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Y Cymmrodor.

VOL. XXII. "CARED DOETH YR ENCILION." 1910.

The Foreign Aspect of the Welsh Records.

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THE modern science of History has been so rigorously shaped by academic method and so deeply overlaid with materials from newly-discovered sources that some discrimination is needed in discussing the most trivial aspects of its study. Again, the rival claims of Universal History (with its huge excrescence known as Sociology) of General History (with its invitation to include the history of every science or art within our ken) of Political, Constitutional, Legal, Ecclesiastical, Naval and Military, Economic and Social History, and even the well-defined and exacting auxiliary sciences of History in the shape of Bibliography, Method, Linguistic, Palæography and Diplomatic, Archæology and the other hard terms with which the studies of coins and medals, seals, dates and pedigrees are labelled by the learned, have each to be duly considered even by those who aspire to no more than a modest knowledge of the history of their own country.

In truth this study of the National History has difficulties enough of its own to present to the rash intruder, even when he is fully equipped with a panoply of historical science, auxiliary or otherwise. In the first place there is the historical literature to be considered, and in the second place the sources have to be reckoned with. It is perhaps to the conflicting interests of these two elements that most of our difficulties may be attributed. On the one hand, a sense of honour requires us to do justice to the authors and editors who have already laboured on our behalf in this field of study, even if we are not disposed to rely entirely upon the printed authorities. On the other hand, the instinct of self-preservation enjoins us to keep a wary eye upon unpublished sources.

If there were no printed literature to be considered, we should be free to devote ourselves to a systematic examination of the original sources, and if the sources were already utilized or even, as formerly, inaccessible to historical students, we should at least have more time to spare for profitable reading or textual criticism. As it is the modern student must divide his attention between the two methods with results which are not favourable to his rapid progress in the advanced study of National History.

It must be admitted that in certain continental States and in America the excellence of the arrangements made for the classification, description and publication of the original sources has greatly reduced the extent of these initial difficulties. That we ourselves are less fortunate in this respect, is a suggestion that has frequently been made in recent years and supported by striking instances. It has been represented to us that the style and subject matter of our historical publications is chiefly influenced by commercial considerations and that the arrangement of our Archives is the regret of foreign students. Possibly there

is some foundation for both assertions. The *raison d'être* of a majority of historical works is not obvious on any other supposition than that they are marketable wares, though this is a reproach which may be shared by the historical literature of every country during the past and present generations. Again it is scarcely to be expected that the profession of an archivist should be recognized in a country in which the very name and science of the Archives are unknown.

At the same time the position is one that should be fairly faced. Both the literature of history and its sources are equally available for our use and profit. After eliminating all that is useless or unworthy from the former, there is still left a large residue of really valuable works. In respect of General History and certain aspects of National History we are richly provided for, whilst the Auxiliary Studies furnish almost an embarrassment of wealth.

A profitable use of this valuable historical literature might be greatly facilitated by the preparation of a really select Bibliography, which is perhaps the most immediate need of historical students. Indeed, printed books may be regarded properly as reproductions of the sources or as containing observations of historical facts. Hitherto, however, the science of Bibliography has been influenced by bibliophiles to whom the quality of the printed book is of less importance than its form or pedigree. Even when a process of selection has been attempted, the titles of many works which might have been tacitly ignored are included, for no other practical purpose than to serve as examples of authorities which appear to the compiler as "of little value". But precious space might surely be confined to a selected list of necessary or useful titles.

Another advantage of the methodical treatment of our printed sources is found in respect of their co-ordination

with the unpublished manuscript. A good Bibliography should indicate approximately what sources remain unpublished, just as an adequate Guide to historical manuscripts will mention the printed literature of the several series. If this elementary definition of Historical Method were accepted and acted on, we should have little need to trouble ourselves about the ways and means of studying National History which, in one aspect or another, is the chief interest of modern historical scholarship.

There is, however, still another consideration which must be duly regarded by the intending student of his own national History, besides the state of the materials at his disposal. The title of his subject is sufficiently explicit, and yet it is a title that may need to be maintained against prejudice or prescription. And not the title only may be lacking. Conquest or fusion may have caused the manuscript sources of national history to perish or become inaccessible.

Herein the fortune of nations has seemingly varied. Poland has ceased to be a nation, but her national archives have been carefully preserved. Holland and Belgium became kingdoms in recent times, and local muniments straightway became Departmental Archives. Ireland, as a lordship and as a subject kingdom, kept her national Records, whilst Scotland, a neighbour State, lost many that were carried to London as the spoils of war. Year by year French scholars visit our Archives to consult Records removed by the English armies when they evacuated Caen and Bordeaux. The case of Wales is a peculiar one. Here the national Records are no longer preserved in the Principality. Such as may have existed prior to 1284 have long since perished. From Edward I's conquest to Henry VIII's annexation, the Welsh judicial Records have been fitfully preserved with the surviving Assize Rolls of the English

Courts. From 1542 to 1830, however, the position was somewhat reversed. The Records of the General Sessions of Wales were preserved in local repositories¹ whilst the English Assize Rolls since the Tudor period have perished in the custody of Clerks of the Assizes. Moreover, amongst these Welsh judicial Records there was preserved a vast mass of subsidiary documents, many of which throw welcome light upon the economic and social condition of the country.

In 1854 these Welsh Records, which include those of the palatinate of Chester, were removed to London, a decision which is perhaps to be regretted in the interests of the students of English and Welsh history alike. This bulky transmission presumably occupied the space that should have been immediately filled by out-lying English Records, including those of the palatinates of Durham and of Ely, and a countless collection of departmental Records, dating from the twelfth century to the nineteenth, some of which are still outstanding whilst still more are known to have perished within living memory.

In any case these regrets are useless, and any speculations as to the different fate which might have befallen the Welsh local Records, since the regeneration of Wales, do not concern a Saxon essayist. It remains only to notice, as the sequel, this inexorable fact.

In both Scotland and Ireland the retention of the national archives carried with it the privilege of publishing a considerable portion of their contents in an official series. The loss of this prestige might therefore be

¹ There is a persistent tradition that many early Welsh Records were removed from Carnarvon to Westminster in the eighteenth century, and certainly the acquisition of many Welsh Records now incorporated in the English Series has never been satisfactorily explained.

regarded as a serious drawback to the modern student of Welsh history who sets out upon his task without a share in the advantages enjoyed by his English, Scottish and Irish fellow students. On the other hand it may be fairly objected that the difference in respect of the subject-matter of their respective studies is very considerable. This is a question deserving of careful examination. In the first place, as we have seen, the materials for the Welsh national history previous to the year 1284 were not preserved down to our own times in any national archives, with the exception of a few stray copies of native annals and *diplomata* to be found amongst the English Records. It is therefore a matter of congratulation that a considerable proportion of the MSS. which illustrate Welsh native law and tribal custom, as well as the distinctive literature of the race, is now safely housed in a National Library and that, thanks to the energy and skill of native editors, working texts of so many of these interesting remains are available for study. On this firm foundation, supplemented by the labours of the Welsh Commission for the preservation of ancient monuments and the archæological and literary surveys, supervised by distinguished scholars like Sir John Rhŷs, Dr. Gwenogfryn Evans, and Dr. Henry Owen, the student may now begin to build up the national history of a later period from the existing archives. Moreover numerous historical documents will also be found in public libraries and private collections, the greater number of which have been carefully described.

That the Welsh Records between 1284 and 1536, so far as they have survived at all, are preserved in the English archives is a fact already noted. A similar feature of the Scottish and Irish national Records has also been observed, but there the national character of

these documents has been presented in a separate form of official publication. At the same time all the entries relating to Wales may be found in the well-known Calendars of the Rolls Series and these publications form an important asset in the calculations of the native student. But these will not suffice for an exhaustive study of the subject. An inventory of all the materials for Welsh history amongst the English diplomatic, ministerial and judicial Records, State Papers and Departmental Records is urgently required, together with complete texts of the Chancery series of Welsh Rolls and certain early Records of the palatinate of Chester, and until this is accomplished by native industry the position of the Welsh student will continue to be less favourable than that of his fellow-students in Scotland and Ireland.

Concerning these official sources for the history of *Wallia subjecta* from the thirteenth to the sixteenth centuries we already know a good deal, thanks chiefly to the enterprise of several modern Welsh scholars.¹ It is usual to regard these sources as falling into two main categories, the one comprising notices of Welsh affairs included amongst the regular series of English Records, and the other documents compiled in the Principality itself or relating exclusively to the national history. This division of interests, however, is found to be very imperfect. Many of the documents now preserved in the general series of English

¹ Notably my colleague, Mr. R. A. Roberts, in his admirable Papers for the *Transactions* of the Hon. Society of Cymmrodorion, 1895-6, and *Y Cymmrodor*, x, 157, and his scholarly edition of the *Ruthin Court Rolls* (Cymmrodorion Record Series, vol. ii). The valuable researches of Mr. Edward Owen and Mr. J. H. Davies in this field are continuous, and are supported by those of younger students like Dr. E. A. Lewis. On the subject of the Welsh Records see the present writer's notes in the *Transactions* of the Hon. Society of Cymmrodorion, 1900-01, and *Studies in English Official Historical Documents*, p. 115.

Records were either removed from the Principality in early times or have been absorbed since the transfer of the Welsh Records to London in 1854.¹ Again the mediæval collection of Welsh local Records is practically confined to the palatinate of Chester.

There is another objection to this proprietary classification of Welsh Records which applies equally to the whole contents of the Archives. It involves a tedious search for isolated documents or entries scattered throughout the contents of the old judicial repositories and inevitable duplication. Moreover it leaves a large *residuum* of documents that are practically undescribed except by the convenient title "Miscellaneous Roll", "Miscellaneous Book," or "Miscellanea", containing an immense number of documents of a very diverse nature.

It may be suggested that by means of the following system a more satisfactory method of investigation might be pursued by students desirous of locating all matters of national interest. In the first place it may be assumed that every document for which we are seeking will be, as to its clerical form or official character, capable of being referred to one or other of four great classes of so-called "Records,"² namely :

1. Diplomatic Documents (including royal and private Charters or Deeds, deposited or inrolled, Writs, Letters and some irregular forms).
2. Ministerial Proceedings (Surveys, Inquisitions, Assessments, and Accounts).
3. Judicial Proceedings (Original and Judicial Writs and other subsidiary instruments, with the Pleadings themselves).

¹ Cf. *ante*, p. 5, n. 1.

² For the classification of these types see *Studies in English Official Historical Documents*, pp. 327-38 and *passim*.

4. Precedents and Miscellaneous (semi-official and literary MSS. of an extraneous nature).

It is true that in respect of form these classes are to some extent interchangeable, or rather that the diploma is the fundamental type from which all our official writings are derived; but the distinction of character or subject will serve our present purpose. This is merely to bring together from the several ancient repositories of the Chancery, Exchequer, King's Bench, Common Pleas, Courts Palatine, &c. and all their sub-departments such obvious types as Charters, Surveys, Accounts and the rest. It concerns us nothing whether any one of these documents, belongs or belonged, rightfully or not, to the Exchequer Court, Plea Side or Equity Side; to the King's or Lord Treasurer's Remembrancer's Department, the Augmentation Department, the First Fruits and Tenths Department or the Receipt Department. What does concern us is that the document is a Charter or Account, original or inrolled, or otherwise distinguished by its clerical form, and that it relates to some matter of Welsh interest. The second point in the proposed system of study relates to the subject of interest, enabling the student to discriminate to some extent between the class of documents useful for his purpose and such as are irrelevant. Here we can most conveniently utilize the conventional branches of historical study generally recognized as Political, Constitutional, Legal, Ecclesiastical, Naval and Military, Economic, Social and Local History, so far as these apply to the national history itself. In any case the recognition of these titles will enable us to include the state of Wales in any wider study of such subjects of historical interest. In some instances indeed, as in respect of monastic history, this would be done without hesitation, though not in others, as in the case of Economic History.

It is possible, indeed, that the hand-book of the future may come to our assistance in this direction by means of a development of the scheme of arrangement already adopted by Mr. Scargill-Bird in his well-known and invaluable *Guide*. For a work of this sort, dealing with the Welsh sources only, many helpful and characteristic headings would be possible which are now merged in historical and record titles of purely English significance.¹ In this way what is now necessarily an alien and neglected sphere of interest would be usefully occupied by national studies.

Such a differentiation of local interests in the general collection of the English archives prior to 1535 is all the more desirable because in the Welsh Records of the subsequent period we have many distinctive classes. As to the historical value of these later judicial Records it would be difficult to speak with certainty until their arrangement is completed, but as the remarkable value of the mediæval Records of the Palatinate is now established,² Welsh students may fairly hope for important results from an investigation both of the later series of Plea Rolls and of the Miscellaneous "Welsh Books" and "Welsh Papers."³

Apart from the fact that these Welsh Records are no longer preserved in the Principality and that some have

¹ With the exception of a few distinctive titles amongst the early Chester Plea Rolls and certain local Accounts.

² Amongst these may be mentioned besides the splendid series of Eyre Rolls, *Quo Warranto*, Recognizance, Sheriff's Tourn, Indictment and Assize Rolls, various Forest proceedings, Coroner's Presentments, Mainprize Rolls and Gaol files, etc., together with all the Miscellaneous Rolls and Books prior to the Act of Incorporation.

³ These miscellaneous Records include Estreats of Fines, etc., Pentice and Portmote Court Rolls, Constables' Accounts, Issues of Dec Mills, Outlawry Rolls, and Inquisitions and Extents of several kinds, besides an immense number of suitors' Papers, early inven-

been incorporated in the English series, we have here at last a native source of official information.

This should have been supplemented by important Records of the Council of Wales and the Marches during the sixteenth century and even later, but unlike the Proceedings of the English Courts of Star Chamber and Requests, this series is practically missing.¹

The same remark unfortunately applies to the earliest Records of the Justices of the Peace,² though some later proceedings of the Quarter Sessions are preserved in local custody,³ together with certain departmental Records.⁴

For more than three centuries to come after the close of the mediæval period Welsh affairs continue to be noticed in the later series of English legal Records. Of these, the judicial proceedings of the Chancery and Council exhibit a remarkable development in the direction of special jurisdictions, the famous courts of Star Chamber and Requests. Like the northern counties, the Western district was, as we have seen, under the supervision of a local government down to the Civil Wars of the seventeenth century, though in both cases the bulk of the

tories and bills of costs, travelling expenses, diets, etc. Somewhat similar documents are preserved amongst the English Records in the shape of the old papers of the Chancery Masters. In addition to these there are two splendid series of Ruthin Records, but many Accounts, Rentals, and Inquisitions, formerly amongst the Welsh Records, are now removed and incorporated in the English series.

¹ One of the later Council books, a survival resembling that found in the case of the Dublin "Court of Council Chamber" is calendared in the Thirteenth Report of the Historical MSS. Commission (iv). Other stray records and notices that have been preserved are described by Miss C. Skeel in her well-known monograph of the history of the Council.

² Cf. B. H. Putman, *Statutes of Labourers*, p. 63 sq.

³ Cf. Report on Local Records (1901) and S. and B. Webb, *English Local Government*, Bk. iii, ch. 5.

⁴ Such as those relating to the Customs revenue.

official records has perished. Again the Exchequer undergoes important departmental changes in the middle of the sixteenth century and the new classes of Records connected with the courts of Augmentations, Surveyors, First Fruits and Tenths and Wards and Liveries, which are the result of these changes, include many interesting references to the Principality. At the same time the mediæval series of Charters and Writs under the Great Seal together with the Ancient Correspondence cease to represent the State Papers at large and their place is taken by the modern class of State Papers—Domestic, Foreign and (in time) Colonial. These secretarial Records are supplemented in turn by the correspondence and other documents connected with the special administrative departments of the State, the Treasury, Admiralty, War Office, Council, Household, with their ramifications, all of which relieve the Secretaries of State of some part of their clerical labours.

Meanwhile the Chancery itself, with its historic enrolments, pursues a narrower path of official activity, though amongst its voluminous proceedings as a Court of Equity and as a formal registry of royal instruments Welsh history can count many illustrations.

As for the Courts of Justice themselves, we have already seen that their jurisdiction was diverted for local purposes under the memorable legislation of Henry VIII. The gain to the modern student of Welsh judicial Records is two-fold, since these local courts not only supplanted the unrecorded pleadings in the Marcher Courts,¹ but also preserved a full series of Records, unlike the English Courts whose Assize Records are missing since the close

¹ As to this cf. Skeel *op. cit.*, *Arch. Camb.* iii, 66 sq., *Y Cymmrodor*, xii, xiii, xiv, and *Transactions of the Cymmrodorion Society*, 1902-3.

of the fifteenth century. Unfortunately, however, the whole of this later series of English judicial Records is still for the most part unpublished and very imperfectly described, like the Welsh Records themselves. The State Papers are also uncalendared, with a few exceptions, beyond the latter part of the seventeenth century, whilst the vast collection of Departmental Records of a still later period is in an even worse condition for purposes of study. It must also be remembered that matters concerning Wales are not distinguished in the official lists as in the case of Scottish and Irish notices.

The prospect of remunerative research is therefore scarcely a promising one, but from another aspect of the sources, with the incorporation of Wales in Tudor England a new era dawns for the student of the Welsh national history. The significance of that great change in the fortunes of the race has been well explained in a scholarly and illuminative essay by a modern Welsh historian.¹ Emancipated, through the imperial common sense of a descendant of Cadwallader, from the tyranny of Norman feudalism jarring on native custom, the Welsh begin to fill their distinctive place in the history of the Empire. They had ceased to be a subject nation to become an allied people. The Welshry, once counted as alien beyond the narrow Marches, is naturalized in the chief cities and ports of England and begins to invade the distant colonies of Greater Britain. The State, the Church, the Lords and Commons, the army and navy, the bench and bar, industry and commerce receive the influx of new blood and testify to its virtues by redoubled energy in appointed tasks.

¹ Mr. W. Llewelyn Williams in *Transactions* of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion, 1907-8.

The part played by the Welsh people in the making of the British Empire is therefore worthy of the attention of the student who has hitherto experienced a dearth of historical details for the later national history owing to the inaccessibility of those authentic sources which are available for the study of the mediæval period. The ethnological relations of the early British civilization have been exhaustively discussed by many learned scholars and the political, ecclesiastical, commercial and literary intercourse of the mediæval Welsh with their continental and insular neighbours has been carefully investigated. Even the vicissitudes of the Welsh exiles have been traced into a far later period, but little has been done in the direction of a comparative history of Welsh and English citizenship between the Tudor and the Victorian eras for the purpose of showing how, on the one hand, the Welsh inhabitants of the Principality itself contributed to the common history of the kingdom and, on the other hand, how their presence in the English towns and counties and in the British Colonies has enriched the national economy.

The materials for such a study are chiefly contained, as we have seen, amongst the English archives, supplemented by local Records and private muniments, but here we are concerned only with the first named sources. These again can only be indicated in the briefest and most desultory manner, partly owing to their incomplete arrangement, and partly to the exigencies of space.

Broadly speaking, our sources are distributed between the great classes of later legal Records and the still more voluminous series of secretarial and departmental documents which are preserved beside them. Amongst the former we may notice especially the Proceedings of the Chancery, with its offshoots, and the Decrees, Commissions, Surveys and Accounts of the Exchequer rather

than the Pleadings of the Courts of Common Law.¹ These Records, however, will illustrate in an equal degree the state of the Principality itself and the condition of the Welsh residing in the English counties or towns. It is noticeable also that owing to the new ministerial dispositions whereby the Council, Secretariat and Treasury have begun to supplant the old judicial bodies, several of these sources are found duplicated amongst the State Papers and Departmental Records.

The sixteenth and seventeenth century State Papers are still more valuable and they are supplemented, especially in the eighteenth century, by the Records of the Treasury and other Departments. From these and other sources, including the Records of the High Court of Admiralty and other special jurisdictions, we may gather many interesting facts concerning the Welsh people in their relations with the central government, though all these sources, as we know, must be further supplemented by private collections.

Perhaps they should be peculiarly helpful for an extensive study of the national biography, to include not merely the "Lives" of eminent Welshmen, but some attempt to show the distribution of the Anglo-Welsh in the service of the State as ministers or officers of the Crown in the Government departments, in the army and navy, or in the greater service of the nation as members of the religious and

¹ Reference may be made *inter alia* to the several classes of Chancery and Exchequer Records known as the Petty Bag (Sacramental Certificates and Oath Rolls), Chancery Proceedings, Customers' Patent Rolls, Dispensation Rolls, Recusant Rolls, Licenses to preach and to cross the seas, Exchequer Memoranda Rolls, Depositions, Commissions, Papers, and the several series of Accounts and Inventories. With the later Exchequer Records are included those of the Augmentation Office and Court of Surveyors afterwards associated with the Land Revenue Office.

learned professions, as artists and men of letters and as merchants, traders, mariners or artificers. Even in the *Biographia Cambrensis* there is room for many additions and need for several emendations. We may now know, thanks to Mr. Llewelyn Williams, all that there is to be known of Henry Morgau, the famous West Indian governor and buccaneer,¹ but another prototype of Captain Kidd, governor Cadwallader Jones, is not included in the "Dictionary of National Biography", and we should probably have to rely on American works for particulars of the Welsh ministers² who laboured in the Plantations during the eighteenth century. Early emigration, indeed, is not a subject in which the Welsh people are known to have figured to particular advantage, but this is in itself a reason for dwelling more fully on its brighter side, following the example of the national historians of other economic pilgrimages.³ The materials for this purpose are unhappily most defective owing to the unaccountable loss of the passenger returns at the outports during the eighteenth century.⁴ From the few that have survived,⁵ dated 1774-6, we can learn at least that there were no

¹ *Transactions* of the Cymmrodorion Society, 1903-4. Since this article was written important official papers on the subject, retained by a seventeenth century minister, have been sold, possibly for export to America. Cf. *Athenaeum*, 30 Apr. 1910.

² Amongst these were Goronwy Owen and Hugh Jones, cf. G. Fothergill "Emigrant Ministers to America, 1698-1811", compiled from the Treasury Records. Interesting information respecting the early Welsh settlement in Pennsylvania, the projected settlement in Carolina, and the conditions which affected the modern settlement in Patagonia could be found in the Colonial Office and Foreign Office Records.

³ *e.g.*, the official histories published by the American, Canadian, South African, and Australian governments.

⁴ These are believed to have perished in the great fire at the Custom House in 1814, but their fate is uncertain.

⁵ Amongst the Treasury Records (Registers).

Welsh emigrants to the Plantations at a time when shiploads of "indented labourers" were leaving the English ports accompanied by many sturdy northern farmers driven to "seek a better livelihood", because, owing to the new curse of inclosures, "their rents are raised so high that they cannot live". However, in the nineteenth century, the records of colonial emigration begin to be available,¹ and with these may be associated the less pleasing though instructive subject of convict transportation,² the fate of Welsh prisoners of war in foreign lands,³ or the privations of persecuted loyalists⁴ and impoverished slave-owners.⁵

Again, adequate histories of the Welsh regiments or of the service of Welshmen in the British Navy can only be compiled from the departmental records. We may know the names of the South Welsh Borderers who fell in the heroic charge at Chillianwallah, but do we readily know the names or number of the men of Welsh blood who fought with Hawke at Quiberon or with Wolfe at Quebec, with Nelson at Trafalgar or with Wellington at Waterloo?⁶ The Welsh shipping industry offers a really interesting field of study from the early mediæval period onwards in respect of the coast-wise trade alone. In addition to the economic importance of such information as to the distribution of Welsh products, interesting statistics could be

¹ Amongst the Colonial Office Records (Correspondence and Emigration Land Board).

² Colonial Office, Home Office and Transport Board (Admiralty) Records.

³ Admiralty (Medical and Victualling Office) Records.

⁴ Treasury and Audit Office Records.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ In this connexion it may be doubted whether it is generally known that of the crew of the small bark "Endeavour", during Captain Cook's first voyage of discovery, six at least bore Welsh names, two of these being Bangor men.

compiled as to tonnage, master mariners and apprentices, pilots and the like. From a strategical or merely from a topographical point of view, the surveys and establishments of the harbours and ports and signal stations might be consulted with advantage, and more sensational interest would be provided by the remarkable records of smuggling and privateering enterprise scattered through many series both of judicial proceedings and State Papers.¹ But the point is that, whether our official seventeenth or eighteenth century Welshman was an admiral or an able seaman, a general or a common private, a Chelsea or a Greenwich pensioner or scholar, a pilot, a coast-guard, a militia man, a sea-fencible, a land-fencible, or, in private life, a smuggler, privateersman or filibuster, we have here a record of his services and often a narrative of his exploits which should at least be noted as a potential source of national history and biography.² We even have the wills of many of these old sailors, which indeed are sometimes as breezy as their lives. But though Evan Evans, with some kindred spirits, may choose to leave his pay and prize money to his dear friend the hostess of the Black Bull in Smithfield Market, whom he anxiously identifies as black-visaged with high cheek-bones, fresh complexion and poek marked, John Jones and many more will remember

¹ *e.g.*, Exchequer Memoranda Rolls, Admiralty, (Solicitor's) Records, Treasury Records, and the State Papers Domestic of the eighteenth century. For recent references to these sources cf. papers by Miss M. Morison in the *Clare Market Journal* (London School of Economics) October 1909, and the present writer in *Transactions R. Hist. Soc.*, January 1910.

² Scottish military historians are now actively interested in the nationality of the Highland regiments. Records of the services of naval and military officers and men can be found amongst the Registers of the Admiralty and War Office in great profusion. These include in some cases baptismal certificates and personal descriptions.

the claims of the mother or sister, "the schoolmistress" of some native hamlet. The source is scarcely of historical value except so far as it serves to remind us of the sharp division in point of material prosperity between the adventurous Cymro and the "old folks at home". This is perhaps most clearly shown in the Revenue returns for England and Wales amongst the Exchequer and Treasury Records¹ which include such inquisitorial devices as taxes on houses, hearths, windows, carriages, plate, men-servants, bachelors, and widowers, in those "good old days", as well as duties on most of the commodities of trade and necessities of life. From three of the former levies, the excise on carriages, plate, and men-servants, some interesting conclusions might be drawn. For instance, during the period 1754 to 1762 there were in the whole of North, East, West and Middle Wales only some two hundred and fifty coaches, chariots, chaises, chairs and landaus,² or fewer than were found in the county of Sussex alone. In respect of plate we find that some seven hundred persons paid the tax in Wales between 1756 and 1768, as against seven hundred and fifty in Yorkshire, and that twenty-five prosperous persons of the name of Lloyd paid in London alone as against thirty-two Lloyds in Wales. In the case of the duty on men-servants, about 1780, the united respectability of the English Lloyds was exactly commensurate with that of the parent stock in Wales.

Incidentally, too, these fiscal Records supply biographical information in connexion with the establishments of the Customs and Excise in Wales, lists of compounders

¹ Treasury, Miscellaneous, Registers and Revenue Accounts, and Exchequer, Declared and Tax Accounts. The names and addresses of those paying the tax are given in the former, also the weight of the plate from year to year.

