted by Geoffrey of Monmouth, in his usual way, and converted into a grand military expedition of his hero, Arthur. Not quite so extravagant, but equally wide of the facts, is the representations of some of the historians of Bretagne, who would make it appear as a settlement of a vast number of insular Britons, driven abroad by the Saxons. In many of the chronicles, Howel is called Ruval, which is merely the name Howel, with the titular prefix Ri—Ri-owel contracted and softened in the pronunciation, which, however, has occasioned some ambiguity in his history. It is the same in the genealogies where he is called Howel, or Ruval, indifferently, also with the additions—Howel Mawr, to distinguish him from his son, Howel Maig, the Lord Howel, and Howel Marmazon, (Mawr Maddau,) Howel Mawr, the pardoned or forgiven, in allusion no doubt to his father's revolt against Clovis, and Howel's submission and pardon by his son. He seems to have continued steadfast in his allegiance, and is said to have attended the court of Paris in 522, and in 524 was murdered. His dominions were divided among his sons, Howel Vychan, who figures in our Achau Saint, Werroch, Cybyddon, Canao, and Maelian. Howel Vychan, if we are to believe our Achau Saint, married a daughter of Rhun ap Maelgwn Gwenydd, but his era will not admit of such a match; he was, however, the father of several of our saints. In 546 the brothers fell out, much after the fashion of Welsh Princes, who, when they had no foreign enemy to contend with, invariably went to war with each other. Canao murdered Howel, Werroch, and Cybyddon, and threw Maelian into prison, whence, however, he escaped, and turned monk. This occasioned a second immigration of the families of the murdered princes, who fled to Britain; among the exiles upon this occasion were Alan, second son of Howel Vychan,

and his son Leonaire (? Llonio Llawhir), Lleuddad and Llyneb, and five other sons of Howel, viz., Christiolis, Rhysted, Endwy, Sulien, and Derfel. Budic, son of Cybyddon, who married Anaumed, sister of St. Teilo, four of whose sons are found in our list of saints, viz., Oudoceous, Tyfei, Ismael, and Dynod. Cadvan was most probably of this party, being represented as a first cousin of Howel Vychan; and if the Cyngen of the monument be identified with the father of Brochfael, who was living in the early part of the seventh century, and contemporary with our saint, the latter must have been a very young man at this time. Another saint, whom I am unable to identify in the Welsh lists, was Tudwal, *alias* Pabutual, a nephew by the mother of Howel Vychan. Iltyd and Sadwrn appear to have come over at the same time, and if there be any credit due to this legend, the former was certainly living late in the sixth century, and Sadwrn in the seventh. There is, however, some doubt as to the relationship of these two holy personages; Sadwrn may have been a member of the College of Llaniltyd, and in that sense termed a brother of St. Iltyd's; and if, as appears very probable, he is the same person as the Abbot of Docunni, so often mentioned in the *Liber Landavensis*, he certainly flourished a generation later than his supposed brother. The country was kept in a state of confusion for many years by the conduct of Canao, who was at length killed by Clotaire I., King of the Franks, in 500. Iona, the eldest son of Howel Vychan, recovered his estates; his uncle Maelian left his monastery and took possession of his part, and seized upon that of Budic, son of Cybyddon, who was dead, and his son Tewdric, a minor; as a matter of course, these worthies were always quarrelling among themselves, or in open rebellion against the King of the Franks. Jonas was put to death by order of Childebert II., and his son Judual thrown into prison, but at the intercession of St. Samson, Bishop of Dole, was released and pardoned. He was living in 590, and was succeeded by his son, Juthael, the Ithel Hael of our Achau Saint, sometimes called Howel III., who is said to have had twenty-three children, of whom the greater part embraced a religious life, and are enrolled among the saints both in the Welsh and American lists. St. Judichael, the eldest son, on his father's death, refused to leave his monastery, and Guzalun, or Solomon, succeeded, but died without issue in 632, upon which Judichael was induced to take the government, which he held till 638, when he resigned it to another brother, Alan, and died in 658. It was after this, if at all, that so many of the sons of Ithel Hael emigrated to Wales; for I can discover none of those violent civil commotions during the lives of their

father, and brother Judichael, which could have induced them to forsake their native land. Judichael was contemporary with Dagobert, King of the Franks, to whom he did homage, and at whose court he seems to have been a frequent guest. Dagobert died in 638, or as some say, in 645, leaving two sons, both infants, and in all probability it was something that occurred during the minority of these princes, that caused several of them to retire into Wales. It is clearly a mistake in our collectors of Achau Saint, to place the sons of Ithel Hael in the sixth century; it is evident they must have arrived in the latter half of the seventh. Upon an attentive examination of the different lists, it is clear that the compilers of Achau Saint have mixed up together four generations of the family of the princes of Llydaw. The first name in the Bonedd y Saint, after Cadvan, who is represented as a grandson by the mother of Emyr Llydaw, is Christiolus, called the son of Howel Vychan ap Emyr, the title being evidently given to Howel Mawr. The next is Llonio Llawhir, called son of Alan Vergan ap Emyr, but Alan was one of the sons of Howel Vychan, who here figures as the Emyr Llydaw, and so on through the whole list. As the name of Cadvan is not found in the Armorican pedigrees, it is difficult to ascertain to which generation he belonged; if, however, the Cingen of the monument be identified with Cyngen ap Cadell, Prince of Powis, which appears very probable, and whose era is pretty well established by the recorded death of his son Brochvael early in the seventh century, which shows the father to have been living at the latter part of the sixth, it is probable that Cadvan was a nephew; sister's son of Howel Vychan, and a first cousin by the mother of Alan Fayneant, who was the father of Llonio Llawhir, and whose death, according to the Armorican accounts, happened in the year 594, and we shall, perhaps, not be far out, if we fix the date of his kinsman's monument to about the same period, still leaving it the oldest in Wales.

THOS. WAKEMAN.

HEREFORD LITERARY AND ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY.

THE Second Meeting of the present season was held on Wednesday, March 21, 1850, at the City Arms Hotel.

Among the articles placed on the table as curiosities were a copy of *Domesday Book*, various specimens of ancient seals, and *fac-similes* of the armorial bearings of the ecclesiastical dignitaries of the See of Hereford. Among the lay seals were two belonging to the De Lacy family, who were intimately connected with the Priory of St. Guthlac;

and of Henry De Lacy, Earl of Lincoln and Constable of Chester. There was also a copy of *Pope Nicholas's Taxation*.

The Rev. E. N. BREE, the President, opened the proceedings, and expressed great pleasure in again meeting his audience on these interesting occasions.

Mr. DAVIES, Solicitor, then proceeded to read a paper on "The Hereford Priors." The three principal priories were those of the *Grey Friars*, the *Black or Preaching Friars*, and the *Priory of St. Guthlac*. Of these two are totally demolished, and little remains to record their former existence. The other, that of the *Black Friars*, is the only one which has a column left to call to remembrance these monuments of early piety.

ST. GUTHLAC.

The Priory of St. Guthlac appears to have been the oldest community of which this city can boast. The date of the original establishment is not correctly ascertained. In "Domesday Book" it is recorded as having considerable possessions, from which we may conclude that it was a community of some importance, having several demesne lordships and manors, amongst which are mentioned Thinghill, Felton, Hinton, Breinton, Dormington, Moccas, Almeley, Mordiford, Whitney, Hope, and Westhide. According to Leland this community was originally established in honour of St. Cuthbert,¹ and it is also recorded that the fraternity had a chapel east of the castle, from whence they were removed to St. Peter's Church, by Walter de Lacy, shortly after the Conquest, under the appellation of St. Guthlac's Fraternity. The ancient stalls in the chancel of St. Peter's Church are supposed to have been designed for the use of the brethren of St. Guthlac. About 1101 Hugh De Lacy (whose ancestor placed the brethren in St. Peter's Church) gave the church of St. Peter at Hereford to the church of St. Peter at Gloucester, and removed the fraternity of St. Guthlac into Bye Street Suburb, where a house was erected for their reception which afterwards obtained the name of St. Guthlac's Priory. Here it was that they became a Cell of Benedictines, subordinate to the St. Peter's Abbey at Gloucester, and so continued until the dissolution of religious houses, under Henry VIII., when their revenues were estimated at the annual value of £121 3s. 3d. Dugdale, in his "Monasticon Anglicanum," is silent as regards the Hereford Priors, with the exception of a brief notice of the Priory of St. Guthlac, the only circumstance of which he records is, that in the time of Edward II., William Irby and Thomas Burghell contended for it, the first professing to hold it of the King, and the latter of another, when the revenues were dissi-

¹ According to the "Itinerary" of Leland, this chapel was standing in his time, as he states, "There is a fayre chapel of St. Cuthbert in the east part whereof is made *opere circulari*. There were sometimes Prebends, but one of the Lacyes translated them from thence into St. Peter's in Hereford town, and that colledge was thence translated into the East suburb of Hereford, and a priory of monks erected and made a cell to Gloucester."

pated by them, whereupon the Sheriff of Herefordshire was directed to take the priory and its possessions into his hands, and to keep the same until his Majesty should order further. This mandate was dated at Worcester, 6th January, 1322. Some time after this dispute, another arose between the members of this house and those of Llanthony Abbey, respecting a sum annually claimed by the brethren of St. Guthlac; and, upon the award of the bishop's commissary, the priory and convent of Llanthony were directed to pay £10 quarterly to the Priory of St. Guthlac. This priory is represented to have been "very pleasant and large, having much land, spacious gardens and orchards, fine walks, a small rivulet running under the walls, called Eign, the buildings large and great, stately chambers and retircments, a large melancholy chapel, which, being built with many descents into it from the ground, and then of a great height in the roof, struck the enterers with a kind of religious horror." It does not exactly appear when this building was totally demolished. It was granted at the dissolution to a gentleman of the name of Ap Rice, who held the whole of the possessions in chief, upon payment of an annual rent of £8 12s. to the crown, and it continued in the possession of the family of the Ap Rices (Prices) until 1751, after which the site belonged to Mr. William Symonds, who sold it in 1793 to the justices appointed to erect a new county jail. The author of a work called the "Topographer" informs us that there existed in his time a doorway, over which was a carved figure of St. Guthlac, the tutelar saint of this priory. Of the documents and records connected with this priory, it appears that John Trellec, Bishop of Hereford, wrote to the friars a letter in which he styles them "the religious men beloved sons in Christ, the prior and convent of the Priory of St. Guthlac, in Hereford." In 1366 Lewis Charlton, Bishop of Hereford, granted a commission to the fraternity of St. Guthlac "to reconcile, after the accustomed manner of the Church, the conventual church of the Priory of Hereford, stained with the violent effusion of human blood." And, accordingly, Roger, Bishop of Llandaff, by virtue of this commission, "did reconcile the church on the day of battle, on the morrow of the exaltation of the holy cross, in the aforesaid year." This commission, which still remains in the Diocesan Registry, is dated 23rd August, 1366, from which it would appear that there had been a skirmish, in which the ecclesiastics were engaged. Leland says that "a prior was slain at the altar;" but this prior I take to allude to Bernard Quarre, who was provost or ruler of this community, and was slain at the altar of St. Peter's Church, where he was buried, though he was afterwards removed to St. Guthlac's Priory. However, of the exact cause which occasioned the observation of Leland, and the grant of this commission, there is no accurate tradition. Amongst the numerous benefactors to this priory, John, Earl of Morton, brother to Richard I., about 1190, confirmed "to the church of St. Peter at Gloucester, and the churches of St. Peter and St. Paul, and St. Guthlac at Hereford, and to the monks there serving God, that they and their men and servants should be free and quiet

for ever of toll of passage, of carriage, and of bridge tax, through all his land, viz., in Bristol, Keyrdiff, Newtown, and through all his other land, which he might sell of all his proper possessions, and which he may buy to his own proper uses." Henry de Pembridge is spoken of as a benefactor to this priory, and as the introducer of the friars into it, after they were established as a separate fraternity, upon the grant of the church of St. Peter at Hereford, in which they were some time prebendaries, to the abbey of St. Peter at Gloucester. Of the saint to whom this community was dedicated, it is said that, "when a young man, about the age of twenty-five years, despising the use of arms, in which he was very skilful, he entered upon a solitary life, in which he approved himself much by the grace of God with many wonderful signs and prophecies, but after his death the fame of his virtues shone most, when that, a year after his death, his body remained uncorrupted, working many miracles," on account of which he was canonised. The seal of St. Guthlac's Priory represents an old man seated on a low stool, and having a staff in his right hand (towards which his face is directed), and a book in his left hand. The arms were gules, a wyvern *passant*, wings displayed and tail nowed *or*, on a chief azure three mullets *or*. The wyvern was probably adopted in consequence of St. Guthlac, the tutelar saint of this priory, having, as tradition says, expelled certain demons or dragons out of the Island of Croyland, where he resided. In connexion with the subject of seals, I would draw your attention to the valuable collection kindly exhibited by our friend Mr. Beddloc, upon which I would venture to make one or two remarks. There are in this collection two seals of the De Lacy family, who appear to have been so intimately allied with the history of St. Guthlac's Priory. The impressions upon the seals represent a man riding on horseback with a sword in his hand, a device which was peculiar to laymen's seals previously to the more general adoption of coats of arms about the beginning of the thirteenth century. A circumstance which may perhaps throw light upon the history of one of the churches visited by us during the excursions of our institution last summer, viz., Moccas, is, that this priory is recorded in "Domesday Book" as having possessions at that place. Moccas was the residence of Pepian, Prince or Regulus of Gwent and Erenwe, (which comprised the district south of the river Wye, known as the Saxon Erging, or Irchenfield, and a portion of Monmouthshire,) about the middle of the fifth century. He was the grandfather of Dubritius, who established seminaries at Moccas and Hentland, (Henllan) with the view of averting the heresies of Pelagius, then spreading through the ancient British Church. It may not be improbable that the possessions, at Moccas, of the Priory of St. Guthlac, were those which the holy Dubritius had consecrated to the uses of religion, and that they were granted to the priory upon the decline of the scholastic establishment.

THE GREY FRIARS.

The college of the Grey Friars stood westward of the bridge, on the

north bank of the river, and was founded by Sir William Pembridge, in the reign of Edward III. No vestiges of its remains are now left, nor is there any circumstance on record that will enable us to unravel the mystery in which the cause of its foundation must remain enshrouded. We are informed that many persons of rank were buried within its precincts, including several of the Cornewall and Chandois family; and Leland mentions that Owen Tudor, who was engaged in the battle of Mortimer's Cross, and was afterwards beheaded at Hereford, was interred in this priory—"in navi ecclesie in sacello sine ulla sepulchri memoria."¹ Upon the dissolution of religious houses, a grant was made to John Young, of this city, for the term of twenty-one years, of a "hall called the Hostrye, with two chambers adjoining, under other chambers, being parcel of the edifice and lands of the house of the late Friars Minors in the city of Hereford, lately dissolved, and of one garden lying in one part of the said hall, and one piece of land lying between the wall of the said city and the convent orchard," under the annual rent of five shillings. The other premises belonging to the Grey Friars were leased to William Nott, and were described to be "one great hall and four chambers, lying together, under the chambers demised to John Young, and the common kitchen there, with the garden adjoining, and a bakehouse, and one stable, and a house called the gardener's, and one parcel of land there lying between the said bakehouse and stable, and the watercourse there, with the appurtenances; all which premises lie and exist within the precincts of the house of the late Friars Minors, in the city of Hereford, lately dissolved; as also of one water-mill, together with a certain pond and watercourse, and other watercourses there, within the said city, lying near the river Wye, containing by estimation one acre and a-half, late in the tenure of Thomas Baskerville; and one other parcel of land there, called the Churchyard, late in the tenure of Richard Millward; and one meadow there, with a certain circuit of land, called the Walk, containing in the whole by estimation one acre and an half, late in the tenure of Richard Steade, to the said house lately belonging, under the yearly rent of £2 5s. 8d." After the determination of these leases, the premises were granted to James Boyle, one of the ancestors of the Earl of Cork, whose progenitors settled in Hereford as early as the reign of Edward III. The situation of the priory of the Friars Minors, or Grey Friars, is noticed on Speed's map of the city, by which it appears to have been situate a short distance from the walls, between the public road leading to the Barton and the river Wye, near the spot which to this day retains the name of "The Friars."

¹ As regards the body of Owen Tudor, there appears an inconsistency amongst historians. In a work called the "Topographer," it is said that "Sir Thomas Coningsby, in digging up the remainder of the church of the Black Friars' monastery, found a vault descended into by steps of stone, in which were found two coffins of lead, the one much larger than the other. The larger was supposed to be the body of Sir Henry Penebrugge (mentioned in our observations upon the Priory of St. Guthlac) and the lesser to be the body of Owen Tudor." "They were carefully removed, and laid in the new chapel belonging to the almshouses."

THE BLACK FRIARS.

The only monastic remains in our ancient city are those of the Black or Preaching Friars, which, though they do not appear to have much attracted the notice of antiquaries, yet present one or two interesting features. So far as we are informed, the order of Preaching Friars was originally established in the Portfield, beyond Bye Street Gate, about the year 1276, under the auspices of William Cantelupe, a brother of the well-known bishop of that name. Not long after their establishment, a jealousy arose between the members of this house and the cathedral body, and after a dispute had been referred by the archbishop to Hugh de Mamecestre, in which the friars had the unfavourable side, they were removed by Bishop Cantelupe from the Bye Street suburb; and Sir John Daniel (or Dainville) presented these Preaching Friars with a piece of ground beyond Widemarsh Gate, the site of the present remains, where they commenced the erection of a church and monastery under the auspices of their new patron. Their benefactor was, however, beheaded at Hereford, for interference in one of the baronial wars, in the time of Edward II., and the work was for a while suspended. Under the liberal spirit of the times, the church and monastery were at length completed, according to the intention of their unfortunate patron and founder; and, in the reign of Edward III., the church was solemnly dedicated in the presence of the King, his son the Black Prince, three Archbishops, and many of the chief nobility of that day. This church, tradition states, was erected on the south-west side of the monastery, and had a spire. If this be correct, it is probable that it was situate on the side of the road, near which the Black Friars' monastery stood, upon the ground now known as the Hospital Gardens. Of this building the principal vestiges are some decayed walls, the remains of the prior's house, and a cross or stone pulpit, as it was originally erected for the purposes of preaching. The Black Friars' Cross is composed of six cinquefoil arches, forming an hexagon. In the centre is a pillar, supporting the groined roof of the pulpit, with an hexagonal base, on each side of which are two trefoil arches. The roof has the appearance of having been embattled, and included a dome, which, it is probable, originally contained a crucifix. The style of this cross would indicate the Early Decorated Gothic, some of whose characteristics were geometrical circles and foils; as are instanced, not only in the case of the preaching cross, but also in two windows in the ruins of the monastic building. The order of Black Friars was not subject to the jurisdiction of the Bishops of Hereford, but in the year 1351 an attempt was made, on behalf of the bishop, to claim a visitatory right, and the bishop proceeded to exercise episcopal authority over the friars. In consequence of this encroachment upon their privilege, Richard Barrets, their prior, commenced a suit against the bishop and his commissary before the archbishop, and ultimately obtained a decree to the effect—"That whereas the order of Friars Preachers, by indulgences and privileges granted from the See Apostolic, were exempt from the jurisdiction of every ordinary, and especially from the Bishop

of Hereford for the time being, or any of his ministers or commissaries, and were so beyond the memory of man, until the time of this grievance complained of by Friar Richard Barretts, otherwise called of Leominster, friar of the aforesaid order, and then prior of the same, unless by special order of the See Apostolic they were commissioned thereunto." The bishop and his commissary were thereupon cited to appear before the archbishop on the next day after the Feast of St. Fidis, and were admonished for their interference. From the number of the persons of rank who were buried within this monastery, we may infer that it was held in some degree of veneration. There lay buried here Sir William Beauchamp, Earl of Abergavenny; Sir Richard Delabere; Sir Roger Chaudois and wife; Sir Nicholas Clare; Henry Oldcastle; and Alexander Bache, Bishop of Winchester, and confessor to King Edward III., who died at Hereford at the dedication of the church. The esteem which the monks had for those who were interred within these sacred walls may be gathered from the negotiation for the removal of the body of John Hastings, Earl of Pembroke, from the monastery of the Black Friars at Hereford, to that of the Grey Friars in London, for which the brethren of Hereford received £100. A warm dispute arose between the two orders respecting the removal; but the pecuniary consideration appears to have effected an amicable arrangement. The bishop's mandate, commanding the removal of the body of the Earl of Pembroke, is a document worthy of notice. "To all the faithful in Christ to whom these present letters shall come, and particularly to the Prior and Convent of the brethren of the Preaching Order at Hereford, and other brethren of the same order within England wheresoever constituted; John, by Divine permission, Bishop of Hereford, health and sincere love to all. Know your community, that heretofore it hath been represented and declared to us that a dispute had arisen between the Prior and Convent of the Preaching Order at Hereford, and other brethren of the order of St. Francisus in London, and other brethren of the same order in other parts, of and concerning the burial of the body of the most noble and august man, Lord John Hastings, Earl of Pembroke, lately deceased, and buried in the church of the said Preaching Friars, at Hereford, and that there be made his exhumation and translation from the said place of sepulture to the church of the aforesaid Friars Minors in London. Until it is received by them, let it stand agreed between the said parties. We neither wish nor intend to impede, or impugn, or oppose, the same agreement at present, or in future. In testimony whereof we have caused our seal to be affixed to these presents. Dated at our hostel in London, the 18th February, 1391, and in the third year of our consecration." Another document relating to the Black Friars' monastery is the will of Joan, Lady Abergavenny, the wife of Sir William Beauchamp, Earl of Abergavenny, already alluded to as having been buried within its precincts. This will is dated the 10th of January, 1434, in which the testatrix, after reciting that she was a meek daughter of Holy Church, and full of the Christian faith and belief, bequeathed as follows:—"I bequeath my soul to the mercy of

my blessed Saviour Jesus Christ, through the beseeching of His blessed mother Mary, and all the holy company of heaven; and my simple and wretched body to be buried in the choir of the Friars Preachers, at Hereford, by my worthy lord and sometime husband, Sir William Beauchamp, on whose soul God have mercy. But I will that my body be kept unburied in the place where it happeneth me to die, until the time my maygne be clothed in black, my hearse, my chare, and other convenable purveyance made, and then to be carried to the place of my burying before rehearsed, with all the worship that ought to be done to a woman of mine estate, which, God knoweth well, proceedeth of no pomp or vain glory that I am set in for my body, but for a memorial and remembrance of my soul to my kin, friends, and servants, and all others. And I will that in every parish church which my said body resteth in a single night after it passeth from the place of my dying, be offered two cloths of gold; and if it rest in any college or conventual church, three cloths of gold. Also, I devise that, in every cathedral church and conventual where my body rests a night, towards the place where my body shall be buried, that the dean, abbot, or prior have 6s. 8d.; and every canon, monk, vicar, priest, or clerk that is at the *Dirige* at the mass in the morning, shall have 12d. Also, I ordain that, anon after my burying, there be done for my soul five thousand masses, in all haste that may, goodly. And I bequeath unto the house of the said friars, at Hereford, in general, three hundred marks, for to find two priests perpetually to sing for my lord my husband, my lord my father, my lady my mother, and me, and Sir Hugh Burnel, Knight, and all my good doers, and all Christian souls; the one priest to sing the first mass in the morning in the same house, and the other the last mass that is done in the day in the same house, so that it be seen that there be sure ordinance made therefore, to be kept as law will; and I bequeath each friar of the same house in special the day of my burying to pray for my soul, 3s. 4d. And I will that the aforesaid friars have a whole suit of black, that is to say, chesepyl, two tunicles, three copes, with my best pair of candlesticks of silver wrethen, and my best suit of vestments of cloth of gold, with peacocks, with altar cloths and albs, and all that longeth thereto, for a memorial perpetual to use them every year at the anniversary of my lord my husband and me." In addition to the monastery there was a separate foundation, belonging to the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem, which occupied the site of the present almshouses. Leland says, "in Widemere, on the suburb without the north gate, was an Hospital of St. John, sometime an house of Templars, now an almshouse with a chapel." This Hospital of St. John is supposed to have been built in the reign of Richard I., by whom it was given as a cell to the preceptory of the order of St. John at Dinmore. Leland called this establishment an *house of Templars*, though it is usually spoken of as belonging to the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem. This confusion may have arisen from the fact that the possessions of the Knights Templars (who were suppressed in 1307, by virtue of the Pope's bull) were, by a statute

passed in the reign of Edward II., intituled "*De Terris Templariorum*," granted to the Knights Hospitallers of St. John of Jerusalem. The ancient manor of St. John of Jerusalem, which exists to this day, extending from the town brook over Widemarsh Suburb, would imply that this commandery (as is usually stated by antiquaries) belonged to the order of Knights Hospitallers. On the expulsion of the order of Knights Hospitallers from England, about the year 1540, their property in this city became vested in the Crown, but it was afterwards restored to the knights in the reign of Philip and Mary. It was ultimately taken from them during the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and granted to two gentlemen, who disposed of the same to the well known family of Coningsby, one of whom, upon the site of this ancient commandery, erected the present almshouses, called Coningsby's Hospital.

In addition to the three Priors of the Grey Friars, St. Guthlac's, and the Black Friars, there was a Society of Nuns under the patronage of St. Catherine stationed in Broad Street, near or upon the spot now occupied by the Roman Catholic Chapel. There was a small Priory of St. Thomas, with a chapel dedicated to St. Paul, mentioned in the Commissions of John, Earl of Morton, already alluded to, with two other chapels situate without Wye Gate. On the present site of St. Giles' Hospital there was a small religious house, formerly occupied by a few of the Grey Friars, and afterwards by Knights Templars, which was granted by King Richard I. to the city of Hereford for the purposes of an hospital. In our Ecclesiastical Survey we must also notice the Chapel of St. Mary Magdalen, which stood between the cathedral and the bishop's palace, and had assigned to it a separate parochial chapelry, now consolidated into the parish of St. John the Baptist. According to a charter of Henry I., confirming the grant of certain lands to the chapel of St. Mary Magdalen, it would appear that the site of this ancient building was that upon which was erected the original Church or Monastery of St. Ethelbert.

Cambrian Archæological Association.

THE Fourth Annual Meeting will be held at Dolgellau, on the 26th of next August, and the five successive days.

On the first and last days of the Meeting the attention of the President and the General Committee will be directed towards the preliminary and other usual business of the Association; but during the four intermediate days the excursions of Members, and the reading and discussing of papers, will proceed in the usual manner.

An exhibition of objects of antiquity will be opened to Members of the Association, and to the public, under certain conditions; and any persons having articles to exhibit are requested to send early information of their intentions to the General Secretaries of the Association.

All Members intending to read, or to send, papers to the Meeting, are earnestly requested to communicate, as soon as they can, upon the subject with the officers of the Association, named below; for, otherwise, it will be very difficult to arrange the business of the Meeting beforehand.

Members having any alterations to move, or motions to make on this occasion, are requested to give notice of the same to the General Secretaries.

Among the numerous objects of interest, with which that neighbourhood abounds, we may enumerate the following:—

CELTIC REMAINS.—Fortified posts; enclosures; cromlechau; carneddau; meini hirion, &c., on the hills between Barmouth and Maentwrog, and on the chain of Cadair Idris.

ROMAN REMAINS.—Stations at Tommen y Mur near Trawsfynydd; Caer Gai near Bala; and Pennal near Machynlleth; with the Roman roads connecting them and other stations.

EARLY INSCRIBED STONES.—The Cadfan stone at Towyn, the Bedd Porius stone near Trawsfynydd, and the Llanfihangel y Traethau stone near Harlech.

MEDIÆVAL REMAINS.—(1.) *Castles*—at Harlech, Castell y Bere, &c.; and (2.) *Churches*—Cymmer Abbey near Dolgellau; Llanaber Church, Barmouth; Towyn and Llanegryn Churches, &c.

The Hengwrt Library is kept at the residence of Sir R. Williams Vaughan, close to Dolgellau.

We need not dwell on the interest and importance of these remains, in order to show that the Meeting is likely to prove one of great attraction. We will only add that the accommodation offered by the town of Dolgellau is good, though rather limited, on account of the consid-

rable number of tourists always staying there, or passing through the place. For all information upon these points, Members are referred to the officers of the Association.

Members, on arriving, are requested to apply at once to the officers for their tickets of admission, and for the general programme of the excursions and proceedings.

The names and addresses of the General Secretaries are as follow :—

General Secretaries :

Rev. JOHN WILLIAMS, Llanymowddwy, near Mallwyd ;
Rev. W. BASIL JONES, Queen's College, Oxford; or Gwynfryn,
near Machynlleth.

Correspondence.

THE SCWD-WLADIS ROCKING-STONE.

To the Editors of the Archæologia Cambrensis.

GENTLEMEN,—It was with much regret that I read the following in the *Freeman's Journal*, of May, 1850 :—

“THE SCWD-WLADIS ROCKING-STONE.—On Sunday, the 28th ult., a number of ‘Navvies,’ who are now employed on the Vale of Neath Railway, wantonly overturned, by means of levers, the well-known Logan, or Rocking-Stone, which was situate near Scwd-Wladis waterfall. The stone, which is supposed to weigh about twenty tons, was balanced so nicely, that the merest touch only was required to shake it. This huge stone being a memorial of the past, and ‘as old as the hills,’ was highly prized, nay, almost venerated, by the natives of this picturesque portion of the country, and was also a great attraction to visitors.—*Cambrian.*”

What time has not done to this venerable monument of antiquity, a set of ignorant Sabbath-breakers have effected. Is there no landed proprietor or other person of taste, to punish those fellows, and thus make an example for all others? Wales has a great right to be proud of its ancient monuments, and to take steps for their preservation. Though an Irishman, I feel a very great interest in the antiquities of Wales, they are so closely connected with those of my own country—and the Ogham inscriptions lately discovered there, are to me particularly

interesting. The interest I have taken in Welsh antiquities has become much increased since I obtained a copy of the *Archæologia Cambrensis*—which is a treasure to me. We have many of the “Rocking-Stones” in Ireland—and several still on their poize—and I do not recollect that I have heard of any of them having been so wantonly destroyed, (for such it is,) as that at Scwd-Wladis, in Wales.

If you do not favour me with a reply on the subject of this note, perhaps you will give the readers of the *Archæologia Cambrensis* some account of the Scwd-Wladis Rocking-Stone, and its barbarous overthrow.—I am, &c.,

RICHARD HITCHCOCK.

2, Trinity College, Dublin,
May 21, 1850.

*To the Right Hon. the Viscount Villiers, M.P., Chairman of
the Vale of Neath Railway.*

MY LORD,—As the local organ of the Cambrian Archæological Association, the express object of which is to preserve and illustrate the monuments and antiquities of Wales, I trust I may not be considered intrusive in bringing before your Lordship, and the Directors of the Vale of Neath Railway, a wanton act of spoliation which has been committed by workmen in the employ of your Company, and which, I respectfully hope, will receive such notice from your Board, as shall entirely prevent similar barbarisms on your line of works.

It appears that *Sunday*, the 28th of April last, was selected by some “navvies” engaged on your line, for the overthrow of the Scwd-Wladis Rocking or Logan-Stone, weighing some twenty tons, and which for ages has remained a memorial of the skill of those who poized it so accurately, that, by a push of the hand, a nut could be cracked against the adjoining rock. This stone, so long a cherished object of the neighbourhood, has been destroyed by your workmen, not by an accident, or by necessity, but by men who deliberately proceeded to its overthrow, with crowbars and other tools. Now, my Lord, I respectfully submit to your Board, that these parties should be called upon to restore this object of so much interest, believing that, as there is *sufficient force*, you will thus prove whether there is *sufficient skill*, to re-poize this ancient logan.

Waiting the honour of your Lordship’s reply,

I have the honour to remain, &c.,

GEO. GRANT FRANCIS, F.S.A.,

Hon. Sec. for Glamorgan.

Burrows Lodge, Swansea, May 27, 1850.

To George Grant Francis, Esq.

DEAR SIR,—In reply to your letter complaining of the removal of the Logan-Stone by labourers employed on the Vale of Neath, I can assure you that the Board regret very much that any cause of complaint should be given by the labourers employed on the line, and more particularly so gross a case as this.

The earliest attention of the Board will be directed to the subject, with a view of repairing the damage. But I must observe, that the persons who committed the outrage are employed by the contractor, not by the Company.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

VILLIERS.

June 12th, 1850.

COLLEGIATE CHURCH, BRECON.

To the Editors of the Archæologia Cambrensis.

GENTLEMEN,—I believe that the dilapidated condition of the ancient Collegiate Church, in the suburb of Llanfair, belonging to the town of Brecon, has been often brought before the public, and specially of late, in the pages of the *Archæological Journal*, in London; but, I confess, I cannot conceive how either the Dean and Chapter of that Church, or the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, to whom it is said to have been surrendered, can reconcile it to their consciences to let it remain a day longer in its present neglected and ruinous condition. I do not advert to the political and religious part of the question—this has been admirably done by Sir Thomas Phillips, in his lately published book on Wales; suffice it to repeat with him, that all the conceivable abuses of an Ecclesiastical Corporation seem to be concentrated in this glaring instance. We know that things at head-quarters are rotten enough just now, and that edifices more important than the Collegiate Church in question are fit to topple down on the heads of those who are undermining them; but, be this as it may, and whether the Dean and Chapter have individual consciences or not—as a corporation of course they have none—a mere feeling of shame ought to move them, as men of education and taste, not to leave such an accusing witness crying out against them.

Will they do anything toward repairing and preserving this fine old building, with its valuable tombs?—I trow not; of this we may be perfectly sure.

I therefore think that, setting aside all hopes of good from the Dean and Chapter, and the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, the laity of the county and town should take the matter into their own hands, and restore it, *volentes volentes*.

It would require £300 to put it into complete repair as it now stands—not a farthing more, whereas, for £600 it might be enlarged, and converted into a church fit for parochial use. I speak professionally, and pledge myself to these sums.

Now, Gentlemen, were I the member for the county, or the owner of the estates of the Tredegar family, or the proprietor of only one out of many beautiful seats that are not far from Brecon, I would do this *at my own expense!* I should be called a fool, no doubt—all people who are generous and disinterested are fools. Poor Liston used to say, in one of his characters, that he would never do a good-natured thing again. Well, then, 'twould be a piece of folly; but, to the county member, 'twould be worth from fifty to an hundred votes; the Tredegar people would not lose by it; there is not a single gentleman, out of some score in Breconshire, who would be deprived of a single bottle of claret by it; and as for the individual who should do it, we think with Sterne, that the same angel who blotted out something from Uncle Toby's account, would be very likely to have another tear to spare even for this restorer's trespasses!

Why should not even the good folks of Brecon themselves be up and doing? They are as good a set of people as you will find anywhere in Wales; the town prospers more or less; and I will venture to say that £300 can be raised in the town and county, maugre the bad times, within a month, for such a purpose.

I give this advice, and throw out these hints, quite disinterestedly; for, though I give a professional signature, I do not want the job myself. I will at once say that the gentlemen who are now so successfully restoring the Cathedral of Llandaff, and whom I never had the honour of knowing, should be entrusted with the works.

The Collegiate Church is of the thirteenth century, of good detail, especially in the interior, and contains some valuable incised slabs, careful rubbings of all of which, (as well as in St. John's Priory Church,) have been taken by a professional friend of mine, and are now deposited in the Museum of National Antiquities established by the Royal Institution of South Wales, at Swansea.

I really do hope that this notice may catch the eye of some gentlemen connected with Brecon. I have no hopes of the Clerical Corporation, nor of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, but I have of the laity—they have still some good feeling and generosity left, I believe. As it is, Brecon people ought to be aware that the condition of this church is a *disgrace* to the town; and that whatever traveller of taste passes through their locality does not scruple to say so.

I will subscribe gladly myself to a fund for this purpose, though I am only,

Gentlemen,

Your obedient servant,

AN ARCHITECT.

London, June 1, 1850.

CONSERVATION OF ANTIQUITIES.

To the Editors of the Archæologia Cambrensis.

GENTLEMEN,—The judicious selection by the members of the Cambrian Archæological Association, at the Gloucester Meeting, of the principal Museums in the Principality, and its Marches—viz., that of the Royal Institution of South Wales, at Swansea, and those connected with the several Natural History and Antiquarian Societies at Shrewsbury, Caerleon, and Caernarvon—as safe places of deposit for our National Antiquities, will, I trust, be the means of rescuing from oblivion, if not from utter destruction, many relics of the Celtic, Roman, and early British periods, which will more fully illustrate the manners and customs, and furnish additional subjects for the study, of those races, who, in succession, have peopled this island.

The interest which is now awakened in many parts of the kingdom for the conservation and study of antiquities, will, I hope, be fostered by those who have it in their power to contribute, from their respective libraries and cabinets, objects of value connected with archæology; so that our museums may possess attractions alike to the antiquary and to the public, and also be made available, under proper restrictions, to those who are desirous of studying these subjects.

The members of the Cambrian Archæological Association will rejoice to hear, that the spirit of conservation for antiquarian remains is beginning to manifest itself amongst the middle and working classes, and that, in many cases, where there formerly existed a disposition to hoard or destroy, now, happily, instances are not wanting to show that there is a tendency to preserve.

My official connexion with our Museum, at Caernarvon, has given me ample opportunities of witnessing this very desirable result. A summary of some of the late donations to this Institution, together with the names of the class of persons who were the donors, will be the best illustration.

Several professional gentlemen have presented six silver British coins, of Edward I. and II., Henry IV. and VI.; also, eight valuable copper ones, including one specimen of gun-money, (James II).

Four tradesmen have presented ten Roman coins, chiefly silver, of the following Emperors,—Gordianus, Carausius, Numerianus, Constantine, &c., besides some silver pieces of Richard II., all found in this neighbourhood.

We may also enumerate several donations of the like nature from farmers; nor are the gardeners behindhand in supplying a full share. From one, we have received a well preserved and valuable coin of Vespasianus, (Legend—*JUDEA CAPTA*).

A joiner has presented a beautiful silver coin of Edward IV., having a royal distinction of the House of York, the rose, on either side the neck of the bust, and the amulet and rose on the breast. This coin was found by him when splitting a piece of old oak.

A watch-maker has presented an elaborately-worked and richly-gilt hilt and shaft of a dagger, found in an old wall, on a farm near Bangor.

I have also to add another interesting donation from a captain connected with this port, viz., five Roman coins, of a very early period. These coins have hitherto baffled my ingenuity to decipher, even with the aid of Akerman's work on Roman coins. By the assistance of the same eminent numismatist's work on the "Illustrations of the Narrative Portions of the New Testament," I have been able to decipher one that is most interesting, (given by the same person, and found in this locality,) belonging to the ancient Tyrians, a drawing of which, I append.



Obverse—Head of Hercules, with a full beard.—(Akerman's drawing is beardless.) Reverse—An eagle standing erect, and clutching either a trident, or a thunderbolt. Query—What legend is attached to this beautiful type? Inscription, as far as can be traced, is—

Κ . . . Ν . ΟΥ ΤΥΡΟΥΙΕΙΑ Ν

I am not aware of any coin belonging to Tyre having been found, at any former period, in Wales. Can this possibly be a relic of those renowned voyagers, the Phœnicians, who traded

to this country for tin? My knowledge upon these subjects is limited, but probably some learned antiquary can easily show, that this coin supplies corroborative evidence to prove that those ancient navigators traded with this part of the world, at a very early period.

I humbly and respectfully submit this brief notice to your readers, with the view of inducing parties to become more active conservators of our national monuments and remains of antiquity; and, I trust, this will be the means of bringing more able advocates into the field, so that the feeling which is now going on in favour of antiquarian researches, may be followed up by corresponding exertions on the part of those who are well versed in the subject.—I am, &c.,

JAMES FOSTER.

Caernarvon, May 20, 1850.

OGHAM CHARACTERS, &c., IN MERIONETHSHIRE.

To the Editors of the Archæologia Cambrensis.

GENTLEMEN,—Referring to the last number of the *Archæologia Cambrensis*, p. 155—your correspondent will oblige me if he will state where, in the vicinity of Llanbeder, is an upright stone bearing Ogham characters. Close to the village of Llanbeder, in a field to the left of the Harlech road, are two *meini hirion*; but, not expecting to find characters upon them, I have never closely examined these stones.

Mr. Cliffe and Mr. Roberts are correct in their suspicion that habitations and fortifications are to be traced on the slope of the hills to the seaward, near Cors-y-gedol.

On the heights near Ceilwart is a British encampment, in tolerable preservation, and near it some of the *cyttiau*, so commonly found in or near ancient fortifications.

At Berllys is another encampment, but I am inclined to assign a much later date to it than to that last mentioned. Berllys is said to be a corruption of *Osber Llŷs*—*the palace of Osber or Osborn*—a scion of the Geraldines of Desmond, who, emigrating from Ireland in the thirteenth century, and settling here, was ancestor to the family of Vaughan of Cors-y-gedol, now extinct; and there is certainly something about the fortifications at Berllys leading to the impression that the tradition of its having been the residence of Osborn may be correct. While upon the subject of antiquities in this neighbourhood, I would refer to the very interesting remains at *Gwern y Capel*, near Llanenddwyn—(see Ordnance map). There are here, the remains of a church or chapel, with the enclosure to its cemetery, the former of which,

to the best of my recollection, is not more than from twenty to thirty feet long. Little beyond the foundations exist, and there is not even a tradition as to the time when this chapel became desecrated. It is certainly worthy of a very careful examination. I am inclined to suspect that it is one of the early British churches of this district, and perhaps may rival Peranzabuloe in antiquity.

None of these antiquities are mentioned by Pennant, or any other author.

Close to the rill which empties itself into the sea below Ceilwart, upon the shore, is an inscribed stone, the letters upon which, until a rubbing has been made of them, are hardly observable. In Pennant's time this stone formed a footbridge over the rill, and he read the inscription upon it, "*Hic jacet Calixtus Monedo regi.*" The words *Calixtus Monedo* are, in a rubbing, very legible; but neither Mr. Westwood nor myself can make out the succeeding word to be *regi*, nor can find any trace of *hic jacet*.

I have read with much interest Mr. Cliffe's notice in your Number for October, 1849, p. 321, of other antiquities in Merionethshire; but he appears to have overlooked, in the district he explored, the very interesting encampment called Castell y Gaer, to the south of the village of Llwyngwrl, and very near that village; nor does he notice that very large tumulus called *Tommen Edreiniog*, upon the Talybont farm, close to Dysunny bridge. I would recommend for Mr. Cliffe's examination, that interesting group of antiquities in the neighbourhood of *Llys Bradwen*, and near the mountain road from Llanegryn to Dolgellau. They consist of a *circle*, *meini hirion*, and *carnedd*, besides the foundations of the *Llys*, the residence of Ednowain, chief of one of the fifteen tribes of North Wales.

Referring again to Mr. Cliffe's communication, I can, I think, assure him that the Llanegryn rood-loft was *not* brought from Cymmer (Vaner) Abbey. The remains of the church at Vaner are many feet wider than Llanegryn Church, and the moulding upon the supporting beam of the rood-loft stops, on both sides, where the beam is inserted into the walls.

The remains near *Llys Bradwen* have, I fear, been much injured since last I saw them. *Enclosures have been made in the neighbourhood!* Within my recollection some stones of the circle, and a portion of one of the *carnedd*, have been carried away, and what has been done since my last visit to the spot, I can only *fearfully conjecture*.—I remain, &c.,

W. W. E. WYŶNE.

May 27, 1850.

To the Editors of the Archæologia Cambrensis.

GENTLEMEN,—In your Second Volume, p. 184, is a communication with the signature of "Balaon," on the subject of the *Eueggulthen*, or Ancient Welsh Version of the Gospels, and reference is made to Browne Willis' "St. Asaph," App. xxii., pp. 54, 55. My copy of the "Survey" by Willis bears date 1720, and does not contain the translation of the Archbishop's circular. Perhaps "Balaon" will communicate the date of the edition from which he quotes.

I remain, &c.,

J. M. T.

June 5, 1850.

C O N W A Y.

To the Editors of the Archæologia Cambrensis.

GENTLEMEN,—On going through Conway the other day, I was particularly struck with the neat appearance of the tubular bridge, and its charming stone-coloured tint, as compared with the dingy blackness of the castle and the town walls. By the way, the castle is only a mushroom. King Edward's architect was a fool to Stephenson. Pray, Gentlemen, would it not be much better to open a subscription for plastering the walls of the castle, or at least for whitewashing them to match the bridge? I understand that at Tenby they have recently whitewashed the church, to match the houses in the street, and why should they not do so in Conway? I am glad to find that they have taken down some old lumbering timber houses in the middle of the town, and are going to replace them by handsome new shops. These old houses were nasty, papistical-looking things, to say the best of them; they savoured rankly of aristocratical supremacy;—there was not an atom of "progress" about them;—I am thoroughly glad these gloomy old things are gone. What a blessing it would be if they would only pull down the town walls, and build a tidy row of cottages, rent-free, for the "intelligent masses," with their materials!

I remain, &c.,

A LOVER OF IMPROVEMENT.

P.S.—There are two or three more old houses remaining in Conway; it will be their turn next, and then it will be a decent town.

Miscellaneous Notices.

PENNAL, MERIONETHSHIRE.—It is highly desirable that, previous to the Dolgellau Meeting, some members of the Association should carefully examine the site of the Roman station, at Pennal, on the Dovey, and personally inspect, and walk over, the line of road leading up to, and across, Cadair Idris.

PEMBROKESHIRE ANTIQUITIES.—We are glad to learn, that a systematic survey of the antiquities of this county is now going on, under the direction of several members of the Cambrian Archæological Association, who are well acquainted with the localities; and fully able to bring to the task the indispensable qualifications of Archæological knowledge, and professional experience. We cannot, however, hope to see the fruits of it for some time to come; a work, to be done well, should not be hurried.

STRATA MARCELLA, NEAR WELSHPOOL.—A member of the Cambrian Archæological Association is now collecting documents, towards compiling some account of this abbey, not one stone of which now remains above ground. Members of the Association, and antiquaries generally, are requested to communicate what they know upon this subject, to the editors.

OFFA'S DYKE.—Our readers must excuse, for again earnestly requesting them to verify, if possible, Mr. Archdeacon Williams's valuable suggestion, that Roman roads can be found cutting through the Dyke, and therefore proving its existence before the subjugation of the island by the masters of the world. Careful distinction should be made between *Roman* and *British* roads, in this instance—the latter being of frequent occurrence in Wales, and being sometimes mistaken for the former.

NOTES AND QUERIES.—This work goes on capitally; we recommend everybody to take it in, to read it, and to contribute to it.

EXHIBITION OF ANTIQUITIES IN LONDON.—The exhibition of objects of antiquity, made in the rooms of the Society of Arts, in London, under the direction of the Archæological Institute, is one of the most interesting we ever witnessed. The Queen's cups, and articles of plate, the ivories, and some very choice articles of Greek and Roman productions, bronzes, &c., struck us as the finest we had ever seen of the kind, at least in this country. The book of authority upon it will be Mr. Franks's catalogue; it should be bespoken at once. It is a great pity that this exhibition should be closed so soon.

Reviews.

CAMBRENSIS EVERSUS. Published by the Celtic Society of Dublin.
Vol. I. 8vo., 1848.

This is one of the publications of a learned society in the sister island which promises to do good service in the cause of national archæology; and it reflects no small credit on that body for the elegant, or rather sumptuous, manner in which it is turned out. Whether for typography, or editorial taste, or for the admirable frontispiece by our friend and fellow-labourer Hanlon—a *chef d'œuvre* in the way of wood engraving—we have not seen a publication which confers a greater character of style and professional ability upon any society. The contents of the volume itself are more valuable to an Irish reader than to a Welsh one; for the work, while designed as a refutation of statements made about Ireland by Giraldus Cambrensis, contains, both in the body of the text and in the notes, a vast amount of local and historical information of considerable interest to any one studying the troubled annals of the Emerald Isle. We would recommend it, on this very account, to the notice of our readers, whether in the Principality or out of it; and, in going through its pages, we have ourselves learnt many circumstances referring to Ireland which were entirely new to us, and of which we should have been sorry to have remained ignorant.

But there is one point of view in which this book cannot fail of being peculiarly attractive to several of our brother antiquaries. At the Cardiff Meeting of our Association, in 1849, a casual and acute remark of Dr. Todd's, about a cromlech, was sufficient to draw forth not only abundant comments at the time, but also a great amount of interesting and—what is exceedingly rare—most good-tempered controversy since that period. Indeed, one of the most learned of our members, the Venerable Archdeacon of Cardigan, has already printed his *fifteenth* or *sixteenth* letter on the subject;—probably there may be even yet some other

“scriptus et in tergo et nondum finitus Orestes,”

—and Dr. Todd has still got to reply. Now if one single sentence from a learned Irish antiquary was sufficient thus deeply to excite the energies of Cambrian archæologists, what will be the result when they find another Irish antiquary (not less learned, it would appear, than our excellent friend, the Secretary of the Royal Irish Academy, backed, too, by the whole Celtic Society of Dublin, who have now given this edition of his *magnum opus*) writing a whole volume against a Welshman of former days,—calling him all manner of hard names,—showing him up as a man *nullâ fide*,—abusing Merddyn (!) and sharpening the sting of his observations by the very title of the book, “*Cambrensis Eversus*”—*Ab Hibernico? O nefas infandum!*

We put it as a matter of calculation—an archæological rule of three, in fact—if one sentence of Dr. Todd's can produce sixteen letters, what will one volume of Dr. Lynch (that is the unfortunate man's name) produce? Multiplying the second and third terms together, and dividing by the first, we have arrived at the following solution:—Dr. Lynch *multiplied* by the Archdeacon of Cardigan, and *divided* by Dr. Todd, will equal sixteen volumes folio, + an appendix. Our Association will have enough to print out of this probable controversy for the next twenty years!

To begin the same. It appears from this work that Giraldus Cambrensis—hitherto regarded as one of our brightest luminaries, albeit more of a Norman than a Celt—went to Ireland so long ago as the year 1185 on a “Government Commission,” and that on his return he actually did, with what Dr. Lynch calls a malicious intent, compile a regular *Blue Book* against the whole Irish nation. The report of this commissioner who, it is strongly suspected in Dublin, was sent into Ireland purposely to “get up a case” against the Paddies, was *not* laid before parliament, for an excellent reason; nor was it printed, for another equally good reason, until long after the rev. commissioner's death; and even then it would not have appeared, had it not been for one Camden, a musty old antiquary, who would pry into things that did not concern him. We learn all this from the opening of the book:—

“Giraldus Cambrensis, having visited Ireland in the year 1185, in the train of John, son of King Henry II., composed, during the three following years, a ‘Topography,’ and, before the year 1190, a ‘History of the Conquest of Ireland;’ so that both works were probably given to the public in or near the latter year. The virulent calumnies levelled against the Irish, in these productions, drew down some censure on the author immediately after their publication, as himself bitterly complains. But, after his death, the works, being only in manuscript, lay mouldering in obscurity, the food of moths and worms, and were not in circulation, until, in an evil hour, they were published by Camden, in the Frankfort press, in the year 1602.”—pp. 93, 95.

Let it not be supposed that Dr. Lynch takes all this quietly. The following is a specimen of how he pays Giraldus off:—

“Is it not evident, then, that Giraldus was not mild but turbulent, fomenting so great disorders by his injurious attacks on others; not a man of probity, but of infamy; with the foul stain of so many superstitions on his soul; not pure, but corrupt; imbibing copiously falsehood and wickedness from Merlin's most polluted books; not a man of sense, but a mere simpleton, led astray by every flimsy breath to believe in dreams; not a good but a wicked man, preferring the rites of paganism to the conclusions of theologians; not inoffensive, but most offensive, straining every example, and torturing that most inappropriate allegory of the wolf into an occasion to brand his calumnies on the whole Irish nation; not prudent, but most imprudent, quitting the high road of truth for the black recesses of divination.”—p. 365.

We see evidently that the great Agitator of a late day was only a poor hand in the vituperative line; and let it be observed how adroitly a side-shot is fired at another Taffy, Merddyn, (or Merlin,) as the abuse proceeds. No commissioner of recent times has ever been handled more roughly by the Cambrian press than has this Archdeacon of

Brecon of the twelfth century. There has been another Irishman abusing the Welsh too. Only read this note from p. 96:—

“White, in his preface, which was written shortly after 1609, complains that Leland, *Lhwyd*, and especially Camden, extolled the authority of Giraldus, and copied his calumnies,” &c.

Observe how slyly the name of good old *Lhwyd* is lugged in—of him, one of the patriarchs of Welsh antiquaries; as for the other two names, they belong to sanguinary Saxons—let them take care of themselves.

But it appears that others had been tainted by Giraldus, for when Lynch declares that he comes forward to repel the shafts of calumny levelled against Ireland by “the arms, if not of eloquence, at least of reason,” the Editor subjoins two notes, which, being curious, we copy:—

“This complaint is expressed not inelegantly by Sir William O’Kelly of Aghrim, Professor of Heraldry in the College of the Nobles, Vienna, Aulic Counsellor and Poet Laureate to the Emperor of Germany, 1703:—

‘In somnis me nuper Hibernia noctu
Defloratæ instar Deæ virginis, ora, genasque
Fœda, sinu lacero, sparsis sine lege capillis,
Vix œgris ducens suspiria lenta medullis,
Aggressa est, crebris singultibus obruta, ut œgrè
Vix ea verba dedit—
Non perisæ satis ferro: minùs opprimor armis
Quàm calamis: vitam tantùm cum sanguine miles
Sed decus et famam, nomenque et quidquid honesti
Gessimus, hoc adimit scriptor. Cum nomine Scotus
Gesta sibi attribuit, Sanctorumque examina: famam
Denigrare Anglus non sinit.’—p. 3.

David Rothe, Bishop of Ossory, in his notes on Jocelyn’s *Life of St. Patrick*, *Messingham*, p. 120, also complains that Botero, secretary of St. Charles Borromeo, and other continental writers, had copied the calumnies of Giraldus, “that the Irish were inhospitable; that there were no bees, and few birds, in Ireland,” &c., &c.

“White also disclaims all bad feelings:—‘Let it not be supposed that, in my censures on Giraldus and his kindred, I am urged by bad feeling towards them or their descendants, or the other English, who, by order of the Kings of England, occupied, during nearly 440 years, the towns and chief ports, and the richest and larger portion of Ireland, for, though I am Irish, I am descended not from the old Irish, but from the English who accompanied Henry II.’”—pp. 106–111.

At p. 111, Dr. Lynch describes the plan of the work as follows:—

“After a few preliminary observations, I prove that Giraldus has not the qualities of a good historian; then I dispose of the faults which he finds in the Irish soil and climate; next, I rebut his calumnious charges against the Irish people, princes, and kings; afterwards, I answer his licentious invective against our prelates and clergy; finally, since heaven itself was no asylum against his tongue, I follow him, and examine his blasphemous assaults on our Irish saints. This order, however, is not invariably observed. Into whatever wilds or thickets his rambling and repeated digressions stray, thither my pen turns and pursues him. The pilot does not always keep the helm straight for the intended track, but often humours the tide, and often bends his sails for whatever port wind and weather may permit, in the hope of thence making the destined port. I must endeavour to imitate the prudent helmsman; and should you find anything out of its place, remember that I am in pursuit of an antagonist through trackless wilds and byways.”—p. 111.

There are not less than thirty-two chapters in this book, some of the

titles of which, taken at random, will show how sorely the Archdeacon gets handled by the Doctor:—

“Chapter VI.—Giraldus was subject to many vices, utterly repugnant to the qualities of a historian. Chapter VII.—Giraldus indulged in false and extravagant panegyric of himself and his friends, and in unbridled and calumnious vituperation of such of his countrymen as were his enemies. Chapter XI.—Vain attempt of Giraldus and others to detect matter for censure in the habits of every age and sex in Ireland, and in some Irish customs. Chapter XV.—False and malignant assertion of Giraldus, that the Irish people lived by beasts alone, and like beasts, and that they neglected agriculture. Chapter XVI.—A torrent of invectives vainly discharged against the Irish by Giraldus; his most calumnious assertion that the Irish were unacquainted with the rudiments of faith. Chapter XXI.—Character of the Irish, illustrated from the lives of some kings, bishops, and other illustrious men, who flourished about that period, which has been defamed by the filthy calumnies of Giraldus. Chapter XXXI.—Shameful and sacrilegious invectives of Giraldus against the whole ecclesiastical order, the Church militant herself, and even against the Irish saints.”—pp. 85, 87, 89, 91.

The title of Chapter XXV.—“Statement of other arguments which detract considerably from the authority of the aforesaid *Bulls*”—caught our eye, as we glanced indignantly over these pages; and we thought we had come upon some sure vestiges at last of the origin of Hibernian absence of mind, mistakes, &c.; but, on looking back, we find the author attributing said *Bulls* to two of the successors of St. Peter.

At p. 233, Dr. Lynch proves, *more Hibernico*, that Giraldus was an ass, for asserting that Ireland had been *conquered* by England. “As the Irish,” he says, “never conformed to English laws, language, or dress, I am at a loss to know how their voluntary submission can be with truth called a conquest. There is no evidence to prove that the Irish were conquered by the English.” And, in the same way, the soldier who cries for quarter on the field of battle is not conquered—he only submits more or less voluntarily! Now did Edward I. conquer Wales? On Dr. Lynch’s theory, certainly not!

If the above fails to excite the ire of some of the more patriotic among our readers, let them digest the following:—

“Giraldus’s authorities are drawn from an inauspicious source, a fountain infected with the poison of lies. The river must retain the taint of the fountain from which it springs. Now Merlin’s books have been objects of general ridicule, contempt, and execration. They are on the Index of works forbidden to Catholics; and yet he, not only a Catholic, but a respectable theologian, did not hesitate to pore over their contents, and give them the authority of his name. Many passages in his works are—I will not say ornamented, but—defiled with an ill-odoured wreath of extracts culled from Merlin, which he has strained his ingenuity to distort, by ‘interpretations,’ into wrong meanings. He has thus laboured to give respectability to works which he should rather have consigned to the flames, had he not preferred indulging the rash propensities of his own judgment to the example of those who had ‘followed curious arts, [but] brought together their books and burned them before them all.’ If he saved Merlin from the flames, ought not his own books to be consigned to the fire? Is the poison innocuous because Giraldus’s pages are impregnated with it? It were well for him that he had followed the example of the magician who was converted by St. Augustin, ‘and who brought those books to be burned, which would have burned himself, that by committing them to the fire, he might secure a place of rest for himself!’ It was fortunate for Giraldus that he did not live in the reign of Vitellius. It is

not his books only, but his life that would be in danger, had he evinced such partiality for the sorceries of magicians; for Vitellius bore so mortal a hatred to soothsayers and mathematicians, that not one of them, when brought before the tribunals, ever escaped with his head.' But though the terrors of the scaffold could not exorcise Giraldus's propensity, the oracles of God himself ought to have reclaimed him. They announce that 'the soul which turneth away to soothsayers or magicians shall die the death;' and 'neither let there be found among you one that consulteth Pythonic spirits, or fortune-tellers.' Their royal dignity itself could not secure impunity for Saul or Ochozias; the former consulted the Pythoness and was slain; the latter turned to Beelzebub, and died. It is truly astonishing how a man, who was a respectable theologian in his day, could have forgotten those things."—pp. 349, 351.

And as a good genealogical and philological pill to work up the whole, let them swallow this:—

"In Orgallia primi ordinis nobiles fuerunt O'Carbhullius O'Dubhdara, O'Lairgneus, et Macmahonius; O'Flathry nonnunquam supremus Ultonie rex; O'Floinn et O'Donellan domini Tuirtris; O'Harc [h-Erc] in Ubhfiachrachfin, O'Gridan dominus de Machaire; O'Haodha in Fearaibhfarmeigh; O'caomain M'wighleamne dominus; O'Machen Mughdornie dominus, O'Hir et O'Hanluain duo domini de Oirthir: O'Coecridh dominus de Fearraols O'Hionrachaith dominus de Vameithmacha; O'Booghellan Dartris dominus; Muntirtathleach et Muntirmoelduin dynastae [et Lurg], Mactieghernain in Cianfearghula; O'Flanagan dynasta de Tuathratha, Macgillefinnen dynasta de Muntirpeodochain, Macgillemichil dynasta de Oconghalle; Muintirmoelruann et O'Heagnii duo domini de Farmanagh; Mackinaoth dominus de Triuchehead, O'Cormac in Ubmhmaccharthin; O'Garbith in Ubhbrassalmacha; O'Longain, O'Duibhdamhny, et O'Conchobhar in Ubhbrassail occidentali [O'Loircain in Uibh Brassail orientali], O'Heaguy in Clancarnia; O'Donnellus et O'Ruadagan duo domini de Uieachach; O'Dubhtirius in Clandamhin; O'Melchroibhe in Clanduibhsinaigh; O'Lochtain in Mogdorna minore, O'Hambith in Ubhseain, Maguirus in Farmanach; O'Colgan et O'Conoell in Ubmaccartain."—pp. 244, 246.

Now we do not pretend to know how far this book of the Celtic Society will be allowed to remain unanswered by those among our fellow-countrymen who have leisure for writing; but thus much we will ourselves declare—(here let our readers give us credit for some Homeric imprecation or other)—that if ever we meet with any members of the Celtic Society on the stormy coast of Pembrokeshire, near that little rill above which rises the ancient Castle of Manorbeer, built by the family of Giraldus, inhabited, and even described, by the Archdeacon himself, and where, on the lone hillside, yawning downwards into the sea, are chasms made by old Oceanus in his wildest mood, hundreds of feet down, wet and dripping with the salt spray—places incredible, unimaginable—where the sea-gull hides her little ones, and the Nereids bathe their glaucous limbs by the pale light of the moon; and, not far thence, stands a cromlech, worthy of a score of letters in itself—for the gods call it a cromlech, but men style it *Coetan Arthur*—if ever we meet any of the Celtic Society there, we will invoke the manes of Giraldus—shivering and cowering uncomfortably every night amid the mouldering towers of Maenor Pyrr—and we will ram, jam, and cram some of them down the fathomless crevices aforesaid, while at the rest we will whirl, hurl, and curl the venerable cromlech itself, burying them under its enormous weight wheresoever it may light upon their wretched remains! The ghost of

Giraldus is consigned to his own old castle, as is well known; as for the spirit of Lynch, we know of a certain *Troll Du* that will suit him exactly.

Meantime, what shall we do with the book itself? Why, simply this: we have only skimmed it over, and dipped into it more or less; now we will read it through carefully; we will have it bound; we will keep a special place for it on our shelves; for the next three or four years it shall "lie upon the table," inasmuch as we feel desirous of getting up some Irish History, and this seems to us, of all others, the very book to go through: and we will *not* lend it to any of our friends for, two good reasons—one, that they had better subscribe to the Celtic Society themselves, and get a good guinea's worth annually in return for their tin; and next, that whoever opens this volume would be likely to retain it so long that its return might become problematical.

THE BOOK OF NORTH WALES. By C. F. CLIFFE. 1850. 12mo.

We are precluded by a feeling of delicacy from saying all that we think about this book, inasmuch as its author is such an active member of the Cambrian Archæological Association, and such a frequent contributor of information to our own pages. Independently of this, however, or of one of our editors having communicated to him a few MSS. notes, he has had the kindness to acknowledge his obligations in a manner far more complimentary than was deserved; and in so far has not only tied up our tongue, but has well nigh dried up all the ink in our editorial pen.

Begging however our readers to subtract from Mr. Cliffe's book all that may be considered personal to ourselves, we do not hesitate to say that this is *the* book of North Wales, and not only so, but that it is the *best* book, next to Pennant, and for the following reasons:—The author is a man of exceedingly picturesque and poetical sentiment; he not only sees fine scenery and admires it artistically, but he *feels* it poetically; he can trace the grand, and solemn, and soft, and soothing voice of nature, speaking eloquently from all her works; he can commune with the mountain top, with the torrent, the lake, and the storm; and he can tell all this to his readers, and point out to them what to see, and what to do, if they would realize impressions such as his own. Very few persons are competent to write a good topographical book; very few are able to form a thoroughly good *compagnon de voyage*, such as our friend and fellow-labourer has here concocted. Most of the guide books on Wales hitherto published have been made up of the most second-hand and trivial, often of the most erroneous, details; few antiquaries, competent to handle this subject, have essayed to act as guides through Wales. Mr. Cliffe has done so, however, and done it most successfully and agreeably. He has shown himself quite up to the level of the most recent researches of historians and antiquaries; he has given evident proofs of being an artist; and as

for his piscatorial knowledge and practice, he and his friend and companion, the Rev. G. Roberts, another Welsh antiquary, pretty well known to our readers, should be put down as the Izaak Waltons of Cambria for ever after.

A vast deal of the rubbish of former guide books, and of professed Histories of Wales, is removed by this book, and we have in it—as in its companion for South Wales—a large body of local history and tradition, (Welsh tradition is worth something, be it remembered,) accompanied by acute and correct æsthetical remarks upon all places and objects of note throughout the six counties.

We wish the book had been much larger—or, rather, we should like to go along with the author over much of the ground he has described, and extract more than his pages can afford from his stores of honey; but probably he had an eye to the knapsack of the tourist, or else to his pocket. And yet 'tis only five shillings! If a tourist cannot afford this, he is not fit to be admitted on the holy ground of Cambria's mountains.

We particularly recommend our readers to look to what Mr. Cliffe has brought together about Snowdon, and Western Merioneth, as specimens of his skill in giving new information, and in selecting the tit-bits of former describers. But, in fact, all through the book, the traveller will find ample materials to repay his curiosity.

Of the illustrations we are not allowed to say much, for a very obvious reason; but two we can without any false delicacy praise, for they are *new* to us—we mean the admirable sketches of Snowdon and Llyn Idwal—the *best* and most faithful wood-cuts of their respective subjects yet produced. As we know the localities “as well as our pockets”—to use a Gallic phrase—we can pronounce thus confidently.

Unfortunately Mr. Cliffe has printed his book at some Saxon press or other, hence his proofs have been read by persons not sufficiently skilled in our dear native tongue—that tongue in which Adam made love so successfully to Eve—and the consequence has been several typographical blunders. Mr. Cliffe was seriously ill at the time, and unable to conduct the operation himself, otherwise they would not have occurred. Before he brings out his new edition—for we hope that this *first* one will disappear early in the summer—let him send his proofs to certain warm friends of his amidst our misty vales, and as they sit on the moss-grown bank, meditating on the prowess of Hu Gadarn, or dreaming along with Taliesin, they will correct them for him, and render them immaculate.

SPECIMENS OF INLAID TILES, HERALDIC AND GEOMETRICAL, FROM NEATH ABBEY, GLAMORGANSHIRE. Published by the Committee of the Neath Philosophical Institution.

The abbey which is illustrated in this work was one of the most considerable in South Wales, and is already known to our readers through the researches of George Grant Francis, Esq., Local Secre-

tary to the Association for Glamorgan. It consisted of numerous buildings, and in particular of the conventual church, which shows by its ruins that it must have been an edifice of great architectural importance. Besides the church, there are also the remains of a large manorial residence; and the whole forms a pile of ruins attractive from many considerations. We believe the members of the Neath Philosophic Institution are making excavations among these ruins, and are taking steps, with the concurrence of the noble owner, to secure the venerable pile from further degradation—an admirable example, which we would willingly see followed in other parts of the country. One portion of their discoveries is given to the public in the work now before us, and much light is thereby thrown, not only on the local history of the county of Glamorgan, but also on the state of art at the time the abbey was completed. The prevailing style of architecture observable in it, though of a period of transition, may be called DECORATED—Early, rather than Late. The tiles which supply the principal illustrations of this work evince great taste and beauty of design to have existed at the time of their composition. There are only a few architectural details of any value remaining in the abbey, but what there are have been recorded in the pages of this volume. Three excellent sketches by Mrs. Vivian, full of true artistic taste and *savoir peindre*, seem to convey a correct idea of the buildings, and their general effect; added to which there is a large ground-plan of the church itself. The whole is admirably executed in chromolithography, by Schenck of Edinburgh, from the drawings and measurements of Mr. Egbert Moxham, architect, of Neath. The accounts of the heraldic bearings are from the accomplished pen of the Rev. H. H. Knight, Vicar of Neath, and comprise the blazons of twenty-four noble families more or less connected with the abbey as its benefactors. We cannot sufficiently express our admiration of the manner in which this book is illustrated; it constitutes a work of art of a high class, and is very honourable to the spirit of the society under whose auspices it has been published.

THE DECORATIVE ARTS OF THE MIDDLE AGES. By H. SHAW, F.S.A. London: Pickering. 1850.

This is one of those valuable works which Mr. Shaw gives from time to time to the antiquarian world; and it promises to be one of the most useful of his numerous publications. It consists of a series of plates, with descriptions illustrative of different objects of art of the middle ages, and is intended to be of practical application to the modern artificer, as well as to the antiquary. It is appearing in monthly numbers, and the twenty-four numbers, when completed, will form one or more volumes corresponding to those of the "Dresses and Decorations of the Middle Ages." One of the striking features of this publication is the extensive application of wood engraving to subjects of this nature, and among them will be found some admirable instances of skill in that peculiar line of art. The opening illustration

of No. I., for example—a cup designed by Hans Holbein, for Jane Seymour—is a beautiful specimen both of drawing and engraving. In each number of this work one of the plates is illuminated, and two are engraved on copper. Elaborate initial letters and vignettes introduce and close each article. Mr. Shaw, in speaking of the object of this work, observes:—

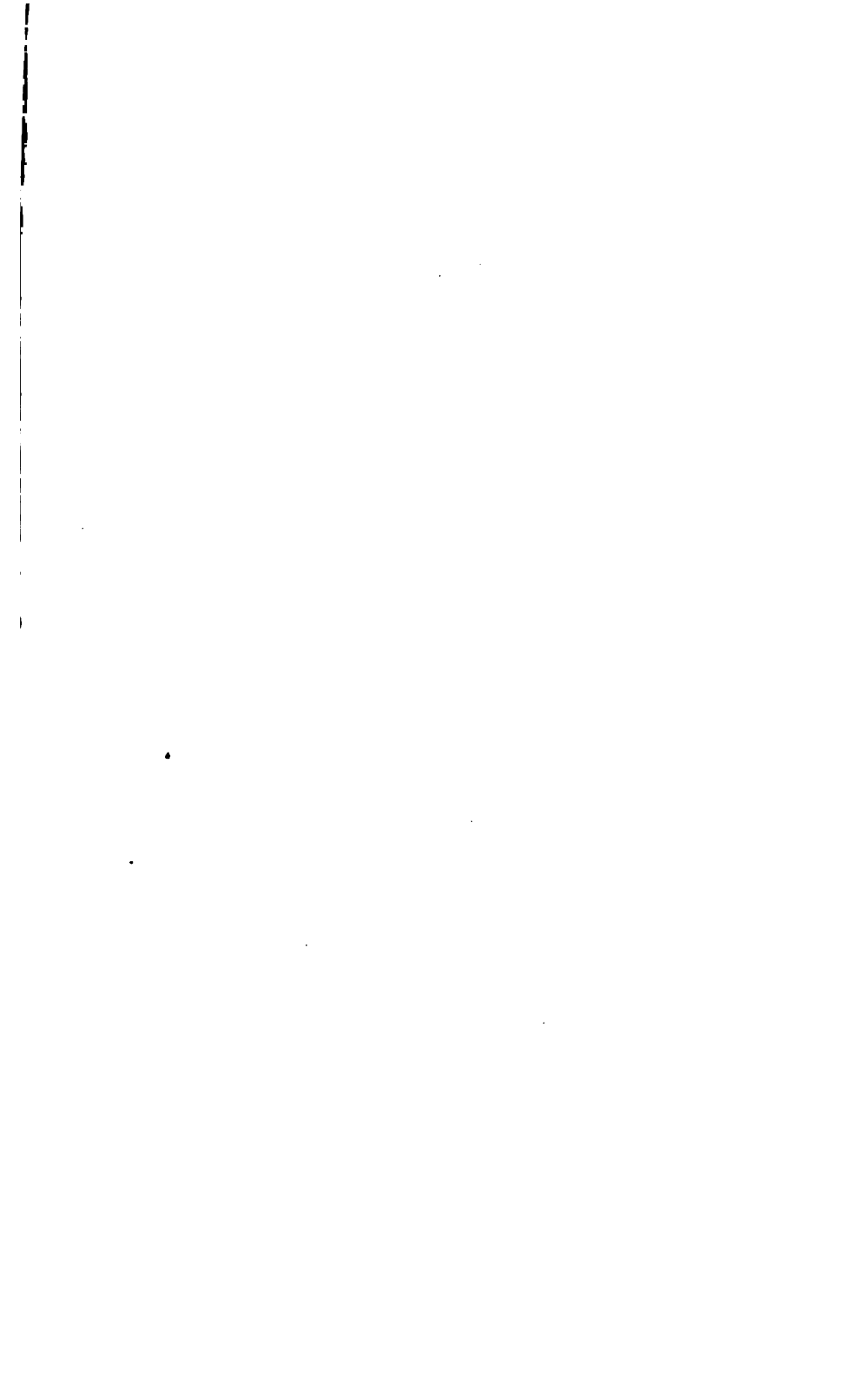
“By thus bringing together a mass of examples calculated to show the principles by which our ancestors controlled their genius in producing articles of taste and beauty, from the precious metals, from enamels, from embroidery, and from the various other textures and materials on which they delighted to lavish their skill and ingenuity, (both for the various services of the Church, and also as accessories to the luxuries of the wealthy of all classes,) it is hoped we may be able to produce a collection of considerable interest, not to the antiquary alone, but also to the painter, and more especially to those who are engaged in giving to modern productions the additional interest which most of them are susceptible of, by being made works of art, as well as of utility. It cannot be doubted that the greater number of these relics show some beauties—either of form, of the arrangement of colours, or of detail, which the accomplished artist of the present time may take advantage of, although it may sometimes be desirable to deprive them of the quaintness attaching to a past style. It can as little be doubted that he may benefit considerably in his studies from nature, by observing how his predecessors modified her most beautiful forms to meet the necessities of the materials on which they were employed, or to give them the symmetry required to bring them into harmony with the architectural, or other arrangements by which they were surrounded.”

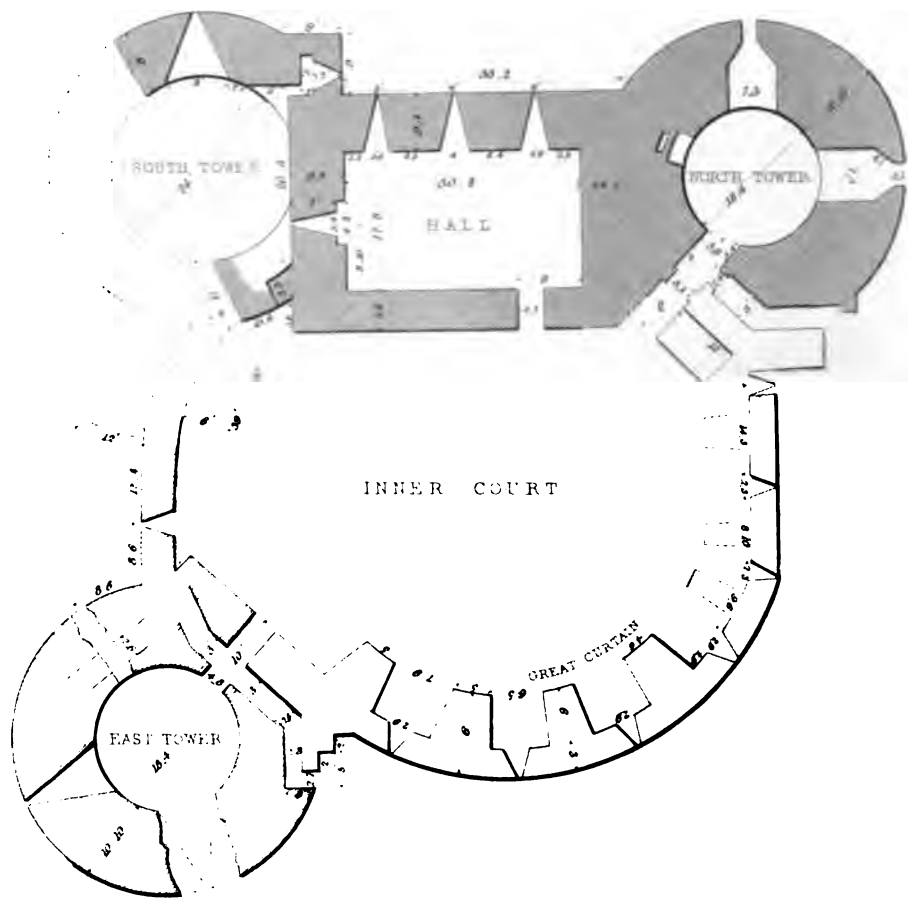
We agree fully with what is here advanced; and we would recommend all persons desirous of studying art on true æsthetic principles, to visit the magnificent Exhibition of Antiquities now opened under the auspices of the Archæological Institution of Great Britain and Ireland, at the Rooms of the Society of Arts, in London. Such an exhibition has never before been witnessed in England.

We never open any of Mr. Shaw's books without picking up some bit of valuable artistic information—such as the following:—

“Of the many painters, who (during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries) commenced their career as goldsmiths, or who exercised their inventive faculties in making designs to be employed on the precious metals, and other rich and costly materials so abundantly used at that time, no one, we believe, excelled if they even approached Holbein in the versatility of his fancy, the elegance of his combinations, or the intimate acquaintance he displayed with all the details and resources of decorative art. The more important of his pictures supply abundant evidence of his skill and patience as an imitator, while the numerous designs from his hand, still in existence, prove his facility of invention.”

“The public in general are not, we believe, aware of there having been four painters of the name of Holbein, and all of the same family. The first was Hans, called the elder, who was born at Augsburg, about the year 1450. The second, Sigismond, his brother, born about 1456; and the two sons of the former, Ambrose, born at Augsburg in 1484, and Hans the younger, who was born at Basle in 1498, and died in London, of the plague, in 1554. They all practised portrait painting; but the pictures of the three first were in the dry, hard, and tame manner so general in Germany during that early period of the art. And, but for the superior talent of the last, the name might have passed into oblivion. Examples of the skill of all of them may be seen in the Royal and Imperial Gallery at Vienna, where the genius of the younger is exemplified by no less than fifteen of his finest works.”





CASTEL COCH.

MAIN FLOOR

Archæologia Cambrensis.

NEW SERIES, No. IV.—OCTOBER, 1850.

CASTELL COCH, GLAMORGAN.

TOPOGRAPHICAL NOTES.¹

THE river Taff, from its origin under the Brecon Beacons, after a course of about twenty-six miles through the northern and mountain district of Glamorgan, escapes by a deep and narrow ravine across the last elevation, and rolls its course, unfettered, to the Bristol Channel.

The ridge which it thus finally cleaves, and which divides the hill-country from the plain, is part of the great southern escarpment of the coal basin of Glamorgan, supported there by the mountain limestone rising from below, and in its turn reposing upon the old red sandstone, the denuded surface of which forms, under the later horizontal rocks and drift gravel, the basis of the plain. The escarpment, extending for many miles along the contiguous counties of Monmouth and Glamorgan, is traversed, in this immediate neighbourhood, by the three passes of the Ebbwy, the Rhywny, and the Taff. The heights bounding the latter river, though in actual elevation below some other parts of the chain, produce a very striking effect, from the abruptness of their rise from the plain.

¹ The following article professes only to be a faithful account of the castle as it now stands, or as it may, by a very strict induction, be inferred to have stood.

These heights, on each side of the pass, must always have been regarded by the inhabitants of the country as places of great security. On the right bank of the river, the huge lumpish sandstone mass of the Garth rises to 981 feet above the sea, and is crowned by two remarkable tumuli, well known as landmarks in the vale, and visible even from the distant shores of Somerset.

The elevation on the left bank, though lower, is more precipitous. It presents, in the lichen-stained crags about its summits, and the rich verdure which clothes its sides and base, all those features so well known to geologists as characterising the scenery of the mountain limestone.

Nature has rendered the west and south sides of this height—those exposed to any foe from beyond sea—nearly inaccessible. Across the north-eastern side, lines of circumvallation have been hewn out of the rock, the dimensions of which show the value attached to the place, as a fortress, by the Cymry.

There was reason in the choice. From hence the long ships of the Danish rovers could be seen while yet distant from the shore, and timely notice be given, and protection afforded to, the people of the plain, should the ravagers extend their sweep far inwards from the coast. A beacon fire upon the headland of Penarth—celebrated in Anglo-Norman verse for its ancient oak, and now marked by its white church—answered here, or on the opposite Garth, would be repeated from the summits of the distant mountains of Brecon and Caermarthen, and would at once spread the tidings of invasion over the whole of the southern coast.

The Normans, within a century and a-half after the conquest of Glamorgan, had completed a chain of castles along the plain country, from Chepstow to Pembroke, and were only exposed to the invasions of the Welsh from the mountain tracts upon the north. To check these, they threw up a number of fortresses, either upon, or within the verge of, the hill-country, of which Caerphilly on the Rhymany, and Castell Coch on the Taff, may be cited as adjacent examples.

The site of the Cymric camp was far too difficult of access to allow of the ready transport into it of provisions, or munitions of war, or of a constant and rapid communication with the chief castle at Cardiff. Lower down the scarp, though still high above the plain, the Norman engineer selected a natural platform on the limestone rock, separated from the main scarp by a natural depression, and sufficiently removed from the summit to be out of the reach of any military engines with which the Welsh were likely to be acquainted, or which, from their want of organisation, they were likely to be able to bring, with their forces, against the castle. There is an easy approach to this platform from the east, which probably communicated with the old road, called Roman, and no doubt Cymric, which leads direct from Cardiff to Rheubina, and close upon which is the circular mound, which appears to have been the site of a tower, at Whitchurch, and the Celtic tumulus of Twmpath. Upon this platform was erected the fortress which is here to be described.

Castell Coch, so called from the red tint of its materials, is, in general plan, a triangle, each angle being capped by a drum-tower. Its general divisions are the *south, east, and northern towers, the gate-tower, the curtains and hall, and the outworks.*

The platform occupied by the whole is about two hundred yards long, by seventy yards broad, and the principal works of the castle occupy its west end. The south face is, in part, precipitous, and from twenty to thirty feet high. The north face, towards the upper hill-side, is deepened into a formidable moat, and the east end was defended by a fosse, cut deeply across the rock, and beyond this by two towers, connected by a curtain-wall.

The *north tower* rises, from a square base, to a cylindrical superstructure, the north and south angles terminating in buttresses, each the half of a pyramid cut vertically and diagonally across, after a fashion very common in Welsh castles, and well seen in Marten's Tower at Chepstow. The cylinder is forty feet in diameter.

It contains three stories, of which the middle one is on a level with the inner court, or *terre pleine*, of the place.

The lower story may have been a dungeon. It is vaulted, and has two great cross-springer ribs, and two windows opening high above the floor. A narrow passage, vaulted, with steps, leads into it from the court. Its internal diameter is eighteen feet, its walls upwards of ten feet thick. The windows were mere loopholes.

The middle story is also circular and vaulted, with similar ribs. Here, however, the windows open nearly on the level of the floor, though also loops. There is a fire-place, with a flue carried up in the wall. The flue is backed with *stone*. The entrance to this chamber is also from the court, and, on the east side of the vaulted passage, a gallery passes off in the thickness of the wall, and leads to what was a small sewer chamber, occupying a square projection on the east side of the tower, at its junction with the curtain. The general dimensions of this story, and the thickness of the walls, correspond with those of the room below.

The upper story contains one chamber, the south and east sides of which are flat, the rest circular. Here are no less than three fire-places, each of large dimensions, with funnels in the thickness of the wall. It contains also two small recesses, one a sort of sink, and has two windows. There are also two doors, one, on the south side, opening upon the roof and ramparts of the hall and west front, the other, eastwards, leading to the ramparts of the great or northern curtain. Access to this chamber, from below, seems to have been obtained by an exterior stair between the tower and the hall. This story, within, is about twenty-six feet mean diameter, and the walls vary from two feet three inches, to four feet thick. It was roofed flat, with timber, and above were ramparts and a parapet, probably reached by means of a trap-door in the roof.

This tower is the most perfect of the whole, and in tolerable preservation, although the lower chamber is half-full of rubbish; the small apartment connected with

the middle story is broken down, and the roof and ramparts are wanting on the summit. This tower, however, is evidently the type of, and has served in the present instance as a clue to, the original plan of the others.

The *south tower* corresponded nearly to the last, and, like it, appears to have contained three chambers, and at its junction with the west curtain, a square projection, containing in the middle story a small sewer chamber, and in the upper, probably a communication with the battlements of the hall. The lower chamber is entered by a vaulted passage, down steps, from the court-yard. The middle or main chamber probably was entered on the level, by a passage from the court-yard, and a triforial gallery seems to have led from this passage to the window or opening in the south end of the hall. The upper chamber was accessible from the hall battlements, as it probably also was from those of the gateway curtain. It is uncertain whether this tower rose from a square base—probably it did. Its upper part was cylindrical, forty feet diameter. The walls are eight feet thick, and the chambers do not appear to have been vaulted. This tower is in a ruined state. The two outer thirds of its circumference have been blown away by a mine, but the part connected with the hall, including a door below, two windows in the lower and middle story, and the small chamber in the wall, remain tolerably perfect, and remove all doubts as to the original elevation and particulars of the whole.

The *east tower* corresponds in altitude and general arrangements to the other two, like them containing three stories. It is cylindrical from the base, and forty feet diameter; but, towards the court-yard, it presents a flat face, with two shoulders, projecting at its junction with its curtains. Like the other towers, it has a square projection for a small chamber, here found at its junction outside with the great or northern curtain. The lower story, like those of the other towers, is below the level of the court, but instead of being entered directly by a distinct staircase, a gallery branches off from the passage to

the middle chamber, and descends, winding in the thickness of the wall, to that below. This lower chamber is filled up, but its existence is evident enough, and the staircase is seen through a great rent in the wall. The diameter of the chamber is eighteen feet four inches, and the thickness of the wall ten feet ten inches. It was probably vaulted, although all traces of a vault are gone.

The middle chamber, of the same dimensions, is entered by a passage from the court, on a level. This chamber had two loops. There is no fire-place, and no trace of a vault, although the walls are above ten feet thick. On either hand, opening out of the passage leading to this chamber, are galleries in the wall. That on the right descending to the chamber below, that on the left running on a level, to open into a small chamber in the square projection between the tower and the great curtain. The upper chamber appears to have been entered from the ramparts by a long pointed doorway in the gorge; and over the lower door, leading from this, on the right, a passage leads to a spiral stair in the wall, which evidently gave access to the battlements of the tower. This tower has been rent asunder by a central explosion, but the outer part has only shifted a little.

The *hall* occupies the space between the north and south towers, which it connects, its outer wall forming the curtain between them. It is rectangular, thirty feet eight inches, by seventeen feet eight inches, vaulted, with a pointed arch, and having its outer wall seven feet, and its inner six feet, thick. In the former are three loops, splayed towards the interior, and having pointed heads. They are high above the base of the wall, and command a fine view. The door was near the north end of the opposite side, and possibly there may have been a fire-place on the same side with the door. At the south end is a window, which opens into a sort of gallery in the south tower.

Above the vaulted roof was probably a platform, with a low battlement towards the court, and a high one towards the exterior of the castle. This platform com-

municated with the north and south towers directly, and with the court, by a narrow stair already noticed as leading to the upper chamber of the north tower. The hall is now much mutilated, the vault and part of the east wall being destroyed.

The *great curtain* is a large irregular segment of a circle, about eighty feet exterior face, and with a chord of about sixty feet. It originally was a wall three feet thick, which appears to have been found of insufficient breadth for the use of military engines on the north and north-east battlements, upon these, the weakest sides of the fortress; wherefore a parallel wall was built within and against it, six feet thick, extending the whole way from the north to the east tower. The old wall contains seven loops at the court-yard level, and to preserve these, an arch, six feet diameter, is turned in the new work, opposite to each. Above, there is, of course, a rampart walk of ample width, entered from the tower at either end. The exterior of this wall, below the level of the court, is strengthened by a stone facing, forming the scarp of its moat. This curtain remains tolerably perfect. There is a breach near its junction with the north tower, and the new and inner wall is wanting opposite to the four loops, but traces of it are discernible in the mortar upon the old wall.

The *gate-house curtain* is much less perfect. It appears to have been slightly convex in plan towards the exterior, and about twenty-eight feet in length between the south and east towers, from both of which its ramparts were no doubt entered. It is about five feet thick. One loop remains, about six feet above the court-yard level, which could only have been used by means of a platform, perhaps of timber. Twenty-one feet from its junction with the east tower, a small half-round tower seems to have projected from the curtain, serving no doubt to defend the gateway, which seems to have lain between this and the south tower, and probably consisted in a simple archway and passage, with a portcullis and doors. That the entrance was here, and

between these towers, is certain from the causeway leading to it, but the gate-tower, and most of the curtain, are utterly gone.

Thus much of the castle. We next reach the *outworks*, for the representation of which the dimensions of the plate do not afford space.

The south and north tower, and the hall curtain, needed no exterior defence. They rise from a very steep bank, and their foundations are of scarpèd rock and solid masonry. They are quite unassailable from below. The other two sides are more exposed. In front of the south tower is the commencement of the moat, broken by a causeway opposite to the inner gateway, and leading from it to the outer court. Beyond the causeway the moat deepens, and is carried round the east tower and great curtain, steep and deep, and hewn in the rock, so as to render this, the naturally weaker side, very strong. The moat, which must always have been dry, ends, opposite to the north tower, in some curious excavations, resembling a water-tank, which, however, they could scarcely have been.

The outer court of the castle occupies the remainder or east end of the natural platform. Its dimensions are about 100 feet long, by forty feet wide. Its southern side, a continuation of the line of the same face of the castle, was defended by a precipice, partly natural, partly scarpèd by art, though now broken down and filled up. There are no traces of a wall on this side, but probably there was a parapet.

The opposite north, or landward, side, is defended by a branch from the moat, which, after being interrupted and traversed by a causeway, sweeps round the east end of the works, and terminates in a deep and broad excavation, which is carried to the brink of the cliff, and thus defends also the east end of this outer court.

The west end of the platform, or that towards the castle, is cut off from that building by its proper moat, traversed, as already mentioned, by the causeway leading to the inner gateway. There is no evidence of any

walled defence to this court, and yet, without such, the moat on the land side would scarcely have been sufficient to delay an enemy, so as to expose him to the fire from the east tower and gateway curtain, upon which the defence of this side depended.

As the principal object was to command the regular approach from the eastward, the defences were prolonged in this direction. Outside, and on the counterscarp of the moat of the outer court, and six feet from the edge of the south precipice, there are traces of a *tower*, about thirty feet diameter, with what may have been a sort of buttress on its southern side, extending to the precipice. Opposite, on its northern side, and at its junction with a *lower curtain*, is what appears to have been a well-stair, or the foundation of a distinct turret. There is no moat to the east of this tower, but the ground falls in a natural scarp.

This *lower curtain*, indicated, like the towers, by a mound of earth only, sweeps round, so as to cover the counterscarp of the outer moat, and ends in the *roadway tower*, about forty feet diameter, the foundations of which are very distinct, and which must have completely commanded the approach, at a point much in advance of, and below, the outer causeway and the eastern tower. The regular approach, it is clear, lay from the east, and between the precipitous height crowned by the old Cymric camp and the level platform of the castle, and, approaching it by the side least strongly defended by nature, would, at 150 yards from the body of the place, be flanked by the fire of the lower tower, then of the lower curtain, and then of the roadway tower. Supposing these silenced, and the outer causeway reached, the besieger came directly below the east tower, and a part of its adjacent curtains; and, as he crossed the outer court, and reached the second causeway, he would be opposed by a fire from the east and south towers, their curtain, and the gateway tower.

Even if the place were surprised and entered, each of the three towers, and the platform of the hall, admitted of being defended for a few hours, until aid had been

signalled for, and sent, from Cardiff. No doubt, before brave men, all defences fail; and the Welsh, who certainly were not wanting in courage, did, according to tradition, more than once take this castle, probably by surprise and escalade; nevertheless, it was a very strong fortress, both by nature and art, and must have been a sore thorn in the side of the mountaineers of Glamorgan.

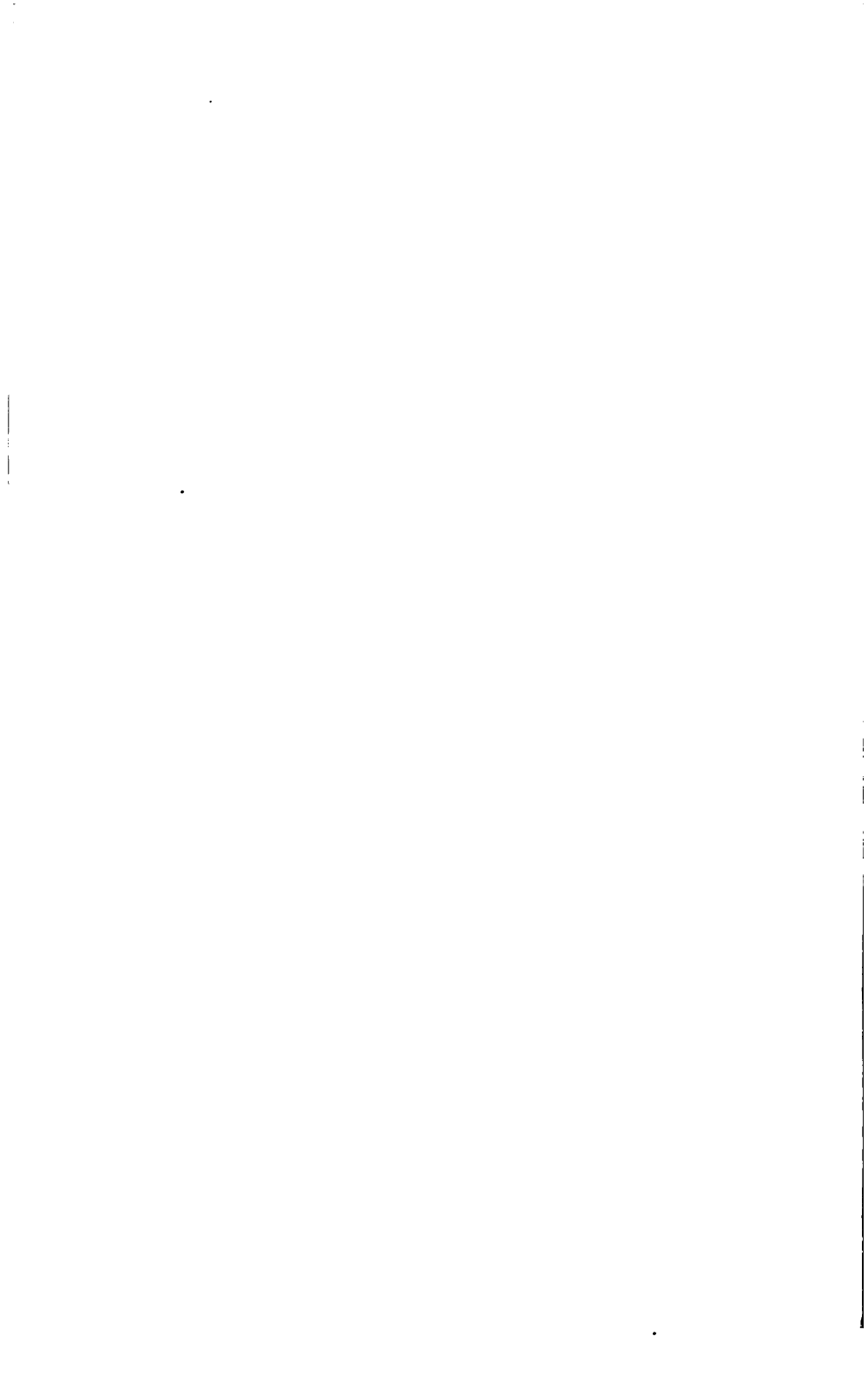
The present condition of each part of the castle has already been described; it may be added, generally, that the whole is very thickly grown over with brushwood and weeds, so much so that it is difficult to make out the details of the plan of the building. Although no ornaments remain, yet it is clear from the general plan, and from the doorways, that no part of the castle is Norman. It is probably Early English, and may very well be of the reign of Henry III., and, I should judge, a little earlier than Caerphilly.

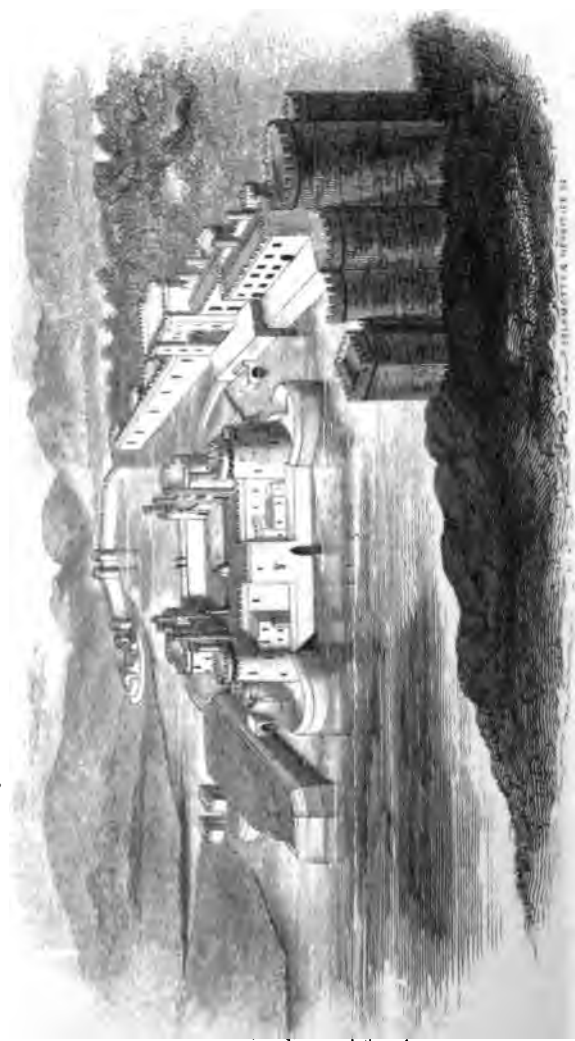
Here and there, especially in the outer court, are some handsome Scotch firs, and a line of venerable beeches, the peculiar green of whose foliage marks, from a great distance, the line of the old approach. These, of course, with the wood clothing the hill side, and the ivy upon the walls and towers, should be left untouched; but it is much to be wished that the castle itself, and the works of the Cymric camp above, were cleared of timber and underwood, and a little care taken to encourage fair greensward in their stead.

This castle has descended with the rest of the De Clare estates, and is now the property of the Marquis of Bute.

There are various traditions concerning it, but a great deficiency of recorded information. Being the key of the upper country, it must have witnessed many an inburst of the native Welsh, from the Norman conquest to the days of Owain Glyndwr, who is supposed to have descended by this pass when he burned the episcopal Palace of Llandaff, and ravaged Cardiff.

G. T. CLARK.





CAERPHILLY CASTLE.

Restored from a careful survey, by G. I. Clark.

CONTRIBUTION TOWARDS AN ACCOUNT OF CAERPHILLY CASTLE.¹

I.—DESCRIPTION.

CAERPHILLY is by very much the most extensive castle in Wales, and is reputed to cover, with its outworks and earthworks, about thirty acres.

The castle owes its celebrity to its great extent, and to the peculiar manner in which one of its towers has been thrown out of the perpendicular, by the forces employed for its destruction. It possesses few associations with historical events. But one sovereign is certainly known to have visited it. It is not, like Kidwelly or Cardiff, the head of a feudal honour or lordship, nor is it surrounded by any franchise or barony. It has not even received the barren dignity of conferring a title of honour upon any of its numerous possessors. It has been celebrated by no bard, and even mentioned only by one.

Neither does Caerphilly possess many sources of intrinsic interest. It boasts not the architectural decorations of Caernarvon, the commanding position of Conway, or the picturesque beauty of Raglan. It is simply a ruin, of great extent, and possessing that sort of rugged sublimity which is inseparable from an assemblage of lofty walls and massive and partially overthrown towers, neither bosomed in woods, nor mantled, to any extent, with ivy.

Caerphilly stands upon that wide tract of debateable ground between England and Wales, which was so long contested by both nations under the title of "The Marches," and which, beneath the Normans, had its own customs and its governors, known as the Lords-Marchers.

The castle, though in the Marches, is within the Welsh

¹ A portion of the following Paper is taken from a Memoir upon Caerphilly, by the same author, published in the *West of England Journal*, in 1835-6.

border, being about a mile from the river Rhyrnny, the boundary between Monmouth and Glamorgan, and, since the reign of Henry VIII., between England and the Principality, in this direction.

The castle is placed in the midst of a valley, open on the east towards the Rhyrnny, and divided on the west from the valley of the Taff by the mountain ridge of Mynydd Mayo. North and north-west, at a greater distance, is the concave crest of Mynydd Eglwsilan, and on the south, the long and well-known elevation which separates the hill-country of Glamorgan from the plain, and is intersected by the ravines of the Taff, the Rhyrnny, and the Ebbwy. This ridge is locally known as the great Garth and Caerphilly mountains, and, on the road from the castle to the sea, is crowned by the ancient Celtic stronghold of Môr-graig.

Caerphilly stands therefore in a vast basin. The traveller who wishes to see it to advantage, should descend upon it soon after sunrise in autumn, from one of the surrounding heights, when the grey towers of the castle will be seen rising out of an immense sea of mist.

The whole basin is a part of the Glamorganshire coal field. The mineral has long been worked on Caerphilly mountain, where it appears on the surface, and the castle is chiefly constructed of the fissile sandstone of the neighbourhood, which appears to have been quarried from a large excavation by the road side, near Chapel-Martin.

Along the base of the mountains, and extending some way up their skirts, here, as in all the vallies in the neighbourhood, lie vast deposits of gravel and sand, composed in part of the debris of the neighbouring rocks, but chiefly of rolled pebbles, supposed to have been brought down from the northern hills by diluvial agency.

I propose, in the following pages, first to describe the *position* and *details* of the castle, and afterwards to state its *history*, as far at least as it is known to me.

First, of the ground on which the castle stands :—

Near the centre of the basin already described is a

bed of gravel, of considerable extent and thickness, the surface of which has been deeply wrought, by some natural process, into a series of furrows and eminences.

A narrow tongue of slightly elevated ground, the termination of a low peninsula of gravel, projects eastwards, and, by its projection, divides a swampy flat of considerable breadth into two portions. These are contained within irregular gravel banks, similar to, though somewhat higher than, the central peninsula. The southern is shorter, and almost parallel to it; the northern is prolonged, and curves around its point, until it is separated from the southern only by an inconsiderable gorge. The swamp thus assumes something of the figure of a horse-shoe.

South of the peninsula, the Nant-y-Gledyr, a large rivulet, flows from the south-west, across the swamp, through the gorge, to join the Rhymny.

North-east of the peninsula a smaller spring, partly indeed fed by the Nant-y-Gledyr, flows across a part of the northern swamp; and, north of this again, another spring contributes to the same swamp. Naturally, these waters seem to have found their way, by a depression or gorge, to the north-eastward, into the Nant-y-Gledyr, outside of and below the upper gorge already mentioned.

The tongue of land thus guarded was well suited for the purposes of defence, supposing the peninsula to have been converted, by a cross-trench, into an island. Water was abundant, pasturage at hand, and the morass would form a secure front. There is, however, no evidence that the spot was occupied by the Welsh, though it has been thought, with great probability, that the stronghold of Senghennydd was here situated.

Under the Normans, the surface of the ground underwent considerable alteration. The bed of the Nant-y-Gledyr was dammed up at one gorge, and the northern waters at the other, and the two divisions of the swamp thus formed into lakes.

Advantage was taken of a narrow and curved ridge, which proceeded from the root of the peninsula, to divide

the northern swamp into two parts, of which the one formed the middle, and the other the inner, moat.

The inner moat communicated with the southern swamp by two cross-cuts; one, the old natural termination of the peninsula eastwards, the other, an artificial cut across it on the west; and thus the circuit of the inner moat was completed.

The island which was thus formed, and encircled by this moat, was scarp'd into curtains and bastions, and faced with stone; and the single cross-cut westward, not being deemed a sufficient defence, the peninsula was divided by a second cross-cut further westward, and the second island, thus formed, was converted into a sort of horn-work or demi-lune, covering the western approach. This also was scarp'd and revetted.

Thus, then, the principal features of the ground plan are—the end of the peninsula converted into an *island*, and defended on the north by the *inner north moat*, on the south by the *lake*, on the east by the *inner east moat*, and on the west by the *inner cross-cut*—the whole making up the *inner moat*.

Proceeding outwards, we have, as the boundaries of this moat—on the west, the *horn-work*, prolonged on the north into the *curved ridge*; on the east, the natural bank occupied by the *southern half of the grand front*; and on the south, the acclivity of the *bank of the lake*, rising rather steeply. All these form the outer boundaries of the inner moat. The second, or middle line of defence, is less complete, and is confined to the west and northern sides. It begins with the outer *cross-cut*, west of the horn-work, which communicates at one end with the lake, and at the other with the *middle moat*. Beyond this middle line of defence is, upon the north-west, a high knoll, the summit of which has been carved into a *redoubt*; towards the north by the *northern bank*, which is turned westwards by the *northern brook*, and thickened eastwards into a dam wall; and towards the north-east, east, and south-east, by the continuation of this bank, and the *northern half of the grand front*, built upon it.

These defences are again strengthened—on the north by one division of the *outer moat*, formed by the passage of the north brook, and on the east by the other division extending in advance of the grand front, and connected with the Nant-y-Gledyr, near the great drawbridge. These moats are divided by a sort of *causeway* at the north-east angle of the outworks, reserved for the passage of cavalry from a sally-port. A part of the earth excavated from these outer moats seems to have been thrown up outside, so as to form banks, one of which is occupied by the main street of Caerphilly, the other by the Nant-Garw road.

It is hoped that reference to the plan, or to the ground as seen from the towers or walls, will suffice to render the above description intelligible.

For the purpose of the description of the castle itself, the whole may be considered as composed of six parts, each of which will be further subdivided. These parts are,—

I.—The GRAND FRONT. II.—The HORN-WORK. III.—The REDOUBT. IV.—The MIDDLE WARD. V.—The INNER WARD.

I.—The eastern or GRAND FRONT of Caerphilly is a very fine and complete specimen of a feudal line of defence. It is composed of a long curtain-wall of considerable height and thickness, strengthened on the exterior by buttresses and buttress-towers, rising in the centre into a broad or lofty gate-house, and terminated, at either extremity, by clusters of towers that protect its sally-ports, and prevent it from being out-flanked. Before it is a broad and deep moat, supplied with water, and crossed by a double drawbridge. In its rear is a second moat, also crossed by a drawbridge. The length of the façade is about 250 yards, the height varies from twenty to sixty feet.

It is divided into the great gate-house, the northern curtain and postern, and the southern curtain and postern.

The *great gate-house* stands a little on the north side

of the centre. Its line of front is not exactly parallel to those of the curtains, the plan being irregular.

The *gate-house proper* is a lofty oblong building, fifty feet broad by thirty-five deep, and about sixty high. It is perforated below by the portal, but rises above as a broad tower. Its lateral portions project six feet beyond the portal, and form porters' lodges.

The portal, ten feet wide by twenty high, was defended by gates, portcullis, and stockade. It is guarded by loops on each side from the lodges. Those opening from the portal measure twenty feet by ten, have fire places, and were floored with timber. The walls are nine feet thick, and are looped in various directions for defence.

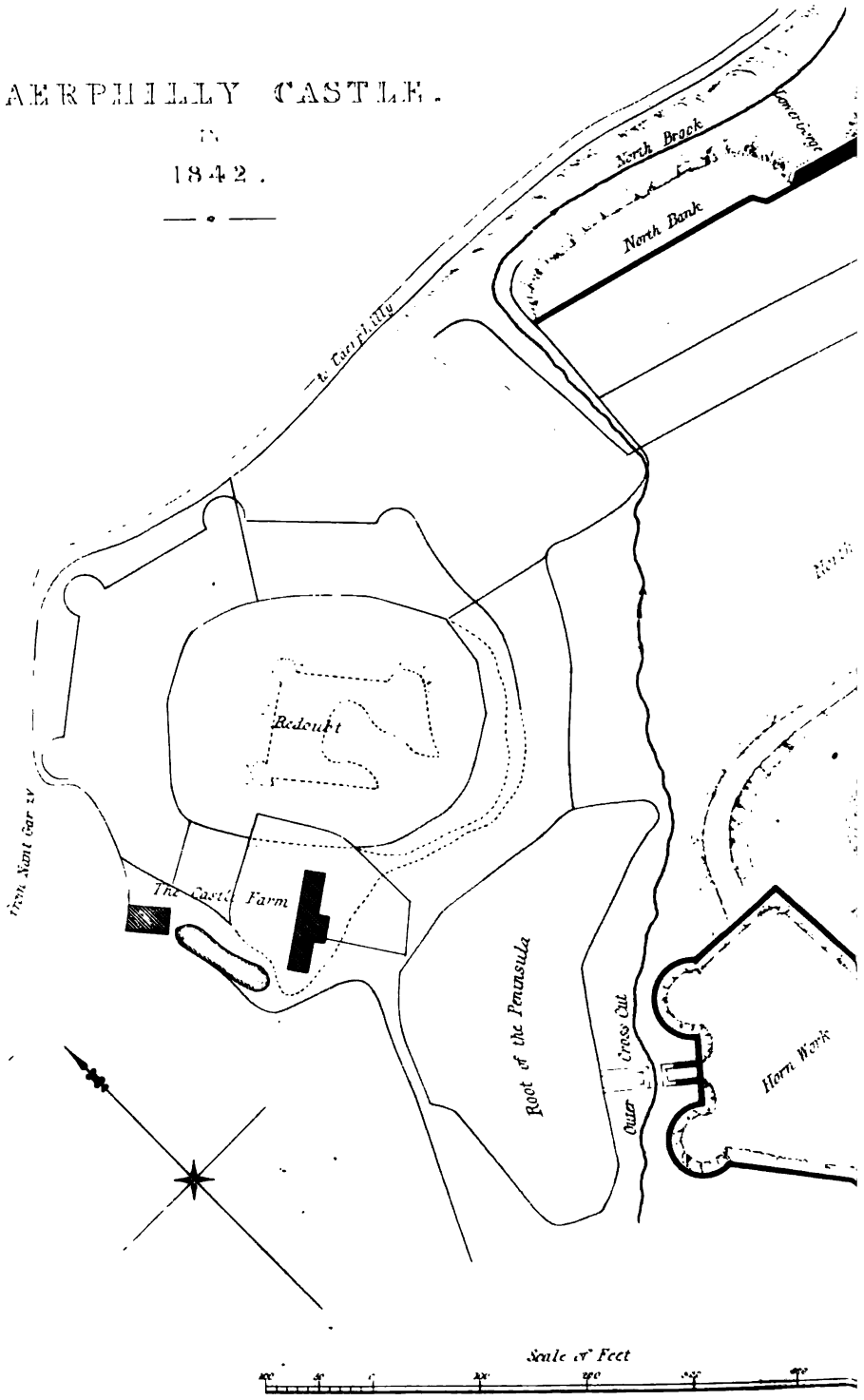
Passing through the gate-house, behind it is a broad platform, which extends behind the southern curtain, and is scarped and revetted towards the inner moat; on the right of this is a prolongation of the gate-house westwards, into the *gate-house tower*. One of two doors leads up this tower by a hexagonal well-stair, nine feet in mean diameter; this opens upon seven apartments in two stories, and terminates in a lofty quadrangular turret. In the lower story are devices for working the portcullis, and a small fire-place and oven, probably intended to serve the purpose of a cooking place for the porter and his assistants, and possibly, in time of siege, for heating pitch, lead, &c. These rooms are vaulted. From this story a passage opens upon the rampart of the northern curtain, and led, probably by a temporary plank bridge, across an abyss in the thickness of the wall, about twenty-nine feet deep and five wide, and opening below between the grates of the grand postern. A passage, at the ground level, leads from the platform through the gate-house tower, across the grand postern, to the northern curtain, and is defended by gates, portcullis, and draw-bridge.

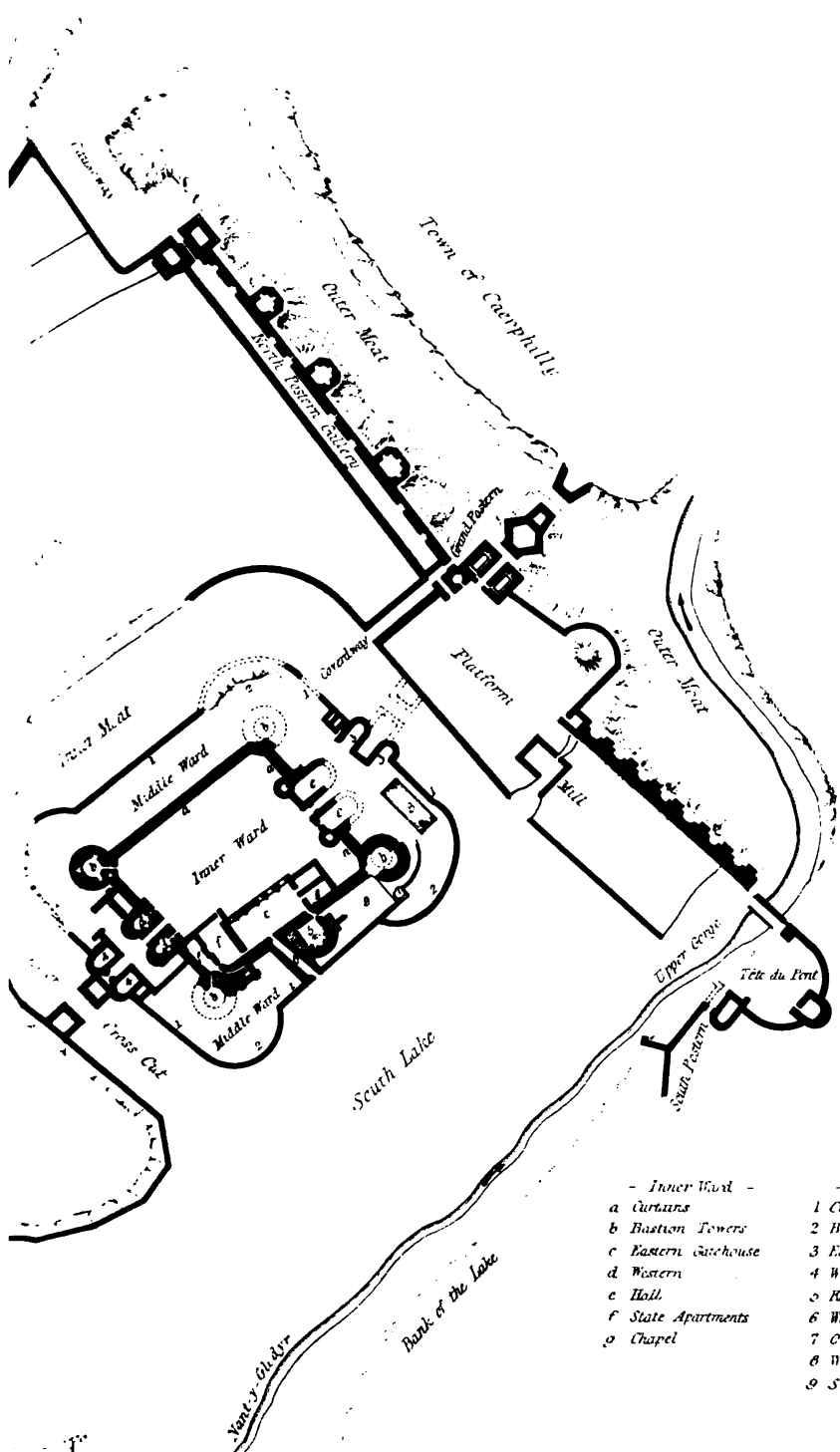
From the gate-house a *dividing wall*, twenty feet high and six thick, extends westward eighty feet to the edge of the inner moat, and thus cuts off the platform and the whole of the northern from the southern curtain. Its



CAERPHILLY CASTLE.

1842.





- Inner Ward -
- a Curtains
- b Bastion Towers
- c Eastern Gatehouse
- d Western
- e Hall
- f State Apartments
- g Chapel
- Middle Ward -
- 1 Curtains
- 2 Bastions
- 3 Eastern Gatehouse
- 4 Western
- 5 Kitchen Tower
- 6 Water Gate Gallery
- 7 Oven
- 8 Water Tank
- 9 Still Room



face has been embattled, so that should the northern curtain be taken, the southern could still be defended. There is no door in this wall.

At the juncture of the gate-house with the *northern curtain*, in the latter, at the level of the water's-edge, is a low-browed archway, which could only have been accessible by a boat, and constitutes the *grand postern*. It is defended by two grates, and a cavity open above between them, and thence a *covered way* leads close under, and north of the dividing wall, to the edge of the inner moat.

This curtain runs northward for 130 yards, and is strengthened exteriorly by three *buttress-towers*, quadrangular and solid below, but hexagonal and chambered above. Each has a projection of twenty feet; they are of unequal breadth. The chambers have each a loop in front, and one at the junction of the tower with the wall on either side. They were accessible only from the rampart.

In the curtain itself are six loops, opening in pairs between the buttress-towers. The curtain ends, northward, in a pair of towers, connected by the vault of a portal, the *north postern*, regularly defended, and opening upon a plot of ground and causeway separating the two parts of the outer moat.

Behind, and parallel to, this curtain, at a distance of nineteen feet, was a slight wall, four feet thick, which formed the rear-wall of a *postern gallery*, leading from the gate-house to the north postern, and forming, above, a broad flat walk for the defence of the ramparts.

Southern curtain.—The general plan of this curtain is irregular; it passes south-eastward from the gate-house, forms a large semicircle, and, passing off in a long straight wall, crosses the Nant-y-Gledyr, and terminates in a *tête-du-pont* and a postern. This wall contains a chamber and *sewer houses* at its angle, and is supported exteriorly by seven quadrangular solid buttresses. In one place it is perforated for the passage of the waste waters of the mill, and in another for the passage of the

Nant-y-Gledyr, being, at that part where subjected to great pressure, fifteen feet thick. This curtain is accessible from the tête-du-pont; and upon it, above the sewer house, is a mural chamber, serving as a "place d'armes." The face of the wall, between the buttresses, is wrought into a concavity, increasing towards the summit. The soil of the platform behind this curtain is twenty-five feet above the exterior level.

The *platform* is a large surface of sward behind the southern curtain, between it and the counterscarp of the inner moat; upon it stood the *mill*, and from it dropped the inner drawbridge. It increases in breadth from the dam to the dividing wall, where it measures ninety-four feet.

The *tête-du-pont* terminates the southern curtain. It consists of a curve of the wall, westward, into a semicircle, with towers and a postern-gate, protected by a bifurcated wall, intended to prevent the curtain from being out-flanked.

In front of this great line of defence is a moat, about sixty feet wide, and crossed by a double drawbridge of two spans of eighteen feet each at the great gateway, connected with a large pier in the centre of the moat, capable of being converted into a sort of barbican. This moat communicates with, and admitted of being filled from, the Nant-y-Gledyr.

Such is the principal front and eastern line of defence, calculated not only to withstand attacks from the front, flanks, or rear, but also of being held out, the southern against the northern part.

From the northern extremity of this front, at the northern postern, a bank of earth, lined inwards, or on its southern face, by a wall, and at one part thickened into a dam, divides the middle from the outer moat, at present skirted by the Nant-y-Garw road. This is the *north bank*.

From the same front, from the end of the covered way, close to the dividing wall, a second bank of earth is given off, and, passing westwards to unite with the

horn-work, divides the inner from the middle moat, and forms a part of the northern defences of the castle. Its inner face is partially lined with a wall, in which is a sluice-tunnel. This is the *curved ridge*.

The HORN-WORK covering the western front of the castle, and communicating between the middle and outer gates, is an irregular polygon, revetted all round with a wall of fifteen feet high, above which is a talus of about eight more. From its south-western face issues one of the feeding-springs of the lake. On the eastern, or longest face, is a semi-pier, to receive the drawbridge, of twenty feet span, from the opposite gate-house of the middle ward. On the north-western face a similar semi-pier, between half-round bastions, seems to have supported the drawbridge, also of twenty feet span, giving access to the castle in this direction.

The REDOUBT has already been mentioned as being formed by scarping down a knoll of gravel on the north-west quarter of the castle.

The body of this earthwork is quadrangular, capped at the three outer angles by three bastions, and excavated in the centre into a sort of casemate. The curtain, towards the castle, is intersected by two trenches, separated by a mound or cavalier, and leading into the centre of the work.

Outside the redoubt, and following the curve of its bastions, is a ditch, upon the outer three sides broad and deep, on the fourth side but slightly marked.

The ramparts of the redoubt are unprovided with either parapets for cannon or banquettes for musquetry, and the scarp is continued unbroken to the rampart. Neither scarp nor counterscarp, though steep, have any retaining wall.

Beyond the main ditch is a spacious glacis, terminating in three low bastions and a shallow ditch. Both ditches were probably dry.

The whole work resembles much those thrown up in haste during the wars between Charles I. and the Parliament, and has either been partially destroyed, or,

which seems more probable, has never been entirely completed.

The inner and middle wards of the castle occupy the island, which has already been described as formed out of the end of the peninsula.

This island is scarped into a parallelogram, 111 yards east and west, by ninety-six north and south. The four angles are capped by large bastions, parts of circles. The intervening straight lines are termed, in fortification, curtains.

The sides or scarps of these bastions and curtains are faced with a stone wall, thirty feet high, and surmounted by a parapet of from five to twelve more; and within this enclosure are contained the middle and inner ward.

The inner ward is formed by placing a second parallelogram smaller than the last, within it. This forms the inner, and the concentric space between the two, the middle, ward.

The MIDDLE WARD thus presents four divisions, towards the cardinal points, all forming terraces of from sixteen to twenty yards broad, and the opposite sides being of nearly equal length. Upon the east and west are the gate-houses; on the south, offices, and a water-gate; and, on the north, an open terrace, overlooking the outer defences of the castle on that side.

The *eastern gate-house* is formed of two low towers, with half round projections towards the moat, and a portal between the two. The walls are thick, and there is a lodge on each side, lighted by three loops. Above these lodges was the battlement. On the north side is a square building, the use of which is unknown. This gate-house was connected with that of the inner ward, and between the two there seem to have been side doors.

One of these, on the south, led to the *water tank*, lined with masonry, fifty feet long by twenty wide.

In front of this gate-house, and dividing it from the platform of the grand gate, the moat is about forty-five feet wide. As there are no traces of a central pier for the drawbridge which must have crossed this space, it

seems probable that it rested on an intermediate tressle of timber, as at Raby and Holt, which admitted of being removed or destroyed, in the event of a siege.

The *western gate-house* is placed opposite to the horn-work, and between them is a moat sixty feet wide. The portal is loftier, and the front broader, than in the eastern gate-house. There are two chambers on either side of the portal, and above them a first story, with fire-places and chimneys.

Between this gate and the north-west tower of the inner ward are some later buildings, and a wall, which seems to have been intended to cut off the communication between the gate-house and the north terrace. On the south side is a similar wall, shutting off the south terrace.

The offices and water-gate passage occupy a part of the south terrace of this ward.

The *water-gate gallery* leads from the hall to the lake, and is big enough to contain a boat. It is vaulted by a succession of narrow arches, in steps, instead of by one sloping vault. Above it are chambers, probably for cooks and attendants in the kitchens.

Against this passage, upon its eastern side, is the mint, or *kitchen tower*—a low tower of great strength, having the ground floor vaulted, and recesses, apparently for boiling and stewing, on a large scale. The fire-place is in the upper story.

The kitchen communicated with the hall, and with a sort of yard occupying the eastern end of the south terrace. A well-stair leads down to the lower, and up to the upper, room.

In the yard is the oven, and a passage leading to the tank. Here, also, against the south curtain of the inner ward, is a low oblong building, with one or two bows to the south, which seems to have been connected with the kitchen, and, in modern days, would have been the still-room.

The INNER WARD is a quadrangle, measuring 200 feet east and west, by 160 feet north and south. It is con-

tained within four curtain walls, capped at the angles by four round towers, and broken on the east and west sides by two lofty and magnificent gate-houses. The south side of the court thus formed is occupied by the hall and state apartments.

Of the *curtains*—those on the north and east, are about thirty feet high, including the battlement. That on the south is higher by a story, and the rampart walk is continued along it—below, as a vaulted *triforial gallery* in the thickness of the wall, above, as an open walk. The triforial passage in the southern curtain is called the Braose Gallery, from the baronial Lords-Marchers of that name, who were, as will be seen afterwards, more or less concerned in the affairs of this district and castle.

The four *bastion towers* which cap the angles of this ward are very marked features in the appearance of the castle. They have a projection, outside the wall, of three fourths of a circle; are of three stages, with timber roofs and floors; and measure, in exterior diameter, thirty-six feet, and within, eighteen feet; the walls being nine feet thick. Each story is lighted by loop-holes, very large within, but appearing exteriorly as a line. A well-stair leads to the summit of each. These towers open into the court, and upon the battlements. Their type is best seen in the north-west tower.

The *eastern gate-house* is a superb pile. It is oblong, and has two half-round bows on its eastern side, and two round turrets, of three-quarter circle projection, at the north-west and south-west angles, within the court. The building is traversed by a portal, entered between the bow towers. The arch is “drop,” and the entrance is defended by gates, palisade, and portcullis. Above the opening into the court is a shoot for dropping missiles upon those below. On each side of the portal are lodges, and the second story is a spacious hall or council-chamber, with a large fire-place, and two large and handsome windows looking towards the court. Above this chamber is the battlement. On the north and south sides of this gate-house are a number of small apartments, mostly

vaulted, and some of them used as portcullis rooms. Over the door leading to the ramparts, on the south, is a small oratory or chapel, with a ribbed and vaulted roof, and two Decorated windows. There is a similar apartment, but of earlier date, in the castle of Chepstow.

The *western gate-house* is on the same plan, but rather smaller, and without turrets towards the court, its staircases being contained within the thickness of the wall. The lodges on each side of the portal are vaulted and ribbed, with ornamented corbels. They open direct into the court. The state chamber above is not so large as in the eastern gate-house. It rests upon a vaulted floor.

The *hall* is built against the south curtain. It measures seventy-three feet by thirty-five, and was about thirty feet high. It is lighted by four large and lofty windows towards the court, with ogee arches and reduplicated bands of the ball-flower moulding; within are crocketed canopies, in a somewhat stiff but excellent style. Between the windows is a broad fire-place, and to the east of them a door, which was the principal entrance on the south side. A door in the curtain leads down a long vaulted passage to the water-gate of the moat, and another door leads to the kitchen and bakehouse, in the middle ward. A plain door at the west end opens into some state apartments, and other doors, and a large window at the east end, communicate with a cellar and the chapel.

The roof, of timber, sprung from fourteen short clustered pilasters, resting upon heads as corbels, placed against the north and south walls. The north wall is of dressed stone, and carried a string-course, with ball-flowers, about three feet above the ground. On the east wall is a string-course, connected with the drip-stone of the chapel window. The east, south, and western sides were plastered, and probably painted, or hung with tapestry.

The *chapel*, east of the hall—evident from its position and large east window—presents nothing remarkable. There are four *state apartments* west of the hall, two on the ground, and two on the first floor. They are lighted

from the north, and one of the windows is of great length and cinquefoiled, with a quatrefoil in the head. A staircase in the thickness of the curtain wall leads into the Braose Gallery, as well as to the upper rooms, and to some appendages connected with the sewage, and which seem to have been added.

In the grand court, a little to the north of the eastern entrance, is the well, about four feet diameter.

II.—PRESENT CONDITION.

The castle, in its present condition, assumes a very different appearance from that described as its original state, although enough remains to bear out the description.

The eastern, or main front, is in good preservation. The masonry of the three northern buttresses is but little injured, although between them and the curtain are deep fissures, evidently the work of gunpowder, aided by the intervention of the vacuity formed by the long window on either side. The mine was evidently sprung at the gorge of these buttresses, but the quantity of powder introduced has not been sufficient to overthrow them.

Most of the smaller buttresses on the southern flank are unhurt, but the two at the southern extremity are laid prostrate, with their connecting curtain, fifteen feet in thickness, forming a chasm, through which the Nant-y-Gledyr take its undisturbed course. The object of this destruction, which was permanently to empty the lake, has been gained. It is now a meadow.

The lower story of the great gate-house, and the piers of its bridge, are in tolerable order; but the upper chambers of the former are much battered, and the staircases rendered inaccessible, above a certain height, by the absence of the newels, and the fracture of the stone steps. The great pier stands alone, but the outer semi-pier is encumbered with cottages. The outer and eastern moat, now of no great depth, is still marshy. At its northern end the sides are cultivated; towards the southern, cot-

tages are built in it. Between these two portions, north of the pier, is the modern entrance, passing through the grand postern, now a battered hole eleven feet wide : near it a door has been opened into a sort of cavity below the lower story of the gate-house, used as a cart-hovel. The foundations of the southern curtain, being in the moat itself, are tolerably perfect. Those of the northern, elevated upon a bank of earth, are much battered.

The tête-du-pont, in which the southern curtain terminates, has suffered considerably. The curvilinear wall between the towers is levelled to a breast-work, and the side of the portal towards the lake has been blown quite away, as has been also the entrance and part of the floor of the neighbouring D-shaped tower.

The northern limb of the bifurcated wall, proceeding from the postern, has been blown out of the perpendicular; and, although there is no great danger of its fall, the loose stones adjoining its fissure are a source of danger to the antiquary who may attempt to scale it. Cottages are clustered against the outside of this wall, and its re-entering angle is occupied by a pigstye.

South of the castle, west of the tête-du-pont, the land is partly in tillage, and partly occupied by cottages; on the north, to the west of the sally-port, the wall between the outer and second moat is reduced to a line of foundation. The peculiar thickness of this wall, where it has served the purpose of a dam, is well seen. The outer moat has, in this direction, been encroached upon by the Nant Garw road, which tops its counterscarp for about 100 yards. The mill is levelled to the ground. A dry water-course, and the tunnel enlarged into a breach, still mark the ancient exit of its waters. The drainage of the lake was, of course, fatal to the mill. The modern miller of Caerphilly has removed to the outside of the great southern breach, where he takes advantage of the Nant-y-Gledyr.

The horn-work, covering the western entrance, remains in excellent preservation, and its revetement, except where recently quarried, is nearly as sound as ever,

although its gate-house and western pier, if ever they existed, have been destroyed. The moat, to the west of the horn-work, being still in wet weather the channel of a rivulet, is overgrown with reeds and aquatic plants; to the east or castle side it is swampy in wet weather; and on the south is the bed of the ancient inundation, now a plain of sward, across which a path leads to a spring.

Along the exterior line of defence to the north-west, the redoubt, fosses, and adjacent earthworks are obscured by young trees and brushwood, by the effects of tillage, and by the buildings of the castle farm.

Entering the castle by the grand postern, the wall parallel to the curtain which formed the back of the northern gallery is seen on the right, levelled nearly with the soil, and, consequently, all regular access to the buttress chambers is thus cut off.

The counterscarp of the inner moat is in ruins, filling up the moat. All vestiges of the eastern drawbridge between the grand front and the middle ward have disappeared.

The flanking towers of the eastern gate-house of the middle ward are destroyed, that on the south completely, and that on the north very nearly so, the ruins of the singular building attached to it having prevented its entire destruction.

At the opposite or western extremity of this ward, the gate-house is in rather better condition. The portal has been broken away below, but the hollow semi-piers connecting it with the horn-work remain. The front of this gate-house, of great thickness, is perfect, and is garnished with a pair of chimneys; its inner part has been destroyed. The windows in the front are the only vestiges of the upper story.

On the north front of this ward the curtain is much shattered by the fall of the inner towers, and as all the bastions have been ruined and blown up, their exact line of boundary is scarcely traceable.

Upon the southern side, the wide lake and the strength of the outbuildings have, in some degree, preserved the

curtain, but the door of the water-gate, which opens in it, is much injured. A few feet below its sill, a long black stain marks the height of the water in former times, and gives about twelve feet as the average depth of the lake.

The gallery, kitchens, &c., which occupy this side, are much injured; but in front of the great oven a portion of the parapet remains, here about twelve feet high, and furnished with a loop.

The tank remains, though nearly choked up with stones and brambles. Since the fall of the adjacent wall of the bastion, its position has been insecure. Recently its wall has cracked, and, unless repaired, it may be expected in a few months to fall into the moat.

Ascending from the eastern gate-house, across a mass of almost untraceable ruins, the central ward of the castle is entered.

With the exception of a partial breach on the northern side, the curtains of this inner ward have suffered but little, and the height of the parapet and rere-wall may still be inferred, by the projections at its junction with the towers.

The eastern gate-house has been separated, by a blast, into two portions; of which the inner, towering to a prodigious height, still remains tolerably perfect, while the outer, broken into fragments, has crushed the lower gate-house beneath its weight, and still encumbers it with its ruins.

The western gate-house has been more fortunate; the staircases, however, are broken and irregular, and the vaulting injured. Through the floor of its central apartment a hole has been broken into the vaults of the portal, and of one of the lodges beneath.

In the floor of the triforial gallery are two large holes which open upon a staircase and passage below.

The buildings within the court have suffered severely. The hall is roofless, although the structure of its roof is apparent from the remaining corbels, and the pavement has been long removed. The sills of the windows have

been cut away, and the tracery and mouldings which adorned them are broken and defaced.

A window and door at the east end have been shattered into one, and the vaulted passage leading to the offices is a shapeless and rugged hole.

The roof of the kitchen is broken, but enough remains to display its original structure. The steps of the water gallery have been removed, but the vaulted roof is but little injured.

In the great court a depression in the sward indicates the ancient well. It has lately been opened a few feet down, but nothing of importance was discovered.

The four bastion towers of this ward, deserve special notice, since it is the position of one of them which has conferred upon this castle much of the notoriety it possesses.

That these four towers have been mined and blown up with gunpowder, at some period when the effects of that agent were well understood, is evident on inspection. The mine has been sprung near the centre of each tower, and has produced effects, differing in degree only, upon each. That on the north-east is altogether levelled, on the outside, entirely to the ground, crushing in its descent the very bastion on which its foundation rested—on the inside the door, and a portion of wall as high as the curtain, only remain. The destruction of the north-western tower has not been by any means so complete. Only a third of its outer circumference has fallen, and the rest, deprived indeed of its floors, remains as firm as ever. The portion which has fallen lies in fragments upon the neighbouring bastion.

At the south-western tower the mine has operated outwards; the whole of the outer portion has fallen upon the bastion and into the ditch, but the inner strip connecting it with the rest of the building, and containing the entrances to the several stories, has been protected by the outbuildings on its southern side, and is unshaken.

The last, or south-eastern, is the celebrated leaning tower, the obliquity of which has been much exaggerated,

and absurdly accounted for. In the case of this tower the mine has exploded in a contrary direction from the rest, and the inner portion, with the adjoining curtain, has been thrown into the court, while the outer portion remains standing, although the force of the explosion has thrown the mass out of the perpendicular, so that it overhangs its base, towards the south-west, nine feet. The parapet at its summit remains quite perfect, and is the only one in the castle that is so.

The neighbourhood of these four towers, and the intervening gate-houses, upon which the force of the gun-powder has been chiefly employed, is a chaos of ruins; subverted masses of the gallery, staircases, the vaulting of large portions of the chambers themselves, lie in confusion upon the ground; and the thin mantle of vegetation which has enveloped them, although it adds much to their picturesque beauty, increases in no slight degree the difficulty of accurately comprehending their original disposition.

Throughout this immense building the iron work, even to the staples of the doors, has been removed; nor is there any lead to be found in the sockets of the window-bars.

The hewn stone forming the door-frames, window-cases, newels of the well staircases, and in some instances the stairs themselves, have been rudely wrenched away, with damage to the walls, for the purpose, probably, of converting them into lime.

Portcullisses, stockades, doors, with the roof of the hall, and every particle of timber in the place, have been removed. Every staircase, gallery, and chamber is pervious to the rain, and exposed to the pernicious force of the frost, yet such and so durable are the materials, and so firm the mortar with which the whole is cemented, that time and weather alone have produced but trifling injuries upon the pile, compared with the wilful destruction of the hand of man.

Before arriving at any general conclusion respecting the age of Caerphilly, it will be proper to make a few

remarks upon certain details, on which those conclusions in some measure rest.

And first of the doorways. With certain exceptions shortly to be enumerated, the doorways throughout the building are of the same general character. The arches are "drop," that is to say, they are obtusely pointed arches, whose centres lie below their spring. This is obviously the best form of the pointed arch for the portals of a castle, and it is that usually employed in the military structures of the Edwardian period. With the same exceptions, the arch-mouldings are composed of a five-sided rib, upon the front and widest face of which a smaller rib, of the same figure, is placed. This pattern of rib-moulding is also very commonly employed in castles.

The principal portals, together with the doors leading from the first story of the towers upon the ramparts, are defended by portcullises, working in a D-shaped groove. This groove passes up as a chink into the chamber above; but there is no evidence of the sort of contrivance employed in raising the portcullis. The portcullis, however, might have been raised by mere manual exertion, and a bar thrust across would be sufficient to retain it securely when raised. The sills are destroyed, so that it does not appear whether the points of the portcullis were received into, or had worn, small holes in them. Besides the portcullis, the larger portals are provided with a chase or chink, without side-grooves, intended, as is presumed, to allow of the use of a sort of wooden frame. Also, in the main portals are four or five square holes in the arch, through which beams to form a stockade might be dropped. It may be observed further that, although some of the portal passages are of considerable length, yet that the ribs of their vaults are all transverse, never passing diagonally from an angle towards the centre, in the manner employed at Caldecot and elsewhere, to vault a compartment of such passages.