² Even so many of these belonged, apparently, to English residents.

for Malt duties and many interesting details regarding the coasting trade in wool and salt. In a wider aspect the state of Trade is also illustrated by the State Papers and the Records of the Boards of Trade and Customs, whilst those of the Office of Works and some other fragments give particulars respecting roads and public buildings, Agriculture, as in the case of the sister kingdoms, is less fortunate owing to the mysterious disappearance of the Records of the old Board of Agriculture, but statistics are preserved of two such calamities as the cattle disease outbreak between 1745 and 1757 which decimated the herds of Chester, Denbigh and Flint,¹ and the Potato Crop failure of 1845-8.² And so we might continue to select, *ad libitum*, some sure or promising subject-matter of interest for the History of the Welsh people, whether in Wales or England or Greater Britain, from the early and later legal Records, State Papers, and Departmental archives.³

¹ The herd-books which accompanied the accounts have not been preserved with the Pipe and Audit Office Declared Accounts, but other references to the subject may be found in the following series : Treasury, Customs Letter Books, General Letter Books, Minute Books, Warrant Book, Money Books, Registered Papers and State Papers Domestic, George II.

² Treasury, Expired Commissions. There are statistics from the official returns (which are imperfect), in the *Gardening Chronicle* of 1849. These returns are of some scientific interest. They record, for instance, severe frost in North Wales on July 1st and 24th, and August 7th-11th, 18th and 29th-31st of 1848.

³ Besides those previously referred to special mention may be made of the following Departmental Records : Home Office, Disturbances, Internal Defence and other Military Papers, Petitions and Addresses, Alien Correspondence ; Admiralty, Accountant General's, Secretary's and Navy Board series ; War Office, Commission Books, Description Books and other Regimental Records, Miscellanies, Militia Letter Books, Ordnance Surveys, &c. Treasury, Expired Commissions, Courts of Justice and Revenue Enquiry : in a less degree

It will be evident to experienced scholars that the present desultory survey has scarcely reached beyond the borders of a vast field of historical research. The object of this Paper is merely to indicate some few parcels of that new ground of inquiry the value of which for the delineation of the national character, has been already appreciated by an eloquent historian of the Cymry Fu.

“Read all the splendid activity of the people, sailors, soldiers, traders and seekers after strange things in the reigns of the next few Monarchs. You will see that the Cymry jostled shoulder to shoulder in front with the English in all the glorious bustle of those brave days and were held in honour as brave men and were given due credit for all they did. It was a proud thing in the proud days of Elizabeth to be a Cymro.”¹

It is because these things make for national pride and self-reliance, which are a nation's strength, that a full knowledge of the past life of its people will be the most precious gift that any country may receive.

to the Records of the following Departments, Lord Chamberlain's Office, Lord Steward's Office, which are not, however, open to the public. The interest of some of these subjects may be realized from a reference to Dr. Henry Owen's description, published locally some years ago, of the French descent on Pembrokeshire in 1797 which is illustrated by the Home Office Records (Internal Defence).

¹ Owen Rhoscomyl, *Flamebearers of Welsh History*, pp. 252-3.

Parochiale Walleianum.

BY THE REV. A. W. WADE-EVANS,

Vicar of France Lynch, Glos.

RICE Rees, in his *Essay on the Welsh Saints* published in 1836, added a valuable appendix, containing "A list of churches and chapels in Wales, including the county of Monmouth and part of the county of Hereford, arranged with reference to their subordination". This list was drawn up in counties, with a view to ascertaining the names of the saints who laid the foundations of the British Church of Wales in about the fifth and sixth centuries, and it was the original intention in this paper simply to revise it. Whilst the revision was being made, it became more and more clear that the arrangement of these ancient religious foundations in accordance with the present Welsh counties, which are of comparatively recent origin, seriously interfered with the attainment of the object in view, for to the actual saints these county divisions were unknown, so that their religious establishments could not have been founded with reference to them. It seemed to follow, therefore, that the list should be drawn up in accordance with the secular or political divisions of the country as these were in the time of the saints themselves, a task for which I did not feel equal, notwithstanding the excellent material to be found in Dr. Henry Owen's *Pembrokeshire* and other publications of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion. But as it is recognised by scholars that the old *ecclesiastical*

divisions of Wales generally follow the secular divisions of pre-county days, it was clear that a basis might be found here upon which to start building; and because great changes had been made in these ecclesiastical divisions during the nineteenth century, it seemed well to find a list prior to this time and yet sufficiently near (for a first venture) to be controlled by other evidence. Such a list is to be found in the work entitled *Parochiale Anglicanum*, published in 1733, and compiled by the famous English antiquary, Browne Willis, of Whaddon Hall, Buckinghamshire. My revision of Rice Rees's *Appendix*, therefore, was all written out afresh, and the churches, chapels, etc., re-arranged according to their respective dioceses, archdeaconries, and deaneries, as these were and are described in Browne Willis's above-mentioned work. Those portions of our Thirteen Counties, which were not at that time in any Welsh diocese, are placed under the diocese to which they severally belonged, without regard to the smaller ecclesiastical divisions they happened to be in; and a few foundations neither in Wales nor in any Welsh diocese are added in like manner on account of their probable, or possible, British origin in the days when Wales (or Brittainia as she was then styled) extended beyond her present boundaries. It need hardly be said that no attempt is made here to exhaust the list of Welsh Church foundations to the time of Browne Willis and Rice Rees, but merely to arrange what must surely be now the bulk of the material, for the purpose of determining both the leading religious establishments of those early days and the saints who founded them. The subordination of "churches and chapels", except in a few instances, follows Rice Rees, with those, which are or were extinct, printed in italics; no modern foundation since Rees' time is inserted.

Browne Willis's list of patrons of Welsh benefices as they were about the year 1720, is here included, which list cannot fail to be of interest to students of the religious and ecclesiastical history of Wales within the last two centuries. In view of the significant importance of this subject of church patronage it is extraordinary how small a place is assigned to it in Welsh Church history books. I have therefore reproduced the list, which is by no means the least important part of Browne Willis's compilation.

Diocese of St. David's.

In 1733 this diocese comprised :—

1. Pembrokeshire.
2. Cardiganshire.
3. Carmarthenshire.
4. Breconshire.
5. Radnorshire (except *Old Radnor, New Radnor, Presteign, Norton, Knighton,* and *Michaelchurch Arrow*, all in Hereford diocese).
6. Glamorganshire, about one fourth of,
7. Herefordshire, eleven churches and chapels in,
8. Monmouthshire, three churches in,
9. Montgomeryshire, two churches in,

There were four Archdeaconries, with their Deaneries, as follows :—

I. St. David's	{	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Pebidiog 2. Dougleddeu 3. Castlemartin 4. Rhos 	} Pembrokeshire.
II. Brecon	{	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 5. Brecon First Part 6. Brecon Second Part 7. Brecon Third Part 8. Buallt 9. Hay 	} Breconshire.
	{	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 10. Elvael 11. Maeliennydd 	} Breconshire, Herefordshire, and Monmouthshire.
	{	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 12. Carmarthen 	} Carmarthenshire and Pembrokeshire.
III. Carmarthen	{	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 13. Kidwely 14. Llandeilo and Llangadog 15. Gower 	} Carmarthenshire.
	{	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 16. Emlyn 	} Pembrokeshire and Carmarthenshire.
IV. Cardigan	{	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 17. Cemes 18. Sub Aeron 19. Ultra Aeron 	} Pembrokeshire. } Cardiganshire.

The members of the Cathedral were:—

Bishop, “who is *Quasi Decanus* (having the Decanal Stall in the Choir, as well as a most stately throne)”.
 Precentor
 Chancellor
 Treasurer

} styled *Residentiarii nati*.

Four Archdeacons.

Eight Prebendaries.

Six Canons Cursal.

The above twenty-two “compose the number of the Prebendaries”.

Subchanter.

Four Priest-Vicars.

Four Lay-Vicars or Singing men.

Organist.

Four Choristers.

Master of Grammar School.

Verger.

Porter.

Sexton.

Keeper of Church in prayer time.

Thus they were forty-one in all. Besides the above three *Residentiarii nati*, who are “so by vertue of their Places”, there were three other Canons chosen out of the Archdeacons, Prebendaries, and Canons Cursal, “under which six Residentiaries, namely, the Precentor, Chancellor, Treasurer, and the said three elected Canons (who ought here, according to the Statutes, regularly to reside), is the Government of the Church”.

Browne Willis incidentally remarks that the First Fruits of the Bishopric were considerably diminished by Bishop Barlow.

I. ARCHDEACONRY OF ST. DAVID'S.

I. DEANERY OF PEBIDLOG, *Pembrokeshire*.

Patrons in 1717.

Fishguard or Abergwaun, St. Mary¹ The Crown.

Capel Llanvihangel, St. Michael.

Capel y Drindod, Holy Trinity.

Llanüst, Ust.

Llanvartin, St. Martin.

¹ The supposed Llangolman on Penwalis is really Llain Golman, and is so written in the title book. Llanvartin is the old site of Fishguard Vicarage.

Granston or Treopert , St. Catherine	Bishop of St. David's.
Hayscastle , St. Mary Ford Chapel.	Bishop of St. David's.
Jordanston or Tre Wrđan ¹ <i>Llangwarren.</i>	Mr. Vaughan.
Letterston or Tre Letert , St. Giles Llanvair Nant y Gov, St. Mary.	The Crown.
Llandeloy , Teloy ² <i>Llandonoch.</i>	Chapter of St. David's.
Llanedren or St. Edren's , Edren	Chapter of St. David's.
Llanhowel , Howel	Chapter of St. David's.
Llanrheithan , Rheithan ³ <i>Llandenoi, Tenoi.</i>	
Llanrhian , Rhian <i>Llanvirn</i> . ⁴	Bishop of St. David's.
Llanstinan , Justinian	Precentor of St. David's.
Llanwnda , Gwyndav <i>Capel Degan, Degan.</i> <i>Llanwnwr, Gwynnwr.</i>	Chapter of St. David's.

¹ The ascription of this church to Gwrđa, as is possible in the case of Llanwrđa in Carmarthenshire, is due to the Welsh form of the place-name, Tre Wrđan, which is a mere translation of Jordanston. Compare Tre Letert and Letterston, Tre Amlod and Ambleston, Tre Rina and Rinaston, etc.

² Llandylwyv and Llandeilwyv in Gwenogvryn Evans's *Report*, I, 917, col. ii and note 27. Llandeloy is accented on the last syllable. Needless to say it has nothing whatever to do with Teilo. I have added Teloy on the practically certain supposition that it represents the name of a saint.

³ Browne Willis seems to omit Llanrheithan in his *Par. Anglic.* Rice Rees is silent as to the "dedication" of this church, which one would suppose to be Rheithan as here inserted. In Owen's *Pembrokeshire*, ii, 289, note 9, George Owen is quoted as dating the feast of Caron of Llanrheithan as March 5th, from which one might conclude that Caron was either the patron of Llanrheithan or had a chapel within the parish. Caron, of course, is the Saint of Tregaron.

⁴ If Llanvirn is not the same as Eglwys Cwm Wđig, then the latter is to be added under Llanrhian as an extinct ecclesiastical foundation (Owen's *Pembrokeshire*, ii, 351).

Manerawan or Varnewan for Maenor

Nawan, St. Mary ¹	Church of St. David's.
Mathry, the Seven Saints ²	Prebendary of Mathry.
St. David's or Ty Ddewi, David	The Crown, of Bishopric; the Chapter, of Vicarage. Bishop of St. David's.
Brawdy, David	
Capel Non. Non.	
Capel Padrig, Patrick.	
Capel Stinan, Justinian.	
Capel y Gwrhyd.	
Capel y Pistyll.	
Llandigige.	
Llandrudion, Tridian. ³	
Llanungar, Gwyngar.	
Llanverran.	
Merthyr Dunod, Dunod.	
Ramsey Island, David. ⁴	

¹ 'Manorowen' is a modern alien barbarism; and Varnewan is the present colloquial reduction of a name which certainly began with *Maenor* and possibly ended with the mutated form of the personal name Gnawan (Owen's *Pembrokeshire*, ii, 290, note 3; and the Rev. J. T. Evans's *Church Plate of Carmarthenshire*, 147). Gnawan was the name of a saint who appears in the *Vita S. Cadoci*.

² Mathry in the *Book of Llan Dâr* is *Mainaur Mathru* and *Marthru* in *Pepitiauc*, pp. 127, 129, 255. The loss of the first *r* in Mathry may find parallels in such Pembrokeshire colloquialisms as *gatre* for *gartre*, and *Tidrath* for *Tridrath*, i.e., Tredraeth = Newport, Pem. For the legend of the Seven Saints of Mathry, Seith Seint Mathru, whose names are now forgotten, see the *Book of Llan Dâr* (127-9). The name Mathry seems to involve the same idea as is associated with the Irish use of the Latin *martyrium*, Welsh *merthyr*, i.e., a place of relics, a shrine enclosing the relics or remains of a saint (not necessarily or usually a martyr in the Latin and modern sense). For what I believe to have been the first occasion upon which this explanation of the Welsh *merthyr* was put forward see *St. David's College Magazine*, Dec. 1904.

³ In St. Nicholas's parish there is a Llandridian and also a Ffymmon Dridian, "Tridian's Well". Llanrhidian in Gower is called Llandridian in the *Annals of Maryam* (year 1185), according to Owen's *Pembrokeshire*, II, 408, note 30. It is very noteworthy also that the Llangwynner of Gower is matched by a Llanwnmwr in Pencaer in the parish of Llanwnda which adjoins St. Nicholas.

⁴ Owen's *Pembrokeshire*, I, 112.

<i>Ramsey Island, Justinian.</i>	
<i>Ramsey Island, Tyvanog.</i>	
<i>St. Mary's College, St. Mary.</i>	
Whitchurch, David	Chapter of St. David's.
St Dogwel's or Nantydewi , Dogvael	Chapter of St. David's.
St. Elvis or Llanaelvyw , Aelvyw	The Crown.
St Lawrence , St. Lawrence	The Crown.
St. Nicholas or Tre Marchog , St. Nicholas	Prebendary of St. Nicholas.
<i>Llanverran.</i>	
<i>Llandridian, Tridian.</i> ¹	
2. DEANERY OF DOUGLEDDEU, <i>Pembrokeshire.</i>	
	Patrons in 1717.
Ambleston or Tre Amlod , St. Mary	The Crown.
<i>Rinaston</i> or <i>Tre Rina Chapel.</i>	
<i>Woodstock Chapel.</i> ²	
Boulston	Mr. Wogan.
<i>Picton Chapel.</i> ³	
Clarboston , St. Martin	Sir Thomas Stepney.
Llawhaden , Aeddau	Bishop of St. David's.
<i>Bletherston</i> or <i>Trev Elen.</i> ⁴	
<i>St. Cadog's Chapel, Cadog.</i> ⁴	
<i>St. Kennox,</i> ⁴ Cynog.	
<i>St. Mary's Chapel, St. Mary.</i>	

¹ See page 28, note 3.

² Owen's *Pembrokeshire*, II, 352, note 5.

³ Owen's *Pembrokeshire*, II, 352, note 7.

⁴ In Bletherston parish there is a Ffynnon Gain, "which, perhaps, records an ancient dedication to St. Cain Wryry, or Keyne the Virgin. The dedication of Bletherston Church seems unknown; but as the Welsh name of Bletherston is *Tref Elen*, and there is an Elen's Well in Llawhaden parish (of which Bletherston is a chapelry), Bletherston Church may have been dedicated to St. Helena" (Owen's *Pembrokeshire*, I, 255, note 1). For Cadog's Chapel, see *Lives of the British Saints*, I, 119. With regard to Kennox, it is more likely, in view of such names as St. Petrox and Cadoxton, to stand for Cynog's than for Cennec'h's, as suggested in *Lives of the British Saints*, II, 56. In fact, the authors of this work, in a note to their article on Cynog, refer to "Seynt Canock" in Llawhaden (*Ibid*, II, 271, note 4).

Llys y Vrán, Meilyr	Sir John Philips and Mr. Scourfield.
Maenclochog, St. Mary¹	Mr. Scourfield.
Llandeilo, Teilo ²	Mr. Bowen.
Llangolman, Colman ³	Mr. Bowen.
Mynachlogddu, Dogvael	Sir John Philips.
<i>Capel Cewy, Cewydd.</i>	
<i>Capel St. Silin, St. Giles or Silin.</i>	
New Moat, St. Nicholas	Mr. Scourfield.
Prendergast, David	The Crown.
Rudbaxton, St. Michael	The Crown.
<i>St. Margaret's Chapel, St. Margaret.</i>	
<i>St. Catherine's Chapel, St. Catherine.</i>	
Slebech, St. John Baptist	Mr. Barlow.
Spittal, St. Mary	Church of St. David's.
<i>St. Leonard's Chapel, St. Leonard.</i>	
Uzmaston, Ysvael	Chapter of St. David's.
Walton East, St. Peter⁴	Mr. Hudson:
Wiston or Castell Gwys, St. Mary	Mr. Wogan.
3. DEANERY OF CASTLEMARTIN, <i>Pembrokeshire.</i>	
	Patrons in 1717.
Amroth, Teilo	Mr. Woolford.
Angle, St. Mary	The Crown.
<i>St. George's Chantry, St. George.</i>	
<i>St. Mary's Chapel, St. Mary.</i>	
Begelly	Sir John Philips.
Reynoldston or Rynalton.	
<i>St. Thomas's Chapel, St. Thomas.⁵</i>	
Williamston.	

¹ There is a Ffynnon Ddewi, David's Well, in this parish, and also not far from the church a Ffynnon Vair, Mary's Well (Owen's *Pembrokeshire*, I, 255, note 1).

² This is the *Lannteliau Litgarth in fin Doucledif ha Chemeis* of the *Book of Ilan Dâw*, p. 255.

³ There is a Ffynnon Samson, Samson's Well, in this parish (Owen's *Pembrokeshire*, I, 255, note 1).

⁴ Rice Rees has St. Mary, but see Owen's *Pembrokeshire*, II, 353.

⁵ Owen's *Pembrokeshire*, ii, 308.

Bosheston, St. Michael <i>St. Govan's Chapel, Govan.</i> ¹	Mr. Campbell.
Carew, St. John Baptist <i>Llandigwynnet.</i> Redberth.	Bishop of St. David's.
Castlemartin, St. Michael <i>Flimston.</i> ²	Mr. Campbell.
Cosheston, St. Michael	Sir Arthur Owen.
Cronwear for Llangronwern, Teilo	The Crown.
Gumfreston	Mr. Meyrick.
Hodgeston	Sir Arthur Owen.
Jeffreyston ³	Chapter of St. David's.

¹ "A little to the east of Bosherston Meer, and also within the parish, is the hermitage of St. [Govan], situated in a fissure of the rock, apparently formed by some violent convulsion, and about half-way between the summit and the base. A flight of steps, rudely cut in the rock, forms an ascent to the small chapel, which is about twenty feet in length and twelve feet wide, with an altar formed of a coarse stone slab, harmonizing with the rude and simple character of the place. On one side a door, opening from the chapel, leads into a small cell, cut in the rock, in form resembling the human body, which is said to have been the solitary retreat of St. [Govan]. Beneath the hermitage is St. [Govan's] well, formerly in great repute for the miraculous efficacy in the cure of diseases superstitiously ascribed to it through the influence of the saint, and still held in veneration by the inhabitants of the neighbourhood. The scenery around this sequestered spot is of the wildest and most romantic character: large fragments of rock, scattered in confused heaps, lie around it in every direction, and huge masses of rugged cliffs, threatening to detach themselves every moment from the higher precipices, which impend over the sea-worn base of the rock, give to the bold sublimity of the scene an appalling grandeur of effect" (Lewis's *Top. Dic. Wales*, ed. 1833, s. Bosherston.)

² "There was anciently a chapel at Flimston, which has long since gone to decay" (Lewis's *Top. Dic. Wales*, ed. 1833, s. Castlemartin).

³ This church is said to be dedicated to St. Oswald, a notion which probably arose from a misreading either of some form of Ysvael or of Usyllt. The modern form Ysvael comes from Ismael and a still older Osmail. Cunedda Wledig had a son of this name, after whom Mais Osmeliaun in Anglesey was so called. This was read later as referring to Croes Oswalt or Oswestry, as though Oswald and Osmail were the same name. Mr. Phillimore also records an instance of Oswald being read for forms of Usyllt (Owen's *Pembrokeshire*, ii, 296, note 2; 308).

Lamphey or Llandyvai , Tyvai	Bishop of St. David's.
Lawrenni , Caradog	Mr. Barlow.
Loveston , St. Leonard ¹	Mr. Campbell.
Ludchurch or Eglwys Lwyd , Teilo	The Crown.
Manorbier for Maenor Bŷr , St. James	Christ's College, Cambridge.
Martletwy	Mr. Barlow.
Coed Cenlas Chapel, St. Mary	Sir Arthur Owen.
Minwear	Sir Thomas Stepney.
Monkton , St. Nicholas	Lord Viscount Hereford.
<i>Crickmarren Chapel.</i>	
<i>Paterchurch</i> or <i>Patrickchurch</i> , Patrick.	
Pembroke or Penvro, St. Mary	Lord Viscount Hereford.
Pembroke or Penvro, St. Michael	Lord Viscount Hereford.
<i>Priory Lady Chapel</i> , St. Mary.	
<i>St. Ann's Chapel</i> , St. Ann.	
<i>St. Deiniol's Chapel</i> , Deiniol.	
<i>St. Mary Magdalene's Chapel</i> , St. Mary Magdalene	
Narberth for Arberth , St. Andrew	The Crown.
Mountain (for Monkton) or Cil Maen.	
Robeston Wathan.	
<i>Templeton.</i>	
Nash	Mr. Bowen.
Upton, <i>obler</i> Ucton, St. Giles	Mr. Bowen.
Newton North or Llys Prawst	Mr. Deeds.
Penaly for Pen Alun , Teilo	Bishop of St. David's.
<i>Caldey Island</i> or <i>Ynys Bir Chapel</i> , St. Mary.	
<i>Little Caldey Island</i> , St. Margaret.	
Pwllerochan ²	The Crown.
Rhoscerwther or Rhos Gŷlyddwr or Llanddegyman , Degyman	The Crown.
St. Florence , St. Florence	St. John's College, Cambridge.
St. Issel's or Llan Usyllt , Usyllt	Chapter of St. David's.
St. Petrox or Llanbedrog , Pedrog	Mr. Campbell.

¹ Rev. J. T. Evans's *Church Plate of Pembrokeshire*, p. 54.

² Now St. Mary, said to be formerly Degyman (*Arch. Camb.*, 1888, p. 127, as quoted in *Lives of Brit. Saints*, ii, 324, note 2).

St. Twinnel's for St. Winnel's , Gwynnog	Chapter of St. David's.
Stackpole Elidyr or Cheriton , Teilo ¹	Mr. Campbell.
Tenby or Dinbych y Pysgod , St. Mary	The Crown.
<i>Free Chapel</i> , St. John the Baptist.	
<i>St. Catherine's Island</i> , St. Catherine.	
<i>St. Julian's Oratory</i> , St. Julian.	
<i>St. Mary's Hospital</i> , St. Mary Magdalene.	
Warren , St. Mary	Bishop of St. David's.
Yerbeston , St. Lawrence	The Crown.

4. DEANERY OF RHOS, *Pembrokeshire.*

Burton	Patrons in 1717. Sir Arthur Owen and Mr. Campbell.
Camros , Ysvael	Mr. Bowen.
Dale , St. James	Sir John Cope.
<i>St. Ann's Chapel</i> , St. Ann.	
Freystrop	The Crown.
Haroldston East , Ysvael	Sir John Packington.
<i>St. Caradoc's Hermitage</i> , ² Caradog.	
Haroldston West , Madog	Sir John Philips.
Hasguard , St. Peter	The Crown.
Haverfordwest , St. Martin	Mr. Bowen.
Haverfordwest, St. Mary	Corporation of Haverfordwest.
Haverfordwest, St. Thomas	The Crown.
Herbrandston , St. Mary	The Crown.
Hubberston , David	The Crown.
<i>St. Thomas's Chapel</i> , St. Thomas the Martyr. ³	

¹ The 'Elidyr' churches "are known in at least three cases to be 'Teilo' churches from the *Book of Llan Dâw* (pp. 124, 254-5). Elidyr is perhaps another form of Teilo, otherwise known as Eliud" (Evans's *Church Plate of Pembrokeshire*, 1905, p. 2, note 2). Stackpole was later dedicated to St. James (Owen's *Pembrokeshire*, i, 144).

² "The hermitage of St. Caradoc, it is said, was in this parish [of Haroldston East]; and on the common, within the limits of which the Haverfordwest races are held, is a well, still called St. Caradoc's Well, round which, till the last few years, a pleasure fair, or festival, was annually held, for the celebration of rustic sports" (Lewis's *Top. Dic. Wales*, ed. 1833).

³ Owen's *Pembrokeshire*, II, 417, note 87.

Johnston	The Crown.
Lambston	Sir John Philips.
Langum ¹	Sir Richard Walter and Mr. Owen.
Llanstadwel or Llanystydwal	Mr. Allen.
Marloes for Mael Rhos, St. Peter	The Crown.
<i>Marloes, St. Mary.</i> ²	
Nolton for Old-ton, Madog	The Crown.
Rhosmarket, Ysvael	The Crown.
Robeston West	The Crown.
Roch or Y Garn, St. Mary	The Crown.
<i>Hilton Chapel.</i>	
<i>Trevrán, Caradog.</i>	
St. Bride's, Ffraid	Mr. Llaugharn.
<i>Ancient Chapel on beach.</i> ³	
St. Ishmael's, Ysvael	The Crown.
Steynton, Kewil ⁴	The Crown.
Milford, St. Catherine.	
<i>Pill Priory, St. Mary and Budoc.</i> ⁵	

¹ "The old Norse Langheim, of late ignorantly Welshified into Llangwm" (Owen's *Old Pembroke Families*, 69).

² "A former structure, which was dedicated to St. Mary, and situated near the beach, was destroyed by an encroachment of the sea, which also laid waste the glebe land originally belonging to the living" (Lewis's *Top. Dic. Wales*, ed. 1833).

³ "There are still the remains of an ancient chapel on the beach [of St. Bride's haven], which, according to tradition, was subsequently appropriated as a salting-house for curing the fish [of a considerable herring fishery, now discontinued for many years]. In the cemetery belonging to this chapel were numerous stone coffins, of which several have been washed away by the encroachment of the sea, which has here gained considerably on the shore, as was proved some years ago, during an extraordinary recess of the tide, by the discovery of several stumps of trees" (Lewis's *Top. Dic. Wales*, ed. 1833).

⁴ Kewil looks like an old form of Kywil, which would now be written Cywil, and pronounced and even written Cowil. On Penciaer there is a place called Carngowil, Cowil's Cairn.

⁵ "Near the head of Hubberston Pill are the remains of Pill Priory, founded in the year 1200 by Adam de Rupe, for monks of the order of Tyrone, who afterwards became Benedictines: the priory, which was dedicated to St. Mary and St. Budoc, flourished till the dissolution, at which time its revenue was estimated at £67 15s. The site

*St. Catherine's Chapel, St. Catherine.*¹

*St. Budoc's Chapel, Budoc.*²

Talbenni, St. Mary

Mr. Owen.

Trevgarn

Mr. Fowler and Mr.
Jones.

Walton West

Sir Thomas Stepney.

Walwyn's Castle or Castell Gwalchmai,

St James

The Crown.

II. ARCHDEACONRY OF BRECON.

5. DEANERY OF BRECON FIRST PART, *Breconshire.*

Patrons in 1717.