There appears to have been more than one kind of

drawbridge employed in this castle. In some places, as at the great gate, and at the passage in its gatehouse tower, the bridge, when drawn up, fitted into a depression, so as to lie flush with the upper wall, from whence, therefore, its length may be inferred. In other cases it simply rested against the wall, making a projection. It seems always to have been long enough, when up, to cover the gateway.

The method of hinging the bridge also varied. On the sides of some of the portals a stone has been inserted, into which the horizontal pivots of the bridge (of iron, from the small size of the pintle or hole) fitted; but, connected with the place for the gudgeon or pivot is another groove, which passes up at an angle of forty-five degrees for a few feet, and then passes on horizontally for a few more. It appears as though this were a contrivance, when the bridge was raised, for throwing its lower end upwards and forwards, so as more effectually to shield the upper part of the door, to present an oblique surface to missiles, and by making the bridge lean back against the wall, to remove the strain from its chains or ropes, and to prevent it from falling, even should they be broken. It may be, however, that into these grooves fitted some lever, or other contrivance for working the bridge; where they occur, there are no holes above for the passage of the drawbridge chains into the portcullis chamber.

The defences of the great postern are singular. The grooves, which in the other cases form the portcullis slides, here stop abruptly a little above the arch. They are too deep for the hinges of gates, and were probably filled by a defence similar to a portcullis, but which was received into a cavity below. Indeed, as there is only a lofty wall, and no chamber above the postern, the regular plan was inadmissible.

There is a further contrivance for the defence of a gate, consisting of a sort of shoot, opening obliquely downwards from the sill of a window, employed in two places in this castle; one over the door of the eastern inner gate-

way, and the other over the door of the north-west principal bastion tower; in both cases evidently with a view to the defence of the towers when the enemy had gained the inner court.

The battlements and parapets throughout the castle are of a very plain description. They are massy and flat-topped, the coping being a rough slab of sandstone. The height and thickness, together with that of the rere-wall and the width of the rampart walk, may be always deduced from a careful inspection of the walls or towers against which they terminate. The parapet and rere-wall are usually of the same height, and nearly as high as the top of the doors leading to them.

The embrasures are contained within parallel sides, and bear a small proportion to the merlons, which latter are each perforated by a loop. These details may be seen upon the summit of the leaning tower, or, more conveniently, upon the northern curtain, toward the north-west bastion tower.

There are no machicolations, or devices for dropping missiles through the floor of a projecting parapet—a contrivance which adds so materially to the grandeur of the towers of Warwick, Raglan, and Cardiff. Over the eastern middle gateway, the parapet has a false machicolation, or slight projection, supported upon a table of corbel blocks, but without apertures, or a projection sufficient to admit of any.

The windows, with certain exceptions, are either loops, or, if larger, of a very plain character. In the hall, however, and in the large rooms of the two inner gate-houses, they are very wide and lofty, and have been highly ornamented. The two latter rooms are so much injured, and the windows so mutilated, that it can only be said, that what little remains of ornament are seen resemble in style the more perfect ornaments of the hall. The oratory attached to the eastern inner gate-house has a vaulted roof divided into two square compartments, supported by transverse and diagonal ribs. The two windows towards the south are long and narrow, without

a mullion, and trefoiled; their mouldings are only an exterior chamfer. There are some other windows in the gate-houses, looking towards the interior, which are much shorter, but otherwise resemble this. The four hall windows are lofty and well-proportioned; they open to within four feet of the ground.

The exterior moulding of the windows is completely gone; that of the door was discovered by removing the grass about its base.

The interior mouldings of the windows are extremely rich, owing to the reduplication of the bands, from the great thickness of the wall. The angles of the mouldings are, at two depths, removed, and their place occupied by a semicircular groove, in which the pomegranate ornament is placed at intervals, making up the circle by its projection. Beyond each of these bands of pomegranates are pilaster strips, filleted at their angles, and surmounted by small angular capitals: within is a handsome ogee canopy, enriched with crockets and finials, in a very pure style.

The door has a good internal drip, but its inner moulding is composed of only one band of ball-flowers. The outer mouldings are rich. There are three bands of pomegranates, which no doubt were continued, as in the windows, round the arch; and between them are two rows of small disengaged columns, with the circular concave pedestal. Of these only the pedestal remains.

The fourteen corbels upon which the beams of the roof rested are composed of three short clustered columns, connected by their posterior half, and separated by a fillet and bold hollow; above they are crowned with a neat cap moulding, and below, they rest upon three projecting busts, of which the central is the lowest and largest. A fillet runs up the centre of each of these columns, and, ceasing at the abacus, is continued up the capital, and finally dies in the astragal. Corbels, of somewhat earlier date, but in general appearance resembling these, may be seen in the keep at Chepstow.

There are no decorations remaining about the fireplace. The plain string-course along the east end of the hall, returned from the corbel of the chapel window, is perfect. A base tablet is seen at the west end of the north side, but it is destroyed along its length.

A long window in one of the state rooms resembles, though on a much larger scale, the windows of the oratory already described. It appears, however, to have been trefoiled, with a quatrefoil above the head.

There are two small polygonal apartments on either side of the inner western gate, in the vaulted roofs of which a plain diagonal rib rises from a corbel at each angle, and meets its fellow in the centre. The corbels have three flat faces, and terminate in a point, which rests upon some animal, in every case wantonly defaced. They appear to have been lodges.

Caerphilly presents as little architectural decoration, in proportion to its extent, as any castellated building in Britain.

Generally, its series of concentric defences, and the general disposition of its constituent parts, resemble those of Conway, Harlech, Beaumaris, and other structures known to have been erected in the reigns of the first or second Edward. The plan of these Edwardian castles is very peculiar. It is unlike the earlier Norman castles, in which the keep was the principal feature, and in which comfort was sacrificed to safety; and it is also unlike the later castles, which possess not only large interior, but large exterior, windows, as in the later alterations at Portchester, and in which there is, usually, no building to which the name of keep could be attached.

Nor is the style of architecture employed at Caerphilly less decisive; the drop arch, the perfectly plain rib, the general absence of decorations and armorial bearings, the plain battlements, and the absence of machicolations, indicate generally the same period.

The columns of the hall door-way, the concave moulding of their pedestals, the triple cluster of columns forming the corbels of the roof, their bell capitals, and

light cap moulding, are due to the Early English style, which prevailed from 1189 to 1307.

On the other hand, the pomegranate moulding, the rich, though chaste and somewhat stiff, canopies of the door and windows, the little pilasters in the windows with the pentagonal capitals, the ogee arches, and the plain fillet running up the columnar corbels of the roof, are marks all belonging to the Decorated style, which prevailed from 1307 to 1377.

The mixture of these two styles, very common in English buildings, denotes a period varying according to the preponderance of either, and in the present instance may legitimately be referred to the latter part of the thirteenth century, when the Decorated style was beginning to supersede the Early English. Instances of this transition, and of the ball-flower moulding, may be seen round the inside of the choir of Bristol Cathedral, and on the outside of the south aisle of Keynsham Church.

The earlier alterations at Chepstow, and more particularly the oratory attached to Martin's tower, and the columnar corbels in the keep, may be cited as of an earlier date than Caerphilly, having been evidently placed there before the decline of the Early English style.

The internal evidence of the building, which would place its date about the end of the reign of Henry III., agrees with the evidence of records cited hereafter, in which the castle is referred to, in the year 1272, as having been lately erected by Gilbert de Clare, Earl of Gloucester and Hertford.

Before this period, mention is occasionally made of the castle of Senghennydd, which, from its having been taken, retaken, and more than once utterly destroyed, was evidently a place much contested, but of no great magnitude or passive strength. After the erection of Caerphilly, Senghennydd Castle is not again mentioned. It is therefore not improbable that Senghennydd Castle was a rude fortification of timber and undressed stone, upon the peninsula afterwards occupied by Caerphilly.

Caerphilly having then certainly been founded by Earl

Gilbert a little before 1272, the question arises as to whether the whole of it was then built.

The inner ward, its curtains, bastions, gate-houses, all their contents and appendages, are of one date. The south wall was always of its present height, and therefore always intended to support the roof of the hall, the walls of which are bonded into it. The gate-houses are evidently part of the original plan, being thoroughly Edwardian, and the long windows of the state rooms, and those of the oratory in the inner gate-house are, in their form and mouldings, precisely similar.

It appears that the curtain connecting the north-west bastion tower with the west gate-house, was originally as low as the northern curtain, but that a sort of gallery, and its superincumbent rampart, have been added. A cluster of buildings has also been added on the outside of the south curtain, at the angle formed by its junction with the south-west tower.

The general design of the middle ward, and most of its buildings, are clearly of the date of the inner ward. The western gate-house, however, appears to be of somewhat later date; the false machicolations, the holes for the portcullis chains, the chimneys rising above the parapet, and the less durable character of the masonry, seem to indicate this. The walls, moreover, by means of which this gate-house is connected with the curtain of the inner ballium, though of the same age with the former, are not bonded into, and are separated by fissures from, the latter—a tolerably sure indication of difference of age.

It is not improbable that the whole exterior line of defence on the east, and the horn-work on the west, were the last parts of the castle completed. They form, however, parts of the original design, since, had the ground on which they stand been left unoccupied, the castle would not have been tenable.

With respect to the redoubt, it is perfectly evident, from its appearance, that it was thrown up, not only when gunpowder was in general use, but when the

science of fortification was pretty well understood. It seems, like the earthworks at Donnington and other castles, to be of the age of Charles the First.

The injuries received by this castle are similar to others at Corfe and elsewhere, known to be referable to the same period of civil strife in which the battle of St. Fagan's, and the occupation of Cardiff, prove the men of Glamorgan to have taken an active part. Nothing therefore seems more probable, than that the redoubt should have been thrown up hastily by one party for the defence of the castle, and that the dismantling of the whole should have been perpetrated by the other, to prevent such a defence being practicable in future. History, however, has afforded no clue to which of the contending parties either proceeding is to be referred. .

There seems no reason to suppose that the works of Caerphilly were never completed. The flanking towers on either wing rest upon the lake, and the horn-work is a sufficient defence in the opposite direction.

About three quarters of a mile from Caerphilly, on the Rudry road, are the ruins of the "VAN," or "Ffan-vawr," the ancient manor-house of the Lewis family.

Most of the outer walls of the house, and a curious old dovecot, remain standing. They are of the age of Elizabeth or James, but much of the hewn stone employed in the windows, door-cases, quoins, and string-courses of the lower story, are either of oolite or Sutton stone, and are very evidently a part of the spoils of Caerphilly. Most of these stones have been worked up, and their original ornaments destroyed, but one long string-course of Decorated date, evidently much earlier than the wall in which it is imbedded, extends along the west front of the house.

These stones could not have been removed from Caerphilly earlier than the reign of Elizabeth, in which reign, or rather in that of Henry VIII., the castle was used as a prison. Probably, however, the central parts were so appropriated, and the parts allowed to be spoiled were those connected with the east front.

Unlike Chepstow, Raglan, Oystermouth, and the Duke of Beaufort's castles, Caerphilly is entirely neglected. The east moat is encumbered with cottages, and the redoubt is so thickly planted as to be inaccessible. A very small sum expended in the removal of soil would expose the foundations and base mouldings of many of the buildings, and give much additional interest to the castle.

Within the last ten years large masses of the wall have fallen into the moat, and other large portions, with the water-tank, are about to give way, the effect of which will probably be, in time, to undermine the leaning tower.

Recently, parts of the wall have been opened as a quarry for stone, and the moats are crossed by modern walls, which disfigure the plan, and render the examination of the building difficult.

III.—HISTORY.

It is remarkable that the castle of Caerphilly should have remained hitherto altogether neglected, or very superficially noticed, by the historians of Wales, as well as by writers upon military architecture.

The earlier authorities, Caradoc of Llancarvan, (1157,) and Giraldus Cambrensis, (1188,) flourished before the erection of the present edifice; but it is singular that silence concerning so immense a structure should have been preserved by Lloyd, and his commentator Powel, and transmitted almost unbroken by the indefatigable, though credulous, author of the "Munimenta."

It is not, however, difficult to divine the causes of the obscurity in which the early history of Caerphilly is involved, and the absence of any historical associations may perhaps be permitted to account for the continued silence of modern writers.

A castle of considerable magnitude had been erected soon after the Norman invasion of Wales, at Cardiff; a position which, from its proximity to the estuary of the

Severn, and the mouth of the Taff, from the fertility of its subjacent meadows, from the protection which it reciprocally afforded to, and received from, the people of a considerable town, and from its greater distance from the mountains, and consequent diminished liability to be surprised by their crafty and warlike inhabitants, was invariably the chief residence of the feudal Lords of Glamorgan; and from hence it followed, as a necessary consequence, that Caerphilly, which, from its dangerous proximity, they were obliged to retain in their immediate possession, fell into comparative neglect, and, although very superior in magnitude to Cardiff, was considered only as its dependency in importance.

It was to the Lord of *Cardiff* that the feudatories of Glamorgan owed suit and service, and it was to the castle court of that place that they were bound annually to repair.

The castle of *Cardiff* is mentioned as the residence of great Norman barons; it was more than once honoured by a royal guest, and even at the far later period of the Parliamentary wars, its acquisition was considered as of great importance.

Caerphilly, on the contrary, is rarely mentioned by the chroniclers, and only on one occasion is certainly known to have lodged a royal presence, when the second Edward took refuge there for a few hours, towards the close of his reign.

These considerations will explain the little notice taken by contemporaries of this magnificent structure, and the consequent dearth of information respecting its fortunes.

The Welsh district of Morgannwg, which appears to have included the modern county of Glamorgan, contained four cantreds, or hundreds, which were further subdivided into fifteen comots. The names of these cantreds were, *Croneth*, including the vales of the Neath, Avon, and Ogmore; *Pennythen*, the vales of the Ely and Rondda; *Brenhinol* and *Gwentllwng*, now forming part of Monmouthshire. The comots, or subdivisions of *Brenhinol* were *Cibwr*, and *Senghennydd Uwchaeth*, and *Iscaeth*.

Leland adds to this statement of Caradoc, that "Senghinenith of some is divided into Iscaihac and Huhekaich," by which he evidently means Isa-caiach and Ucha-caiach—the lower and upper Caich, that is, the part below and part above the Caich—the comot being divided by the Caiach river; according to which division Caerphilly would be in "Iscaiach."

The modern hundred is called indiscriminately Senghennydd or Caerphilly, and the north gate of Cardiff was formerly known as the "Senghennydd" gate.

Soon after the Norman conquest of England, Trahearn ap Caradoc, usurper of North Wales, having fallen in battle, Griffith ap Conan, and Rhys ap Tewdwr, succeeded him as princes, one over North, the other over South Wales. Rhys was attacked by Griffith ap Meredyth, at the instigation of Llewelyn and Eion, sons of Cadifor, Lord of Dyfed. They fought and were beaten; Griffith was executed; Eion fled to Jestyn ap Gwrgant, then Lord of Glamorgan, and, like himself, at war with Rhys, and covenanted with him to invite the neighbouring Normans to their assistance.

Eion, who seems previously to have resided at the Norman Court, introduced (A. D. 1090) Robert Fitz-Hamon, a great baron nearly allied to the Conqueror, with a band of adventurers, into Glamorganshire, and by their aid Rhys was speedily vanquished and slain.

The results of this victory raised a quarrel between Jestyn and Eion, and the latter, in revenge, recalled the departing Normans from their ships, and persuaded them permanently to occupy the country.

Fitz-Hamon shortly afterwards became, by the slaughter of his old ally Jestyn, undisputed Lord of Glamorgan, and fixed his residence at Cardiff, where he probably laid the foundation of the present castle; and, dividing the vallies and plains among the twelve knights who had accompanied him, he left to Eion, who subsequently married "Nest," a daughter of Jestyn, such parts of the country as were barren and mountainous.

The chancery, exchequer, and the chief habitation of

the lord, were at Cardiff. Among the lordships into which the country was divided, Senghennydd is enumerated as having fallen to the share of Eionon, whose name, however, does not again occur, but whose descendants retained possession of that district.

Other adventurers, following the example of Fitz-Hamon, and assisted like him by the internal dissensions of the natives, and the treachery of the losing party, acquired lands upon the borders of Wales, and were constituted by the English monarchs Lords-Marchers. In this manner the fertile plains of the border were gradually acquired by the Normans, though not without considerable loss and continual disquiet, from the outbreaks of the Welsh, whose love of liberty permitted them not to remain cooped up in their mountains, while their enemies enjoyed the richest portion of their ancient inheritance.

The estates won by Fitz-Hamon descended according to the pedigree given afterwards, and, about the beginning of the thirteenth century, were in the hands of the powerful family of De Clare; Senghennydd having remained in the descendants of Eionon.

In the reign of Henry II., Ivor ap Meyric, better known as "Ivor Bach," having married Nest, daughter and heiress of Madoc ap Cradoc, of Senghennydd, claimed the ground on which Cardiff Castle was built, from William (others say Robert) Consul, Earl of Gloucester, assaulted and took the castle, and carried the earl and his family prisoners to the hill-country of Senghennydd. The affair is said, in some accounts, to have been finally arranged, by the marriage of the earl's daughter to Griffith, Ivor's eldest son.—[*Lewis Pedigree.*]

In 1174, Griffith ap Ivor ap Meyric, of Senghennydd, who had married a sister of Rhys, Prince of South Wales, came with Rhys, and other Welsh nobles, to do homage to King Henry II., at Gloucester [*Arch.* II. 2.]; and it seems probable that this Griffith was identical with Griffith ap Rhys, called by Sir R. Hoare the descendant of Eionon, and who was besieged in Castell Coch by De Clare, Earl

of Gloucester, and his eyes, with those of his children, put out, previous to their being starved to death [*Girald. Camb., Cur. R. C. Hoare*]; an act quite in keeping with that of William de Braose, who, in 1175, massacred several Welsh chieftains in his castle of Abergavenny.

Castell Coch (the red castle) was probably erected by De Clare, on the site of the older structure, soon after this transaction. It was so styled in contradistinction from Caerphilly, which was called the "Blue Castle." "The name of 'Sengenny' appears in a dateless deed, entitled 'Protectio Morgani filii Cadwalan,' among the papers at Penrice Castle, Glamorganshire. 'O~ms hõies de Brechineoch et Sengenny.' The sons of this Morgan passed a fine at Cardiff in the year 1249."—[I. M. T.]

In 1215, Gilbert de Clare, first Earl of Gloucester and Hertford, rose in arms against King John; and, in the same year, Rhys, son of Griffith ap Rhys, marching from the west, came to Senghennydd Castle, but the garrison which kept it "thinking it fruitless and to no purpose to oppose him, burnt it." He took all the castles in Gowerland and Morgannwg.—[*Wynne*, p. 239].

The site of the castle of Senghennydd has been the subject of much discussion. It has been supposed to be the earth-work above Castell Coch, and, by others, to have been near the Caiach river, where is a spot marked "Castell Barn" on the Ordnance map. Search has been made in this latter locality, but without success. There seems reason to suppose, as already stated, that Senghennydd Castle was a work of slight character, perhaps of timber, earth, and undressed stone, on the site of the present castle of Caerphilly.

Giles de Braose, Bishop of Hereford, died 1215, and left his estates to his brother Reginald, who, says *Wynne*, (p. 240, 246,) had married Gwladys, the daughter of Prince Llewelyn.¹

In 1216, Llewelyn overran Wales, but on the landing

¹ Dugdale does not mention this match; he makes Maud, a sister of the bishop, marry Griffith, Prince of South Wales, and he makes Reginald marry a daughter and coheirress of William de Brewer.

of Louis, the Dauphin of France, in England in this year, King John called upon Llewelyn and Reginald Braose for their aid, which they refused. In 1217 Reginald made a secret and separate peace with Henry III. He was, in consequence, attacked by Llewelyn and the Welsh, and on his submission was forgiven, and received from Llewelyn the castle of Senghennydd, which he committed to the custody of Rhys Vychan shortly afterwards.

William Marshall, Earl of Pembroke, attacked Caerleon, upon which Rhys Vychan "razed Senghennydd and other castles, and divided the country among the Welsh."—[*Wynne*, p. 244.]

About this time John Giffard le Rych, issue of John Giffard, of Brunfield, by his third wife, Margaret Nevile, received the custody of Dryslwyn Castle, Caermarthen, as well as the castles of Glamorgan and Morgannwg, which, as it can be shown not to have been Cardiff, has been conjectured to be Senghennydd.—[*Jones, H. of Brec.* II. 330.—*Camden.*] It may be observed also, that a John Giffard is mentioned, in the next reign, by Walsingham, as having, with Edmund Mortimer, slain Llewelyn Prince of Wales, and sent his head to the king.

In 1221 Prince Llewelyn and Griffith his son were at feud; and Reginald Braose, towards the end of the year, (in which year, however, he died, leaving William his son and heir,) obtained leave to fortify Senghennydd, which had been granted to him by Llewelyn.—[*Wynne*, 246.]

The internal feuds of the Welsh perpetually brought down the Lords-Marchers upon them; and finally Prince Llewelyn, being old and broken, and incapable of defending himself against his unruly children, sought the protection of Henry III., did homage for his principality, and bound himself to pay an annual tribute; and as, even in those lawless times, the colour of a legal claim was as eagerly sought after as in its absence it was disregarded, this gave to Henry and his son a claim upon the sovereignty of Wales, of which they were not backward to avail themselves.

Llewelyn died in 1240, 24th H. III. Of his two sons Henry recognised David, the younger, but his sister's child. Griffith, the elder, found support, and the two brothers had recourse to arms. They survived their father about forty-two years. In the 25th Henry III., William Marshall, Earl of Pembroke, when summoned to justify his right to the custody of, and presentation to, the church of Llandaff, pleaded his purchase of the guardianship of Richard de Clare, who claimed wardship of the lands of the vacant episcopate.—[*Abb. Placit.*, 109.]

A Patent Roll of 55th Henry III., 25th October, is headed, “concerning the contentions between Llewelyn, Prince of Wales, and Gilbert de Clare, Earl of Gloucester and Hertford, concerning the castle of Caerfily, at Westminster, 25th Oct., 55th H. III.,” [*Cal. Rot. Pat.* p. 43^b]; and the papers referred to seem to be the following, preserved in the Chapter-House at Westminster, which have not before been printed, and the existence of which was made known to me by the Rev. C. H. Hartshorne.

How the De Clares obtained the land on which Caerphilly is built is uncertain; probably from the family of Braose, of whom John, William, and Richard were summoned by Edward I. to his army in Wales, in 1276.—[*Fœdera in loc.*] Be this as it may, these documents establish the fact that, in 1272 the castle of Caerphilly was possessed, and had been recently built by, Gilbert, the Red Earl of Gloucester and Hertford, who was born 1243, and died 1295, and who married Joan of Aere, aunt to Edward III. I find no mention of the name of “Caerphilly” before its appearance in these papers.

Among the Records preserved in the late Treasury of the Exchequer in the Chapter-House, Westminster, and in the custody of the Master of the Rolls, pursuant to Stat. 1st & 2nd Vic., c. 94, to wit, among the documents relating to Wales, in the Roll endorsed “Glamorgan—Kaerfily Castle—Letters, &c., relating thereto, temp. Henry III.,” are contained the following:—

[1271.]—*R* om̄ibz ũ sal̄tm. Sciatis qđ dedim^o potestatem veñabilibz p̄ribz ¹*R* Coventr' ũ Lich' ũ ²*G*. Wigorn' Ep̄is ũ d̄icis ũ fidelibz nr̄is ³*R*. de Mortuo Mari ũ ⁴*R*. de Leyburn quos mittim^o ad vadum Monte Gomery ad instantes Octab' Purif' Bē Marie audiendi om̄es t̄nsgressiones ũ excessus fcos d̄itco ũ fidei nr̄o Lewelino fil' Griffini Principi Wall' ũ suis p̄ d̄icem ũ fidelem nr̄m ⁵Gilbtum de Clare Comitē Glouc' ũ Hertford' ũ suos ũ eciam om̄es t̄nsgressiones ũ excessus quibz cūqz Marchionibz ũ aliis de pt̄ibz Marchie f̄cis ut dicit' cont' formam pacis inl' nos et p̄d̄cm Lewelinū inite ũ firmate. Et ad om̄ia ea corrigenda ũ ũminanda put scđm formam pacis ejusdem ũ scđm consuetudinem pt̄ium illar' de jure f̄uit faciend'. Nos eum ratum habibim^o ũ acceptum quicquid ip̄i quatuor tres vel duo ip̄or' quos p̄sentes esse contigit fecerint in p̄missis. In cuj^o ũc. T. *R* apud Westm̄ xxv. die Jun̄i.

R Viē Salop' Staff. Hereford ũ Wigorn' ac Baronibz militibz ũ om̄ibz balliis ũ fidelibz suis de pt̄ibz March' ad quos ũ sal̄tm. Sciatis qđ dedim^o potestatem veñabilibz p̄ribz *R* Coventr' ũ Lich' ũ *G*. Wigorn' Ep̄is ũ d̄icis ũ fidelibz nr̄is *R* de Mortuo Mari ũ *R* de Leyburn quos mittim^o ad vadum Montis Gomeri⁶ ad instantes Octab' Pur' Bē Marie audiendi om̄es t̄nsgressiones ũ excessus ũ injurias f̄cas d̄itco ũ fidei nr̄o Lewelino fil' Griffini Principi Wall' ũ suis p̄ d̄icem ũ fidelē nr̄m Gilbertum de Clare Comitem Glouc' ũ Hertford' ũ suos ũ eciam om̄es t̄nsgressiones excessus ũ injurias f̄cas p̄fato Comiti ũ suis p̄ p̄d̄cm Lewelinū ũ suos. Et insup om̄es t̄nsgressiones ũ excessus ũ injurias quibz cūqz Marchionibz ũ aliis de pt̄ibz March' f̄cis ut dicit' cont' formam pacis inl' nos ũ p̄d̄cm Lewelinū inite ũ firmate ũ ea om̄ia corrigendi ũ ũminandi put scđm formam pacis ejusdem ũ scđm

¹ Roger de Longespee, or de Molend. Elected Bishop of Litchfield and Coventry, 31st January, 1257; died 16th December, 1295.—[*Nicholas*.]

² Godfrey Giffard, Archdeacon of Wells. Appointed Bishop of Worcester, 30th June, 1268; Lord Chancellor; died about 1301.—[*Nicholas*.]

³ Roger de Mortimer, Lord of Wigmore, married Matilda, daughter and coheirss of William Lord Braose, and died 1282.

⁴ Sir Roger Leyborne was a steady adherent to Henry and his son. In 1264 he was a Lord-Marcher. The family were not given to create difficulties. In the siege of Caerlaverock we read of "William de Leybourne, a valiant man, without *but*, and without *if*."

⁵ Gilbert de Clare, Earl of Gloucester and Hertford, married Joanne Plantagenet, daughter of Edward I. Died 1295.—[*Nicholas*.]

⁶ In 1273, the Abbots of Dore and Haghern waited (in vain) at the *Ford*, beyond the castle of *Montgomery*, to receive from Llewelyn his oath of fealty to Edward I. It was a common neutral meeting-place.—[*Foed*. 1272-4.]

consuetudinē ptium illar' ⁊ de jure fūit faciend. Et ideo vob mandam^o qđ p̄dcis Ep̄is Rogo ⁊ Rogo tribz vī duobz ip̄or' quos ibidem in octab' p̄dcis vī diebz ad hoc p̄ ip̄os si necesse fūit continuand' adesse contigit in p̄missis intendentes sitis ⁊ respondentes consulentes ⁊ auxiliantes p̄t vob scire fač ex pte n̄ra. In cuj^o ꝛc. T' ut s'.

In^o nobilem virum ⁊ excellentem Dñm Lewilinū Principem Waffie Dñm quoqz Snaudon qui Castrum de Caerfly p̄ nobile virum Dñm G. de Clare Comitē Glouc' ⁊ Hertford nup erectum obsedit ex pte una ⁊ venabiles p̄res Dños R' Coventr' ⁊ Lich' ac G. Wigorn' Ep̄os quos illustris Rex Angl' ad huj^o modi castrū in manū ip̄ius capiend' ⁊ tenend' quousqz de contencōne in^o eosdem nobiles occasione ip̄ius castri exorta justicia competens p̄ magnates ⁊ consiliarios Dñi R' ad vadum Mōtis Gomeri destinandos scđm leges ⁊ consuetudines March' ac scđm form^m pacis in^o Regem ⁊ Principem dudum inite ⁊ firmate reddat' p̄ suas t̄ras t̄ns miserat ex altā in castris jux^a Kaerfli sic convenit qđ p̄dcus princeps cum ex̄citu suo ab obsidione d̄ci Castri recedat' ⁊ ip̄is Ep̄is libam tribuat facultatem capiend' Castrum in manus Dñi Regis aliquos de suis nomie Dñi Reg' in ip̄o ponendi quousqz ip̄e Rex aliquos custodes neutri pti suspectos nec alicui p̄ciū consanguinitate vī affinitate seu alia roñabili causa conjunctos ad ip̄m Castrum cōservand' novit' duxit destinand'. Promisit eciam dcūs Princeps qđ nec ip̄e nec aliquis de suis guerram cont' Dñm Comitē vī aliquem de suis lite sup' p̄fato Castro pendente huj^o modi contencōis occasione movebit nec aliquē de pte Coñ p̄ se (vī p̄ aliquē de pte Coñ p̄ se vī) p̄ alium abstrahi seu revocari p̄curabit aut venientem receptabit qđqz hōies vī tenentes Coñ non impediet nec impediri patietur p̄ suos quomin^o cum hōibz suis ⁊ tenentes libere contrahere valeant ⁊ cum ip̄is m̄caturam ex̄cere. Promiserūt simili^o p̄fati Ep̄i nōie Reg' p̄ Coñ qđ Garnestura ip̄ius Coñ p̄ totum a sup^a d̄co Castro recedet qđqz ip̄e Comes de illo Castro pendente lite se non intromittet in aliquo nec aliquem de suis p̄mittet intromitte circa refecoem ip̄ius Castri vī in fossar' augmentacōne sive repacōne vī muror' refecoēne vī in aliquo alio augmento seu municōne nisi scđm qđ fūat die confeccōnis p̄senciū nec eciam illi ex pte Reg' in ip̄o esse contigit aliquid in eodem quo ad municōem Castri censi valeat aliq^o ten^o in non abūt nec cont' Principem vel aliquē de suis guerram racione p̄dcā lite pendente movebit in aliq^a pte ubi ip̄e nobiles t̄ras h̄ent conjūctas atqz confines nec aliquem pti Principis adherentem p̄ se vī p̄ alium abstrahi seu revocari p̄curabit aut venientem receptabit qđqz ip̄e Coñ hōies seu tenentes Principis nō impediet nec ab aliis q̄ntum in ip̄o est impedire patiet' quo min^o ip̄i hōmibz vī tenentibz ejusdem Coñ

quodlibet cōmiciū legitimū inire valeant ⁊ libe cum ip̄is simili⁹ m̄caturam exēcere. Item hōies de Seingbenyth simili⁹ qui modo sunt cum Principe non descendant inferius cum p̄dis ⁊ familiis ascendant ad morand⁹ ⁊ inhabitand⁹ ⁊ locis ubi s̄sunt tempore confeccōnis p̄sentium nec illi de Seyngheynt̄ simili⁹ qui sunt cum Cōm̄ cum p̄dis ⁊ familiis ascendant ad morand⁹ ⁊ inhabitand⁹ sup̄ius a locis quibz habitabant tempe confeccōnis p̄sentium. Dicti v^o p̄lati p̄mittunt qđ dcm Castrum non exhibit de manibz Reḡ donec de contencōne dcōr nobiliū iusticia cōpetēs exhibeat^r in forma p̄taxata. Promittunt eciam se curaturos qđ Dñs R̄ confirmabit ordinacōem p̄dcam p̄ tras suas patentes. Et quecūqz p̄tiū hanc ordinacōem infregit in pte vel in toto cont^a cōis pacis form^m venisse intelligat^r. Et licet aliqui latrones vel malefactores fecerint latrocinia aut alias transgressiones ex alit^a pte nichiloi⁹ dca ordinacio in suo robore durabit ⁊ t̄nsgressiones emendantur p̄ consideracōem p̄bor' viror' inl⁹ duas tras scdm leges ⁊ consuetudines p̄ciū illar'. Sup^adicti quidem Ep̄i nōie Reḡ diem ad iusticiam recipiend⁹ ⁊ faciend⁹ in forma p̄dca sup̄ p̄missis quindenam scit̄ post festum S̄ci Joh̄is Bap̄l p̄xio futuram p̄ti Principis ad vadum Montis Gomeri de voluntate ⁊ consensu ip̄ius Principis assign^arunt. In quor' om̄ium testimoñ p̄ti p̄sentis ciroḡphi remanēti penes Principem Ep̄i p̄fati p̄ Rege sua sigilla apposuerunt parti vero penes Ep̄os remanenti sigilla Dñor' David filii Griffini ⁊ Griffini fit Guenū p̄ Principe sūt app̄esa. Dal⁹ ⁊ ac̄l in Castris jux^a Kaerfili in commemoratione aiar' Anno gr̄e M^o CC^{mo} septuagesimo p̄mo.

R̄ R̄ f̄ri suo saltm. Cum L. fit Griffini Princeps Walf clamans h̄re jus in situ ⁊ placea Castri G. de Clare Cōm̄ Glouc̄ ⁊ Hertford de Kaerfili ⁊ p̄ponens illud dirim̄e ⁊ totalit⁹ p̄snere idem Castrum obsederit et idem Comes audito rumore obsessionis illius ad nos ven̄it ⁊ instanl⁹ petierit qđ cū ip̄e parat⁹ esset Castrum illud in manū n̄ram reddere illud ab ip̄o recipem⁹ tenend⁹ quousqz p̄fato Lewelino ⁊ sibi de jure quod idem Lewelin⁹ h̄re clamat in Castro p̄dcō iusticia exhiberet^m jux^a form^m pacis inl⁹ nos ⁊ eundem Lewelinū inite ⁊ firmate ⁊ scdm leges Marchi. p̄pl⁹ quod nos p̄pendentes qđ ex obsessione illa ⁊ congregacione exēcit⁹ L. p̄dci. ac congregacione amicor' ⁊ posse p̄dci Cōm̄ possent g^avis turbacio ⁊ guerra in p̄tibz Marchi ⁊ alibi p̄ potestatem n̄ram suboriri t̄ctatum diligentem h̄uim⁹ cum consilio n̄ro ⁊ p̄vidim⁹ qđ Castrum illud capiat^r ⁊ retineat^r in manu n̄ra ⁊ qđ R. Coventr' ⁊ Lich. ⁊ G. Wigorn̄ Ep̄i p̄fatum Lewelinum adirent ⁊ ip̄m ex pte n̄ra inducerent ut ab obsessione illa recederet qui sic ad mandatū n̄m fecerunt ⁊ cum ip̄o tractatum inde habuerūt. Et licet idem Lewelin⁹ p̄p̄disset qđ Castrum illud dirim̄e ⁊ penit⁹ p̄snere potuisset infra l̄cium diem talit⁹ inl⁹ se

ordinaſunt qđ Caſtrum illud remaneret in manu nra in eodem ſtatu quo tunc fuit ut in muris, fossatis, brebach, victualibz ꝛ aliis ita qđ nichil repareretur exaltaret karnalaret brebachiare vel alio modo ſtatꝰ ille mutaret citꝰ quindenam Sꝛi Johis Baptꝰ pxio futuram in qua quindenam ꝑdci Epi ꝑtibz diem ꝑfixunt apud vadum Montis Gomeri ad faciendꝰ inde ꝛ recipiendꝰ juſticiã juxꝰ formꝰ pacis ꝛ leges March. Et ꝑdci Epi L. ad hoc cum magna difficultate inducto Caſtrum illud a Conſtabulario ejuſdem juxꝰ tenorẽ trarꝰ ꝑdci Com̃ ſibi ſup hoc ꝑ ꝑfatos Eꝑos traditarꝰ in manum nram receperunt ꝛ illud quibzdam de ſuis comiserunt quousqz aliqui de nris ibidẽ venirẽt ꝛ caſtrum illud ab eis recipient ꝛ in manu nra cuſtodirẽt in forma ꝑdca. Ecce Conſtabularius dci Comit̃ de Caerdif ſimul cum qꝰdraginta homibz ad arma ꝑpe ꝑtem de Kaerfili acceſſit ꝛ latenter ꝛ clam adiit ꝑdcm Caſtrum de Kaerfili ꝛ petiit ibi ingreſſum ad arma hoium ꝑdci Com̃ ſcrutanda ꝛ videnda. et hoies ꝑdcorꝰ Eꝑorꝰ in cuſtodia ejuſdem ſinistra aliqꝰ de ipſo non ſuſpitantes eum Caſtrum illud ingredi ꝑmiserũt quo ingreſſo petiit ut quidam miles ſuus ſup rebz in Caſtro illo exiſtentibz cercioratꝰ ingredi poſſet qui militem illum ꝛ poſtmodum lciũ ingredi ꝑmiserũt quibz ingreſſis poſt ſcrutinium fcm de armaturis iſt ad portã ejuſdem Caſtri acceſſerunt qua ꝑ ipſos apta illos quos infra Caſtrum illud morari voluerũt ad municoẽm ejuſdem alioquin qđ ipſi Caſtrum illud exirẽt ꝛ eos ꝑmitterẽt Caſtrum illud ad opꝰ ꝑdci Com̃ Dni ſui cuſtodire. Ita qđ hoies Eꝑorꝰ illorꝰ ꝑ diſtricoẽm eis fcam ꝑ ꝑdcm Conſtabulariũ de Kaerdif Caſtrum illud dimiserũt ꝛ ad Dnos ſuos redierũt. Et nos quidem auditis ꝑmiſſis ꝛ non multo inde admirantes conſulimꝰ ſup hoc cum iſt qui juxꝰ latus nrm morant ꝛ negocio illo intellectu mandavimꝰ ꝑfato Com̃ ꝑmiſſa ut nos ſup voluntate ſua ꝛ ſi ꝑmiſſa. ꝑ ipm. vlt de aſſenſu ſeu ꝑcepto ſuo forent attẽptata, ad plenũ redderet ꝛiores unde quia ſi rumor iſtorꝰ ad aures ꝑfati Lewelini ꝑveſſint ipſe forte credet ꝑmiſſa de conſenſu nro fore ꝑpetꝰta cum tamen de iporꝰ ꝑpetꝰcoẽie doleamꝰ voꝛ mandamꝰ rogantes qđ conſilium vrm ſup ꝑmiſſis noꝛ qꝰcicius diſtincte ꝛ apte ſignificetis una cum vre beneplacito voluntatis. T ꝛð.

Ꝙ ditco ꝛ fideli ſuo Lewelino ſit Griffini principi Waſt ſalm ꝛ ſincere dileccõis affcm Cum diem voꝛ ꝛ vris ꝛ ditco ꝛ fideli nro G. de Clare Comiti Glouc ꝛ Hertford ꝛ ſuis ac ceſis marchionibz nris ꝑ nos ꝑfixum a die Sꝛi Johis Baptꝰ pxio ꝑſtito in unum menſem apd vadũ Montis Gomeri etis de cauſis ꝑrogassemꝰ ab illo menſe in unum menſem poſt feſtum Sꝛi Michis pxio venturꝰ ut tunc corã magnatibz ꝛ fidelibz nris ꝑ nos ibidem destinandos tam voꝛ ꝛ vris qm ꝑfato Com̃ ꝛ ſuis ac aliis marchionibz nris ꝑdcis plena fiat juſticia ſup inceꝑcõnibz exceſſibz ꝛ trans-

gressionibz hinc inde fcis cont^a form^m pacis int^o nos ⁊ vos inite
 ⁊ firmate ⁊ vob^o p^o lras n^{ras} mandassem^o qd^o diem illū observetis
 apud locum p^odc^m ⁊ qd^o int^oim p^ofato Com^o aut suis ac celis
 marchionibz n^{ris} p^odcis dāpnū non inferatis vel g^avamen ac jam
 sim^o in p^oficiscendo ad ptes t^onsmarinas p^o homagio n^{ro} quod
 D^{no} Regi Francie illustri face tenem^m p^o dūatu n^{ro} Aquil^o Com^o
 Agenē ⁊ aliis lris quas tenem^o ⁊ teste debem^o in regno Francie
 eidem D^{no} Regi p^ostande ⁊ p^opter hoc velim^o ⁊ specialit^o optem^o
 ad pacem ⁊ t^oquillitatem regni n^{ri} ⁊ p^ocium Marchie quod vob^o aut
 v^{ris} p^o p^ofatum Com^o aut celos marchioēs n^{ros} seu p^ofato Com^o aut
 ipis marchionibz n^{ris} p^o vos vel v^{ros} nullum int^oim dāpnū v^l
 molestia inferat^r set qd^o om^{ia} in pace conquiescant usqz ad diem
 sup^odc^m mandavim^o p^ofato Com^o ⁊ celis marchionibz n^{ris} districte
 inhibendo in vob^o v^l v^{ris} int^oim inferant dāpnū molestiam seu
 jacturam unde vob^o mandam^o firmit^o injūgentes qd^o p^ofatum Comitē
 aut marchioēs p^odcos int^oim nullo modo g^avetis seu a v^{ris} g^avati
 p^omittatis. Celum quia p^o fidedignos intellexim^o qd^o vos ex^occitum
 v^{im} jam banniri fecistis ⁊ ptes Marchie appinq^{re} p^oponitis ad
 p^ofatum Comitē ⁊ alios marchioēs n^{ros} g^avandos ⁊ lras suas
 ibidem invadend^o de quo q^am plurimū admiramur vob^o mandam^o
 in fide ⁊ homagio ⁊ dileccōne quibz nob^o tenemini firmit^o
 injūgentes qd^o ab huj^o modi p^oposito voluntario desistentes in pace
 vos teneatis. Ita qd^o vob^o non imputari debeat vel possit qd^o pax in
 p^otibz ist^o minus bⁿ observet^r. Scituri qd^o si secus egeritis impedire
 nō possum^o nec volum^o quin p^ofati marchioēs n^{ri} ad defensionem
 suam p^o se v^l p^o amicos suos vob^o resistant virilit^o ⁊ potent^o. T
 R apud Westm^o. iij. die Augusti.

R Lewelino fit Griffini Principi Waff salm^o ⁊ sincere dilcōis
 affc^m. Ea que nob^o sup^o emend^o faciend^o ⁊ recipiend^o de excessibz
 ⁊ t^ongressionibz injuriis ⁊ inl^ocepcōibz p^o G. de Clare Comitē
 Glouc^o ¹Humfridum de Bohun ⁊ suos ac alios Marchiones n^{ros}
 cont^a form^m pacis int^o nos ⁊ vos initam ⁊ firmatam illatas
 sicut asseritis ⁊ fcis hinc inde p^o lras v^{ras} expressistis una cum
 aliis que venabil^o pal^o Anian^o ²Ep^o de Scō Assaphi sollicitē nob^o
 exposuit nōie v^{ro} pleni^o audivim^o ⁊ intellexim^o diligen^o ⁊ sup^o
 hiis cum aliis p^olatis ⁊ consiliariis n^{ris} t^otatum ⁊ colloquiū
 habuim^o exquisitum satis autem attenditis q^lit^o sup^o exhibenda
 vob^o in hac pte justicia firmam ⁊ ferventem voluntatem habentes
 majores de regno n^{ro} ad vadum Montis Gormi frequen^o
 t^onsimis^o ex hac causa. Ita qd^o p^o nos in aliquo non stetit quin
 vob^o sup^o p^omissis fieret justice complementū sicut tam p^o lras n^{ras}
 vob^o inde directas q^m p^o alia n^{re} sollicitudinis judicia satis constat

¹ Humphrey de Bohun, second Earl of Hereford, Earl of Essex,
 and Lord High Constable. Died 1275.—[Nicholas.]

² Anianus on Enion. Consec. 21st Oct., 1268. Died 5th Feb.,
 1293.—[Nicholas.]

Et constabit inpositum evidenti modo ante superventum nova que nos et consilium nostrum urgent occupant et distrahunt ad diversa. Dominus enim Rex Francie illustris etiam terminum nobis prefixit in quindena videlicet Sancti Martini jam venturi ut sibi de Ducatu Aquitane Comiti Ageneensi ac aliis terris quas tenemus in regno Francie homagium faciamus. Ita quod ulterius supersedere non possumus quin partes transmarinas personaliter adeamus pro negotio antedicto. Et insuper Edwardus primogenitus noster dilectus amicus versus jam est in redeundo de terra Sancta versus partes Anglie sicut per dilectum et fidelem nostrum Ottonem de Grandisono ac alios milites familiares et domesticos suos qui in partes Vasconie adventum ipsius ibidem expectant veraciter intelleximus unde si predicta negocia vos tangencia progentur ad tempus securi esse poteritis quod negocia illa per predictum Edwardum et alios nobiles regni nostri iuxta formam pacis predictam tam quo ad emendas vos faciendum quam alia que incumbunt melius et magis perfecte quam hactenus explebuntur propter quod terminum nuper vobis in hac parte prefixum videlicet a festo Sancti Michaelis in unum mensem duximus progredi usque ad quindenam Pasche proximo futuram ad quem diem presens erit per Dei gratiam Edwardus predictus in cuius presencia negocia predicta feliciter et finaliter possunt terminari ad commodum et indepenitentiam vestram. Et scire vos volumus quod vobis aut nobis rebus se habentibus ut nunc nullatenus expediret quicquam mali vel excessus in finem attemptari contra formam pacis predicte unde vobis mandamus rogantes et in fide homagium et dilectione in quibus nos teneamus firmiter injungentes quatinus diem illud videlicet quindenam Pasche predictam observantes in finem vos et vestros in pace teneatis ita quod vos per fidelitatem vestram tunc ut prius scire debeamus specialiter commendantes. Prefatus ante Episcopus quem in expositione negociorum vestrorum merito (?) commendamus voluntate nostram plenus vobis viva voce referre potuit in premissis. Tercio et apud Westmonasterium xxx. die Octobris per ipsum Regem Archiepiscopus Eboracensis R. Agulff. Thedius de Camill. fratrem J. de Derlington. W. de Merton. Magrum W. de la Corner et Eliam de Rabeyn.¹

¹ King Henry III. died 17th November, 1272.

These records corroborate, to some extent, the statement of the Brut y tywysogion, given in the following passage:—

“Deg mlyned a thugeint a deucant a mil oed oet Crist pan vu uarw Maredud ab Grufud arglwyd Hirvryn trannoeth o duw gwyl Lucy wry yn Kastell Llan Ymdyfri. Ac y cladwyt yn Ystrat Fflur. Y vlywydyn honno y goresgynnawd Llywelyn ab Grufud gastell Caer Filu.”—*[Brut y tywysogion. — Myv. Arch., II., 464.]*

“It was the year of Christ one thousand two hundred and seventy when Maredud ab Grufud, Lord of Hirvryn, died at the castle of Llan Ym dyfri, on the morrow (*query*, vigil?) of the feast of Lucy the Virgin (*query*, St Lucia?) and he was buried at Ystrat Fflur. That year Llywelyn ab Grufud took possession of Castle Caer Filu.”

Edward, upon his accession to the throne, vigorously pushed forward the plans which had already been commenced against the Welsh. The destruction of the native princes Llewelyn¹ and David, one of whom was slain in battle, 1282, and the other put to an ignominious death, (1283,) removed all regular opposition to his claim.

In the 9th and 10th Edward I., Gilbert, Earl of Gloucester, claimed to hold his lands in Glamorgan as "Regale." He said he and his ancestors held by conquest, and appears, like Earl Warren, to have declined acknowledging the royal "quo warranto" for his Welsh lands.—[*Abb. Placit.*, 201.]

"In 1285," says Walsingham, "Edward marched from Snowdon to Glamorgan, and having been received by the Earl of Gloucester with great honour, was by him, at his own proper charges, conducted to the Gloucestershire border, whence he proceeded to Bristol." The king was probably entertained at Cardiff, which, for the reasons which have been stated above, was the ordinary residence of the Lords of Glamorgan.

Twelve years later, the Welsh were again in arms, and, under Mailgon, actually drove out Gilbert, Earl of Gloucester, who had inherited Glamorgan, and who died about this period. The king, however, entering Wales, speedily reduced the Welshmen to obedience; and the three daughters of the Earl of Gloucester, and his son Gilbert, a minor, were reinstated in their father's possessions.

Upon the accession of Edward II. he took advantage of the minority of the young Earl of Gloucester to give his sister away in marriage to his favourite, Gaveston, (1307,) a proceeding which gave great offence to the nobility of the realm, as well as to the earl her brother.

¹ In the *Fœdera* for 1282, the death of Llewelyn is noticed in a letter from the king to the Archbishop of Canterbury, after which follows an account of "a paper found in his femoralia," garments which it is satisfactory to the upholders of Welsh civilization to know that he certainly wore.

In 1314 Earl Gilbert, then aged twenty-three, fell childless on the field of Bannockburn, leaving three sisters the coheirs of his vast inheritance.

The king, in the first instance, [March, 1314, *Fædera*, II., 264,] appointed as custos of the estates Bartholomew de Badlesmere, who gave offence by his careless treatment of the Welsh hostages, and was directed to provide them with proper sustenance in future out of the De Clare lands.¹—[*Close Rolls*, 15th March, 1316.] Badlesmere also marched to repress this outbreak, and, next year, he had an assignment out of the king's rents in Glamorgan and Morgannwg.—[*Rot. Parl.* I., 453-6; *Fædera*, II., 370.] Before the division of the estates, February, 1316, a commission was issued to Humphrey de Bohun, Earl of Hereford, to defend Glamorgan against the Welsh, who had risen under Llewelyn Bren, grandson to Ivor, a former Lord of Senghennydd.—[*Fædera*.] The Rev. H. H. Knight, translating from the Monk of Malmesbury, adds,—“He (Llewelyn) had used malicious words before,—now he comes from words to blows; for upon a certain day, when the Constable of Caerphilly Castle held his court outside of the castle, Llewelyn made an onset with his sons and adherents upon him, and having slain some of the officers, and severely wounded several of the attendants at the court, carried him off captive. At the same time he attacked the castle, but met with such resistance as prevented his entrance, although he succeeded in burning all the outward walls.” Among the articles at a later period (1321) exhibited against Le Despencer, it was stated, with reference to this Llewelyn,—“That when the Earl of Hereford, and Lord Mortimer of Wigmore, had gone against Llewelyn Bren, who had raised a rebellion against the king in Glamor-

¹ Bartholomew, Baron de Badlesmere, born about 1275, married Margaret, daughter of Thomas, sister of Richard, and aunt and coheiress of Thomas de Clare, grandson of Richard, Earl of Gloucester. Their son Giles, second baron, obtained from Eleanor, Countess of Gloucester, a part of his father's lands, which appear to have been attainted.

ganshire, whilst the Earl of Gloucester's lands were in the king's hands, the same Llewelyn yielded himself up to the said earl, and to the Lord Mortimer, who brought him to the king on promise that he should have the king's pardon, and so the king received him. But after that the said earl and Lord Mortimer were out of the land, the Spensers, taking to them royal power, took the said Llewelyn, and led him unto Kardiff, where, after that the said Hugh Spenser, the sonne, had his part of the said Earl of Gloucester's lands, he caused the said Llewelyn to be drawn, headed, and quartered, to the discredit of the king, and of the said Earl of Hereford, and Lord Mortimer, yea, and contrary to the laws and dignities of the imperial crowne."—[*Hollinshed*, 4to. II., 562.]

Edward married (13th Edward II.) Eleanor, the eldest sister of the deceased Earl Gilbert, to his favourite, Hugh le Despencer, the younger, and he allotted to her the Welsh estates. Accordingly, very shortly afterwards, Le Despencer is rated among the Welsh levies, at five hundred foot for his lands in Glamorgan and Morgannwg, and at three hundred for the king's lands in his custody.

About this time, Le Despencer took advantage of Mortimer's attainder to sieze upon the castle of Caerphilly, which appears to have been held by the Mortimers, possibly through their descent from Gwladys, widow of Reginald de Braose, of Senghennydd, who remarried Ralph, Baron Mortimer, of Wigmore. However this may have been, Despencer governed Caerphilly, for, 14th Edward II., [*Pat.* 14th E. II., *m.* 11,] he rendered it up to the king, and having fortified it by additional defences, was enabled, for some time, to withstand the forces brought against him by the barons, although they finally obtained possession of it.

About the same time, or a little earlier, William, Lord Braose, had sold a part of Gower to Le Despencer the younger, to the great dissatisfaction of the Earl of Hereford, and the Mortimers, and Lord Mowbray, who had married Braose's daughter and heir; upon this the Lords Mowbray, Clifford, and others, in 1321, rose in arms

against the king and Le Despencer, took "Kierdie (Cardiff), Kersillie (Caerphilly), Llantrissane, Talvan, Llanllethien, Kenfegis, Neath, Drusselan, and Dinevor," from Le Despencer, and altogether did £10,000 worth of damage.—[*Hollinshed*, 559, 560.]

"In an account of the possessions of Hugh le Despencer, and Eleanor his wife, 14th Edward II., (a copy of which appears in the *Harleian MSS.*,) the sum for the necessary repairs, &c., 'de necessaria reparatione et custodia Cast. de Kerfilly,' is estimated at £43 per annum."—[I. M. T.]

In 1326, 20th Edward II., the queen and Mortimer having taken up arms, the king, attended by the Despenchers, and Baldock the chancellor, fled from London, to which he never returned.

As the flight of the king from his barons and queen has, in its details, been generally neglected by historians, it may be useful to give the following rather minute particulars, compiled chiefly from, or corrected by, writs issued by the monarch during his journey.

The king was at Westminster on the 2nd of October, and at Acton on the same day.—[*Fæd. in loc.*] On the 10th, with a few followers, pursued by his queen with a larger number, he rested at Gloucester, whence the elder Despencer, then ninety years old, was dispatched to defend the castle of Bristol.¹ From Gloucester, the king, accompanied by the younger Despencer and Robt. Baldock his chancellor, proceeded to Tintern, where he rested upon the 14th and 15th, and then remained at Striguil until the 21st. He was at Cardiff during the 27th and 28th, whence, probably thinking himself unsafe, he moved to Caerphilly, where he issued writs, bearing date the 29th and 30th of the month, to Rhese ap Griffith, and others, giving them power to raise troops. Rhese seems to have been perfectly in the royal confidence, as his commission is unlimited.

Whether Edward thought Caerphilly too near the English border, or whether the garrison was too small

¹ Walsingham says that the elder Despencer was dismissed from Striguil.

to defend its extensive outworks, does not appear; but leaving Despencer, the grandson, in the castle, in opposition to Mortimer,¹ he retired to Margam, where he was on the 4th of November, and thence to Neath, where he rested the next day, and whence he issued a safe-conduct to the abbot of that monastery, as his ambassador to the queen and Mortimer.

Hugh le Despencer, the grandson, does not appear to have acted as official military governor of Caerphilly, during its siege by the queen and prince, at least in 1347, for (20th E. II., Rege captivo) a pardon is issued to John de Felton, for holding out Kerfily against the queen and Prince Edward; and a similar pardon to all within the castle during the siege, excepting only Hugh, the son of Hugh le Despencer the younger [*Fœdera*, 20th E. II.²], who, however, received a pardon shortly afterwards.³

As Edward is only certainly known to have been at Caerphilly on the 30th, and at Margam on the 4th, there remains an interval of not more than four whole days, and possibly a portion of two others, during which his wanderings are unrecorded. If we suppose that he employed the interval in proceeding by sea to Margam, taking water at Cardiff, or some neighbouring port, we shall be able to reconcile the narrative of Walsingham with that given above. Walsingham, whose information,

¹ "Prima patent de anno, 3^o Regis Edwardi Tertii, quod Rogerus de Mortuomari, comes Marchiæ Justiciarius Walliæ, amoveat obsessionem circa castr' de Kaerfily fact', et illud in manus regis resumat."—[*Cal. Rot. Pat.* p. 105.]

² "Patent' de anno 20^o Regis Edwardi Secundi'. Pardonatio concessa omnibus in castro de Kaerfily, (excepto Hugone filii Hugonis le Dispencer, junior') eoquod ipsi castrum prædictum ac quædam bona in eodem ad mandatum Isabellæ Reginæ Angliæ et Edw' primogeniti filii Regis eisdem super hoc ex parte Rⁱ directum non liberaverunt, apud Kenilworth, 4^o Januarii."—[*Cal. Rot. Pat.* p. 98]. "Prima patent' de anno primo Regis Edwardi Tertii. Pardonatio concessa diversis in castro de Cairfily existentibus."—[*Cal. Rot. Pat.* p. 100.]

³ "Pardonatio concessa Hugoni le Dispenser, filio Hugonis le Dispenser, junioris, eoquod detinuit castrum de Kaerfily, contra Regem et Isabell' Reginam, &c., ac nomina duodecem militum ejus manucaptorum."—[*Cal. Rot. Pat.* p. 104.]

though generally correct, is not always minute, makes him take water from Striguil. It seems, however, more probable that he went first to Caerphilly.

Froissart says that the king, and Despencer, jun., held the castle, and Despencer, sen., and the Earl of Arundel, the town, of Bristol, against the queen's forces; and that the two latter were executed under the walls of that castle, within sight of the king, and all within it. He also relates that the king, and Despencer, jun., were taken on the seas, while escaping from Bristol, and brought back thither—points in which he is not borne out by contemporary writers. Froissart was clearly never in that part of England, and seems to have been misinformed. Fabyan merely gives a very general statement, agreeing, as far as it goes, with Froissart. Hollinshed's statement is given below.¹

¹ A° 1326.—“The king in this mean time kept not in one place, but shifting hither and thither, remained in great care. The king, with the Earl of Gloucester, and the Lord Chancellor, taking the sea, meant to have gone either into the ile of Lundaie, or else into Ireland, but being tossed with contrary winds for the space of a week together, at length he landed in Glamorganshire, and got him to the abbeie and castel of Neith, there secretly remaining upon trust of the Welshmen's promises. Hugoline Spencer, the sonne of the Earl of Gloucester, defended the castle of Kersillie against the power of the queen and of her sonne till Easter following, and then compounding for the safety of his own life, and all theirs within that castle, and likewise for the injoying of their goods, he yielded it to the hands of the men of warre that held siege before it in the queen's name, and of his sonne.” “The queen remained about a month's space at Hereford, and in the mean while sent the Lord Henrie, Earl of Leicester, and the Lord W^m la Zouch, and one Rice ap Howell that was lately delivered out of the Tower where he was prisoner, into Wales, to see if they might find means to apprehend the king by help of their acquaintance in those parts, all three of them having lands their abouts, where it was knowne the king for the more part kept. They used such diligence in that charge, that finallie with large gifts bestowed on the Welshmen, they came to understand where the king was, and so on the day of St. Edmund the Archbishop, being the 16th of November, they took him in the monastery of Neith, near to the castle of Llantursan, together with Hugh Spencer, the son, called Earl of Gloucester, the Lord Chancellor, Robert de Baldocke, and Simon de Reading, the king's Marshall, not caring for the other king's servants, whom they suffered to escape.”—[*Hollinshed*, p. 58, 2-3.]

The king, Despencer, and Baldock remained at Neath until the 10th, when Henry, Earl of Lancaster, Master ap Howell, (afterwards Justiciary of Wales,) and William la Zouch, having lands and power in the neighbourhood, were sent by the queen from Hereford to watch the king, who finally, with his two minions, was siezed on Sunday, 16th November, near the castle of Llantursan, or Llantrissaint, on his way, as has been supposed, back to Caerphilly. He gave up the great seal at Monmouth, 20th November, to Sir W. Blount. The next writ is dated Ledbury, 13th of November, and finally the king was conveyed to Kenilworth, on the 14th of December.

Baldock, being an ecclesiastic, was confined to Newgate, where he died within the year; and Despencer, being hanged at Hereford, as his father had been at Bristol, his honours became extinct, and his estates reverted to the crown. He left, however, his widow, Eleanor, who stood in the relationship of cousin to the king.

"In 1322," says Hollinshed, "the king (Edward III.) obtained possession of all the Despencer castles, and sent Lord Hastings into South Wales."—[p. 564.]

Knyghton mentions, among the nobles present at the coronation of the new monarch, Hugh le Despencer, the grandson, afterwards a distinguished soldier, "a great baron and a good knight," says Froissart, and who died finally without issue. "He delivered up," says Knyghton, referring to the above mentioned transaction, "the castle of Caerphilly, which he had from his father, to the king, and placed himself at his disposal, who in return granted unto him safety of life and limb."

In addition to this, the monarch seems to have re-granted to him a portion of his paternal estates, since we find him ordered to raise three hundred and thirty-two men in Glamorgan and Morgannwg as his share of a Welsh army; and again, five years afterwards, he is rated at three hundred.—[*Fædera*, 15th E. III.; 20th E. III.]

The castle of Caerphilly does not, however, appear to have been restored to him, or to his mother; for a writ (1329) is directed to Roger de Mortimer, Justiciary of

Wales, "seeing that divers evil doers, abetted by William la Zouch de Mortimer, have beleaguered the castle of Caerphilly in warlike fashion, and held that leaguer in breach of the peace, and terror of liege subjects;" he is ordered "to raise the siege, (taking the posse if necessary,) and to seize the castle for the king, and safely to keep it, arresting the recusants, if any, and committing them to prison." Also, on the same day, was issued a second writ, stating that William la Zouch de Mortimer had been summoned to appear in person, and had refused; refusing also to bring with him the king's cousin, Eleanor le Despencer, residing in her country, and ordering "John de Gynes to attack him, and to bring both to the king."

A month afterwards, the writ to Roger Mortimer is repeated, expressing surprise at his delay in executing the first, forbidding any supplies of food to be admitted to the besieged, and commanding that restitution be made of the goods and chattels seized by La Zouch from John de Gray, the king's faithful subject.

From hence it would appear that William had already taken the castle, though the results of the royal writs are not mentioned. Shortly afterwards William, and the king's cousin, Countess Eleanor, were married.

The castle was probably regranted by the king, with their titles, to the Despenchers, for Elizabeth, widow of Edward, Lord le Despencer, he who died 1375, (49th E. III.,) had the castle and town of Caerphilly, and the territory of Senghennydd, as a part of her dowry; she died 1409.

After the battle of Shrewsbury, and Henry's subsequent campaign in the north, that monarch directed the Welsh castles to be put in order, with a view to the final suppression of Owen Glendwr and his adherents. A writ, cited by Thomas, (*Memoirs of Owen Glendwr*, 1822, p. 120,) commits the custody of Caerphilly and Gwyr Lacy to Constantia, Lady le Despencer, who was the widow of Thomas, Lord le Despencer, Earl of Gloucester, who was beheaded, 1339-1400, 1st H. IV. She was the daughter

of Edmund Plantagenet of Langley, and died 1417. No such place as Gwyrlycy is known; but it is singular that in this writ, which enumerates the principal fortresses in Wales, the name of Cardiff does not occur.

During the reign of Edward III. large levies were not unfrequently required at the hands of the Lords-Marchers of Wales; and among the territories from which certain men are directed to be drawn, the name of Ewyas Lacy very frequently occurs. Thus, in 1343, (16th Edward III.,) a writ was addressed to Gilbert Talbot, Justiciary of South Wales; in 1346, a similar one to the Earl of March, and B. de Burghersh; in 1367, to other persons; and, in each of these cases, Ewyas Lacy is enumerated in conjunction with Builth, and Crickhowel, and other places, all lying about Brecon, or between it and Crickhowel, while the levies for "Morgan and Morgannon" are in all the above cases directed to be raised by a different baron; Ewyas Lacy, indeed, is in Herefordshire, not far from the border. The name Gwyr Lacy does not once occur in the *Fædera*: it is evidently a misnomer.

It was the above "Constantia," the widow of Lord le Despencer, and sister to the Duke of York, who, a short time afterwards, attempted to rescue the young Earl of March and his brother from the power of Henry IV., for which offence she was imprisoned.

"Among Lord Bute's papers is the account that Thayron ap Jevan ap Rawlyn, Bayliff of Kerfilly, 16th H. VI. 'Unde 3s. 6d. quor̄ solvit p̄ expeñs Oweyn ap Gwed et Jevan Llew' ap Jevan Vaughñ, ap Jevan Vaure Felon ibm̄ in Co. de Kerfilly exist̄ p. iij. Septim̄ et postea suspens̄.' This original document is confirmative of Leland's account, that prisoners were kept here in Henry the Eighth's time."—[I. M. T.]

I have been able to find no further mention of Caerphilly until the time of Leland, who thus describes it in his *Itinerary*. "In Iscaihac is Cairfilly Castelle sette amonge marishes, wher be ruinous walles of a wonderful thickness and tower kept up for prisoners as to the chief hold of Senghenith."—[*Leland*, VII. 39.]

Owen Glendwr in his invasion of South Wales, in 1400, is said to have taken and garrisoned Caerphilly. — [*Beauties.*]

Our typographical arrangements do not admit of the insertion, in the usual manner, of the pedigree, showing the descent of Caerphilly; we shall endeavour, however, thus to supply its place:—

- I.—**ROBERT FITZ-HAMON**, nephew to the Conqueror, received from William Rufus the Honour of Gloucester; died A.D. 1107, 7 Henry I.; buried in the chapter-house of Tewkesbury Abbey, which he founded, rebuilding the church, to which his body was transferred, 1241. He married Sibil, or Isabel, sister of Robert Belesme, Earl of Shrewsbury. They had issue four daughters.
- II.—**MABEL**, eldest daughter and coheir, married **ROBERT CONSUL**, Earl of Gloucester, builder of Cardiff Castle, bastard son of Henry I., by Nest, daughter of Rhys ap Tewdwr. Died 1147, 12 Stephen, and is buried in St James' Monastery, Bristol, which he founded. Issue—
- III.—**WILLIAM**, Earl of Gloucester, died 1173; buried at Keynsham Abbey; married Hawise, daughter of Robert, (Bossu) Earl of Leicester. Issue—1. Robert, born and died at Cardiff, s.p. 2. Mabel. 3. Amicia. 4. Isabella.
- IV.—**ISABELLA**, daughter and coheir, married first, John, afterwards king. He repudiated her, and gave up the Honour of Gloucester, but kept Bristol Castle; second, Geoffrey de Magnaville, Earl of Essex; third, Hubert de Burgh, Chief Justice of England. Leaving no children, her estates passed to her sister.
- V.—**MABEL**, Lady of the Honour of Gloucester; she died, having married the Earl of Evreux in Normandy, and her only son dying without issue, left as sole heir her sister.
- VI.—**AMICIA**, who married **RICHARD DE CLARE**; he died 1211, and is buried at Clare. Issue—
- VII.—**GILBERT**, Earl of Gloucester and Hertford; died 1229, (14 H. III.) in Little Britain; buried in the choir at Tewkesbury; married Isabella, third daughter, and coheir of William Marshall the elder, Earl of Pembroke. Issue—
- VIII.—**RICHARD**, Earl of Gloucester and Hertford; born 1221; died 14 July, 1261 (46 H. III.); buried at Tewkesbury; married Matilda, daughter of John de Lacy, Earl of Lincoln. Issue—
- IX.—**GILBERT**, Earl of Gloucester and Hertford, surnamed the "Red;" born 1243, at Christ Church, Hants; died at

Monmouth Castle, December 1295 (24 Edward 1.); buried at Tewkesbury; married (18 Edward 1.) Joan of Acre, daughter of Edward I., (who remarried Ralph de Monthermer.)¹ Issue—1. Gilbert. 2. Eleanor, 3. Margaret, married first, Piers Gaveston, and afterwards Hugh de Audley. 4. Elizabeth, foundress of Clare Hall, who married first, John de Burgh, son and heir to the Earl of Ulster, second, Theobald Verdon, and afterwards Roger d' Amory.

X.—GILBERT, Earl of Gloucester and Hertford, slain at Bannockburn, 1314, 7 Edward II., aged 23; buried at Tewkesbury. He married Matilda, daughter of John de Burgh, (died 1315,) and had one son, John, who died before his father.

XI.—Eleanor de Clare, eldest daughter and coheirress, married (13 Edward II.) HUGH LE DESPENCER, Earl of Gloucester, son of Hugh, Earl of Winchester, Chamberlain to Edward II. Hanged and quartered, 1326; buried at Tewkesbury. Issue—1. Hugh. 2. Edward. 3. Gilbert. Eleanor remarried William la Zouch, of Mortimer, who was buried at Tewkesbury.² Eleanor was prisoner with her family in the Tower until 5th February, 1–2 Edward III.

XII.—HUGH LE DESPENCER, Baron le Despenser. He broke into the Scheldt in the naval battle of Sluys; died, s.p., February 1349; buried at Tewkesbury. He married Elizabeth, daughter of Hugh Montacute, Earl of Salisbury, and widow of Guy de Brian; she is buried at Tewkesbury.

XIII.—EDWARD LE DESPENCER, died before his brother, 16 Edward III; married Anne, daughter of Henry, Lord Ferrers, of Groby. Issue—

¹ The author of the Siege of Caerlaverock, describing his banner of arms, says,—“He by whom they were well supported acquired, after great doubts and fears, until it pleased God he should be delivered, the love of the Countess of Gloucester, for whom he a long time endured great sufferings. He had only a banner of fine gold, with three red chevrons.” Peter of Langtoft says,—“Of Gloucestre stouthe and gay, Sir Rauf the Mohermere, and his wif, Dame Jone, whilom Gilberde's of Clare.” In 1298, he was summoned *jure matris*, as Earl of Gloucester and Hertford. After the death of his wife, in 1307, he appears to have dropped these titles.

² William Zouch of Mortimer, was younger son of Robert, third Baron Mortimer, of Richard's Castle, by Joyce, daughter and heiress of William la Zouch, second son of Roger, second Baron Zouch, of Ashby. He took his mother's name. He was summoned to Parliament 1323–1337. His son, Alan, succeeded him, but was not summoned. Hugh, fourth Baron of Mortimer, of Richard's Castle, was, in 1296, officially connected with South Wales.

- XIV.—**EDWARD LE DESPENCER**, heir to his uncle, Lord of Glamorgan, 17 Edward III., made his will at Llanblethian Castle, 1375, 49 Edward III., and shortly afterwards died at Cardiff Castle, seized of the castle of Caerphilly; buried at Tewkesbury; married Elizabeth, daughter and heiress of Bartholomew, Baron Burghersh, who died 1409, and is buried at Tewkesbury. She had, in dower, the castle and town of Caerphilly, and the territory of Senghennydd above and below Taff.—[*Giraltus Cambrensis*.—*Sir R. C. Hoare*, II., 373.] Their eldest son, Edward, died at Cardiff, aged twelve years.
- XV.—**THOMAS LE DESPENCER**, Earl of Gloucester, younger son, and finally heir; obtained the reversal of the attainder of his great-grandfather, and great-great-grandfather, 1397. Created Earl of Gloucester, 1397; attainted, and beheaded at Bristol, 1 Henry IV., 1400; buried at Tewkesbury; married Constance, daughter of Edmund Langley, Duke of York, son of Edward III. Issue—1. Richard; died aged eighteen years, s.p. 2. Elizabeth; died young at Cardiff; buried in St. Mary's Church. 3. Isabella.
- XVI.—**ISABELLA**, final heir. Born at Cardiff; buried at Tewkesbury; married first, 1411, Richard Beauchamp, son and heir of William, Lord Abergavenny, Earl of Worcester; killed; buried at Tewkesbury. Issue—Elizabeth; born 16th September 1415; married Edward, son of Rafe Nevill, Earl of Westmoreland, and had issue, George Nevill. Isabella married second, by dispensation, Richard Beauchamp, first cousin to her first husband, Earl of Warwick. He died at Rouen, 1344. Issue—1. Henry. 2. Anne.
- XVII.—**HENRY BEAUCHAMP**, Lord le Despenser, Duke of Warwick, died 1446, aged 22; buried at Tewkesbury; married Cecilia, daughter of Richard Nevill, Earl of Salisbury; she remarried Tiptoft, Earl of Worcester; died 1450; buried at Tewkesbury. Their daughter, Anne Beauchamp, died 1449, aged six years.
- XVIII.—**ANNE**, sister and heiress to Henry Beauchamp, died 1418, aged 32; married **RICHARD NEVILL**, Earl of Salisbury and Warwick, sixth son of Richard, Earl of Salisbury. Issue, three daughters—1. Isabel, married George, Duke of Clarence. 2. Mary. 3. Ann, who married first, Edward, Prince of Wales; and secondly, Richard, Duke of Gloucester, afterward Richard III.

Upon Richard's death the estates passed to **HENRY VII.**, by whom the Lordship of Glamorgan was granted to Jasper, Duke of Bedford, at whose death in 1495 it escheated to the crown,

where it remained, until Edward VI. granted it, in the fourth year of his reign, to (1.) William, Earl of Pembroke, Baron Herbert, of Cardiff, who was the son of Sir Richard Herbert, of Ewyas, the natural son of that Earl who was beheaded in 1469. From Earl William the Lordship of Glamorgan, including Caerphilly, came to his son, (2.) HENRY, second earl; died 1601; having married for his third wife, Mary, daughter of Sir Henry Sidney, and leaving by her, (3.) 1. WILLIAM, third earl, 1630, married Mary, daughter of the Earl of Shrewsbury, and had issue, Henry, who died young. (4.) 2. Philip, brother and heir, fourth earl, and Earl of Montgomery, who left issue by Susan, daughter of Edward, Earl of Oxford, (5.) PHILIP, fifth earl, who married first, Penelope, daughter of Sir Richard Naunton, and had issue, (6.) WILLIAM, sixth earl; and secondly, Catherine, daughter of Sir WILLIAM VILLIERS, and had issue, (7.) 1. PHILIP, seventh earl, 1683, who married Henriette de Querouaille; and (8.) 2. THOMAS, eighth earl. Philip, seventh earl, left issue, (9.) CHARLOTTE, heiress of Usk Castle, who married first, John, Lord Jefferies, 1702, and left Henriette, who married the Earl of Pomfret; and secondly, Thomas, Viscount Windsor, Baron Mountjoy, 1738, and by him had issue, (10.) HERBERT, Viscount Windsor, &c., who married Alice, daughter of Sir John Clavering; and had issue, (11.) 1. CHARLOTTE JANE, who married John, Marquis of Bute, Baron Cardiff, &c.; and 2. Alice-Elizabeth, who married the Marquis of Hertford. Charlotte Jane had issue, (12.) JOHN, Lord Mountstuart, who married Elizabeth Penelope, daughter and heiress of Patrick, Earl of Dumfries, and left issue, (13.) the late Marquis of Bute, and Lord James Stuart. The Marquis died 1849, leaving an only son and heir, (14.) JOHN PATRICK CRICHTON STUART, third Marquis of Bute, the present possessor of Caerphilly Castle.

Although the castle of Caerphilly, and the estates won by Fitz-Hamon have thus become alienated, both from his blood and from that of their ancient Welsh possessors, parts of the district of Senghennydd appear to have been transmitted, by unbroken descent, to the present day.

It has been already stated that Ivor Bach married Nest, daughter and heiress of Madoc ap Cradoc, of Senghennydd, and that their eldest son, Griffith, married, according to some accounts, the daughter of William, Earl of Gloucester. From this Griffith descended the Glamorganshire family of Lewis of "The Van," their seat from a remote period, and no doubt a part of the

ancient Lordship of Senghennydd, allotted to their ancestor, Einon.

Early in the eighteenth century, Elizabeth, daughter and heiress of Thomas Lewis of "The Van," married Other, third Earl of Plymouth, ancestor of Lady Harriet Clive, the present possessor of "The Van." The male line was carried on by Lewis of Llanishen, and is at present vested in Henry Lewis, of Green Meadow, who is therefore to be regarded as one of the representatives, in the male line, of Nest, the heiress of the ancient Welsh Lords of Senghennydd, in which district this family has never ceased to reside.

G. T. CLARK.

NOTE.—The plan which accompanies this article has been procured for the author, by Mr. Armstrong. Though not strictly accurate in all its minute details, it is generally correct, and by very much the best plan extant of the castle.

AN ODE TO THE VIRGIN MARY.

It happened once upon a time, at Oxford, that the English exceedingly blamed and disparaged the Welsh, on account of their alleged want of learning, asserting that no Welshman ever turned out a good scholar, and that no Welshman could possibly be made as good, as learned, and as wise a scholar, or as skilful a versifier, as an Englishman, and that the Welsh were not to be compared with the English in point of education.

Whereupon a Welshman of distinction arose, stood up, and spoke on this wise:—"I am myself but an indifferent scholar, and not to be compared with many eminent scholars from Wales, whose books I am not worthy to bear after them; nevertheless, I should be sorry were a poor Welsh scholar of no standing prove unable to compete with the most learned Englishman in regard to versification, and several other particulars; but our best scholars are not so wanton and frivolous, nor do they set

their heads and minds so much upon contention and gossip as the bragging English. But I will answer this question in the following manner :—

“ Let the best educated Englishman from amongst you compose Latin verse, and if I fail to make one fully as clever, then he may condemn the Welsh : let him compose English or Welsh verse, and if I in that respect prove not his equal, then you may inveigh against the Welsh : let him versify in any language he pleases, with which I am acquainted, and if I do not versify equally as well, then let him calumniate the Welsh, and spare them not. I also will versify in English, your own language, and if all the Englishmen of England will produce such a versification, or any thing at all equal thereto, then you may sneer at the Welsh. If you fail in the attempt, then suffer the Welsh to enjoy the privilege which God has bestowed upon them, and know for certain that ye are not to be compared with the Welsh.” Wherefore he composed the following English ode, in the metre of alliterative consonancy (croes gynghanedd), which no Englishman can ever do :—

O michti Ladi, our leding ;—to haf
At hefn our abeiding ;
Yntw ddei ffest everlasting
I set a braynts ws tw bring.

O mighty Lady our leading,—to have
At heaven our abiding ;
Unto thy feast everlasting,
I set a braynts us to bring.

Yw wann ddys wyth blyss dde blessing,—of God
Ffor ywr gwd abering,
Kwier yw bynn ffor ywr wyning,
Syns kwin and ywr Synn ys king.

You wone this with bliss, the blessing,—of God
For your good a bearing ;
Where you been for your winning,
Since Queen and your Son is King.

Owr fforffaddyrs ffaddyr, owr ffding ;—owr Pop
On ywr paps had swking ;
Yn hefn blyss I had this thing,
Atendans wythowt ending.

Our forefathers' father, our fiding ;—our Pope
 On your paps had sucking ;
 In Heaven bliss I¹ had this thing,
 Attendance without ending.

Wi sin dde bricht kwin wyth kwning ;—and blyss
 The blosswm ffruwt bering ;
 Ei wOULD as owld as I sing,
 Wynn ywr lyf on ywr laving.

We seen the bright Queen with cunning,—and bliss
 The blossom fruit bearing ;
 I would as old as I sing,
 Win your love on your laving.

Kwin od off owr God owr geiding,—Mwddyr
 Maedyn notwythstanding ;
 Hw wed syts wyth a ryts ring,
 As God wad ddys gwd weding.

Queen od of our God our guiding,—mother
 Maiden notwithstanding ;
 Who wed such with a rich ring
 As God wad this good wedding.

Help ws prae ffor ws prefferring,—owr souls,
 Assel ws at ending ;
 Mak awl ddat wi ffawl tw ffig,
 Ywr Syn's lyf owr syns leving.

Help us pray for us preferring,—our souls
 Assel² us at ending ;
 Make all that we fall to *ffing*,³
 Your Son's love our sins leaving.

As wi mae dda dae off owr deing,—resef
 Owr Saviowr yn howsling ;
 As hi mae tak ws waking,
 Tw hym yn hys michti wing.

As we may the day of our dying,—receive
 Our Saviour in housling ;
 As he may take us waking,
 To him in his mighty wing.

Might hyt twk, mi ocht tw tel,
 Owt sols off hel, tw soels off hicht,
 Wi aish wyth bwk, wi wish wyth bel,
 Tw hefn ffwl wel, tw haf on fflicht.

Mighty he took, me ought to tell,
 Out souls of hell, to soils of Hight,⁴

¹ Query—He.

² Query—Assoll.—EDD. ARCH. CAMB.

³ Query.

⁴ Query—Height.

We *aish*¹ with book, we wish with bell,
To heaven full well to have on flight.

Awl dids wel dwn	}	A gwd met wricht
Tabyd Deo bwn		
A God mad trwn	}	And so non might.
And se so swm		
And north and nwn		
And synn and mwn		

All deeds well done,	}	A good met wright
<i>Tabyd</i> ² Deo boon		
A God made troon	}	And so none might.
And say so soon,		
And north and noon,		
And sun and moon		

As swm as preid, is now syprest	}	Wi uws not richt
Hys sel ys best, hys sol ys pight		
I tel tw yo	}	Hym ffrom a knight.
As sym dwth shio		
As now ei tro		
A boy wyth 's bo		
Hys lwk is lo	}	
How mae yw kno		

As soon as pride, is now supprest	}	We use not right
His zeal is best his soul is pight,		
I tell to you	}	Him from a Knight.
As some doth show		
As now I trow		
A boy with 's bow		
His look is low	}	
How may you know		

Dde truwth ys kyt, ddat yerth ys kast,
Dde ends bi last, dde hands bi light,
O God set yt, gwd as yt was,
Dde ruwl dwth pass, dde world hath picht.

The truth is cut, that earth is cast,
The ends be last, the hands be light,
O God set it, good as it was,
The rule doth pass, the world hath pight.

A preti thing, we prae to thest
Ddat gwd bi hest, that God bi hicht
And he was ffig, yntw his ffest,
Ddat ever shal lest wyth deivers licht

¹ *Query.*

² *Query.*

Dde world away	}	Yt ys nei nicht
Ys dynn as day		
Yt ys no nay	}	Wld God ei nicht.
As owld ei say		
Ei was yn ffay		
Eild a gwd may		

A pretty thing, we pray to thest
 That good be hest, that God be hight,
 And he was ffing, unto his fest
 That ever shall lest with divers light

The world away	}	It is nigh night,
Is done as day		
It is no nay	}	Would God I might.
As old I say		
I was in ffay		
Yield a good may		

Awar wi weuld	}	In a bant hicht
Dde syns ddey sowld		
And bi not howld	}	Ddat Siesws hicht.
And ywng and owld		
Wyth hymddei howld		
Dde Siuw has sowld		

Aware we would,	}	In a bant hight,
The sins they sold		
And be not hold	}	The Jesus hight.
And young and old		
With him they hold		
The Jew has sold		

O trysti Kreist, ddat werst a krown,
 Er wi dei down a redi dicht,

Tw thank tw ddi	}	Ddey now tw licht
At dde rwd tri		
Dden went awl wi	}	Ddi tw mei sicht.
Tw grawnt agri		
Amen wyth mi		
Ddat ei mae si		

O trusty Christ, that werst a crown,
 Ere we die down a ready dight

To thank to thee	}	They now to light
At the rood tree		
Then went all we	}	Thee to my sight.
To grant agree		
Amen with me		
That I may see		

Owr lwck owr King, owr lok owr ke
 Mei God ei prae, mei geid ypricht,

Ei sik ei sing, ei shak ei sae,
 Ei wer awae, a wiri wight,
 Agaynst ei go,
 Mei ffrynds mi ffro, } Wyth ffynd ei ffeicht
 Ei ffownd a ffo }
 Ei sing also }
 Yn welth yn wo, } Tw kwin off nicht
 Ei kan no mo }

Our luck our King, our lock our key
 My God I pray, my guide upright,
 I seek, I sing, I shake I say,
 I wear away, a wiry wight.

Against I go,
 My friend mi fro } With fiend I fight,
 I found a foe }
 I sing also, }
 In wealth in wo, } To Queen of might.
 I can no mo }

Some say that Ieuan ap Rhydderch ap Ieuan Llwyd of Gogerddan, who lived about A.D. 1420, was the author, others that it was Ieuan ap Hywel Swardwal, who flourished about A.D. 1460.

The above old song was transcribed from the Book of Sion ap William Sion, of Gele Lyfrdy, in the county of Flint, who lived about A.D. 1630, A.D. 1785.

Correspondence.

CONWAY IMPROVEMENTS.

To the Editors of the Archæologia Cambrensis.

GENTLEMEN,—I heartily concur with the sentiments expressed by your intelligent correspondent, (signing himself “A Lover of Improvement,”) on the subject of the taste displayed by Messrs. Stephenson & Co., and the “march of improvement” so admirably carried out in the town of Conway. He has, however, by some oversight, omitted to mention that matchless specimen of architectural elegance, which Mr. Stephenson has been considerate enough to place in juxtaposition with the dirty old walls of the castle, and which he no doubt erected there for the purpose of, in some measure, concealing them; the building I allude to is composed of brick, built in the rectangular barn style, and com-

bing in itself so much unadorned simplicity, that it becomes a practical model of utilitarian perfectability. He has also forgotten to notice that extremely appropriate arch which Mr. Stephenson, in conformity with the taste displayed in all his architectural efforts, has placed at the point where the railroad intersects those useless old walls, and which so completely and entirely differs from the style of architecture in which the castle and walls were originally built, that we can only regret such a happy conglomeration of all sorts of architecture should be thrown away and lost in so uninteresting a spot.

I cannot, however, close this letter without expressing my gratitude to the corporation and other authorities of Beaumaris for their great exertions in the cause of improvement, and especially for the judgment and ability with which they have hidden that antique deformity, Beaumaris Castle, from the gaze of the gentlemen from Manchester and Liverpool, (who may happen to arrive by steam-boats,) by the interpolation of those highly elegant rows of buildings, the one, I believe, erected under the tasteful auspices of Messrs. Handson and Welsh, and the other under that of the more humble, though not less ingenious, architecture of Robert Jones. I hear, moreover, that it is in contemplation to whitewash that part of the castle looking towards the sea, which will give it a highly interesting and amended appearance. I cannot, however, avoid suggesting what I conceive would add most materially to its interest and attraction in the eyes of those whose familiarity with these objects would at once make the locality a home to them—I mean the erection of a long brick chimney rising from the centre of the castle-yard; and, by a subterranean communication with the drainage of the town, at once answer the purpose of the sanitary commissioners, and rejoice the vision of the Manchester visitors.

I am, &c.,

CORYDON CYMBU.

July 6th, 1850.

To the Editors of the Archaeologia Cambrensis.

GENTLEMEN,—In looking at the account of Cwmhir Abbey, I see that the author has left out the last male heir of that property. His name was Thomas Hodges, and he was son of Colonel Thomas Hodges, and brother to Sarah, who married Colonel George Hastings. They never had the property, though the account in your Journal certifies they did. Thomas Hodges was abroad at the time of his mother's death, and had been so for some years, from what I have heard him say himself; but, on hearing of her death, he came to England and claimed the

property, which he enjoyed for about five-and-twenty years. He married, late in life, a Mrs. Lowe, by whom he had one daughter, who could not inherit the property as it went to the male heir, who was his nephew, Hance F. Hastings, Esq. This gentleman sold his uncle's life interest in the estates long before he died, to pay the expenses of getting the Earldom of Huntingdon. Thomas Hodges, on claiming the abbey property, took the name of Fowler; he was a captain in the Radnor Militia for some years, and died at his wife's estate in Shropshire, called Court of Hill, in 1820. His widow is still living, and, I believe, has something yearly out of an estate called by the name of Cefn Pwll. What I have now communicated I think you will find correct, for I lived with the said Thomas Hodges Fowler twenty-one years at the Abbey and Court of Hill. I knew his sister perfectly well; she had two daughters and one son—H. F. Hastings, who was in the navy some years. Having been so many years in the family, I feel a little interest in the name of Fowler, and I hope you will give these remarks a place in your pages.

I am, &c.,

ROBERT DAWSON.

Hopton Wafers, Shropshire,
July 7, 1850.

To the Editors of the Archæologia Cambrensis.

GENTLEMEN,—At the first Annual Meeting of the Association, held at Aberystwith, an elaborate paper was read on some interesting sculptured characters discovered in the church of Llanvair Waterdine. I should feel obliged by being informed, through your pages, if any progress has since been made in determining the precise meaning of the characters alluded to. A short time since a friend of mine made a pilgrimage to the church in question, but could not meet with that portion of the rood-screen containing the sculpture. He was informed that it was in the custody of some of the church officials; but, for evident reasons, this should by no means be allowed.

I remain, &c.,

SILURIUS.

August, 1850.

To the Editors of the Archæologia Cambrensis.

GENTLEMEN,—The late Mr. Edward Williams, the well known Iolo Morganwg, in a conversation with a relation of mine, said, that the whole tradition about Brutus originated in the wild imagination of Geoffry of Monmouth, or rather "in his con-

founded falsehoods" (Iolo's own words) to ennoble the Cymry ; and that no Welsh bard prior to his time ever mentions anything of the kind. The Roman-Britons (he added) might have had such a tradition among themselves ; but it had no reference to the Cymry.

Iolo further observed, that *Gâl*, *Gwâl*, *Prydain*, *Peithyw*, (compare with the Latin *Pateo*), *Gwynedd*, *Gwent*, *Syllhog*, all imply fair regions. *Y Vêl Ynys*, he said, was the Isle of Apollo. [Bel-Belin, Apollo.] *Clâs Merddin*, he translated, Water-girt region. *Merddin*, Hysperus. *Prydain*, Beautiful.

I remain, &c.,

BALAON.

To the Editors of the Archæologia Cambrensis.

GENTLEMEN,—In reply to J. M. T.'s inquiry in your Number for July last, p. 230, I beg leave to say that the translation to which he refers was mine. Browne Willis left the Archbishop's circular untranslated. The Latin, as well as the translation, was sent for insertion in the *Archæologia Cambrensis* ; but the Latin was omitted, as you are aware, for want of room. In a recent publication entitled "*BEDD GWR DUW*," a sermon preached in Abergwili Church before the Bishop of St. David's, on the occasion of placing a mural monument to the memory of Bishop Richard Davies, *temp.* Elizabeth, I find the circular referred to above translated into Welsh. It was at a friend's house that I saw Browne Willis' "Survey;" and I cannot tell this minute the date of the edition.

I remain, &c.,

BALAON.

DENBIGH CASTLE.

To the Editors of the Archæologia Cambrensis.

GENTLEMEN,—Could you, or some of your readers, inform me to whom the castle of Denbigh belongs? It is at present in a most *disgraceful* condition, and an answer to my query may open a way to its rescue. I have reason to believe that Mr. Salvin has authority from the Commissioners of Woods and Forests to do such *necessary* repairs to *all* the castles belonging to the Crown, in Wales, as will preserve them from further dilapidation. Does the castle of Denbigh come within the scope of this authority? Does it really belong to the Lordship of Denbigh? If so, is Mr. Salvin aware of it? A small sum, comparatively, would secure to the inhabitants of

Denbigh the fine old gateway, a relic they well may be proud of, which must, ere long, otherwise yield to the rude blast, and be for ever lost to those from whom it now, with each returning summer, draws forth well deserved admiration and respect.

I am, &c.,

W. WYNNE FFOULKES,
Loc. Sec. Denbighshire.

Denbigh, September, 1850.

Miscellaneous Notices.

REMARKS ON THE ARCHITECTURE OF LLANDAFF CATHEDRAL.—The reprint of this elaborate article, with considerable additions, so as to make it a new and complete work upon the Cathedral of Llandaff, is now published. It constitutes the most complete *scientific* account of the architecture of any of the Welsh cathedrals hitherto published, and will sustain the reputation of the author of the "History of Architecture." We shall look forward with impatience to the "History of St. David's," now in process of compilation, by Mr. Basil Jones, and Mr. Freeman. A member of the Cambrian Archæological Association has it in contemplation to publish either similar accounts of the architecture of Bangor and St. Asaph's, or else new editions, with supplementary notices, of the works of Browne Willis upon these edifices. Neither of the North Welsh cathedrals, however, rank so high in architectural excellence, as some parish churches in other parts of the Principality,—a circumstance not very honourable for those dioceses.

CAERPHILLY CASTLE.—The Rev. H. H. Knight in a paper, communicated to the Neath Philosophical Society, "On the retreat of Edward the Second," observes as follows:—"We learn from the Records, that King Edward II. was there (at Caerphilly), on the 29th and 30th October, 1326. The king is next read of as being at Margam on the 4th, and at Neath on the 5th, of November. His capture took place on Sunday, the 16th of November, probably as the king was attempting to regain a safe asylum at Caerphilly Castle, so resolutely defended by Hugh Despencer, the grandson."

ARCHÆOLOGICAL MOVEMENT IN BRECON.—We understand that the churchwardens and parishioners of St. John's Priory Church, in Brecon, have determined upon repairing portions of that edifice; and also upon taking down the north porch of the nave, because it is in bad repair, and is too expensive to

rebuild!!! One of the new Ecclesiastical Commissioners is shortly expected in Brecon to inspect the old Collegiate Church; but whether it will be ordered to be taken down, or will be sold for building purposes, is not yet known.

COLLEGIATE CHURCH, BRECON.—In reference to the letter which appeared on this subject in our last Number, p. 224, a Correspondent thus writes:—"We have been much slandered with respect to the bad state of the church in Christ College; the fact is, the funds, which are by deed settled to be applied in repair of the fabric, are received by different ecclesiastical corporations, whom it is impossible to force to account. It has lately been roofed, and the stalls repaired sufficiently to effectually arrest decay, by private subscription, at considerable expense. For the last four years the attention of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners and the Attorney-General have been directed to it, but the matter is involved in a labyrinth of legal difficulties. I hope the Association will think it worth while to inspect it before it is handed over to the limbo of Chancery."

SKETTY, GLAMORGAN.—A new church, of admirable design, in the style of the fourteenth century, is now erecting in the newly formed district of Sketty, parish of Swansea. It possesses a beautifully-proportioned spire, and is built on a rising ground, amid trees, in one of the loveliest situations of that lovely county. It is due to the liberality and patriotism of Mr. Vivian, of Singleton, who is also going to endow it; and it adds another claim to the many that gentleman already possesses on the *gratitude* of all true Welshmen. We do not know who the architect is, but we envy him his designs.

GWEN'S TOMB.—We regret exceedingly that want of room has compelled us to leave out of our present Number the interesting paper which Mr. Wynne Ffoulkes has furnished us, on the opening of a tumulus, supposed to be the burial place of one of Llywarch Hen's sons. It shall positively appear in our next.

DINAS CORTIN.—It occurred to us after our visit to this camp, that, perhaps, its proper appellation was "Dinas Gorddin" (the fort of the rear), in reference to the stronger position of "Craig y ddinas," where we presume the vanguard to have been posted. "Mi ydwyf llew rhag llu, lluch fy ngorddin."

We are glad to learn that it is in contemplation to publish a complete edition of the poetical works of the late David Richards, Esq., (Dafydd Ionwar). The work will be introduced to the public through the hands of the learned and experienced Mr. Morris Williams. There is perhaps no bard, ancient or modern, who has stronger claims to the homage of all classes of his countrymen than the great and good Dafydd Ionwar.

Cambrian Archaeological Association.

**FOURTH ANNUAL MEETING, DOLGELLAU,
AUGUST 26TH TO 31ST, 1850.**

President,

W. W. E. WYNNE, Esq., F.S.A., Peniarth.

Patrons of the Meeting,

The Hon. E. M. LLOYD MOSTYN, M.P., Lord-Lieutenant of Merioneth,
Sir HENRY BUNBURY, Bart., Abergwynant,
W. ORMSBY GORE, Esq., M.P., Glyn.

Jural Committee,

H. J. Reveley, Esq, Bryn-y-gwin, Chair-
man,
L. Williams, Esq., Banker, Frownion,
Treasurer,
R. M. Richards, Esq., Caerynwch,
E. Lloyd Edwards, Esq., Dolsere,
Thomas Hartley, Esq., Llwyn,
L. O. Edwards, Esq.,
Rev. H. W. White, M.A., Rector of Dol-
gellau,

Rev. John Jones, M.A., Borthwnog,
Rev. J. Jones, M.A., Rector of Llanaber,
Rev. Geo. Phillips, M.A., Llanfachreth,
Francis Hallowes, Esq., Coed,
William Griffiths, Esq., Solicitor,
David Pugh, Esq., Solicitor,
Mr. Lewis Jones, Draper,
Mr. William Jones, Draper,
Mr. J. C. Roberts, Druggist,
Mr. T. W. Hancock, Penbryn.

Mr. R. O. REES, Bookseller, }
Mr. R. WILLIAMS, National School, } *Secretaries.*

THE Fourth Annual Meeting of the Association was held at Dolgellau, on the 26th, 27th, 28th, 29th, 30th, and 31st of August, 1850.

MONDAY, AUGUST 26TH.

The General Committee met in the Grand Jury Room, at seven o'clock, P.M., for private business; and the public meeting took place in the County Hall, at eight o'clock.

The Rev. W. Basil Jones, M.A., read a letter from the Earl of Dunraven, President, expressing his lordship's regret that he could not be present at the meeting.

The Rev. Chancellor Traherne proposed that W. W. E. Wynne, Esq., F.S.A., should take the chair. The motion was seconded by David Williams, Esq., Bron Eryri, and carried unanimously.

W. W. E. Wynne, Esq., then took his seat, and after a few preliminary observations, expressive of regret that the duties of the office had not fallen upon a more competent person, proceeded to explain the general objects of the meeting, more particularly as far as the local antiquities of the neighbourhood were concerned. Not only did the immediate vicinity of Dolgellau, but the whole county of Merioneth, offer a full field for the labours of the antiquary and the philosophical student of history, who were enabled to trace the proofs of disputable points in the records of past ages, from the monumental evidence so frequently found hidden in the soil, or remaining upon its surface, in remote and half forgotten localities. When first it had been proposed to make Dolgellau their place of meeting, he had feared that it would be too remote from the site

of many of the most important points of historic interest with which the county was enriched: the whole of Merioneth was, however, so rich in evidences of interesting epochs and events, that they need not go so far in order to find many that would amply repay the visitor for much more trouble than it would take to inspect them, if indeed the true philosophical antiquary ever felt trouble in tracing out the records of past ages. It was not for him to speak as it were *ex cathedra* upon archæology, or any other topic; but having, ever since childhood, been impressed with a strong idea of the value of antiquarian pursuits, and the study of the literature of the past when well directed, it became now his particular province to describe such spots in the neighbourhood as were put down on the printed list, as worthy of their inspection. One of the first objects which they would visit on the morrow was a fort on Moel Orthrwyn, about three miles from the town of Dolgellau. There could be little doubt that this was an ancient British encampment, and the peculiar nature of the proofs would be seen on the spot. From thence they would proceed to a small fort on Moel Cynwch, a spot teeming with similar evidences. A little to the south would be seen traces of another encampment, of British origin, that was not down in the list. The next object in the list was a tumulus under Moel Cynwch. All these objects were within about three miles from the town, where they were now met, and not very remote from each other, so that the inspection of them would not consume much time. The next object would be at the place well known as the Summer House, which was situated on a mound, probably artificial, in a plantation above Hengwrt. Besides this was another mound near at hand, undoubtedly artificial, at a place called Pentre. In this vicinage, upon a small but natural hillock, it was said that the castle of Cymmer had formerly stood. He (Mr. Wynne) would suggest, to those who might visit the spot, a careful examination for the purpose of discovering any remains of walls, or foundations there. Their next course would be to the Abbey of Vanner, a very interesting spot, and one, the close inspection of which would amply repay them. Some little cutting was required to display this building to perfection, for the ivy had so grown as to hide some windows, situated above the triplet of lancets at the east end. Orders had been given for the removal of this obstacle, together with other rubbish which intercepted the view, due care at the same time being taken, not to injure the pavement, if it should be found to remain, lest they should disturb the bones of the dead, as a contrary course, it might well be supposed, would be particularly objectionable to Sir Robert Vaughan, the owner of the abbey; for it was more than probable that, for many centuries, generation after generation of the honoured house of Nannau had been laid to rest within its walls. The next object of interest would be Bedd Porius, situated about twelve miles from the town. It consisted of a monument bearing the earliest, or one of the earliest, Christian inscriptions known in Wales. It was first noticed by Robert Vaughan, the Merionethshire antiquary, and was also described by Pennant. The antiquity of the inscription might be questioned, owing to the fact that the stone bore the marks, in Arabic numerals, of 1274, or 1284, he forgot which. It had been said, and with truth, that this portion of the inscription could not be a genuine record of antiquity. The characters were not those of the period to which they referred, and were obviously a forgery, but then this fact did not warrant the idea that the whole was an antiquarian fraud. The rest of the inscription on the stone in question was noticed by Robert Vaughan, and by Llwyd, and also by Pennant—not one of whom took any notice of the date. The fair inference then was, that the date was not on the stone in their time, and who would have any inducement, before they had drawn public attention to this stone, to perpetrate an antiquarian fraud in so remote and unfrequented a part of Wales? Sarn Helen was a point also worthy of attention, and Tomen y Mur in particular would repay their visit. Mr. Poole, of Barmouth, the owner of the property, had kindly permitted the members of the Association to excavate within the ramparts. The western side had been opened, and it bared to view a quantity of Roman masonry. This might aid in determining the date, and other facts connected with the structure, or it might induce some to regard the entire encampment as of Roman origin; but the members would see and determine for themselves. About an hundred and fifty yards from this spot, there were traces of a Roman amphitheatre.

Castell Prysor would next claim their attention, and this would conclude their researches on the Ffestiniog road. The Harlech road equally led to sites and remains of interest. Carneddau Hengwm, and its vicinage, had cromlechs that went far to prove the theory of those who regarded them as burial places for the dead. That near Llwynymarch, and the two near Coed Ystym-gwern, would be inspected with peculiar interest; and so also would the one near Gwerneinion. The fort on Pen y ddinas next claimed attention, as it was surrounded by obvious traces of cyttiau. The structure, supposed to be an ancient British church, at a place called Gwern y Capel, sixteen miles from the town, would next be visited, and he (the President) invited a particular examination of this spot, for the purpose of ascertaining whether there were any vestiges here in common with the ancient oratories of Ireland, and Peranzabuloe, in Cornwall. The Meini Hirion, near Llanbedr, should be carefully inspected, to see if any of the stones were inscribed. There were many traces of cyttiau about Harlech, and an encampment near Cors-y-Gedol, called Dinas Cortin. The inscribed stone at Ceilworth, near Barmouth, had puzzled Mr. Westwood and himself. Pennant read it, "Hic jacet Calixtas monedo regi," but what did these words mean? He (Mr. Wynne) could only trace clearly the words "Calixtus monedo"—the rest seemed imperfect and obscure. The inscribed stone at Llanfihangel-y-traethau had been too well described and illustrated to need any comments from him. The Roman road through Bwlch Tyddiad and the Pass of Drws Ardudwy, would teem with particular interest to the lover of antiquarian research. There was in the one a remarkable staircase of some length, and in the other were clear remains of a fortified wall. The churches in the vicinity, though of late origin, were some of them interesting. In general, those of this part of Wales were poor, but there were exceptions. That of Llanaber was an instance in point. With the exception of some in Anglesey, it was the finest in North Wales, in point of architecture. It was of the thirteenth century. The Cambridge Ecclesiological Association had spoken highly of Llanaber. It was certainly plain without, but exquisitely ornamented within. The church of Llandanwg was unfortunately a ruin. It had a very curious, although not good, painting over the altar. The church of Llanbedr did not need much comment, but there was some interesting painted glass in that of Llanfair. Egryn Abbey was next on the list of objects to be visited. Harlech Castle was too well known by drawings and descriptions to need any remark from him; but he would call attention to a magnificent view in the approach to it from beyond Llanfair. At the point where the castle comes into view, backed by the Snowdonian hills, it forms as splendid a scene for the pencil as any in Wales. Of the interior of Llanaber, his friend, the Rev. John Parker, had several drawings, which should be shown in the museum. The Towyn road, which was set down for Thursday's excursion, was equally rich in points of interest. The carns and fort near Llwyngwrl, and the carns near Hafotty Fach, with Llys Bradwen, would well repay inspection. Cadfan's stone, tomb, and well, at Towyn, and the fort, on Craig Aderyn, would also repay their visit. The so-termed Roman road, over Tyrau mawr, would furnish matter for inquiry. Was it a Roman highway or not? It was, more probably, of British origin. They would also look closely into the ancient highways at Maeshefn, and that near Pennal. The road over Bwlch Coch would also repay observation. The font in the church of Llanegryn was a curious Norman specimen, and the beautiful rood loft there well worthy of examination. Bere castle had been visited by Edward I., but had not, excepting perhaps for a short time during the wars of the Roses, been occupied subsequently. There was a good Norman font in the church of Llanfihangel-y-pennant. Tomen y Bala was an artificial mound well known. Caer Gal was a Roman station, and formerly abounded with bricks and tiles of that origin. The church at Llanuwchllyn contained a fine monument of a knight in armour, whose duty was to attend upon the sheriff, to guard him from the banditti that then infested the public roads. The house in Dolgellau, said to be the one in which Owain Glyndwr held his parliament, was not of a date so ancient as to justify that idea, and could not be of greater antiquity than the sixteenth century. Indeed, part of it seemed to be of still later date. The printed list contained also notices of sites said to deserve a visit, but he could not speak of them.

The Rev. W. Basil Jones read the following Report, the adoption of which was moved by the President, seconded by W. Wynne Ffoulkes, Esq., and unanimously carried:—

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE FOR THE YEAR 1849-50.

“The Committee, in meeting the Society at the close of the fourth year of its existence, are happy in being able to congratulate it on its improved prospects and its increased activity and usefulness. The past year has been marked by very important changes in the internal constitution of the Society, as well as by one which, though not of a constitutional nature, of necessity touches most nearly our common interests. The Earl of Dunraven, of whose ability, courtesy, and kindness all who were present at the Cardiff meeting are most deeply sensible, has now resigned the Presidential chair to Mr. Wynne, a gentleman whose extensive archæological knowledge, intimate acquaintance with the antiquities of Merioneth, zeal for the welfare of this Association, and personal qualifications which it is needless to mention, fit him, above all others, to preside over a meeting in this place. It is hardly necessary to suggest to this Society, that some public demonstration of its gratitude is due to the Earl of Dunraven, for the warm interest he has shown in its welfare, and the activity he has manifested in its service.

“The special meeting held at Gloucester in March, a novel feature in the administration of the Society, introduced various important changes into its rules. The most important is the establishment of a system of subscription on a settled plan, as a security for the permanence of the *Archæologia Cambrensis*, and, through it, of the Society itself. Arrangements have been entered into with the Publisher, in accordance with which he is to be the sole proprietor of the Journal, the Society purchasing copies for its subscribing members, and making grants for suitable illustrations. A volume of important antiquarian matter will be annually presented to subscribing members, in addition to the *Archæologia Cambrensis*. It has been found necessary to create a new machinery for the collection of the members' subscriptions, and for this purpose Local Agents are being established in the provincial towns of Wales and the Marches, who are authorised to receive subscriptions, and to give information respecting the Association, under the direction of the General and Local Secretaries.

“One chief object in this arrangement was as much as possible to localise the Association, and to bring its existence and its objects home to the inhabitants of the Principality. The late President remarked, with great truth and acuteness, at the Cardiff meeting, that one principal cause of the failure of such societies in Wales was the want of a metropolis—of a single centre of life and action. And not only is there no one town of sufficient pre-eminence to challenge to itself the title of a metropolis, but it is absolutely impossible, from the form of the country, and its physical divisions, as well as from the difficulties of intercommunication, that any one town should ever become so. The Society must therefore be content to gain in expansiveness what

it wants in concentration; and, if it cannot work fully anywhere, to work after a fashion everywhere. It was with this view that a rule was passed at the Gloucester meeting, to effect the formation of Local Committees in various parts of the country. It was thought that the general objects of the Association would by these means be better promoted, and that the study of archæology would be more diffused, as well as illustrated, by the formation of numerous museums. At present no such Committees have been formed; but the General Committee will be glad to receive overtures from the members residing in any district, and at once to enter into relation with them. In the meantime, it has been arranged that any property of which the Association may become possessed, shall be deposited in museums already formed, at Caernarvon, Shrewsbury, and Swansea. The Rev. H. Longueville Jones has also been commissioned to negotiate with the existing Antiquarian Societies of Wales and its borders, and we have already seen one fruit of his negotiation in the publication of the proceedings of the Hereford Association, in the July Number of the *Archæologia Cambrensis*. Certain changes in the Rules will be proposed to the Society at the present meeting, calculated rather to facilitate its operations than to introduce any fundamental changes in its constitution.

“To turn from the merely domestic concerns of the Society to the consideration of the manner in which it has performed its work, it may be mentioned first, among the various results of our meetings, that a spirit of archæological inquiry has been excited in the various districts which the Association has visited. And it is no small source of satisfaction that it has been the means of preserving and directing attention to valuable monuments of antiquity hitherto neglected, or actually doomed to destruction. A memorable instance occurred at the Cardiff meeting, when some members, on an excursion to Lantwit-major, discovered a mason preparing to destroy and build up some monumental stones. Nor is it to the preservation only of our antiquities that the attention of the Society has been directed. Much has been done by the united efforts of its members in the discovery, examination, and registration of early remains. The Committee are bound particularly to allude to the elucidation of St. Cadvan’s Stone, at Towyn, and the series of discoveries among the camps on the Clwydian hills, recorded at length in the Journal. In this respect the Cardiff meeting has been productive of two very important results. Some extemporaneous remarks elicited from Mr. Freeman at an evening meeting, on the architecture of Llandaff Cathedral, have appeared in the *Archæologia*, in the form of a paper, containing much additional matter, the result of subsequent careful investigation. This, again, has been expanded into a most important and interesting volume on the architectural history of that church, a monograph which the Society may fairly lay claim to as a fruit of the meeting of 1849. Another result of the same meeting of not less interest, although not carried on through the medium of the Society’s Journal, is the controversy concerning the nature and uses of early megalithic structures,

sustained on the one hand by some of the most distinguished antiquaries of Ireland, and on the other by letters, long, learned, and laborious, from the pen of a celebrated Welsh scholar.

"It is necessary to allude briefly to labours in the study of antiquity less immediately connected with our own Society. The first in order, as the most valuable contribution to Welsh and early British history, is the new edition of the "Myvyrian Archaiology," accompanied with translations, which has for some time been promised us, and which we hope one day to see. A translation of the "Gododin" is ready for the press. The "Biographical Dictionary of Eminent Welshmen" is still in course of publication. One of our most active friends is engaged in the publication of lives of Early Welsh Saints, hitherto buried in MSS., a work of incalculable importance to the ecclesiastical history of this country. A systematic survey of the remarkable churches of South Pembrokeshire has been already commenced. We are promised a new edition of the "History of Neath Abbey," and the work on Llandaff, already referred to, is an earnest of the more copious "History of St. David's," which its author, in conjunction with another member of the Association, is engaged in preparing. But the most important work on mediæval remains is the very complete survey of castles, which is now being prepared by two members of the Association, of whose researches a specimen was given at Caernarvon.

"While so much is being done in the way of theory, it is satisfactory to be able to record two instances of its practical working in the restoration of the two cathedral churches of South Wales. The Association had last year an opportunity of observing the admirable restoration of Llandaff, and of bearing witness to the zeal and diligence of its chief officer in that good cause. We trust they may before long visit the more wonderful monuments of mediæval grandeur which exist at St. David's, and kindle the spirit of restoration there, which, though not quite extinguished, is certainly very partial and desultory in its efforts.

"The Committee feel it to be out of their sphere to descant at length on the peculiar objects of interest in the neighbourhood of Dolgellau, the more so as that office has already been assigned to an abler hand. They feel bound, however, to call the attention of members to the fact, that Merioneth is second to one only among the counties of Wales in the number of early British antiquities, and that an excellent opportunity is now presented of making some advance, not only towards the decision of the cromlech controversy, but towards the true value of the views entertained by the Danish and Irish antiquaries. They therefore venture to exhort members, in the course of the present week, to take accurate observations of such remains as come under their notice—to recollect the importance of the task in which they are engaged—to realize the fact that they are providing the raw materials of history—to overlook nothing—to regard nothing as trivial—to scorn the obloquy which is often cast on minute observation and investigation—to remember, in short, that there is more than a merely etymological connexion between the words *ignors* and *ignorance*."

TUESDAY, AUGUST 27TH.

EXCURSION.

Owing to the unremitting and heavy rain that continued during the whole of the morning, the route originally contemplated was not undertaken. A great majority of the members seemed disinclined to undertake any excursion, and but a few of the more enthusiastic braved the stormy weather.

The first object inspected was a tumulus at Pentre. It had obviously been a burial place at some time or other, but no tradition was extant as to its origin, nor were there any traces by which its history could be even guessed at.

The next point of attraction was the ancient ivy-covered ruin of Cymmer Abbey.

In order to trace, if possible, the existence of a suspected pavement under the altar place at the eastern end, some slight excavations were carried on, but without effect; the ivy which had overgrown the east end was, to a certain extent, cleared, and an upper triplet brought to light.

The party then visited the refectory of Cymmer, Llanelyd Church, and Owain Glyndwr's Parliament House.

EVENING MEETING.

The evening meeting commenced at seven o'clock, in the County Hall, W. W. E. Wynne, Esq., in the chair.

The Rev. Basil Jones read the following letter from Col. Phipps, secretary to H. R. H. Prince Albert:—

Osborne, 24th August, 1850.

SIR,—I have received the commands of His Royal Highness the Prince Albert to inform you, that His Royal Highness willingly consents to his name being entered as a patron of the Cambrian Archæological Society.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your obedient humble servant,

C. B. PHIPPS.

The Rev. John Williams read letters from J. O. Westwood, Esq., and R. Hitchcock, Esq., relating to the supposed Ogham inscription near Llanbedr.

T. O. Morgan, Esq., read a paper containing a series of historic "Notices on points in the History of Owain Glyndwr."

The Rev. W. Basil Jones next read a paper on the "Vestiges of the Gael in Gwynedd."

Mr. David Williams made some observations, and contended for an interpretation of the word *Gwyddel*, different from that laid down in the paper which had been read. The word was applied to any "stranger," so that its use in the names of places did not of necessity prove any connexion of the Gael with those localities.

General Sir Love Parry made some observations also illustrative of a similar view. At the Caernarvon meeting it had been stated, by Mr. Hartshorne, that the term "wild men" applied even to those who lived in the county of Caernarvon, as wild Welshmen were spoken of as a portion of the tribute to be paid to the English kings by the native princes.

Sir Thomas Phillips expressed a hope that the whole of the extant records and

MSS. connected with Wales, would shortly be published by this and similar associations, as that would tend greatly to the elucidation of similar inquiries.

The Rev. Dr. Hume, of Liverpool, on the part of the Cheshire Archæological Association, presented the meeting with the transactions of their local society, and asked permission to put a question of an ethnological character. Allusion had been made to the Picts and Gaels, and the learned were divided as to the identity of both. Sir William Betham, of Dublin, in his prize essay, entitled the "Gael and Cymry," thinks that the Welsh are the remains of the ancient Picts, and that they are fraternal with the Cornish and Armoricans only. He classes the Gael, Manx, and Irish Celts in another and similar fraternity, the two sets being—to use a genealogical simile—cousins of each other. But Mr. Skene, in his investigations still more recently respecting the Highland clans, declares that they are the Picts, though their language is more assimilated to that of the Scotti or Irish Celts than the language of the Welsh. His conclusions have been received with great respect by the learned, and the interesting question arises—where do we find, or do we find at all, the descendants of the primitive inhabitants of Britain?

Mr. Jones acknowledged the interest, yet the difficulty, of the inquiry, and mentioned that Mr. Skene, whose book he had read with much pleasure, had so far altered his views, that he hoped to live to write a reply to his own book! The opinion is now beginning to be held, and has been expressed by several writers of distinction, that the primitive inhabitants of these islands, were not any portion of the Celtic family, but an entirely different people. The people of the brass period were Celts, it is admitted; but who the people of the stone period were it had not been satisfactorily determined.

Mr. Jones Parry remarked that M. Thierry, in his history of the Norman Conquest, leaned to the opinion that an ante-Celtic people occupied the British Islands. He also observed that the word *Gwyddyf* had been derived from "Gwy'r helaeth."

Mr. Ffoulkes, as the Local Secretary for Denbighshire, read a letter which he just received, relating to antiquities in the neighbourhood of Cerrig y Druidion, and spoke in favour of the habitual transmission to the local secretaries, by residents, of accounts touching all objects or customs of bygone time that came under their notice, within their neighbourhood.

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 28TH.

EXCURSION.

The day being remarkably fine on the morning of Wednesday, a party, consisting of W. W. E. Wynne, Esq., President, Matthew Dawes, Esq., T. Allen, Esq., Rev. H. Glynnne, T. O. Morgan, Esq., Rev. J. Williams, General Secretary, W. Wynne Ffoulkes, Esq., Rev. Wynn Williams, T. D. Love J. Parry, Esq., &c., proceeded to visit some of the numerous objects of antiquity in the neighbourhood of Barmouth, of which the first was Llanaber Church, which has been termed a model for a seaside church, situated about a mile and a half beyond Barmouth. It is transitional Early English, consisting of a nave, clerestory, two side-aisles, and a chancel with a single lancet for the east window, a peculiarity not often met with. There was also a curious old chest in the church, evidently the receptacle of offerings of money for religious purposes. It was carved out of a single piece of wood, and partitioned into four compartments, into one of which there was an opening or slit in the lid, while into the other three the money was dropped from the front—the arrangement of the compartments being such as to admit of this. From thence they proceeded to visit two cromlechs at Ystym Gwern, which

had clearly at one time been covered by a single carn. One was larger than the other, and its form and dimensions much concealed by loose stones and fern; they were about twelve or fifteen feet apart. They next visited Gwern-y-Capel, which promised much to interest the archæologist, owing to there being some ground for supposing it to be a building cœval with the ancient Irish churches, so ably treated of by Dr. Petrie. It was of rectangular form, measuring thirty-eight feet six inches, by fifteen feet nine inches, but its walls having been demolished about three years ago, for the sake of the stone, little more is now left than the foundations; at the same period, too, the hallowed remains of those who slept beneath the chapel floor were exhumed from their resting-place, and were actually used for manure on the farm. The floor of the chapel, the farmer said, was of fine cement, about two or three inches thick. The walls had been plastered, and a piece of a window moulding of late date was picked out of the debris, which argued strongly against its being of the early date to which it was supposed to belong. Llanddwiau Church (the burial place of the great family of Vaughans, of Cors y Gedol, now represented by the Hon. E. M. Lloyd Mostyn) came next, but there being a difficulty in obtaining the key, which was kept at some distance, the party contented themselves by observing its perpendicular east window, of good design, and an old rude circular font, or stoup, which was turned upside down, to support a seat in the porch. On the north side is a chapel containing the Vaughan monuments, of which one is from a design by Inigo Jones. From thence the party, hitherto conveyed in carriages, commenced the pedestrian part of the excursion with a visit to Berllys, said to have been the residence of Osber Wyddel, the founder of the Cors y Gedol family. Above the farm-house is a circular entrenched hillock, accessible with difficulty on the west, and guarded on the east, its weakest point, by a trench and rampart: within this Osber probably had his mansion. Higher on the mountains, above Llanaber, and under a mountain called Moelfre, two cromlechs were examined, the one at Tymawr, the other at Bronyfoel, each bearing indisputable traces of having been covered with carns. On turning southward, Craig-y-ddinas next attracted attention. It was a small fortification, crowning a rocky eminence, evidently of similar design and structure (but quite in miniature) with Trecaerau, on the Rivals, Caernarvonshire. It was fortified with a stone wall, now much ruined, ten or twelve feet thick, having an entrance on the south, through which the road twisted in a manner calculated to obstruct hostile ingress. Several *cyttiau* were observed on the sides of the hill without the walls. Its rugged appearance could not fail to impress the visitor with a dreadful idea of the wildness and hardihood of those who formed it. Upon traversing the wild mountains seaward, Dinas Cortin met the eye—a fort of small extent, formed on a circular hillock, steeply scarped on the north-west and south sides—the rampart being doubled on the latter side. The entrance faces the sea on the west, from whence a road, winding round the hill between the two ramparts, descends from the hill to the

south-east. The ramparts are formed of earth and stone, with some little remains of rude dry walling right and left of the entrance. The Rev. J. Williams, of Llanymowddwy, suggested that its name is derived from "cor din," signifying "the circular fort." Making once more for the mountains, the party finished the excursion by visiting those extraordinary British remains, Carneddau Hengwm, two gigantic carns, situated two miles distant from Llanaber, on the hills overlooking the sea. The smaller one contained six kistvaens of considerable size, and one stone chamber, resembling a cromlech, with this exception, that the large horizontal stone was supported by dry walling, forming the four sides of the chamber, instead of by upright stones. The larger and southernmost carn contained two of these chambers, and a gigantic cromlech, the covering stone of which had fallen from its supporters, which were upwards of six feet in height. Much of the larger carn remained yet unopened, while the smaller had been thoroughly ransacked. A pair of querns, of a type not uncommon in the neighbourhood, were kindly exhibited to them by a gentleman residing near Barmouth.

EVENING MEETING.

Owing to the length of the day's excursion, the evening meeting did not commence until after eight, at which time even the majority of the tourists had not returned.

During the absence of the President, Sir Thomas Phillips, Bart., occupied the chair.

The Chairman then called on the Rev. J. Jones, jun., of Llanllyfni to read, on behalf of his father, the Rev. John Jones, a paper "On the State of Agriculture and the Progress of Arts and Manufactures in Britain, during the period, and under the influence of, the Druidical system."

The Rev. John Williams, M.A., made some observations confirmatory of the views taken in the paper. In one of the Chronicles, *apud Iolo MSS.*, it was stated that wind and water mills superseded the use of the hand mill in Wales, A. D. 340. The Rev. Gentleman further remarked, that Llywarch Hen speaks of gold shields, gold spurs, glass goblets, and other works of high art, as early as the sixth century, which indicated no inconsiderable advance, on the part of our forefathers, in the scale of civilization and refinement.

The Rev. W. Basil Jones wished to know how far the fact that querns were in common use in this country was consistent with Mr. Jones's hypothesis as to the general use of public water mills.

The President, having taken the chair, said that the subject was a most important one. He did not himself think that the existence of hand mills proved that water mills had not come into use, or that the former were resorted to to cheat the king's mills, but that they were used in remote localities, and under circumstances where the water mills could not be resorted to. It had been suggested to him that the querns were of very remote antiquity, and belonged to the primeval period.

The Rev. Dr. Hume did not wish to be thought as offering any captious objection to the paper which had been read, when he stated that, in his view, it exaggerated and overrated the state of civilization, and extent of knowledge, possessed by the early Britons in the arts of agriculture, and those others to which reference had been made. The wants of society gave birth to the refinements of civilization, and these latter were not developed until society had made considerable progress. Man, regarded in his savage and individual state, felt few of those wants and necessities which arose out the social condition; and even in the primitive associations

and clans which men formed, there was but a gradual and slow progress towards that general and full civilization which grew out of the complicated relations of society when fully formed. The earliest Britons would, of necessity, be a rude race of men, like every other primitive people. Their dress, dwellings, and modes of life would be those that appertained to the wild hunter, rather than to the cultivator of the soil, or to men engaged in commerce. He did not, of course, mean to say that this mode of life would not refine itself by degrees, and that the people would not progress; but what he did mean to say was, that the paper had not adequately pointed out this state of growth; but, on the contrary, described the ancient Welsh as though they were, in the very first instance, a highly educated and cultivated race. The Rev. Gentleman concluded by offering a paper on querns for Thursday evening.

Mr. David Williams suggested, that the historian Tacitus had spoken of a water mill as having been erected on the Pontine Marshes, a fact which he thought somewhat at variance with the view of the Romans having borrowed the idea of such mills from the Britons.

The Chairman then called on the Rev. John Williams, of Llanymowddwy, to read his paper "On British Interments."

Mr. Ffoulkes, at the request of the President, gave an account of two tumuli recently opened between Oswestry and Llangollen.

THURSDAY, AUGUST 29TH.

EXCURSION.

A party, consisting of the President, W. W. E. Wynne, Esq., Matthew Dawes, Esq., Rev. John Williams, Rev. W. B. Jones, W. Rees, Esq., Llandoverly, T. O. Morgan, Esq., Lewis Williams, Esq., W. Wynne Foulkes, Esq., &c., &c., visited several British encampments on the mountains, in the vicinity of Nannau. Taking the Upper Lodge of Nannau *en route*, the supposed site of Hywel Sele's mansion, they ascended the heights on the east of the Park, and, making for Moel Orthwrwm, they visited a small but singularly strong camp on a rocky eminence beneath that mountain. It was enclosed with a dry wall, composed of boulders and broken stones, of some thickness, having an entrance on the south-east. Its dimensions were very small, but there seemed little doubt that it was an outpost of some importance.

Moel Orthwrwm, whither the party next proceeded—"the hill of oppression," as it is denominated by interpretation—is strongly fortified with an agger, or rampart of broken stone, encircling the crest of the hill, and doubled on the east, which is the only side capable of attack. On this side are two entrances, the one guarded by a rectangular building erected in the trench between the outer and inner ramparts, of which only the foundations now remain; the other, being the entrance immediately communicating with the road leading by a circuitous course down the mountain side, was protected by extraordinary munitions, consisting of two small buildings for the watches, on either side. The entrance through the inner rampart, a smaller sort of egress, answering to a wicket or sally-port of modern castles, was observed on the western (the most precipitous) side, communicating immediately with the gorge between Moel Orthwrwm and Moel Cynwch. The foundations of several circular buildings, or "cyttiau," were clearly discernible in the area. Crossing the gorge, the party

made their way over the summit of an eminence south of Moel Cynwch, (or perhaps only another peak of that mountain,) which was encircled by a walled camp, similar to that first described, having an entrance on the east, facing Moel Orthrwm. The party then went by the well-known "Precipice Walk," to feast their eyes upon the magnificent view obtained from thence of the Mawddach Valley. It then divided into two parties, the one proceeding to visit a camp to the south of the one last described, the ramparts of which had, for the most part, been carried away. Enough, however, of the foundations remained, to enable them to trace its contour, and to ascertain that the entrance faced nearly north towards the camp they had just quitted. The features presented by these camps led them to suppose that they were probably some of the later British camps, Moel Orthrwm being the principal one, and the others subordinate to it. The rest of the party discovered two camps, one of them circular, in a pasture field just above Hengwrt, measuring 156 feet in diameter; and the supposed site of Cymmer Castle, of which there appeared to be some very slight traces.

EVENING MEETING.

The chair was taken, at a quarter to eight o'clock, by the President.

Mr. Ffoulkes read a paper "On the Site of the last Battle of Caractacus."

The Rev. W. B. Jones mentioned that he had received a letter from Edward Rogers, Esq., of Stanage, (Vice-President,) expressing regret at his inability to attend the meeting, for which he had intended to prepare a paper on the same subject as that brought forward by Mr. Ffoulkes. Mr. Rogers contended for a position near Leintwardine, in Herefordshire.

Dr. Hume, Honorary Secretary of the Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Association, then delivered an extemporaneous address upon the history of "The Quern."

A conversation ensued as to the peculiarities of several querns found in the vicinage of Dolgellau, and other parts of Wales and its borders.

Mr. William Rees, of Llandovery, drew the attention of the meeting to the Celtic Society, recently formed in Dublin for the concentration of the materials of Irish history, literary, lingual, and traditional. The Committee of the Society had sent over a number of the prospectuses of the Institution, which he had been requested to present to the Committee of the Archæological Society, to be distributed by them as they deemed best likely to promote the interests of a sister Institution. He also drew the attention of the Committee to the fact, that he was about to publish by subscription, under the auspices of the Welsh MSS. Society, a new edition of "The Myvyrian Archaeology of Wales," with English translations and notes.

FRIDAY, AUGUST 30TH.

EXCURSION.

Sir Stephen R. Glynne, Bart., T. O. Morgan, Esq., W. Rees, Esq., and W. Wynne Ffoulkes, Esq., visited Tomen y Mur, the ancient Roman station of Heriri Mons, about two miles and a-half beyond Trawsfynydd. The circuit of the walls is plainly traceable on all sides of the station. It was of the rectangular form so peculiarly characteristic of Roman towns and camps, having the angles rounded, and situated on a hill facing the south-east. In the centre of the upper part of the camp was a huge mound, from the back of which a wall had stretched across to the outer wall, meeting it at right angles, while in front of it a wall had been carried, south-west and north-east, from one side of the camp to the other. There were two entrances on the north-east side, having apparently two opposite on the south-west, and on the outside of the southernmost of the two latter gates were the foundations of a rectangular building, in and about which animal bones are said at different times to have been discovered. Some excavations were made about this building, which brought to light remains of animal bones, bricks, tile, and a piece of a small vessel, together with a good deal of charcoal—discoveries which led to a supposition that the building in question might possibly be a sink, or cesspool, into which the refuse of the station was from time to time thrown. There was, on the other hand, no appearance of its having communicated with any sewer. The station measured 500 feet in length, by 343 feet in breadth. The excavations occupied so much time that the party was compelled, with great reluctance, to abandon their intention of visiting the Bedd Porius inscription, and the Sarn Helen, where it passes Pen y Street. This road was, however, plainly discernible at several points on the road to Tomen y Mur, and also within a short distance of the Roman station itself.

In the afternoon a party, consisting of W. W. E. Wynne, Esq., T. Allen, Esq., R. K. Penson, Esq., and the Rev. W. B. Jones, made a second inspection of Cymmer Abbey.

EVENING MEETING.

The President took the chair at eight o'clock.

The Rev. W. Basil Jones read a paper by the Rev. H. Longueville Jones, "On the Reparation and Tenure of Castles in Wales and the Marches."

Mr. Rees, of Llandovery, read the following letter from the Ven. Archdeacon Williams, of Cardigan :—

Ferryaide, 24th August, 1850.

MY DEAR REES,—As you have frequently requested me to embody, in writing, the views which I entertain respecting the best mode of cultivating Cimric literature, both with respect to its accumulated stores in past ages, and to the still more important development of all its treasures in future, I have taken up my pen, with the intention of writing down a few of those observations which, when communicated to you in private conversation, you were pleased to think worthy of more general diffusion.

In the first place I have to state, from knowledge, that there exist no monuments

in the present age better calculated to throw light upon the early age of mankind, and its primæval civilization, than those Celtic remains, whether literary or consisting of massy unlettered structures, which seem to be especially connected with the past history of the Cimric race—memorials of our forefathers, for the right interpretation of which we, their children, seem alone to hold the key.

You know how anxious I was to attend the present meeting of the Archæological Association, at Dolgellau, and how much I regretted that more pressing duties utterly prevented me from availing myself of a recreation which I should so much have enjoyed.

But, as you know, our infant institution, whether its material or its intellectual interests be concerned, requires my especial care, and compels me to postpone every object to the realization of its complete establishment. I can, therefore, on the present occasion, only express my opinions by letter, which, however, I would have been much more pleased to have delivered *viva voce*, especially as all the stations round "old Cader," mentioned in the very tempting programme of the Association, have been well known to me from childhood.

I may now proceed to state that, in my opinion, the objects of a Cambrian Archæological Society, may be legitimately arranged under four general heads.

I.—The primitive state of our British ancestors, anterior to the invasion of Julius Cæsar, embracing a careful examination of all the memorials of their existence still to be found, both in our traditionary records, and in roads, mounds, tumuli, stone circles, and their appendages, and that long series of coins which, according to Hawkins, proves that the Britons had a flourishing mint, centuries before the appearance of Julius Cæsar on the coast of Kent.

II.—Britain under the Romans, under which head, already well explained, we only want corrections of Horsley's "Britannia Romana" where he was wrong, and the additional materials discovered since his publication.

III.—Britain under the Saxons—a very dark portion of history, of which forty years ago little was known, but a knowledge of which is of the utmost importance in the ethnology of the great British nation, which is now the dominant race on earth, and absurdly, in the teeth of facts and truth, called "the Anglo-Saxon race."

IV.—The Normans in Britain, embracing a period by far the richest in monuments and memorials, which, although now mostly ruins, form the peculiar glory and even inheritance of the mediæval archæologist. I rejoice that they are in ruins, because they embody the history of a dominant caste, and not that of a people. From the window where I am now sitting, at the mouth of the Towy, the fragments of Llanstephan Castle frown o'er the peaceful scene. To the east are still to be seen the gigantic bastions of Kidwelly and Llanelly, and, omitting lesser fortresses, Oystermouth. To the west, the mouth of the Taff, guarded by the ruins of Laugharne Castle; and still further west, the Norman fortress of Manorbear. But, reared for the purposes of tyranny and spoliation, they were unblest structures, and few indeed are the persons who, still living, can point to these ruins and say, "These are the work of our ancestors." Their builders and their families have disappeared, and their place knows them no more. The antipathy which I have always felt to the Norman castle extends also to the auxiliary monastery, as far as it was intended, as most of them were, to confirm the military tyranny of the baron, by the priestly despotism of the abbot.

But as the spirit which called these most artistic edifices into existence has long been defunct, I would willingly give free scope to all investigations equally artistical respecting the original forms and frame-works of their material body, on the same principle that the scientific surgeon dissects morbid subjects, without a hope of reinspiring the dead carcase, but of making some inquiries which may enable him to counteract among the living the insidious advances of the disease to which his subject had fallen a victim.

Pray tell the Association that I have every reason to think that the result of the Rhuddlan Eisteddfod will be highly advantageous to Cimric literature. As judge of some of the essays, it will be my pleasant task to say, that there are three compositions which, if one work be excepted, have never been rivalled since the revival of Eisteddfodau. If the three be not printed, it will be a condemnation of the managers and committee, and a proof that "there is something rotten in the

state of Denmark." The proceedings of a literary society which does not publish its transactions, can only be compared to a "tale told by an idiot, full of sound and fury, and signifying nothing."—Yours truly,

JOHN WILLIAMS.

P.S.—Perhaps it might be advantageous to the practical working of the society were four committees, with their necessary officers, appointed to superintend the notices of transactions applicable to the four-fold division above explained.

Mr. Ffoulkes, at the request of the President, proceeded to describe the day's excursion to Tomen y Mur.

Mr. Hancock read a paper on the "Beddau Gwyr Ardudwy."

The President expressed himself perfectly of the same opinion with Mr. Hancock as to the tenor of his excellent paper.

The Rev. W. Basil Jones gave an extemporaneous description of the present state of Vanner Abbey, and the several changes through which it had apparently passed.

The President made an observation on the similarity existing between the work at Vanner and Llanaber, and that in the early Irish churches, which had been pointed out to Mr. Jones by Mr. Freeman. He remarked that Osbrwn Wyddel, one of the Geraldine family, and the founder of the powerful house of Cors-y-Gedol, had emigrated from Ireland at a period nearly corresponding with the date of these buildings. It was, therefore, not altogether impossible that the introduction of Irish peculiarities was due to his influence.

PRIVATE BUSINESS.

The President announced that the Right Hon. the Earl of Cawdor, had been elected President for next year; that the following Vice-Presidents retired in rotation:—The Right Hon. the Earl of Dunraven, W. W. E. Wynne, Esq.; and that the following members were elected into the vacant places:—The Hon. Sir Edward Cust, James Dearden, Esq.

Two vacancies already existed on the Committee, and the Ven. Archdeacon Jones would retire in rotation. The following gentlemen were elected to fill the vacant places:—Hugh J. Reveley, Esq., J. O. Westwood, Esq., Rev. Rowland Williams, M.A., of Ysceifiog, Canon of St. Asaph's.

The President announced Tenby as the place of meeting for 1851.

The following alterations in the rules were proposed and carried unanimously:—

In Rule III. to omit the words—"of the realm."

In Rule VI. to omit the words—"One out of every six Vice-Presidents, and" "ordinary" "Vice-Presidents, and other."

In Rule VII. to omit the words—"of any of the Vice-Presidents," "of" "ordinary."

In Rule XX. to omit the word—"evening," and to add the words, "Provided it shall be in the discretion of the President and General Secretaries from time to time to fix the price of the Corresponding Members' and Strangers' tickets at such a sum as they shall deem most suitable to the circumstances of the locality in which the Annual Meeting shall take place."

The annexed Rules now stand thus:—

“ III.—All members of the Royal Family, Bishops and Peers, who may signify their intention of joining the Association, shall be admitted as Patrons.

“ VI.—The election of the Presidents, Vice-Presidents, and Members of the Committee, shall be made on the last day of the Annual Meeting. Three Members of the Committee shall go out annually, according to seniority in office, and the Committee shall nominate a President, together with a sufficient number of Members, to fill up the vacancies. The names of those who go out, and of those who are proposed to supply their places, shall be hung up in the Local Committee Room during the whole time of the Annual Meeting. Any Member of the Association is at liberty to add to the list any other name or names besides those proposed by the Committee.

“ VII.—The Committee shall be empowered to fill up *pro tem.* by election all occasional vacancies that may be caused by the death or resignation of the President, of any of the Vice-Presidents, or any of the Members of the Committee.

“ XX.—At the Annual Meetings, Tickets shall be issued to Subscribing Members gratuitously, and to Corresponding Members and Strangers on the payment of Ten Shillings each, admitting them to the Excursions, Exhibitions, and Meetings; provided it shall be in the discretion of the President and General Secretaries from time to time to fix the price of Corresponding Members' and Strangers' Tickets at such a sum as they shall deem most suitable to the circumstances of the locality in which the Annual Meeting shall take place.”

The President then rose and proposed the following resolution, which was at once carried by acclamation:—

“ That the warmest gratitude of this Association is due to His Royal Highness Prince Albert, for the honour which he has conferred upon it, by allowing his name to be placed upon the list of Patrons of the Association, and that the Secretaries be directed to communicate to His Royal Highness the thanks of the Association.”