Aberyscir, Cynidr

Mr. Flower.

Brecon or Aberhonddu, St. John Evan-
gelist

Sir Edward Williams.

Battle, Cynog

Heirs of Mr. Williams.

*Benni Chapel.*³

Brecon, St. Mary.

and buildings were granted, in the 38th of Henry VIII, to Roger and Thomas Barlow, and are now [1833] the property of the Hon. Fulke Greville. The ruins, which are very small, consist chiefly of some fragments of the walls: the low entrance gateway leading into the garden is still remaining, but the arch above it fell down in 1826" (Lewis's *Top. Dic. Wales*, ed. 1833, s Steynton).

¹ "A chapel of ease to the mother church [of Steynton], dedicated to St. Catherine, is situated at the eastern extremity of the street fronting the haven: it was erected chiefly at the expense of the Hon. Charles Francis Greville, lord of the manor, and was consecrated for divine service in the year 1808. A little to the east of the present edifice are the remains of an ancient chapel, which was also dedicated to St. Catherine, and, after having been desecrated for many years, was converted into a powder magazine: it consisted of a nave and chancel, with a finely vaulted roof, which is still entire [1833]: the western end has fallen down, but the boundaries of the ancient cemetery may be distinctly traced" (Lewis's *Top. Dic. Wales*, ed. 1833, s Steynton).

² Botolph has now been substituted for Budoc, which, written St. Buttock's, offended the delicacy of a former owner. May no ill dreams disturb his rest.

³ See "Forgotten Sanctuaries", by Miss Gwennlian Morgan in the *Arch. Camb.* for July, 1903.

<i>Brecon Castle Chapel</i> , St. Nicholas. ¹	
Llanywern, Cynidr. ²	The Parishioners.
<i>Prisoners' Chapel</i> . ¹	
<i>St. Catherine's Chapel</i> , St. Catherine.	
<i>Slwch Chapel</i> , Eiliwedd.	
Garthbrenghi , David	Prebendary of Garthbrenghi.
Christ's College, Holy Trinity	Bishop of St. David's Patron of the 21 Prebends there.
<i>Friary Church</i> , St. Nicholas.	
Llanddew or Llandduw, God	Archdeacon of Brecon.
Llanvaes, David ³	Archdeacon of Brecon.
Llandeilo'r Van , Teilo	Mr. Jeffrys.
<i>Capel Maes y Bwlch</i> .	
Llandyvaelog Vach , Maelog	The Crown.
Llanvihangel Vechan, St. Michael.	
Merthyr Cynog , Cynog	The Crown.
Capel Dyffryn Honddu or Capel Ucha, Cynog.	
Llanvihangel Nantbran, St. Michael	Mr. Jeffrys.
6. DEANERY OF BRECON SECOND PART, <i>Breconshire</i> .	
	Patrons in 1717.
Devynock or Dyvynog , Cynog	Bishop of Gloucester.
Capel Callwen, Callwen.	
Llanilltyd or Glyn, Illtyd. ⁴	
Llanilud or Crai Chapel. Iud.	
Ystrad Vellte, St. Mary.	

¹ See "Forgotten Sanctuaries", by Miss Gwenllian Morgan in the *Arch. Camb.* for July, 1903.

² Browne Willis places Llanywern in the Deanery of Brecon Third Part (*Par. Anglic.*, ed. 1733, p. 182).

³ Browne Willis places Llanvaes juxta Brecon in the Deanery of Brecon Second Part (*Ibid.*, p. 181).

⁴ "On an adjoining eminence [in the Llanilltyd division of Devynog], near a pool, are two large stones, placed six feet asunder, at each end of a small tunnel, which is called Bedd Gwyl Illtyd, or 'the grave of Illtyd's Eve', from the ancient custom of watching there on the eve of the festival of that saint, who was supposed to have been buried here" (Lewis's *Top. Dic. Wales*, ed. 1833, s Glyn).

Llanspyddid , Cadog	Mr. Jeffrys.
Capel Bettws or Penpont.	
Llywel , Llowel ¹	Chapter of St. David's.
<i>Dolhowel</i> , David.	
Rhydybriw Chapel.	
Trallwng, David ²	Prebendary of Trallwng.
Penderin , Cynog	Dr. Winter.
Vaenor or Maenor Wynno , Gwynno	The Crown.
Ystrad Gynlais , Cynog.	
Capel Coelbren. ³	

7. DEANERY OF BRECON THIRD PART, *Breconshire.*

Patrons in 1717.

Cantrev , Cynidr ⁴	Mr. Powell.
Capel Nantddu.	
Cathedin or Llanvihangel Gythedin , St.	
Michael	Duke of Beaufort.
Llanbedr Ystrad Yw , St. Peter	Duke of Beaufort.
Partrisho, Issiu.	
Llanddetty , Detty	Mr. Jones.
Capel Tav Vechan.	
Llangasty Talylyn , Gastayn	Mr. Parry.
Llangadog Crug Howel , Cadog	Duke of Beaufort.
Crickhowel for Crug Howel, St.	
Edmund ⁵	Duke of Beaufort.
Llanelli, Elli.	
Llangeneu, Ceneu.	

¹ Llywel, pronounced and even written Llowel, like Howel for Hywel, bowyd for bywyd, etc. Cf. Llanllowel in Monmouthshire, where also Llowel is assumed to be a saint's name. According to the poem of Gwynvardd Brycheiniog (1160-1200), entitled *Canu y Dewi*, Llywel is "owned" by David (Anwyl's *Gogynefeirdd*, 82, col. ii, line 15 from bottom).

² Browne Willis places Trallwng in the Deanery of Brecon First Part (*Par. Anglic.*, ed. 1733, p. 180).

³ Browne Willis has "Capell *Colven* St. *Colven*" (*Par. Anglic.* 181).

⁴ *Cat. of MSS. rel. to Wales in Brit. Mus.*, by Ed. Owen, III, 597.

⁵ Crickhowel "was formerly a chapelry within the parish of [Llangadog], the rectors of which received one-third of its tithes The church, dedicated to St. Edmund the King and Martyr, was founded and endowed by the munificence of Lady Sibyl de Pauncefote, and consecrated, in 1303, by David de Sancto Edmundo, Bishop of St. David's" (*Lewis's Top. Dic. Wales*, ed. 1833).

<i>Llanvair Chapel, St. Mary.</i> ¹	
<i>Supposed Oratory, Ceneu.</i> ²	
Llangors, Peulin or Paulinus	Chapter of Windsor.
<i>Llan y Deuddeg Sant, the Twelve Saints.</i>	
Llangynidr or Eglwys Iail, Cynidr ³	Duke of Beaufort.
<i>Eglwys Vesey.</i> ⁴	
Llanhamlach ⁵	Mr. Gabriel Powel.
<i>Llechvaen Chapel.</i> ⁶	

¹ "About a mile and a half from the town [of Crickhowel] formerly stood the 'baptismal and parochial chapel' of St. Mary, still known by its Welsh name, Llanvair, or 'Mary-church'. That its erection was of a date long prior to that of the present parochial church of St. Edmund is certain from the report of Giraldus Cambrensis, in the reign of Henry II, who states that he himself, as archdeacon of [Brecon], was cited to appear *in capellâ Sanctæ Mariæ de Crucohel* Having long since fallen into lay hands, it was used, until within the last twenty years, as a barn: it was then taken down, and a new farm building erected upon the spot, so that the name is now the only vestige of the ancient structure" (Lewis's *Top. Dic. Wales*, ed. 1833).

² Near Ffynnon Geneu was "an ancient building which was supposed to be the oratory of St. Ceneu" (Lewis's *Top. Dic. Wales*).

³ This church was associated at a later period with the Virgin as well as with Cynidr, for which cause it is called "ll fair a chynydr" in the Peniarth MS. 147 (Evans's *Report*, I, 918, col. ii). It was also known as Eglwys Iail, which appears as Egluseyll in the *Taxatio* of 1291, from a small stream of that name, which passed the church (so says Samuel Lewis in his *Top. Dic. Wales*, ed. 1833).

⁴ "An ancient chapel, of which the ruins were formerly visible on the bank of the Crawnant about two miles from the village [of Llangynidr]" (Lewis's *Top. Dic. Wales*).

⁵ Rice Rees ascribes this church to St. Peter and St. Illtyd; and Lewis to St. Peter alone, as also Brown Willis. It would appear, however, as though it were the *llan* of Anlach, which was the name of Brychan's father (*Y Cymmrodor*, xix, "The Brychan Documents"). "On a farm called Mamest [in Llanhamlach] . . . are the remains of a kistvaen, under an aged yew tree, and surrounded with stones apparently from a dispersed cairn, under which it had been concealed for many ages: at what period it was opened is not known. It consists of three upright stones, two forming the sides, about five feet in

Llansanffraid, Ffraid	Lord Ashburnham.
Llanveugan, Meugan	Sir Charles Kemmeys.
Capel Glyn Collwyn.	
<i>Pencelli Castle Free Chapel, St.</i>	
Leonard.	
Llanvihangel Cwmdru, St. Michael	Duke of Beaufort.
<i>Llanddegyman, Degyman.</i>	
Tretower Chapel, St. John Evangelist.	
Llanvihangel Talyllyn, St. Michael	Mr. Philips.
Llanvilo, Bilo	Lord Ashburnham.
Llandyvaelog Trev y Graig, Maelog.	
Llanvrynach, Brynach	Mr. Waters.
Talgarth, Gwen	Chapter of Windsor.

8. DEANERY OF BUALLT, *Breconshire.*

Patrons in 1717.

Llanavan Vawr, Avan	Bishop of St. David's.
Capel Alltmawr.	
<i>Gelli Talgarth or Rhos y Capel.</i>	
Llanavan Vechan, Avan.	
Llanvihangel Abergwesin, St. Michael.	
Llanvihangel Bryn Pabuan, St. Michael.	
<i>Llysdinam.</i>	
Llangamarch, Cynog⁷	Treasurer of Brecon Coll. (now annexed to the See of St. David's in lieu of mortuaries).

length, and one at the end, about three feet wide: the whole height does not exceed three feet from the ground by topographers it is usually designated Ty Illtyd" (Lewis's *Top. Dic. Wales*, ed. 1833).

⁶ "In the hamlet of Llechvaen was formerly a chapel of ease, which fell down about a century ago [*i.e.*, about 1733] and has not been rebuilt" (Lewis's *Top. Dic. Wales*, ed. 1833).

⁷ It appears from a poem by Cynddelw (1160-1200), entitled *Cân Tyssilyaw*, that Llangamarch at one time was accounted as belonging to Tysilio, which perhaps means Meivod (Rice Rees's *Essay*, 278; Anwyl's *Gogynfeirdd*, 67, col. i, line 2). Previous to this it appears to have belonged to Cynog, son of Brychan, who was known as Cynog

Llanddewi Abergwesin, David.		
<i>Llanddewi Llwyn y Vynwent</i> , David. ¹		
Llanwrtyd, David.		
{ Llanaufraid Cwmwd-douddwr, Ffraid ² Capel Nantgwyllt. <i>Llanvadol</i> , Madog.	Bishop of St. David's.	
	Llanganten, Canten	Bishop of St. David's.
	Llangynog, Cynog.	
Llanwrthwl, Gwrthwl	Prebendary of Llanwrthwl.	
Llanlleonvel.		
Maesmynys or Llanddewi Maesmynys,		
David	Bishop of St. David's.	
Llanddewi 'r Cwm, David.		
Llanvair ym Muallt or Builth, St.		
Mary	Mrs. Harcourt.	
Llanynys, David.	Bishop of St. David's.	

9. DEANERY OF HAY, *Breconshire*.

	Patrons in 1717.
Brwynllys, ⁴ St. Mary	Mr. Vaughan.
Gwenddwr, Dubricius. ⁴	
Hay or Y Gelli Ganddryll, St. John (extinct) ³	

Camareh, apparently from the river Camareh, on which the *llan* is situated. That the parish wake fell on Cynog's Day, October 8th, is shown by the assigning of that day to the manufactured "Saint Camareh". For the early eighteenth century local traditions relative to Cynog, collected by the Breconshire herald, Hugh Thomas, see *Lives of the British Saints*, ii, 266-8, where they are printed from the Harleian MS. 4181 (ff. 70a-71b).

¹ "At a place called Llwyn y Vynwent [in Trevllys hamlet, Llangamareh parish] tradition reports that a chapel of ease anciently stood, but no traces of it can now be discovered" (Lewis's *Top. Dic. Wales*, ed. 1833, s Trevllys).

² Llanaufraid Cwmwd-douddwr is in Radnorshire (as are also its two chapels), and is placed by Browne Willis in the Deanery of Maelienydd (*Par. Anglic.* ed. 1733, p. 185).

³ "The ancient parish church, dedicated to St. John, and situated in the centre of the town, was, in 1684, in sufficient repair to be used as a school-house, though it had long ceased to be appropriated to the performance of divine service. In 1700 part of this building fell

Hay, St. Mary <i>Chapel in suburb (Leland).</i>	Prince of Wales.
Llandyvalle, Tyvalle ⁴ Crickadarn, St. Mary. ⁴	Mr. Vaughan.
Llaneigion, Eigion Capel y Ffin. <i>Cilonw Chapel.</i>	Mr. Wellington.
Llanelyw, Elyw	Lord Ashburnham.
Talachddu, St. Mary	Mr. Lewis.
Llys Wen ⁴	Sir Edward Williams.

Herefordshire.

Clodock, Clydog Craswell, St. Mary. Llanveuno, Beuno. <i>Llanwynnog, Gwynnog.</i> Longtown, St. Peter.	Edward Harley, Esq.
Ewyas Harold, St Michael or St. James Dulas, St. Michael	Bishop of Gloucester. Edward Harley, Esq.
Llansilo, older Lann Sulbiu, Sulbiu	Edward Harley, Esq.
Michaelchurch Eskley, St. Michael	Edward Harley, Esq.
Rowlston, St. Peter	Edward Harley, Esq.
St. Margaret, St. Margaret	Edward Harley, Esq.
Walterston, St. Mary	Edward Harley, Esq.

down, since which time the whole has been removed, and the site is now occupied by a small prison, or lock-up house" (Lewis's *Top. Dic. Wales*, ed. 1833). Browne Willis mentions *Haye Capella St. John Baptist ruinosa* (*Par. Anglic.*, ed. 1733, p. 183).

⁴ Gwenddwr is one of the five parishes which, according to the Peniarth MS. 147, of about 1566, made up the Cymwd known as *Cymwd Cantref Selyv*, the others being Llandyvalle, Brwynllys, Llys Wen, and Crickadarn. Llandyvalle seems to carry the name of its saint in its own name, and Brwynllys is ascribed (probably by the Normans of its castle) to St. Mary. Crickadarn also is given to St. Mary. There seems to be some uncertainty as to the remaining two, for Browne Willis, Rees, and Lewis are all silent as to Llys Wen, and so are Browne Willis and Rees with regard to Gwenddwr, but Lewis ascribes it to Dubricius. One would hesitate the more in accepting this last were it not that the district on the west of the Wye between the parishes of Llys Wen and Gwenddwr contains the Llandaff possession called "In Cantref Selim. Lann Coit" (*Book of Llan Dáv*, 255). Within this district places will be found on the larger maps

Monmouthshire.

Cwm Yoy, St. Michael	Edward Harley, Esq.
Llanthony or Llanddewi Nant Honddu, David	Edward Harley, Esq.
Oldcastle, St. John Baptist	Edward Harley, Esq.

10. DEANERY OF ELVAEL, *Radnorshire*.¹

	Patrons in 1717.
Aberedw, Cewydd Llanvaredd, St. Mary.	Bishop of St. David's.
Bochrwyd or Boughrood, Cynog Llanbedr Painscastle, St. Peter	Prebendary of Boughrood. Bishop of St. David's.
Bryngwyn or Llanvihangel y Bryngwyn, St. Michael	Bishop of St. David's.
Cregrina for Craig Vuruna, David Llanbadarn y Garreg, ² Padarn. Llan Non, Non.	Bishop of St. David's.
Cleirw or Clyro for Cleirwy, St. Michael Bettws Cleirw or Capel Bettws.	Bishop of St. David's.

with such suggestive names as Llanvawr, Llangoed, Bwlch Henllan, and Llan-eglwys. The boundaries of Lann Coit in Cantrev Selyv, are not given in the *Book of Llan Dâw* (166-7), but the possession appears to have been a gift to Arwystl, the disciple of Dubricius, which Arwystl was consecrated Bishop by him. It appears therefore to have been at first a "Dubricius" possession, and so its *llan* would have regularly become a "Dubricius church". Gwenddwr, Crickdarn, and Llys Wen are presumably subsequent to the original *llan*, for none of them appears in the *Tavatio* of 1291. A theory in the *Lives of the British Saints*, i, 176, supposes that Lann Coit is Lancaut, near Tidenham, which "must have been devastated by the Saxons, and then, perhaps, the Church of Llandaff laid claim to another Llangoed on the strength of the name". Whatever may be thought of this, the ascription of the church of Gwenddwr to Dubricius appears to have some bearing on the matter. Moreover, Lancaut, near Tidenham, is not for Lann Coit but Lann Ceuid, *i.e.*, Llangewydd.

¹ For the saints of Radnorshire, see the *Church Plate of Radnorshire* (Stow, Glos., 1910), by the Rev. J. T. Evans, with notes and special essay on the subject in the appendix.

² Llanbadarn y Garreg appears as a chapel under Bryngwyn in Browne Willis's *Par. Anglic.*, ed. 1733, p. 184.

Diserth or Y Diserth yn Elvael , Cewydd Bettws Diserth ¹	Bishop of St. David's.
Gladestry or Llanvair Llwyth Dyvnog , St. Mary	The Crown.
Glasgwm , David Colva, David. Rhiwlen, David.	Bishop of St. David's.
Llandeilo Graban , Teilo	Bishop of St. David's.
Llanelwedd , Elwedd	Bishop of St. David's.
Llansanffraid yn Elvael , Ffraid	Bishop of St. David's.
Llanstephan or Llanystyffan , Ystyffan	Archdeacon of Brecon.
Llanvihangel Nant Melan , St. Michael <i>Llanivan</i> , St. John. ²	The Crown
Llowes , Llowes <i>and</i> Meilig Llanddewi Vach, David.	Archdeacon of Brecon.
Newchurch or Llan Newydd , St. Mary <i>Breconshire.</i>	Bishop of St. David's.
Glasbury or Y Clas ar Wy , ³ Cynidr <i>Aberllyrni</i> or <i>Pipton Chapel</i> , St. Mary. <i>Felindre Chapel.</i>	Bishop of Gloucester.

11. DEANERY OF MAELIENNYDD, *Radnorshire.*

Patrons in 1717.

Bleddva for Bleddvach , St Mary	Bishop of St. David's.
Bugeildy or Llanvihangel y Bugeildy , St. Michael <i>Felindre Chapel.</i>	Bishop of St. David's.
Casgob , St. Michael	Bishop of St. David's.
Ceven Llys or Llanvihangel Ceven Llys, St. Michael	Bishop of St. David's.
Llanbadarn Vawr ym Maeliennydd , Padarn	Bishop of St. David's.

¹ Ascribed to St. Mary by Browne Willis (*Ibid.*).

² In the One Inch O.S. Map (1899) Bron yr Eglwys is marked a little to the east of Llan-Evan.

³ Browne Willis, in 1733, says, "The church newly rebuilt, Co. Brecon, it was antiently on the other side the River in *Radnorshire*" (*Par. Anglic.*, p. 183).

Llanbister , Cynllo ¹	Bishop of St. David's.
Abbey Cwm Hir or Mynachlog, St. Mary. ²	Sir Richard Fowler.
<i>Caervaelog</i> for <i>Gordl Vaelog</i> , ³ Maelog.	
Llananno, Anno.	
Llanbadarn Vynydd, Padarn. ⁴	
Llanddewi Ystrad Enni, David.	
<i>Llanvair Trellwydion</i> , St. Mary.	
Llanvihangel Rhyd Ieithon, St. Michael.	
Llandegle , ⁵ Tegle	Bishop of St. David's.

¹ Croes Cynon, Craig Cynon, and Nant Cynon are place names, which point to a possible St. Cynon within the Llanbister district. There is a spot "in the parish of Llanbister, designated by the appellation of Nant Castell Gwytherin This dingle is very lonesome and retired, and is situated near a place called Arthur's Marsh, not far from the source of the Prill, Nant Caermenin. In its neighbourhood is a row of stones, or cairn, called Croes Noddfa, that is, the Cross of Refuge". Williams's *Radnorshire*, p. 134. Williams identifies this Gwytherin with Vortigern. Gwytherin, however, is from Victorinus. With the name Llanbister, compare Llanveistr in Anglesey (*Report I*, 912, col. iii; and Leland's *Itin. in Wales*, ed. 1906, 133.)

² Browne Willis, in 1733, says, "Now distinct and presented to by Sir Richard Fowler" (*Par. Anglic.*, p. 185). Abbey Cwm Hir did not really become a separate parish till about 1832.

³ "In the year 1805, at a place called Lower Cyfaelog, near to the village of Llanbister, was dug up a great quantity of freestone out of some ruins; particularly a curious old baptismal font; whence it is conjectured that a religious edifice of the Roman Catholic denomination once stood here, which, perhaps, was dedicated to St. Cyfaelog, a Welsh propagator of Christianity" (Jonathan Williams's *Radnorshire*, p. 232). This writer does not seem to mean what he says, unless he really thought that the ancient British Church of Wales was a "Roman Catholic denomination", which would be nearly as bad as saying that she belonged to the "Anglican communion". No saint of the name of Cyfaelog is known to me. The place referred to seems to be Caervaelog.

⁴ There is, or was, a well within this parish called Ffynnon Ddewi, Dewi's Well, perhaps from Llanddewi Ystrad Enni (Lewis's *Top. Dic. Wales*, ed. 1833).

⁵ On a part of Radnor Forest, within this parish, there is marked on the One Inch O.S. Map (1899) a place called Cowlod, 1611 feet high, which name is the same as that referred to in the bounds of

Llandrindod formerly Llandduw , God <i>Llanvaelon</i> , Maelon.	Prebend of Llandrindod.
Llangynllo , Cynllo <i>Llan y Bryn hir.</i> Pileth or Pilale, St. Mary and probably Heyop or Llanddewi Heiob, David Whitton or Llanddewi'n Hwytyn, David	Prebend of Llangynllo. Bishop of St. David's. Bishop of St. David's.
Llansanffraid Cwmwd-douddwr. See Llangamarch, Deanery of Buallt.	
Nantmel , Cynllo Llanŷr or Llanllyr yn Rhos, Llyr Llanvihangel Helygen, St. Michael. <i>Pant yr Eglwys</i> (near Rhaeadr). ¹ Rhaeadr Gwy, Cynllo. ² St. Mary's Well, St. Mary.	Bishop of St. David's.
St. Harmon's , Garmon ³ <i>Drysgol Chapel.</i>	Bishop of St. David's.

Radnor Forest in the reign of Queen Elizabeth (Williams's *Radnorshire*, 358) "a brooke or water called Cume Colloyd". This to me is strangely reminiscent of Cwm Cawlwyd, where the ancient owl of *Kullwch and Olwen* lived. A little to the north, in the parish of Llanvihangel Rhyd Ieithon, is a spot, 980 feet high, called Kilmanawydd.

¹ "On the bank of the rivulet Rhydhir, at a small distance east from the town of [Rhaeadr], whither it is supposed the town formerly extended, and where a church, as tradition reports, once stood, upon an adjoining piece of ground named Clytiau or Pant-yr-Eglwys, that is, the church-yard, is a solitary tumulus, or barrow, destitute of a moat or vallum, and consequently sepulchral. It is named Cefn-ceidio, which signifies the ridge of Ceidio, who was a Welsh saint that lived about the middle of the fifth century" (Williams's *Radnorshire*, 281).

² The association of this former chapel with St. Clement may have risen from an early confusion of Clement and Cynllo, as in such cases as Bernard and Brynach, Lawrence and Llawddog, Julitta and Iud, etc., etc. A fair on December 3rd seems to represent an earlier fair on November 22nd, which is St. Clement's Eve. Other fairs, however, seem to be associated with St. Mary.

³ Garmon after *Llan* (as in *Par. Anglic.*, 185) or *Eglwys* would become Armon (Llanarmon or Eglwys Armon); hence the first step in the origin of the modern name.

*Montgomeryshire.***Kerri or Llanvihangel yng Ngherri, St.**

Michael

Bishop of St. David's.

*Gwernyo Chapel.***Mochdre or Moughtre, All Saints**

Prebendary of Mochdre.

III. ARCHDEACONRY OF CARMARTHEN.

12. DEANERY OF CARMARTHEN, *Carmarthenshire.*

Patrons in 1717.

Abernant, St. Lucia

The Crown.

Capel Troed y Rhiw.

Cynwyl Elved, Cynwyl.

Carmarthen or Caervyrddin, Tenlyddog

(extinct)

Carmarthen, St. Peter

The Crown.

*Carmarthen Castle, King's Chapel.**Capel y Groesveini.*

Llangain, Cain

Mr. Blodworth.

Llanllweh, Llweh.¹Llan Newydd or Newchurch.²*Rood Church, St. Mary.***Cil y Maen llwyd, St. Philip and St.**James³

The Crown.

Castell Dwyran.⁴

¹ Llweh is a well authenticated personal name in Welsh, as shown by Mr. Phillimore in *Y Cymrodor*, xi, p. 50, note p.

² Lewis mentions "the remains of an ancient chapel which has been converted into a barn", situated "to the east of the church" (*Top. Dic. Wales*, ed. 1833, s. Newchurch). This place is not referred to by Browne Willis unless it be the "*Capell Llannewydd destructa*", which he places under "*Llanwulfe Cur. St. Michael*", which I am unable to identify in the Deanery of Carmarthen. Willis gives the Patron of this last as Mr. Manwaring, and the Religious House, to which it was anciently appropriated, as the Priory of Carmarthen.

³ Cil y Maen llwyd does not appear to be mentioned in the *Taxatio* of 1291, or in the *Inventories of Church Goods*, 1552 (Evans's *Church Plate of Carmarthenshire*, pp. 121-7). It possesses, however, an Elizabethan chalice of about 1574, inscribed, *Poculum Ecclesie de Kilyemaynloyd* (*ibid.* p. 26)

Eglwys Gymyn, Cymyn	The Crown.
Egremont, St. Michael	Mr. Mansel.
Henllan Amgoed or Llanddewi o Henllan, David	The Freehold Inhabi- tants.
Eglwys Vair a Chirig, St. Mary and Cirig.	
Llanboidy or Llan y Beudy, Brynaeh Eglwys Vair ar lan Tâv, St. Mary.	Bishop of St. David's.
Llandawe ⁵ Pendine for Llandeilo Pentywyn, Teilo.	Mr. Stedman.
Llanddowror for Llandeilo Llanddyvr- wyr, Teilo ⁶	
Llandeilo Abercowyn, Teilo	Mr. Geers [? Meers], who has restored all the Tithes.
Llandysilio yn Nyved, Tysilio	Prebend of Llandysilio.
Llangan, Canna	Prebendary of Llangan.
Llanglydwyn, Clydwyn	The Crown.
Llansadyrnin, Sadyrnin.	
Llanstephan, Ystyffan Llangynog, Cynog. <i>Llanybri</i> or <i>Llanvair y bri</i> , St. Mary. <i>Marble</i> or <i>Marbel Church</i> . St. Anthony's Well, St. Anthony.	The Crown.
Llanvallteg, ⁷ Mallteg	Bishop of St. David's.
Llanwynio, Gwynio	Mr. Jones.

⁴ Mr. Phillimore is inclined to regard the "Llandeilo Welfrey", mentioned by Browne Willis under the Deanery of Carmarthen and in the county of Carmarthen (*Par. Anglic.*, p. 187), as representing Crinow; but it may, in his opinion, be Castell Dwyran under Cilymaenllwyd in Carmarthenshire (Owen's *Pembrokeshire*, i, 166, note 1). Crinow is really in Pembrokeshire. Another Teilo church omitted by Browne Willis, which I have here inserted, is Llanddowror.

⁵ Llandawe has now for some time been associated with St. Margaret Marlos but the place-name clearly indicates a founder of the Golden Age of the British Saints of Wales.

⁶ Llanddowror is omitted by Browne Willis, like Crinow and Castell Dwyran, which are also Teilo churches.

⁷ Llanvallteg church is in Pembrokeshire.

Merthyr ¹	The Crown.
Meidrym, David ² Llanvihangel Abercwin, St. Michael.	Bishop of St. David's.
St. Clear's ³ Llangynin, Cynin.	All Souls College, Ox- ford.
Talacharn or Laugharne <i>Craseland.</i> Cyffig, Cyffig. Marros, St. Lawrence.	Chapter of Winchester.
Trelech, Teilo Capel Bettws.	Bishop of St. David's.

Pembrokeshire.

Lampeter Velffre or Llanbedr Velffre, St. Peter	The Crown.
Llanddewi Velffre, David <i>Henllan, Teilo.</i> <i>Llandeilo Llwyn Gwaddan, Teilo.</i>	The Crown.

13. DEANERY OF KIDWELY, *Carmarthenshire.*

Kidweli, St. Mary <i>Capel Coker.</i> ⁴ <i>Capel Teilo, Teilo.</i> <i>Llangadog, Cadog.</i> <i>Llanvihangel, St. Michael.</i> <i>St. Thomas's Chapel, St. Thomas.</i>	Patrons in 1717. The Crown.
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¹ Owen's *Pembrokeshire*, ii, 360, n. 3.

² Llanycrwys, *i.e.*, the *llan* of the crosses, is called Llanddewi'r Crwys by Gwynvardd Brycheiniog (1160-1200), who also in the same poem claims Meidrym for St. David (Anwyl's *Gogynfeirdd*, 82, col. ii, lines 12 and 25 from bottom).

³ The *ecclesia de Sancto Claro*, of the Taxatio of 1291, excludes any St. Clara as patron of this church. *Sanctus Clarus* is otherwise unknown, and may be a Normanization of Celer of Llangeler.

⁴ Rice Rees notes that this was "named after Galfridus de Coker, Prior of Kidwelly, in 1301", in which case we should add Galfridus's name as the "saint" if we were strictly to follow the original custom of the British Church of Wales and the Devonian peninsula.

Llandyvaelog, Maelog	Duke of Somerset.
<i>Bettws.</i>	
<i>Capel Ivan, St. John.</i>	
Llangyndeyrn, Cyndeyrn.	
<i>Llangynheiddon,¹ Cynheiddon.</i>	
<i>Llanllyddgen, Llyddgen.</i>	
Llanedi, Edi	The Crown.
Llanelli, Elli	Duke of Somerset.
<i>Capel Dewi in Berwick, David.</i>	
<i>Capel Dyddgu in Hengoed, Dyddgu.</i>	
<i>Capel Ivan in Glyn, St. John.</i>	
<i>Capel y Drindod, Holy Trinity.</i>	
<i>"Chaple of Saynt Gwnlet", Gwnlet.²</i>	
Llangennych. ³	
Llangynnor, Cynnor	Bishop of St. David's.
Penbre, Iltyd	Lord Ashburnham.
Llandry.	
Llan Non, Non.	
<i>Capel Cynnor ym Mhendryn, Cynnor.</i>	
St. Ishmael or Llanishmael, Ysvael.	
Ferryside, St. Thomas. ⁴	
Llansaint. ⁵	

¹ The old church was known as Capel Llangynheiddon, and it is said that according to tradition the bell now used at Llangain church was taken from Capel Llangynheiddon when the latter became disused. A Calvinistic Methodist chapel now occupies the spot, which is called Banc-y-capel. It is described by a modern writer as being fifteen or twenty minutes' walk from Mynydd Cyvor. This saint is the *Keneythou filia Brachan ju y Minid Cheuor ju Kedweli* of the *De situ Brecheniauc (Y Cymmrodor, xix, 26)*.

² For these chapels of Llanelli see the *Inventories of Church Goods* of 1552, as printed in the Rev. J. T. Evans's *Church Plate of Carmarthenshire*, p. 122; also notes by Alwyn Evans to the less accurate transcription of the same in Daniel-Tyssen's *Royal Charters*, p. 30; also Browne Willis's *Par. Anglic.*, p. 189.

³ If this name carries that of the saint, it postulates a Cennyech. The annual fair fell on October 23rd, which *season* is associated in numerous calendars with Gwynnog. Browne Willis appears to call this place Llangwynnock, which he ascribes to St. Gwynnock (*Par. Anglic.*, 1733, p. 189).

⁴ A modern chapel of ease opened in 1828.

⁵ Llansaint is said to be the same as the Hawkyng Church of the *Church Goods Inventories* of 1552, also spelt Alkenchurch in the

14. DEANERY OF LLANDEILO AND LLANGADOG, *Carmarthenshire.*

Patrons in 1717.

Abergwili, David	Bishop of St. David's.
<i>Bettws Ystum Gwili.</i>	
<i>Capel Bach.</i>	
<i>Capel Llanddu.</i>	
<i>Henllan.</i>	
Llanllawddog, Llawddog.	
Llanvihangel uwch Gwili, St. Michael.	
Llanpumpsaint, Celynin, Ceitho, Gwyn, Gwynno, Gwynoro.	
Bettws, David	Bishop of St. David's.
<i>Pentref Eglwys.</i>	
Brechva, Teilo	Lady Rudd and Mr. Lewis.
Cil y Cwm or Llanvihangel Cil y Cwm, St. Michael	Mr. Morgan.
Cynwyl Gaeo, Cynwyl	The Crown.
<i>Aberbranddu.</i>	
<i>Curt y Cadno.</i>	
<i>Henllan or Bryn Eglwys.</i>	
Llansadwrn, Sadwrn	Mr. Cornwallis.
Llansawel, Sawel.	
Llanwrda, Gwrday. ¹	
<i>Maes Llanwrthwl, Gwrthwl.</i>	
<i>Pumpsaint, Celynin, Ceitho, Gwyn, Gwynno, Gwynoro.</i>	
Llanarthneu, Arthneu²	Bishop of St. David's.

Terrier of 1636. All trace of this latter name is now lost (Evans's *Church Plate of Carmarthenshire*, p. 121 and n. 1).

¹ The name Llanwrda postulates Gwrda and not Cwrda. In a charter of Edward I, printed in Daniel-Tyssen's *Royal Charters*, ed. by Alewyn Evans, Llanwrda appears as Lanurdam (p. 63), which looks like an archaic form of what would now be written Llanwrday, postulating Gwrday as the saint's name. In a 1670 calendar Gwrda's day is given as December 5th, which probably means that he is there identified with Cowrda, or Cawrdav, whose festival falls on that day according to some authorities. Lewis, in his *Top. Dic. Wales*, ed. 1833, s. Llanwrda, states that the annual fair is held on October 5th.

² Rice Rees identifies the Llanadnen of Gwynvardd Brycheiniog's poem to St. David with Llanarthneu "as it harmonizes admirably

	<i>Capel Dewi, David.</i>	
	Capel Llanlluan, Lluan. ¹	
Llanddarog, Darog		Bishop of St. David's.
	<i>Capel Bach.</i>	
	<i>Capel Brynach, Brynach.</i>	
Llandeilo Vawr, Teilo		Bishop of St. David's.
	Capel Taliaris, Holy Trinity.	
	<i>Capel yr Ficen.</i>	
	<i>Carreg Cennen Castle Chapel.</i>	
	<i>Llandyvaen.</i> ²	
Llandingat for Llanddingad, Dingad		Bishop of St. David's.
	<i>Capel Newydd.</i>	
	Capel Peulin, Peulin.	
	<i>Llangynvab, Cynvab.</i>	
	Llanvair ar y bryn, St. Mary.	
	Nant y Bai Chapel. ³	
Llandybie, Tybie.		Bishop of St. David's.
	<i>Capel yr Hendre.</i>	
	<i>Glyn yr Henllan.</i>	

with the preceding word in the original, according to the laws of the metre; and there is no place in the Principality which bears the name of Llanadneu" (*Essay*, p. 51; Anwyl's *Gogyffeirdd*, 82, col. ii line 18 from the bottom).

¹ In view of the fact that a Lluan appears in the three best lists of the daughters of Brychan, there is strong temptation to spell this place-name as Llanlluan, and to ascribe the llan to her as in the case of Capel Gwladus under Gelligaer in Glamorganshire, Gwladus like Lluan being a married daughter. The name, however, is spelt Llanllian in *Church Goods Inventories*, 1552 (Evans's *Church Plate of Carmarthenshire*, p. 123), and Capell Llanlloian, with no dedication, by Browne Willis (*Par. Anglic.*, p. 189). The latter may be a misprint for Capell Llanlleian, as though he would have it to mean "the llan of a nun".

² Llandyfaen, Rice Rees; Llanduvaen, Lewis's *Top. Dic. Wales*, s Llandilo Vawr; now called Llandyvan. Marked as extinct or in ruins by Rice Rees, it appears as revived in J. T. Evans's *Church Plate of Carmarthenshire*, p. 45, where it is erroneously ascribed to Dyvan. The place-name postulates a Saint Tyvaen.

³ In the hamlet of Rhandir Abat, in the parish of Llanvair ar y bryn, there existed in 1833 the chapel of Nant y Bai, "re-erected here instead of at Ystrad Ffin, where the original building stood" (Lewis's *Top. Dic. Wales*).

Llandyveisant, Tyvai.	
<i>Dinerwr Castle Chapel, David.</i>	
Llanegwad, Egwad	Bishop of St. David's.
<i>Capel Gwilym Voethus.</i>	
<i>Capel Gwynllyw, Gwynllyw.</i>	
<i>Dolwyrdl Chapel.</i>	
<i>Llandeilo Runnws, Teilo.</i>	
<i>Llanhirnin or Llanyhernin.¹</i>	
Llangadog Vawr, Cadog²	Bishop of St. David's.
<i>Capel Gwynvai.³</i>	
<i>Capel Tydyst, formerly Merthyr Tydystl, Tydystl.</i>	
<i>Llanddensant.⁴</i>	
Llangathen, Cathen	Bishop of Chester.
<i>Capel Calvan (in parish church), Cadvan.</i>	
<i>Capel Penarw.</i>	
Llanllwni, Llwni	Bishop of St. David's.
<i>Capel Maesnonni.</i>	
<i>Ilen Briordy.</i>	
<i>Llanvihangel Rhos y Corn, St.</i>	
<i>Michael.⁵</i>	

¹ Hirnin is the name of a hamlet in Llanegwad parish. Hence, according to Alewyn Evans, Llanhirnin means Llan yn Hirnin (Daniel-Tyssen's *Royal Charters*, p. 33, note 2). The site is there stated to be on Twyn farm. There may be repetitions in the above list of chapels.

² This *llan* was claimed for St. David by Gwynvardd Brycheiniog (1160-1200) in his poem to that saint (Anwyl's *Gogynfeirdd*, 82, col. ii, line 17 from bottom).

³ Gwynvai = Gwyn + Mai = Whitefield (Owen's *Pembrokeshire*, I, 177, note 2).

⁴ The annual fair was held on the 10th day of October, which marks the festival of an obscure pair of saints. The two saints of Llanddensant are commonly said to be Simon and Jude, perhaps as being the only pair of red-letter saints in October.

⁵ Lewis states that "in this parish [of Llanvihangel Rhos y Corn] is a spring called Ffynnon Capel, near which is an ancient yew tree, from which circumstance, combined with the evidence afforded by its name, it is inferred that there was anciently a chapel at this place" (*Top. Dic. Wales*, ed. 1833). Browne Willis calls the place "Capell Llanvihangel-Rosycarne" (*Par. Anglic.*, ed. 1733, p. 190); hence Ffynnon Capel may refer to Llanvihangel itself, which was formerly a chapel to Llanllwni.

Llanvihangel Aberbythych , St. Michael	Marquis of Winchester.
Llanvihangel Cilvargen , St. Michael	Marquis of Winchester.
Llanvihangel Yeroth , St. Michael	Mr. Angel.
<i>Capel Pencader.</i> ¹	
Llanvynydd , Egwad	Bishop of St. David's.
Llanbyddair	Bishop of St. David's.
<i>Capel Abergorlech.</i>	
<i>Capel Iago</i> , St. James.	
<i>Capel Mair</i> , St. Mary.	
Llanerwys , David ²	Mr. Lloyd.
Myddvai or Llanvihangel y Myddvai ,	
St. Michael	Bishop of St. David's.
<i>Dolhowel Chapel.</i> ³	
Pencarreg ⁴	Mr. Lewis.
Talley or Tal y llycheu , St. Michael	Mr. Cornwallis.
<i>Capel Cain Wryy</i> , Cain.	
<i>Capel Crist</i> , Christ.	
<i>Capel Llanvihangel</i> , St. Michael.	
<i>Capel Mair</i> , St. Mary.	
<i>Capel Teilo</i> , Teilo.	

15. DEANERY OF GOWER, *Glanorganshire*.

Patrons in 1717.

Bishopston or Llandeilo Verwallt , Teilo	Bishop of Llandaff.
<i>Caswell Chapel</i> , Teilo. ⁵	
<i>Llangynvwr</i> , Cynvwr.	
Cheriton , Cadog	The Crown.
Ilston or Llanilltyd , Illyd	The Crown.
<i>Llan Non</i> , Non.	
Llanddewi in Gower , David	Bishop of St. David's.
Knelston, St. Maurice	Chapter of St. David's.

¹ Lewis in 1833 says that this "chapel has been in ruins for upwards of a century, but the cemetery attached to it is still preserved from desecration" (*Top. Dic. Wales*, s. Pencader).

² See note to Meidrym in Deanery of Carmarthen.

³ This chapel is referred to but not named in the *Church Goods Inventory* of 1552 (Evans's *Church Plate of Carmarthenshire*, 127).

⁴ Padarn, with festival on March 15 (Browne Willis); Patrick, with October 11th as fair day (S. Lewis); Rice Rees is silent.

⁵ At Caswell "was formerly a chapel which has long since fallen into ruins" (Lewis's *Top. Dic. Wales*, ed. 1833, s. Bishopston). In the Index to Gwenogvryn Evans's *Book of Llan Dáv* (409), it is identified with a query with Llandeilo Porth Tulon.

Llandeilo Tal y bont, Teilo	Lord Mansel.
Llangiwig, Ciwg	Mr. Herbert.
Llangynnydd, Cynnydd <i>Holmes Island Chapel.</i> ¹	All Souls' College, Oxford.
Llangyvelach, Cyvelach and later David	Bishop of St. David's.
Llansamlet, Samlet	Bishop of St. David's.
Morrison. ²	
<i>St. Mary's Chapel, St. Mary.</i>	
Llanmadok for Llanvadog, Madog	The Crown.
Llanrhidian, Tridian and Illtyd ³	Lord Mansel.
<i>Llanelen, Elen.</i>	
Llanrhidian Chapel or Llangwynner,	
Gwynmwr.	Lord Mansel.
<i>Walterston Chapel.</i>	
Lloughor or Cas Llychwr, St. Michael	The Crown.
<i>Groft y Capel.</i> ⁴	
Nicholaston, St. Nicholas	Lord Mansel.
Oxwich, Illtyd	Lord Mansel.

¹ "On Holmes island, which is contiguous to this part of the coast, are the remains of an ancient chapel, formerly belonging to the church [of Llangynnydd]" (Lewis's *Top. Dic. Wales*, ed. 1833).

² "This village [Morrison], which is of recent origin, derives its name from its founder and late proprietor, Sir John Morris, who built it for the residence of the persons engaged in the various copper works and collieries in this district" (Lewis's *Top. Dic. Wales*, ed. 1833).

³ "St. Rhidian' is not very well authenticated, and the *Annals of Margam* (year 1185) mention a St. Illtud's Well at [Llanriddian in Gower], which suggests an original dedication of the church to that Saint" (Owen's *Pembrokeshire*, ii, 408.) Samuel Lewis ascribes the church to Illtyd, whose well must be that described by him as the "Holy Well, on Cevn y Bryn mountain, to which, in former times, miraculous efficacy was attributed: it was generally frequented on Sunday evenings during the summer season by numbers of persons, who drank the water, and, according to an ancient custom, threw in a pin as a tribute of their gratitude" (*Top. Dic. Wales*, ed. 1833). With regard to the chapels of Llanrhidian, see Owen's *Pembrokeshire*, ii, 357. See also note to Llandriddian, s. St. Nicholas, in Deanery of Pebidiog (Pembrokeshire).

⁴ "At a place called Groft y Capel there was formerly a chapel of ease, which has been for many years suffered to fall into decay" (Lewis's *Top. Dic. Wales*, ed. 1833).

Oystermouth, All Saints	Mr. Herbert.
Penard or Penarth in Gower ¹	All Souls' College, Oxford.
Penmaen, St. John Baptist	The Crown.
Penrice for Penrhys, St. Andrew ²	Lord Mansel.
Portheinion, Cadog	The Crown.
Reynoldston, ³ St. George	Lord Mansel.
Rhosili, St. Mary <i>Capel Cynnydd, Cynnydd.</i>	The Crown.
Swansea or Abertawe, St. Mary	Mr. Herbert.
Swansea, St. John Baptist	Lord Mansel.
Swansea, St. Thomas.	

IV. ARCHDEACONRY OF CARDIGAN.

16. DEANERY OF EMLYN, *Carmarthenshire.*

Patrons in 1717.

Cenarth, Llawddog <i>Capel y Castell.</i> Newcastle Emlyn, Holy Trinity. ⁴	Bishop of St. David's.
Llangeler, older Merthyr Celer, Celer <i>Capel Mair, St. Mary.</i>	The Crown.
Penboyr or Penbeyr, Llawddog <i>Capel y Drindod, Holy Trinity.</i> <i>Pembrokeshire.</i>	Marquis of Winchester.
Cilgerran, Llawddog <i>Capel Bach (in the Castle).</i>	The Crown.
Cilrhedin, Teilo Capel Ivan (<i>Carmarthenshire</i>), St. John.	The Crown.
Clydai, Clydai	Bishop of St. David's.

¹ Messrs. Baring Gould and Fisher suggest that Penard is identical with the *Lann Arthboddu (hodie Llanarthvoddw)* of the *Book of Llan Dáv*, 144 (*Lives of British Saints*, i, 170).

² Rice Rees has St. Mary, but Browne Willis and Fenton say St. Andrew (Owen's *Pembrokeshire*, ii, 361, note 7).

³ "Near [Reynoldston] Church is a well dedicated to St. George, and at no great distance from it is another, dedicated to the Blessed Virgin, and supposed to possess medicinal properties" (Lewis's *Top. Dic. Wales*, ed. 1833).

⁴ According to an inscription, dated 1856, on a flagon now belonging to this church, the dedication is Holy Trinity (Evans's *Church Plate of Carmarthenshire*, p. 100).

Llanvihangel Penbedw , St. Michael	The Crown.
<i>Capel Colman, Colman.</i>	
Maenor Deivi , David	The Crown.
{ Bridell, David ¹	Freehold Inhabitants.
{ <i>Capel Meugan, Meugan.</i>	
<i>Cilvowir Chapel.</i>	
Penrhydd , Cristiolus	The Crown.
<i>Castellan.</i>	
17. DEANERY OF CEMES, <i>Pembrokeshire.</i>	
Bayvil , St. Andrew	The Crown.
Castle Bigh , St. Michael	The Crown.
Dinas , Brynach ²	The Lords of Cemes, Mr. Lloyd and Mr. Vaughan.
Eglwyswrw , Cristiolus	The Crown.
<i>Capel Erw, Erw.</i>	
<i>Chantry Chapel</i> (in churchyard).	
<i>Pencelli Vechan.</i>	
Henry's Moat or Castell Henri , Brynach	Mr. Scourfield.
<i>Capel Brynach, Brynach.</i>	
Little Newcastle or Cas Newy Bach , St. Peter ³	Sir Thomas Stepney.
<i>Martel.</i> ⁴	
Llantwyd , Iltyd.	
Llanvyrnach , Brynach.	The Crown.
<i>Chapel in ruins.</i>	

¹ Browne Willis, in 1733, places Bridell in the Deanery of Cemes, Pembrokeshire (*Par. Anglic.*, p. 192).

² Lewis, in 1833, says of the Dinas Church of that day that it "occupies a remarkable situation on the beach, and at spring tides the walls of the churchyard are washed by the sea: but it is probable that this was not the site of the original structure, from a place called *Bryn Hëllan*, 'old church hill' in the vicinity" (Lewis's *Top. Dic. Wales*, s. Dinas). Only a single wall of the church by the sea referred to by Lewis remains. It is situated in Cwm yr Eglwys and was destroyed in a great storm about the middle of the nineteenth century. A new parish church has been erected since further inland.

³ This church seems at one time to have been ascribed to St. David (Owen's *Pembrokeshire*, ii, 378, note 6).

⁴ In view of the form *Marthel* for *Marther*, i.e., Merthyr, it is advisable to insert here this place name as possibly indicating an ancient ecclesiastical foundation.

Llanychllwydog , David	Lords of Cemes.
Llanllawer. ¹	
<i>Llanmerchan.</i>	
Llanychâr, David	Mr. Warren.
Meline , Dogvael	Lords of Cemes.
Morvil , St. John Baptist.	The Crown.
Moylgrove or Trewyddel , Mynno	The Crown.

¹ On the Six Inch O.S. Map, Pembrokeshire, Sheet x, N.W. (second edition, 1908), within the parish of Llanllawer (for older *Llanllawera*), on the right hand side of the road going east from the parish church, and about three-quarters of a mile from the same, is a spot marked "Standing Stones", these being in the hedge of a field along the road, another field adjoining being called "Parc y Meirw". These stones are known as *y pyst hirion* and are traditionally said to mark the site of a battle, in which the defeated were driven south over some high rocks, known as Craigynestra, into the river Gwaun. Some of the bodies were carried down by the river to Cwm Abergwaun, or Fishguard Bottom. The folk add no explanation of the name Craigynestra, which may be for Craig Ianastra. In the *Arch. Camb.* for April 1868, in a paper by Mr. Barnwell, there is a reference to these stones, which are described as "a single line of stones of great size, which Fenton does not mention, although he deliberately pulled to pieces a fine cromlech near it". "Local tradition (says Mr. Barnwell) adds an account of a desperate battle fought on the spot, among the pillar-stones themselves The height of the stones is not so striking, as their lower part is embedded in the tall bank of earth that does the duty of an ordinary hedge; but some of them are full sixteen feet long There were no traces to be discovered of any second or other lines of stone, so that this seems to have always been a single line; but although single, it must have been a striking object at a time when no enclosures existed, and the present level of the soil lower than it is now." A plate, in which the hedge-bank is omitted, accompanies Mr. Barnwell's article. The mountain, on the slope of which Parc y Meirw is situated, is known from the southern side as *Mynydd Llanllawer*, and from the Dinas side as *Y Garn Fawr*. Under this last name it is mentioned by George Owen (see Owen's *Pembrokeshire*, i, 108, ii, 506, where it is wrongly identified in the notes with Trevasser mountain of the same name in Pencaer). From the Fishguard side the mountain resembles a breast with the *corn* as nipple. The whole, rising a thousand feet above the sea, is very conspicuous from the south and west, the spot where the stones are situated being in full view of Fishguard. From the top may be seen Trevgarn rocks,

Nevern from Nant Hyver , Brynach	The Crown.
<i>Capel Cilgwyn</i> , St. Mary.	
<i>Capel Gwenddydd</i> , Gwenddydd.	
<i>Capel Gweneron</i> , Gwenvron.	
<i>Capel Padrig</i> , Patrick.	
<i>Capel Rhiell</i> , Rhiell.	
<i>Capel Sanffraid</i> , Ffraid.	
<i>Capel St. George</i> , St. George.	
<i>Capel St. Thomas</i> , St. Thomas.	
Newport or Trevdraeth , St. Mary ¹	Lords of Cemes.
<i>Capel Cirig</i> , Cirig.	
<i>Capel Dewi</i> , David.	
<i>Capel St. Milburg</i> , St. Milburg.	
Pontvaen , Brynach	The Crown.
Puncheston or Cas Mâl , St. Mary	Mr. Warren.
St. Dogmael's or Llandydoch , Dogvael	The Crown.
<i>Capel Crannog</i> , Caraunog.	
<i>Capel Degwel</i> .	
<i>St. Dogmael's Abbey</i> , St. Mary.	
Monington or Eglwys Wythwr, Gwythwr.	
Whitchurch or Eglwys Wen , St. Michael	Lords of Cemes.
Llanvair Nantgwyn, St. Mary.	Mr. Lloyd, Mr. Jones and Mr. Howel.
<i>Llanvoyyan</i> , Mengan.	
18. DEANERY OF SUB AERON, <i>Cardiganshire.</i>	
	Patrons in 1717.
Aberporth , Cynwyl	Bishop of St. David's.
<i>Llanaberch</i> .	
Bangor , David	Bishop of St. David's.
Henllan, David	Bishop of St. David's.
Bettws Bledrws , Bledrws	Bishop of St. David's.

Ramsey Island, and the country below Haverfordwest. Surrounded by lesser carns such as Carn Sevyll, Carn Blewyn, Carn Madog, etc., its commanding position gains for it the distinctive name of *Y Carn Fawr*, the great carn. This spot meets the conditions demanded in *Historia hen Gruffud ab Kenan ab Iago* for the site of the famous Battle of Mynydd Carn (A.D. 1079).

¹ The great fair of Newport called *Ffair Cirig*, Cirig's Fair, is now held on June 27th, *i.e.*, eleven days after Cirig's day, June 16th. This fair suggests that St. Mary has supplanted Cirig in the "dedication" of the parish church.

Blaenporth, David	Bishop of St. David's.
Cardigan or Aberteivi, St. Mary	The Crown.
Tremaen, St. Michael	Bishop of St. David's.
Cellan, Callwen	Bishop of St. David's.
Dihewyd or Llanwyddalus, Gwyddalus¹	Bishop of St. David's.
Henvynyw, David	Bishop of St. David's.
Llanddewi Aberarth, David ²	Bishop of St. David's.
Llanarth, Meilig and David³	Bishop of St. David's.
<i>Capel Crist, Holy Cross.</i>	
Llanina, Ina.	
Llanbedr Pont Stephen or Lampeter,	
St. Peter	Precentor of St. David's.
<i>Capel Ffynnon Vair, St. Mary.</i>	
<i>St. Thomas's Chapel, St. Thomas.⁴</i>	
<i>The Priory.⁵</i>	
Llandygyw, Tygw	Bishop of St. David's.
<i>Chapel at Noyadd, i.e., Neuadd.⁶</i>	
<i>Chapel near Cenarth Bridge.⁶</i>	

¹ Gwyddalus is commonly identified with St. Vitalis, and in the *Report on MSS. in Welsh*, i, 916, col. ii, this parish appears as Llan Vitalis, but if of early foundation Vitalis should have become *Gwidol*, and the church name *Llanwidol*.