The following resolutions were also moved and carried unanimously:—

“ I.—That the thanks of the Association are due to the Magistrates of the county of Merioneth, for kindly allowing the use of the County Hall, and to the Subscribers to the News-Room, for the use of that room as a place of exhibition.

Moved by Sir T. Phillips, Bart., F.S.A.; seconded by Thomas Allen, Esq.

The mover took occasion to observe that he had noticed with regret the absence of public libraries in Wales, and that he intended to offer his own magnificent collection, to be placed at some central place in the Principality, and, if possible, near St. David's College, Lampeter.

The President, who returned thanks in his capacity as a county Magistrate, and President of the News-Room, expressed his admiration at the magnificent offer just made by Sir T. Phillips.

“ II.—That the thanks of the Association are due to the ladies and gentlemen who have contributed articles of antiquity to the Museum.”

Moved by W. Wynne Foulkes, Esq.; seconded by W. Rees, Esq.

“ III.—That the thanks of the Association are due to the Chairman and Members of the Local Committee for their kind co-operation.”

Moved by T. O. Morgan, Esq.; seconded by the Rev. John Williams.

The vote of thanks was acknowledged by Hugh J. Reveley, Esq., Chairman of the Local Committee.

“ IV.—That the thanks of the Association are especially due to the Right Hon. the Earl of Dunraven, Patron and late President of the Association, for his kindness in undertaking the latter office, and the able manner in which he has discharged it.”

Moved by Sir Stephen R. Glynne, Bart., F.S.A.; seconded by the Rev. W. Basil Jones.

“V.—That the thanks of the Association are due to the President, Committee, and Officers of the Association, for their services during the past year.”

Moved by Matthew Dawes, Esq., F.G.S.; seconded by Hugh J. Reveley, Esq.

The President returned thanks on behalf of himself, and the other Officers of the Association, and dissolved the meeting.

SATURDAY, AUGUST 31st.

At nine o'clock, A.M., the Committee met at the Grand Jury Room, to arrange the financial concerns of the Society; and, at twelve o'clock, Sir Thomas Phillips, Bart., exhibited a curious and valuable collection of MSS. and printed books, in the large room at the Golden Lion Hotel.

MUSEUM.

In order to suit the convenience of the Association, the members of the Reading-Room kindly allowed the use of their apartments, as a temporary Museum.

Several suitable glass cases had been provided, in which the more choice and important objects might be exhibited, without the danger of being handled; the larger and less moveable relics being deposited on the floor and walls.

STONE.

An ancient flint knife, found in peat at the Wildmores, in Salop; and a flint knife found in an urn, beneath a tumulus, at Brynbugellen. The urn contained human bones. An ancient stone hammer or battle axe.—By Mrs. Ormsby Gore.

A stone hammer, from some old workings in Llangynfelin Mine, county of Cardigan, the property of Miss Thruston, of Talgarth.

A stone axe or hammer, and a small ring of stone.—By Sir R. W. Vaughan, Bart.

A bone spear, or pin, found in a sepulchral urn, at Penyglanau.—John Lloyd, Esq., Penyglanau.

BRONZE.

A bronze shield, found in 1848, near Gwern Einion, county of Merioneth. A bronze celt or paalstab, found at Ebnall's, near Oswestry. Three bronze spear heads. A bronze dagger.—W. W. E. Wynne, Esq.

A spear head, of bronzed copper, found in a turbarry near Rhos Haminiog, Cardiganshire, nine feet below the surface. This weapon is in very good preservation.—By Pryse Loveden, Esq., M.P.

A bronze celt, or ancient battle axe head, found near Barmouth, the property of H. J. Reveley, Esq., Bryn-y-Gwin. It was dug up in the level between Barmouth and Harlech, called Dyffryn.

A bronze axe, found at Meiai Hirion, near Llwyngwrl, the property of J. Jones, Esq., solicitor, of Dolgellau.

Two celts, all bronze, and a frame, or light javelin, used in the chase, or for the purposes of defence, found in a peat bog near Tregaron, in Cardiganshire; and a still larger one found in similar soil, on the Cardiganshire side of Plinlimmon. The blade is nearly half a yard in length, a size apparently not unusual.—T. O. Morgan, Esq.

A bronze sword. A celt, with socket. Seven celts and paalstabs, of various types—some of great variety, others comparatively common. A small celt or chisel of bronze, of very rare type. A gouge of brass.—Mrs. Ormsby Gore.

A spear head found at Cwmnoch, near the ancient road between Harlech and Bala, (described in former Numbers of the *Archæologia Cambrensis*). Another spear head, found at Llanfawr, near Llanfair. A brass spear head, found at Trawsfynydd. A celt, found near Harlech. Another of the same kind (ringed), found near Tomen y mur, Maentwrog. Similar instruments, found respectively at Beddau Gwyr Ardudwy, Trawsfynydd, and Oaklands, near Llanrwst, and Penrhyn Deudraeth.—John Lloyd, Esq., Penyglanau.

A collection of spear heads and celts.—By Sir R. W. Vaughan, Bart.

ROMAN.

Fragments of two Pateræ.—T. O. Morgan, Esq.

Piece of tessellated pavement.—W. Jones, Esq.

MEDIÆVAL.

Two small pieces of chain armour, found in Whittington Castle, of the time of the 13th century.

A hauberk or shirt of ring mail, the property of Pryse Loveden, Esq., M.P., representative of the Cardiganshire boroughs. This piece of defensive armour is in a very good state of preservation, and excited much interest.

An iron quoit, from Castell y Bere, (Bere Castle,) the property of H. J. Reveley, Esq., Bryn-y-Gwin. This instrument differs from the quoits of modern days in being simply concave on one surface, and not hollowed into the form of a ring. A claw of iron from the same locality, and belonging to the same gentleman.

A gisarme of iron, found whilst digging a drain in some boggy ground near Llangynfelin Church, county of Cardigan.—W. T. Jones, Esq., of Gwynfryn.

A curious steelyard weight, bearing the arms of England, and those of Richard, Earl of Cornwall, King of the Romans, who died, 1271. It was found at Oswestry.

A curious brazen heel of an ancient standard.—W. W. E. Wynne, Esq.

Piece of a wall tile from Strata Florida.—Miss Thruston.

A brazen measure or drinking vessel, of curious workmanship, found in a turbarry at Trawsfynydd.—J. Lloyd, Esq., Penyglanau.

A silver thumb ring, inscribed † Ave Maria Gra, and bearing a dove, together with a fibula silver gilt, and a gold ring.—P. Loveden, Esq., M.P.

A font or stoup, dug up near Llandrillo Church, the property of Humphrey Lloyd Williams, Esq.

Two alms dishes of latten, one the property of W. W. E. Wynne, Esq., the other of Miss Roberts.

MISCELLANEOUS.

A small curious escrutoire, dated 1595, the property of Mr. Griffith, of Dolgellau.

A dial ring, the property of Mr. Edward Jones, of Dolgellau, consisting of two concentric rings, one moving within the other—the larger one having a linear groove, and the smaller one a slight hole working into it.

The sword of the celebrated royalist, Sir John Owen, of Clenemey, exhibited by his representative, Mrs. Ormsby Gore. This relic bears the following inscription on its blade:—"Lord Capel, the day before his execution, presented this sword to Sir John Owen, by whom he said he was convinced it would be worn with honour."

Sword stick of the celebrated Hugh Llwyd, of Cynfael, county of Merioneth, marked by his initials.

Cannon ball shown by Mr. Wentworth Dawes. It was found near Harlech Castle.

Two old musket stocks of the 17th century.—Sir R. W. Vaughan, Bart.

A curious old sword, exhibited by W. Griffith, Esq., Dolgellau, found forty years ago at the Parliament House of Glyndwr.

A silver spoon of ancient make, with the handle terminating in an acorn.—The property of Mr. Evan Lloyd, Barmouth.

Two bronze measures of capacity, apparently similar to a pint and a quart, but evidently of early origin; an ancient spur of most complicated workmanship; an antique sword and sheath; an ancient sword hilt.—From the collection of Sir R. W. Vaughan.

The same gentleman also sent a series of large and extremely ancient copper

cooking-pans, found in the cellar of the private residence of Howel Sele, (the cousin of Owain Glyndwr.) at Nannau.

A curious combination of corkscrew, steel, and tinder-box, found in the ancient Parliament House of Owain Glyndwr, Dolgellau, the property of Mr. R. O. Rees, stationer, &c., of that town.

The upper stone of a quern, of an unusual size and form.—Lewis Lloyd, Esq., of Festiniog.

Fragment of a quern, in slate.—Humphrey Lloyd Williams, Esq.

MSS. AND EARLY PRINTED BOOKS.

A splendid illuminated MS. history of the life of Alexander the Great. Also, an ancient illuminated MS. life of our Saviour, supposed to have belonged to King Henry VII. It contains a picture, in which its author is represented as presenting it to some preceding Plantagenet king. There was also an illuminated folio bible, of great antiquity and extreme rarity—only three copies having been printed, by order of Cromwell, the minister of Henry, prior to the publication (by command of the king) of the copy known under the name of Cramer's Bible. They were printed on vellum, from the same metal type as those of the subsequent edition, and splendidly illuminated.—By W. W. E. Wynne, Esq.

Commission of the Peace for the county of Merioneth, from Richard the Protector, with seal.

Two grants by the constable of the castle, mayor, and bailiff of Harlech, of the time of Elizabeth, with seals.

Commission by Charles I. to Colonel Thomas Davies.

June 9th, 1644, Warrant of Prince Rupert to raise £100 for victualling, &c., the castle of Hawarden.

Letter to Richard Vaughan, Esq., of Cors-y-Gedol, M.P., respecting embanking Traeth Mawr and Traeth Bach.

An ancient pedigree of the family of Sir William Jones, Knight, of Castell-march, county of Caernarvon.

A MS. pedigree book of the principal families in North Wales.—J. Lloyd, Esq., Penyglanau.

A rescript of Pope John XXIII., dated 1413. It is endorsed, "An inhibition that neither the Bishop of Llandaff, nor the Abbot of Morgan (Margam), shall urge their suits hanging."—Rev. J. M. Traherne.

The bible of Archdeacon Prys.—Mr. H. Ll. Williams.

A Welsh concordance to the Bible, dated 1730. This is the first concordance published in Welsh, and the copies are very scarce; the present is in fact the only one known in the Principality. It was published in Philadelphia by Samuel Keimer and Dafydd Harry, from the manuscript of Abel Morgan, and is dedicated to Dafydd Lloyd, chief justice of Pennsylvania. It is thought to be a book on which the celebrated Dr. Franklin was engaged, and it contains several pages of manuscript, supposed to be written as a substitute for print, when Keimer was short of type. The book was exhibited by Mr. Hancock, of Dolgellau.

DRAWINGS.

The Rev. J. Parker, of Llanyblodwell, sent in a very beautiful series of drawings of interiors of churches, including that of Llanaber; Abbey Dore, Hereford, three views; Llandaff Cathedral; Priory Church, Brecon; Garthbeibio, Montgomery; and Abbey Gate, Chester.

Moulding from Llandaff.—Rev. J. M. Traherne.

Plan of ancient fortifications at Trecaerau, Caernarvonshire.—T. D. L. Jones Parry, Esq.

SEALS.

A signet ring of gold, of Robert Wynne, Esq., of Glyn, Merioneth, A.D., 1652. Also the following seals:—Impression of the seal of Colonel John Owen, of Cleneny, afterwards the Royalist leader. Ithel ap Bleddyn, Lewis, Bishop of Bangor, about 1400, found near Tanybwllch, in 1831. Madoc, son of Iorwerth ap Emilur, 14th century, found in Tremeirchion, in 1848. Ancient seal of Corporation of Harlech, 14th century. John, Bishop of St. David's. Henry,

Earl of Arundel. Henry, Earl of Tankerville, and Lord Powis, 15th century. William le Bannister, 1317. Meredith ap Howell, Lord of Edeirnon, 1176. Madoc ap Griffith. Corporation of Wenlock, 15th century. Corporation of Oswestry.—By W. W. E. Wynne, Esq.

BRASSES.

Ioan ap Robert, from Dolwyddelan. Nicholas, Lord Burnel, from Acton Burnel, Shropshire. An ancient rubbing from Ludford, near Ludlow. One of the Goodman brasses, Ruthin. An incised gravestone, from Valle Crucis Abbey. John le Serjeant, St. John's Church, Chester. Ancient gravestone of a child, from the same place. The rubbing from Dolwyddelan bore the following notice:—"At Dolwyddelan, county of Caernarvon, Meredith ap Ioan was father of John Wynn ap Meredith, of Gwydir, Esq., who was grandfather of Sir John Wynn, the first Baronet of his family, and the historian of it. In his history are some curious anecdotes of the state of society in Wales during the life of this Meredith."—This collection of brasses from Wales and the Marches was exhibited by the President.

Mr. Traherne exhibited a rubbing from Llandough, Glamorganshire.

There was also a splendid collection of impressions from English brasses, exhibited by Miss Thurston, of Talgarth.

COINS.

Three early British coins of gold, said to have been found in Glamorganshire. Three British silver coins, found at Bron Eryri, one being of the reign of Caradoc. A series of coins, consisting of 1, Trajan; 2, Dioclesian; 3, Constantine; 4, Tyrian; and 5, Greek coins, with head of Jupiter. Five small copper coins of Constantine. Three ditto of Probus. One ditto of Postumus. Eighteen silver coins of the reign of Caut, found under a carnedd at Drwsdangoed, near Chwilog, Caernarvonshire, in beautiful preservation. Several silver pennies of the reign of Edward II. or III. A rose noble of Edward III., coined in the 18th year of his reign. These are of the first gold coinage, and so rare as to be esteemed medals, on account of their beauty. The original appellation given to this coin was florin, derived from the Florentine merchants. The name was subsequently changed to noble. Their value was six shillings and eightpence.—It was sent to the museum by Mr. John Childlaw Roberts, of Dolgellau.

Two shillings coined in the reign of Henry VII.

A beautiful gold coin of about this period was exhibited, but we were unable to decipher it.

Two gold pieces of Henry VIII.

Shilling of Henry VIII.

Two gold coins of Edward VI., in exquisite condition.

Shilling of Edward VI., also well preserved.

Shillings and half shillings of Queen Elizabeth.

A half groat of Elizabeth.

Large coin of James I., found at Strata Florida.

Shilling of Charles I.

Guinea of William III.

Shilling of William III.

Half guinea of Queen Anne.

Shilling of George II.

Shilling of George III. (first coinage).

In the same case was a silver coin of Charles II. of Spain, dated 1614.

A rose noble, found at Gelliwig, county of Caernarvon.

List of Subscribing Members.

- His Royal Highness the Prince Albert
The Most Noble the Marquis of Northampton, F.R.S., F.S.A.
The Most Noble the Marquis of Westminster
The Right Hon. the Earl of Dunraven, M.P., F.G.S.
The Right Hon. the Countess Dowager of Dunraven
The Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of St. David's
The Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of St. Asaph
The Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Llandaff
The Right Hon. the Lord Bagot
The Right Hon. J. Nicholl, M.P., D.C.L.
Merthyr Mawr, Bridgend
Sir Stephen Rich. Glynn, Bart., F.S.A.
Sir Benjamin Hall, Bart., M.P.
Sir George Tyler, Cottrell, Cardiff
The Very Rev. the Dean of Llandaff, F.R.S.
Allen, T., Esq., Freestone, Pembroke
Allen, Rev. James, M.A., Prebendary of St. David's, Castlemartin, Pembroke
Babington, Chas. Cardale, Esq., M.A., F.L.S., F.G.S., &c., St. John's College, Cambridge
Barnwell, Rev. E. Lowry, M.A., Head Master of Ruthin School
Bayly, Rev. F. T. J., Brookthorpe Vicarage, Gloucester
Beaumont, W., Esq., Warrington
Bennett, John Wick, Esq., Hot Wells, Bristol
Bruce, H. A., Esq., Aberdare
Bruce, Rev. W., M.A., St. Nicholas, Cardiff
Clark, G. T., Esq., Athenæum Club, London
Cliffe, C. F., Esq., Gloucester
Cobb, J. R., Esq., Brecon
Davies, James, Esq., Solicitor, Hereford
Dawes, Matthew, Esq., F.G.S., Bolton, Lancashire
Dearden, Jas., Esq., F.S.A., The Manor, Rochdale
Earle, Rev. J., M.A., Fellow of Oriel College, Professor of Anglo-Saxon, Oxford
- Evans, Rev. D. Silvan, Bottwnog, Pwllhell
Felix, Rev. P., B.D., Llanilar Vicarage, Aberystwyth
Fenton, John, Esq., Glyn-y-mél, Fishguard
Ffoulkes, W. W., Esq., M.A., 4, Middle Temple Lane, Temple, London
Foulkes, Rev. Edm. Salusbury, M.A., Fellow of Jesus College, Oxford
Francis, G. G., Esq., F.S.A., Burrows Lodge, Swansea
Freeman, E. A., Esq., M.A., Oaklands, Dursley
Gilbertson, R., Esq., Aberystwyth
Gilbertson, Rev. L., B.D., Fellow of Jesus College, Oxford, Llangorwen, Aberystwyth
Graves, Rev. C., M.A., M.R.I.A., Professor of Mathematics, Trinity College, Dublin
Griffith, Rev. J., Prebendary of St. David's, Llangynnor, Caermarthen
Griffith, Rev. John, M.A., The Vicarage, Aberdare
Guest, Lady Charlotte, 8, Spring Gardens, London
Guise, W. V., Esq., Elmore Court, Gloucester
Gwyn, Howel, Esq., M.P., M.A., Baglan House, Neath
Gwynne, Mrs., St. Julian House, Tenby
Hamer, John, Esq., Glanrafain, Oswestry
Hancock, Mr. T. W. Dolgellau
Harding, Rev. John, M.A., Bridgend
Harding, Wyndham, Esq., Bridgend
Hughes, J., Esq., Lluestgwilym, Aberystwyth
Hughes, Jas., Esq., Glanrheidol, Aberystwyth
Hume, Rev. A., LL.D., F.S.A., 9, Clarence Street, Everton, Liverpool
Jewitt, Orlando, Esq., Headington, Oxford
Jones, Mr. Lewis, Post Office, Dolgellau
Jones, W. T., Esq., Gwynfryn, Machynlleth
Jones, Rev. W. Basil, M.A., Fellow of Queen's College, Oxford

- Jones, T., Esq., M.A., Chetham Library, Manchester
- Jones, Rev. H. Longueville, M.A., Tany-coed, Bangor
- Jones, Rev. Owen, Towyn, Machynlleth
- Jones, J. T. Walker, Esq., Mayor of Caernarvon
- Jones, Rev. Hugh, D.D., Beaumaris
- Jones, S. T., Esq., Llanerchgrugog Hall, Wrexham
- Jones, Rev. John, M.A., Llanlyfni, Caernarvon
- Leach, Miss, 2, Russell Place, Swansea
- Leigh, Capel H., Esq., Lord Lieutenant of Monmouthshire, Pontypool Park, Monmouth
- Lewis, J., Esq., Solicitor, Wrexham
- Llewelyn, John Dillwyn, Esq., F.R.S., Penllergare, Swansea
- Lewis, Rev. E., M.A., Llanllechid, Bangor
- Lloyd, T. D., Esq., Bronwydd, Caermarthen
- Mainwaring, Townsend, Esq., Marchwiel Hall, Wrexham
- Melvill, Rev. E., M.A., Chancellor of St. David's
- Meyer, Dr., Buckingham Palace
- Morgan, C. O., Esq., M.P., F.R.S., F.S.A. The Friars, Newport, Monmouthshire
- Morgan, T. O., Esq., Aberystwyth
- Morris, Rev. James, Broomeurig, Aberystwyth.
- Nicholl, Frederick I., Esq., 24, Bentinck Street, London
- Ord, J. P., Esq., Tenby
- Ormerod, G., Esq., D.C.L., F.R.S., F.S.A., Sedbury Park, Chepstow
- Parry, T. Love D. Jones, Esq., Madryn Park, Pwllhell
- Penson, E. Kyrke, Esq., Oswestry
- Phillips, J. B. Ll., Esq., Mabus, Aberystwyth
- Phillips, F. Ll., Esq., B.A., Mabus, Aberystwyth
- Pryce, J. Bruce, Esq., Dyffryn, Cardiff
- Pugh, John, Esq., Penhelg, Aberdovey
- Redwood, C., Esq., Boverton, Cowbridge
- Reed, Rev. W., M.A., Principal of the Training College, Caermarthen
- Rees, Rev. W. J., M.A., F.S.A., Cascob Rectory, Presteigne
- Reveley, H. J., Esq., Bryn-y-Gwin, Dolgellau
- Roberts, Rev. G. Lloyd, Cefn Coch, Ruthin
- Rogers, E. Esq., Stanage Park, Knighton
- Salvin, A., Esq., F.S.A., 50, Argyle Street, London
- Shillingford, A. N., Esq., Railway Post Office, Carlisle
- Stephens, Thomas, Esq., Merthyr Tydfil
- Talbot, C. R. M., Esq., M.P., Lord Lieutenant of Glamorganshire, Margam, Neath.
- Thalwall, Rev. E., Llanbedr, Ruthin
- Thomas, R. Goring, Jun., Esq., B.A., Llanonn, Caermarthen
- Thomas, Henry, Esq., Presylfa, Neath
- Thruston, Capt., R.N., Talgarth, Machynlleth
- Todd, Rev. J. H., D.D., M.R.I.A., Senior Fellow of Trinity College, Dublin
- Traherne, Rev. J. M., M.A., F.S.A., Chancellor of Llandaff, Coedrigian, Cardiff
- Trinity College, Oxford, the Rev. the President of
- Vaughan, Robert Chambre, Esq., Burlington Hall, near Shrewsbury
- Vaughan, John, Esq., Penmaen-Dovey, Machynlleth
- Vivian, T. H., Esq., M.P., F.R.S., Singleton, Swansea
- Vivian, H. Hussey, Esq., F.G.S., Verandah, Swansea
- Wakeman, T., Esq., F.S.A., Chalfont St. Giles, Gerrard's Cross
- Wells, Captain, Penally House, Tenby
- Westwood, J. O., Esq., F.L.S., St. Peter's, Hammersmith
- Williams, Rev. C., B.D., Holyhead
- Williams, Rev. John, M.A., Llany-mowddwy, Mallwyd
- Williams, Matthew D., Esq., Cwmcyn-felin, Aberystwyth
- Williams, Rev. Rowland, M.A., Fellow of King's College, Cambridge, Vice-Principal of St. David's College, Lampeter
- Williams, W., Esq., Mayor of Aberystwyth
- Williams, William, Esq., Aberpergwm, Neath
- Williams, Miss Jane, Aberpergwm, Neath
- Williams, H. Lloyd, Esq., Solicitor, Dolgellau
- Williams, Rev. W. Wynn, Menafraon, Caernarvon
- Wynne, W. W. E., Esq., F.S.A., Sion House, Oswestry

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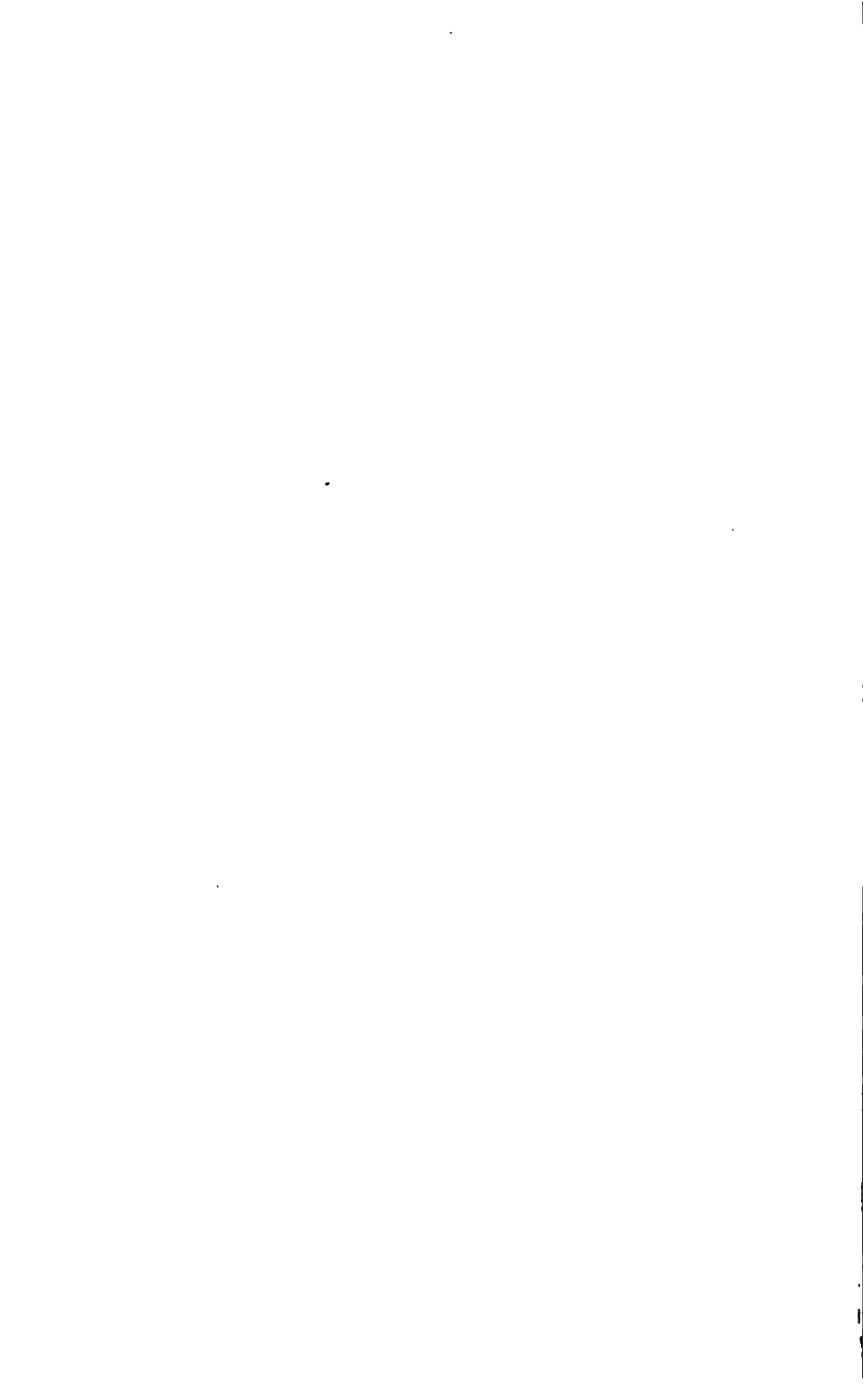
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P R E F A C E.

THIS Volume, which appears under the auspices of the CAMBRIAN ARCHÆOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION, contains three Papers of considerable importance to those engaged in studying the antiquities of Wales.

The first is an examination of the evidence in favour of the existence of a Gaelic tribe in North Wales within the historic period, not as mere invaders, but as settled occupants of the country. The subject has hitherto comparatively escaped the notice of Welsh historians and antiquaries. It is, however, one which, in the hands of its author, offers a fruitful harvest to the inquirer, sufficiently well read, and endowed with critical acumen enough, to follow the faint indications of a former race, whether afforded by local tradition, by a local nomenclature, or by general history. The Paper was read, in substance, at the Annual Meeting of the Association, at Dolgellau, in August, 1850; the proofs and illustrations in the second, third, fourth and fifth sections, the theory developed in the seventh, and the whole of the last, being omitted in recitation.

The next Paper was also read at the Dolgellau Meeting, and contains a sketch, rather than a detailed account,

of what may be fairly inferred to have been the agricultural and commercial condition of Britain before, during, and after the Roman sway. It is to be hoped that its learned author will develop certain parts of his Essay rather more fully in the pages of the *Archæologia Cambrensis*; and that he will there bring forward the authorities which he has consulted, with the various passages on which he grounds opinions, in themselves highly probable. Few persons have penetrated so deeply into the more abstruse, and comparatively unknown, pages of the writers of the Lower Empire, than the author of this Paper; and few antiquaries are able to discuss incidental topics, or to draw forth latent conclusions, with greater skill and more logical acuteness.

The third and last Paper in this Volume, contains a copious Glossary of the ancient names of Articles of British Dress and Armour, as far as they are met with in the bardic and diplomatic documents remaining in the Welsh language. Part of this Paper has already been printed in the pages of the *Archæologia Cambrensis*; but from the interesting nature of the materials amassed by the author—growing under his hand as the work proceeded—it has been deemed more useful to the antiquarian world that this Glossary should be published in a collective form, as being easier of reference than when scattered through various Numbers of the Journal of the Association. In this case, as in the former, it is much to be desired that the author may have the leisure to compile a similar glossary for objects of domestic use, perhaps even of architectural and industrial objects, of manufactured articles, &c.; for, doubtless, the study of

Welsh antiquities, and the ethnological history of the nation itself, would be thereby greatly facilitated.

The judicious reader will scarcely fail to observe how, in these three Papers, a tone of acute and accurate logical induction—a spirit of scientific archæology—prevails, in the absence of all that wild and unfounded rhapsodical speculation in which other writers have been too apt to indulge. Archæology is a science inseparable from, if not identical with, history; and it requires to be treated with all the learning, all the reasoning, all the argumentative discrimination, which are necessary to any man before he can presume to attempt anything really worthy of the historic muse. The antiquities of Wales have often suffered from this absence of extended learning in the minds of those who have handled them; for it should be remembered that no one is competent to treat of the history, or language, or archæological condition, of his country, unless he is skilled in all these points, as connected with other nations and countries besides his own. In this point of view, the attention of the reader is particularly claimed for the contents of the present Volume.

It may not be out of place to express the further wish, that the several authors of these Papers will listen to the following suggestions as to their future labours. A critic, in one of the weekly organs of public opinion, has already hinted that the author of the *Vestiges*, &c., should undertake a scientific—we might perhaps call it an ethnological and social—history of Wales. Such a work, notwithstanding the labours of Carnhuanawc, is still much wanted; and he is quite able to accomplish it.

The author of the *State of Agriculture, &c.*, is the only man now remaining who is competent to write the history of Caernarvonshire—perhaps, to complete the *Antiquitates Parochiales* of Rowlands. His collections upon these subjects are great; his own store of tradition and of local knowledge is much more considerable; and unless what he thus possesses be digested and committed to writing, it will entirely perish with him, whenever he is summoned to leave us.

The author of the third Paper is already engaged in the excellent national service of re-editing the *Myvyrian Archaeology*. When this shall be finished, let him only rest upon his pen, not lay it aside; his country expects still more, even than this, from his patient research amongst, and his calm examination of, her ancient records.

The three Papers are also published, and may be purchased, separately.

VESTIGES OF THE GAEL.

§ I.—LOSS OF ANCIENT NAMES.

THE question of the primeval occupations of a country is among the most directly and purely interesting of any which its present inhabitants can entertain. It is of direct interest, because it is *their* country. The vales which they inhabit—the fields which yield them sustenance—the fertilizing streams—the mighty hills which they are taught to look upon as types of permanence, and that which is at once the bulwark of their liberty, and the channel of their civilization, the universal ocean—all familiar objects, whose names are to them as household words, and possibly those very names themselves were the birth-right of a race which has passed away, it may be, from the face of the earth, leaving not a memorial of its existence, or only the very faintest traces. Moreover, the interest of the question is intense, in proportion to the obscurity of the indications by which we have to determine it. We all know the excitement of curiosity—the attractiveness of mystery—the pleasure which men feel in reconstructing a bygone state of things out of its scattered fragments—the charm of disinterested suspense, and the satisfaction of successful ingenuity.

These, and other similar elements, combine to augment the interest we feel in prosecuting inquiries of this nature.

But the question is not only one of direct and intense interest—it is also purely interesting. Subjects of political or practical import have a far higher value than any which can be derived from mere intellectual interest. They can hardly be considered without reference to action; and so far as a question issues in action, we do not call it interesting. To take an illustration from other branches of knowledge: Astronomy is interesting, and Agriculture useful; Geology is interesting to the scientific inquirer, but a matter of business to the miner; while, to every Christian, it is of deep and vital import, as long as its statements either do, or can be supposed to, affect the authenticity of Divine Revelation.

Now, as the intensity of this interest is directly dependent on the obscurity of the memorials, so is its purity indirectly proportioned to the same. For it is hardly possible that the prior occupants of a country, in such an age especially as is necessary for a total change of its inhabitants, should leave behind them plain and authentic records of their existence, without in some way affecting the destinies of their successors, and so passing out of the sphere of historical interest, into that of historical importance. Such records must be the memorials either of stubborn resistance, or of elements absorbed into the supervening system; and neither of these can have taken place without having materially affected that system. Thus, the very conditions of pure historical interest are identical, in one respect at least, with the conditions of its intensity.

The question which I am now approaching belongs to this class partly, but not wholly. So long as we merely attempt to determine who were our predecessors in the occupation of this country, or whether any such existed, the question is one of extreme and pure interest; but, as soon as we touch on the settlement of our own progenitors in Gwynedd, it assumes at once the form of historical importance. And, as these points cannot be separated, I shall solicit your attention to the subject, regarded under the twofold aspect of importance and interest. As a matter of fact, these points cannot be considered separately, because we have generally taken it for granted that the present inhabitants of this country have dwelt in it from the beginning. If they had believed and avowed themselves to be invaders and interlopers, the history of the aborigines might have formed an amusing speculation, whereas, at present, it is necessarily mixed up with many practical questions.

The case stands thus at present. As in England people are apt to regard the Roman dominion, the Saxon immigration, and the Norman conquest, as events differing not at all in kind, and perhaps hardly in degree, so have we tacitly acquiesced in the belief that we are an aboriginal nation. But surely this ought not to be assumed until it has been proved. As far as I know, the position has never been proved, and though generally believed, has been occasionally impugned: I trust, therefore, I shall not be deemed an audacious innovator, or maintainer of paradoxes, for again bringing it into question.

In reading the histories of Cæsar and Tacitus, the

geographies of Strabo, Ptolemy, and Pomponius Mela, the Itinerary of Antoninus, and that of Richard of Cirencester, we are met at once by the patent fact, that a great and sweeping change has passed upon the names of localities within this island. Compare the case of France, and the fact becomes evident. The names of the many nations who dwelt from the Rhine to the Atlantic, from the Mediterranean to the German Ocean, have not yet been extinguished. The various tribes who submitted to or resisted the dominion of the Cæsars, have mostly left memorials of their independence in the names of the great provincial towns. The appellations of natural objects, of rivers and mountains, are unchanged except by time. And yet that country has experienced mighty revolutions. The Romans had changed its language and its character. Huns and Saracens have swept over it. Franks and Visigoths have occupied it. But, for all this, men continue to hand down the memory of those ancient people, by an unconscious but everlasting testimony.

I need not say that our case is far different. London and York, the Severn and the Thames, a few natural objects, and a few time-honoured cities, retain the names by which they were known to the Romans; but, of the Trinobantes, the Icenii, and the Brigantes, the nations of Cartismandua, Boadicea, and Cassivellaunus, every trace has long since been obliterated, and their exact position is a matter of historical inquiry. It will be said that the Teutonic immigration into Britain was a far more complete and decisive change than the corresponding event in Gaul. The assertion is undeniable, and scarcely needs any further confirmation than the fact that English is

spoken in one country, and French in the other. But this brings us to the very point at issue. If in England the ancient names have been blotted out one after another by the victorious Saxons, what has been done in this country, where, according to the popular view, no change whatever has taken place? We have here, as it seems, a crucial instance to try the question by. If our local names remain unaltered, as in France, it is probable that there has been no change in our population, or a very trifling one. If they have been generally effaced, as in England, there is a strong presumption in favour of the influx of some external element.

Our authorities on this head may be arranged in four classes. In the first, we place Cæsar, as an eye-witness; in the second, Tacitus, as an historian of the first reputation. Then come the Itinerary of Antoninus, and the geographers Strabo, Ptolemy, and Pomponius Mela. The fourth place is reserved for Richard of Cirencester. But, of these, four only bear upon the present question, and we may regard their authority as varying in the order of enumeration. These are Tacitus, Ptolemy, Antoninus, and Richard the Monk.

§ II.—ANCIENT AUTHORITIES.

We will begin with Tacitus. In the *Annals* we meet with the river Sabrina,¹ and the tribe of Silures,² in South Wales; and, in North Wales, the nations of the Ordovices³ and Cangi, the latter of whom he describes as

¹ Tac. Ann., xii., c. 31 ² *Ibid.*, c. 33, 38, 39, &c., xiv., 29.

³ *Ibid.*, xii., c. 33. Agric., c. 17.

not far from the sea on the side of Ireland,⁴ together with the island of Mona.⁵ Of the southern names, the one is obviously retained in the Severn, the other less obviously in the old Welsh name for the south-eastern part of the Principality—*Essyllwg*. Of the northern names, that of *Mona* alone remains.

Antoninus presents us with the following names of stations in North Wales:—

- Segontium, on the *Seiont* ;
- Conovium, on the *Conway* ;
- Varis,⁶ near *Bod-fari* ;
- Deva, Chester on the *Dee* ;⁷
- Bravinium ;⁸
- Bovium ;
- Mediolanum ;
- Rutunium.⁹

The last four names are entirely lost. In South Wales we find:—

- Leucarum, *Loughor* on the *Llychwr* ;
- Nidum, *Neath* on the *Nedd* ;
- Bomium (Bovium), *Boverton* (?) ;
- Isca Leg. II. Augusta. *Caerleon* on the *Ush* ;
- Burrium ;
- Gobannium, *Abergavenny* on the *Gavenny* ;
- Magna ;¹
- Venta Silurum, *Caer-went* in *Gwent*.

Burrium and Magna are lost; the latter is possibly a Latin name.

⁴ "Haud procul mari quod Hiberniam aspectat."

⁵ Ann., xiv., c. 29. Agric., c. 17. *Mona* is also mentioned by Cæsar and Pliny.

⁶ *Varis* is a dative plural; it does not appear what the real name was.

⁷ Itinerary, xi.

⁸ *Ibid.*, xii.

⁹ *Ibid.*, ii.

¹ *Ibid.*, xii.

Ptolemy enumerates the natural objects, proceeding southwards along the coast; they occur in the following order:—The estuary of Seteia, the river Tisobis, the promontory of the Cangani, the rivers Stucia and Tuerobis, the promontory Octapitarum, the rivers Tobius and Rhatostathybius, and the estuary of Sabriana.² The position assigned to the Cangani by Tacitus, and to the Cangani by Richard of Cirencester, makes it clear that the three localities first enumerated are in North Wales; and it is equally clear, from the probable identification of the headland of Octapitarum, or Octorupium, with St. David's Head, that the four last named places are in South Wales. The former are altogether lost; while, of the latter, two can easily be identified with the Tywy and the Severn. Octapitarum is apparently a foreign word. The two intervening names, Stucia and Tuerobis, can only be identified with the Ystwyth and Teifi, both in South Wales.³ This author mentions the Ordovices in

² Σετήια εἰςχυσίς.

Τοισόβιος ποτ. ἐκβολαί.

Καγκανῶν (var. l. Γαγγανῶν) ἄκρον.

Στούκια ποτ. ἐκβολαί.

Τουερόβιος ποτ. ἐκβολαί.

Ὀκταπίταρον ἄκρον.

Τοβίου (var. l. Τουβίου) ποτ. ἐκβολαί.

Ῥατοσταθυβίου ποτ. ἐκβολαί.

Σαβριάνα εἰςχυσίς (var. l. Σαβριαναῖς χύσις.)

I observe that, in the notes to the Iolo MSS., Rhatostathybius, or Rhatostaubius, is identified with the Tâf, or Tibia Amnis. It is explained Rhath Taf—the Taff moorland. Rhath, or Roath, is a place contiguous to Cardiff.—p. 374, *Note*. Baxter assigns to it the same locality, though not the same signification.—*Glos. Ant. Brit., sub voce*.

³ It is true that these rivers were included in a district which we shall presently have to regard as part of North Wales; but it will appear that this district was probably conquered at a very early period.

North Wales, and apparently includes among them the Cangiani,⁴ naming their chief cities Mediolanum and Brannogenium, names altogether lost. In South Wales he places the Demetæ to the west, their towns being Loventium and Maridunum; and the Silures to the east, whose only town is Bullium.⁵ The Demetæ and Maridunum are Dyfed and Caermarthen; Loventium is supposed to be Llanio, and Bullium has been identified with Builth.

We now bid farewell to ancient authors, and turn to Richard of Cirencester—a writer more copious, but of less authority. The following North-Welsh names occur in his “Itinerary” :—

Banchorium, *Bangor Iscoed*;

Deva Colonia;

Varis;

Conovium;

Segontium;⁶

Heriri Mons;

Mediolanum;

Rutunium;

Branogenium.⁷

The only new names here are Banchorium and Heriri Mons. The former is so obviously late a name, that it must be cut off as being fictitious, or, at all events, foreign to our purpose. The latter is placed near Trawsfynydd. In the South we meet with—

⁴ Ὑπὸ δὲ τούτους καὶ τοὺς Βρίγαντας οἰκοῦσι δυσμικώτατα μὲν Ὀρδοῦκες ἐν οἷς πόλεις Μεδιολάνιον, Βραννογένιον.—*Ibid.*

⁵ Πάλιν δ' ὑπὸ τὰ εἰρημένα ἔθνη δυσμικώτατοι μὲν Δήμηται, ἐν οἷς πόλεις Λουέντιον, Μαρίδουνον. Τούτων δ' ἀνατολικώτεροι Σίλυρες, ἐν οἷς πόλις Βούλλιον.

⁶ *Itinerary*, i.

⁷ *Ibid.*, ii.

Venta Silurum ;

Isca Colonia ;

Tibia Amnis ;

Bovium ;

Nidum ;

Leucarum ;

* * * *

Ad Vigesium ;

Ad Menapiam ;⁸

Bultrum, or Ballium ;⁹

Gobannium ;

Magna.¹

The new names, Tibia Amnis, and Menapia, are the Tâf, and St. David's, or Mynyw.

In his treatise "De Situ Britannæ," Richard enumerates the following places :—Sariconium (Ross), Magna, Gobaneum, Venta, Isca, among the Silures ;² Octorupium Promontorium, Menapia, Muridunum, and Lovantium, among the Demetæ, or, as he calls them, Demeciæ.³ In the country of the Ordovices he places Mediolanum and Brannogenium,⁴ and among the Cangiani, who dwelt beyond the last named race, Segontium⁵ as their only town, the isle of Mona, the Fretum Meneviacum, or Menai Strait, the rivers Deva and Canovius, or Tossibus, and the mountain of Erii.⁶ He thus appears to identify the

⁸ Itinerary, iii.

⁹ *Ibid.*, xiii., xiv.

¹ *Ibid.*, xiii.

² *De Situ Brit.*, i., c. 6, § 22.

³ *Ibid.*, § 24.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ "Huc quoque referendum illud, quod a Septentrione Ordovicum situm ab Oceano alluitur, cum illorum regimini quondam fuerit subiectum : hoc certo constat quod illum Cangiani quondam inhabitaverint tractum, quorum urbs unica Segontium promontorio Cangano vicina."—*De Situ Brit.*, i., c. 6, § 25. It is to be observed that the worthy monk invariably places the north where the west ought to be.

⁶ *Ibid.*

Conway with the Tisobis of Ptolemy, and seems to indicate, by placing the Dee within the territory of the Can-giani, that they occupied at one period a large portion of North Wales.

It will be as well to present the results of this examination in a tabular form. The names given by these several authorities remain in the following proportions:⁷—

		Tustus.	Antonus.	Ptolemy.	Richard.	Added by Richard.	Total.
Nations.	N. W.	$\frac{0}{2}$		$\frac{0}{1}$	$\frac{0}{2}$		$\frac{0}{2}$
	S. W.	$\frac{1}{1}$	$\frac{1}{1}$	$\frac{2}{2}$	$\frac{2}{2}$		$\frac{2}{2}$
Towns.	N. W.		$\frac{4}{8}$	$\frac{0}{2}$	$\frac{4}{8}$	$\frac{0}{1}$	$\frac{4}{9}$
	S. W.		$\frac{6}{7}$	$\frac{3}{3}$	$\frac{11}{12}$	$\frac{2}{3}$	$\frac{9}{13}$
Natural objects.	N. W.	$\frac{1}{1}$		$\frac{0}{3}$	$\frac{5}{6}$	$\frac{4}{4}$	$\frac{5}{8}$
	S. W.	$\frac{1}{1}$		$\frac{4}{5}$			$\frac{4}{5}$
Total.	N. W.	$\frac{1}{3}$	$\frac{4}{8}$	$\frac{0}{6}$	$\frac{9}{16}$	$\frac{4}{5}$	$\frac{10}{19}$
	S. W.	$\frac{2}{2}$	$\frac{7}{8}$	$\frac{9}{10}$	$\frac{13}{14}$	$\frac{2}{3}$	$\frac{15}{20}$

Before making any remarks upon this table, it will be

⁷ The proportion of names remaining has been thrown into a fractional form; the number of names recorded is indicated by the denominator, while the numerator shows how many remain.

necessary to premise that the name of Banchorium^o has been omitted in the calculations, for reasons already alleged, and those of Octapitarum and Ad Vigesium, as being foreign names. The name of Magna is omitted, partly on that account, and partly because the district in which it stands has been wholly Anglicised, and the place itself has assumed the English name of Kentchester. The general result is that, whereas in North Wales one-half of the ancient names of places are preserved, three-fourths remain in South Wales. But, if we subtract the additions of Richard of Cirencester, we have, in North Wales, only six out of fourteen names remaining—in South Wales, thirteen out of seventeen. Again, of the names surviving in North Wales, the largest proportion are those of natural objects, which we should always expect to be the most permanent, and the remainder are those of towns or stations preserved in the appellations of the rivers on whose banks they stood. The most important conclusion of all is, that the names of the two races which inhabited North Wales, the Ordovices and Cangi, or Cangiani, are utterly lost, while those of the Demetæ and Silures, the inhabitants of the South, are preserved among us.

Now these considerations suggest the probability of a revolution of some kind among the inhabitants of Gwynedd, since the close, or, at all events, since the commencement, of the Roman domination in Britain. The nature or extent of such a revolution is a further question; all that can be said at present is, that it would

^o Banchorium and Deva are placed by Richard in the territory of the Carnabii.—*De Situ Brit.*, i., c. 6, § 27.

seem to have involved a total or partial change of the population, and to have been at least so far complete, as to have obliterated a large proportion of the local names. And this probability is heightened, when we remember that we have to account for the introduction of a wholly new name into North Wales, I mean that of Gwynedd. The designation of Genania, although applied to this country, with some degree of hesitation, by Richard of Cirencester,⁹ can hardly be a latinized form of Gwynedd, the first two letters of which are invariably represented by V in Latin, as well by the later writers, who use the form Venedocia, and by the Romans themselves in writing other British names—as Venta for Gwent. It is also worthy of notice that, whereas Richard applies the name of Genania to a district much more extensive than any to which that of Gwynedd was ever applied, there is reason to think that Gwynedd was formerly used in a more limited sense than afterwards.

§ III.—TRADITIONAL EVIDENCE.

It is true that the probability does not amount to more than a presumption, and that we have to look for other evidence as well to confirm as to explain it. Such evidence is by no means wanting, although the documents on which it rests are obscure, and often contradictory. Nevertheless, there is quite enough to assure us that a change, of which it is not easy to measure either

⁹ “Ordovicia una cum Cangiorum Carnabiorumque regionibus, ni fama me fallit, nomine Genaniæ sub imperatoribus post Trajani principatum inclarescebat.”—*De Situ Brit.*, i., c. 6, § 25.

the extent or the degree, came over the population of Gwynedd, at some period subsequent to the commencement of the Roman dominion in Britain. The first notice we have of the event is to be found in the Triads, which, after enumerating the various races which had settled at different periods in our island, reckon among "the three invading tribes that came into the isle of Britain, and departed from it, . . . the hosts of Ganfael Wyddel, who came to Gwynedd, and were there twenty-nine years, until they were driven into the sea by Caswallawn the son of Beli, the son of Manogan."¹ I call this the first notice of this event, because it is the earliest that occurs in the Triads, which are allowed to contain the earliest native authorities on ancient British history. Another Triad enumerates, among "the three dreadful pestilences of the isle of Britain, the pestilence from the carcasses of the Gwyddyl, who were slain in Manuba, after they had oppressed the country of Gwynedd for twenty-nine years."² It is evident that these documents relate to the same transaction, and we gather from them that North Wales, or some part of it, was under the dominion of a people called Gwyddyl, for twenty-nine years, who were finally expelled by Caswallawn, or Cassivellaunus, the opponent of Julius Cæsar. The name Gwyddel is to this day applied to the Irish, and is, etymologically, the same as Gael,³ the common name of the Irish, and Highlanders of Scotland.⁴

¹ Trioedd Ynys Prydain. Myv. Arch., vol. ii., p. 58.

² *Ibid.*, p. 29.

³ The latter word is spelt *Gaoidheal*, the soft consonant being elided in pronunciation.

⁴ It may be necessary to state distinctly the precise significations in

All that we are justified in concluding from the name is, that these occupants were a Gaelic race of some kind or other. In another Triad we meet with a curious allusion to a similar event, which must have occurred at a much later period. "The tribe of Caswallawn Law Hir put the fetters of their horses on their feet by two and two, in fighting with Serigi Wyddel, at Cerrig y Gwyddel, in Mon."⁵

In the *Historia Britonum*, attributed to Nennius, we meet with another account of the expulsion of the Gael. He informs us that Cunedda and his eight sons came from the north, from a province known as Manau Guotodin, and expelled the Scots from Gwynedd, Dyfed,

which the terms "Celtic," "Gaelic," &c., are used; especially as some confusion exists in people's minds on the subject. The common name of Celtic is applied to all and each of the members of a family of nations, distinguished by certain phenomena of language and organization. This is the ethnological use of the term, and is the result of a generalization from existing facts. It must carefully be distinguished from the historical use of the term, as applied to a race whom the Greeks and Romans found in various parts of western Europe. Whether the historical Celts were Celtic in our use of the word, *i. e.*, whether they possessed the distinctive marks of language and organization, it is one of the problems of ethnology to determine. Now this Celtic family is found to divide itself into two branches, one of which, at present occupying the Highlands, Hebrides, Man, and a great part of Ireland, in a tolerably pure state, is called Gaelic. The other, in possession of Wales, Cornwall, and Brittany, is here, as elsewhere, for convenience, denominated Cymraic. A closer connexion is found to subsist between the Bretons and Cornish, than between either of those people and the Welsh. These facts are stated here, to avoid needless verbal discussion; although they must be familiar to the majority of my readers. Those who wish to see the subject of Celtic ethnology clearly drawn out, will do well to read Dr. Prichard's "Essay on the Eastern origin of the Celtic Languages;" and a memoir, by M. Adolphe Pictet, "De l'affinité des Langues Celtiques avec le Sanscrit."

⁵ *Myv. Arch.*, p. 62.

and from the districts of Gower and Kidwelly.⁶ Their expulsion is placed about the close of the fourth century, and, although the date of their immigration is not stated, we are left to infer that it was synchronical with the occupation of Dalriada and Man by their countrymen.⁷ To the testimony of Nennius we may add that of Rhyddmarch, the author of the life of St. David, as a writer whose date we are able to fix. He speaks of the Saint being persecuted, in his hallowed retreat at Menevia, by a certain Scottish tyrant, by name Boia, who had built himself a strong castle, overlooking the Rosy Vale, in which St. David had established himself with his companions.⁸ The name of this regulus is preserved in Clegyr Foia, a precipitous volcanic rock, surmounted by

⁶ "Novissime venit Damhoctor, et ibi habitavit cum omni genere suo usque hodie in Britanniam. Istorith, Istorini filius, tenuit Dalrieta cum suis; Buile autem cum suis tenuit Euboniam insulam, et alias circiter; filii autem Liethan obtinuerunt in regione Demetorum et in aliis regionibus, id est, Guir et Cetgueli, donec expulsi sunt a Cuneda et a filiis ejus ab omnibus Britannicis regionibus."—*Hist. Brit.*, § 14. "Mailcunus magnus rex apud Brittones regnabat, id est, in regione Guenedotæ, quia atavus illius, id est, Cunedag, cum filiis suis, quorum numerus octo erat, venerat prius de parte sinistrali, id est, de regione quæ vocatur Manau Guotodin, centum quadraginta sex annis antequam Mailcum regnaret, et Scottos cum ingentissima clade expulerunt ab istis regionibus, et nusquam reversi sunt ad habitandum."—*Ibid.*, § 62.

⁷ Nennius, on the authority of the "peritissimi Scottorum," places the migration of the Scots from Ireland to Dalriada, in the sixth century B.C., that is to say, in the present case, in a period anterior to history. Mr. Skene, in his ingenious *Essay on the Highlanders*, dates the last occupation of Dalriada, A.D. 503, and appears to consider the earlier migrations as fabulous.—Vol. i., pp. 15–20.

⁸ Ricemarus in *Vita Sti Davidis* apud Whart. *Angl. Sacr.* II. Giraldus omits the words "Scottus quidam," which are supplied by Wharton in the margin. Rhyddmarch lived in the eleventh century.

an ancient earth-work, within a quarter of a mile of St. David's. Perhaps this is the proper place to observe that the Menapii are placed by Ptolemy and Richard on the coast of Ireland, immediately opposite to St. David's Head,⁹ so that it is easy to imagine the settlement of a section of this tribe on the opposite shore of Menevia, or Menapia. William of Malmesbury, in his History of Glastonbury, gives us a rather more detailed account of the event recorded by Nennius. He confirms the statements of that writer, and of Rhyddmarch, by informing us that the Gael were expelled from Dyfed, as well as Gwynedd.¹

The scanty notices we have already met with concur in recording the settlement of Gaelic tribes, at an unknown period, in various parts of Wales, especially in Gwynedd, and their expulsion on one, or more than one, occasion, attributed variously to Caswallawn the son of Beli, to Caswallawn Law Hir, and the family of Cunedda. We must now turn to another quarter for more detailed information with respect to the Gaelic dominion in Wales. It is to be found in the valuable Miscellany collected by the late Iolo Morganwg, and recently published by the Welsh MSS. Society. The notices which it gives us on this subject are fuller than those which have already been produced, and serve in many instances to explain them; on the other hand, it must be owned that they frequently contradict each other, and rest, of course, on comparatively slender authority.² I

⁹ They are called by Ptolemy, *Μαπάριοι*.

¹ Gale, *Scriptores*, vol. i., p. 295.

² I am content to take these documents at the lowest value that can

shall give some of the more explicit of these memorials in full, and proceed to harmonise them as far as it is possible :—

“Three Irish invasions took place in Cambria ; and one family, that of Cuneddaf Wledig, delivered the country from the three. The first occurred in Gower, in Glamorgan, where Caian Wyddel and his sons landed, subjugated the country, and ruled it for eight years ; but Cuneddaf Wledig, and Urien the son of Cynfarch, subdued and slew them to nine, whom they drove into the sea ; and the government of the country was conferred on Urien the son of Cynfarch, having been constituted a kingdom for that purpose, and called Rheged, because it was bestowed unanimously by its ancient British inhabitants on Urien, in free gift, whence he was called Urien Rheged.³

“The second invasion was that of Aflech Goronog, who seized upon Garth Mathrin by irruption ; but, having married Marchell, the daughter of Tewdrig, king of that district, he acquired the good will of its inhabitants, and obtained the country in marriage settlement with his wife ; and there his descendants still remain, intermixed with the natives.

“The third invasion was that of Don (others say Daronwy), king of Lochlyn (Scandinavia), who came to Ireland, and conquered it ; after which he led sixty thousand Irish and Lochlynians to North Wales, where they ruled for one hundred and twenty-nine years ; when Caswallawn Law Hir the son of Einion Yrth, the son of Cunedda Wledig, entered Mona, wrested the country from them, and slew Serigi Wyddel, their ruler, at a

be put upon them, as the weight of my proof does not rest upon the authority of individual passages, but upon the coincidence of a large number, and indeed, as will be seen, upon their very discrepancies—an authority which cannot well be destroyed, except by the supposition of an actual forgery.

³ In the published translation which I have elsewhere followed, the last sentence runs thus :—“whence it was called Urien Rheged.” It is probably an error of the press.

place called Llan-y-Gwyddyl, in Mona. Other sons of Cuneddaf Wledig slew them also in North Wales, the Cantred, and Powis, and became princes of those countries. Don had a son called Gwydion, king of Mona and Arvon, who first taught literature from books to the Irish of Mona and Ireland; whereupon both these countries became pre-eminently famed for knowledge and saints.”⁴

The next history is at variance with the last, and with itself: its chronology is altogether hopeless:—

“A.D. 267, Don, king of Lochlyn and Dublin, led the Irish to Gwynedd, where they remained one hundred and twenty-nine years. Gwydion the son of Don was highly celebrated for knowledge and science. He was the first who taught the Cambro-Britons to perform the plays of illusion and phantasm, and introduced the knowledge of letters to Ireland and Lochlyn; but after the Irish and Lochlynians had inhabited North Wales for one hundred and twenty-nine years, the sons of Cuneddaf Wledig came there from the north, overcame the Irish and their confederates, and drove them in flight to the Isle of Man. They were slaughtered at the battle of Cerrig y Gwyddyl; and Caswallawn Law Hir, with his own sword, killed Serigi Wyddel the son of Mwrchan, the son of Eurnach the Aged, the son of Eilo, the son of Rhechgyr, the son of Cathbalig, the son of Cathal, the son of Machno, the son of Einion, the son of Celert, the son of Math, the son of Mathonwy, the son of Gwydion, the son of Don, king of Mona and Arvon, the Cantred, and of Dublin and Lochlyn, who came to the isle of Mona one hundred and twenty-nine years before the incarnation of Christ.

“Eurnach the Aged fought, sword to sword, with Owen Finddu, the son of Maxen Wledig, in the city of Ffaraon; and he slew Owen, who also slew him.”⁵

I should be glad to know whether these can be regarded as perversions of Gaelic names. Again,—

⁴ Iolo MSS., p. 467.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 471.

“After the departure of the Romans from Britain, Serigi took upon him the supreme government of Mona, Gwynedd, and the Cantred; but so excessive was the oppression of the Irish there that messengers were sent to Cuneddaf Wledig, who dispatched his sons to Gwynedd, and they put them to flight; except in Mona, where they had become a distinct nation, with Serigi for their king, who came with a strong force to Gwyrfai, in Arfon, to fight against Caswallawn, who drove them back to Mona, where they were slain at a place called Cerrig y Gwyddyl; whereupon Caswallawn, and the family of Cuneddaf, placed saints in that island, to teach the Christian faith there, and bestowed lands on the Cambro-British, who were brought there from Dyfed, Gower and Gwent; so that Mona became celebrated for its saints, wise men, and pious persons.”⁶

I shall add two more,—

“Gwydion Wyddel, the son of Don, the son of Dar, the son of Daronwy, the son of Urnach Wyddel, of the city of Ffaraon, was slain by Owen Finddu the son of Maxen Wledig; this Urnach led twenty thousand Irish from Ireland to Gwynedd, where they landed, and where they and their descendants remained for one hundred and twenty-nine years.

“The son of Urnach was Serigi Wyddel, who was slain at Cerrig y Gwyddyl, in Mona, by Caswallawn Law Hir the son of Einion Yrth, the son of Cuneddaf Wledig, in the time of Owen the son of Maxen Wledig; and upon the greensward they found a male infant, who was Daronwy the son of Urnach Wyddel, Serigi’s brother, of the city of Ffaraon. An illustrious chieftain who resided just by, commiserating his beauty and destitution, reared him up as one of his children; but he became eventually one of three native oppressors; for he confederated with the Irish, and seized the dominion from its rightful Cambro-British owners, namely,⁷—”

And this,—

⁶ Iolo MSS., p. 471.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 472.

“Saint Gynyr of Caer Gawch the son of Gwyndeg, the son of Saithenyn, king of Maes Gwyddno, whose land was overflowed by the sea, the son of Saithenyn Hen, the son of Plaws Hen, king of Dyfed, the son of Gwrtherin, a prince of Rome, who expelled the Gwydelians from Dyfed and Gower.

“Meyrig, king of Dyfed, the son of Gwrthelin, the son of Eudaf, the son of Plaws Hen, king of Dyfed, the son of Gwrtherin, a nobleman of Rome, who expelled the Gwyddelians from Gower and Dyfed.”⁸

The notices before us, however discordant in detail, coincide in the main, both with each other, and with those which were cited before. They agree so far in their general purport that we cannot doubt their relating to the same event, while they are so contradictory in minor points as to prove, beyond question, the antiquity of the original legend which is embodied in them. Thus their very discrepancies are a confirmation of their general authenticity, and at the same time allow us a considerable latitude in interpreting them. It is evident then that a tribe of Picts or Scots were in possession of several portions of Wales, in an age within the domain of history;⁹ that they had settlements in the country between the Neath and the Tywy,¹ in Brecknockshire,² and probably

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 545. Achau y Saint.

⁹ It is not necessary here to decide whether the Gael of North Wales were Picts or Scots, or, indeed, whether the Picts were Gael or Celts at all. This has been, as is well known, the *vexata questio* of Scottish antiquaries for many years. Those who wish for specimens of the spirit in which it has been discussed, will do well to read the quarrel between Monkbarns and Sir Arthur Wardour, in the “Antiquary,” or (if they prefer reality to fiction) Ritson’s *Annals of the Caledonians*.

¹ See Nennius, as already quoted. See also Iolo MSS., pp. 456-7.

² *Ibid.*, p. 467. Cf., p. 517.—“Marchell, the daughter of Tewdrig,

in western Pembrokeshire;³ but that their principal territory was in North Wales, the whole, or a large portion, of which they occupied at an early period, where their power was not entirely extinguished until the fifth century. We are presented with lists and genealogies of their kings and leaders, contradictory to the last degree, and yet, as it seems, containing germs of truth. The Brecknockshire colony was governed by one Aflech, that in Gower by a person variously designated as Caian,⁴ Glaian,⁵ and Liethan⁶—distinct forms, as it would seem, of the same name. In another document, the Gael of Gower are said to have been led by Gilmwr Rechdyr.⁷ But it is concerning the Gael of Gwynedd that we have the most copious information, and it is to them that our attention must be principally directed. We have a multiplicity of accounts concerning their original settlement in the country, but they may be reduced to three several legends.

The first is derived from a source we have not hitherto touched. In the genealogy of Iestyn ab Gwrgant⁸ we are informed that, in the reign of “Annyn the Rugged the son of Alafon,” a prince of Siluria, seven or eight generations before the Roman invasion, a people whom it calls “y Ddraig Estron,” or the “dragon strangers,”⁹

was the wife of Anlech Goronog, who was king of Ireland, and their son was called Brychan, and he had in right of his mother the territory of Garth Mathrin, which he called after his own name, Brycheiniog.”

³ See above, pp. 15, 16.

⁴ Iolo MSS., p. 467.

⁵ Glaian Ecdawr, *ibid.*, p. 458.

⁶ Nennius, *ut supra*.

⁷ Iolo MSS., p. 457.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 341.—This document is not cited as an authority, but as containing a legend different from any that we have met with.

⁹ The appellation is a curious one, but it may serve to interpret

came to Britain and Ireland: "they are now become quite extinct in this island, although they still entirely possess Ireland, where they are termed Gwyddelians." It would appear at first sight that this notice refers only to the settlement of the Gael in North Britain, an event commemorated in various Triads, and placed at a very early period; but the assertion that their descendants were extinct in this island—having, of necessity, reference to the southern portion of it—makes it probable that the history speaks of a Gaelic colony in Gwynedd at this early period. And this is confirmed by various passages in the same document. It informs us that, in the reign of the same Annyn, "a new king sprang up in Gwynedd, in utter violation of justice;"¹ that the king of Gwynedd was conquered by Lleyrn, a descendant of Annyn, who gave name to the country;² that the war in Gwynedd was continued by Tegid, the brother and successor of Lleyrn,³ and that a third brother, Llyr, the grandfather of the great Caractacus, finally expelled the Gael from Gwynedd.⁴

The second legend is that presented to us in the Triads,

certain obscure passages of Welsh tradition. In one of the Triads the "Dragon of Britain" is described as one of the "oppressions of the isle of Britain."—*Myv. Arch.*, ii., p. 59. In the Mabinogi of Lludd and Llefelys, Britain is visited by three simultaneous afflictions, one of which is, the invasion of the Coritani, and another, the conflict of two dragons, which are ultimately buried in Dinas Ffaraon, subsequently the metropolis of the Gael. The title of Draig appears to have been afterwards applied to the Welsh princes of Gwynedd. Gildas calls Maelgwyn "draco insularis," and Gwalchmai applies to Owen Gwynedd the title of "Dragon of Mona."—*Evans' Specimens of Welsh Bards*, p. 127.

¹ Iolo MSS., p. 341. ² *Ibid.*, p. 346. ³ *Ibid.* ⁴ *Ibid.*

which places the invasion of the Gael, under Ganfael, shortly before the Roman invasion, and attributes their expulsion, after a short domination of twenty-nine years, to Caswallawn the son of Beli.⁵

The third legend is that of which we have given specimens already. It generally describes the invaders as led by Don the son of Daronwy, who is represented as a Scandinavian settler in Ireland. They are in possession of the country for a hundred and twenty-nine years, although other accounts abbreviate the period to twenty-nine, while another extends it to three hundred and twenty-nine.⁶ Among their princes we meet with various names distinguished in Welsh romance, Gwydion the son of Don, Arianrod his sister, Math the son of Mathonwy, the Palug Cat, with other personages wearing a very mythological aspect. Gwydion is invariably represented as a wise man, and sometimes as a wizard. In one Triad he is said to have learned illusion from Math ab Mathonwy, who is denominated one of the three "men of illusion and phantasy."⁷ The Mabinogi of Math gives us a specimen of his performances, and those of his instructor; and we are elsewhere informed that his magic sleights secured him the possession of his principality.⁸ Another Triad unites him with Idris the Giant, and Gwyn the son of Nudd, under the class of chief astronomers.⁹ Elsewhere we are told that he was highly celebrated for knowledge and sciences, that he introduced the knowledge of letters to Ireland and Lochlyn,¹ and to

⁵ Myv. Arch., ii., p. 58.

⁷ Myv. Arch., ii., p. 71.

⁹ Myv. Arch., ii., p. 71.

⁶ Iolo MSS., p. 609.

⁸ Iolo MSS., p. 421.

¹ Iolo MSS., p. 267.

the Irish of Mona, whereupon these countries (Ireland and Anglesey) became pre-eminently famed for knowledge and saints.² His court was the resort of bards and philosophers, and was visited by Merddyn,³ as that of his son was by Taliesin.⁴ Both of these assertions, it is needless to say, are palpable anachronisms; but they show the light in which Gwydion was regarded in later times. An obscure memorial of him in the *Achau Saint*⁵ appears to imply that he was the means of converting the Gael of Gwynedd to Christianity, and connects him in some way with the Pelagian heresy. But he appears elsewhere in a more marvellous form. His path is in the sky, and may be seen in the galaxy. His sister, the Lady of the Silver Wheel, holds her court among the stars. On occasion, like Apollo, he plays the part of a herdsman, and keeps thrice seven thousand kine above the Conwy.⁶ Enough has been said to show that Gwydion is more than half a mythic character, and that he is the great hero of the Gaelic legend.

Math, whose exact relation to Gwydion it is rather

² Iolo MSS., p. 468.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 466.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 467.

⁵ "Mor, the son of Morien, brought baptism and faith, and would not bring baptism to the country of Gwynedd. The first that did so was Gwydion, the son of Don, king of Llychlyn, who was king of the country of Gwynedd, during the time the Gwyddelians bore rule in Gwynedd."—*Ibid.*, p. 551.

⁶ *Trioedd Ynys Prydain*. Myv. Arch., ii., p. 10.—"The three herdsmen of tribes of the isle of Britain, . . . the second, Gwydion the son of Don, who kept the cattle of the tribe of Gwynedd, above the Conwy; and in this herd were twenty-and-one thousand." Baxter asserts, without giving his authority, that the Cangi were a pastoral race, subject to other tribes.—*Gloss. Ant. Brit.*, p. 73, *sub voce* Ceangi.

difficult to determine, held his court at *Caer Dathyl*, and carried on a war with the king of *Dyfed*.⁶ Another warrior, *Urnach*, or *Eurnach*, the *Aged*,⁷ who in one record is represented as the original invader, and the great-grandfather of *Don*, is elsewhere described as fighting single-handed with *Owen* the son of the Emperor *Maximus*, a contest which was fatal to both. He is also called *Brynach*, and is said to have been the first king of *Gwynedd* converted to Christianity.⁸ His dominions extended over the western part of North Wales, *Mona* and *Man*, and he held his court at *Dinas Ffaraon* in *Snowdon*.