² Placed in the Deanery of Ultra Aeron in Browne Willis's *Par. Anglic.*, ed. 1733, p. 195. A private chapel known as Capel Alban was erected here in 1809.

³ For David see the enumeration of David's churches about the close of the twelfth century by the poet Gwynvardd Brycheiniog (Anwyl's *Gogynfeirdd*, 82); for Meilig see Mr. Edward Owen's *Catalogue of MSS. relating to Wales in British Museum*, ii, 504.

⁴ "a plot of ground, to the south-west of the town, being still called Mynwent Twmas, 'St. Thomas's Churchyard', where fragments of leaden coffins have been frequently dug up: the street leading towards it is also called St. Thomas's Street, and tradition reports the ruins of the edifice to have been visible about two hundred years ago" (Lewis's *Top. Dic. Wales*, ed. 1833, s Lampeter).

⁵ "A house in the town, called the Priory, is supposed to occupy the site of a conventual establishment, of which no record has been preserved: there are some low ruined walls in the garden belonging to it" (*Ibid*).

⁶ "There were formerly two chapels of ease, one at Noyadd, of which some vestiges may still be traced in a field called Parc y Capel,

Llandysilio Gogo, Tysilio	Bishop of St. David's.
Capel Cynon, Cynon.	
Llandysul, Tysul¹	Annexed to the Principality of Jesus College, Oxford.
<i>Capel Borthin.</i>	
<i>Capel Dewi, David.</i>	
<i>Capel Ffraid, Ffraid.</i>	
<i>Llandysulved.</i>	
<i>Llanvair, St. Mary.</i>	
<i>Vaerdre.</i>	
Llandyvriog, Briog	Bishop of St. David's.
<i>Llanvair Trev Helygen,</i> ² St. Mary	Bishop of St. David's.
Llangoedmor, Cynllo	The Crown.
Ilechryd, Holy Cross	Prebend of Llechryd.
Moumt, Holy Cross ³	
Llangrannog, Carannog	Bishop of St. David's.
Llangybi, Cybi	Bishop of St. David's.
Llanllwchaearn, Llwehaearn	Bishop of St. David's.
Llanvair y Clywedogau, St. Mary	Bishop of St. David's.
Llanvair Orllwyn, St. Mary	Bishop of St. David's.
Llanwennog, Gwennog⁴	Bishop of St. David's.
<i>Capel Bryneglwys.</i>	
<i>Capel Santesau.</i>	
<i>Capel Whyl.</i>	
<i>Llanvrechan.</i>	
Penbryn or Llanvihangel Penbryn, St. Michael	Bishop of St. David's.
Bettws Ivan, St. John.	

and the other near Cenarth bridge, which has totally disappeared, the site having been levelled in the formation of the turnpike road" (Lewis's *Top. Dic. Wales*, ed. 1833).

¹ Llandysul "is divided into seven hamlets . . . in each of which, with the exception only of that in which the parish church is situated, was formerly a chapel of ease, all of which have fallen to ruins" (Lewis's *Top. Dic. Wales*, ed. 1833).

² "The church, dedicated to St. Mary, having been suffered to fall into decay for want of due repair, is now in ruins" (Lewis's *Top. Dic. Wales*, ed. 1833, s. *Llanvair Trev Helygen*).

³ Moumt is called "Y Grog o'r Mwnt" in *Report*, i, 916, col. ii.

⁴ "There were formerly four chape's of ease to the mother church of [Llanwennog], of which there is not one now in existence" (Lewis's *Top. Dic. Wales*, ed. 1833).

Bryngwyn.

Capel Gunda, Gwyndav.

Silian or **Llansilian**, Silian.

Llanwnnen, Gwynen

Bishop of St. David's.

Tredreyr,¹ St Michael

The Crown.

Capel Tur Gwyn.

Verwick, Pedrog

The Crown.

19. DEANERY OF ULTRA AERON, *Cardiganshire.*

Patrons in 1717.

Caron or **Tregaron**, Caron

Bishop of St. David's.

Ystrad Fflur or Strata Florida, St.

Mary

Bishop of St. David's.

Ciliau Aeron, St. Michael

Bishop of St. David's.

Llanavan, Avan.

Llanwnnws, Gwynws.

Ysbytty Ystrad Meurig, St. John

Baptist.

Ysbytty Ystwyth, St. John Baptist.

Llanbadarn Odyn, Padarn

Bishop of St. David's.

Llanbadarn Treveglwys, Padarn

Bishop of St. David's.

Cilceunin, Holy Trinity

Bishop of St. David's.

Llanbadarn Vawr, Padarn

Bishop of St. David's.

Aberystwyth, St. Michael.

Llangourda, Cawrdav.

Llangorwen.

Llanymchearn,² Llwehachearn

Bishop of St. David's.

Ysbytty Cynvyn, St. John Baptist.

Llanddeiniol or **Carrog**, Deiniol

Bishop of St. David's.

Llanddewi Brevi, David

Bishop of St. David's.

Blaenpennal, David.

Capel Bettws Leuci, Lleuci.

Capel Gartheli, Gartheli.

Capel Gwenvyl, Gwenvyl.

Llanio.

¹ Troed yr Aur is the popular abomination by which this place is now known.

² Llanymchearn appears as ll. llwch hayarn, *i.e.*, Llanllwehachearn in the *Peniarth MS.*, 147, of about the year 1566 (*Report*, i, 916, col. i). Browne Willis, in 1733, places it in the Deanery of Sub Aeron (*Par. Anglic.*, p. 194).

Llangeitho, ¹ Ceitho	The Freehold Inhabitants. ²
Llangynvelyn, Cynvelyn	Bishop of St. David's.
Llanilar, Ilar <i>Llanddwy, God.</i>	Bishop of St. David's.
Llanrhystud, Rhystud <i>Capel Cynddylic, Cynddylic.</i>	Bishop of St. David's.
Llansanffraid, Ffraid or Bridget <i>Llan Non, Non.</i>	Bishop of St. David's.
Llanvihangel Genau'r Glyn, St. Michael Llanvihangel Capel Edwin, St. Michael. <i>Ynys y Capel.</i> ³	Bishop of St. David's.

¹ This place name is spelt Llangeithion and Llangeithon in *Report on MSS. in Welsh*, I, 916, col. i, and note 9.

² It will come as a surprise to many readers to learn that the patronage of Llangeitho, the famous storm centre of the Welsh religious movement in the eighteenth century, was at this time in the hands of the Freehold Inhabitants of the parish. In view of the controlling power, which the right of church patronage places in the hands of those who wield it, even when exercised on a comparatively small scale, it cannot but be that this fact bears largely on the much discussed question of the position of the celebrated religious leader, Daniel Rowlands, with regard to the church at Llangeitho. It seems that when Daniel was ordained in 1733 he became curate to his brother John, who at that time held the two benefices of Llangeitho and Nantgwille. When John died in 1760, we find that Daniel's connection with Llangeitho was by no means severed, for the new incumbent was none other than Daniel's son, who very accommodatingly went away in 1764 to serve as curate in Shrewsbury, and remained away till 1781, leaving his father in occupation of Llangeitho Vicarage, where he died in 1790. The late Archdeacon Bevan, whose account is here followed, goes on to say that "the bishop would hardly have promoted the son if he wished to get rid of the father". But whether the bishop wished or did not wish to get rid of Daniel Rowlands does not appear from the new appointment to Llangeitho, for the presentation apparently was not in the bishop's hands, but in those of the Freehold Inhabitants of the parish. It is clear that they, at least, did not wish to drive him away. What the parishioners of Nantgwille thought of Daniel Rowlands is not to be found in the new appointment at that parish, for the presentation

Llanvihangel Lledrod, St. Michael	Bishop of St. David's.
Llanvihangel Ystrad, St. Michael	Bishop of St. David's.
<i>Capel Sant Silin</i> , Silin.	
<i>Llanllyr</i> , Llyr.	
Llanygwryddon ⁴	Bishop of St. David's.
Nantgwnlle, Gwynlleu	Bishop of St. David's.
Rhosdie or Llanvihangel Rhosdie, St.	
Michael	Bishop of St. David's.
Trevilan, ⁵ Cyngar	Bishop of St. David's.

there lay not with them, but with the bishop, and he did *not* appoint Daniel Rowlands's son (Bevan's *Diocesan History of St. David's*, pp. 218-9).

³ "The Welsh tradition made St. Bride land in the estuary of the Dovey, perhaps at the place called Ynys-y-capel, near Tal-y-bont" (Mr. Phillimore in *Gossiping Guide to Wales*, 213).

⁴ This spelling is taken from the Peniarth MS. 147 of about 1566 (*Report*, I, 916, col. i.). It is said to signify *the Church of the Virgins* with reference to St. Ursula and her companions, but one would like to know the evidence.

⁵ "In the southern part of [Trevilan] parish is the small village of Talsarn. . . . Fairs are held at this village on September 8th and November 7th" (Lewis's *Top. Dic. Wales*, ed. 1833). Trevilan is represented in the *Peniarth MS.*, 147, (*cir.* 1566), by "tal y sarn grin" (*Report*, i, 916, col. i), which is referred to by Leland as a village hard by Llanllyr "caullid Talesarne Greene" (*Itin. in Wales*, ed. 1906, p. 51). The days of the fairs are those of Cynvarch and Cyngar respectively, who have proved very liable to confusion, as in the noted case of the "dedication" of Hope in Flintshire. Sept. 8th, is also the day of the Virgin's birth, but whether in honour of this event or of Cynvarch, the saint of Talsarn would seem to be Cyngar ab Garthog ab Ceredig ab Cnnedda Wledig (*Myv. Arch.*, ii, 23), whose son Gwynlleu is remembered in the adjoining parish of Nantgwnlle.

Diocese of Llandaff.

In 1733 this diocese comprised:—

1. Glamorganshire, over three-fourths of,
2. Monmouthshire (except *Dixton*, *Welsh Bicknor*, *St. Mary's Monmouth*, and part of *Welsh Newton*, in Hereford diocese; and *Cwm Yoy*, *Oldcastle*, and *Llanthony*, in St. David's diocese).

At that time there was only one Archdeaconry, viz., the Archdeaconry of Llandaff, containing the following Rural Deaneries:—

- | | | |
|-------------------------------------|---|-----------------|
| 1. Llandaff | } | Glamorganshire. |
| 2. Groncath, <i>alias</i> Cowbridge | | |
| 3. Abergavenny | } | Monmouthshire. |
| 4. Newport | | |
| 5. Netherwent | | |
| 6. Usk | | |

The members of the Cathedral were:—

Bishop, also said to be styled Quasi Decanus, and holding, in addition to the Episcopal throne, the Decanal Stall in the Choir.

Archdeacon.

Treasurer.

Chancellor.

Precentor.

Nine Prebendaries.

The above fourteen constituted the Chapter.

Two Priest-Vicars.

Schoolmaster.

Virger.

Bellringer.

“Here were, till about the Year 1696, four Lay-Vicars, an Organist, four Choristers, and a Chief or *Latin* Schoolmaster: But these being then put down, or laid aside, on pretext of applying their Stipends towards repairing the Fabrick of the Cathedral, their Salaries or Dividends have been, as 'tis commonly reported in these Parts, ever since shared and applied to augment the Income of the abovesaid fourteen Members of the Chapter, notwithstanding they have never resided, and have neglected repairing the Cathedral.”

ARCHDEACONRY OF LLANDAFF.

1. DEANERY OF LLANDAFF, *Glamorganshire.*

	Patrons in 1719 A.D.
Barry, St. Nicholas <i>Barry Island</i> , ¹ Barrwg.	Evan Seys, Esq.
Bonvilston, St. Mary	Miles Basset, Esq.
Cadoxton juxta Barry, Cadog	Mr. Popham and Mr. Morgan by turns. Prebendary of Caerau.
Caerau, St. Mary	
Cardiff or Caerdydd, St. Mary. ² Cardiff, St. John Baptist <i>Cardiff</i> , Perin. <i>Cardiff</i> , St. Thomas.	Chapter of Gloucester.
Cogan, St. Peter	Mr. Herbert.
Eglwys Ilan, Ilan Llanvabon, Mabon. Caerffili, St. Martin.	Chapter of Llandaff.
Gelligaer for Y gelli gaer, Cadog ³	Lord Windsor.

¹ "On the western side of [Barry] island, opposite to the ruins of Barry castle, are faint vestiges of a similar structure, and of two ancient chapels, in one of which [Barrwg] was interred." (*Lewis' Top. Dic. Wales*, ed. 1833.)

² Browne Willis in 1733 describes St. Mary's as *ecclesia destructa* united to St. John's (*Parochiale Anglicanum*, 198). "Ther be 2. paroche chirelis in the towne, wherof the principale lying sunwhat by est is one, the other of our Lady is by southe on the water side. There is a chapelle beside in Shoe-Maker streat of S. Perine, and a nother hard within Meskin Gate side [to the north west]." Leland's *Itin. in Wales*, ed. 1906, pp. 34-5. St. Mary's, however, was the old parish church of Cardiff, "*ecclesia beate Marie de kerdyf*" (Appendix I to *Bk. of Llan Dâv*, 319).

³ The following incident deserves mention as a warning to all who are tempted to dabble with the subject of place-names. It appears that two or three years ago at a meeting of the newly constituted Urban District Council of Gelligaer a resolution was carried "committing the Council in its official and corporate capacity to the spelling of the place-name in the form 'Gell-y-gaer'. It was alleged that this latter form was historically the correct orthography—the root-words being Cell (a cell), y (the), and Gaer (a fort)." A poet was called in "charged with the task of embodying the 'Cell' idea in an alliterative line with the object of supplying the Council with a motto for its new seal, and perpetuating for all time the all-important dis-

Capel Brithdir. <i>Capel Gwladus, Gwladus.</i>	
Leckwith, Elicgnid¹	Mr. Herbert.
Llancarvan for Nantearvan, Cadog	The Crown.
<i>Liege Castle.</i>	
<i>Llanbethery.</i>	
<i>Llancadle.</i>	
<i>Llanveithin,² Meuthi alias Tathan.</i>	
Llandâv or Llandaff, Teilo	The Crown of Bishopric; the Chapter of Vicar- age.
<i>Beganstone.</i>	
Whitechurch, St. Mary.	
Llandough³ (near Cardiff), Cyngar	Mr. Herbert.
Llanedern, Edern	Chapter of Llandaff.
<i>Llangadog, Cadog.</i>	
Llanhary, Ilthyd	Mr. Sidney and Mr. Edwin.
Llanishen, Isan	Sir Charles Kemmeys.
Llansannwr⁴	Francis Gwynn, Esq.
<i>Brigam Chapel.</i>	

covery that the name of the ancient parish over which the Council ruled was not Gelli Gaer at all, but Gell-y-Gaer". On this most regrettable proceeding Mr. Egerton Phillimore made the following comment: "This plan of altering place-names, from what they are to what they are not, is an abominable one."

¹ See Mr. Phillimore's opinion as quoted in *L.B.SS.*, II, 444.

² "Llanfeithin, about a mile northward from Llancarvan. It gives its name to an extra parochial district, comprising Llanfeithin, Carn Llwyd, Felin Fach, Caer Maen, Llanbethery, Llancadle, and Treguff" (*Cambro-British SS.*, 379, note 2, where Llanfeithin is identified with the *villa Treimqueithen* of the *Vita S. Caloci*. Llancadle is identified with *Taleatlan*, and Llanbethery with *hentrem dumbrych*.) The *Llangadell* of Rice Rees (p. 336), appears to be a misreading of Llancadle.

³ That the two Llandoughs represent the same name, or at least were early pronounced alike, is shewn by the fact that they were distinguished as greater and less, the Llandough near Cardiff being called "ll. doche fach" in the Peniarth MS. 147 (*Report*, I, 919, col. ii).

⁴ Llansannwr is called *Ecclesia de La Thawe* in Appendix I to the *Bk. of Llan Dâv* (p. 324), because presumably the R. Thaw rises within the parish. Lewis ascribes the Church to Senowyry, but Rice Rees is silent. Senewyr would appear to be the Senenyry ab Seithennin of the genuine *Bonedd y Saint*.

Llantrisant ¹	Chapter of Gloucester.
Aberdâr, St. John Baptist.	
<i>Gelli Gawrdav</i> , ² Cawrdav.	
Llanilltyd or Lantwit Vaedre, Illyd.	
Llantrisant Chapel, St. John Baptist.	
Llanwynno, Gwynno.	
Talgarn.	
Ystrad Tyvodwg, Tyvodwg.	
Llantryddid, Illyd	Sir John Awbrey.
Llys Vaen	Sir Charles Kemmeys.
Merthyr Dyvan, Dyvan	Mr. Popham.
Merthyr Tydvil, Tydvil	Lord Windsor.
Dowlais (modern).	
Michaelston le Pit, St. Michael	Thomas Jones, Esq.
Michaelston super Ely, St. Michael	Lord Windsor.
Penarth (near Cardiff), St. Augustine	Thomas Lewis, Esq.
<i>Chantry Chapel</i> . ³	
Lavernock, St. Lawrence. ⁴	
Pendeulwyn, Cadog	Chapter of Llandaff.
Penmark	Chapter of Gloucester.
<i>East Aberthaw Chapel.</i>	
<i>Rhos Chapel.</i>	

¹ According to Browne Willis and Rice Rees the three saints are Gwynno, Illyd and Tyvodwg, but Samuel Lewis gives Dyvnog, Iddog and Menw. Dyvnog is variously stated to have been the son or grandson of Cawrdav (cf. *Bonedd y Saint* in Peniarth MS. 45, with that in *Myv. Arch.* ii, 23-5), and it is certainly noteworthy that Cawrdav is commemorated in Gelli Gawrdav near Llantrisant. Iddog was a son of Brychan said to be commemorated in France (see "The Brychan Documents" in *Y Cymmrodor*, xix).

² "At a short distance from [Llantrisant] town, to the right of the road leading to Llandaff, are some remains of an ancient religious house said to have been to St. Cawrdav" (Lewis's *Top. Dic. Wales*, ed. 1833). "Ther hath beene sum auncient place at Galthe Cawrde a mile by southe from Lantrissent" (Leland's *Itin. in Wales*, ed. 1906, p. 21).

³ "In this parish [of Penarth] is a ruin, now converted into a barn, which was formerly a chantry chapel" (Lewis's *Top. Dic. Wales*, ed. 1833).

⁴ Lavernock is called Sain lawrens in the Peniarth MS. 147 of circa 1566 (*Report*, I, 919, col. ii).

Pentyrch, Cadog	Chapter of Llandaff.
Peterston super Ely or Llanbedr ar Vro, St. Peter	Sir J. Awbrey two turns, Mr. Matthews one.
Porthkerry ¹	Robert Jones, Esq.
Radyr, St. John Baptist	Mr. Lewis.
Rhydri. See under Bedwas, Deanery of Newport.	
Roath, St. Margaret	Mr. Herbert.
St. Andrew's Major or Llanandras, St. Andrew	The Crown.
St. Bride's super Ely, Ffraid <i>St. y Nill.</i>	Lord Windsor.
St. Ffagan's, Ffagan Llaniltern, Elldeyrn <i>Llanvair Fawr</i> , ² St. Mary.	Thomas Lewis, Esq. Thomas Lewis, Esq.
St. George's, St. George	Lord Windsor.
St. Hilary, St. Hilary <i>Beaupre Chapel</i> , ³ St. Mary.	Chapter of Llandaff.
St. Lythian's, Eliddan ⁴	Archdeacon of Llandaff.
St. Nicholas, St. Nicholas	Mr. Button.
Sully, St. John Baptist	Sir Edward Stradling.
Welsh St. Donat's. See under Llanbleddian, in Deanery of Gronoeth.	
Wenvo, St. Mary	Sir Edward Thomas.
Ystrad Owen	Chancellor of Llandaff.

¹ Porthkerry is called Porth Cirig in the Peniarth MS. 147 of *circa* 1566 (*Report*, I, 919, col. ii) and Porthkerig by Browne Willis in 1733 (*Par. Anglic.*, 199). Ceri is said to be the local pronounciation in Glamorganshire for Cirig.

² "At Llanvairvawr, an ancient farmhouse [in Llaniltern parish], lately destroyed by fire, are the ruins of a religious house . . . : the chapel is entire, and has been converted into a barn" (*Lewis's Top. Dic. Wales*, ed. 1833).

³ Beaupre Chapel is called *Llanvair* or *Bewpyr* in the Peniarth MS. 147 of *circa* 1566 (*Report*, I, 919, col. ii).

⁴ St. Lythian's appears in the *Bk. of Llan Dâr* as *Ecclesia Elidon*, and in Appendix I as S. Lythani (*v* Index, *s* Elidon); in *Taxatio* 1291 as E. de S. Lychano for Lythano; and in *Report on MSS. in Welsh*, I, 919, col. ii and note 17 (where it appears to be confused with Llanbleddian) as Elidon, liddan, lleiddan.

2. DEANERY OF GRONEATH OR COWBRIDGE, *Glamorganshire.*

Patrons in 1719.

Aberavan , ¹ St. Mary Baglan, Baglan.	Lord Mansel.
Briton Ferry or Llanisawel ²	Lord Mansel.
Cadoxton juxta Neath or Llangadog Glyn Nedd , Cadog Aberpergwm. Crinant, St. Margaret. <i>Neath Abbey Chapel.</i>	Lord Brook.
Cilybebyll , St. John Evangelist	The Crown.
Coetty , St. Mary Nolton Chapel (including Bridg- end), St. Mary.	Earl of Leicester.
Colwinston or Trev Golwyn , St. Michael	Lord Mansel.
Coychurch or Llangrallo , Crallo Peterston super Montem or Llan- bedr ar Vynydd, St. Peter.	Earl of Leicester.
Eglwys Brewis ³	Mr. Seys.
Ewenny , St. Michael	Mr. Turberville.
Flemingston , St. Michael	Mr. Edwin.
Gileston , St. Giles	Mr. Carne and Mr. Penry.
Glyn Corrwg , St. John Baptist Capel Blaengwrach.	Lord Mansel.
Kenffig , ⁴ St. Mary Magdalene Pyle, St. James	The Crown. The Crown.

¹ Aberavon is the modern abomination.

² "Britan Fery, caullid in Walsche Llanisauel, wher be a 3. or 4. houses and a chapel of ease on the hither side of Nethe Ryver" (Leland's *Itin. in Wales*, ed. 1906, p. 15). It appears as "ll. isawel" in the Peniarth MS. 147 of circa 1566 (*Report*, I, 919, col. i). Browne Willis and Rice Rees ascribe the Church to St. Mary; Lewis is silent. The Welsh Llanisawel is uncertain.

³ Egelesprives (*Taxatio*, 1254), Eglis prewis (*Taxatio*, 1291), Eglus pruwys and Eglis pruwys (App. I, *Bk. of Llan Dâw*, 325, 331), Eglwys Brywys (*Report on MSS. in Welsh*, I, 919, note 21).

⁴ Cf. the name "Cinfic" one of the four saints of Llangwm, Monmouthshire.

Lantwit juxta Neath or Llanilltyd Vach, Illtyd.	
<i>Capel Ynys Vach.</i> ¹	
Neath or Castell Nedd, St. Thomas.	Lord Windsor.
Resolven.	
Lantwit Major or Llanilltyd Vawr, Illtyd	Chapter of Gloucester.
<i>Lady Chapel, St. Mary.</i>	
Llanbleddian, Bleddian	Chapter of Gloucester.
Cowbridge, St. Mary. ²	
Llanddumwyd or Welsh St. Donat's, ³ Dunwyd.	
<i>Llangwyan, Cwyan.</i> ⁴	
Llandough ⁵ (near Cowbridge), Cyngar	Lord Mansel.
Llandow , ⁶ God	Chapter of Llandaff.
Llandyvodwg, Tyvodwg	Mr. Turbervill.
Llangan, Cana	Sir Edward Stradling and Mr. Edwin.
Llangeinor for Llan Gain Wry, Cain the Virgin	Lord Mansel.
Llangynwyd Vawr, Cynwyd	Lord Mansel.
<i>Bayden Chapel.</i> ⁷	

¹ "There was formerly a chapel in [Lantwit juxta Neath] parish, called Ynys Vâch, but it was never consecrated and was suffered many years ago to fall into decay," (Lewis's *Top. Dic. Wales*, ed. 1833). Browne Willis, in 1773, places Lantwit as a chapelry under Neath (*Par. Anglic.*, p. 201).

² Browne Willis ascribes Cowbridge Chapel to St. John Baptist (*Par. Anglic.*, ed. 1733, p. 200).

³ Welsh St. Donat's is placed under Deanery of Llandaff by Browne Willis (*ibid.*).

⁴ "Landeouian" "Lancovyan" "Llancovian" are earlier spellings, now locally pronounced Llanewian (Rev. John Griffith's *Edward II in Glamorgan*, p. xlv).

⁵ See note to Llandough (near Cardiff) under Deanery of Llandaff.

⁶ Lewis & Llandow says that this place is called by the Welsh Llandwv, which is the ll. dwf of the Peniarth MS. 147 (*Report*, I, 919, col. ii). It appears as Llandov in the *Taratio* of 1291, *i.e.*, Llandou for later Llandolwy, *ecclesia Dei*.

⁷ "In the hamlet of Bayden there was formerly a chapel of ease, which is now in ruins" (Lewis's *Top. Dic. Wales*, ed. 1833).

Llanilud , Ilud ¹	The Crown.
Llanharan.	
Llanmaes , Cadog	Lord Mansel.
Llanvihangel y Bontvaen , St. Michael	Mr. Edwin.
Llanvrynach , Brynach.	
Penllin, Brynach	Mr. Edwin.
Llysworney , Tydvil	Mr. Lewis.
<i>Little Nash Chapel.</i>	
Marcross , Holy Trinity	Chapter of Llandaff.
Margam , St. Mary	Lord Mansel.
<i>Craig y Capel.</i>	
<i>Eglwys Nunyd</i> , Nunyd.	
<i>Havod y Porth.</i>	
Taibach (modern 1827).	
Trisant.	
Merthyr Mawr	Archdeacon of Llandaff.
<i>Capel St. Roque.</i>	
Monknash , St. Mary	Sir Edward Stradling.
Newcastle or Castell Newydd ar Ogwr ,	
Illyd	The Crown.
Bettws, David.	
Laleston.	
<i>Llangewydd</i> , Cewydd. ²	
Tithegston or Llandyddwg, Tyddwg.	
Newton Nottage , St. John Baptist	Mr. Herbert, Mrs. Llongher and Mrs. Edwards, by turns.
St. Andrew's Minor , St. Andrew ³	John Curre, Esq.
St. Bride's Major , Ffraid	Mr. Turberville.
<i>Lampha</i> , Tyvai.	
<i>Ogmor Chapel.</i>	
Wiek, St. James.	
St. Bride's Minor , Ffraid	Earl of Leicester.
St. Donat's , Dunwyd	Sir Edward Stradling.

¹ This place is referred to in the Peniarth MS. 147 of *circa* 1566 as *ll. ilid a chirig*, and in the Appendix I to the *Bk. of Llan Dâv* (p. 325), as *ecclesia de Sancta Julitta*. Ilud, of course, was a daughter of Brychan.

² "Ecclesia que fuit in veteri Cimiterio de Langewy" (*Book of Llan Dâv*, App. i., 325).

³ Described by Browne Willis as a "Ch. dilapidated" (*Par. Angl.*, p. 200, ed. 1733).

St. Marychurch or Eglwys Vair , St. Mary	Lord Mansel.
<i>Castle Chapel.</i>	
St. Maryhill or Eglwys Vair y Mynydd , St. Mary	Sir John Awbrey.
St. Tathan's , Tathan <i>alias</i> Meuthi	Sir Edward Stradling.
3. DEANERY OF ABERGAVENNY, <i>Monmouthshire</i> . ¹	
Patrons in 1717.	
Abergavenny or y Venni , St. John. ²	
Abergavenny, St. Mary	Mrs. Gunter.
<i>Abergavenny</i> , Holy Rood. ³	
<i>Abergavenny Chapel</i> , St. John Baptist. ⁴	
<i>Coldbrook Chapel</i> . ⁵	
Bryngwyn , St. Peter	Lord Abergavenny.
Dingatstow or Llanddingad , Dingad	Chapter of Llandaff.
Tre'r gaer, St. Mary.	
Grosmont , St. Nicholas ⁶	The Crown.
Goytre for y Goed-dre , St. Peter	Lord Abergavenny.
Llanarth , Teilo	Chapter of Llandaff.
Bettws Newydd <i>formerly</i> Bettws Aeddau. ⁷	
Clytha Chapel <i>formerly</i> Capel Aeddau. ⁷	

¹ I am indebted to Colonel J. A. Bradney for kindly looking over the list I had prepared of Monmouthshire churches and chapels, and especially for some modern Welsh equivalents of place-names with which he has supplied me.

² The ancient parish church of St. John "was settled by Henry VIII on a grammar school which was held in the building till about 1900 when the new school was built. It is now the property of the Freemasons, who conduct their ceremonies in the ancient church".—J.A.B. St. Mary's became the parish church at the dissolution of the monasteries.

³ "p. y Grog o Venni" (*Report on MSS. in Welsh*, i, 920, col. iii).

⁴ "This has been disused time out of mind. A huge barn at the house called *The Chapel* is all that marks the site."—J.A.B.

⁵ "Now a grotto and at one time a bathing place."—J.A.B.

⁶ Browne Willis, however, says St. Lawrence (*Par. Anglic.*, 202).

⁷ "Clytha chapel, now a heap of stones with remains of arch stones of door; called Capel Aeddau from Aeddau or Aythan who took the

Llanddewi Ysgyryd, David	Lord Brook.
Llanddewi Rhydderch, David	The Crown.
<i>St. Michael's Chapel</i> , St. Michael.	
Llandeilo Bertholey or Llandeilo	
Porth Halog, Teilo	Chapter of Llandaff.
Bettws.	
Llandeilo Groes Ynwr or Llandeilo	
Cresenni, Teilo	Chapter of Llandaff.
Llanvair Cilgoed, ¹ St. Mary.	
Penrhos or Llangadog Penrhos,	
Cadog.	
Llanelen, Elen	Mrs. Gunter.
Llanffoist	Lord Abergavenny.
Llangadog Dyffryn Wysg, Cadog	Lord Abergavenny.
Llangadog Lingoed or Llangadog	
Lenig, ² Cadog	The Crown.
Llangadog Veibion Avel, Cadog	Mr. Evans.
St. Maughan's or Llanvocha,	
Machutus.	
Llangiwa, Ciwan	Mr. Scudamore.
Llanhyledd, Hyledd ³	Lord Abergavenny.
Llanover, Movor	Chapter of Llandaff.
Capel Newydd.	
Mamhilad.	
Trevethin, Cadog. ⁴	
Llansanffraid ⁵ (near Abergavenny), Ffraid	William Jones, Esq.
Llanvair Gilgydyn, St. Mary	Mr. Morgan.
Llanvapley, Mable	Lord Abergavenny.
Llanvetherin, Gwytherin	Lord Abergavenny

cross from Archbishop Baldwin in 1177. Aeddan also founded Bettws, called Bettws Aeddan, now Bettws Newydd, and Bryngwyn."—J.A.B. Bettws Newydd is placed by Browne Willis in Usk Deanery (*Par. Anglic.*, 206) "Near [Clitha House] are the remains of an ancient chapel" (Lewis's *Top. Dic. England*, ed. 1844).

¹ "The walls of the old chapel are still standing."—J.A.B.

² "In Welsh Llangadog Gellennig, apparently from three tenements called Gelli."—J.A.B.

³ "ll. hyledd vorwyn" *i.e.* Llan Hyledd the Virgin, in *Report on MSS. in Welsh*, i, 920, col. ii.

⁴ "in this Chapelry stands Pontypool" Browne Willis (*Par. Anglic.*, 203), who however writes "Pont-y-Pwll".

⁵ Browne Willis calls this St. Bride's Major (*Par. Anglic.*, 202).

Llanvihangel Crug Corneu, St. Michael <i>Staunton.</i>	The Crown.
Llanvihangel Dyffryn Wysg or Llanvihangel y Govain, St. Michael	Mr. Cecil and Mr. Hughes.
Llanvihangel Ystum Llywern, St. Michael	Lord Abergavenny.
Llanwenarth, Gwenarth Aberystwyth or Blaenau Gwent, St. Peter.	Lord Abergavenny.
Rockfield, Goronwy	Mr. Powell.
Skenfreth or Ynys Gynwraidd, Cynwraidd	Mr. Cecil.
St. Thomas' Chapel, Monmouth. See under Monmouth, Diocese of Hereford.	
Wonastow or Llanwarrw, Gwemolé	Mr. Milbourne.
4. DEANERY OF NEWPORT, <i>Monmouthshire.</i>	
	Patrons in 1717.
Basaleg ¹ Henllys, St. Peter. Risca, St. Peter.	Bishop of Llandaff.
Bedwas, Barrwg ² Rhydri (<i>Glamorganshire</i>), St. James. ³	Bishop of Llandaff.
Bedwellty for Bod Vellteu, Sannan <i>Mamhole, Macmoil.</i> ⁴	Bishop of Llandaff.
Coedcerniw, All Saints	Bishop of Llandaff.
Llansanffraid (in Gwynllwg), Ffraid	Bishop of Llandaff.
Machen, St. Michael	Mr. Morgan.
Malpas, St. Mary	Lord Windsor.
Marshfield or Maerun <i>Llanarthen, Arthen.</i>	Chapter of Bristol.
Michaelston Vedw or Llanvihangel Gwynllwg, St. Michael	Sir Charles Kemmeys.

¹ Dr. Hugh Williams, of Bala, regards Basaleg as being from the Latin *basilica* in its ecclesiastical sense of a church. It is used by the anonymous author of the *Excidium Britanniæ*, ch. 12 (Williams' *Gildas*, 28-9).

² Near Bedwas Church is Ffynnon Varrwg.

³ In the Deanery of Llandaff.

⁴ "At the farm now called Ty'r Capel."—J.A.B.

Mynyddislwyn, Tewdwr ab Howel	Bishop of Llandaff.
Newport or Cas Newydd, Gwynllyw	Bishop of Gloucester.
Bettws, David.	
Peterston Wentloog or Llanbedr	
Gwynllwg, St. Peter	Chapter of Bristol.
Rumney or Tredelerch, ¹ St. Augustine	Chapter of Bristol.
St. Melon's, ² Melanus	Bishop of Llandaff.
5. DEANERY OF NETHERWENT OF CHEPSTOW, <i>Monmouthshire.</i>	
Patrons in 1717.	
Caerlleon, Cadog	Chapter of Llandaff.
Caerwent, Tathan or Meuthi ³	Chapter of Llandaff.
<i>Dewstow, David.</i>	
Caldicot ⁴	Sir Charles Kemneys.
Chapel Hill or Abbey Tintern, St. Mary ⁵	Duke of Beaufort.
Christ Church or Eglwys y Drindod, Holy Trinity	Eton College.
<i>Christ Church, Aaron.</i>	
<i>Christ Church, Alban.⁶</i>	
<i>Christ Church, Julius.</i>	

¹ Leland's *Itinerary in Wales* (ed. 1906), p. 13.

² The Welsh name for St. Melon's as spelt in the Peniarth MS. 147, of about the year 1566 is "ll. lirwg". It is now called in Welsh Llaneirwg, or as spelt by Colonel Bradney Llaneurwg, Can it be, therefore, that the "ll. lirwg" of the *Report on MSS. in Welsh*, i, 920, col. i, is a mistake for ll. eirwg, i.e. Llaneirwg?

³ Ascribed later to St. Stephen, whose day is the same as that of Tathan, viz., Dec. 26.

⁴ In Owen's *Pembrokeshire*, iii, 294, n. 1, the *Sant Ilien* of the *Book of Llan Dâv*, p. 234, is said to have been near Caldicot. Lewis writes, "The church, dedicated to St. Mary [Browne Willis is silent. *Par. Anglic.*, 203] consists of a nave, chancel, and north aisle, with a square tower rising between the chancel and nave, and a very large south porch, supposed to have been a chapel" (*Top. Dic., England*, ed. 1844).

⁵ Browne Willis in his *Par., Anglic.*, ed. 1733, p. 205, writes as follows:—"TINTERNE *Abbatia* St. Mary. Here are the Ruins of one of the most stately Abbies in the Kingdom; it belongs to the Duke of Beaufort, and is included in a little Parish called *Chapelfield*, into which the Duke of Beaufort puts in a Minister".

⁶ "Caerleon is equally pre-eminent in the annals of the church: here St. Julius and St. Aaron are said to have suffered martyrdom,

Goldcliff, St. Mary Magdalene

Eton College.

Nash or Tre'r Ommen, St. Mary.

Ifton.¹

and two chapels were erected to their honour; one near the present site of St. Julian's, to which it communicated the name, and the other at Penros, in the vicinity of the town. *A third chapel was dedicated to St. Alban, another martyr, which was constructed on an eminence to the east of Caerleon, overlooking the Usk. A yew tree marks the site; an adjoining piece of land is still called the chapel yard, and in 1785 several stone coffins were discovered in digging for the foundations of a new house*" (Coxe's *Historical Tour through Monmouthshire*, 1801, reprinted in 1904, p. 103). I would call special attention to the part which I have italicized, as the site of a shrine of St. Alban, near Caerlleon, is practically unknown to students; and certainly for long centuries its importance has never been realized. The site is in the parish of Christ Church on Mount St. Alban about two miles further up the river Usk than Caerlleon, on the side of the river opposite to Caerlleon and about half-a-mile from the river. The statement in the *Lives of the British Saints*, i, 145, that Christ Church itself was formerly dedicated to St. Alban, appears to be unfounded. "Towards the beginning of the twelfth century, Caerlleon was possessed by Owen, surnamed Wan, or the feeble, from whom it was conquered by Robert de Chandos, founder of Goldcliff Priory. According to an old deed cited by Dugdale, among other possessions, he assigned to the monks the tythes of a mill and an orchard at Caerlleon, together with the churches of St. Julius, St. Aaron, and St. Alban, and their appurtenances" (Coxe's *Hist. Tour*, p. 105). There is, however, some obscurity in the passage from Dugdale, which seems to imply that there was only one church called after the three saints—"et ecclesiam sancti Julii et Aaron atque Alban cum pertinentiis" (*Monasticon*, ii, 904). Mr. Idris Bell has kindly supplied me with another reference from the *Calendar of Charter Rolls*, ii, 362—"Charter of Henry, Duke of Normandy and Anjou [afterwards Henry II. No date, but wrongly dated as A.D. 1142-1146. As Henry's father died in 1151 and he became Duke of Aquitaine at the end of 1152, and he here calls himself Duke of Normandy and Count of Anjou only, the date must be 1151 or 1152]. Among other possessions he mentions 'ecclesiam sanctorum Julii et Aaron atque Albani cum omnibus pertinentiis suis et ecclesiam Sancti Marie Magdalene de Golcliva'". Here again it is implied that there was only a single church named after the three saints. But this

¹ "Church dilapidated and united to *Rogiet*" Browne Willis in 1733 (*Par. Anglic.*, 204). "Only site left."—J.A.B.

Itton or Llanddeiniol, Deiniol.	Mr. Jeffrys.
Kemes Inferior	Mr. Lord.
Henrhiv, St. John Baptist in the wilderness ¹	Duke of Beaufort.

much is clear that as early as the mid-twelfth century the name of St. Alban was associated with a church near Caerlleon. Again, in the *Book of Llan Dâv*, compiled in this same century, but from much older material, what appears to be the same place is called *martyrium* or *merthir Julii et Aaron* with no mention of Alban. On the evidence so far, then, it would look as though there was only one shrine, bearing first the names of Julius and Aaron, and later (though as early as the twelfth century) that of Alban. In Geoffrey of Monmouth's celebrated *Historia Regum Britanniæ*, however, Book ix, ch. 12, three special buildings are referred to as existing at Caerlleon: "Duabus autem eminebat ecclesiis quarum una in honore Julii martyris erecta, virgineo Deo dicatarum puellarum choro perpulehre ornabatur: altera vero in beati Aaron ejusdem socii nomine fundata, canonicorum conventu subnixa, tertiam metropolitanam sedem Britanniæ habebat. Præterea gymnasium ducentorum philosophorum habebat; qui astronomia atque caeteris artibus eruditi, cursus stellarum diligenter observabant, et prodigia eo tempore ventura regi Arturo veris argumentis prædicebant" (San-Marte's ed., 1854, p. 132). "Caerlleon was famous for two churches, one of which, raised in honour of the martyr Julius, was most becomingly adorned by a convent of virgins who had dedicated themselves to God; and the second, founded in the name of the blessed Aaron his companion, maintained by a brotherhood of canons, was the third metropolitan see of Britain. It had, in addition, a school of two hundred philosophers who, learned in astronomy and other arts, diligently observed the courses of the stars, and by true inferences foretold the prodigies which, at that time, were about to happen to King Arthur". Notwithstanding then the evidence of the above charters that there was only one Church of SS. Julius, Aaron and Alban, Geoffrey clearly knew of two Caerlleon Churches, called after Julius and Aaron respectively, and a third building besides, which he describes as a school of astronomical philosophers. As Geoffrey does not mention Alban in connection with the churches of Julius and Aaron, and as we now know that even at the time in which Geoffrey was writing St. Alban was one of the three saintly names of the place, the third building cannot but be that on Mount St. Alban,

¹ Browne Willis places this in the Deanery of Usk (*Par. Anglic.*, 206)

Langstone

Mr. Gore.

*Chapel of St. Cyriac, Cirig.*¹Llanbedr, St. Peter.²Llandavaud, Tavaud.²

Llangadwaladr or Bishopston, Cadwaladr Archdeacon of Llandaff.

Ecclesia S. Civiui, Civiw.

being in fact a third church called after Alban. It would appear that Geoffrey would not allow himself to believe that this third building on the mount had anything to do with St. Alban, whom he had learnt from Bede and the *Excidium Britanniæ* to associate with Verulamium or St. Alban's in Hertfordshire. But as the third building was there, he had to account for it. First, we find it on a hill; secondly, as St. Alban's Eve falls on June 21st, the day of the summer solstice, the name Alban might have become a technical term in astrology and astronomy as we find to be actually the case in later Welsh, where *alban* signifies solstice or equinox; lastly, there was no room for Geoffrey to believe that Alban suffered at Caerleon, for Bede and the *Excidium Britanniæ* said Verulamium. And so Geoffrey might be conceived to have concluded that the building on *Mons Albani* was an observatory. It is clear from the way in which St. Alban's is referred to in the above Charters, and from its absence in the "edited" *Book of Llan Dâw*, as well as from the manner in which Geoffrey treats it, that the current traditions in the twelfth century, relative to the hill and its ruin, had become uncertain. In the *Archæologia Cambrensis* for July, 1905, pp. 256-259, I have submitted that Mount St. Alban, near Caerleon, is the true site of the "martyrdom" of St. Alban. Bold as Geoffrey was in his elucidation of the history of Britannia (which, like others before him, he identified with the *island* of Britain instead of with Wales *plus* the Devonian peninsula) he either failed to see the absurdities involved in connecting Alban's death, as quoted in the *Excidium Britanniæ* of the pseudo-Gildas and in Bede, with Verulamium in modern Hertfordshire, or, if he did suspect them, he feared to challenge the overwhelming authority of the Venerable Bede. What with Bede's evidence and the actual presence of the great monastery in Hertfordshire, the local tradition of Caerleon gave way. Moreover, even in Wales the anonymous work known as

¹ "This would be Cat's Ash, now a barn with East window remaining, the Cathonen of the Liber Landavensis."—J.A.B.

² "Two ruined Churches under the Prebendary of *Warthacwm* in Landaff Cathedral" (Browne Willis's *Par. Anglic.*, ed. 1733, p. 204).

Llanmartin, St. Martin	Mr. Jeffrys.
Llansanffraid (in Nether Went), Ffraid	Mr. Jeffrys.
Llanvaches, Maches	Mr. Morgan.
Llanvair Disgoed, St. Mary Dinam Chapel. ¹	Chapter of Llandaff.
Llanvihangel Nether Went, St. Michael	Mr. Morgan.
Llanwern, Gwaryn	Mr. Vann.
Magor for Magwyr ² Redwick, St. Thomas.	Duke of Beaufort.
Mathern formerly Merthyr Tewdrig, Tewdrig <i>Crick.</i> <i>Merthyr Gerein, Gerein.</i> ³ <i>Runston.</i> St. Pierre, St. Peter	Chapter of Llandaff.
Mounton for Monkton, ⁴ Andoenus	Mr. Lewis.
Newchurch or Eglwys Newydd ar y Ceuen	Mrs. Lister.
Penhow, St. John Baptist ⁵	Duke of Beaufort.
Penterry, Bedeni	Mr. Lloyd of Bristol.
Roggiet	Prebendary of Caerau. Mr. Morgan.

Eccidium Britannæ had long been attributed to Gildas ab Caw, and this work also said that St. Alban had suffered at Verulamium, what though it located Verulamium on the river Thames! What though there was no river anywhere near Verulamium sufficiently large to have given rise to the legend! And so Verulamium grew fat and our City of Legions grew thin. But Mount St. Alban still exists to tell its tale, situated on the side of the river opposite to the city where Alban dwelt, and on a hill about half-a-mile from the river, where doubtless he was once supposed to have been martyred and where his *martyrium* or *merthyr* was erected to preserve his relics.

¹ "Now a cowhouse with two Gothic windows."—J.A.B.

² Browne Willis and Rice Rees ascribe this church to St. Mary, but according to Messrs. Gould and Fisher it was formerly associated with Cadwaladr (*Lives of British Saints*, ii, 45).

³ "*Merthirgerin Eccl. destructa*, and Site unknown, otherwise than it stood near *Tinterne Abby*" (Browne Willis's *Par. Anglic.*, ed. 1733, p. 204).

⁴ "*Eccl. destructa*" in 1733 (*Par. Anglic.*, p. 204).

⁵ Mr. Phillimore suggests that this name may involve that of Huui, one of the four saints of Llangwm (Owen's *Pembrokeshire*, iii, 276, note 1).

St. Arvan's , Jarmen <i>and</i> Febric <i>Howick or Howig Vach.</i> <i>Porthcalseg.</i> <i>St. Kingmark's</i> , Cynvarch. ¹ <i>St. Lawrence's</i> , St. Lawrence. ¹	Duke of Beaufort.
St. Kinmark's or Llangynvarch , Cynvareh Chepstow <i>or</i> Cas Gwent, St. Mary	Duke of Beaufort. Mr. Williams and Mrs. Davies.
Shire Newton or Trenewydd Gellivarch , St Thomas the Martyr	The Crown.
Portskewet for Porth Ysgewydd , St. Mary. <i>Sudbrook</i> or <i>Southbrook</i> , ² Holy Trinity	Mr. Rumsey. Mr. Fielding.
Tintern Parva , St. Michael	Archdeacon of Llandaff.
Undy or Gwndi	Chapter of Llandaff and Eton College, alternatively.
Whitson	Mr. Jeffrys.
Wilerrick or y Voelgrug	Mr. Jeffrys.

6. DEANERY OF USK, *Monmouthshire.*

Patrons in 1717.

Bettws Newydd. See Llanarth in Deanery of Abergavenny.	
Cilgwrrwg	Archdeacon of Llandaff.
Gwernesney , St. Michael	Mr. Nicholas.
Kemes Commander , All Saints Henrhiw. See Kemes Inferior in Deanery of Nether Went.	Mr. Gore.
Llambadoc	Lord Windsor.
Llanddewi Vach , David	Treasurer of Llandaff.
Llandegvedd , Tegvedd	Sir Hopton Williams.

¹ "Remains exist of two ancient chapels, dedicated respectively to St. Kingsmark and St. Lawrence" (Lewis's *Top. Dic., England*, ed. 1844, s. Arvans).

² Browne Willis omits Portskewet in his *Parochiale Anglicanum*, ed. 1733, but inserts Sudbrook, which he describes as in his time an *ecclesia destructa* (p. 204). "The ruined church of Sudbrook is now railed in."—J.A.B.

Llandenni <i>alias</i> Mathenni <i>Llanevrddil, Evrddyl.</i>	Duke of Beaufort.
Llandogo for Llaneuddogwy , Euddogwy	Prebendary of Caerau.
Llangiviw , Civiw	Sir Hopton Williams.
Llangoven , Coven Penclawdd, St. Martin	Chapter of Llandaff. Chapter of Llandaff.
Llangwm Ucha , Mirgint, Cinficc, Huui and Eruen ¹ Llangwm Isa, Mirgint, Cinficc, Huui and Eruen.	Prebendaries of Llan- gwm and Warthacwm in Llandaff Cathedral.
Llangybi , Cybi	Sir Hopton Williams.
Llangynog , Cynog. ²	
Llanhynwg ³	Chapter of Llandaff.
Llanishen , Nisien <i>Llanvair, St. Mary.</i> <i>Llanwynny.</i>	Duke of Beaufort.
Llanllowel , Llowel	Sir Charles Kemmeys and Mr. Jenkins.
Llansoy , Tysoy <i>Llangynog, Cynog.</i>	Lord Windsor.
Llantrisant , the Three Saints ⁴ Bertholen. ⁵	Mr. Morgan and Mr Waters.
Llanvihangel Llantarnam or Llanvi- hangel Ton y Groes , ⁶ St. Michael	Mr. Bray

¹ These are described as the *quattuor sancti de Lann Cum* in the *Book of Llan Dâv*, p. 274.

² Llangynog is not mentioned by Browne Willis. There is a place near the site of this church called *Cwrt Brychan* on which account Rice Rees would identify this Cynog with Cynog ab Brychan.

³ Both Browne Willis and Rice Rees ascribe this church to St. John Baptist.

⁴ Browne Willis and Rice Rees say SS. Peter, Paul, and John; Colonel Bradney gives SS. David, Padarn, and Teilo, "the blessed visitors of Britain". Perhaps, like the Seven Saints of Mathry, etc., their names are lost.

⁵ Browne Willis has Penthoily for Perthoily.

⁶ "Llantarnam is called, colloquially, in Welsh Llanvihangel y Vynachlog."—J.A.B.

<i>Llanddervel</i> , Dervel. ¹	
<i>St. Dial's Chapel</i> , Dial.	
Llanvihangel Tor y Mynydd , St. Michael	Archdeacon of Llandaff.
Llanvrechva ²	Chapter of Llandaff.
Mitchel Troy or Llanvihangel Troddi , St. Michael	Lord Windsor.
Cwmearvan Chapel, St. Michael.	
<i>Llanthomas</i> , St. Thomas.	
Monkwood or Capel Coed y Mynach	Duke of Beaufort.
Panteg , St. Mary	John How, Esq.
Raglan , ³ David	Duke of Beaufort.
Trosdre, David	Mr. Hughes.
Tredunnoch or Tre Redynog , St. Andrew ⁴	John How, Esq.
Trelleck or Trillech , St. Nicholas	The Crown.
Penallt.	
Trelleck's Grange	
Usk or Bryn Buga , St. Mary	Duke of Beaufort.
Wolves Newton or Trenewydd dan y gaer , St. Thomas the Martyr	Sir Hopton Williams.
	The Crown.

¹ "Four walls remain, about two feet high. It is on the side of the mountain two-and-a-half miles N.W. of Llantarnam church."—J.A.B.

² Browne Willis says All Saints, but Rice Rees is silent.

³ Rhygyvarech, in his *Vita S. David*, states that Raglan was founded by St. David, which would shew at least that it was a "David church" at the close of the eleventh century, but whether David of Mynyw, or one of those bearing the same name and mentioned in the *Book of Llan Dâw*, is doubtful. Browne Willis says Cadog.

⁴ A church, which would now be known as Llanddyllywyr, the *llan* of the water-men, is mentioned as having been granted to Cybi by Edelig, son of Glywys, of Glywysing, and regulus of Edeligion. This church was in Edeligion, now included in Monmouthshire. It is stated in the *Lives of British Saints*, ii, 235, to be probably Tredunnoch.

Diocese of Bangor.

In 1733 this diocese comprised:—

1. Anglesey or Môn.
2. Carnarvonshire (except *Llysvaen*, *Eglwys Rhos*, and *Llan-gystemin* in St. Asaph diocese).
3. Merionethshire, the better half of,
4. Denbighshire, the Deanery of Dyffryn Clwyd in,
5. Montgomeryshire, the Deanery of Arwystli in,

There were three Archdeaonries, including nine Deaneries:—

I. Bangor	{	1. Arvon 2. Arllechwedd 3. Llŷn	}	Carnarvonshire.
II. Anglesey	{	4. Lliwan and Talybolion 5. Menai and Malldraeth 6. Twrcelyn and Tindaethwy	}	Anglesey.
III. Merioneth	{	7. Eivionydd 8. Ystum Aner 9. Ardudwy	}	Carnarvonshire. Merionethshire.

The two remaining Deaneries. viz. :—

10. Dyffryn Clwyd, Denbighshire.
11. Arwystli, Montgomeryshire.

were under no Archdeaonry, but were subject to the Bishop's immediate jurisdiction.

Moreover, the two Archdeaonries of Bangor and Anglesey had been annexed to the Bishopric by Act of Parliament in 1685; and so only the Archdeaonry of Merioneth was "collected or instituted to".

The members of the Cathedral were:—

- Dean.
 - Three Archdeacons (two now annexed to the Bishopric).
 - Treasurer.
 - Two endowed Prebendaries (*Llanvair* and *Penmynydd*).
 - Precentor
 - Chancellor
 - Canonicus I, II, and III
- } = five unendowed Prebendaries.

The above twelve constituted the Chapter.

Two Priest-Vicars Choral	} Inferior Members.
Organist	
Four Singing-men	
Four Choristers	
Verger	
Sexton	
Bellringer	

“By some Statutes of the Free-school, made *Tempore Regine Elizabethæ*, there are ten Boys belonging to that School appointed to wear Surplices, and are ordered to attend the Choir.”