His son *Serigi* closes the list of the Gaelic chiefs of *Gwynedd*.⁹ The Welsh, who had, as it seems, for some time pressed hard upon them, and apparently limited their dominions to *Mona*, ultimately overcame them, and slew their leader at *Holyhead* under the command of *Caswallawn Law Hir*, the grandson of *Cunedda Wledig*, whose family had emigrated from North Britain for the express purpose of rescuing Wales from the oppression of the invaders.

In the names of *Eurnach*, *Serigi* and *Caswallawn*, we seem to have an approach to authentic history; and we may perhaps conclude that, as far at least as the termination of their empire is concerned, this legend gives us the real account. We can hardly doubt that the story which ascribes their expulsion to the celebrated *Cassivellaunus* arises merely from the confusion of two personages bearing the same name; and the legend referred

⁶ *Mabinogi of Math.* ⁷ *Iolo MSS.*, p. 471. ⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 474.

⁹ One legend ascribes the original invasion to *Serigi*.

to in the genealogy of Iestyn is probably an even more corrupted form of the present one.

§ IV.—CHRONOLOGY.

Before we proceed to consider the details of the conquest of Gwynedd by the family of Cunedda, it will be well to examine the chronology of their occupation and evacuation of that country by the Gwyddyl—to see, in fact, whether anything can be made of it. We will assume that the termination of their dominion is fixed by the accession of Caswallawn Law Hir, who is said to have reigned over North Wales from 443 to 517. This date is rendered probable by that of his son Maelgwyn, which is better known. The latter was contemporary with Gildas, the first British historian, if he should not rather be called a preacher, who was born about the year 516, and wrote in the middle of the sixth century. For the invasion of the Gwyddyl we find various dates assigned. The genealogy of Iestyn ab Gwrgant places it, as we have seen, at an indefinitely early period.¹ The Triads fix the invasion of Ganfael Wyddel in the first century B.C.² A record which we have already quoted³ fixes the invasion in the year 267 A.D., and, almost in the same breath, in 129 B.C. In another document we find the following chronological notices:—

“ In 294 A.D., the Irish Picts, who had migrated from Beitwy, were slain.” . . . “ In 307 a great pestilence prevailed, and a fearful number of full-grown males and females died in consequence, together with more than half the children of the island ;

¹ See above, p. 21. ² p. 13. ³ Iolo MSS., p. 471, cited above, p. 18.

in consequence of which, the invasion of the Irish Picts took place in the north, and that of the pike-bearing Irish and Lochlynians in Anglesea, Arvon, and the Commot." . . . "In 314 scarcity and famine took place; the Irish and Lochlynians having spoiled the corn lands." "In 339 many of the Irish banditti were taken." "About this period [A.D. 380] Morien the son of Argad the Bard flourished; . . . he denied Baptism and the Sacrifice, . . . whence arose great hatred, contentions, and wars."

We have already seen that Morien was supposed to be contemporary with Gwydion.

"In 400 the Irish Picts came to Cambria, and committed atrocious depredations; but at last they were vanquished, slain unsparingly, and driven back beyond the sea to their original country." "In 410 severe diseases and great mortality prevailed, occasioned by the yellow pestilence, which arose from the dead bodies that remained unburied."

This pestilence is connected with the Gaelic invasion by the Triads.

"In 430 the Irish Picts made a descent on Anglesea and Arvon, and were joined by the Irish of those countries, in combined hostility to the crown of the island of Britain; but they were opposed by the kings and princes of Cambria, whose cause was espoused by the two saints, namely, Germanus and Lupus; and they prayed to God, who . . . made them victorious over their enemies." "In 436 . . . a terrible pestilence occurred in Britain; . . . whereupon the Irish Picts came to Cambria; but, through the prayers of the saints, they were vanquished."⁴

It is obvious that such circumstantial chronology, in relation to an age of which so little is known, cannot be trusted in detail. In fact, the only positive conclusion

⁴ Iolo MSS., pp. 418-422. Cf. Bede, Hist. Eccl. i., c. 20.

which we can draw from it is, that the Irish domination terminated about the middle of the fifth century, that is, about the period assigned to Caswallawn Law Hir. It does not give us a hint of the commencement of their empire, but appears to imply that it was kept up by continual succours from their brethren in Ireland, or elsewhere.⁵ We have however further data, as it would appear, for determining the time of their arrival, in the duration of their power, as derived from the Triads and other sources. This we have already seen stated variously as twenty-nine, one hundred and twenty-nine, and three hundred and twenty-nine years. These numbers bear so evident a relation to one another, that they seem clearly to be different versions of the same legend; while they occur in accounts so contradictory, as to prove the antiquity of the legend from which they are derived. They are so circumstantial that they must mean something, while they are far too circumstantial to be received without caution. We may fairly assume that one of the three was found in the original story, and that the others are perversions of it. And we may probably conclude that to be the original number which bears the clearest marks of being artificial, or that which there was most reason to change in subsequent versions of the story. Now it appears more natural to lengthen the period than to shorten it, simply for the purpose of allowing more time for the events which confused traditions, or the ingenuity of poets, had made to occur within it. And the shortest of these periods can with least difficulty be

⁵ The events of 430 particularly deserve notice, as the pre-existence of the Gael in Mona and Arvon is expressly mentioned.

regarded as artificial. The partiality of the Welsh for the triad is too well known to need proof, and it would necessarily extend to the number thirty. Now, in twenty-nine, we have three decades *minus* one; or, if we please to put it in this way—the Irish having ruled in Gwynedd for nine-and-twenty years, were driven out in the thirtieth. This view of twenty-nine as a mythical or mystical number, is confirmed in some degree by a curious story published in the Iolo MSS., of “Einion the son of Gwalchmai of Anglesey, and the Lady of the Greenwood, which was a witch, or female goblin, that fascinated him for *nine-and-twenty years*, and of the manner in which he was liberated from the illusions and bands she had cast over him.”⁶ Nennius also, who delights in triads and round numbers, tells us a story of three sons of a certain knight of Spain, who were utterly destroyed, with nine-and-twenty ships of war, as they were besieging a tower of glass in the middle of the sea.⁷ This explanation may appear fanciful to those who are not accustomed to observe the manner in which numbers are manufactured in mythological history. The only object of it is to destroy the apparent credibility of these numbers arising from their extremely circumstantial character, by showing how easy it is to account for their origin. Whether this be the true explanation or not, we may be allowed to have grave doubts as to the value of such precise dates in the history of an age of which so little is really known. The only result, then, of our chronological examination is, that we can have no certain chronology in the matter; that the close of the

⁶ Iolo MSS., p. 591.

⁷ Nennius, Hist. Brit., § 13.

Gaelic dominion in North Wales took place about the middle of the fifth century; and that we are at liberty to place its commencement in an indefinitely early period. Indeed, we are not without authority for supposing that it took place at a date anterior to any facts recorded in the history of this country.⁸ We shall soon see reasons for wishing to extend the duration of their sovereignty beyond the limits, not of the twenty-nine years only, but of the hundred and twenty-nine.

§ V.—EXTENT OF THE GAELIC DOMINION.

We have been occupied with the limits of duration assigned to the Gaelic domination, let us now consider its extent in point of space. I do not now speak of the minor settlements in South Wales, but of that great principality in Gwynedd, of which we may regard Gwydion the son of Don as the mythic representative, and of which Serigi the son of Urnach was the last ruler. The authorities which we have already had occasion to consult, are rather vague in their information as to the limits of their territory. They speak in general terms of an invasion and occupation of Gwynedd,⁹ or in more precise language, of Mona, Arvon and the Cantred,¹ which appears to be identical with Merioneth; others speak of Mona, Gwynedd (used, as it would seem, in a limited sense) and the Cantred, or Commot; and one document, which we have already quoted, speaks of their

⁸ See above, p. 21.

⁹ *Trioedd Ynys Pryd.* Myv. Arch. ii., p. 58. Iolo MSS., p. 468.

¹ *Ibid.*, 471.

being overcome by the sons of Cunedda, in Mona, Gwynedd, the Cantred and Powys.² We also find the isle of Man annexed to their dominions, and spoken of in such a way as to leave no doubt that it formed at one time part of the great principality of Gwynedd.³ It is to be observed, however, that Mona is spoken of as their principal seat, as it was certainly the district in which they maintained their power to the latest period, and hence in the ordinary histories of Wales their empire is generally spoken of as a temporary occupation of Mona, or at most of Mona and Arvon.⁴ We shall be able however to ascertain the limits of their territory with greater accuracy, if we examine the accounts handed down to us of their overthrow and expulsion. The most minute record is contained in the following extract from one of the genealogies termed *Achau Saint*:⁵—

“Cunedda Wledig sent sons to Gwynedd against the Gwyddelians, which came with Serigi the Gwyddelian, to Anglesey, and other places, and had taken the greatest portion of that country from the inhabitants, when there were no princes over them; and the sons of Cunedda led the Cymry, and expelled the Gwyddelians from the country, and slew them, making prisoners of such as had their lives spared; then the men of Gwynedd gave those princes possession of the lands they had won; namely:—

“Tybiawn the son of Cunedda Wledig, won the Cantref, routing the Gwyddelians, and in that battle he was slain, and the nobles of the country conferred the sovereignty on Meirion his son, and he was called Meirion of Meirionydd.

“Arwystl the son of Cunedda Wledig, won a district, which

² Iolo MSS., p. 468.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 474.

⁴ It is thus represented by Lhoyd and Warrington.

⁵ Iolo MSS., p. 521.

was given him, which he called after his own name, and he himself is called Arwystl of Arwystli.

“Ceredig the son of Cunedda Wledig, expelled the foreigners from the Cantref of Tyno Coch, and received it as an inheritance, and called it Ceredigion after his own name, and he himself is called Ceredig of Ceredigion.

“Dunawd the son of Cunedda Wledig, delivered the Commot of Ardudwy, in Eifonydd, and received it as a possession, and called it Dinodyng after his own name, and he is called Dunawd of Dinodyng.

“Edeyrn the son of Cunedda Wledig, delivered the country, which he called Edeyrnion from his own name, of which he received possession, and he is called Edeyrn of Edeyrnion.

“Mael the son of Cunedda Wledig, had Maelienydd, which he named after his own name, and he is called Mael of Maelienydd, in remembrance of his act in delivering the country.

“Dogvael the son of Cunedda Wledig, had the country called after him Dogveilyng, and he is called Dogvael of Dogveilyng.

“Rhufawn the son of Cunedda Wledig, had the Cantref, which after him was called Rhyfoniog, and he is called Rhufawn of Rhufoniog, and also Rhun Hael of Rhufoniog, because he was the most generous man in Wales in his times.

“Oswal the son of Cunedda Wledig, had the country called after him Osweilyng, and he is called Oswal of Osweiliawn, and that country is the town of Oswestry and its precincts.

“Clwyd the son of Cunedda Wledig, had the vale of Clwyd.

“Cynir, Meilin, and Meigir, the sons of Gwron, the son of Cunedda Wledig, went with Caswallawn Law Hir their cousin to expel the Gwyddelian Picts from the island of Anglesey, where they had fled from the sons of Cunedda, and had established themselves in that island; and after furious fighting they drove the Gwyddelians out of Anglesey, and Caswallawn Law Hir slew Serigi Wyddel there, with his own hand. That Serigi was the prince of the Gwyddelian Picts, which had governed Gwynedd from the time of the Emperor Maximus. And after expelling

the foreigners from Anglesey, the Cymry took courage, and drove them out of every part of Gwynedd, and none of them remained in the country, except such as were made captives for ever. And thus did Cunedda Wledig obtain the sovereignty of Wales, and his sons the lands before mentioned.

“And Caswallawn Law Hir the son of Einion Yrth, the son of Cunedda Wledig, founded a church to God in the place where he obtained a victory over his enemies, and called it Llan y Gwyddyl, and which is in Anglesey, and now called Cerrig y Gwyddyl.

“Einion the king the son of Einion Yrth, the son of Cunedda Wledig. His church is in Lleyn, of which country he was king.”

A somewhat different account is given in the description of Wales prefixed to Lhoyd's history :—

“The sons of Cunetha being arriued in North Wales, (as well I thinke being driuen by the Saxons, as for their inheritance,) diuided the countrie betwixt them. And first, Meireaon the sonne of Tibiaon, the sonne of Cunetha, had Cantref Meireaon to his part. Arustel ap Cunetha had Cantref Arustly. Caredic ap Cunetha had Caerdigion, now Caerdigan Shire. Dunod had Cantref Dunodic. Edeyrn had Edeyrnion. Mael had Dynmael. Coel had Coeleyon. Doguael had Dogueilyn. Ryvaon had Ryuonioc, now Denbighland. Eineon Yrth had Caereneon, in Powys. Vssa had Maesvswalht, now Oswestree. . . Maelor the sonne of Gwron, sonne to Cunedha, had Maeloron.”⁶

I shall presently have occasion to criticise these passages in detail, and to compare them with other accounts of the same event. My only object in citing them at present is, to show the extent of country over which the Gaelic sway may have extended at various times. It is obvious that the various districts which it enumerates were regarded as the possessions of, and deriving their

⁶ This account is adopted in the Hanes Cymru of Carnhuanawc.

appellation from, the legendary heroes of the Cuneddian race, whose names stand at the head of many Welsh genealogies. We may also assume that all the regions connected by tradition with that family were supposed, as they are here asserted, to have been won from the strangers. Now these districts would appear to include the whole of Anglesey, Caernarvon, Merioneth, and Cardiganshire, with a portion at least of Denbighshire, Montgomeryshire, and Radnorshire. It would include the entire coast from the Clwyd to the Teifi,⁷ and would be bounded to the east by the Clwydian and Berwyn mountains, and the wild hills of Montgomeryshire and Radnorshire.⁸ It would also appear from this document, and others, that their power was more complete, or lasted longer, in some parts than in others, and most of all in Mona, although they continued to exist elsewhere in isolated positions even after the overthrow of Serigi.

This tradition receives a remarkable confirmation from modern topography, a source of historical information to which too little attention has been paid in general, and particularly in the present instance. Rowland, the author of the "Mona Antiqua Restaurata," records the expulsion of the Irish from Anglesey, of which he seems to consider them at one time the sole occupants.⁹ He

⁷ Since this passage was written, I have been informed that Ceredigion extended to the Preseleu mountains, a fact which the features of the country and the present ecclesiastical divisions had led me to suspect.

⁸ Some parts, indeed, of this territory lie beyond the limits we have fixed.

⁹ "The Irish, under Sirig the Rover, *who once indeed drove the inhabitants out of the island*, were soon after themselves outed and expelled by Melirion ap Meirchion, and his cousin Caswallawn law

tells us also that the circular foundations of houses, like those in what we are accustomed to call British towns, were ordinarily known as *Cytiau r' Gwyddelod*, the cabins of the Gael.¹ Yet he does not seem to connect these facts in any way; on the contrary, he has recourse to a very unsatisfactory argument to explain away the apparent connexion. I believe that name is in common use in various parts of North Wales at this day; and one instance certainly exists in Anglesey. But we find in various parts of Wales, the word *Gwyddel* entering into composition in the local names, frequently in very remarkable positions. I give a list of these which I have been able to discover, and it is probable that more are to be found.

In Anglesey,—

Porth y Gwyddel, in Holyhead Island;

Pentre Gwyddal, also in Holyhead Island;

Cytiau r' Gwydd'lod, about a mile to the south of the causeway leading to Holyhead Island.

To these we may add *Cerrig y Gwyddel*, *Llan y Gwyddel*, or *Capel y Gwyddel*, the ancient name of Holyhead.

In Caernarvonshire,—

Pentre Gwyddel, on the shore between Conway and Abergele;

Bwlch y Gwyddel, between *Capel Curig* and *Llanberis*;

Mynydd y Gwyddel; and,

Trwyn y Gwyddel, at the extreme promontory of *Lleyn*.

hir, who killed the said *Sirig*, at a place called *Cappel Gwyddil* as tradition hath it."—p. 37.

¹ "There are, to this day, visible upon our heaths and *Rhosydd*, the marks and footsteps of these booths and cabbins, in the oval and circular trenches which are seen in great plenty dispersed here and there on such grounds . . . they are called *Cyttie r' gwyddelod*, viz., the Irish men's cottages."—p. 27.

In Merionethshire,—

Muriau 'r Gwyddelod, ancient fortifications near Harlech;

Muriau 'r Gwddel, near Maentwrog;

Gwyddel-fynydd near Towyn;

Gwyddel-wern.

In Montgomeryshire,—

Dol-y-Gwyddyl, in the hills between Machynlleth and Llanidloes.

In Radnorshire,—

Crugyn Gwyddel, in the mountainous district west of Rhayader.

In Cardiganshire,—

Waun y Gwyddel; and,

Nant y Gwyddel, about six miles west of Plinlimon;

Wern y Gwyddel near Tregaron;

Llwyn y Gwyddyl, near the ruins of Strata Florida;*

Cefn Gwyddel, near the sea-coast, at no great distance from New Quay; a farm in the neighbourhood bears the significant name of Lletty 'r Cymro;

Pant yr Wyddeles, four or five miles from the place last mentioned, but further inland.

In Pembrokeshire,—

Trewyddel, on the coast between Cardigan and Newport;

Llwyn Gwyddel; and,

Pant Gwyddel, both a little to the south of the Preseleu mountains.

In Glamorganshire,—

Tŵll y Gwyddel, in the hills separating the vales of the Tawe and Llychwr.

* The genealogy of Iestyn informs us that Meyryg, a prince of Siluria, marched against the Irish Picts, and defeated them, "but was killed by an Irishman concealed in a wood, since called Ystrad Meyryg."—*Iolo MSS.*, p. 352. Llwyn Gwyddyl, the Irishman's Grove, is within a short distance of Ystrad Meyrig. The tradition is valuable, although this Meyryg is placed in a very spocryphal age.

In Monmouthshire,—

Pentre Gwyddel, near the Usk, a little below Abergavenny.

It can hardly be conceived that a score of places should exist in eight small counties, bearing so significant a name, by a mere accident; especially when we know that the name coincides so remarkably with ascertained facts in the early history of this country. It is quite true that one, or two, or three, or four of them might be the result of events of later occurrence; but it is impossible to believe that the word should occur so frequently, unless there had been very numerous collisions, and at very various points, between the Gael and the Cymry; and we are unable to assign any later period for these events than that of the great Gaelic occupation we are now dealing with.³ The argument, however, is

³ It is true that isolated invasions took place at a much later period, as in the following instances recorded by Lhoyd:—

A.D. 914.—“The men of Develyne did destroye the ile of Mon or Anglesey.” “About the same time Leofred a Dane, and Gruffyth ap Madoc, came from Ireland with a great armie to Snowdon.”

A.D. 958.—“Abloic king of Ireland landed in Mon, and having burnt Holyhed, spoiled the countrie of Lhyyn.”

A.D. 966.—“Roderike the sonne of Edwal Voel was slaine by the Irishmen, by whom Aberfraw was destroyed.”

A.D. 1031.—“The Irish-Scots entred Southwales, by the meanes of Howel and Meredyth, the sonnes of Edwyn ap Eneon ap Owen ap Howel Dha, who hired them against Rytherch ap Iestyn.”

A.D. 1041.—“Conan the sonne of Iago, with the power of Alfred king of Denelyn, entred North Wales.”

A.D. 1073.—“Gruffydd ap Conan came from Ireland with a great army of Irish.”

A.D. 1087.—“Rees ap Tewdor not being able to meete with them, fled to Ireland, where he purchased himself great freends, and got an armie of Irishmen and Scots—and so landed in Southwales—and at Llechryd they gave him battell.”

A.D. 1142.—“Cadwalader fled to Ireland and had hired Octer and

much strengthened by the geographical distribution, the several positions, and, in some cases, by the particular meanings of these local names. As regards their distribution, we have four in Anglesey, four in Caernarvonshire, four in Merioneth, one in Montgomeryshire, one in Radnorshire, six in Cardiganshire, three in Pembrokeshire, one in Glamorganshire, and one in Monmouthshire. Thus, out of the five-and-twenty instances, twenty fall within the limits which we have just assigned to the Gaelic territory. Of the remaining five, one is at no great distance from the Irish colony in Brecknockshire, one is actually within the territory of Rheged, and the Pembrokeshire instances may be accounted for by their proximity to the territory of Ceredigion,⁴ unless they are rather due to the settlement on the coast of Dyfed, whose existence is implied in the account of Rhyddmarch, and in other passages to which we have alluded. Again, as regards the several positions of these localities, we shall find that they are placed, with very few exceptions, just where a vanquished and declining race would make their final efforts for independence. The Anglesey instances are among the low grounds, intersected, and partially isolated, by creeks and quicksands, which characterise the western extremity of that county. In Caernarvonshire, two are at the utmost point of the wild promontory of Lleyrn, to which we can well imagine the Gwyddelod to have been beaten back,

the sonne of Turkel and the sonne of Cherulf, with a great number of Irishmen and Scots for 2000 markes to his succour, and landed at Abermenay in Carnaruonshire."

⁴ One of them, in fact, was within it. See above, p. 34, *Notes*.

step by step: a third is at the entrance of the terrific pass of Llanberis. In Merionethshire, we find two at the foot of the great mountain chain which extends from Traeth-Bychan to the Mawddach, protected on the north by the former estuary, and on the west by marshes and the sea; another is among marshes, at the mouth of a valley leading to Cader Idris. The Montgomeryshire instance, and two in Cardiganshire, are on the skirts of the Plinlimon group. The instance in Radnorshire, and two of those in Cardiganshire, stand at the entrances of gorges leading into that savage region of mountain and moorland, then and long afterwards clothed with impenetrable forests,⁵ which lies between the Wye, the Tywy and the Teifi, and comprises portions of Cardiganshire, Montgomeryshire, Radnorshire, Brecknockshire, and Caermarthenshire. The remaining cases in Cardiganshire, and one in Pembrokeshire, are close upon the western coast. Twll y Gwyddel, in Glamorganshire, lies in a mountain pass on the borders of the Gaelic district of Rheged, and the instance which occurs near Abergavenny, is not far from the mouth of that wonderful valley which opens into Brecknockshire between the Sugarloaf and Blorengel. The names of three are highly significant. Cytiau 'r Gwyddelod, near Holyhead, I have already had occasion to notice. The two localities on the shore of Traeth Bychan bear the names of Muriau 'r Gwyddel, and Muriau 'r Gwyddelod, respectively. The name signifies "the Gwyddelians' walls," and one of them at least contains the remains of ancient fortifications. This is

⁵ Leland.

especially important, because such fortresses are less likely to have been raised by temporary invaders during a mere foray, than by the actual possessors of the country as a means of defence against aggressors. They seem therefore to imply that the Gael were, for some time at least, in possession of the district in which they are found. In general I may remark that the localities we are considering are to be found principally in the western portion of the region which we have assigned to the Gaelic occupants, which we should be inclined to expect, on the supposition that they derived their appellations from having been the scene of final conflicts with the conquerors.

§ VI.—THE LEGEND OF CUNEDDA EXAMINED.

It will now be necessary to criticise more minutely the legend of Cunedda, which has been already cited for another purpose. It appears in various forms in Welsh mythological history, and is so frequently repeated, that it is impossible to overlook its importance. According to one account, Cunedda and his eight sons came in person to effect the deliverance of Wales; according to others, he sent his sons; most records agree in attributing the victory to the family of Cunedda, and not to that prince himself. All assert that he was a northern prince, and some set up for him a hereditary claim to Gwynedd, transferring to that early period the ideas and practices of a later age. A few ascribe to him the deliverance of Gower and the adjoining districts; but the majority of records make Urien the conqueror and first prince of

Rheged, and limit the victories of the Cuneddian race to North Wales, Cardiganshire, and part of Radnorshire. One document, quoted by William of Malmesbury, goes so far as to attribute to the Cuneddian race the conquest of Gwynedd, Dyfed, Gower, and even of Somersetshire.⁶ The most explicit account is contained in the genealogy already quoted. But here we are met by a very curious fact. Of the twelve sons of Cunedda there enumerated, it is quite obvious that two at least are fictitious names. One is that of Clwyd, the name of a river, very probably imported from the north; the other is that of Oswal, evidently a Teutonic name, and apparently invented to account for a local appellation, which is known to have had a totally different origin. This is enough to cast doubt on the historical existence of the other brethren.

⁶ The passage referred to is as follows:—“*Legitur in antiquis Britonum gestis, quod a Boreali Britanniae parte venerunt in occidentem duodecim fratres, et tenuerunt plurimas Regiones, Venedociam, Demetiam, Buthir, (query, Guhir?) Kedweli, quas proavus eorum Cunedda tenuerat: nomina eorum fratrum inferius annotantur Ludnerth, Morgen, Catgur, Cathmor, Merguid, Morvined, Morehel, Morcant, Boten, Morgen, Mortineil, Glasteing. Hic est illa Glasteing, qui per mediterraneos anglos, secus villam quae dicitur Esecbtiorne, scrofam suam usque ad Wellis, et a Wellis per inviam et aquosam viam, quae Sugewege, id est, Scrofae via, dicitur, sequens porcellos suos, juxta ecclesiam de qua nobis sermo est, lactentem sub malo invenit, unde usque ad nos emanavit, quod mala mali illius *Ealdecyr-cenes epple*, id est, veteris Ecclesiae poma vocantur: sus quoque ealdecyre suge idcirco nominabatur quae cum ceterae sues quatuor pedes habeant, mirum dictu, ista habuit octo. Hic igitur Glasteing, postquam insulam illam ingressus, eam multimodis bonis vidit affluentem, cum omni familia sua in ea venit habitare, cursumque vitae suae ibidem peregit. Ex ejus progenie et familia ei succedente locus ille primitus dicitur populatus, haec de antiquis Britonum libris sunt.”—*Will. Malmsh. de Antiq. Glaston. Eccl.; Gale Scriptores, xx., vol. i., p. 205.**

And it is to be observed that all the existing names are connected with the designations of their respective principalities, a circumstance which gives them a somewhat artificial aspect.⁷ The names of Tibion, and his son Meirion, are in a plural form, while those of Ceredigion, Edeyrnion and Arwystli seem to stand to those of their eponymous heroes in the relation of plurals to their singulars.⁸ This is sufficient at least to raise a suspicion that we have here the names not of individuals, but of nations, of various petty tribes of common origin, which moved down gradually from North Britain, and expelled the Gael from their seats in Gwynedd. The common legend represents the sons of Cunedda as putting themselves at the head of volunteers from Dyfed, Gower, and Gwent. Now it is obvious that the population of North Wales is of distinct origin from those to whom the legend traces them. A Triad, which bears strong marks of historical truth, mentions the three primary tribes of the nation of the Cymry, viz., the Gwentians, or the men of Essyllwg; the Gwyndydiaid, or the men of Gwynedd and Powys; and the tribe of Pendaran Dyfed, comprehending the men of Dyfed, of Gwyr, and Ceredigion. "And to each of them," the Triad proceeds to say, "belongs a peculiar dialect of the

⁷ The account preserved in Lhoyd's History omits the name of Clwyd and Oswal, substituting however for the latter that of Ussa.

⁸ This relation of terms appears not unfrequently in the Welsh genealogies. Sometimes the father appears in the plural form, and the son in the singular. Thus we have Gair the son of Geirion, lord of Geirionydd, March the son of Meirchion, &c. The fact is noticed by Professor Rees, in the case of Ceredig; but he gives it a somewhat different interpretation.—*Welsh Saints*, pp. 109, 110.

Welsh.”⁹ There can be little doubt that the author of the Triad is describing accurately the phenomena of his own time, and in the main they correspond with those of our own. It is much to be regretted that the dialectic varieties in various parts of Wales have not been so minutely ascertained and registered as has been the case in England. Still the several varieties of the Welsh language may, I believe, be classed under three principal dialects of North Welsh, South Welsh, and the language of Gwent and Morganwg. The exact limits of South Wales and Essyllwg are rather difficult to ascertain; the district of Gower, which is included by the Triad in the former, and which afterwards became a sort of debateable land between the contending principalities, has since been to a certain extent Anglicised, so that it is difficult to verify the assertion before us. Both however are so distinct from Gwynedd, that it is difficult to believe the people of North Wales to be a colony from Gwent and Dyfed, upon the supposition, at all events, that a portion of the former was depopulated by the Gael.¹

It is worthy of notice that the region of Ceredigion, one of those which were won from the Gael by the sons of Cunedda, is included by the Triad within the territory of the tribe of Dyfed. At present, unless I am mistaken, the inhabitants of the northern portion of that county speak a dialect nearly akin to that of the population of Merioneth, while the language in the south of the county is nearly identical with that in use in Pembroke-

⁹ Myv. Arch., ii., p. 61.

¹ This supposition is implied in a Triad quoted in the Iolo MSS., (p. 421,) and is assumed by Rowland, *Mona Antiq.*, p. 37.

shire and Caermarthenshire. At all events the natives of the extreme north and extreme south of Cardiganshire are not always mutually intelligible. There is also reason to believe that the district of Ceredigion extended at one time north of the Dyfi,² so as to take in a portion of Gwynedd properly so called. In that case, we may well conceive that the people who gave name to that country occupied the northern portion alone, but finally extended their supremacy and their name over the neighbouring Demetians, at least as far as the Teifi.

In confirmation of this view, it must be recollected that the centuries during which these events are supposed to have occurred constituted pre-eminently the age of migrations. It is very difficult for us who live at a time when society is fixed, consolidated, and permanent—who dwell under the shadow of a civilisation built upon the precedents of ages—whose hope and ambition is circumscribed by home and country—to realise a condition of things when the whole population of the west was in a state of flux and agitation, when entire nations quitted their seats from time to time, and entire realms received new names from the various nations that had occupied them. The difficulty is great to us; but it was still greater to our ancestors in the middle ages. They lived at a time when society in some respects appeared even more unchanging than at present, and when men's thoughts and affections were certainly much more limited by place. They lived at a time when national migrations had ceased, and systematic colonisation had not yet begun. They lived at a time when bold and

² Iolo MSS., p. 476.

grasping adventurers were continually carving out for themselves an inheritance with the sword, and numberless petty lordships were governed in almost regal style by men who had neither title to the land, nor relation to its occupiers. It is not to be wondered then that, in their version of the ancient legend, they converted the mythical sons of Cunedda, the eponymous heroes of various kindred and associated tribes, into the likeness of the foreign adventurers of their own age, and represented them as placing themselves at the head of subjects with whom they had no concern, and dividing among a single family the inheritance of the conquered. Or, again, they described the partition of Gwynedd as an act of gratitude to the deliverers—a piece of poetical justice, no doubt, but more akin to poetry than history. I think we may fairly regard the whole story as the record of an extensive national migration, and I shall venture to call it the Cuneddian migration.

If this be the true view, if it was really a whole race, and not a single family alone, that left its home under some pressure external or internal, to find new seats in the south, we may well believe that the change was very gradual.³ We know that, even in much later times, the territory of Gwynedd stretched to the north-east, considerably beyond its present limits. It is therefore probable that the Gwyndydians, (for so we must call the new occupants of Gwynedd, to which they gave their

³ I do not mean that the actual movement of the invaders was gradual, a view which would be contrary to the history of migrations; but that the successive movements of tribes from the north may have extended over an indefinite period.

name,) moving down from their northern habitations, pressed first upon the north-eastern frontier of the Gael, and gradually established themselves in the country of Powys. The districts of Arwystli, Edeyrnion, Maelienydd and Ceredigion, as being most accessible, would next fall into their hands, and the Gael would remain entrenched behind the strong natural barriers which defend Mon, Arfon and Meirion. And hence in many versions of the legend we have their power limited to those counties. It is probable that a considerable length of time would be necessary for these events to take place in ; and we have seen that it is in our power to place their commencement at a very early period.

I must turn aside for a moment to notice an apparent difficulty in the accounts of this migration. The nature of the country, as well as the universal tradition, would lead us to conclude that Mon, Arfon and Meirion were the last conquered of all the Gaelic possessions. We must therefore conclude that the Cymry pressed on the Gael from the east. The isle of Man, which appears to have formed part of the Gaelic principality of North Wales, would be their nearest place of refuge ; and we are told that the Gwyddelians were driven to that place after the conquest of Mona. On the other hand, we are elsewhere informed that Tibion, the father of Meirion, died in the isle of Man, or Manaw, apparently before the conquest of Gwynedd by his brethren. This would imply that the Cuneddian race took a different course from that which has been assigned to them, and invaded Wales from the sea, proceeding from North Britain by the way of the isle of Man—a view inconsistent at once

with probability, and with the traditions already cited. The expression used by Nennius probably gives us the ancient legend, and thus serves to explain this tradition. He tells us that Cunedda and his eight sons came to Wales from the northern parts, from the country called Manau Guotodin. Now Nennius elsewhere speaks of Man as Eubonia, or Manau simply,⁴ and would scarcely have described it as “the parts of the north, to wit, the country called Manau Guotodin.”⁵ It is therefore probable that the word Manaw was applied to several districts, and that the word Guotodin, possibly a national appellation, was added as a mark of distinction. And it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that it was the country of the Gododin, or Ottadini, the British inhabitants of the eastern coast, north of the Brigantes, from whom, according to Mr. Stephens,⁶ Aneurin’s celebrated poem derives its name, and who may thence be concluded to be a Cymraic tribe, akin to the conquerors of Gwynedd.

§ VII.—ORIGIN OF THE GAELIC DOMINION.

We now come to a very obscure question, and one to which in our present state of knowledge on the subject we shall hardly be able to give a satisfactory answer—were the Gael of North Wales invaders after all? I do not mean to ask whether they were invaders absolutely, but whether they had dispossessed the Cymry? To answer the question in the negative would not prove them to be aborigines, it would only prove them to be

⁴ § 8.

⁵ § 62. See above, p. 15, *Notes*.

⁶ *Literature of the Kymry*, p. 11.

the original inhabitants as compared with the present possessors of the country. The question whether the Celts had predecessors in these islands is a highly difficult one; but the solution is possibly not beyond the power of archæological science. But it is no part of the present question. The present question is—did the Gael temporarily dispossess the Cymry; or did the Cymry, for the first and last time, dispossess the Gael of a country which they themselves had never before inhabited?

To adopt the latter alternative almost necessarily involves the affirmation of another contested position, I mean, that the Gael preceded the Cymry in the possession of the whole of Britain, and were afterwards driven by them into the highlands of Scotland, and the neighbouring islands of Ireland, Man, and the Hebrides. I will not open this question now, (as it is far too extensive to be treated of here,) but assume it on the authority of the best historians and ethnologists.⁷ Still it will not be out of place to state briefly some of the leading arguments on either side. On the one side we have the great argument derived from geographical position. The Gael are situated further from the great cradle of the human race, and from the continent of Europe. They would therefore appear to have preceded the Cymry in their advance westwards, and if so, they would doubtless seize first upon the nearer and more fertile districts, after-

⁷ Niebuhr, *History of Rome*, Transl., vol. ii., p. 522, *sq.* Thierry, *History of the Norman Conquest*, b. i. E. Lhuyd. Dr. Prichard suggests this view, but does not positively adopt it.—*Physical History of Mankind*, vol. iii., c. 3., § 12.

wards occupied by the other great branch of the Celtic family. Add to this, that there appears greater proof of connexion between the Welsh and the continental Celts, than between the latter and the Irish.⁸ The Welsh have an obscure tradition of an earlier race, whom they drove out or made slaves of.⁹ The earliest known name of Britain, Albion, seems connected with Alban, a name now confined to the highlands of Scotland.¹ Finally, Lhuyd discovered in Wales numerous local names, which can only be interpreted by reference to the Gaelic idiom.² On the other hand, we have an absence of traditional evidence in favour of this view among the Welsh and Irish alike, except the vague legend alluded to above; and we have on the part of the former nation a claim to be the aborigines of the country, whatever the value of that claim may be.

Let us assume then that the Gael were the first Celtic inhabitants of Britain, whether aboriginal or otherwise; and that, at various periods anterior to the Roman invasion, the Cymry dispossessed and drove them forward, and were themselves invaded and circumscribed by foreign tribes, as the Belgæ and Coritani. It is obvious that the earlier possessors would retire into the more distant, the least penetrable, and the least enviable districts, as for example those in which they still exist, Ireland, Man, the Highlands and Hebrides. But it is

⁸ Prichard, *Physical History of Mankind*, vol. iii., c. 3, § 11.

⁹ Thierry, b. i.

¹ *Aristot. de Mundo*, c. 3. The book, however, is pronounced to be spurious.

² Welsh preface to the *Archæologia Britannica*.

also evident that they would hold out, for some time at least, in Wales, Cumberland and Cornwall, just as the Cymry did centuries afterwards. The former of these districts, as the most extensive and impregnable, would probably be their last possession in South Britain. And, surely, what the mountain ranges of Gwynedd and Ceredigion became in later ages to the Cymry, they were then to the Gael; what they became in later ages to the Teutons, they were then to the Cymry. To the former they were a secure bulwark, to the latter an impassable barrier, perhaps for centuries. Of course we have no data for fixing the age in which this struggle commenced, and it is equally impossible to say how long it would continue. As to the former question, the name given to Britain by the author of the treatise, "De Mundo," would lead us to conclude that the whole, or the greater part of it, was in the possession of the Albanich,³ until within a very few centuries of our era.⁴ The answer to the latter question would depend on the resistance of the old inhabitants, the population of the aggressors, and the extent to which they were pressed upon by new invaders. We know that the Cymry had been dispossessed of the south-eastern portions of the island shortly before the invasion of Cæsar;⁵ we know also that at that period the population of South Britain was enormous,⁶ and would therefore require an outlet to

³ The Scottish Highlanders.

⁴ Aristot. de Mundo, c. 3.

⁵ The Belgæ had a tradition of their arrival, and tradition in those ages was probably short-lived; the invasion of the Coritani, too, is placed in the age immediately preceding the Roman invasion.

⁶ "Hominum est infinita multitudo."—*Cæs. Bell. Gall.*, b. v., c. 12.

the north or west. In Ireland, so far as we know, the Cymry never settled;⁷ and, from what we know of the Caledonians at a somewhat later period, it is probable that their northern limit was already fixed. They would therefore be compelled to press upon, and gradually to supplant, the more isolated tribes of the Gael in North Wales; and it is quite conceivable that this process of extermination continued until the victory of Caswallawn Law Hir, in the fifth century. We should here take notice of a fact which, to a certain extent, falls in with our argument. A people called Cangani⁸ are placed by Ptolemy and Richard in the west of Ireland; and the latter writer tells us that a portion of the Cangis and Brigantes emigrated to Ireland in the first century of our era.⁹

This view of the history of North Wales seems, to say the least, more probable than that a colony of Irish Scots would seize upon and occupy the least accessible and least eligible portion of South Britain, neglecting the more inviting districts in the immediate neighbourhood, which were under the dominion, not of their subsequently successful opponents from Cumbria and Strathclyde, but of Silurians and Demetians, who, as we are told, were

⁷ Prichard, *Physical History*, vol. iii., c. 3, § 12, p. 148.

⁸ Γάγγανοι.—*Ptolemy*.

⁹ "Circa hæc tempora, relicta Britannia, Cangis et Brigantes in Hiberniam commigrarunt, sedesque ibi posuerunt." One cannot help suspecting a connexion between these Brigantes and Brychan Brycheinioc, a patriarch of Gaelic origin.—*Ric. Ciren., de Situ Brit.*, ii., c. 1, § 17. Compare however i., c. 8, § 9, where Richard appears to imply that the language of these immigrants referred them to the Cymraic branch. One may doubt his having sufficient grounds for the assertion.

unable to face them alone. If the northern Picts and Scots never effected a settlement in England, confining their invasions to predatory incursions, is it likely that their brethren from the other side of the channel would be either willing or able to seize and retain for a century and a quarter, not the rich province of Loegria, tenanted by half-Romanized Britons, but the wilds of Arfon, the heritage of the free mountaineers of Gwynedd? It is true that the Irish Scots were a hardy and adventurous people, and were already, or soon afterwards, making piratical excursions, and establishing foreign colonies. It is probable that they did so in various parts of South Wales in the fifth and sixth centuries; it is certain that they did so in Scotland in the sixth. But it is very probable that the Gaelic dominion in North Wales, never previously extinguished, was kept up by occasional supplies from Ireland; and not altogether impossible that the Dalriadic colony in the western Highlands was in some measure occasioned by the loss in North Wales both of actual territory and of an outlet for superfluous energy.¹

There is one further difficulty in accepting this view,

¹ It is asserted by Professor Rees, on the authority of Mr. Moore, (*History of Ireland*, c. 7,) that "an invasion of Britain on an extensive and formidable scale took place towards the close of the fourth century, under the auspices of a king of Ireland, called Nial of the Nine Hostages."—*Welsh Saints*, p. 109, *note*. This Nial occurs in the *Four Masters*, and the *Annals of Innisfail*, as reigning from 379 to 405. The latter chronicle certainly informs us that a large number of captives, and among them St. Patrick, were brought into Ireland from Britain in 388. This is, however, much too late for the commencement of the Gaelic kingdom in North Wales.—*O'Conor, Rerum Hibb. Script.*

namely, that all the traditions of the subject represent the Gwyddyl as invaders; and some represent the invasion as having occurred at a comparatively short distance of time before their expulsion. To this it must be said, that one tradition at least appears to regard the invasion of Gwynedd as contemporaneous with the first arrival of the Gael in Britain, though it evidently regards that event as posterior to that of the Cymry;² that the occasional supplies which were probably sent to Gwynedd, and the known piratical habits of Scots and Scandinavians, may have caused the chroniclers of a later age to represent the whole affair as a mere foray of Irish and Lochlynians, antedating by centuries the northern invasions of Britain; and the same pride which prompted the Cymry to falsify the account of their first entrance into the island, would induce the men of Gwynedd to regard themselves as aborigines, rather than as invaders. They are not the only nation that have been content to sacrifice the glory of conquest to that of aboriginality. We all know how the Athenians bound up their hair with grasshoppers, in token that they were children of the soil; yet the early institutions and traditions of that people exhibited no faint marks of foreign conquest and military dominion.³ It is probable that our antiquarian discoveries will one day prove that neither Gael nor Cymry were the first inhabitants of these islands, will silence the latter in their vain

² See above, p. 21.

³ *E. g.*, in the relics of a division into castes, or something very like one. The tradition of the contest between Posidon and Athene also seems to point to something of the kind.

boasts of aboriginal possession, and thus destroy the traditional evidence against the prior occupation of the former.⁴ If then we assume that the Welsh were prompted by vanity to claim a precedence to which they had no right, we may believe that the same vanity would lead them to pervert the traditions concerning the Gwyddelian occupation of North Wales.

This however is a further question, and the position just advanced cannot rise above a conjecture. But the general fact of the Gaelic occupation of North Wales is much more than a conjecture; the fact rests on indisputable evidence; though we are compelled to make out its extent and duration, as well as its circumstances, by the help of obscure and inconsistent fragments of tradition. There is one point however on which I must insist, and that is the importance of the fact. Whether the Gael were invaders or not, it is clear that the ancient civilisation, if any such existed, was broken up and had disappeared before the conquest by Caswallawn. The Cuneddian migration is the first chapter in the history of North Wales. To the Cuneddian family the kings and nobles of North Wales traced up their genealogies. From the age of Cunedda we are to date, if not the introduction, at least the establishment of Christianity in that province.⁵ Previous history we have none: the

⁴ Worsaae, *Primeval Antiquities of Denmark*, Tr., pp. 127–135. A valuable paper on this subject was read by Mr. D. Wilson, before the British Association, at Edinburgh, in August, 1850, entitled, “An Inquiry into the evidence of the existence of Primitive Races in Scotland prior to the Celtæ.”

⁵ *Iolo MSS.*, p. 472. *Trioedd Ynys Prydain*. *Myv. Arch.*, ii., p. 61.

earliest Welsh legends are nearly all connected with South Wales, or with North Britain.⁶ The genealogy which claimed for Cunedda the hereditary monarchy of North Wales, reminds one strongly of the supposed title of the Peloponnesian kings to the inheritance of Hercules.⁷ The same spirit which converted the Dorian migration into the return of the Heraclidæ, probably created the female succession which handed down the right and title to the royalty of Gwynedd. It is clear that, to the inhabitants of the south, Gwynedd was at this time an unknown land. Their imagination filled it with giants, fairies, monsters, and magicians.⁸ The inhabitants exercised strange arts: they had cauldrons of like virtue with that which renewed the youth of Æson:⁹ a red dragon and a white were buried as the palladium of their metropolis.¹ Among their monarchs was a veritable cat, the offspring of a wandering sow.² Their chief philoso-

⁶ The Gael, it is said, found "no princes" in Gwynedd.—*Iolo MSS.*, p. 522.

⁷ Professor Rees has successfully destroyed the Welsh genealogies of the period prior to the departure of the Romans.—*Welsh Saints*, § 5. The pedigree of Cunedda is also open to the remarkable objection that for six generations the name of the father is derived from that of the son.

⁸ Mabinogi of Math. Hanes Taliesin.

⁹ Mabinogi of Branwen.

¹ Mabinogi of Lludd and Llefelys.

² *Iolo MSS.*, p. 471. Compare the Triad of the "Three powerful Swineherds," *Myv. Arch.*, vol. ii., p. 72. This wandering of swine runs through many of the Welsh legends, as for instance in the Mabinogion of the Twrch Trwyth, and Math the son of Mathonwy. The tradition of Arthur's boar-hunt still lingers in parts of North Wales. We may compare with these the story already quoted from William of Malmesbury, above, p. 41, *note*. Have we the true key to these legends, in Mr. Stephens' suggestion with reference to the

pher was of gigantic stature, and sat on a mountain-peak to watch the stars.³ Their wizard-monarch, Gwydion, had the power of effecting the strangest metamorphoses.⁴ The simple peasant, dwelling on the shore of Dyfed, beheld across the sea those shadowy mountain summits pierce the air, guardians as it seemed of some unearthly region. Thence came the mist and storm; thence flashed aloft the northern streamers; thence rose through the silent sky the starry path of Gwydion.

In South Wales, meanwhile, we find matters in a much more advanced state. The Silurians, formerly the most powerful tribe of Britannia Secunda, exercising, as it appears, some sort of supremacy over their neighbours,⁵ having been of old the opponents of Roman power, became at length the inheritors of Roman civilisation. The rest of South Wales was divided into small principalities, the chief bearing the ancient name of Dyfed, which in course of time was quite independent of its neighbours on the east. The country was under a regular ecclesiastical establishment, subject to the see of Caerleon. As yet we find no bishoprics in Gwynedd, and for a long time the ecclesiastical establishment seems to have been unsettled, corresponding probably to the state of the country.⁶ Ceredigion, which, as we have seen, was

“Hoianau,” that the “pig typifies the Welsh people?”—*Literature of the Kymry*, p. 250. Cf. *Virg. Æn.*, viii., 42, sq. Niebuhr, *Hist. Rom.*, Tr., i., p. 195.

³ Idris Gawr.

⁴ Mabinogi of Math.

⁵ *Duæ aliæ sub Siluribus gentes fuere; primum Ordovices . . . deinde Dimetis.*—*Ric. Ciren., de Situ Brit.*, i., c. 6, § 24.—*Iolo MSS.*, p. 609.

⁶ Cybi, the first person called a bishop in Gwynedd, was posterior

earlier conquered than most parts of the Gaelic kingdom, soon became a separate principality, and appears to have continued independent of Gwynedd from that time forward. And one by one the possessions of the Gael were wrested from them; a new people came in, introducing a name possibly connected with that of their mythical leader.⁷ The Ordovices passed away, and with them the Cangani; the latter, it may be, find a refuge with their brethren of the same name in Ireland.

§ VIII.—CONSEQUENCES OF THE CUNEDDIAN MIGRATION.

It only remains to trace as concisely as possible the results of this event in the subsequent history of Wales—results which will combine to form at once an additional proof of the fact, and an illustration of its importance. The first and most prominent consequence was the establishment of a new power in Gwynedd, a power destined to draw to itself the sovereignty of the Cymry, to be their last stay and defence, and in some measure, perhaps, the cause of their ultimate downfall.

We have seen that the principal kingdom in South

to the conquest by Caswallawn.—*Welsh Saints*, p. 266. But we meet with nothing like fixed sees before the time of Maelgwyn Gwynedd.

⁷ I shall probably be censured by Welsh scholars, for venturing to connect the name of Gwynedd with that of Cunedda, and by Welsh antiquaries, for throwing doubts upon the historical existence of that personage. I do not know what arguments may be urged in favour of his existence. The *Marwnad Cunedda*, ascribed to Taliesin, has recently been pronounced, by a competent authority, to be of doubtful origin, and even if genuine, does not amount to contemporary evidence.—*Stephens' Literature of the Kymry*, p. 282.

Wales was that of Essyllwg, and that the remainder of that country was divided into several small territories. Several of these appear to have been grouped into larger principalities, probably varying with the relative importance of their constituent elements. The country of Dyfed seems to have preserved its appellation throughout. Rheged, lying between Essyllwg and the region last mentioned, and for a time independent, fell subsequently under the power of each of its neighbours at various periods. It may be doubted however whether its independence was at any time more than partial. But it is evident that there existed at an early period an independent power on the north of Dyfed. We are often able to determine the boundaries of ancient kingdoms, by those of dioceses still existing. Thus the kingdom of Siluria, or Essyllwg, is represented by the diocese of Llandaff; that of Dyfed, or Demetia, by St. David's. It is well known that a third diocese existed to the north of the latter, I mean that of Llanbadarn-fawr, founded in the sixth century by Paternus, an Armorican refugee.⁸ We are informed in the Life of Paternus, published originally by Capgrave, that David,⁹ Teilo and Paternus, undertook a journey to Jerusalem together, to receive consecration from the patriarch; and that, on their return, they divided the spiritual government of Wales between them.¹ They are also classed

⁸ Usher, Brit. Eccl. Antt., c. xiv.

⁹ Nova Legenda Angliæ, fol. cclix. The same story occurs in the Life of St. David, by Rhyddmarch, and that of St. Teilo, by Geoffrey of Llandaff.—*Whart. Ang. Sac.*, ii., pp. 637, 663, sq.

¹ "Regressi enim ad patriam in tres episcopatus Britanniam diviserunt."—*Capgrave*, fol. cclix.

together by a Triad, under the title of "Blessed Visitors."² It is clear from this that the churches founded by them were regarded as of co-ordinate rank, and as two of them represent ancient secular divisions, it is probable that a similar division coincided with the diocese of Llanbadarn.

The limits of that diocese may be determined with some degree of accuracy, at all events as regards its southern frontier. If we start from the sea-coast about fourteen miles south of Aberystwyth, we shall find two lines of churches running nearly straight and parallel to each other, and extending from Cardigan Bay, through the counties of Cardigan, Brecknock and Radnor, to the borders of Herefordshire. The churches composing the northern line, on the side of Llanbadarn-fawr, are dedicated to St. Paternus, while those on the south are under the invocation of St. David. This probably marks the ancient boundary between the dioceses of St. David's and Llanbadarn. The latter must therefore have occupied the northern part of Cardiganshire, the mountainous district to the east of it, and a portion of the country between the Wye and Severn. To the north and east it would be conterminous with the present diocese of St. David's.³ It is worthy of notice that the line of churches which I have just mentioned, is marked throughout the western portion of its extent by a chain of fortresses, occupying in many instances both sides of the valleys which would naturally divide the districts;⁴ while we find a little to the north of it the "Cwys yr Ychain

² Myv. Arch., vol. ii., p. 61.

³ See Rees' Welsh Saints, p. 198.

⁴ One of them bears the name of *Clawdd Ddewi*.

Bannog," a dyke extending east and west for some miles, which we may conceive to have formed part of a line, if not of defence, at least of demarcation. The division moreover coincides in the main with the distribution of dialects which I have already noticed.⁵ These facts all tend to confirm the notion of its making a civil or national, and not merely an ecclesiastical, separation.

Upon this supposition the question remains unsettled, what name we are to give to this principality. The Life of Paternus already quoted informs us that he founded churches and monasteries *throughout the whole* of Ceredigion;⁶ and the Life preserved in the Cotton Library further speaks of him as ruler and pastor of the church of Ceredigion.⁷ It would appear from these statements that the principality of Ceredigion was originally co-extensive with the diocese of Paternus, especially as there are no signs of his having founded churches in the south of Cardiganshire. And this falls in with the view already suggested, that the north of Cardiganshire was the earliest seat in Wales of the family of Ceredig, and that they subsequently extended their dominion and their name over a portion of their Demetian neighbours.⁸

On the other hand, we are elsewhere presented with another threefold division of South Wales, also resting partly on the authority of a Life of St. Paternus.⁹ In this "it is

⁵ See above, p. 43.

⁶ "Monasteria et ecclesias per totam kereticam regionem, quæ nunc cardiganshire appellatur, edificavit."—*Capgrave*, folio cclviii.

⁷ "Postquam *Cereticorum ecclesiam* (ut loquitur vetus Vitæ illius scriptor, quem in Bibliothecâ Cottonianâ vidimus) *§ pascendo rexisset, § regendo pavisset.*"—*Usher, Britt. Eccl. Antt.*, c. xiv.

⁸ See above, p. 44.

⁹ Cotton MS.

said that the whole of South Wales was divided into three kingdoms, the same forming three bishoprics. Of these, the kingdom of Seissyl received its consecration from St. Paternus, bishop of Llanbadarn Vawr, as the other two, those of Rein and Morgant did, from St. David and St. Eliu, (Teilo)."¹ This is explained by a passage in the Mabinogi of Pwyll, which gives the name of Seisyllwch to a district comprising Ceredigion and Ystrad-Tywi,² that is to say, Cardiganshire, Caermarthenshire, Cemaes and Gower.³ The same division of South Wales is implied by a passage in the Welsh Laws, which in speaking of a general convention of the Welsh nation, informs us that it was gathered from Gwynedd, Powys and Deheubarth, the latter comprising Reinwg, Morganwg and Seisyllwg.⁴ It is also more directly asserted in another passage, where we are probably to read "Seisyllwg" for "Riellwg."⁵ In this latter Reinwg

¹ Lady Charlotte Guest's Mabinogion, iii., p. 74, note.

² *Ibid.*, p. 70.

³ The name of Seisyllwch also occurs in the Triads, but its locality is not fixed.—*Myv. Arch.*, ii., p. 60.

⁴ "Ac yno y doethant gwyr Gwynedd agwyr Powys agwyr Deheubarth a Rieinwc a Morganwc a Seisyllwc."—*Ancient Laws of Wales*, (Record Comm.,) p. 412. Cf. *Iolo MSS.*, p. 461, (74,) where *Easyllwg* is read erroneously for *Seisyllwg*. It is pretty clear both from the structure of the sentence, and from external evidence, that the three districts last mentioned are regarded as divisions of Deheubarth, and I suspect we are to read "o Rieinwc a Morganwc a Seisyllwc."

⁵ "The South is in three parts: Reinwg, that is, the county of Rein; and Riellwg; and Morgannwg."—*Ancient Laws of Wales*, p. 687. Compare the following extract from the Mabinogi of Math, whether the perfect symmetry of the numbers leads us to the same conclusion:—"Pryderi the son of Pwyll was lord over the one-and-twenty Cantrefis of the South; and these were the seven Cantrefis of Dyfed, and the seven Cantrefis of Morganwc, and the four Cantrefis of

is explained to be "the country of Rein." Two persons of this name occur, both of them princes of Dyfed, one in the ninth century, and the other in the eleventh.⁶ This, in conjunction with a fact already mentioned, leads us to infer that Reinwg is another name for Dyfed. But as Reinwg and Morganwg are derived from Rein and Morgan, we must look for the origin of Seisyllwg in Seissyl or Sitsyllt. It is suggested by an authority already quoted that it may be derived from Sitsyllt, the father of the first Llywelyn.⁷ But we also meet with the name as that of one of the early princes of Ceredigion,⁸ a fact altogether consistent with the position assigned to Seisyllwch. Its limits however considerably exceed those of the principality represented by the diocese of Llanbadarn; and we may perhaps infer from them that the tripartite arrangement of South Wales was preserved, while the name and extent of its component districts varied from time to time.

It is impossible to determine the duration of the principality whose existence I have just indicated; but the diocese of Llanbadarn, which would probably outlive the corresponding civil division, seems to have lasted nearly

Ceredigiawn, and the three of Ystrad Tywi," the seven last mentioned making up Seisyllwch.—*Lady C. Guest's Mabinogion*, iii., p. 217.

⁶ *Annales Cambriæ*, Ann. ccclxiv. (808.) *Ibid.*, post Ann. 1016. *Monumenta Historica Britannica*, vol. i. *Brut y Tywysogion*, Myv. Arch., ii., pp. 474, 504. The name also occurs in a genealogy of Owen ap Hywel dda, which seems to contain the names of early sovereigns of Dyfed.—*Ancient Laws of Wales*, Preface, p. v.

⁷ *Lady C. Guest's Mabinogion*, p. 74, note.

⁸ *Williams' Biographical Dictionary*, p. 21. It is rather curious that this person was contemporary with the first Rein of Dyfed, as the father of Llywelyn was with the other.

two centuries from its foundation.⁹ Two powerful neighbours arose, one on either side. On the south, the kingdom of Dyfed appears to have increased in importance about the sixth century. A change of dynasty is recorded to have occurred in that age. Hyfeidd the Aged, a foreigner, the son of St. Lupus of Troyes, became the prince of Dyfed, and possibly infused new energy into it.¹ A prince of Dyfed was at this time elected to the sovereignty of the Britons, if we may credit the testimony of Geoffrey of Monmouth, possibly supported in this instance by that of Gildas.² At all events, the last trace of subjection to the Roman metropolis of South Wales was swept away, when in the sixth century the archiepiscopate was removed from Caerleon to Mynyw, situated at the extreme point of the Demetian territory.³

In the meantime a new power was formed on the north of Llanbadarn, which even in the time of Paternus seriously menaced it.⁴ The country of Gwynedd, the

⁹ "The same year (A.D. 720) the unbelieving Saxons ravaged many churches of Llandaff, St. David's, and Llanbadarn."—*Brut y Tywysogion*, *Myv. Arch.*, ii., p. 472.

¹ *Trioedd Ynys Prydain*. *Myv. Arch.*, ii., p. 62.

² *Myv. Arch.*, ii., p. 359. Cf. Ep. Gildæ:—"Demetarum tyranne, Vortipori . . . Tu etiam, insularis draco, multorum tyrannorum depulsor tam regno quam etiam vita supradictorum novissime in stylo prime in malo, Maglocune." The sense depends partly on our placing a comma before or after "supradictorum." Compare the genealogy of Owen ap Hywel dda, already referred to.

³ It would seem that this translation was effected, if not by violence, at least not by mutual consent.—See *Wharton, Ang. Sacr.*, ii., pp. 667, 670, 673.

⁴ "Interea Mailgunus Rex Borealium Britonum, ad debellandos et deprædandos Australes Britones cum suo exercitu venit."—*Cap-*

conquest of which we have been occupied in tracing, was about this time consolidated into one kingdom. Previously it appears to have been under various independent rulers, and there is reason to think that it was not perfectly united until a later period.⁵ Still the territorial title of Maelgwyn Gwynedd, the son and successor of Caswallon, seems to prove that he had acquired that supremacy over North Wales, which he afterwards attempted with partial success to extend over his neighbours. It is to the interference of Maelgwyn that we are probably to refer the fall of the principality represented by Llanbadarn. Paternus complains of the tyranny which he had exercised over his

grave, fol. clviii. The authority of Albert le Grand may perhaps be cited as that of an independent witness, as he professes to have taken his account from the ancient breviaries of Quimper and Vannes. It is rather curious that he makes mention of the river Clarach as flowing by, and giving name to, the monastery of Paternus. This is the more remarkable, as the maps and topographies of that time, as Saxton, (1575,) Jansson, (1629,) Speed, and Drayton in the "Polyolbion," give the names of Salck and Massalck to the streams that flow through the vale and into the bay of Clarach. It is therefore possible that the name of Clarach marks an independent tradition. I do not know whether it occurs in the Cotton MSS. The writer's confused notions of British geography may be taken as further evidence. He did not know the difference between Wales and Cornwall. He writes as follows:—"En ce temps là regnoit en la Province de VVales vn Prince nommé Malgonus homme fort mal conditionné, lequel entendant merveilles de S. Patern, le voulut tenter; & vne guerre luy estant survenue contre le Roy de Bretons septentrionaux de l'isle [*sic*] il amassa son armée pres le fleuve de Clarach."—*Vie des Saints de la Bretagne Armorique*, p. 93.

⁵ Powys, for example, was not united to Gwynedd, if dependant on it. We read also of kings of Mona, and even of Man, as well as a distinct and probably subordinate line of Venedocian princes of Cornish origin.

flock. Gildas, too, who seems to imply that Mona was the chief and original seat of his power,⁶ accuses him of gaining his authority by foul means. He is represented by Geoffrey of Monmouth as supreme monarch of the Britons,⁷ and Gildas enumerates some of his immediate predecessors in that office, whom he had successively deprived of their authority.⁸ There is a fantastic legend preserved in the Welsh Laws, giving an account of the election of Maelgwyn to the sovereignty of Wales. The scene of the council is laid on the Dyfi sands, a portion of which still bears the name of Traeth Maelgwyn.⁹ We may therefore fairly conclude that the name of Maelgwyn marks the consolidation of Gwynedd, and the commencement at least of its aggressions on the independent kingdoms of South Wales. The ultimate result of his interference maimed the tripartite division of that country, a division which would very probably be regarded as essential. It may therefore be conceived that Gwynedd subsequently took its place among the kingdoms of Wales, so as to maintain the integrity of their confederation. It is clearly impossible to describe with any degree of accuracy the several characteristics of these nations. It is probable, however, that the Silurians had been Romanized to a greater degree than their countrymen on the north and west, and they appear to have preserved among them a certain amount of learning and civilization.¹ The Gwendydians on the contrary, the

⁶ Ep. Gildæ. ⁷ Myv. Arch., ii., p. 359. ⁸ Ep. Gildæ.

⁹ Ancient Laws of Wales, (Record Comm.,) p. 412. Iolo MSS., p. 461.

¹ It is certain that the Romans had a more extended influence in this district than among the Ordovices and Demetæ: two of the most

children of the north, nursed among the wild mountains of Arfon and Meirion, and trained to war and conquest by their conflicts with the Gael, may have become to the Silurians what the Northmen were to the civilized nations of southern Europe. They were from the beginning an aggressive and conquering race, and it is to this that we are to attribute the supremacy which they subsequently obtained over their countrymen, and the long resistance they were able to make the English and Normans.

The period between the death of Maelgwyn in the sixth century, and the accession of Rhodri Mawr in the ninth, seems to have been marked by important changes in the south. It is most probable that the principality of Ceredigion, whose limits in the days of Maelgwyn have just been determined, assumed during this period a form and extent more nearly approaching that of the

important relics of their power to be found in Britain still exist in Caerleon and Caerwent. The following description of the former at the close of the twelfth century is pretty well known:—"Videas hic multa pristinae nobilitatis adhuc vestigia : palatia immensa aureis olim tectorum fastigiis Romanos fastus imitantia, eo quod a Romanis principibus primo constructa, et ædificiis egregiis illustrata fuissent ; turrim giganteam ; thermas insignes ; templorum reliquias, et loca theatralia muris egregiis partim adhuc extantibus, omnia clausa. Reperies ubique tam intra murorum ambitum, quam extra, ædificia subterranea ; aquaram ductus hypogæosque meatus ; et quod inter alia notabile censui, stuphas undique videas miro artificio consertas, lateralibus quibusdam et præaugustis spiraculi viis occulte calorem exhalantibus."—*Giraldi Itin. Camb.*, c. v. Cf. *Iolo MSS.*, pp. 350, 374. The existence of religious and educational establishments at Lantwit and Llanancarvan seem to point in the same direction ; the connexion of the former with the Emperor Theodosius may be fabulous, yet the legend is not devoid of value.—See *Williams' Eccl. Ant. of the Cymry*, p. 97, note.

present county of Cardigan. The territory of Seisyllwch may have been formed by conquest during this interval. And there is reason to think that it acquired some degree of supremacy over the rest of South Wales. For we find it recorded that the royalty of South Wales, including the actual dominion of Dyfed, with a sort of unrecognised claim over Essyllwg, was conveyed to Rhodri by his marriage with Angharad, the daughter of Meurig, king of Ceredigion.² In Gwynedd, in the meantime, the sovereignty of the descendants of Cunedda was not uninterrupted. A passage which we have already cited hints that a formidable rebellion was raised by the subjugated Gwyddyl in a very early period;³ and in the seventh century the dominion of the country fell into the hands of one Cadafael, the assassin of Iago ab Beli, king of Gwynedd.⁴ From the epithet Gwyllt⁵ attached to his name, and the fact of his being described as a stranger monarch,⁶ one cannot help suspecting that he was one of the descendants of the Gael, who may very well have maintained themselves as a distinct nation until that age. The "Arymes Prydain Fawr," formerly ascribed to Taliesin, and subsequently to Golyddan, in the seventh century, might perhaps have been regarded as nearly contemporary evidence of the existence of Gwyddyl in Mona as a distinct and important nation, even after their

² Myv. Arch., ii., p. 62.

³ See above, p. 19.

⁴ Trioedd Ynys Prydain. Myv. Arch., ii., p. 65.

⁵ The epithet is applied to at least one person of Irish origin, Idio the son of Sutric.—*Williams' Biographical Dictionary*, p. 236.

⁶ Trioedd Ynys Prydain. Myv. Arch., ii., p. 62.

defeat by Caswallawn, had it not been determined by a high authority to be of a later date.⁷ It is evident however that some such distinction may be traced to a much later period, in the internal organisation of Gwynedd, as compared with the south. Not to mention the diversity of local customs, (as the mode of inheritance, for instance,⁸) which taken alone would only prove the early separation of the respective districts, we find decided marks of conquest in Gwynedd, which are absent in Dyfed and Essyllwg. For, in the first place, a kind of villenage existed in the former, more complete and oppressive than was permitted in the south,⁹ and we are not without grounds for the inference, that this system was in some way connected with the co-existence of distinct races.¹ We have also a species of aristocracy in North Wales, unknown in the southern portions of the country. The fifteen tribes of Gwynedd, dating, as it is said, from the tenth century, but probably representing a state of things which had then been some time in existence, appear to have exercised a certain degree of political power, which was elsewhere in the hands of the nation.²

⁷ Myv. Arch., i., p. 156. Stephens' Literature of the Kymry, p. 287, sq.

⁸ Ancient Laws of Wales, p. 84.

⁹ Howel Dda "permitted every uchelwr . . . to rule his bondsmen according to conditional bondage in South Wales, and perpetual bondage in Gwynedd."—*Ibid.*, p. 573.

¹ "The sons of Cunedda led the Cymry, and expelled the Gwyddelians from the country, making prisoners of such as had their lives spared. . . . And none of them remained in the country, except such as were made captives for ever, (*namyn a rnaed yn gaethion a hynny yn dragynydd*).—*Iolo MSS.*, pp. 522, 523, (123). Compare this with the perpetual bondage (*cathiwet tragwydanl*) of the passage cited in the preceding note.

² *Iolo MSS.*, pp. 405, 407, 478.

They were popularly believed to be the pure representatives of the Cymry as distinguished from the race which had been corrupted by an admixture of Gaelic blood ; and it seems probable that this view was at least an approximation to the truth.³ In Powys, a similar class existed under another name, and were ascribed to a like origin.⁴ We are probably to refer to the same source, the existence at an early period of certain clans, to whom peculiar immunities were granted. One of these derived its name from the conqueror of Gwynedd, Caswallawn Law Hir, and another was connected with the district of Lleyrn.⁵ The men of Arfon also enjoyed particular privileges, which were regarded as memorials of their resisting and requiting an invasion of the Strathclyde Welsh, in the time of Rhun, the son of Maelgwyn Gwynedd.⁶ We may perhaps infer from the record of this transaction, that the migrations from the north which we have traced to the fifth century were continued in the sixth, as they were certainly revived in the ninth.⁷

The date of Rhodri Mawr may be fixed as that in which the princes of Gwynedd first attained their full

³ Iolo MSS., pp. 477, 478.

⁴ *Ibid.* They were called "Gwelygorddau," as distinguished from "Llwythau."

⁵ "The three Banded Families (Teulu) of the isle of Britain: the family of Caswallawn Law Hir; the family of Rhiwallawn the son of Urien; and the family of Belyn of Lleyrn. That is, they were so named, because there was neither head nor sovereignty over them, so far as the liberty of their families and possessions reached, if they were questioned within those limits, save the jurisdiction of the country and people."—*Trioedd Ynys Prydain. Myv. Arch.*, ii., p. 62.

⁶ *Ancient Laws of Wales*, pp. 50, 51.