I. ARCHDEACONRY OF BANGOR.

1. DEANERY OF ARVON, *Carnarvonshire*.

	Patrons in 1721.
Bangor, Deiniol	The Crown of Bishopric; Bishop and Chapter of Vicarage.
<i>Bangor St. Mary</i> ¹ <i>Capel Gwregrw,</i> ² <i>Gwrwyw.</i> <i>Pentir or Llangedol, Cedol.</i>	
Clynnog Vawr, Benno	Bishop of Bangor.
Llanaelhaearn, Aelhaearn	Bishop of Bangor.
Llanbeblig, Peblig	Bishop of Chester.
<i>Carnarvon, St. Mary.</i> <i>Carnarvon, St. Helena.</i>	
Llanberis, Peris	Bishop of Bangor.
Llanddeiniolen, Deiniolen <i>Dinas Dinorwig Chapel.</i>	Prince of Wales.
Llandwrog, Twrog	Bishop of Bangor.
Llanllyvni, Rhedyw	Bishop of Bangor.
Llanrhug or Llanvihangel yn Rhug, <i>St. Michael</i>	Bishop of Bangor.
Llanvair-is-gaer, St. Mary <i>Bettws Garmon, Garmon.</i>	Bishop of Bangor.
Llanwnda, Gwyndav <i>Llanvagan, Baglan.</i>	Bishop of Bangor.

¹ “Of the ancient parochial church dedicated to St. Mary, not a single fragment is remaining” (*Lewis’s Top. Dic. Wales*, ed. 1833, s. Bangor).

² Probably referred to by Lewis in the following (*ibid*). “The site of an old chapel was sold, some years since, and the money applied to the redemption of the land-tax.”

2. DEANERY OF ARLECHWEDD, *Carnarvonshire.*

Patrons in 1721.

Aber or Abergwyngregyn , Bodvan	Lord Bulkely.
Caer Rhun , St. Mary	Bishop of Bangor.
Conway or Aberconway , St. Mary	Bishop of Bangor.
Cyffin , St. Mary ¹	Bishop of Bangor.
Dolwyddelan , Gwyddelan	Bishop of Bangor.
Dwygyvylchi , Boda and Gwynmin ²	Mr. Rutter.
Llanbedr y Cennin , St. Peter	Bishop of Bangor.
Llandegai , Tegai	Bishop of Bangor.
Capel Curig, Cirig.	
<i>St. Ann's Chapel</i> , St. Ann. ³	
Llandudno , Tudno	Bishop of Bangor.
Llangelynin , Celynin ⁴	Bishop of Bangor.
Llanllechid , Llechid	Bishop of Bangor.
Llanvair Vechan , St. Mary	Bishop of Bangor.
<i>Seiriol's Hermitage</i> , Seiriol. ⁵	
Penmachno , Tudglyd	Bishop of Bangor.
Trevriw , St. Mary	Bishop of Bangor.
Bettws y Coed or Llanvihangel y	
Bettws, ⁶ St. Michael.	
Llanrhychwyn, Rhychwyn.	

¹ *Report on MSS. in Welsh*, i, 913, note 3.

² Sir John Wynn of Gwydir's Ancient Survey of Penmaen Mawr (1906, pp. 18-9), quoted in *Lives of British Saints*, i, 224; also *Gossiping Guide to Wales* (ed 1907), pp. 250-1, as revised by Mr. Egerton Phillimore.

³ "A chapel, dedicated to St. Anne, was erected near the slate quarries by the late Lord Penrhyn, at an expense of £2,000, for the accommodation of persons engaged in those works; it was consecrated in 1813, and endowed in 1815 by Lady Penrhyn; it is a neat, well-built edifice, and is appropriately fitted up for the performance of divine worship." (Lewis's *Top. Dic. Wales*, ed. 1833, s Llandegai.)

⁴ "The north and south transepts in this church were called respectively Capel Meibion and Capel Arianws." (*Lives of British Saints*, ii, 105, n. 1.)

⁵ On Penmaenmawr Mountain "was the solitary retreat of Seiriol, a British anchorite, who had his hermitage between the two summits where his bed and his well are still to be seen." (Lewis's *Top. Dic. Wales*, ed. 1833.)

⁶ *Report on MSS. in Welsh*, i, 913.

3. DEANERY OF LLŶN, *Carnarvonshire.*

Patrons in 1721.

Aberdaron, Hywyn	Bishop of Bangor.
<i>Capel Anhaelog,</i> ¹ <i>Anhaelog.</i>	
<i>Eglwys Vair, St. Mary.</i>	
Llanvaelrhys, Maerhys.	
Abererch, Cadvarech and Cawrdav	Bishop of Bangor.
<i>Llangedwyydd, Cedwydd.</i>	
Penrhos or Llangynwyl, Cynwyl.	
Bodvuan, Buan	Bishop of Bangor.
Ceidio or Llangedidio, Ceidio	Bishop of Bangor.
Ederu or Llanedern, Ederu	Bishop of Bangor.
Carngiweh, Beuno.	
Pistyll, Beuno.	
Llanbedrog, Pedrog	Bishop of Bangor.
<i>Capel Cir Verthyr, Cir the Martyr.</i> ²	
Llangian, Cian and Peris.	
Llanvihangel Bachellaeth, St. Michael.	
Llanengan, Eimion Vrenhin	Bishop of Bangor.
<i>Ynys Tudwal, Tudwal.</i>	
Llangwnadl or Nantgwnadl, Gwynhoedl	Bishop of Bangor.

¹ Lewis's *Top. Dic. Wales*, ed. 1833, s Aberdaron. There is a well called Ffymon Ddurdan in Aberdaron Parish.

² On a mountain, partly in this parish, and partly in that of Llangian, there was a well called *Ffymon Dduw*, God's Well, "about three yards square, enclosed with a wall from four to five feet high, the waters of which were formerly much esteemed for their efficacy in rheumatic complaints; and adjoining to it was another, about one yard square, from which the invalids used to drink the water. Around this well it was customary for the people of the neighbouring country to assemble for the celebration of rustic sports, but it has now [1833] for many years been neglected". (Lewis's *Top. Dic. Wales*, s Llanbedrog.) With this compare the following from the *Lives of British Saints*, ii, 199, "In the parish of Llangian, Carnarvonshire, was formerly a well called Ffymon Fyw (the Living Well), now dried up, celebrated for the cure of rheumatism. It was dedicated to S. Cyr, the martyr, whose chapel stood close by". It is said there was formerly a Capel Eurgan in Llangian parish (*Arch. Camb.*, 1874, pp. 87-8, as quoted in *Lives of British Saints*, ii, 474, n. 5).

Bryn Croes. ¹	
Tudweiliog, Cwyvan.	
<i>Ty Vair</i> , St. Mary. ¹	
Llaniestyn , Iestin	Bishop of Bangor.
Bodverin, Merin.	
<i>Capel Odo</i> , Odo. ²	
Llandygwynnin, Gwynnin.	
Penllech, St. Mary.	
St. Julian's Chapel, St. Julian.	
Llannor or Llanvawr yn Llŷn . ³	
Pwllheli or Eglwys Dyneio, Tyneio.	
Melldyrn , St. Peter ad Vincula	Bishop of Bangor.
Bottwnog, Beuno.	
Nevin , St. Mary	Mr. Griffith.
Rhiw , Aelrhiw or y Ddelw Vyw	Bishop of Bangor.
Llandudwen, Tudwen.	

II. ARCHDEACONRY OF ANGLESEY.

4. DEANERY OF LLIWAN AND TALYBOLION, *Anglesey*.

Patrons in 1721.

Holyhead or Caergybi , Cybi	Bishop of Bangor.
Bodedern, Edern.	
Bodwrog, Twrog.	

¹ Rice Rees gives Holy Cross as the dedication of Bryn Croes, but Lewis in his *Top. Dic. Wales* (ed. 1833), *s* Bryncroes is silent. The latter, however, states "An ancient chapel, called Tŷ Vair, or 'St. Mary's Chapel', formerly stood near the church; in the vicinity of which also are Ffynnon Vair, 'St. Mary's Well', and Cae Vair 'St. Mary's Field'".

² "On the side of a hill, called Mynydd Moelvre, or Mynydd yr Ystum, are the ruins of an ancient chapel, named Capel Odo; and in the vicinity there is a tumulus, called Bedd Odo, or Odo's grave, which, according to tradition, covers the remains of a giant of that name" Lewis's *Top. Dic. Wales*, ed. 1833, *s* Bôdverin. With Odo the giant compare Edi the giant of Ogo'r Cawr or Ogov Gwyl Edi in Llanedi (J. T. Evans' *Church Plate of Carmarthenshire*, p. 48, note 6).

³ Evans's *Report on MSS. in Welsh*, i, 913, col. ii, where the "ll. fair yn llyn" of the Peniarth MS. 147 is corrected by Dr. John Davies, of Mallwyd (note 14), into "ll. vawr yn lleyu". In Lucy Toulmin Smith's edition (1906) of Leland's *Itinerary in Wales*, p. 89, the *Llan Egluis* which is "a 3 myles" to Nevin Church is identified with a query with Llannor. Browne Willis ascribes the church to Holy Cross (*Par. Anglic.*, 211).

*Capel Gorlas.*¹

*Capel Gwynyngeneu, Gwynyngeneu.*²

Capel Sanffraid or *Towyn y Capel,*
Ffraid.³

Capel Ulo (in Kingsland).⁴

*Capel y Llochwyd.*⁵

¹ "The site of [Capel Gorlas] is unknown, although very probably it was near the well [Ffynnon Gorlas]. Some doubt exists as to whether *Gorlas* is a proper name." Archdeacon Jones in *Arch. Camb.*, 1870, p. 355. "The well has never, apparently, been enclosed in masonry." Report of meeting, *ibid.*, p. 359. Ffynnon Gorlas is situated not a mile from St. Cybi's Church to the left of the road towards Penybone and the South Stack.

² "Capel Gwynyngeneu stood at the parting of the roads to Pont-rhydpoint and Rhoscolyn from Holyhead. For generations it was known as 'Capel Gwyn'; then it came down to 'Capel', and, as a matter of fact, a Methodist Chapel stands on the site at this day"—so writes Mr. Edward Owen of the India Office, Whitehall. Leland refers to it as Llan Wyn Gene (*Itin. in Wales*, ed. 1906, p. 131).

³ Capel or Llan-sanffraid was situated on a mound of sand at Towyn y Capel. This mound of sand is described as a tumulus or burial mound "on the margin of a little bay on the western shore of Holyhead Island". It contained a large number of skeletons both of adults and children, the former in stone cists. "The mound, having subsequently become breached by violence of storms, has wholly perished, and the graves have from time to time been seen on all its sides. They may have been about four hundred in number. The bodies had all been placed with the heads towards the west." The Hon. W. O. Stanley in *Arch. Camb.*, 1868, p. 399. "No ornament, or any object whatsoever, has been found with [the bodies]. The Chapel was from thirty to thirty-five feet long by little more than twenty-two broad." Report of Holyhead meeting in August 1870, *Arch. Camb.*, 1870, p. 362.

⁴ Mr. Edward Owen tells me that Ffynnon Ulo was known until recently.

⁵ "The site of Capel y Llochwyd ['towards the precipitous northern side of the island' between the North and South Stacks 'at the foot of the mountain'] is now marked by a heap of shapeless ruins. Not far distant there is a remarkable precipitous gully, or crevice, through which a dangerous path descends to a spring of fresh water near the shore. The spot is indicated in Speed's map, 1610—'Chap. Yloughwid.' Amongst many wild traditions connected

Gwndy or Gwyndy.¹

Llandrygarn.

Llanygyddyl or *Eglwys y Bedd*.²

Llanbadrig, Padrig

The Crown.

Bettws y Naw Sant, the Nine Saints.³

Llanlleianau.

Llanbeulan, Penlan

Bishop of Bangor.

Ceirchiog or *Bettws y Grog*, Holy Rood.

Llanerchymedd, St. Mary.

Llanvaelog, Maelog.

Llechulched, Ulched.

Talylyn.⁴

with this singular place may be mentioned that of a gold image of a female, with one arm, concealed amongst the ruins of the chapel; to this popular fable very probably the total overturning of the remains of the little building may have been due. No trace of wall can now be recognised". The Hon. W. O. Stanley in the *Arch. Camb.*, 1868, p. 398. "The remains of the small chapel called Llochwydd are very insignificant. Near the sea-level is a well with which a tradition is connected, namely, that whoever can carry a mouthful of water to the top of the gully near the chapel will succeed in his undertaking." Archdeacon J. W. Jones in *Arch. Camb.*, 1870, p. 355. "It is not easy to trace the outlines [of this ancient chapel] which were very plain a few years ago." Report of meeting at Holyhead of Camb. Arch. Association in August 1870, *ibid.*, p. 360. The chapel is called "Capel olychwyd Cybi" in *Report on MSS. in Welsh*, i, 912, col. ii.

¹ "The chapelry of Gwyndy [under Llandrygarn] appears to have derived that appellation from the White House, formerly the half-way hotel and posting-house between Bangor and Holyhead, but which, since the building of the bridge at Bangor, and the diversion of the road, has fallen into comparative disuse" (Lewis's *Top. Dic. Wales*, ed. 1833, s Llandrygarn).

² Eglwys y Bedd and Llanygyddel are identified in the *Arch. Camb.*, 1870, pp. 358-9, with Dr. Wynne's school founded in 1748, which last is said by Lewis to have been in the churchyard (Lewis's *Top. Dic. Wales*, ed. 1833, s Holyhead). This no doubt is the present building in the S.W. corner of the churchyard.

³ Leland's *Itin. in Wales*, ed. 1906, p. 132; also called Llan y Naw Sant (Evans's *Report on MSS. in Welsh*, i, 912, col. iii). The spot, now known as Bettws in Llanbadrig parish, is on the right hand side of the road from Cemes Bay to Amlwch.

⁴ St. Mary according to Browne Willis and Rice Rees; *Ll. Vel tal y llyn*, St. Michael, in Evans's *Report*, i, 912, note *.

- Llanddeusant**, Marcellus and Marcellinus¹ Bishop of Bangor.
 Llanbabo, Pabo.
 Llanvairynghornwy,² St. Mary.
The Skerries or *Ynys y Moel*
Rhoniad, Deiniol.
- Llanrhyddlad**, Rhyddlad Bishop of Bangor.
Bettws Perwas or *Llanberwas*,
 Perwas.³
 Llaufflewin, Fflewin.
 Llanrhydrys, Rhwydrys.
- Llantrisant**, Sannan, Avan, and Ieuan Bishop of Bangor.
 Bettws Bwehwdw.
 Ceidio or Rhodwydd Geidio, Ceidio.
Llanllibio, Llibio.
 Llanvair yng Ngwardog, St. Mary.
 Llech Cynvarwy, Cynvarwy.
- Llanvachreth**, Machreth Bishop of Bangor.
 Llanenghenedl, Enghenedl.
Llanvigel,⁴ Gwyndeyrn.
- Llanvaethlu**, Maethlu Bishop of Bangor.
 Llanvwrog, Mwrog.⁵

¹ Leland says Marcellus and Marcellianus (*Itin. in Wales*, ed. 1906, p. 131); Evans's *Report*, i, 912, note 17, reads "Marcel a Marceli".

² Leland spells this place-name "*Llan Vair y Kaer Noy*", in which parish he notes places called "*Y Gadair-y Kaer Noy* (cathedra gigantis Noe), *Porth y Gadair*" (*Itin. in Wales*, ed. 1906, p. 132).

³ Leland's *Itin. in Wales*, ed. 1906, p. 131; Evans's *Report*, i, 912, col. ii.

⁴ Some, including Leland, have thought that Llanvigel is composed of *llan* and *bugail*, a shepherd (*Itin. in Wales*, ed. 1906, p. 131). But according to Evans's *Report*, i, 912, note 16, Llanvigel was also known as Llanwyndeyrn, whence it may be gathered that the original saint was Gwyndeyrn. The ascription to St. Vigilinus is out of the question. Bugail, as a personal name, appears to be instanced in Merthir Buceil mentioned in the *Book of Llan Dŵr* (Owen's *Pembrokeshire*, 316, note 1). If Llanvigel stands for Llanvugail with *bugail* as common noun, it may find a parallel in the possible but unusual Llanveistr of Llanbedr Goch (see *Deanery of Twpcelyn*).

⁵ "According to tradition, there was anciently a chapel in a field called Monwent Mwrog, on the farm of Cevn Glás in [Llanvwrog]; but not a vestige of it is now to be seen." Lewis's *Top. Dic. Wales*, ed. 1833.

Llanvechell , Mechell	Bishop of Bangor.
<i>Llanddogwel</i> , ¹ Dogvael.	
Rhoscolyn or Llanwenvaen , Gwenvaen	Bishop of Bangor.
Llanvair yn Neubwll, St. Mary.	
Llanvihangel yn Nhywyn, St. Michael.	
5. DEANERY OF MENAI AND MALLDRAETH, <i>Anglesey</i> ,	
Patrons in 1721.	
Aberffraw , Beuno	Prince of Wales.
<i>Capel Mair o Dindryvol</i> , ² St. Mary.	
<i>Eglwys y Baidi</i> . ³	
Heneglwys or Llan y Saint Llwydion ,	
Faustinus and Bacellinus ⁴	Bishop of Bangor.
Trewalchmai, Morhaearn.	
Llanddwyn or Llanddwynwen , Dwyn- wen	Bishop of Bangor.
Llangadwaladr or Eglwys Ael , Cad- waladr	Prince of Wales.
<i>Llanveirian</i> , Meirian. ⁵	

¹ Leland places Llanddogwel under Llanrhyddlad (*Itin. in Wales*, ed. 1906, p. 131). Lewis, in 1833, writes under Llanvechell, "The township of [Llanddygwel] was formerly a parish of itself, and is exempt from the payment of church rates to the parish of Llanvechell: the church is now a ruin, and the rectorial tithes are taken alternately by the rectors of [Llanvechell] and Llanrhyddlad" (*Top. Dic. Wales*, ed. 1833).

² Leland's *Itin. in Wales*, ed. by L. Toulmin Smith in 1906, p. 130, where "*Capell: Mair (Maria) o Dindryvol; ij myles fro ye shore by north*" is wrongly identified with Tal y llyn, which is mentioned separately in the same column in its proper place under Llanbeulan. Capel Mair appears as "ll. vair yn Nin tryfor" in Evans' *Report on MSS. in Welsh*, i, 912, col. i. In the one-inch O.S. Map, 1899, sheet 105 (Carnarvon), Tindryvol appears as Tyndryfol about four miles to the N.N.E. of Aberffraw Church.

³ A ruined church re-built for a school in 1729, and endowed with £4 a year for the instruction of six poor children in the Welsh language (Lewis's *Top. Dict. Wales*, ed. 1833).

⁴ Evans's *Report on MSS. in Welsh*, i, 912, col. i, and note 4; Baring Gould and Fisher's *Lives of British Saints*, ii, 180-1, where Corbre is maintained to have been the original saint of Heneglwys.

⁵ "About three-quarters of a mile to the south [of Llangadwaladr] are the ruins of the ancient chapel of Llanveirian [also so spelt in Evans's *Report*, i, 912, col. i], which appears to have been originally

Llangevni , Cyngar Tregaeon, Cacan.	Bishop of Bangor.
Llangeinwen , Ceinwen Llangaffo <i>olim</i> Merthyr Caffo, Caffo. <i>Guirt Chapel</i> . ¹	Earl of Pembroke.
Llangristiolus , Cristiolus ² Cerrig Ceinwen, ³ Ceinwen.	Bishop of Bangor.
Llangwyllog , Gwrddelw ⁴	Bishop of Bangor.
Llan Nidan , Nidan <i>Capel Beuno</i> , Beuno. <i>Capel Cadwaladr</i> (Hen Vonwent), Cadwaladr. Llanddeimiol Vab, Deiniol Vab. ⁵ Llanedwen, Edwen. Llanvair y Cwmwd, St. Mary.	Thomas Lloyd, Esq.
Llanvihangel Ysgeiviog , St. Michael Capel Berw. Llanffinan, Ffinan.	Bishop of Bangor.
Newborough or Rhosyr (for Rhos Vyr) or Llananno , Anno	Prince of Wales.

a parish church, and afterwards a chapel, having been finally suffered to fall into decay about the year 1775" (Lewis's *Top. Dic. Wales*, ed. 1833, s Llangadwaladr). See p. 95, note 2, *infra*.

¹ "At Guirt [spelt Quirt on the one-inch O.S. map sheet 105, published 1889] are the remains of a chapel, for many years used as a stable, and now converted into a dairy. Previously to its application to its present use, the figures of the Apostles painted on the walls were remaining, and over the last window are still preserved allegorical figures of Time and Death" (Lewis's *Top. Dic. Wales*, ed. 1833, s Llangeinwen).

² "Christiolus Hoeli, ut ferunt, Armorici filius" (Leland's *Itin. in Wales*, ed. 1906, p. 130).

³ In Leland's time Cerrig Ceinwen was known as Llangeinwen Vechan (*op. cit.*, 130).

⁴ In Evans's *Report*, i, 912, col. i, this parish is given in one list as "ll. gwylllog. Gwrdduw Gwrddell," which looks like a double attempt at giving the saint's name, that intended being Gwrddelw; for January 7th was the date of the festival in this parish, which day is marked as that of Gwrddelw in the Peniarth MS., 219, of about 1615, A.D. (Evans's *Report*, i, 1043).

⁵ "Erat ut ferunt discipulus Kibii, vel, ut quidam volunt, Bennoi" (Leland's *Itin. in Wales*, ed. 1906, p. 129).

Trevdraeth, Beuno Bishop of Bangor.
 Llangwyvan, Cwyvan.¹

6. DEANERY OF TWRCELYN AND TINDAETHWY, *Anglesey.*

Amlwch, Elaeth Patrons in 1721.
 Bishop of Bangor.

*Capel Euddog, Euddog.*²
*Llaneuddog, Euddog.*²
Llangadog, Cadog.
 Llanwenllwyvo, Gwenllwyvo.

Llanddona, Dona Bishop of Bangor.
Llanddyvnan, Dyvnan Bishop of Bangor.

Llanbedr Goch, St. Peter.³
 Llanvair ym Mathavarn Eithav, St.
 Mary.
 Pentraeth or Llanvair Bettws
 Geraint, St. Mary.

Llandegvan, Tegvan Lord Bulkeley.
 Beaumaris, St. Mary.
Beaumaris Castle Chapel.

¹ Old Llangwyvan Church is situated "on a small island on the sea, connected with the land by a causeway, sometimes covered by the tide". Lewis, in 1833, says of it that "during the prevalence of easterly winds it is utterly inaccessible, on which account divine service is seldom performed in it during the winter months". A more accessible church was erected in 1871, but services are still held in the old church on the patronal festival. On the occasion of that held on Monday, June 3, 1907, I had the privilege of preaching the Welsh sermon at the Welsh service held at 2 p.m.

² In the 6-inch O.S. map, Anglesey, sheet vii, N.E. (second ed. 1901), Capel Euddog is marked about 400 feet from the site of Llangadog, and Llaneuddog about quarter of a mile from the same, both towards the north. It seems to be the "ll. eiddig," i.e., Llaneiddig of Evans' *Report on MSS. in Welsh*, i, 912, col. iii, and seems also to be involved with Llangadog and Llanvair yng Ngwaredog in Leland's mysterious "*Llan Vair yn llan Ciddog* (proprium nomen loci)" *Itin. in Wales*, ed. 1906, p. 132. Otherwise none of these places is referred to by him, nor is Llanwenllwyvo.

³ Llanbedr Goch is equated with "ll. faystr" in Evans' *Report*, i, 912, col. iii and note g. Leland has *Llan Faystr* with the gloss *magistri* as though it were Llanveistr, the llan of the master (*Itin. in Wales*, ed. 1906, p. 133). See p. 44, note 1, *supra*.

<i>Capel Meugan</i> , Meugan. ¹	
<i>Capel Tydecho</i> , Tydecho.	
Llanvaes, St. Catherine. ²	
Llandyvrydog , Tyvrydog	Bishop of Bangor.
Llanvihangel Tre'r Beirdd, St. Michael. ³	
Llaneugrad , Eugrad	Bishop of Bangor.
<i>Capel Ffynnon Allgo</i> , Gallgo.	
<i>Hen Gapel Llugwy</i> , St. Michael. ⁴	
Llanallgo, Gallgo.	
Llanelian , Elian	Bishop of Bangor.
Bodewryd, Ewryd. ⁵	
Capel Elian, Elian.	
Capel Ffynnon Elian, Elian.	
Coedaneu, Blenwydd. ⁶	
Rhosbeirio, Peirio. ⁷	
Llaniestin , Iestin	Bishop of Bangor.
Llangoed, Tangwn <i>and</i> Cawrdav.	
Llanvihangel Timsylwy, St. Michael.	
Llansadwrn , Sadwrn	Bishop of Bangor.

¹ "Near the castle was formerly situated an ancient chapel, or oratory, dedicated to St. Mengan, of which there are no vestiges" (Lewis's *Top. Dic. Wales*, ed. 1833). Brown Willis in 1733 describes it as being in ruins (*Par. Anglic.*, 216).

² Llanvaes appears in Leland (*op. cit.* 133) as Llan Saint y Katerin, as also in one of the lists in Gwenogvryn Evans's *Report* i, 912, note 28. In the Peniarth MS. 147 itself, however, "llan y saint" and "saint kadrin" appear as though they denoted two distinct parishes.

³ Tre'r *Bardd* both in Leland (*op. cit.* 133) and in *Report* i, 912, col. iii, but Leland gives *villa ratum* in Latin.

⁴ Hen Gapel Llugwy, a chapel to Llanallgo, is in Llaneugrad parish.

⁵ Leland (*op. cit.* 133) describes Bodewryd as an *ecclesia appropriata monasterio de Penmon*. In the original draft of Peniarth MS. 147 it is not mentioned (*Report* i, 912, note 20). Lewis, in 1833, writes "This small parish [of Bodewryd] was formerly comprehended in that of Llanelian, from which it was detached, and formed into a parish of itself, within the last thirty years" (*Top. Dic. Wales*, s. Bodewryd).

⁶ Leland (*op. cit.* 133) has *Bettus y Coydane*. Blenwydd is mentioned as the saint in J. G. Evans's *Report* i, 912, col. i.

⁷ *Bettus Rosbeirio* in Leland (*op. cit.* 133).

Llanvair Pwll Gwyngyll , St. Mary. Llandysilio, Tysilio.	Bishop of Bangor.
Penmynydd , Gredivael	Bishop of Bangor.
Penmon , Seiriol <i>Fyns Seiriol</i> , Seiriol.	Bishop of Bangor.
Penrhos Llugwy , St. Michael Capel Halen. ¹	Thomas Lloyd, Esq.

III. ARCHDEACONRY OF MERIONETH.

7. DEANERY OF EIVIONYDD, *Carnarvonshire*.

Patrons in 1721.

Beddgelert , St. Mary <i>Nant Hwylene Chapel</i> . <i>Capel Nant Gwynant</i> .	Bishop of Bangor.
Criccieth , also formerly Merthyr Meirion , Meirion, <i>later</i> St. Catherine ²	Bishop of Bangor.