⁷ *Brut y Tywysogion. Myv. Arch.*, ii., p. 582. See above, p. 41.

power. By inheritance, stratagem, or conquest, they had made themselves masters of Powys on the east, and Ceredigion on the south, the latter apparently involving the sovereignty of Dyfed. The division of Wales among three of the sons of Rhodri seems to be a recognition of the ancient threefold confederation.⁸ The kings of Gwent and Morganwg resisted their aggressions, so that the three constituent sovereignties were henceforward those of Gwynedd, Powys and Deheubarth on the south, the latter including the ancient dominions of Ceredigion and Dyfed, with a vague claim over Gwent and Morganwg.⁹ Subsequently to this division, we read of petty sovereigns of Ceredigion and Dyfed,¹ (the latter term being used in its narrowest sense,) who apparently stood in an ill-defined relation to the prince paramount of Deheubarth, and occasionally resisted his power.² It is also worthy of notice that the kingdom of South Wales

⁸ It is important to remember that Anarawd, Cadell and Merfyn were not the only sons of Rhodri.

⁹ The preface to the laws of Hywel Dda is especially worthy of notice. The codes of Gwynedd and Dyfed entitle him "king of all Wales," that of Gwent merely "king of Wales," adding that he enacted the laws "when Wales was in his possession in its bounds."—*Ancient Laws of Wales*, (Record Comm.,) pp. 1, 164, 303.

¹ *E. g.*, Gwaethfoed, king of Cardigan, and Hyeidd, king of Dyfed, the latter of whom was involved in warfare with the sons of Rhodri.—*Asserius de rebb. gestt. Ælfredi*, Cf. *Annales Cambriæ Ann. cccclviii.*, (892). We also find a distinction made between two grades of kings, the Cuneddian princes of Gwynedd, Powys and Deheubarth being "crowned kings," and those of Ceredigion, Morganwg and Fferyllwg (between Wye and Severn) being "fettered." *Trioedd Ynys Prydain, Myv. Arch.*, ii., p. 64. Cf. *Iolo MSS.*, pp. 407, 408, 449, where the two princes last named are excluded from the Cuneddian confederation.

² We hear of "lords" of Dyfed down to a very late period.

now lost, for the most part, the ancient national appellation of Dyfed, which as I have said, was henceforth used in a narrower sense, and assumed that of Deheubarth or Dinefawr, having become a political rather than a national division. When the Cuneddian princes were established in it, they made continual aggressions on the domains of the Silurian princes. In the reign of Hywel Dda, its eastern limits were fixed at Crickhowel in Brecknockshire, and a continual warfare was waged between the two neighbouring powers, until the independence of Morganwg terminated with the reign of Iestyn the son of Gwrgan. It is clear that the Cuneddian princes of South Wales had been continually pressing on it, from a corresponding change which had taken place in the ecclesiastical divisions. Urban, bishop of Llandaff, writing to Pope Calixtus II. in the twelfth century, complains that the bishops of St. David's had taken from his diocese Ystrad Tywy, Gower, Kidwelly, and Cantref Bychan.³ This appears to be an ecclesiastical version of the fact that these districts, or the greater part of them, had passed from the dominion of the princes of Essyllwg into that of the Cuneddian monarchs of South Wales.

Much more might be written on this head, but to trace fully the consequences of the Cuneddian migration would be in effect to write the history of Wales. I will notice one further result, because it has lasted to the present time, and is therefore in some respects the most important, as it is the most obvious. The inhabitants of North

³ Wharton, Ang. Sac., vol. ii., pp. 678, 674. Cf. Iolo MSS., pp. 373, 374.

and South Wales are clearly two different races. Of the distinction of dialect I have spoken elsewhere; there is also a physiological difference. On this head Dr. Prichard observes:—

“In North Wales, a fair complexion and blue eyes prevail, according to the observation both of Dr. Macculloch and Mr. Price. There is probably no part of Britain where the inhabitants are less intermixed with Saxon or German blood, certainly they are much less intermixed than the South Welsh. In parts of South Wales, particularly in Glamorganshire, black eyes are very prevalent, and the hair is frequently black.”⁴

The author of the “Physical Atlas of Natural Phenomena” confirms these observations as regards the difference of complexion prevalent in North and South Wales; and hence concludes that the inhabitants of the former are not unmixed with a Teutonic, perhaps a Belgic element.⁵ Finally, I have extracted these remarks from an able article in the *Quarterly Review*. They bear closely on the subject of this paper, although they certainly do not coincide with it in detail:—

“Others again who observe how the South Wales features, after being interrupted in North Wales by an inlet of the Cimbric or more northerly type, reappear in Anglesey, may rather suspect that a reflux Gaelic wave has been thrown back from Ireland upon the north and south extremities of the Principality. This latter assumption is countenanced not only by the philological observations of E. Llwyd, but by certain Welsh traditions that fall within the historical period.”⁶

Is it too great a refinement to add, that the mutual

⁴ Physical History of Mankind, vol. iii., p. 199.

⁵ Johnston's Physical Atlas.

⁶ Quarterly Review, No. clxxiv., September, 1850.—“The Church and Education in Wales.”

antipathy which still subsists between the extremities of the Principality may be taken as an additional proof of different origin? It is certain that in earlier times a strong principle of repulsion existed in the many distinct though kindred races composing the population of Wales, which caused endless divisions and subdivisions of territory, and, working counter to the principle of political centralization, generated continual intestine wars. The language applied by M. Thierry to the inhabitants of southern Gaul, may with trifling alterations be used of the Welsh throughout the period of their independence:—

“They detested all foreigners, yet a restless turbulence, a wild passion for novelty and excitement impelled them to seek their alliance, whilst they were torn by domestic quarrels and petty rivalries between man and man, town and town, province and province. . . . Nature had given them all, all except political prudence and union, as descendants of the same race, as children of one country. Their enemies combined to destroy them, but they would not combine to love each other, to defend each other, to make one common cause. They paid a severe penalty for this.”⁷

Shall we say that this spirit is extinct yet? Does it not survive—happily in the only possible form—in the absurd local attachments, the mutual dislike, or rather the total ignoring of each other’s existence, which is still an active principle among our countrymen? Is it not conspicuous and energetic in their utter inability to combine for a patriotic, as distinguished from a national purpose, for anything in fact but to keep alive the effete traditions of a very questionable antiquity, and to re-

⁷ Norman Conquest, b. viii.

enact what they believe to be the ceremonies of ancestral heathenism ?^s

^s It may be as well to mention two or three points affecting my argument which have come under my notice during the printing of this paper. In p. 8 I said that Bullium has been identified with Builth. It is with greater probability regarded as another form of the name Burrium (*Usk*). In that case one name less has been preserved in South Wales, not one more being lost. I have also identified Stucia with the Ystwyth, after Baxter and others, (p. 7). In the map of Roman Britain lately published by the Record Commission, (*Monumenta Historica Britannica*, vol. i.,) Stucia is given as the name of the Dyfi. In that case it is to be regarded as a lost name, and rather referred to North Wales. In fact the Ystwyth is scarcely of sufficient importance to be singled out by Ptolemy, without making mention of the Dyfi and Mawddach; and it is only by considerable twisting that the names of either the Stucia or the Tuerobis can be got out of the Ystwyth and Teifi. In p. 15 I do not think that enough has been made of the testimony of Rhyddmarch to the settlement of Gael in Pembrokeshire. He describes Boia, the persecutor of St. David, as "Scottus quidam." These words are omitted by Giraldus in his *ri-facimento* of Rhyddmarch, probably because he was not aware that any Scots had ever occupied that district. The tradition then had died out by his time; and as Rhyddmarch died only half a century before the birth of Giraldus, one can hardly conceive that such a tradition would be very general in the days of Rhyddmarch. But as even in those times historians would avoid improbabilities, except in the matter of miracles, Rhyddmarch would not have said "Scottus quidam," in the plain matter-of-fact way he does, without something like earlier documentary evidence. It is therefore probable that this passage embodies a tradition of very high antiquity.

TOPOGRAPHICAL INDEX.

THE names in SMALL CAPITALS are found in, or derived from, ancient authorities, including Richard of Cirencester; those in *Italics* are names in ordinary use; and those in CAPITALS include obsolete names, with such as remain only in Welsh, or are retained as the appellations of hundreds and lordships, and are therefore unlikely to be generally known.

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Montgomeryshire : 34, 36, 38, 39.

MORGANWG, a district extending from the *Neath* to the *Ush*; here sometimes used for the whole of ESSYLLWG, q. v. : 43, 61, 62, 70, 71.

Muriau 'r Gwyddel, "The Gael's walls:" 36, 39.

Muriau 'r Gwyddelod, "The Gaels' walls:" 36, 39.

Mynydd y Gwyddel, "Gael mountain:" 35.

MYNYW, MENEVIA, MENAPIA, *St. David's* : 9, 63.

Nant y Gwyddel, "Gael brook:" 36.

Neath, NIDUM : 6.

Neath River, NEDD : 20.

NEDD, *River Neath* : 6.

Newport : 36.

New Quay : 36.

NIDUM, *Neath* : 6, 9.

North Wales, *North Welsh*, ORDOVICES and CANGANI, GWY-NEDD and POWYS : 5, 6, 7, 8, 10, 11, 12, 13, 17, 18, 21, 25, 26, 30, 33, 35, 37, 41, 43, 46, 47, 51, 52, 54, 55, 64, 68, 72.

OCTAPITARUM PROMONTORIUM, OCTORUPIUM, *St. David's Head* : 7, 9, 11.

ORDOVICES, ORDOVICIA, the people inhabiting *North Wales*, with the exception of the north-western portion: 5, 7, 11, 12, 56, 57, 65.

OSWEILLAWN, the country round *Oswestry*: 32.

Oswestry, CROESOSWALLT: 32, 33.

OTTADINI, the inhabitants of *Northumberland*, &c.; see MANAU GUOTODIN: 47.

Pant Gwyddel, "Gael dell:" 36.

Pant yr Wyddeles, "The Gael woman's dell:" 36.

Pembrokeshire, DYFED: 21, 36, 38, 39, 43.

Pentre Gwyddal, "Gael hamlet:" 35.

Pentre Gwyddel, "Gael hamlet:" 35, 37.

Plinlimon: 36, 39.

Porth y Gwyddel, "Gael port:" 35.

POWYS, a principality comprising *Montgomeryshire* and *Radnorshire*, with parts of *Flintshire*, *Denbighshire* and *Merionethshire*, and of the border counties of England: 18, 31, 33, 46, 61, 64, 69, 70.

Preseleu Mountains: 34, 36.

Radnorshire: 34, 36, 38, 39, 41, 59.

REINWG, REIN, COUNTRY OF, probably another name for DYFED, q. v.: 61, 62.

RHATOSTATHYBIUS, RHATOSTAUBIUS, TIBIA AMNIS, *Taff*: 7.

Rhayader: 36.

RHEGED, a principality extending from the *Neath* to the *Tywy*: 17, 38, 39, 41, 58.

RHUFNONIOG, a Cantref, part of *Denbighshire*: 32, 33.

RIELLWG, probably an error for SEISYLLWG, q. v.: 61.

Ross, SARICONIUM: 9.

ROSY VALE, VALLIS ROSINA, *St. David's*: 15.

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SABBINA, SABRIANA ÆST, HAFREN, *Severn*: 5, 6, 7.

Saint David's, MENAPIA, MENEVIA, MYNYW : 7, 9, 16, 58, 59, 63, 71.

SALCK : 64.

SARICONIUM, *Ross* : 9.

SEGONTIUM, *Caernarvon*, on the *Seiont* : 6, 8, 9.

SEISSYLLWG, SEISSYLLWCH, an ancient principality comprising CEREDIGION and YSTRAD TYWY : 61, 62, 67.

SETHIA ÆST, see DEVA FL. : 7.

Severn, SABRINA, HAFREN : 6, 7.

SILURES, SILURIA, SILURIAN, ESSYLLWG ; the people occupying the south-eastern part of Wales, and probably extending over the counties of *Brecknock*, *Radnor*, *Glamorgan*, *Monmouth*, and *Hereford* : 5, 8, 9, 11, 21, 36, 51, 56, 58, 65, 66, 71.

Snowdon, ERIRI MONS, ERYRI : 37.

South Wales, *South Welsh*, *the South*, SILURES and DEMETÆ, ESSYLLWG and DYFED ; sometimes used for DEHEUBARTH, q. v. : 5, 6, 7, 8, 10, 11, 30, 37, 43, 55, 56, 57, 60, 61, 62, 63, 65, 67, 68, 71, 72.

Strata Florida : 36.

STUCIA FL., *Ystwyth*, or *Dyfi* : 7, 74.

Sugarloaf : 39.

Taff, RHATOSTATHYBIUS, TIBIA AMNIS : 7, 9.

Tawe : 36.

Teifi, TURROBIS : 7, 34, 39, 44, 74.

TIBIA AMNIS, *Cardiff* on the *Taff* ; see RHATOSTATHYBIUS : 7, 9.

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TOBIUS FL., *Tywy* ; 7.

TOSSIBUS FL., CANOVIUS, TISOBIS, *Conwy* ; 9.

Towyn ; 36.

Traeth Bychan ; 39.

Traeth Maelgwyn, "Maelgwyn's strand" : 65.

Trawsfynydd, HERIRI MONS : 8.

Trewyddel, "Gael town" : 36.

Trwyn y Gwyddel, "Gael ness:" 35.

TURROBIS FL., *Teifi*; 7, 74.

Troll y Gwyddel, "Gael hole:" 36, 39.

Tywy, TOBIUS: 7, 20, 39.

TYNO COCH, afterwards CEREDIGION, q. v.: 32.

VARIS, *Bodfari*; 6, 8.

VENEDOCIA, VENEDOCIAN, see GWYNEDD: 12, 41,
60, 64.

VENTA SILURUM, *Caerwent*; 6, 9, 12.

Usk, BURRIUM, BULTRUM, &c.: 74.

Usk, River: 6, 37.

Wawn y Gwyddel, "Gael moor:" 36.

Wern y Gwyddel, "Gael alder-wood:" 36.

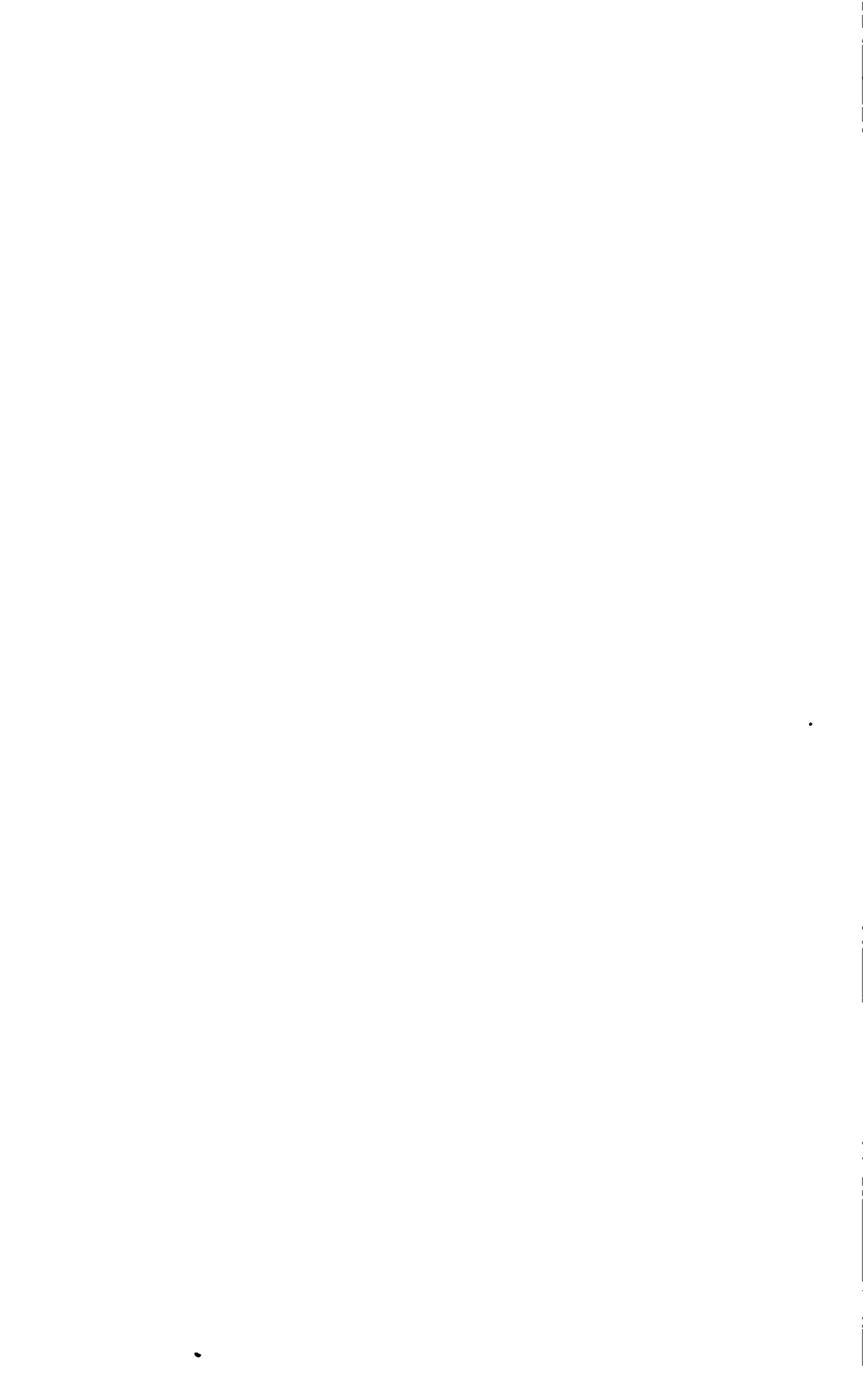
Wye, GWY: 39.

WYE AND SEVERN, the country between, see FFERYLI.WG:
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YSTRAD TYWI, "Vale of Tywy," a division including a great
part of *Caermarthenshire*; 61, 62, 71.

Ystwyth, STUOLA (?): 74.



ON THE STATE OF
AGRICULTURE,
AND THE PROGRESS OF
ARTS AND MANUFACTURES
IN BRITAIN,
DURING THE PERIOD, AND UNDER THE INFLUENCE OF,
THE DRUIDICAL SYSTEM.

BY THE
REV. JOHN JONES, M.A.,
Llanllyfni.



AGRICULTURE, ARTS, &c.

A **PASSIVE** state of subserviency to a system of religious belief, formed on the contemplation of the works of Divine Providence, and the immutable laws of nature, in the absence of revealed truths, would supply the groundwork for a state of society most favourable to the growth and cultivation of industrious habits, and peaceful pursuits; and we accordingly find that those institutions which have exercised the most beneficial influence over the moral and social condition of man, in the early stages of civilization, were of a character which united the civil and religious offices in the administration of public affairs, and the maintenance of order.

The existence of two distinct orders, religious and military—as well European as Oriental—is observable in ancient and modern times; the former in the occupation of the soil, as industrious cultivators, and the latter in a state of constant excitement, and ever intent on oppression and subjugation.

The Teutonic and Belgic portion of the Celtic race, having no druidical system of discipline to control and direct their natural propensities, and to substitute the arts of peace for the excitements of war, paid no further

attention to agricultural and commercial occupations beyond that of obtaining a bare subsistence, placing greater reliance on the sword in availing themselves of the labours of more industrious tribes, than on the ploughshare in cultivating their own resources. Without any bonds of union, or defensive expedients for the maintenance of either public or private rights, they are represented as abandoning themselves to indolence and apathy, without any better protection against foreign aggression than a broad frontier of marshes (*solitudines quam latissimæ*) to check and discourage the ardour of invasion.

Gaul, under the fostering care of Druidism, presents a more favourable aspect of human government. Under an order of priesthood entrusted with the administration of justice, the correction of abuses, and the maintenance of religious ordinances, the arts of peace are here found in a flourishing state, abundance crowning agricultural and pastoral occupations, and many of the most useful inventions in an early state of development, prior to the Roman invasion. Various mechanical arts are here found employed in the erection and defence of towns, and in the promotion of manufactures; and all classes of society arranged in the order of subordination and mutual dependence.

Gaul, however, was subject to too frequent interruptions from continental commotions, and the irruptions of warlike and hostile tribes, to become a permanent field for agricultural and commercial enterprise. The earliest annals or traditions represent the western European tribes as in a continued state of agitation and undulating

movement, each tribe pressed upon by, and receding before, another, and ultimately forced to settle itself in the extreme region of the west.

To the insular situation of Britain, under the discipline of Druidism, we may look for a more uninterrupted advancement in the arts of civilized life, and the cultivation of moral and religious truths. Protected from those disturbing causes which tended to check and retard the progressive improvements of social order—with a climate, soil and productions the most favourable to the exercise of industry and settled habits—and, at the same time, affording the strongest inducements for the adoption of mechanical agents in economising labour, and providing against the rigours of winter—here we may still trace, if not the origin, at least the early application of various arts, which became the foundation of her future fame. Here we find the druidical order, in its plenitude of power and usefulness, inculcating moral and political maxims for the guidance and advancement of the social system—encouraging inquiries into the laws of nature, and the harmony of the universe—training up the youthful aspirants for honour and places of trust in the paths of science and the study of natural philosophy, and promoting the interests of justice and humanity.

That Gaul and Britain were in a state of considerable advancement as regards the elements of science, and the progress of agriculture and commerce, at the time of the Roman invasion, may be inferred from facts of authentic history, notwithstanding the assertions of prejudiced writers, who represent the inhabitants as a rude and barbarous race. It is too much the fashion to decry, or

to pass over with indifference, facts relating to the internal condition of Britain prior to the Anglo-Saxon period, (except during the period of her subjection of Rome,) as of immaterial importance in an historical point of view. Ecclesiastical writers will hardly admit of the existence of a British Church before the mission of Augustine, and those who treat of her jurisprudence are unwilling to advance a step beyond the code of Alfred, the heptarchy being considered as the limit to such unprofitable researches.

From the history of the improvements of manufactory, and the economy of labour, as detailed by Adam Smith, it would appear that the arts connected with agriculture in Britain had either retrograded from what they were in former times, or that they never had any real existence till within a period of 400 years from the present time. His words are—"Neither wind nor water mills of any description were known in England so early as the beginning of the sixteenth century, nor, so far as I know, in any other part of Europe, north of the Alps."¹

An assertion so confidently and deliberately made by a laborious inquirer into the sources of national wealth, with ample materials to prove such a fact, if truly made, is calculated to extinguish any attempt at tracing agricultural skill to the period of Druidism. It is, however, an assertion entirely at variance with facts of authentic history; and as the number of mills in ancient times would form the best index to the state of agricultural science and labour, it becomes a material object of inquiry on the subject proposed.

¹ *Vide* Wealth of Nations, i., p. 11.

Both wind, water and fulling mills, in full operation, may be traced to a period five centuries preceding the date of their introduction according to the statement of this writer. A mere inspection of Domesday would have been sufficient to dissipate the views he entertained—a document which he refers to, though apparently ignorant of its contents. This national survey represents agricultural pursuits as engrossing the attention of the whole population of Britain; and as it refers to a previous document of the same kind, as old as the reign of Edward the Confessor, it may be assumed as representing the agricultural state of Britain during the Saxon period. Taking two of the midland counties as a specimen from Domesday, viz., the counties of Wilts and Warwick, we shall find that the former contained no less than 430 water mills, yielding about £220 per annum, and the latter 116, the rents of which varied from two shillings to £5 per annum, and produced a rental of £56.²

Had the Anglo-Saxons, the Danes, or the Normans introduced into Britain such a system of economising labour by the construction of mills with water power, the early monastic annalists and historians could hardly have failed to notice such a discovery.

During the period of the fierce struggle for superiority, in so rich a harvest as that afforded by the labours of British industry, there was no interval of repose for the

² The mill of Barchester, on the Stour, yielded 100 shillings per annum. The mill ponds were also very productive, from the sticks of eels (each containing twenty-five) which formed a portion of the terms on which they were held. They were also used in the manufacture of salt, producing a certain number of semes, or loads, when the supply of the mill dams was of a brinish nature.

adoption of improvements in domestic economy. The same objection will apply to the period intervening between the Saxon invasion and the monarchical state which succeeded the heptarchy. The continued conflicts between the native princes and their foreign rivals demanded all their energies, to the exclusion of every effort to improve their respective principalities, and the advancement of productive labour. The rural population could not have met with any material interruption in their field occupations, without serious inconvenience to both parties of belligerents, nor was there any cessation of hostilities likely to convert the Saxon sword into a ploughshare.

The Saxon chieftains knew the value of the agricultural classes, already in occupation of the soil, too well to carry fire and sword into the rural districts, and by an indiscriminate slaughter to make a sacrifice which could not be repaired for centuries, as it would have been impossible to import from the continent numbers sufficient to supply their place ; and well aware that, being released from their allegiance, the serfs of the soil must of necessity submit to the new yoke prepared for them, however galling and oppressive.

Accordingly Edgar, in addressing his nobles assembled in the year 964, congratulates them on the success of their conquest of Britain in these remarkable terms :—
“That we are in possession of this plentiful country is not owing to any strength of our own, but to the help of God’s all-powerful arm, who has been pleased to manifest His loving kindness to us.”

It is easy to account for such a feeling of gratitude on

the part of the invaders, when they found themselves in possession of the agricultural resources of a country to which they owed their existence in times of scarcity, and which required no other labour than the sword to secure to themselves in perpetuity. Britain, during her occupancy by the Roman legions, was considered one of the western granaries of the empire, which supplied the continental deficiencies in the important article of corn and other provisions. The Emperor Julian, according to his own written testimony, employed no less than six hundred vessels in the exportation of corn and flour to supply the towns and fortresses on the Rhine, about the middle of the fourth century.

The Anglo-Saxons were fully aware of the high state of cultivation which prevailed in Britain; and hence, judging from the tenor of their earliest charters in the transfer and distribution of lands, they had no occasion for either admeasurement or surveys, finding the rural districts already divided into farms, regularly arranged into arable, meadow, pasture and woodland, under limited and defined boundaries, and possessing all the requisites for employing the industry of the occupants. Such order in the arrangement of landed property required a much longer period for development than the time which intervened between the Saxon invasion and the date of these legal documents of conveyance; nor is there any evidence from which it may be inferred that this flourishing state of agriculture was the result of Roman legislation. The schools founded by Agricola about the close of the first century, were intended to create a taste for the luxuries and refinements of society, and the study of

rhetoric and grammar, and not for the promotion of scientific knowledge, or the introduction of a new system of tillage; and the porticoes which he caused to be erected in their cities were calculated to exhibit ocular proofs of the magnitude and extent of the Roman empire, and the splendour of their public buildings, and to excite a corresponding awe and reverence for the majesty and authority of the emperor.

Implements of husbandry, and every variety of wheel-carriages, were in general use before the Roman eagle visited their shores; and the water mills, by which their corn was ground, must have created as much astonishment as the war chariots which mowed down the ranks of their enemies. It is a remarkable circumstance that the first idea of a water mill was promulgated in Italy soon after the return of Julius Cæsar, and when the internal condition and resources of Britain were laid open to the ambitious views of Rome. It was during the reign of Augustus that the agency of water in grinding corn became the subject of speculation in domestic economy; and this suggestion must have derived its origin, not in the eastern part of the Roman empire, where the hand mill was the common employment of the female domestics, or a mule was attached to the upper stone—a practice which continued during several centuries of the Christian æra—but to the western portion, where improvements in handicraft may be traced from an early period, from well authenticated facts, and where, even in Ireland, to which the Romans never penetrated, the water mill was well known.³

³ Cogitosus, a native writer on the lives of the Irish Saints, who

Polydore Virgil, (*De Rerum Inventoribus*, A.D. 1499,) in noticing the superior skill displayed in applying a stream of water in grinding corn, says that it was not a late discovery, though it had no name given it by scientific writers who have treated on the subject, being vulgarly called a *molendinum*, alluding apparently to Vitruvius, who, in his work on Architecture, addressed to Augustus, particularly describes the machinery by which it might be effected, without mentioning it under the name of a mill. A Greek writer of the same Augustine period, Antipater of Thessalonica, dressed up the same idea in an epigram addressed to handmaids, in which he compliments them on a discovery which promised to relieve them from the toil and drudgery of working the corn mill. He tells them "that they may at length enjoy their slumbers, notwithstanding the announcement of the dawn of day by the crowing of the cock, inasmuch as Ceres has charged the water nymphs with the labour of setting the mills in motion, by dashing from the summit of a wheel, and making its axle revolve."

Britain was noted for the superabundant fertility of her soil, and the industry of her population, many ages before the landing of Julius Cæsar, and the character she

flourished as early as the year 590, alludes to the existence of water mills in Ireland, erected from time immemorial. The Rev. John Williams of Llanymowddwy states, on the authority of a MS. Chronicle of Iolo Morganwg, that wind and water mills superseded the use of the hand mill in Wales, A.D. 340. Llywarch Hen's allusions to gold shields and spurs, glass goblets, and other works of high art, as early as the sixth century, indicate no inconsiderable advance, as Mr. Williams further observes, on the part of the ancient Britons, in the scale of civilization and refinement.

bore was that of an agricultural and trading community. It was from hence that Gaul derived her supplies, which enabled her to contend against the legions of Rome; and the assistance thus afforded formed the leading motive for the invasion. Her internal resources could only be inferred from this circumstance, and Cæsar was utterly at a loss to ascertain the most favourable point of attack, under the strict regulations adopted by her druidical rulers, which forbade any except privileged merchants from approaching her ports and estuaries, and that only under fixed limitations.

It may be deemed preposterous to produce evidence in favour of this view of the state of Britain, when under the control of Druidism, from the records of mythology; but, as historical facts are generally found to be the basis of fabulous legends, they may be justly referred to in confirmation of facts derived from authentic sources.

The flourishing state of Britain as an agricultural district is a prominent and distinguishing feature in the earliest Grecian traditions of a mystic character, in which such allusions may be traced.

Hecatæus, an ancient writer quoted by Diodorus Siculus, represents the island as highly favoured by Apollo, and so fertile as to produce two crops of corn annually; under which type we may discern the prevailing influence of bardism, as a branch of the druidic system; and the author of the Argonautic poem describes Britain as being, in a more especial manner, the residence of Queen Ceres, from the abundance and fertility of the soil.

“Ἰνᾶ εὐρεᾶ δῶματ ἀνασσης Δημητρος.”

Strabo quotes the authority of an ancient Greek geographer in stating that the mysteries of Ceres and Proserpine were practised in some of the British Isles, after the manner of the Cabiri in Samo-thrace, by which we are to understand that the fecundity of nature in the production of the fruits of the earth was celebrated in their religious ceremonies; and that the Eleusinian mysteries, which the wisest of the heathen philosophers pronounced to be one of the greatest blessings conferred on mankind, were in some degree identical with the tenets and practices of Druidism.

The historical records and traditions which may be assumed as having been handed down from the druidical period, and which are found to harmonise with the types and allusions conveyed through the dark medium of mythology, afford the strongest presumption that the cultivation of the soil was one of the principal objects of encouragement under the sway of the Druids, and that agriculture, and the arts in connexion with it, must have attained a considerable degree of advancement under the operation of laws which, in the mystic language of the age, may justly be ascribed to the sovereignty of Ceres.

The historical and mythological character of Hu Gadarn, whom the Triads represent as retiring from the turmoils of continental disturbances, and seeking in Gaul and Britain for a less exposed region for cultivating the arts of peace and industry, seems to embody the early efforts of agricultural science and skill in promoting the ends of humanity. To him is ascribed the origin of that

social system which combined the influence of religion with the cultivation of the soil, and led to the establishment of the various orders of Druidism, with duties and offices assigned and limited to each.

During a subsequent period of the druidical æra, though at an interval not easily defined, the Moelmutian code of legislation (or that of Dyfnwal Moelmud) appears in operation, in giving increased security and efficacy to field labours. The cultivators of the soil enjoyed especial protection under laws which extended the privileges of sanctuary to the plough and the highways ; which forbade that any implements of husbandry should be seized in satisfaction for debts, or that any diminution in the number of ploughs should take place in any district, under any circumstances ; and which enacted that all proceedings of a judicial nature should be suspended during the seasons of sowing and harvesting.

In order to give due effect to such a system of legislation for the promotion of agricultural industry, it may be presumed that the whole island had been parcelled out and divided on some uniform scale, and that cantreds, commots, villas and tenements had been formed in regular order, before such laws could be enforced ; and that there were national surveys of high antiquity, for the security of individual rights, and the adjustment of public burdens. Accordingly, we find that these divisions and subdivisions of land existed from time immemorial, on the model of ancient Etruria, and that the terms by which they are designated belong to a period beyond the reach of any European annals.

Commerce and handicraft must of necessity have received a great impulse from such a state of agricultural activity and of domestic economy. The surplus productions of the soil would soon become a chief article for exportation, in exchange for other commodities with the continental tribes, whose incentives to industry must have been checked by the inroads of warlike nations, and whose population, in consequence, must have exceeded the means of subsistence. No doubt can exist but that the commercial state of Britain had attained a considerable degree of eminence before the Roman standard was planted on her soil, and that there were numerous cities⁴ and towns in the interior, and on the banks of the principal rivers, busily engaged in the various transactions and trades necessary for a community in which the mechanical arts were in a flourishing state of improvement.⁵ A nation which could exhibit such proofs of

⁴ Vespasian acquired no small renown in having brought twenty towns to subjection on the banks of the Avon and the Thames, as early as A.D. 45. London soon afterwards appears on the pages of history, within a lapse of time insufficient for erecting a city of such magnitude and importance, and to the astonishment of Rome. The profound mystery which overhung the domestic and political state of Britain under the government of the Druids was soon dissipated, and the reality was found perfectly at variance with the rumours in circulation.

⁵ Cicero, in the private correspondence he held with his friends who accompanied Cæsar in his expedition, appears to have entertained no hopes of success, inasmuch as the approaches to the harbours were fortified by enormous piers of stone work, (*mirificis molibus*,) and that which was a subject of doubt before, was now well known, viz., that there was not a scruple of silver in the whole island, or any prospect of spoil, except slaves, of whom not many could be found learned, or skilled in music. He alludes to a letter received from Cæsar, and dated in November, on the British shore, which admits

skill in the adaptation of the wheel and axle to carriages of various descriptions, as to excite the astonishment of the Romans, could not fail in availing themselves of similar expedients in facilitating agricultural labours, and improving their implements of husbandry; nor can we account for the adoption at Rome of the Celtic terms, *essedum*, *rheda*, *conbenna*, *petoritum*, &c., for the private and domestic vehicles then in use, except upon the assumption that the Britons and Gauls possessed and exercised superior skill in the fashion and construction of them.⁶

Under the guidance of a religious order endowed with great privileges and authority, who made the principles of natural philosophy and the laws of motion their chief study, and where tillage was an object of national care and encouragement, nothing could be more natural

the intended abandonment of the expedition, on the score that there were no spoils to reward the enterprise; and yet an attempt was made to impose a tribute on an island where neither gold nor silver was to be found. He moreover advises his friend Trebatius to avoid an encounter with the British armed charioteer, and to hasten his return from Britain by the first *essedum* he could meet with.—*Lit. Fam.*, vii., &c.

⁶ The British word *men* (from whence *yd-fen*, *cywain*, &c.) is the etymon of many terms for wheel-carriages. The *carrus*, for the conveyance of military stores, is considered British by Cæsar. It is remarkable that the word *rhôd* is not simply the Latin *rota*, but like the Sanscrit *rotâ*, implies both wheel and axle. The Britons were noted not only for wheel-carriages, but also for the breed and management of horses; and while the Romans borrowed from other nations their terms for horse trappings, the Britons had terms of their own, as the *awen* or *habena*, the *cebystr* or *capistrum*, *ystroden*, *genfa*, *ffrwyn*, &c.; and their *harnais*, a genuine British word, was elaborately formed and figured, as we are informed by the poet Propertius, a contemporary of Cæsar.

than the adoption of some mechanical expedient for working the mill, nor could any one occur sooner than the agency of a water course, through the medium of the wheel and axle. The breuan, or ancient British mill, is always referred to as a machine for grinding corn, set in motion by the application of some external force, and not by manual labour.⁷ One appendage to it, called "cllicied y wysgi," has been the subject of much speculation, many supposing that the moving power must have been a magnet. The term, however, clearly shows that nothing more was meant than a mill race, the clicied being a bar to check or regulate motion, and gwysg, or gwysgi, as defined by Dr. O. Pugh, implying the rush of water to find its level. The simple expedient of applying the cog wheel to the British rhôd would speedily lead to the invention and use of the water wheel. The British Triads afford direct testimony in confirming the probability that the original construction of water mills was peculiar to Britain, and the result of British ingenuity; and that it was from hence that Vitruvius derived the idea, on which he established his theory (without however putting it into practice) of a water wheel for grinding corn. One of these Triads enumerates the names of persons of the bardic or druidical profession eminent for their skill in handicraft,

⁷ The British proverbs which refer to it always represent it as having some moving mechanical power, as "tra 'r rhetto 'r ôg, rhêd y freuan," "cyrch y ci ar y freuan." The term "breuan llif," which occurs in the Welsh Laws, may imply either a grindstone, according to Dr. Pugh, or a mill race. The mill cog, by which this effect is produced, shows a British origin—*cog* implying the small billet of wood adopted for dentification.

of whom Coel ap Cyllin is said to have been the first who applied the principle of the wheel and axle to the working of the corn mill. From the same Triad we learn that Corfinwr introduced the use of the sail and rudder, and Morddal the art of using cement in masonry, or, at least, some improvements in their respective professions. Whatever authority may be allowed to these historical records, which bear the impress of Druidism, or to whatever period before the Roman invasion they refer, there can be no doubt but that the Britons in early times had distinguished themselves by their skill in ship-building, and in the erection of stone edifices, and that those terms which designate mechanical appliances, implements of husbandry, domestic utensils, &c., and which bear a strong resemblance to those of Etrurian origin, were peculiar to Britain, before she became a Roman province. It must also be admitted that whatever advancement in art, whether as regards the anvil, the loom, or the saw, may be traced among the Gauls, would apply equally to Britain, as the undisturbed seat of discipline and study, from whence scientific discoveries might be expected to emanate.

It is no less remarkable than true that most of the useful arts which sprung from agricultural industry are classed under the patronage of deified personages of a far distant age; and that most inquiries into their origin terminate in the dark regions of mythology. It is also generally admitted that the Celtic and Grecian mythology had a common origin, and that the same attributes are ascribed to the heathen deities in western Europe as in Greece. Mercury and Minerva, as the patrons of

commerce and scientific inventions, were more especially objects of veneration and regard among the western tribes, and there is no language in which their names admit of a better solution than that of the Celtic. Hence commerce and manufactures were leading objects in their system of political economy. The Britons had not only their vessels for the export and import of merchandise, but also an armed navy for protecting their trade, and for keeping the other maritime states in subjection. If the former were composed of ozers, and covered with hides, the latter were built of oak boards, with iron bolts, and furnished with chain cables.

Pliny, whose predilections induced him to attribute most of the inventions connected with agriculture to Egypt, maintains that the cultivation of flax first took place in that country, upon which he remarks—how extraordinary it was that so slender and insignificant a plant should possess the power of uniting the oriental and western nations in bonds of mutual dependance on Italy. It was not employed, however, for the purpose of navigation till long after the heroic ages, for Homer describes the sails which impelled the Greek navy to the plains of Troy as little better than a kind of matting, formed of sedge, if not of coarser material. The druidical order, like the priesthood of Egypt, was distinguished by the wearing of linen robes, from which we can safely infer that flax and hemp were articles of cultivation in Britain at the earliest period; and that they were employed by the western maritime states in the art of sailing, may be further inferred from the substitution of leather, as a

material better suited for the boisterous gales of the Atlantic.⁸

The terms belonging to the art and implements of weaving, and the peculiar form of the shuttle, as distinguished from the *radius* of the Greeks and oriental nations, are proofs of originality in the construction and use of the loom.⁹

The invigorating climate of Britain would be more favourable to the inventive faculties, under the guidance of a philosophical priesthood, than that of hotter and more enervating regions; and the manufacture of linen and woollen fabrics must have occupied the attention of the Druids from their earliest settlement in western Europe, and kept pace with the progressive stages of agricultural advancement and of productive labour. The *laina* was a Gaulish term for a woollen cassock of native manufacture, the weaving of which occupied great numbers of the population.—(*Vide* Plautus.)

The *gauna* was another species of coarse covering of wool peculiar to them, according to Varro; while the *bardo-cucullus*, or purple mantle of the bardic costume, affords another specimen of early manufacture.

After the Romans had succeeded in wresting the government of Britain from druidical sway, and in appropriating her resources to the imperial treasury,

⁸ The small rounded and hollow grit-stones, which are found in great abundance among the remains of the ancient circular habitations, were not intended for grinding corn, but for dressing flax and hemp, and worked by the hand. Hence the term "*breunaru llin a chywarch*."

⁹ The shuttle appears to be a corruption from *esgudull*, the diminutive of *esgud*, a shoe, which it resembles—*Greek*, *skyteus*.

Venta Belgarum became the emporium for supplying the imperial wardrobe and the army clothing; and such was the importance attached to the skill employed in the manufacture of sails, linen, counterpanes, &c., that the looms of the district were placed under the superintendence of an officer specially appointed for the purpose. Abundant evidence may be brought in proof that the art of dyeing, and of extracting various colours from plants and minerals, was well known to the inhabitants of western Europe, and practised, not in painting their bodies, but in the manufacture of clothing, a party-coloured vest being a peculiar costume which distinguished one of the largest provinces into which Gaul was divided. From the term *glastennen*, as applied to the holm, or scarlet oak, it may reasonably be conjectured not only that the bark was used in the process of making leather, but that the oak-dust and apple were also used as articles for dyeing, and that this was the colouring material to which Cæsar applies the term *glastum*. To the practice of dyeing may be added the fulling, or *panning*, process, as equally well known. The Greeks claim the invention on the part of Nicias of Megara, a philosopher of the Socratic school; but the pretensions of the Gauls rest on better grounds, as it is asserted by Pliny that the manufacture of soap, the most material article in the fulling process, had its origin in Gaul. The same observation will apply to the kneading trough, or the art of making bread. The invention of the bolting sieve, composed of horse hair, for purifying flour, or separating the *sil* from the husk, is attributed by Pliny to the Gauls; and the substitution of bread for gruel did not

take place at Rome till after the annexation of Gallia Narbonensis to her territorial possessions, or about 150 years before the invasion of Julius Cæsar.¹ The *popina* leads us to the brewery; and here we have ample authority for stating that the process of making a fermented liquor from barley formed a characteristic feature in the domestic economy of the Celtic tribes,² and that the Germans are entitled to the credit of adding a due proportion of the *lupulus*, or hop plant, to improve its flavour.

That the Britons adopted artificial means for increasing the fertility of the soil, and that the art of manuring land was in a considerable state of advancement before the Roman invasion, may be inferred from the agricultural terms of native origin in which the language abounds. Marl, or *mwrl*, so called from its friability, was one of the materials used by them, according to the testimony of Pliny. The use of lime as a cement shows that the

¹ The British *sil* takes precedence of the Latin *siligo*. The Roman etymologist is much puzzled as to the etymon of *popina*, which the British *pobi* would have explained. The British *tylino*, to knead, bears some analogy to *telia*, the Greek term for the kneading trough, or rather perhaps to *telinon*, the farina of the red-bearded wheat, called *brana*, formerly cultivated in Gaul, and no longer known to exist.

² Welsh ale was highly valued and in great demand during the Saxon heptarchy. The Saxon Chronicle, A.D. 852, records the grant of the villa of Sleaford, in Lincoln, for supplying the monastery of Peterborough with ten mittans of Welsh ale, or ten sextaries or quarts, as it is translated, a quantity very disproportioned to so large and productive a parish. Mittan, however, is derived from *myd*, or *mydd* and *myddi*, a capacious wooden vessel of a circular form, more of the nature of a vat or hogshead, and peculiar to the Britons. The western nations had their *casks*, when the Greeks used skins for their fermented liquors; though *Pseusippus*, a Grecian, is said to have been the first cooper.

process of calcination was well known, and applied to a variety of purposes. The manufacture of salt, and the fusion of metals, both as sources of revenue and articles of commerce, may easily be traced to the druidical period; while gold ornaments, as articles of costume for the neck and arms,³ were in high estimation among the Celts at a remote period. The great abundance of tri-coloured beads found in Britain cannot well be accounted for, except upon the supposition that the art of manufacturing them was known to the Druids. The use of the blow-pipe by which they were formed, and its resemblance to a serpent, has led to an extraordinary delusion on the subject of their production. Pliny was so far imposed upon, in having the process described to him as practised in Gaul, as to assert that they were produced by the blowing of snakes. Glain natron, or glass beads, formed by the fusion of sand and natron, (the usual ingredients,) by means of the blow-pipe, agrees so nearly in sound with glain nadron, or snake beads, as to justify the only reasonable solution of such an extraordinary phenomenon as that of the production of beads by the hissing of snakes, as attested by the Roman naturalist.

The ingenuity displayed by the Celts in their modes of warfare, which enabled them at various periods to overrun Europe, and to extend their conquests into Asia Minor, in which expeditions we have reason to infer that Britain had no inconsiderable share, proves at least that they were on a par with some of the most celebrated nations of antiquity. In their adoption of inflammable

³ The Latins borrowed the term *monile*, for a necklace, from the Celtic *mwnwg-dlws*, or ornament for the *mwnwg*, or neck.

balls for setting fire to the enemy's entrenchments, and in the application of moveable iron shields for subterranean operations in undermining their outworks, as described by Cæsar, we may discern a gradual approach to the destructive elements of modern warfare ; while the invention of the rudder, (Greek, *ρῦτηρ*, habena,) and the double pronged anchor, by the early navigators of the Western or Hyperborean Sea, and introduced from thence into Greece by Anacharsis, above five centuries before the Christian æra, present historical facts of equal importance to those already enumerated ; all of them tending to confirm the doubt entertained by Aristotle, whether to ascribe the origin and progress of the useful arts and sciences to the sages of western Europe, or to the light of oriental philosophy.

A
GLOSSARY OF TERMS
USED FOR
ARTICLES
OF
BRITISH DRESS AND ARMOUR.

BY THE
REV. J. WILLIAMS, M.A., (AB ITHEL,)
Llanymowddwy.

A GLOSSARY, &c.

A.

ACHEN—A coat of arms. It has a particular reference to the lineage of the bearer.

“The long-mane dragon’s *achen* we view,
And see the brightening silver hue.”

*Iolo Goch, 1370–1420, relative
to the arms of Mortimer.*

ACHRE—A raiment peculiar, as it would appear from the etymology of the word, to a person of gentle birth.

ACHRIS—This seems to be a similar description of covering.

ADFACH—The beard of a dart, or hook.

ADOEW, called also **GOTOEW**—a spur. Llywarch Hen, in the sixth century, speaking of the battle of Llongborth, in which Geraint ab Erbin was slain, says that he saw there the “quick-impelling *gotoew* ;” and he relates of one of his own sons that he wore “the golden *gotoew*.” Iolo Goch describes Mortimer as having “golden *gotoew* ;” and O. ab Ll. Moel, 1430–1460, compliments some one by saying that he “ought to have golden *gotoew*.”

AERBAR—The spear of slaughter.

AERWY—A collar or chain. In ancient times it was a badge of distinction, worn by warriors.

“A golden *aerwy* will be sent to some slaughter,
On his goodly neck, bright and fresh.”

G. ab Ieuan Hen, A.D. 1460.

In the institution of the Round Table, established by Rhys ab Tewdwr in the eleventh century, the ribbon, which the bards wore on their arm, just below the shoulder joint, indicative of their several degrees, was designated *aerwy* and also *amrwy*. The armlet of the Druid-bard was white; that of the Privileged-bard sky-blue; and that of the Ovate green; whilst the aspirant or disciple wore one which exhibited a combination of these three colours. When the bards had abandoned the general use of their official robes, the *aerwy* was “considered of equal value, and representing the same honour with the entire dress.”—(*Iolo MSS.*, p. 633.)

AES—A buckler or target, carried in the left hand, or on the left arm, which were hence denominated, respectively, “*llaw aswy*,” and “*braich aswy*,” *i. e.*, the shield hand or arm. The heroes of the Gododin are represented by Aneurin as “armed with the *aes*.” From that poem we also learn that the *aes* was sometimes made of wood:—

“When Cydywal hastened to battle, he raised the shout,
With the early dawn he dealt out tribulation,
And left the *splintered aesawr* scattered about.”

The original is “*aesawr dellt*.” It is not quite clear whether the expression refers to the formation of the *aes* as being composed of laths, or merely to its shat-

tered condition ; neither view, however, would militate against the fact of its material being wood. But we find that it was also made of steel. Thus Prydydd y Moch, 1160–1220, says of Gruffydd ab Cynan that

“ He formed the sudden conflict in the protection of an *aes of steel*.”

Nor was it always light ; for the Prydydd Bychan, 1210–1260, speaks of Meredydd ab Owain as armed with

“ A broken, red, *heavy aes*.”

The *aes* was doubtless the same with the *aspis*, which both Herodian and Dion Cassius represent as being used by the Britons.

ALBRYs—The catapulta, or the cross-bow.

“ Send through him from the *albrys* another wound.”

Dafydd ab Gwilym, 1330–1370.

In the Armorican dialect this instrument is similarly called “*albalastr* ;” and as there was no extensive intercourse between the Welsh and Bretons subsequently to the sixth century, we may fairly date words, this among others, which are common to the languages of both people, at least as early as that era.

ALFARCH—A spear.

AMADRWY—A purple about a woman’s gown ; the train or trail of a gown.

AMAERWY—A hem, a skirt, a border, welt or guard about a coat or gown, a fringe of a garment, a selvedge. Taliesin, in the sixth century, speaks of a “ silver *amaerwy*.”

AMBAIS—A safeguard ; a kind of woman’s riding dress.

AMDAWD—Raiment.

“ He was the stately Owain, sure pledge of baptism,
Wearing an *amdaud* of cerulean hue.”

Gwalchmai, 1150–1190.

AMDE—A covering. It seems to have been a mark of honour ; for Taliesin thus alludes to it :—

“ He that knows the ingenious art
Which is hid by the discreet ovate,
Will give me an *amde*,
When he ascends from the gate.”

And elsewhere he represents the prince of Rheged as

“ The chief of men, and the *amde* of warriors.”

AMDO—A covering on all sides. It commonly signifies a shroud or winding-sheet.

AMDORCH—An encircling wreath.

AMDRWS—A garment that covers all round, from “trws,” a trowse.

AMGLWM—A clasper.

AMLAW—A glove.

“ A steel *amlaw* round the shaft of his dart.”

Lewis Mon, 1480–1520.

AMORCHUDD—A cover on all sides.

AMRWYM—A bandage.

AMWE—A selvedge, or skirting.

AMWISG—A covering ; it commonly signifies a shroud.

“ The gallant chief, not un conspicuous
Was his steel *amwisg*, among the brave.”

D. ab Edmund, A.D. 1450.

ARCHEN—A shoe.

“ In the month of December dirty is the *archen*,
Heavy is the ground—the sun seems drowsy.”

Ancwrin, 510–560.

ARCHENAD—The same as the preceding.

“ In the month of May,
Merry is the old man without *archenad*.”

Aneurin.

From this extract it appears that our ancestors occasionally, in the summer at least, went about without shoes. In the Laws of Hywel Dda, it is decreed that the chamber-maid of the palace should have, amongst other things, the queen's old *archenad*. The same laws provide, moreover, that the watchman and the woodman should be supplied respectively with *archenad* at the king's expense. Kilhwch, one of the heroes of the Mabinogion, is described as having “ precious gold, of the value of three hundred kine, upon his *archenad*, and upon his stirrups, from his knee to the tip of his toe.”

ARCHRE—Raiment; clothes.

ARCHRO—Clothes; dress.

ARF—A weapon.

“ There are three lawful *arfau*: a sword, a spear, and a bow with twelve arrows in a quiver. And every man of family is required to have them ready, with a view to withstand any invasion which may be caused by the forces of the border country, or of aliens, and other depredators. And *arfau* are not to be allowed to any one who is not a native Cymro, or an alien in the third degree, for the purpose of preventing treason and waylaying.—*Laws of Dyfnwal Moelmud*, B.C. 430.

ARFEILYN—Sashoons, a kind of leather bandages for the small of the leg, used for preserving boots from wrinkling.

ARFWLL—The name of the sword of Trystan, a chieftain of the sixth century.

ARGLWYDDWIALEN—A rod of dominion; a sceptre. Hence a feme covert is said in the Welsh Laws to be under a “matrimonial *arglwyddwialen*.”

ARLEN—A covering veil.

ARLOST—The stock or shaft of a weapon; the butt end.

“The knight passed the *arlost* of his lance through the bridle rein of my horse.”—*Lady of the Fountain*, p. 49.

AROLO—A covering, or a shroud.

“I also hastened with *aroloedd* (*shrouds*) for the Angles; Lamentations were in Lloegria along the path of my hand.”
Gwalchmai, 1150–1190.

ARWISG—Upper garment.

ARWYDD—An ensign, banner, or colours; a tabard; *Arm.* “Argoedd.” Hywel Foel, 1240–1280, describes Owain Goch’s colours as of fine linen, “bliant arwyddion.” In the “Dream of Rhonabwy” we read of a troop of men having “arwyddion (*banners*) which were pure white with black points.” And in “The Lady of the Fountain,” a knight is introduced with an “arwydd (*a tabard*) of black linen about him.”

ARWYLLWISG—Mourning dress.

ASAFAR—A shield, or buckler. “There were *asafeiriai*d (shield bearers) and infantry innumerable.”—*H. Car. Mag.*—*Mabinogion*.

ASANT—A shield.

ASETH—A kind of small darting spear.

ATTRWS—A second dress, or garment.

ATTUDD—A second cover, or casing.

B.

BALAWG—The tongue of a buckle; a fibula; the flap of the breeches; an apron. In the “Mabinogi” of H. Peredur we read of “a knight bearing the armorial badge of a *balawg* (a fibula).” Likewise, in the “Dream of Rhonabwy,” a knight is described as having on his belt “a clasp of ivory, with a *balawg* of jet black upon the clasp;” another, as having “a jet black *balawg* upon a buckle formed of the bone of the sea-horse;” and a third, as having “a *balawg* of yellow gold upon a clasp made of the eyelid of a black sea-horse.”

BANER, OF BANJAR, from *ban*, (high or aloft)—A banner or ensign, on which the chieftain’s arms were emblazoned.

“When the generous of the line of Llewelyn comes,
With his *baner* of red and of yellow,
Eager to destroy and to conquer,
He shall in truth possess the border land of Cynfyn.”

Goronwy Ddu, 1320–1370.

The Herbert banner is thus described by Lewis Glyn Cothi, 1430–1470 :—

“Three lions argent are upon his *baner*,
Three rampant on a field of the rule of R.¹
Bundles of arrows, numerous as the stars,
Form his badge of honour.”

The banner was sometimes hoisted on a proper staff called *manawyd*, mentioned in the “Gododin,” and sometimes also on a lance called *paladr*, as we find in the “Dream of Rhonabwy.”

¹ *I. e.*, red or gules.

BANGAW—The bandage of honour.

BARDDGWCCWLL—A hood of sky blue, which the privileged Bard wore on all occasions that he officiated, as a graduated badge or literary ornament. This habit was borrowed from the British Bards by the Druids of Gaul, and from them by the Romans, who called it Bardocucullus or the Bard's Cowl.—(See *James' Patriarchal Religion, &c.*, p. 75.)

“Gallia Santonico vestit te *bardocucullo*,
Cercopithecorum penula nuper erat.”

Mart., 14, 128.

BARF—A beard. The Ancient Britons are said to have worn their beard on the upper lip only. The *barf* was looked upon as a sign of manliness, hence Llywarch Hen observes,—

“Cynddylan, thou comely son of Cyndrwyn,
It is not proper that a *barf* should be worn round the nose
By a man who was no better than a maid.”

Elegy on Cynddylan ab Cyndrwyn.

And of such importance was it to preserve the honour of the beard, that “to wish disgrace upon his *barf*” was one of the three causes for which the Welsh Laws empowered a man to inflict personal castigation upon his wife. Llywarch Hen thus alludes to the disgrace of beards :—

“When God separates from man,
When the young separates from the old,
Forgive to the flyer the disgrace of *barfau*.”

BARFLE—The crest of a helmet, or beaver.

“And behold Gwrlas, prince of Cornwall, with his legion drawing near to them, and dispersing the Saxons; and what

did Eidol then do, under such encouragement, but took Hengist by the *barfle* of his helmet, and brought him amongst his legion, and cried with all his might, 'Bear down the Saxons under foot.'"—*Gr. ab Arthur*.

BARYFLEN, or BARYWLEN—The upper part of a shield. Cynon, in the "Lady of the Fountain," thus describes the mode whereby he protected himself from a terrible shower of hailstones:—

"I turned my horse's flank towards the shower, and placed the beak of my shield over his head and neck, while I held the *barywlen* over my own head; and thus I withstood the shower."

BER—A spear, or a pike. This is frequently mentioned by Aneurin as one of the weapons of the heroes of Gododin. It was regarded as something similar to the lance alluded to in St. John, xix., 34; for Taliesin, in his "Ode on the Day of Judgment," represents our Saviour as addressing his crucifiers thus:—

"To you there will be no forgiveness,
For piercing me with *berau*."

BERAES—A buckler; a short shield.

BERLLYSG—A truncheon. According to the Welsh Laws, the usher of the hall had to carry a *berllysg*, in order to clear the way before the king.

"The door-keeper ought to clear the way for the king with his *berllysg*, and whatever man he may strike at arm's length with his *berllysg*, should such seek for redress, he ought not to have it."

The etymology of the word intimates that his official wand was but of a short size.

BLIANT—Fine linen, as cambric or lawn. This word is

of frequent occurrence in the poems and Mabinogion. Thus we read of "a table cloth of *bliant*," and of a "gown or coat of *bliant*." *Prydydd y Moch*, 1160-1220, thus speaks of Llewelyn ab Iorwerth:—

"A man resisting reproach, powerful in opposing Lloegr
Is Llewelyn, when he is about to march
Before the covering of the shower of royalty,
Clad in green and white *bliant*."

BLIF—A warlike engine to shoot stones out of; a catapult.

"Battering with the *blif*, like a torrent,
The stones of the gloomy walls of Berwick Castle."

Iolo to Edward III.

BODRWY—A ring worn on the thumb, as we infer from the etymology of the word, viz., *bawd-rhwy*.

BOGEL—A boss.

"The man who was in the stead of Arawn struck Hafgan on the centre of the *bogel* of his shield, so that it was cloven in twain."—*Mab. Pwyll prince of Dyfed.*

BOGLWM—*Id.*, "Boglwm tarian," the boss of a shield.

BOLLT—A bolt, dart, or quarrel, shot out of an engine.

BOREUWISG—A morning dress.

BOTAS—A buskin; also a boot. The value of *botasau cynnyglog*, (plated greaves,) is estimated in the Laws of Hywel Dda at fourpence.

BOTWM—A button; a boss. Dafydd ab Gwilym calls hazel nuts—

"The pretty *botymau* of the branches of trees."

BOTH—The boss of a buckler.

BRAS—A cross-bow.

"The swift comes from the *bras*."—*Adage.*

BRASLIAIN—A coarse linen cloth.

BRAT—A clout or rag. Pwyll, when disguised as a beggar, was clad “in heavy *bratiau*, and wore large clumsy shoes upon his feet.”—*Pwyll prince of Dyfed*.

BREICHLWS—An ornament for the arm; a bracelet.

BREICLED—*Id.*

BREICLEDR—A bracelet; a leather band for the arm.

It seems to have been worn by bowmen, for Lewis Glyn Cothi, in describing the kind of bow he should wish to have, and the manner in which he should handle it, adds in connexion therewith,—

“I will wear a *breichledr*, if I can,
Of gold or of silver.”—P. 374.

BREICHRWY—A bracelet, worn by distinguished persons of both sexes.

“*Breichrwyau* of gold were round his arms, a profusion of golden rings on his hands, and a wreath of gold round his neck, and a frontlet of gold on his head, keeping up his hair, and he had a magnificent appearance.”—*Dream of Maxen Wledig. Mabinogion*.

“Greatly am I made to blush by her that is the colour of the twirling eddies of the wave,

When her breast receives the reflection of the *breichrwy*.”

Cynddelw, 1150–1200, to *Efa*, daughter of
Madaug prince of Powys.

Breichrwy was another name for the bardic armlet, which, in the Institutes of the Round Table, was called *amrwy* and *aerwy*.—(See *Aerwy*.)

In the Laws of Hywel Dda there is no fixed value attached to the *breichrwy*, but it is directed that it should be appraised upon oath.

BRENINWISG—A royal robe.

BRETHYN—Cloth; woollen cloth. Mention is made in the “Dream of Rhonabwy,” of a “page having two stockings of thin greenish yellow *brethyn* upon his feet;” and in “Pwyll prince of Dyfed,” of a “horseman upon a large grey steed, with a hunting horn about his neck, and clad in garments of grey *brethyn*, in the fashion of a hunting garb.”

BRETHYNWISG—A woollen garment. According to the Laws of Hywel Dda, the officers of the royal court were to receive their *brethynwisg* from the king at the festivals of Christmas, Easter, and Whitsunday.

BRITHLEN—Attas.

BRONDOR—A breast-plate; also a shield. Cynddelw represents Owain Cyfeiliog as having a *brondor* in both senses of the word.

“A strong *brondor* (breast-plate) has the over-daring one, who habituates the packs of wolves

To tread upon the dead carcasses of the plain.”

“Terror arises from the din of the blue sea, and a tumult
From the brave with the quick moving *brondor* (shield).”

BRONEG—A breastplate; a stomacher.

BRONFOLL—*Id.*

BRONGENGL—A corslet; a poitrel or breast-leather for a horse. The *brongengl*, as a part of horse-gear, is mentioned in the Laws of Hywel Dda.

BRONGLWM—A breast-knot.

BRWG—A covering.

BRYCAN—A rug, blanket, or coverlet; also a clog, brogue, or large shoe, to wear over another. The following extracts refer to it in its former acceptation:—

“The three essentials of a genuine gentleman; a *brycan*, a

harp, and a cauldron ; and they are his prime portion.”—*Laws of Dyfnwal Moelmud.*

“ Three things which are not to be shared with another ; a sword, a knife, and a *brycan* ; for the owner will keep them by right of law.”—*Ib.*

In case of separation between man and wife, when the property is to be divided, the husband is, by the Laws of Hywel Dda, entitled to the *brycan*. In the same code the *brycan* of a freeholder is valued at sixty pence.

In the “ Dream of Rhonabwy,” we are presented with this description of a couch in a peasant’s house :—

“ It (the couch) seemed to be made but of a little coarse straw full of dust and vermin, with the stems of boughs sticking up therethrough, for the cattle had eaten all the straw that was placed at the head and the foot ; and upon it was stretched an old russet coloured *brycan*, threadbare and ragged ; and a coarse sheet, full of slits, was upon the *brycan* ; and an ill-stuffed pillow, and a worn out cover, upon the sheet.”

BRYCH—A rough, streaked, or spotted covering ; a tartan, or plaid.

“ Apud plures extat authores Gallos vestimentis quibusdam usos fuisse, quæ *Brachas* patrio sermone dixerunt ; hæc et nostris Britannis communia fuisse docet Martialis versiculus,—
‘ Quam veteres *Brachæ* Britonis pauperis.’”

Camden.

BRYSYLL, or BRYSGYLL—A truncheon ; a mace, or sceptre.

A *brysyll*, in the hands of a religious man, appears as one of the most primitive objects which the Britons used to swear by ; thus we are informed in the Laws of Dyfnwal Moelmud that—

“There are three relics to swear by; the *brysyll* of the minister of religion (golychwydwr), the name of God, and hand joined in hand; and these are called hand relics. There are three other modes of swearing; a declaration upon conscience, a declaration in the face of the sun, and a strong declaration by the protection of God and His truth.”—*Triad*, 219.

In the same Laws we also have the following:—

“There are three blows which a lord may administer upon his subject in the exercise of his rule; one with his *brysyll*, viz., his official rod, one with the flat of his sword, and one with the palm of his hand.”—*Triad*, 202.

The *brysyll* was also one of the insignia of the bards, and “it denoted privilege; and where there was a sitting in judgment, it was not right to bear any insignia except the *brysyll*.”—*Iolo MSS.*, p. 634.

BWA—A bow. (See *Arf*.)

“Better the use of the sickle than the *bwa*.”—*Aneurin*.

The value of a *bwa*, with twelve arrows, is estimated in Hywel Dda's Laws at fourpence. The *bwa* was generally made of yew; yet we read in the “Lady of the Fountain” of “an ivory *bwa*, strung with the sinews of the stag,” and in Lewis Glyn Cothi of “steel *bwaau*.” In a tale, written apparently in the fourteenth century, Gwgan the Bard longs to have “a bow of red yew in his hand, ready bent, with a tough tight string, and a straight round shaft, with a compass-rounded nock, and long slender feathers fastened on with green silk, and a steel head, heavy and thick, and an inch across, of a green blue temper, that would draw blood out of a weathercock.” (See *Lady of the Fountain. Notes*.)

It was customary to gild bows in the fourteenth century, as the following lines of Dafydd ab Gwilym testify :—

“ The vilest *bwa* that e'er was framed of yew,
That in the hand abruptly snaps in two,
When all its faults are varnished o'er with gold,
Looks strong, and fair, and faultless, and—is sold.”—*Ibid.*

BWCCLED—A buckler. *Arm.* Bouclezer.

BWYELL—An axe, or hatchet. There were several sorts of *bwyell*; such as *bwyell lydan*, a working hatchet; *bwyell hir*, and *bwyell gynnud*, an axe to fell timber; *bwyell arf*, *arf-fwyell*, and *bwyell ennilleg*, a battle-axe.

In the Laws of Hywel Dda the *bwyell lydan* is valued at fourpence; the *bwyell cynnud* at twopence; the *bwyell arf*, or *bwyell ennilleg* at twopence; and the *bwyell fechan* (small axe) at one penny.

The king's woodman was entitled to protection as far as he could throw his *bwyell*.—*Welsh Laws.*

The socket of a *bwyell cynnud* was one of the three things which the palace smith was obliged to make gratuitously for the use of the royal household.—*Ibid.*

The king could demand a man, a horse, and a *bwyell* to make tents with, from every township under villain soccage tenure.—*Ibid.*

In the division of goods between man and wife, the former claimed the *bwyell cynnud*, and the latter the *bwyell lydan*.—*Ibid.*

That the *bwyell* was used as a weapon of war in the sixth century, appears from the following triad :—

“ The three accursed *bwyellawd* (battle-axe strokes) of the

Isle of Britain; the *bwyellawd* of Eiddyn on the head of Aneurin, the *bwyellawd* on the head of Iago the son of Beli, and the *bwyellawd* on the head of Golyddan the bard."

The *bwyell* is reckoned as one of the insignia of the Bards:—

"The *bwyell* is the symbol of science and of its improvement; and the bards of Glamorgan bear it through privilege of the chair: and the *bwyell* has privilege, viz., the person who bears it by warrant of the judgment of the chair, is authorised to show improvement in knowledge and science before the chair and *gorsedd*; and he has precedence in that, and his word is warranted."—*Iolo MSS.*, p. 633.

C.

CADACH—A piece of cloth; a kerchief; a swaddling clout.

"Caeo is famous for its thorny hedges,
Its clamour and fleas, and the prosecution of thieves,
The selling of goats upon credit, its trees,
And its variegated *cadachau*."

Characteristics of parts of Wales (Mediæval).
Apud Myv. Arch., i., p. 541.

CADAS—A kind of stuff, or cloth.

"A robe of silk and *cadas*."—*D. ab Gwilym*.

"Not in precious gold, nor *cadas*,
A troublesome load, but in a pale covering."

S. Ceri, 1520.

CADBAIS—A coat of mail; a corslet. Llywarch Hen represents Caranmael as wearing the *cadbais* of Cyn-ddylan on the field of battle.

“ When Caranmael put on the *cadbais* of Cynddylan,
And lifted up and shook his ashen spear,
From his mouth the Frank would not get the word of peace.”

Elegy on Cynddylan.

CADFAN—The martial horn; from *cad* (a battle) and *ban* (loud).

CADFWYELL—A battle-axe. See *Bwyell*.

CADGORN—The horn of battle. It would appear from the following passage that drinking-horns were, occasionally at least, used as such:—

“ A baron—

The shrill blower of *cadgyrn*, the ample mead horns.”

Llyw. Ben Turch, 1450–1480.

CADSEIRCH—War harness. One of the chiefs of Gododin

“ Supported martial steeds, and *cadseirch*,

Drenched with gore on the red-stained field of Cattræth.”

Aneurin.

CADWAEW—A war lance.

CADWEN—A chain; a bandage.

CADWY—A rug; a covering.

CADWYN—A chain. It was of gold, and worn by warrior chiefs. Thus Llywarch Hen describes Cynddylan prince of Powys, as—

“ Cynddylan, eminent for sagacity of thought,

Cadwynawg (wearing the chain), foremost in the host,

The protector of Tren, whilst he lived.”

Elegy on Cynddylan.

CAE—A ring; a necklace; an ornamental wreath. Some of the chiefs of Gododin were decked with a *cae*.

“ *Caeog* (adorned with his wreath) was the leader, the wolf of the holme,

Amber beads in ringlets encircled his temples.”—*Aneurin.*

One of the Mabinogion, describing Elen, daughter of Eudaf, and sister of Cynan Meiriadog, says of her,—

“The maid was clothed in robes of white silk, and her bosom was decked with *caeau* of ruddy gold.”—*Dream of Maren Wledig*.

In another of these tales the dress of Owain, the son of Urien, is thus described :—

“The next day at noon Owain arrayed himself in a coat, and a surcoat, and a mantle of yellow satin, upon which was a broad band of gold lace; and on his feet were high shoes of variegated leather, which were fastened by golden *caeau* in the form of lions.”—*Lady of the Fountain*.

A *Cae* was to be valued on oath.—*Myv. Arch.*, iii., p. 424.

CAEAD—A clasp. A young page in the Tale of “Rho-nabwy” had “over his hose, shoes of parti-coloured leather, fastened at the insteps with golden *caeadau*.”—P. 407.

CAERAWG—This epithet, applied to a particular kind of cloth, signifies “kersey-woven,” and is so used because of the similitude of the texture to the work in stone walls, the primary meaning of *caerawg* being mural. Lady Charlotte Guest has, in the subjoined passage, translated it by the term “diapered,” which she considers as more appropriate in reference to satin, and which Warton (*Eng. Poe.*, ii., 9, 1824) believes properly to signify “embroidering on a rich ground, as tissue, cloth of gold,” &c.

“On Whit Tuesday, as the king sat at the banquet, lo! there entered a tall, fair-headed youth, clad in a coat and a surcoat of *caerawg* satin, and a golden-hilted sword about his

neck, and low shoes of leather upon his feet."—*Geraint ab Erbin*.

CALCH—Enamelled armour. It is a word of frequent occurrence in the Welsh poems, *e. g.* :—

“Sweetly sang the birds on the fragrant blossomed apple tree,
Over the head of Gwen, before he was covered with sod.
He used to fracture the *calch* of old Llywarch !”

Ll. Hen on Old Age.

“They shattered the *calch* on the faces of Cyndrwynwyn’s sons.”
Meigant, 600–650.

“The wrathful blade would slay,
The azure tinted *calch* would gleam.”—*Cynddeho*.

CALCHDO, and **CALCHDOED**—An enamelled covering ; painted armour.

“Violent was the destruction of the flank and front of the towns,
And the breaking of the *calchdoedd* of the land on the third day after.”
Meilyr, 1120–1160.

CAP—A cap.

CAPAN—A cap, or hat. Myrddin Wyllt (530–600) thus addresses a person bearing the name of Yscolan, (*q.* St. Columba ?) :—

“Black is thy steed—black thy *capan*,
Black thy head—thyself art black,
Black thy pate—art thou Yscolan ?”

Myv. Arch., i., p. 132.

We read in the Welsh Laws that

“The king gave to the church of Menevia two choral *capanau* of velvet.”

Also,—

“The head groom is entitled to the king’s pluvial *capanau*,

and his old saddles of the colour of their wood, and his old cast off bridles, and his old cast off spurs."

In the same Laws we find that a *capan dinesig* (a civil cap) is valued at twenty-four pence.

CARAI—A bandage, or lace; a thong. *Carai Esgid*, a shoe-latchet. *Esgidiau Careiawg*, or shoes having latches, are estimated in the Laws of Hywel Dda at twopence.

CARDDAGL—A skirt.

CARN—The haft, or hilt of a weapon.

"She opened a wooden casket, and drew forth a razor, whose *carn* was of ivory, and upon which were two rivets of gold."—*Lady of the Fountain*.

CARNIAL—A shoe sole.

CARP—A clout, a rag. In reference to our blessed Saviour's nativity, Madawg ap Gwalter (A.D. 1250) observes,—

"Instead of fine linen
About His bed, were seen *carpiaw*."

Myv. Arch., i., p. 406.

CASMAI—A set of ornaments.

"Around him were *casmai*,
And the flowers of the charming branches of May."

D. ab Gwilym.

CASUL—A casula, or chasuble; the priest's vestment. Taliesin, probably in his character of Druid, says of himself,—

"I have been the weigher of the falling drops,
Dressed in my *casul*, and furnished with my bowl."

Myv. Arch., i., p. 31.

CAW—A band, or wrapper. CAWIAU—Swaddling clouts.

“The bard’s armet is worn on the arm, below the shoulder joint, and in Gwynedd it was anciently called *Caw*, as also in Deheubarth, and often in Glamorgan it was so called likewise; therefore the bard was called the Bard *Caw* [or the Bard of the band], after he had received the order of the Pen Cerdd [or the Chief of Song], and the three Beirdd *Caw* included the Privardd [Chief Bard], the Ovydd [Ovate], and the Derwyddvardd [or the Druid Bard], otherwise called Privardd, or Bardd Glâs, Arwyddvardd or Gwyn Vardd, [the Bard of the Sign, or the White Bard,] and the Bargadvardd and Cylvardd.”—*Iolo MSS.*, p. 632.

CEDAFLLEN—A napkin.

CEITLEN—A smock frock.

CETHRAWR—A pike. It was a weapon used in the battle of Cattraeth, in the sixth century.

“The envious, the fickle, and the base.

Would he tear and pierce with a *cethrawr*.”—*Gododin*.

It cannot be the same as the “*brevis cetra*,” which, according to Tacitus, formed a part of the armour of the ancient Britons, and which is described as a shield or target made of leather, very light, and of a circular form. A *cethrawr* is valued in the Welsh Laws at fourpence.

CEWYN—A small bandage; a clout.

CIGWAIN—A flesh-fork; also a spear used for hunting purposes. Thus we read of one of the heroes of *Gododin*,—

“As many as thy father could reach,
With his *cigwain*,
Of wild boars, lions, and foxes,
It was certain death to them all, unless they proved too
nimble.” *Aneurin*.

It was likewise used as a military weapon. For instance, Cynddelw thus observes of Owain Gwynedd,—

“A prosperous lord, ruddy was his *cigwain*.”

The domestic *cigwain* of a king was estimated at twenty-four pence; that of a *freeholder* at twelve pence.

CLEDD, CLEDDEU, and CLEDDYF—A sword. The *cleddyf* was one of the three lawful arms (see *Arf*). In the old Law Triads, the value of a white-hilted *cleddyf* is twenty-four pence; if it be brittle-edged (hardened), sixteen pence; and, if it has a round handle, twelve pence. According to the code, which was revised and settled by Hywel Dda, a brittle-edged *cleddyf* is valued at twelve pence; a round-hilted one at sixteen pence; and the white-hilted one at twenty-four pence. In Roman times the northern Britons used very large swords, *ingentes gladii*.—See *Tacitus*.

Lewis Glyn Cothi has written a poem to beg a *cleddyf* from Dafydd ab Gutyn, from which we may learn what were looked upon in his days as the essentials of a good sword. The following are the lines which bear more immediately upon the subject; and, as it would be difficult to convey the full and precise meaning of the author through the medium of a translation, we shall give them in their original dress:—

“Y mae 'n ei gylch, er mwyn ei gil,
 Dwrn byr mor durn a baril;
 Y mae pais o'r garnais gwyn,
 A chramp mal cylch ar impyn;
 Mae gwregys fforchog gogam,
 A chrys o goed a chroes gam;

Wrth y groes, wedi'r weithiaw,
 Y mae yn lled i'm no llaw ;
 Mae blaen arno fo yn fain
 Fal nodwydd neu flaen adain ;
 Blaen yw fal diflaen y dart,
 Dur awchus yw o drichwart ;
 Croes wen rhag rhyw was annoeth,
 Croes naid, o'i uncrys yn noeth ;
 Llain las wrth ddarllen ei liw,
 Llen wydr fal ellyn ydyw ;
 Goleu yw hwn fal bagl hir,
 A gloew ydyw fal glodir ;
 Lleiddiad fal cylllell Iuddew,
 A thra llym fal ysgythr llew."—V. iii.

We read in the "Mabinogion" of a "three-edged *cleddyf*."—*Dream of Rhonabwy*, p. 407.

The *cleddyf* hung on the left side of the bearer ; hence the word *cledd* signifies both a sword and the left hand ; also, the north, from its being on the left of a person looking eastward, even as the *deheu*, or south, is on his right.

CLOS—A pair of breeches.

CLWPA—A club.

"Geraint followed the giants, and overtook them. And each of them was greater of stature than three other men, and a huge *chwpa* was on the shoulder of each."—*Geraint ab Erbin*, p. 130.

Dau wr a chwpa, the play of cat and trap.

CLWT—A clout ; a piece of cloth.

"A *clwt* is better than a hole."—*Adage*.

CNAP—A boss ; a button.

"A little way from them, I saw a man in the prime of life, with his beard newly shorn, clad in a robe and a mantle of

yellow satin ; and round the top of his mantle was a band of gold lace. On his feet were shoes of variegated leather, fastened by two *cnapan* of gold."—*Lady of the Fountain*.

COB—A cloak ; a mantle ; a cope.

COCHL—A mantle, probably, as we infer from the etymology of the word, of a red colour.

COD—A bag, or pouch ; a wrapper.

“ If thou shouldest go to the region of the south,
Thou wilt be like the badger in a *cod*.”—*D. ab Gwilym*.

The origin of the game of “Badger in the *Cod*” is described in the Mabinogi of Pwyll prince of Dyfed.

COESARN—A boot.

COLER—A collar.

CORDWAL—Leather. It occurs in the Mabinogion, and is there evidently intended for the French Cordouan or Cordovan leather, which derived its name from Cordova, where it was manufactured.

“ On his feet were shoes of variegated *cordwal*.”
See *Lady of the Fountain*.

CORN—A horn ; a trumpet.

“ There are three trumpet progressions ; the gathering of a country according to the heads of families and chiefs of clans, the *corn* of harvest, and the *corn* of war and battle against the oppression of adjoining countries and aliens.”—*Laws of Dyfnwal Moelmud*.

CORON—A crown. The following passage from Brut y Tywysogion (*Myo. Arch.*, ii., p. 481), seems to imply that the *coron* was not used by the Welsh as a regal badge previous to the reign of Rhodri Mawr, in the ninth century :—

“ These (Cadell, Anarawd and Merfyn) were called the

three diademed princes, because they, contrary to all that preceded them, wore frontlets about their *coronau*, like the kings of other countries; whereas, before that time, the kings and princes of the Welsh nation wore only golden chains."

CORONIG—A bandlet; a coronet.

COWYLL—A garment, or cloak, with a veil, presented by the husband to his bride on the morning after marriage.

—See *Laws of Hywel Dda*.

CRIB—A comb. It is valued in the Laws at one penny.

CRIMOGAU—Greaves, or armour for the legs.

"He was arrayed in a coat of armour, with *crimogau* round his legs and his thighs."—*Mabinogion*.

CRUD—A cover; a case; armour.

"The three warriors of the isle of Britain that wore golden *crud*."—See *Triad* 124.

"A stream of blood upon his *crud*,
The *crud* of the victorious sovereign, chief of the country."
Cynddelw to Hywel son of Owain.

CRYS—A loose, or flowing garment; a shirt, or shift.
Llywarch Hen carried the head of Urien in his *crys*.

"I bear in my *crys* a head; the head of Urien,
That governed a court with mildness,
And on his white bosom the sable raven doth glut."
Elegy on Urien Rheged.

And Golyddan (560–630) says of the few Cimbrian soldiers who once returned from the field of battle,—

"They told a tale of peace to their wives,
Who smelled their *crysau* full of gore."

Myv. Arch., i., p. 157.

In the tale of the "Lady of the Fountain," Cynon,

in narrating one of his adventures, thus alludes to the treatment which he received from certain young ladies :—

“The fourth six took off my soiled garments, and placed others upon me, namely, a *crys*, and a doublet of fine linen, and a robe, and a surcoat, and a mantle of yellow satin, with a broad gold band upon the mantle.”

The handmaid of the queen was, according to the Laws of Hywel Dda, entitled to the cast-off *crysau* of her royal mistress. The same Laws gave a freeholder's wife full permission to give away her mantle, her *crys*, her shoes, her head-cloth, and her meat and drink, as well as to lend all her furniture.

A *crys* and trowsers together were valued at twenty-four pence.

CRYSBAIS—Waistcoat; an under vest.

CRYSLAIN—The opening, or bosom, of a shirt.

CUNNELT—Weapons of war; from *cun* (a chief), and *dellt* (splints).

CURAN—A boot, a buskin.

“Should any man strike a slave, he must pay him twelve lawful pence;—that is to say, six for three cubits of white home-spun cloth, wherewith to make him a coat in which to cut gorse; and three for trousers; and one for *curanau* and mittens; and one for a hedging bill; and one for a rope, twelve cubits long, or for an axe, if he be a woodman.”—*Welsh Laws*.

CURAS—A cuirass, or a coat of mail. In the middle ages the men of Tegeingl were remarkable for their awkwardness in the *curas*.

“Common in Tegeingl is the awkward in a *curas*

At all times ;—and nobles in city
And plain continually without substance, without grace.”

Myv. Arch., i., p. 541.

CWCWLL—A cowl. The men of Powys are described by
Cynddelw as—

“ Scattering in the battle, harmless before a *cwcoll*.”

Myv. Arch., i., p. 256.

CWFL—A hood, or cowl.

“ Black is thy *cwfl*, thy note is good,
Likewise thy robe, thou bird of harmonious language.”

D. ab Gwilym to a Blackbird.

CWFLEN—A cap or hat ; a hunting cap.

CWLBREN—A bludgeon.

CWLEN—A hat.

CWNSALLT—A military garment ; a general's robe ; a
cloak, or cassock, worn over armour ; a military cloak
on which were set the arms, badges, or cognizance of
the general or soldiers ; the cloak of an herald-at-arms.

“ The maid gave to Peredur armour, and a *cwnsallt* of fine
red over the armour ; and he was called the knight of the red
cwnsallt.”—*Hanes Peredur. Mabinogion.*

“ A *cwnsallt* of yellow diapred satin was upon the knight,
and the borders of the *cwnsallt* were blue.”—*The Dream of
Rhonabwy.*

“ There was a *cwnsallt* upon him, and upon his horse, divided
in two parts, white and black, and the borders of the *cwnsallt*
were of golden purple. And above the *cwnsallt* he wore a
sword, three-edged and bright, with a golden hilt.”—*Ibid.*

In the *Llyfr Meddygon Myddfai* (A.D. 1230) the
leaves of the asparagus, as well as the fennel, are said
to resemble the *cwnsallt*.

CWRAN—Same as CURAN.

“The chief huntsman, if he is not arrested before his getting out of bed, and the putting on his *cwranau*, ought not to answer to any one with respect to a claim that may be demanded of him.”—*Laws of Hywel Dda*.

CYFEGYDD—A pickaxe.

CYFLEGR—A gun. Its etymology *cyd* (together) and *llegr* (that braces or clasps) would of course imply something very different to the modern gun.

CYFRAU—Ornaments, jewels.

“Glittering are the tops of the cresses; warlike is the steed;
Trees are fair *cyfrau* of the ground;
Joyful is the soul with the one it loves.”—*Llywarch Hen*.

CYFRWYM—A bandage.

CYLCHWY—A shield, or buckler; as the name implies, of a circular or round shape. This word is of frequent occurrence in the compositions of the early bards;
e. g. :—

“His *cylochwy* was winged with fire for the slaughter.”

Aneurin apud Gododin.

“The army of Cadwallon encamped on the Wye,
The common men, after passing the water,
Following to the battle of *cylochwy*.”—*Llywarch Hen*.

“With the circle of ruddy gems on my golden *cylochwy*.”

Taliesin.

“On the ridge of Llech Vaelwy they shattered the *cylochwy*.”

Ibid.

“Gleaming is my sword, swift as lightning it protects the brave,

Glittering is the gold on my *cylochwy*.”—*Gwalchmai*.”

CYLLELL—A knife. It would seem from Taliesin that

in his day the *cyllell* was regarded as an inferior weapon of war, for he says,—

“The swords of the men of conflict will not stab the puny *cyllellawr* (dagger drawer).

In the romance of “The Lady of the Fountain,” mention is made of

“*Cylleill* with blades of gold, and with the hilts of the bone of the whale.”

In the Laws of Hywel Dda, a *cyllell glun*, or a dagger, is valued at one penny.

CYNFAS—A sheet of cloth ; a bed sheet.

CHWAREL—A dart, a javelin.

“When the bones shall receive the pang
Of death, with his swift *chwarelau*,
Then will life be at awful pause.”—*D. ab Gwilym*.

D.

DART—A dart.

“Illyd Farchog bore for his arms, argent, three masts, three castle tops, or, and six *darts*, or. The three masts for the three schools, and the three castle tops for the three colleges of saints, and the six gold *darts* for the six churches, which he founded for teaching the Christian religion.”—*Iolo MSS.*, p. 556.

A poet, supposed to be Dafydd Nanmor, A.D. 1460, prays that Henry VII. might be protected, among other things, from

“A stone out of a tower, and the edge of a *dart*.”

Again,—

“ From a leopard, a *dart*, and the teeth of a monster.”

Ibid., pp. 313, 314.

DIDDOSBEN—Head-covering.

DIFLAEN—The beard, or beard-point of a dart, or arrow.

Lewis Glyn Cothi says of the point of the sword, which he wished to receive from Dafydd ab Gutyn, (see CLEDD)—

“ It has a sharp point,
Like that of a needle, or the point of a wing;
A point like the *diflaen* of a dart.”

DILLAD—Apparel, or clothes. It is similarly called in the Breton dialect *Dillat*, and in the Cornish, *Dilladzhaz*.

“ Nobility will lead,
Dillad will shelter.”—*Adage*.

DILLYN—A jewel ; an ornament.

DURDORCH—The ring of an habergeon.

“ Who would make a track, when there should be occasion,
For the coats of *durdyrch* ?”

O. ab Llywelyn Moel, A.D. 1450.

DWGAN—A trull, a drab.

DYRNFLAIDD—A kind of iron club having spikes on the striking end ; a halbert. Dafydd Nanmor (as is supposed) says in reference to Henry VII. :—

“ Fine is his head, which a whirler or bow,
Or battle-axe, or *dyrnflaidd*, will not dare to strike.”

Iolo MSS., p. 313.

DYRNFOL—A gauntlet, or splint ; mitten ; hedging mitten. This is the word which we have translated *mittens* in the extract from the Welsh Laws, *sub voce* CURAN. Lewis Glyn Cothi speaks of

“*Dyrnfolau* of the combat, made of steel.”

DYSGIAR—A spear. From this comes the term *dysgiawr* (a levelling or slicing), used by Aneurin in the following line of the *Gododin* :—

“It was the *dysgiawr* (levelling) of privilege to kill him on the breach.”

E.

EIDDOED—A banner, or a standard. The word is used by Taliesin—

“Urien, lord of the cultivated plain, answered again,
If there be a meeting because of kindred,
We will lift up an *eiddoed* above the mountain.”

The battle of Argoed Llwyfan.

“Humble and trembling that saw Llwyfenydd,
With a conspicuous *eiddoed* in the second place ;
A battle in the ford of Alclyd, a battle at the confluence.”

Ode to Urien.

EIGRAU—Stockings without feet. They are otherwise called *bacsau*, and *hosanau pen geist*.

EIRIONYN—A border ; the list of cloth ; the edge or selvedge ; any border set on for ornament ; a ruffle.

EM—A jewel ; a gem. Some of the heroes of *Gododin* were decked with gems.

“The warriors marched to *Gododin*, their leader laughed
As his *em* army went down to the terrific toil.”—*Aneurin*.

Taliesin speaks of a wreath of ruddy *emau* (rubies)—

“Rhudd em fy nghylchwy.”—*Cad Goddeu*.

ENHUDDED—A covering.

“Our lord, of a race liberal of treasure,
Comes to day under the *enhudded*.”

Gr. ab Gwestyn, A.D. 1400.

ERGYRWAEW—A thrusting spear; an impelled, or flying spear.

“A vehement *ergyrwaew* before his shield.”

O. Cyfeiliawg, 1160.

ESGID—*Cor.* “Esgiz.” A shoe.

“Three makers of golden shoes, of the isle of Britain; Caswallawn the son of Beli, when he went as far as Gascony to obtain Flur the daughter of Mygnach Gorr, who had been carried thither to Cæsar the Emperor, by one called Mwrchan the Thief, king of that country, and friend of Julius Cæsar, and Caswallawn brought her back to the isle of Britain; Manawyddan the son of Llyr Llediaith, when he was as far as Dyfed laying restrictions; Llew Llaw Gyffes, when he was along with Gwydion the son of Don, seeking a name and arms from Arianrod, his mother.”—*Triad* 124.

Manawyddan, in the “Mabinogion,” bought the leather ready dressed; and he caused the best goldsmith in the town to make clasps for the shoes, and to gild the clasps. See *Manawyddan the son of Llyr*, p. 169. Probably *mynawyd* (an awl) receives its name from this celebrated shoemaker.

According to the Laws of Hywel Dda, the queen's handmaid was entitled to the old *esgidiau* of her royal mistress.

ETHY—A spur. The first chieftain celebrated in the Gododin wore a “golden *ethy*.”

EURDALAETH—A gold fillet, or coronet.

EURDORCH—A golden collar, being an ornament of distinction worn by the ancient warriors of Britain.

“Of those who went to Cattræth, being *eurdorchozion* (wearers of the golden chain),

Upon the message of Mynyddawg, sovereign of the people,
There came not honourably, in behalf of the Brython,
To Gododin, a hero from afar, superior to Cynon.”

Aneurin.

“Four-and-twenty sons I have had,

Eurdorchawg (wearing the golden chain) leaders of armies;
Gwen was the best of them.”—*Llywarch Hen.*

EUREM—A golden jewel.

EURFODRWY—A gold ring.

EURGORON—A gold crown.

EURLIN—The raw silk.

EURRWY—A gold ring.

EURYSGWYD—A gold shield. Several of the British chieftains are represented as wearing gold shields in the sixth century. Thus Llywarch Hen,—

“A second time I saw, after that conflict,
Aur ysgwyd on the shoulder of Urien.”

And Aneurin, speaking of Ceredig, says that—

“His *ysgwyd aur* dazzled the field of battle.”

F.

FFAL—The heel of a shoe.

FFALING—A mantle; a cloak.

“Like the Irishman for the *ffaling*.”—*Adage.*

“Guto made a cotton *ffaling*.”

Guto y Glyn, A.D. 1450.

FFEDAWG—An apron. The word is evidently a contraction of *arffedawg*, which comes from *arffed*, the lap.

FFEDAWNEN—A neckcloth, or cravat.

FFIL—A quick dart.

FFLAW—A dart; a banner.

“A bright *fflaw*, from every battle obtaining hostages.”

Cywrysedd Gwynedd a Dehaw.

FFON—A staff, or stick; a cudgel. *Ffon ddwybig*, a quarter-staff.

FFONWAEW—A javelin.

FFUNEN—A band; a lace; a riband; a head-band.

“Through the window give me the *ffunen*

Of thy generous mother, to cover my head.”

D. ab Edmunt, A.D. 1450.

The legal value of a *ffunen* was fourpence.—*H. Dda.*

FFUNENIG—A bandlet, or a lace.

FFYD—Coverings, or garments.

“Envious also, divested of his *ffyd*

Is the bishop; miserable the reflection.”

Dr. S. Cent, 1420–1470.

G.

GAFLACH—A barbed or bearded spear. Peredur struck a knight “with a sharp pointed *gaflach*, and it hit him in the eye, and came out at the back of his neck, so that he instantly fell down lifeless.”—*Peredur ab Efrawg*. This weapon however seems to have been more peculiar to the Irish, who were hence denominated *Gwyddyl gaflachawg*. See *sub voce Glaiſ*.

GARDAS and GARDYS—A garter; from *gar* the shank, or lower part of the thigh.

GEFYN—A fetter; a gyve; a manacle; a shackle.

GEM—A gem; a jewel.

“There is a broche in the *gem* of his girdle.”

Tudur Aled, A.D. 1490.

See also *Em*.

GLAIF—A crooked sword; a scimitar; a glaive. According to the Laws of Dyfnwal Moelmud, “the three essentials of a vassal were a fireside, a *glaiif*, and a trough.”—*Myv. Arch.*, iii., p. 316. But the *glaiif* was not confined to vassals, at least in more recent times, for we have Einiawn ab Madawg Rhahawd, 1230–1270, thus speaking of Gruffydd ab Llywelyn:—

“Usual to thee to have the red and dashing *glaiif* over the mane of the steed.”—*Myv. Arch.*, i., p. 392.

The Gwyneddians, or men of North Wales, who fought under Gruffydd ab Cynan, were distinguished for their use of the *glaiif* and *tarian*, as appears from the following extract:—

“The kings, therefore, began to retreat, when they beheld the multitude of victorious bands, and the camps of King Gruffydd, and his banners displayed against them, and the men of Denmark with their two-edged axes, and the dart-bearing Gwyddelians with their iron balls full of spikes, and the Gwyneddians *gleifiawc* (with scimitars) and shield-bearing.”—*Myv. Arch.*, ii., p. 593.

GLAIN—A jewel; a bead. *Glain nod*, a prime jewel.

Glain nadron, transparent stones, or adder stones, worn by the different orders of bards, each having its appropriate colour; the blue ones belonged to the

presiding Bards, the white to the Druids, the green to the Ovates, and the three colours blended to the disciples. Pliny believed them to have been produced by the blowing of snakes. The truth seems to be, however, that they were glass beads, formed by the fusion of sand and *natron* by means of the blowpipe, which in shape resembled a serpent. This latter circumstance, together with the close agreement in sound between *natron* and *nadron* evidently occasioned the mistake as to their production and real nature.

GLASGAEN—A blue covering, or armour. As early as the time of Julius Cæsar the Britons knew how to dye blue; and it is supposed from the term *glastenneu*, as applied to the holm, or scarlet-oak, that the oak dust and apple formed the colouring material to which Cæsar applied the term *glastum*.

“Who is the youth that wears the *glasgaen* ;
What hero is he that proudly leads the way ?”

Elegy on Llewelyn ap Madawg,
A.D. 1290–1340.

GLEINDORCH—A circlet of beads ; a bead necklace.

GODRE—A skirt, border, or edge.

GODRWY—A wreath ; a chain.

“Adorned with a wreath was the leader, the wolf of the holme.
Amber beads *godrwyawor* (in ringlets) encircled his temples.”

Gododin.

GOL—A covering.

“The opposing party reply, claiming a contrary turn,
The same is Rhodri, liberal of *golodd*.”

Gwalchmai, 1150–1190.

GOLOED—A covering ; a vestment.

“Gruffydd of a fiery disposition,
And the bold frame of Hywel with a conspicuous *goloed*,
And for whom I bear the longest affection.”—*Id.*

GORBAIS—Upper coat.

GORDUDD—An outer covering.

GORDUDD—An over cover.

GORDD-DORCH—A collar; a chain, or torque for the neck.

“Eudaf, as seen by Maxen Wledig in his Dream, had a golden *gordd-dorch* about his neck.”—*Mabinogi.*

GORTHORCH—A superior wreath; a torque; a collar.
Myrddin Wyllt wore a golden *gorthorch* in that battle where his patron Gwenddoleu fell.

“In the battle of Arderydd of gold was my *gorthorch*.”
Myrddin 530–600.

GORWISG—An outer garment.

GOTOEW—A spur. Llywarch Hen speaks with pride of one of his sons as wearing golden *gotoew*.

“Whilst I was of the age of yonder youth,
That wears the golden *ottoew*,
It was with velocity I pushed the spear.”

Elegy on Old Age.

GRA—The down, nap, or frieze of cloth; cloth with nap upon it.

The bed which the maiden in the “Lady of the Fountain” prepared for Owain, “was meet for Arthur himself; it was of scarlet, and *gra*, and satin, and sendall, and fine linen.”—P. 57.

GRAIN—A ring. *Grain-fys*, the ring-finger.

GWAEDLAIN—A bloody blade. One of the heroes of Gododin

“Gwyalvain the son of Eilydd wielded a *gwaedlain*.”

Aneurin.

GWAEDLEN—A blood veil; a bloody veil.

“He was seen—

With a *gwaedlen* conspicuous round his head,

And there was blood and food for crows,

And the raven on the corpse,

And the foes were of hope bereft.”

Ll. P. Moch to Llywelyn I.

GWAEG—A fibula; a clasp; a buckle; the tongue of a buckle. Cynon, narrating an adventure in the “Lady of the Fountain,” says,—

“I approached the castle, and there I beheld two youths, with yellow curling hair, each with a frontlet of gold upon his head, and clad in a garment of yellow satin; and they had gold *gwaegau* upon their insteps.”—P. 41.

GWAELL—A lance. A knight in the “Dream of Rhonabwy” had “in his hand a blue-shafted *gwaell*, but from the haft to the point it was stained crimson-red with the blood of the ravens and their plumage.”—P. 411.

GWAEW—A spear, lance, or pike; a javelin. Also the rod of the apparitor, which he used in summoning persons to appear.

According to the Laws of Dyfnwal Moelmud, the *gwaew* was one of “three legal weapons” which it was required of every head of family to provide himself with. See *Arf*. The *gwaew* head was one of the three things for which the court smith was to receive payment. The value of the *gwaew* in Hywel Dda’s Code was fourpence.—*Myv. Arch.*, iii., 423. The

length of the apparitor's *gwaew* was to be three cubits ; two of which were to be behind, and one before him.—

Ibid., p. 374.

GWAEWFFON—A javelin. Same as *ffonwaew*.

GWAEWLORF—The staff or shaft of a lance.

“ Rhys, the best son of the champion of Mon,
With the hasty *gwaewlorf*, of Llywelyn's race.”

T. Aled.

GWAEWSAETH—A dart, or javelin.

GWAIN—A scabbard ; a sheath. In the “ Dream of Rhonabwy ” we read of a page who “ bore a heavy three-edged sword with a golden hilt, in a *gwain* of black leather tipped with fine gold.”—P. 407. Also, of another, who had “ in his hand a huge, heavy, three-edged sword, with a *gwain* of red deer hide, tipped with gold.”—P. 408. Again, of one who “ had upon his thigh a large gold-hilted one-edged sword, in a *gwain* of light blue, and tipped with Spanish laton.”—P. 411. The *gwain* of another was of “ red cut leather.”—P. 412. Some *gweiniau* were made of wood. Kai addressed Gwrnach the giant in “ Killwch and Olwen,” after this manner :—

“ It is thy *gwain* that hath rusted thy sword ; give it to me, that I may take out the wooden sides of it, and put in new ones.”—P. 295.

GWALC—The cock of a hat. *Het walciawg*, a cocked hat.

“ When the men shall be *walciawg*,
And the women high crested,
And the youths with flaunting wings
And light steps, will all this be.”

Gronw Ddu, 1400.

GWALD—A hem ; a welt. *Gwald esgid*, a shoe welt.

GWALDAS and **GWALTES**—*Idem*.

GWALLT—The hair of the head. The Bards and Druids in ancient times wore their hair short.—*James' Patriarchal Religion*, p. 75. With the people it was otherwise, “*capilloque sunt promisso*,” says Cæsar.—*De Bel. Gal.*, v. Tacitus describes the Silurians as having, for the most part, curly hair,—“*torti plerumque crines*.” Taliesin speaks of the people of Gwent, in the sixth century, as being long-haired, “*gwallthirion*.”

“Greatly fearful the perjury

Of the Gwenhwys with the long hair.”

Giraldus Cambrensis says of the Welsh in the twelfth century, that the men and women cut their hair close round to the ears and eyes. In the succeeding century, however, the fashion was altered ; for we are informed that Dafydd ab Gwilym, and the young men of his day, wore their hair long. In the eighth century, it was the custom of people of consideration to have their children's hair cut the first time by persons for whom they had a particular honour and esteem, who, in virtue of this ceremony, were reputed a sort of spiritual parents, or godfathers to them. In the Mabinogi of “*Kilhwch and Olwen*,” this same custom appears. “*Arthur is thy cousin*,” said Kilydd to his son ; “*go, therefore, unto Arthur, to cut thy gwallt, and ask this of him as a boon*.”—P. 252. It would seem from the Mabinogion that *gwallt* of a yellow colour was the favourite in mediæval times.

The Early British Ecclesiastics shaved their hair

from ear to ear across the front of the head, which fashion they probably borrowed from the garland and tiara of the Druids, and not, as was imputed to them by the Romanists, from Simon Magus.—*Eccles. Ant. of the Cymry*, p. 310.

GWASGAWD—A waistcoat.

GWASGRWYM—A bandage; a girdle.

GWDDWGEN—A neckcloth; a cravat.

GWE—A web of cloth.

GWEFR—Amber. Amber beads were borne by military chieftains in the sixth century. See *Godrwy*.

GWENTAS—A high shoe; a buskin. In the “Lady of the Fountain” a person is described as having “on his feet two *gwentasau* of variegated leather, fastened by two bosses of gold.”—P. 42. Two youths seen by Maxen Wledig in his Dream, “had on their feet *gwentasau* of new Cordova leather, fastened by slides of gold.”—P. 279. The legal value of *gwentasau* was one penny.—*Myv. Arch.*, iii., p. 424.

GWENWISG—A white garment; a surplice.

“Clad in a shroudy *wenwisg*.”

D. ab Gwilym, 1400.

GWISG—A garment; apparel; dress.

GWISGAD—Habiliment.

GWLANEN—A flannel.

GWRDDWAEW—A javelin.

GWRDDYN—A dart; a javelin.

“Braint Hir came amongst a group of the mendicants, in the place where the diviner was haranguing them; and without any hesitation, when he got an opportunity for his aim, he lifted a *gwrddyn*, and wounded the diviner.”—*Gr. ab Arthur*.

GWREGYS—A girdle. So in *Cor. Arm.* "Gouris."

Helen the daughter of Eudaf, as seen by Maxen in his Dream, had a "*gwregys* of ruddy gold around her." —*Dream of Maxen Wledig*, p. 280. A knight in the "Dream of Rhonabwy" had "a sword, the *gwregys* or belt of which was of dark green leather with golden slides and a clasp of ivory upon it, and a buckle of jet black upon the clasp."—P. 411.

A *gwregys* of gold or silver was, according to the Laws of Hywel Dda, to be appraised; if not of those materials, its value was one penny. A trousers *gwregys* is likewise estimated at one penny.

GWRTFACH—The beard or returning point of a weapon.

GWRYDD—A wreath

"An angel's covering of yellow hair,
In a *gwrydd* of gold round the maid's shoulder."

D. ab Gwilym.

H.

HAEN—A plait, or fold.

"One *haen* is not shelter enough,
Without another *haen* of stiff hairs like arrow-points."

Iolo Goch.

HAIARNBLU—The iron scales used in armour. Lit. iron feathers.

HAIARNGAEN—A covering of iron; iron armour.

"Does any one ask—Concerns it not men,
Ere the *haiarngaen* be reddened,
What youth is he that wears the blue armour,
What hero is the haughty one in front?"

Llywarch Llaety, 1290–1340.

HATR, HATRIAD—A covering.

HED—A hat.

HELM—A helmet. The following descriptions of a *helm* occur in the "Dream of Rhonabwy:"—"A *helm* of gold, set with precious stones of great yirtue, and at the top of the *helm* the image of a flame-coloured leopard, with two ruby-red stones in its head."—P. 411. "A golden *helm*, wherein were set sapphire stones of great virtue; and at the top of the *helm* the figure of a flame-coloured lion, with a fiery-red tongue, issuing above a foot from his mouth, and with venomous eyes, crimson-red, in his head."—P. 412. "A bright *helm* of yellow laton, with sparkling stones of crystal in it, and at the crest of the *helm* the figure of a griffin, with a stone of many virtues in its head."—P. 414.

It would appear that the *helm* is not identical with the *penffestin*, for it is said that "Peredur attacked a sorceress, and struck her upon the head with his sword, so that he flattened her *helm* and her *penffestin* like a dish upon her head,"—(*Peredur ab Efwawg*, p. 323); and that a knight "overthrew Kai, and struck him with the head of his lance in the forehead, so that it broke his *helm* and the *penffestin*,"—(*Lady of the Fountain*, p. 67), as if they were two distinct things.

HEM—A hem, or border.

HEULROD—A sun cap; a cap to keep off the sun.

"I have a *heulrod* of the skin of a fish; with that on my head I will stand before Hu, when he is dining; and I will eat with him, and I will drink, without any notice being taken of me."—*H. Car. Mag. Mabinogion*.

HOD—A hood, or cap.

HONFAS—A chopping knife. Its value was one penny.

—*Myv. Arch.*, iii., 424.

HONFFEST—A tunic. It was an expensive article of dress, being valued at twenty-four pence.

HOS, HOSAN—A hose, or a stocking. We read in the "Dream of Rhonabwy" of "two *hosan* of thin greenish yellow cloth," p. 406; also, of "two *hosan* of fine white buckram," p. 408; and again, of "two *hosan* of fine Totness," p. 409. *Hosanau mawr* are legally valued at eightpence. The groom of the reign was entitled to the king's old *hosanau*.—*Myv. Arch.*, iii., p. 373.

HOSANLAWDR—A pair of pantaloons.

HOTAN, HOTYN—A cap. The word occurs in "Liber Landavensis." *Hotyn esgid*, the part of a shoe closing over the instep.

HUAL—A fetter, gyve, or shackle. So in *Arm.*

"The three *aurhualogion* (golden banded chiefs) of the isle of Britain: Rhiwallon Wallt Banhadlen, Rhun the son of Maelgwn, and Cadwaladr the Blessed; they were so called because it was granted to them to wear bands of gold round their arms, knees, and necks, and were therefore invested with regal privilege in every country and dominion in Britain."—*Triad* 28.

Taliesin speaks of "the steel blades, mead, violence, and *hualau* of the men of Cattræth."—*Myv. Arch.*, i., p. 21.

In the Laws an iron *hual* is valued at one penny; a wooden *hual* at a farthing.—*Myv. Arch.*, iii., p. 424.

HUG—A loose coat, or cloak.

“Reynard, I pray thee, stop the leap,
And tear a corner of the golden *hug*.”

R. G. Eryri concerning the Peacock,
A.D. 1420.

HUGAN and HUGYN, *dim.*—*Idem*.

HWSAN—A hood.

HYCHWAEW—A pushing spear.

“When his sight was darkened the monster became furious ;
and as the wild boar rushes upon the *hychwaew* of the hunts-
man, so did he rush at Arthur upon the point of the sword.”
—*Gr. ab Arthur*.

I.

IRAI—A sharp point ; a goad.

“Samgar—smote of the Philistines six hundred men with
an ox *irai*.”—Judges, iii., 31.

ISARN—A bill, scythe, or sickle ; a long hatchet ; a
battle-axe.

“Cutting off her head—
With an *isarn* at one stroke.”—*D. ab Gwilym*.

LL.

LLACHBREN—A cudgel. Cudgelling is the common di-
version among the people of Caermarthenshire, hence
they are nicknamed *Llachwyr*, or cudgellers.

LLAESBAIS—A loose trailing coat. In “Ymarwar Lludd,”
(*Myv. Arch.*, i., p. 76,) mention is made of a people

“*amlaes eu peisiau*” (in long robes) as invaders of the isle of Britain.

“Men from a country in Asia, and the region of Capys ;
A people of iniquitous design : the land is not known
That was their mother. They made a devious course by sea.
Amlaes eu peisiau, who can equal them ?”

LLAFN—A blade ; a slide.

“They had daggers with *llafneu* (blades) of gold, and with hilts of the bone of the whale.”—*Lady of the Fountain*, p. 42.

“Buskins of new cordovan leather on their feet, fastened by *llafneu* (slides) of red gold.”—*Dream of Maxen Wledig*, p. 279.

LLAFNAWR—*Aggr.* Bladed weapons ; spears used by the Britons, about seven feet long, nearly three of which length was a blade, like that of a sword. This weapon is frequently mentioned by the earliest bards ; for instance, Taliesin observes,—

“Exalted is Rheged of warlike chiefs ;
They brandished the *llafnawr* of battle,
Under the round shield of the shout,
The light of which displayed a pale corpse.”

Bronze *llafnawr* were used in Wales as late as the time of Owain Glyndwr, as several of them have been found in places where he fought his battles.

LLAIN—A blade ; a sword.

“Heroic suffering, the voice of pain, and a blue *llain* on the thigh,
Will be heard of in Britain.”—*Cynddeho*, 1150–1200.

LLARP—A shred ; a rag ; a clout.

LLATH—A rod. Eudaf was seen by Maxen Wledig in

his Dream "with a chessboard of gold before him, and a *llath* of gold, and a steel file in his hand."—P. 279.

LLAWBAN—Felt. *Brethyn llawban*, felt cloth.

LLAWDRYFER—A hand harpoon; a hand dart.

"The foam will guard thee against the *llawdryfer* of a river thief."—*D. ab Gwilym to the Salmon*.

LLAWDR—Trowse, trowsers, or pantaloons; breeches. In the "Lady of the Fountain," Cynon observes of six damsels whom he met with at a certain castle:—"They took off my soiled garments, and placed others upon me; namely, an under vest, and a *llawdr* of fine linen, and a robe, and a surcoat, and a mantle of yellow satin, with a broad gold band upon the mantle."—P. 43. The *llawdr* is generally joined with the *crys*, or under vest; and, in the Laws of Hywel Dda, they are valued together at twenty-four pence, a high price.—(*Myv. Arch.*, iii., p. 424.) In the Triadic Laws, it is enjoined that a knife, a sword, and a *llawdr*, if lost in behalf of a house should not be paid for.—*Myv. Arch.*, iii., p. 323.

The apparitor was entitled at the assize in November to a new coat, under vest, and a *llawdr*, but there was to be no shalloon in his *llawdr*. His clothes were to reach to the tie of the latter garment.—P. 374.

In Cornish *lodr* (pl. *lydrau*) means stockings; "and this has happened," saith E. Lhwyd, "because the old trouse was breeches and stockings in one garment, which is still retained in the Highlands of Scotland, and in several other countries." *Arm.*, *lowzr* and *laurec*; and *lawrega*, or *laureaff*, to put on one's breeches.

LLAWES—A sleeve; from *llaw*, a hand.

LLAWFWYALL—A hand hatchet; valued in the Laws at one penny.

LLEN—A veil, a plaid, or a scarf. Giraldus Cambrensis says that the Welsh women of his day covered their heads with a large white veil, folded together in the form of a crown, after the manner of the Parthians. In the "Dream of Rhonabwy," we read of a youth who had "a *llen* (a scarf) with yellow borders.—P. 376. Also of "a troop, whereof every one of the men had a *llen* of white satin, with jet black borders."—P. 403.

LLENGEL—A veil. Gruffydd ab Meredydd, A.D. 1310–1360, referring to the death of Tudur ap Goronwy, says,—

" Altogether sad the separation !
A silent covering *llengel*
Hides the pensive cheek."

Myo. Arch., i., p. 438.

LLIAN—A web; linen-cloth. *Llian cri*, unbleached cloth; *llian bras*, coarse cloth; *llian main*, fine linen; *llian brith*, check-cloth; *llian amdo*, a shroud cloth.

Several of the officers of the court were, by Hywel Dda's Laws, entitled to their *llian* from the king or the queen.

LLIEINWISG—A linen garment. The same observation will apply here.

LLINON—A shaft.

" Joy to the arm, and the hard *llinon* ;
Let him kill ; let him silence the motley rabble."

T. Penllyn, A.D. 1460.

LLINYN—A string.

Cynon, in the "Lady of the Fountain," describes two youths, who had each "an ivory bow, with *llinytau* made of the sinews of the stag."—P. 42.

LLODRYN—*Dim.* of Llawdr.

LLOGELL—A pocket.

LLOP—A buskin; a boot.

LLOPAN—A sort of high shoe; a sock.

Pwyll, in the guise of a mendicant, "was clad in coarse and ragged garments, and wore large *llopanau* upon his feet."—*Pwyll P. of Dyved*, p. 55.

In an old medical work it is stated that "the ashes of old *llopanau* are good against proud flesh."

LLOST—A spear; a lance; a javelin.

LLOCHWAEW—A missive dart; a javelin.

Yspyddaden Penkawr threw three poisoned *lluchwaw* after the messengers that asked his daughter Olwen for Kilhwch the son of Kilydd.—*Kilhwch and Olwen*, p. 277.

LLUMMAN—A flag, ensign, banner or standard.

The word is used by Golyddan, 560–630, in his "Destiny of Britain,"

"The sacred *lumman* of Dewi will they raise."

Myv. Arch., i., p. 158.

LLUMMANBREN—The staff of a banner, or of a standard.

LLUMMANIG—A banderol.

LLURYG—A lorica; a brigandine; a coat of mail. In the battle fought under Boadicea, the Britons, we are told, had no loricae.—*Hanes Cymru*, p. 85. They used the same, however, in the sixth century, for Aneurin thus describes the heroes of Gododin:—

“The heroes went to Cattraeth with marshalled array and shout of war,
 With powerful steeds, and dark brown harness, and with shields,
 With uplifted javelins, and piercing lances,
 With glittering *llurygau*, and with swords.”

The word also occurs in the poems of Llywarch Hen and Taliesin. According to Hywel Dda's Laws the *lluryg* was to be valued or appraised upon oath.—*Myv. Arch.*, iii., 423.

LLYMWYDDEN—A wooden spear.

M.

MAENFAN—The beasil of a ring.

MALEN—A shield.

“A golden apple on the convex of the *malen*,
 And then a spike on the top.”

T. Aled, A.D. 1490, to a *Buckler*.

MANAWYD—The staff of a banner, or standard.

“There was a confident impelling forward of the *manawyd* of the variegated standard.”—*Gododin*.

MANEG—A glove, probably of Roman origin.

“I will not wear any strait *menyg*
 Made of sheep skin.”—*D. ab Gwilym*.

MANTELL—A mantle, or cloak. It was proverbially regarded as the best covering.

“Goreu un tudded *mantell*.”

Cynon, in the “Lady of the Fountain,” saw “a

man in the prime of life, with his beard newly shorn, clad in a robe and a *mantell* of yellow satin; and round the top of his *mantell* was a band of gold lace."—P. 42.

In the time of Hywel Dda, the chief falconer was entitled to the *mantell* in which the king rode on the three principal festivals. A *mantell* of a dark brown colour, or of superfine quality, was estimated at twenty-four pence.—*Myv. Arch.*, iii., 424.

MARCHAWGWISG—A riding habit; a riding dress.

"Gwenhwyvar and all her women were joyful at her coming, and they took off her *marchawgwisg*, and placed other garments upon her."—*Geraint ab Erbin*, 129.

MEILYNDORCH—A sashoon. From *meilwn*, the small of the leg, and *torch*, a coil.

MEILYNWISG—*Id.*, called also *arfeilyn*.

MODRWY—A ring.

"Delightful again is the maid with a *modrwy*."

Taliesin.

"Bracelets of gold were upon his arms, and many *modrwyau* upon his hands."—*Dream of Maxen Wledig*, p. 279.

According to Hywel Dda's Laws a *modrwy* was to be appraised upon oath.—*Myv. Arch.*, iii., p. 424.

MOLED—A piece of cloth, forming a part of a woman's dress, to cover the head and shoulders; a muffler; a kerchief.

MWGWGD—A mask, a vizard.

"Mead will pull off the *wgwod*."—*Adage.*

"In vino veritas."

MWN—The upper part of the shaft of a weapon, next to the head.

“Peredur beheld two youths enter the hall, and proceed up to the chamber, bearing a spear of mighty size, with three streams of blood flowing from the *mwn* to the ground.”—
—*Peredur ab Efravg.*

MWNDLWS—A neck ornament ; a necklace.

MWNDORCH—A collar ; a wreath for the neck.

MYNWOR—A collar, properly of draught harness.

“ Like yellow gold round the foam of the sea,
Are the delicate tresses over her *mynwor*.”

D. ab Gwilym to Morfydd's hair.

MYNYGLDLWS—A neck ornament.

MYNYGLDORCH—A collar or wreath for the neck.

MYNYGLWISG—A neck-kerchief ; a neck-cloth.

MYRIERID—Pearls.

“ The spreading of my songs before thee,
Be it not like casting *myrierid* before swine.”

Ll. P. Moch, 1160–1220.

N.

NAIS—A band, or tie.

NEISIAD—A kerchief.

O.

OFERDLWS—A vain ornament, or jewel ; a jewel merely ornamental.

“ The judge of the palace claims *oferdlysau*, when his office is pledged to him, namely, a chessboard of whalebone from

the king, and a gold ring from the queen, and another from the domestic bard; and these *oferdlysau* he ought neither to give, nor to sell whilst he lives."—*Welsh Laws*.

OFFERENGRYS—A cope; a sacerdotal vestment.

OFFERENWISG—*Id.*

ON, ONEN—A spear with an ashen shaft. There is very frequent allusion in the Welsh poems to this weapon; *e. g.*, Llywarch Hen says—

“Let the gore be aptly clotted on the *on*.”

And again,—

“When Caranmael put on the corslet of Cyddylan,
And lifted up and shook his *onen*,
From his mouth the Frank would not get the word of peace.”

And later, Cynddelw, in his Elegy on Ithel son of Cadifor,—

“The ruddy *onen* would kill from his grasping hand.”

From this word is formed *ongyr*, an aggregate of spears.

“Bold in slaughter, the swift one went with the gleamings of
the *ongyr*,
The eagle of magnificent gift in the moving tents.”

Prydydd Breuan, 1300–1360.

P.

PAELED—A skull cap.

“They gave one another blows so boldly fierce, so frequent, and so severely powerful, that their helmets were pierced, and their *paeledau* were broken, and their arms were shattered, and the light of their eyes was darkened by sweat and blood.”—*Geraint ab Erbin*, p. 123.

PAIS—A coat. The *pais* formed from an early period one of the principal articles of a person's dress, and was of various materials, colours and sizes. In "Peredur ab Efracw," we read of a knight with an "iron *pais*."—P. 243. Kai told Gwalchmai that "whilst his speech and soft words lasted, a *pais* of thin linen would be armour sufficient for him."—P. 327. Two youths, in the "Lady of the Fountain," wore each a "*pais* of yellow satin."—P. 3. Taliesin speaks of a British tribe that wore "long *peisiau*."—*Myv. Arch.*, i., 76. And in the "Dream of Rhonabwy" we read of a young man "clad in a *pais* of yellow satin, falling as low as the small of his leg, and embroidered with threads of red silk."—P. 408. By the Laws of Hywel Dda, the apparitor of the court was entitled at the November assize to a new *pais*, under-vest, and trousers.—*Myv. Arch.*, iii., 374.

PALADR—A spear-staff; the shaft of a javelin. According to the Triadic Laws, "*pren peleidr*," or a tree whereof to form spear shafts in the king's cause, was regarded as one of "the three free trees in the royal forest."—*Myv. Arch.*, iii., p. 322. The *paladr* is much spoken of in the sixth century, *e. g.*, Aneurin thus writes,—

"The heroes marched to Cattraeth with marshalled array and shout of war,
With powerful steeds, and dark brown harness, and with shields,
With uplifted *peleidyr*, and piercing lances."

Sometimes a flag was attached to the point of the *paladr*. Thus we read in the "Dream of Rhonabwy"

of a youth who had in his hand "a mighty *paladr*, speckled yellow, with a newly sharpened head; and upon the *paladr* a banner displayed."—P. 409.

PALED—A shaft; a javelin; a dart. *Gware paled*, a tilting match.

"After we had completed every thing which appertained to the gods, there happened between two nephews a dispute about the victory at a *gware paled*."—*Gr. ab Arthur*.

PALI—Satin, or velvet; but its exact signification is not quite obvious, as it sometimes seems to imply the one, and sometimes the other, according to the rank of the persons who are represented as wearing it. There is mention in the Mabinogion of *Pali caerawg*, which is translated "diapered satin;" also of *pali melyngoch*, "yellow red satin," which seems to imply that the mediæval weavers of Britain were acquainted with the art of making what are usually called *shot silks*, or silks of two colours predominating interchangeably.

PALL—A mantle; a pall. Owain Cyfeiliog wore a

"*Pall coch*."—*Myv. Arch.*, i., p. 222.

PAN—Fur; ermine. One of the heroes of Gododin wore

"Golden spurs and *pan*."

PAR—A spear.

"Splintered shields about the ground he left,
And *parau* of awful tearing did he hew down."

Gododin.

PARFAES—A shield.

PELYD—The legs of stockings with the feet cut off; also called *bacsau*.

PENAWR—A headpiece ; a helmet.

“The blades glittered on the bright *penawr*.”

Taliesin.

PENDEL—A head ornament, or chaplet.

“Brutus put a *pendel* of vine leaves on his head.”

Brut y Brenhinoedd.

PENFFESTIN—A helmet.

“Ffrollo struck Arthur on his forehead, so that the sword was blunted on the rings of his *penffestin*.”—*Gr. ab Arthur.*

See also *sub voce Helm.*

PENGUWCH—The fore part of any head-covering ; a bonnet ; a cap.

“Owain struck the knight a blow through his helmet, head-piece, and the crest of his *penguwch*.”—*Lady of the Fountain*, 54.

“A yellow *penguwch* used to be worn by a woman newly married.”—*Hen Ddefodau.*

The legal value of a *penguwch* was a penny.—*Myv. Arch.*, iii., p. 424.

PENLLIAIN—A head-cloth. It was valued at eightpence.

—*Ibid.*

PENLLINYN—A head-band.

PENON—A pennant.

PENRE—A woman's coif or cowl, or hair-lace to truss up the hair.

PENRWYM—*Id.*

PENSEL—A great standard.

“The choicest token with the Irish
Are yellow and red in the front of onset ;
Do thou consecrate the *pensel* of Llywelyn ;
Do thou lead them on with these two colours.”

Iolo Goch to O. Glyndwr.

PENWISG—A head-dress.

PENWN—A banner; a pennon.

PERCED—A wrapper.

“ A covering against an angry storm ;
An Irish *perced* of two breadths.”

D. Ll. ab Ll. ab Gruffydd,
to a Mantle. 1480.

PICELL—A dart; a javelin.

PICFFON—A pike-staff.

PILAN—A spear.

PILEN—A fringe, or border.

PILWRN—A dart.

PILYN—A clout; a rag; a piece of any texture used as a covering or garment. *Pilyn gwddf*, a neck-kerchief.

PILYNDAWD—A covering, habiliment, garment, or vesture.

PILYS—A covering or robe made of skin; a pelisse.

“ Rhita the giant made a *pilys* of the scalps of the beards of kings.”—*Gr. ab Arthur.*

PILYSYN—A robe; a pelisse.

PLETHLINYN—A plaited cord, or bobbin.

PLU, PLUF, PLUAWR—Plumes; feathers. That military men, as early as the sixth century, wore feathers of particular colours as distinctive badges, is evident from the testimony of the poets of that age. Thus Llywarch Hen says of himself,—

“ After the sleek tractable steeds, and garments of ruddy hue,
And the yellow *pluawr*,
Slender is my leg, my piercing look is gone.”

And Aneurin, of the heroes of Gododin,—

“ Redder were their swords than their *pluawr*.”

PYRCHWYN—The crest of a helmet. It was to be appraised upon oath.—*Myv. Arch.*, iii., 423.

PYRGWYN—*Id.* See *Penguwch*.

R.

RHAC—The wrest of a cross-bow.

RHACTAL—A frontlet; a forehead cloth.

“I beheld two youths with yellow curling hair, each with a *rhactal* of gold upon his head.”—*Lady of the Fountain*, 41.

RHAGWISG—A fore-garment; a prior dress.

RHAIDD—A spear.

RHAIN—Lances, spears.

“Support each other against them with ruddy *rhain*.”

Taliesin.

RHEFAWG—A bandage.

“They twisted four rods, and made four *rhefawg* to bind Oliver with.”—*H. Car. Mag. Mabinogion*.

RHEIDDYN—A dart. In the Gododin, war seems to be personified under the name “*mam rheiddyn*,” the mother of the lance.

RHESTRAWG—A plaited target, or buckler.

RHETHREN—A pike; a lance. *Taliesin*, in his Ode to *Gwallawg*, says,—

“Splendid his commanding *rhethren*.”

RHODAWG, RHODAWR—A chariot; a shield. The ancient Britons possessed war chariots of a peculiar construction, having scythes attached to the wheels, calculated to cause no inconsiderable annoyance to the enemy.

Some idea may be had of the force in chariots which they could bring into the field, from Cæsar's account of the number which Cassivellaunus, even when defeated, was able to retain in his service. "Dimissis amplioribus copiis, *millibus circiter quatuor essedariorum relictis.*"—*Cæs. de Bell. Gall.*, l. v., c. 19. At what time the use of these martial vehicles was discontinued we cannot tell. Dr. O. Pughe implies that they were used in the battle of Cattraeth, translating

"Twill tal ei rodawr,"

by the words "the front opening of his *chariot.*" There are other expressions made use of by the poets of a much later date, which convey still more clearly the idea that some of the Welsh chieftains appeared in a chariot on the field of battle. Thus Cynddelw observes in reference to Owain Cyfeiliog, prince of Powys, 1160–1197,—

"Ready in his *rhodawg* to range amid armies."

Myv. Arch., i., p. 221.

The word "rhodiaw," here translated to *range*, but which means literally *to walk*, is evidently more applicable to a chariot than to a shield. Again, Llywarch Llaetty, 1290–1340, in a poem addressed to Madog ab Meredydd, prince of Powys, inquires as follows,—

"To whom belongs the *rhodawg* of the crimson face of the field of slaughter;

And who its desolating wolf on its front;

Who deals wounds above the white prancing steeds;

What his name, whose lot is so glorious?"—P. 416.

He had before inquired respecting his shield.

The chariot was called *Rhodawg*, or *Rhodawr*, from

Rhod, a wheel; and in like manner the term was applied to a shield, on account of its orbed or circular shape. A shield is evidently meant in such passages as the following :—

“The brave and haughty hero with a notched *rhodawg*.”

Cynddelw.

“The scattering of the wolf of slaughter with the golden-bossed *rhodawg*.”—*Ll. P. Moch.*

RHON—A pike, or lance.

RHUCHEN—A coat; a leathern jerkin. In the *Mabinogi* of “*Kilhwch and Olwen*” there is mention made of

“A swineherd with a *rhuchen* of skin about him.”

RHUDDBAR—A ruddy spear.

RHUWCH—A rough-fringed mantle or garment. *Llywarch Hen* wore one :—

“Though light some may deem my *rhuwch*.”

According to the *Laws of Hywel Dda*, a free tenant's *rhuwch* was valued at sixty pence, and that of a villain at thirty pence.—*Myv. Arch.*, iii., p. 424.

S.

SACHLIAIN—Sackcloth.

SACHWISG—Sackcloth covering.

SAE—A kind of woollen stuff, say :—

“A robe has been sent to thee,

Beneath the leaves, of black *sae*.”—*D ab Gwilym.*

SAETH—An arrow. According to the old *Welsh Laws*, every master of a family was required to possess a

“bow with twelve *saeth* in a quiver;” and have the the same in readiness against “the attacks of a foreign army, and of strangers, and other depredators.” Their legal value was fourpence.

It is not very clear whether the *tela*, which, according to Cæsar, the Britons used in their first engagement with the Romans,

“*Alii ab latere aperto, in universos tela conjiciebant.*”

were arrows, or some other missiles. That the word, in its primary acceptation, referred to the former, is evident from the Laws of Justinian:—

“*Telum autem [ut Caius noster ex interpretatione legum duodecim tabularum scriptum reliquit] vulgo quidem id appellatur, quod ab arcu mittitur. Sed et omne significat quod manu cujusque jacitur.*”

In the “Lady of the Fountain” we read of two youths whose “*saethau* had their shafts of the bone of the whale, and were winged with peacock’s feathers.”—P. 42. In the tale cited, *sub voce Bwa*, the messenger from the court of North Wales expresses his desire to have “a bow of red yew in his hand, ready bent, with a tough, tight string, and a straight round shaft, with a compass-rounded nock, and long slender feathers, fastened on with green silk, and a steel head, heavy and thick, and an inch across, of a green blue temper, that would draw blood out of a weathercock.”

Giraldus Cambrensis states that the people of Gwent excelled as archers, and he gives two or three extraordinary examples in proof of his assertion.

SAFFAR—A spike, a spear.

“They will tremble at their rage, serpents with *saffar* of reproof.”—*Cynddeho*.

SAFFWN—A beam, or a shaft.

“A *saffwn* of ample wrath is its spike.”—*Cynddeho*.

SAFFWY—A pike, or lance. This weapon was used in the battle of Cattraeth.

“He would not say but that Cynon should see the corpee
Of one harnessed and *saffwyawc* (holding a pike), and of a
wide-spread fame.”—*Gododin*.

SAID—That part of any tool which goeth into the haft; the hilt, haft, or handle. *Cleddyf crynsaid*, a sword with a round handle.

SALED—An helmet, or headpiece.

“If William will give a steel *saled*,
To fasten the temples comfortably.”

G. Glyn, A.D. 1450.

SEGAN—A covering, a cloak.

“The love *segan* of the ladies;
Guto the panegyrist, a lodger midst mead,
Know that the garment is mine.”

Ieuan ap Hywel Swardwal, 1460.

SIDAN—Silk; satin.

SIDER—Lace; fringe.

SINDAL—Sindon; fine linen; cambric. The word was used by the old writers to signify a thin kind of silk, like cypress.

“The couch which the maiden had prepared for him (Owain) was meet for Arthur himself; it was of scarlet, and fur, and satin, and *sindal*, and fine linen.”—*Lady of the Fountain*.

Gwynfardd Brycheiniawg, 1160–1220, in his Ode on St. David, describes him as being robed in *sindal*.

“Dewi son of Sant with a *sindal* vest.”

SWCH—A soc; a point; the boss of a shield.

“He bore a heavy three-edged sword with a golden hilt, in a scabbard of black leather, having a *swch* of fine gold on the point (*i. e.*, being tipped with fine gold).”—*Dream of Rhonabwy*, p. 407.

To hold the *swch* of a shield upwards was regarded as a signal of peace.

“Behold one of the ships outstripped the others, and they saw a shield lifted up above the side of the ship, and the *swch* of the shield was upwards, in token of peace.”—*Branwen*, p. 104.

SYCHYN—A soc.

“Impelled are sharp weapons of iron—gashing is the blade,
And with a clang the *sychyn* descends upon the pate.”

Gododin.

T.

TABAR—A tabard. The word was known in the sixth century, as it is mentioned by Taliesin.

TALADDURN—A front ornament.

TALAITH—Properly a head-band, such as that wherewith a nurse ties the head of a little child; also, a crown, a coronet, a diadem.

“The three *taleithiawg cad* (diademed warriors) of the isle of Britain; Trystan son of Tallwch, Huail son of Caw, and Cai son of Cynyr the handsome knight; and one was *taleith-*

iawg over the three, namely, Bedwyr son of Pedrog."—*Triad* 69. Third Series.

The sons of Rhodri the Great were likewise styled "the three *taleithiawg* princes, by reason that each of them did wear on his helmet a coronet of gold, being a broad head-band indented upwards, set and wrought with precious stones."—*Vide Wynne's Hist. of Wales*, p. 34. Hence also the word came to signify a principality, or a province.

TALEITHIG—A fillet, a bandlet.

TARGED—A target.

TARIAN—A shield. Gwrgan the Freckled, the fiftieth king of Britain, "enacted a law that no one should bear a *tarian*, but only a sword and bow; hence his countrymen became very heroic."—*Iolo MSS.*, p. 351. Ancient writers represent the *tarianau* of the Britons as very small; to which description the specimens which occasionally come to light exactly agree. They seem to have been borne in the hand, rather than on the arm.

A simple *tarian* was valued at eightpence; but should it be of blue or gold enamel, its value was twenty-four pence.—*Myv. Arch.*, iii., p. 423.

TASEL—A bandage; a sash; a fringe; a tassel.

TEDDYF—A socket; a hollow for receiving a handle, or the like.

"The smith of the palace ought to perform all the jobs of the palace gratuitously, except three things; those are particularly the rim of a pot, the edge of a coulter, and the *teddyf* of a hatchet and of a spear head."—*Welsh Laws*.

TEISBAN—A piece of tapestry; a quilt; a hassock.

TEYRNDLWS—A jewel, or part of the regalia. The ancient *teyrndlysau* of Wales, among which were the *croes naid*, adorned with gold and silver and precious stones, and the crown of King Arthur, were, after the defeat of Dafydd ab Gruffydd, conveyed by Edward I. with magnificent pomp to Westminster Abbey. “Et sic Wallensium gloria ad Anglicos, licet invite, est translata.”—*Annal. Waverl. Matth. Westm.*

TEYRNWIALEN—A sceptre.

TINBAIS—A petticoat.

TLWS—A jewel.

TORCH—A torques; a collar; a wreath. The nobility and great commanders among the ancient Britons wore golden *tyrch* about their necks, as did also their neighbours in Gaul. Tacitus mentions the *tyrch* among the British spoils exhibited at Rome with the noble captive Caractacus; and Dion Cassius, in his description of Boadicea, tells us, “she wore a large golden torques,” &c.—*Hist. Rom.*, l. 62. Frequent allusion is made to the *torch* by the bards of the sixth century; and even as late as the close of the twelfth century we meet with a lord of Iâl wearing the golden chain, and hence denominated *Llewelyn aurdorchog*.

TORON—A mantle, or cloak.

TORYN—A mantle; a cope; or sacerdotal vesture.

“I will not be a carrying *toryn*, nor pluvial cap.”—*Adage*.

TRWS—A covering garment; a trouse, dress, or habili-
ment.

TRYFER—A forked spear, or harpoon.

“And the *tryfer* of battle and tumult.”—*Iolo Goch*.

TUDED—A covering.

“The groom of the chamber is entitled to all the old clothes of the king, except his Lenten *tudded*.”—*Welsh Laws*.

TUDEDYD—A covering.

“Every town-wrought *tuddedyn*, its value is twenty-four pence; every home-spun *tuddedyn*, eightpence.”—*Welsh Laws*.

TUL—A shroud.

TULI—*Id.*

TWLI—Buckram; stiff cloth.

TWYG—A garment; a toga. Merddin seems to refer it to the monks in the following lines:—

“I will not receive the communion from accursed monks,
With their *twygau* on their knees,
May I be communicated by God Himself.”

TYTMWY—A loop; a clasp; a buckle.

“Derbyniad pen cengl, modrwy yn dal pwrs wrth wregys.”
—*J. Davies, D.D.*, 1630.

“It was a *tytmwy* on a gap,
The string of the wood, across a dingle,
Strong was the briar.”—*D. ab Gwilym*.

TYWEL—A cloth; a towel.

Y.

YSGARLAD—Scarlet. See *Sindal*.

YSGIN—A robe made of skin with the fur on; a pelisse.

Rhita Gawr, who lived beyond the historical era of the Britons, is said to have made for himself an *ysgin* from the beards of the princes that he reduced to the rank of

shaved ones, or slaves, on account of their oppression.—*Triad* 54. Third Series. *G. ab Arthur*.

The legal worth of an *ysgin* belonging to the king was one pound; also to the queen one pound; if it belonged to a freeholder or his wife, 120 pence.—*Myv. Arch.*, iii., 424. It was thus a very expensive article of dress.

YSGINAWR—A robe. Llywelyn Prydydd y Moch describes Llywelyn ab Iorwerth as invested with

“ An ample *ysginawr*
Of scarlet, the hue of the gleaming of flames.”

YSGWYD—A shield; a target. The early bards make frequent use of this word in their description of heroes and battles. Urien Rheged had a gold *ysgwyd*.

“ Aur ysgwyd ar ysgwydd Urien.”—*Ll. Hen*.

YSGWYDAWR—A shield; a target.

“ Have I not been presented by Rhun the magnificent,
With a hundred swarms, and a hundred *ysgwydawr* ?”
Ll. Hen.

YSGWYDRWY—The rim of a shield.

“ My wreath is of ruddy gem,
Gold my *ysgwydrwy*.”—*Taliesin*.

YSGWYDDLIAN—A shoulder scarf; an ephod.

YSGWYDDWISG—*Id*.

YSNODEN—A fillet, band, riband or lace; a head-band; a hair lace. *Ysnoden gorni, rhwymyn*, a swaddling band.

“ I saw a man in the prime of life, with his beard newly shorn, clad in a robe and a mantle of yellow satin, and round

the top of his mantle was an *ysnoden* of gold lace."—*Lady of the Fountain*.

YSNODENIG—A bandlet.

YSPAR—A spear, or pike.

“ O Graid, son of Hoewgi,
With thy *ysperi*
Thou causest an effusion of blood.”—*Gododin*.

YSPARDUN—A spur. According to Hywel Dda's Laws, the head groom of the palace was entitled to the king's old *yspardunau*. In the same Code also *yspardunau* of gold are valued at fourpence; of silver, at two-pence; of tin or brass, at one penny.

YSPICELL—A dart.

YSTOLA—A scarf; an ephod; a wrapper; a loose gown; a stole.

“ They beheld a young man sitting on the right side, being clad in a shining *ystola*.”—*W. Salisbury*.

YSTRAIG—A buckle.

THE END.