¹ "On the [estate of Llugwy in the parish of Penrhos Llugwy] are some remains of an ancient chapel, situated on an eminence overlooking the bay of Llŷs Dulas: the architecture, which is of the very rudest kind, bears testimony to its great antiquity: it is said to have been a private chapel belonging to the family mansion. On digging out a fox which had taken shelter in the ruins of this building, a large square vault was discovered, containing several human skeletons, which, on exposure to the air, crumbled into dust; and, on searching farther into the interior of the building, the ground which it enclosed was found to consist of a large mass of human bones, several feet in depth, and protected only by a covering of plaster, which formed the floor of the chapel" (Lewis's *Top. Dic. Wales*, ed. 1833). Whether this refers to Capel Halen I do not know. There is a holy well in Moylgrove, or Trewyddel, Pembrokeshire, sometimes called Ffynnon Halen.

² "According to Ecton and Browne Willis, Criccieth was also known as Merthyr; and in the *Record of Carnarvon* (p. 233), the Bishop of Bangor is said to have had in the cymwd of Eifionydd a Vill called Merthyr If we could find, therefore, the full name of the Merthyr in Eifionydd, we should probably get that of the saint who was credited with the foundation of what is now St. Catherine's Church". Prof. J. E. Lloyd in *Archæologia Cambrensis* for October 1905 (p. 301). I believe Prof. Lloyd will find the full name of the *merthyr* in the Hafod MS. 16 copy of *Bonedd y Saint*, as printed in the *Myv Archaiol. of Wales* (second ed.), 415, which should read as follows: "*A meiryaun ymmerthyr meiryaun yngkantref meibyon owein danwyn m. einyaun yrth. m. kunedd wledic*," and Meirion in

Trevlys, ¹ St. Michael.	
Ynys Cynhaearn, Cynhaearn.	
<i>Ynys Gyngar</i> , Cyngar.	
Llangybi , Cybi	Bishop of Bangor.
Llanarmon, Garmon.	
Llanvihangel y Pennant , St. Michael.	Bishop of Bangor.
Llanystumdwy , St. John Baptist	Bishop of Bangor.
Penmorva , Bemmo	Bishop of Bangor.
Dolbenmaen, St. Mary. ²	
8. DEANERY OF YSTUM ANER, <i>Merionethshire</i> .	
	Patrons in 1721.
Dolgelly , St. Mary	Prince of Wales.
<i>Ispytty Gwanas Chapel</i> , St. John Baptist.	
Llanegryn , Egryn	Henry Arthur Herbert, Esq.
Llangelynin , Celynin	Earl of Pembroke.
Arthog Chapel.	
Llanvachreth , Machreth	Bishop of Bangor.
Capel Gwannog, St. John Baptist.	
<i>Cymmer Abbey</i> , St. Mary.	
Llanelltyd, Iltyd.	
Towyn ym Meirionydd , Cadvan	Bishop of Bangor.
<i>Capel Cadvan</i> , Cadvan	
<i>Llangedris</i> . ³	
Llanvihangel y Pennant, St. Michael.	
Pennal, St. Peter ad vincula.	
Talyllyn, St. Mary.	

Merthyr Meirion in the cantrev of the sons of Owen Danwyn ab Einion Yrth ab Cunedda Wledig, *i.e.*, the cantrev of Eivionydd, in which Criccieth stands. See *I' Cymm.*, ix, 177, note 7.

¹ "That part of the shore to the east of Greigddu, in the parish of Trevlys, Carnarvonshire, is known as Porth S. Dyfyuog" *Lives of British Saints*, ii, 398.

² Bemmo according to Sam. Lewis.

³ Mr. Phillimore thinks that the "Kerdych filia Brachan que iacet inthywin in Merioneth" of the Brychan documents (*I' Cymm*, xix, 26, etc.) may be commemorated in Cedris on the Dysynni below Aber Gynolwyn, which was anciently called Maes Llangedris (*Lives of the British Saints*, ii, 100).

9. DEANERY OF ARDUDWY, *Merionethshire.*

Patrons in 1721.

Ffestiniog , St. Michael	Bishop of Bangor.
Maentwrog, Twrog.	
Llanaber , St. Mary	Prince of Wales.
Barmouth <i>or</i> Abermaw Chapel. ¹	
Llandanwg , Tanwg	Bishop of Bangor.
<i>Harlech</i> , St. Mary Magdalene.	
Llanbedr, St. Peter.	
Llandecwyn , Teewyn	Bishop of Bangor.
Llanvihangel y Traethu, St. Michael.	
Llanenddwyn , Enddwyn	Bishop of Bangor.
Llanddwywe, Dwywe.	
Trawsvynydd , Madrun <i>and</i> Anhun	Bishop of Bangor.

10. DEANERY OF DYFFRYN CLWYD,⁴ *Denbighshire.*

Patrons in 1721.

Clocaenog , Meddwyd	Bishop of Bangor.
Derwen yn Iâl , St. Mary	Bishop of Bangor.
Evenehtyd , St. Michael	Bishop of Bangor.
Llanbedr Dyffryn Clwyd , St. Peter	Bishop of Bangor.
Llandyrnog , Tyrnog	Bishop of Bangor.
Llanelidan , Elidan ²	Bishop of Bangor.
Llangwyven , Cwyvan	Bishop of Bangor.
Llangynhaval , Cynhaval	Bishop of Bangor.
Llanhychan , Hychan	Bishop of Bangor.
Llanrhaeadr yng Nghinmerch , or Llanddyvnog, Dyvno	Bishop of Bangor.
Llanrhudd or Llanveugan , Mengan Ruthin, St Peter. <i>Ruthin Castle Chapel.</i>	Dean of Westminster.
Llanvair Dyffryn Clwyd , Cynvarch, <i>and</i> St. Mary Jesus Chapel. ³	Bishop of Bangor.

¹ This chapel was erected in 1830 (Lewis's *Top. Dic. Wales*, ed. 1833).

² This is probably Geoffrey's Eledanians upon whom was bestowed the *pontificalis insula Alelud* (*Hist. Regum. Britt.*, ix, 15).

³ "In the township of Eyarth is Jesus Chapel founded in 1619 by Mr. Rice Williams, Verger of Westminster Abbey, London, a native of this township" (Lewis's *Top. Dic. Wales*, ed. 1833, s. Llanvair D.C.).

Llanvwrog , Mwrog	Bishop of Bangor.
Llanynys , Saeran	Bishop of Bangor.
Cyffylliog, St. Mary.	

11. DEANERY OF ARWYSTLI,⁴ *Montgomeryshire.*

Carno , St. John Baptist	Patrons in 1721.
	Mr. Lanoy.
Llandinam , Llonio	Bishop of Bangor.
Benhaglog or Pen Halwg Chapel.	
Llangurig , Cirig	Bishop of Bangor.
Llanidloes , Idloes	Bishop of Bangor.
Llanwnnog , Gwynnog	Bishop of Bangor.
Penystrowaid , Gwrhai	Bishop of Bangor.
Trevelgwys , St. Michael	Bishop of Bangor.

⁴ The Deaneries of Arwystli and Dyffryn Clwyd were in Brown Willis's day in no Archdeaconry, but were subject to the immediate jurisdiction of the Bishop.

Diocese of St. Asaph.

In 1733 this diocese comprised:—

1. Flintshire (except *Hanmer*, *Hawarden*, *Bangor Iscoed*, *Overton*, and *Worthenbury*, in Chester diocese; and the chapelry of *Penley* in Lichfield diocese).
2. Denbighshire (except the DEANERY OF DYFFRYN CLWYD, in Bangor diocese; the chapelries of *Holt* and *Iscoed* in Chester diocese).
3. Merionethshire, nearly half of,
4. Carnarvonshire, the three parishes of *Eglwys Rhos*, *Llan-gystennin* and *Llysvaen* in,
5. Montgomeryshire (except *Kerry* and *Mochdre* in St. David's diocese; and *Montgomery*, *Churchstoke*, *Snead*, *Hyssington*, *Forden*, and *Buttington* in Hereford diocese; and the DEANERY OF ARWYSTLI in Bangor diocese).
6. Shropshire, eleven churches and chapels in,

At that time there was only one Archdeaconry, viz., the Archdeaconry of St. Asaph, which had for upwards of a century been held *in commendam* with the bishopric and contained the following Rural Deaneries:—

- | | | |
|---|---|------------------|
| 1. Tegeingl | } | Flintshire. |
| 2. Mold | | |
| 3. Rhos, Denbighshire and Carnarvonshire. | | |
| 4. Bromfield and Yale (or Iâl), Denbighshire. | | |
| 5. Marchia, Denbighshire and Shropshire. | | |
| 6. Mawddwy | } | Merionethshire. |
| 7. Edernion and Penllyn | | |
| 8. Cedewain | } | Montgomeryshire. |
| 9. Cyveiliog | | |
| 10. Pole and Caereinion | | |

The members of the Cathedral were:—

- Dean.
- Archdeacon (who was the Bishop).
- Six Prebendaries.
- Seven Canons Cursal.

The above fifteen constituted the Chapter.

- Master of the Grammar School.
- Four Priest-Vicars,

Organist.
 Four Singing Men or Lay-Vicars.
 Four Choristers.
 Verger.
 Bellringer.

ARCHDEACONRY OF ST. ASAPH.

1. DEANERY OF TEGEINGL, *Flintshire.*

	Patrons in 1720.
Bodvari, Dier	Bishop of St. Asaph.
<i>Hwlkin's Chapel.</i>	
Caerwys, St. Michael	Bishop of St. Asaph.
<i>St. Michael's Chapel</i> (near the Well), St. Michael.	
Cilcain¹	Bishop of St. Asaph.
Cwm yn Nhegeingl²	Bishop of St. Asaph.
Dyserth, Cwyvan	Bishop of St. Asaph.
Rhiwlynnwyd or Newmarket, St. Michael ³	Bishop of St. Asaph.
Gwaunysgor, St. Mary	Bishop of St. Asaph.
Halkin, St. Mary	Bishop of St. Asaph.
Holywell or Treffynnon, Gwenvrewi	Nominated by Jesus College, Oxford, and confirmed by Robert Davis, Esq.

The Well Chapel, Gwenvrewi.

¹ Rice Rees ascribes this church to St. Mary which of course must be late. The place-name, however, could mean and perhaps does mean Cain's Retreat, for in a vale under Moel Vamma within this parish a female saint is said to have "built a cell, and lived in solitude and devotion The vale in which she dwelt is still called Nant Cain, and the brook which runs from the mountain that shelters it also retains the name of Cain" (Lewis's *Top. Dic. Wales*, ed. 1833, s. Kilken). Without accepting Lewis's identification of this Cain with the Eurgain of Northop, who was a daughter of Maelgwn Gwynedd; and without insisting that she is the well-known Cain Wryry, daughter of Brychan, who has left her name throughout the Western Brittain of the fifth and sixth centuries from Anglesey to Somerset and Cornwall, one may still surmise that a Cain is the primitive saint of Cilcain. See, however, Sir John Rhys's *Celtic Folklore*, ii, 513, n. 2.

² There is a *Ffynnon Asa*, "Asa's Well" in this parish.

³ Rice Rees's *Essay on the Welsh Saints*, p. 37.

Llanasa, Asa <i>Givespyr (Capel Beuno), Beuno.</i>	Bishop of St. Asaph.
Meliden or Allt Meliden ¹	Bishop of St. Asaph.
Nannerch, St Mary	Bishop of St. Asaph.
Northop or Llaneurgain, Eurgain ² Flint, St. Mary.	Bishop of St. Asaph.
Rhuddlan, St. Mary <i>Cevn Du Chapel.</i>	Bishop of St. Asaph.
St. Asaph or Llanelwy, Asa ³ <i>Wigvair Chapel, St. Mary.</i> ⁴	The Crown of Bishopric; the Bishop of Vicarage.
Tremeirchion or Cwm Dymeirchion, Holy Rood ⁵	Bishop of St. Asaph.
Whitford ⁶ <i>Capel Tre'r Abad.</i> <i>Capel y Gelli.</i>	Bishop of St. Asaph.
Ysgeiviog, St. Mary	Bishop of St. Asaph.

¹ Browne Willis ascribes this church to a St. Melid (*Par. Anglic.*, 219).

² St. Peter later.

³ The association of this cathedral church with St. Kentigern of Strathclyde is suspiciously like that of Llandaff with Dubricius, for as Teilo is undoubtedly the original saint and founder of the latter, so Asa seems to be of the former. There is a strange absence of Kentigern's name in connection with the place names around St. Asaph, whereas that of Asa is found in abundance. The common name of Cambria for the old kingdom of Cumbria and for Wales would partly account for the story of his visit to the latter, whilst the greater fame of Kentigern, as compared with Asa, might possibly incite the St. Asaph ecclesiastics to welcome him as their founder, especially if their house was in any danger of absorption by a stronger house, like that of Bangor in Gwynedd. The whole subject, however, wants carefully working out. It is curious that St. Asaph in Welsh takes its name from the river Elwy, as Llandaff from the river Tâv.

⁴ "Near the river Elwy in the township of Wigvair is Ffynnon Vair" (Mary's Well). "Adjoining the well are the ruins of an ancient cruciform chapel, which, prior to the Reformation, was a chapel of ease to St. Asaph" (Lewis's *Top. Dic. Wales*, ed. 1833, s Asaph).

⁵ *Report on MSS. in Welsh*, i, 914, note 26, "y grog lan". There is, however, a Ffynnon Veuno (Beuno's Well) in this parish. Dymeirchion is for older Din Meirchion.

⁶ "It seems probable that Whitford Church, now dedicated to St. Mary, was at first dedicated to St. Beuno. It was evidently

2. DEANERY OF MOLD, *Flintshire.*

Patrons in 1720.

Estyn or Hope, formerly Llangyngar, Cyngar <i>Plas y Bwl Chapel.</i>	Bishop of St. Asaph.
Mold or Y Wyddgrug, St. Mary and Y Ddelw Vyw Nerquis, St. Mary. Treddin, St. Mary <i>Capel y Spon.</i>	Bishop of St. Asaph.

3 DEANERY OF RHÔS, *Carnarvonshire.*

Patrons in 1720.

Eglwys Rhôs, St. Hilary <i>Penrhyn Chapel, St. Mary.¹</i>	Bishop of St. Asaph.
Llangystennin. See Abergele below.	
Llysvaen. See Llandrillo below.	

Denbighshire.

Abergele, St Michael <i>Abergele, Chapel in churchyard, St.</i> Michael	Bishop of St. Asaph.
Bettws Abergele, St. Michael	Bishop of St. Asaph.
Llangystennin (Carnarvonshire), Constantine	Bishop of St. Asaph.
<i>Llanuddin, Gwddin.</i>	

the mother church of Holywell, and the *Valor* of 1535 records the annual payment by the latter of two shillings to S. Beuno, which may have been the formal acknowledgment of such connection. A piece of land at Holywell still goes by the name of Gerddi Beuno (his gardens); and his stone is shewn in the Well there" (*Lives of the British Saints*, i, 219, where reference is made to Thomas' *History of the Diocese of St. Asaph*, 1st ed., pp. 466-7, 488).

¹ "At a short distance from the house [*i.e.*, Penrhyn, now an old farm house to the left of the road past the Little Orme to Llandrillo] is the family chapel, now desecrated into a stable; it is about twenty-five feet long, by fifteen wide; the altar table of stone is recollected by several now living; by a grant of Pope Nicholas, three fourths of the tithe of Penrhyn were attached to this chapel, and the same is now vested in the estate. The family for a long period after the reformation professed the Roman Catholic religion, and they kept a priest, who officiated in this chapel for themselves and a few [Roman] Catholic neighbours" (Rev. Robert Williams's *Aberconwy*, 1835, p. 123).

Cegidog or Llansansior , St. George ¹	Prince of Wales.
Cerrig y Drudion ² or Llanvair Vadlen , St. Mary Magdalene	Bishop of St. Asaph.
Eglwys Vach , St. Martin ³	Bishop of St. Asaph.
Gwytherin or Pennant Gwytherin , Eleri	Bishop of St. Asaph.
<i>St. Winefred's Chapel, Gwenvrewi.</i>	
Henllan , Sadwrn	Bishop of St. Asaph.
<i>Abbey Chapel.</i>	
Llanddoged , Doged	Bishop of St. Asaph.
Llanddulas , Cynbryd	Bishop of St. Asaph.
Llandrillo yn Rhos , Trillo ⁴	Bishop of St. Asaph.
<i>Capel Sanffraid, Ffraid.</i>	
Llanelian yn Rhos, Elian	Bishop of St. Asaph.
Llansanffraid Glyn Conwy or Diserth, Ffraid	Bishop of St. Asaph.
Llysvaen or Llangynvran (Carnar- vonshire), Cynvran	Bishop of St. Asaph.
Llangernyw , Digain Vrenin	Bishop of St. Asaph.
<i>Marchaed or Capel Voelas.</i>	
Llangwm Dinmael	Bishop of St. Asaph.
Llanyvydd ⁵	Bishop of St. Asaph.

¹ "The parish church of Llansansior (St. George), near Abergele, seems to have been at first the board land chapel of Dinorben and of Isdulas commot. It stands in the same township (Cegidog ueha) as the maerdref. Its advowson was in the hands, not of the bishop, but of the lord of Denbighland, in which lordship Isdulas was" (Palmer and Owen, *Ancient Tenures*, 110).

² *i.e.*, the Stones of the Brave, though there are who will still have it that the name refers to Druids!

³ "In a will dated 1648 mention is made of a meadow called 'Gweirglodd Ffynnon Asaph' in Erethlyn in the parish of Eglwys Fach, Denbighshire" (*Lives of the British Saints*, i, 184, where reference is made to *Arch. Camb.*, 1887, p. 158).

⁴ Rice Rees places Llandrillo yn Rhos over Llanelian, Llansanffraid, and Llysvaen on the strength of a statement in Edwards' *Cathedral of St. Asaph* to the effect that these three are supposed to have been chapels of ease to Llandrillo "because the Rector and Vicar have a share of the tithes in each".

⁵ This name is so spelt in the Peniarth MS. 147, of about 1566 (J. Gwenogvryn Evans's *Report*, i, 914, col. i), and Llan Heueth in Leland's *Itin. in Wales*, ed. 1906, p. 98. "In a field belonging to

Llanrwst , Grwst	Bishop of St. Asaph.
Capel Garmon, Garmon.	
<i>Capel Marchell</i> , Marchell.	
<i>Capel Rhyddyn</i> .	
Gwydir Chapel.	
Llansannan , Saman	Bishop of St. Asaph.
Llanvair Talhaearn , St. Mary ¹	Bishop of St. Asaph.
Llanvihangel Glyn Myvyr , St. Michael	Bishop of St. Asaph.
Nantglyn , St. James	Bishop of St. Asaph.
Whitchurch or Eglwys Wen or Llan- varehell , Marchell	Bishop of St. Asaph.
<i>Capel Fleming</i> , St. Ann.	
Denbigh or Dinbych, St. Hilary. ²	
<i>Denbigh Castle Chapel</i> .	
<i>St. Mary's Priory</i> , St. Mary.	
Ysbytty Ivan , St. John Baptist	Sir Geo. Williams and Mr. Edwards, the im- propriators.
<i>Capel Pentre</i> .	

4. DEANERY OF BROMFIELD AND IÂL, *Denbighshire.*

Patrons in 1720.

Bryn Eglwys , Tysilio	W. Williams Wynne, Esq.
Llandysilio yn Iâl, Tysilio	W. Williams Wynne, Esq.
<i>Llanequest</i> or <i>Valle Crucis</i> , St. Mary.	

Llechryd, in the parish of Llannefydd, is another well called Ffynnon Asa. It forms the source of the brook Afon Asa, which runs into the Meirchion, a tributary of the Elwy. The field, as 'Kac ffynnon Assaphe' is mentioned in an indenture dated February 16, 1656" (*Lives of the British Saints*, i, 184).

¹ In J. G. Evans' *Report*, i, 914, col. i, this place is called "ll. fair ddol hayarn".

² "The chapel of St. Hilary, Denbigh, is known to represent the domestic chapel of the lord of the commot of Isaled; its advowson was in the gift of the lord of Denbigh, but the history of its tithes has not been unravelled" (Palmer and Owen's *Ancient Tenures*, 1910, p. 110, note 1).

Erbistock , Erbyn ¹	Bishop of St. Asaph.
Gresford , All Saints ²	Bishop of St. Asaph.
<i>Allington or Rosset Green Chapel.</i>	
St. Peter. ³	
Capel Iscoed, St. Paul. ⁴	
Holt, St. Chad. ⁴	Chapter of Winchester.
<i>Holt Castle Chapel.</i>	
<i>St. Leonard's Chapel of the Glyn,</i>	
St. Leonard. ⁵	
Llanarmon yn Iâl , Garmon	Bishop of St. Asaph.
Llandegle , Tegle	Bishop of St. Asaph.
Llanverrys or Llanverreis ⁶	Bishop of St. Asaph.
Marchwiel. See Bangor Iscoed, Diocese of Chester.	

¹ "Saynt Erbyns" appears under Erbistock in the *Valor* of 1535, as quoted in the *Lives of British Saints*, ii, 458, where it is also stated that there is a "Vale of Erbine" below the church.

² Lhuyd in 1699 mentions a "Fynon Holhseint" in this parish (*Arch. Camb.*, 1905, p. 283).

³ In 1833 no vestiges of this chapel were discernible except the cemetery (Lewis's *Top. Dic. Wales*, s. Gresford). For this and other interesting particulars, see Mr. A. N. Palmer's valuable article in *Arch. Camb.*, 1905, pp. 184-5. "St. Peter's chapel, otherwise known as 'the board land chapel', mentioned under that title in 1562, and not pulled down until about the end of the eighteenth century. This building represented the Welsh chieftain's chapel, and long continued as a chapel-of-ease to the parish church" (Palmer and Owen's *Ancient Tenures*, 108-9).

⁴ "Js koed, kappel wrth Resfford" (J. G. Evans's *Report*, i, 914, col. iii). Capel Iscoed and Holt were chapelries in Chester diocese in 1733 (*Par. Anglic.*, 218). See also *Arch. Camb.*, 1910, pp. 358-368.

⁵ Presumably in the township of Llai (*Arch. Camb.* 1904, p. 179).

⁶ These names presuppose either Merrys and Merreis, or Berrys and Berreis. From the latter arose the common ascription of this church to St. Britius, successor of St. Martin in Tours, under his popular name of St. Brice. This ascription appears to be as old as the end of the sixteenth century (*Lives of British Saints*, i, 207). Notwithstanding the support given to this view by Browne Willis and subsequent writers in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, Rice Rees is discreetly silent.

Ruabon for Rhiw Vabon , St. Mary ¹ <i>Capel Collen</i> , Collen.	Bishop of St. Asaph.
Wrexham , Silin Berse Drelincourt Chapel. <i>Capel Silin</i> , Silin. Minera Chapel or Capel Mwnglawdd. ²	Bishop of St. Asaph.

5. DEANERY OF MARCHIA, *Denbighshire.*

Patrons in 1720.

Chirk or Eglwys y Weun , St. Mary	Bishop of St. Asaph.
Llanarmon Dyffryn Ceiriog , Garmon	Bishop of St. Asaph.
Llangollen , Collen Trevor. ³	Bishop of St. Asaph.
Llanrhaeadr ym Mochnant , Doewan ⁴ Llanarmon Mynydd Mawr, Garmon. Llangadwaladr, Cadwaladr. ⁵ Llangedwyn, Cedwyn. Llanwddin (Montgomeryshire), Gwddin.	Bishop of St. Asaph.
Llansanffraid Glyn Ceiriog , Ffraid	J. Middleton, Esq.
Llansilin yng Nghynllaith , Silin	Bishop of St. Asaph.

¹ Llangollen appears to have been the mother church of Wrexham, Ruabon, Llansanffraid Glyn Ceiriog, and Llandegle, which last were once all chapels (although Rice Rees is followed here as generally elsewhere in this present list). Ruabon itself also appears to have had a Collen ascription before the present one of St. Mary (Archdeacon Thomas's *St. Asaph*, ed. 1888, pp. 40 and 43, note 10).

² Minera is "a low Latin term meaning 'ore' or 'mine', and applied to this township (which has also a corresponding Welsh designation 'Mwnglawdd') as early as 1339" (Palmer and Owen's *Ancient Tenures*, 243-4).

³ This chapel (now a parish church) was built for private use in 1742, and not consecrated till 1772 (Lewis's *Top. Dic. Wales*, ed. 1833, s. Trevor-Traian). "There is a Chapel of Ease to *Llangollen* at *Trevorissa*" (*Par Anglic.*, ed. 1733, p. 232).

⁴ "On the Berwyns grows the Cloudberry (*Rubus Chamemorus*) called in Welsh Mwyar Berwyn, and also sometimes Mwyar Doewan, from Doewan, the patron saint of Llanrhaeadr-ym-Mochnant" (*Gossiping Guide to Wales*, ed. 1907, p. 147, as revised by Mr. Phillimore).

⁵ Called Bettws Cadwaladr in *Taxatio* of 1291, p. 286, which indicates, as does the fact that it was a chapel, that it is not one of the oldest foundations.

Shropshire.

Kinnerley ¹	The Crown.
Knockin , ² St. Mary	Sir John Bridgman.
Llanymbodwel or Llanvihangel ym Mlodwel , St. Michael	Bishop of St. Asaph.
Moreton Chapel	Sir John Bridgman.
Llanymynech , ³	Bishop of St. Asaph.
Melverley. See Llandrinio in Deanery of Pole and Caereinion.	
Oswestry or Croes Oswallt , St. Oswald	Duke of Powis.
Aston Chapel	Robert Lloyd, Esq.
St Martin's , St. Martin	Bishop of St. Asaph.
Selattyn , St. Mary	Robert Lloyd, Esq.
Whittington , St. John Baptist	Robert Lloyd, Esq.

6. DEANERY OF MAWDDWY, *Merionethshire.*

	Patrons in 1720.
Llan ym Mawddwy , Tydecho	Bishop of St. Asaph.
<i>Caereinion Vechan</i> or <i>Llandybbo.</i>	
Dinas Mawddwy Chapel.	
Garthbeibio (Montgomeryshire), Tydecho ⁴	Bishop of St. Asaph.
Mallwyd, Tydecho	Bishop of St. Asaph.

7. DEANERY OF EDERNION AND PENLLYN, *Merionethshire.*

Edernton.

	Patrons in 1720.
Bettws Gwervyl Goch , St. Mary ⁵	Bishop of St. Asaph.
Corwen , Mael and Sulien Rhûg Chapel. ⁶	Bishop of St. Asaph.

¹ This church, ascribed by Browne Willis to St. Mary, "had, it would appear, an earlier dedication to S. Ffraid" (*Lives of the British Saints*, ii, 283).

² There is said to have been a chapel to St. John and St. David, formerly in Knockin (*Arch. Camb*, 1910, p. 484).

³ Browne Willis ascribes Llanymynech to St. Agatha; the name signifies the *llan* of the monks. There is a St. Bennion's Well in this parish, supposed to represent Beuno (*Lives of the British Saints*, i, 210, note 4).

⁴ Browne Willis in 1733 places Garthbeibio in the Deanery of Welshpool and Caereinion (*Par. Anglic.*, 220).

⁵ Near this church is a Ffynnon Veuno, Beuno's Well.

⁶ "Founded by Colonel William Salusbury, who was governor of Denbigh Castle during the parliamentary war" (*Lewis's Top. Dic. Wales*, ed. 1833).

Gwyddelwern, Beuno	Bishop of St. Asaph.
Llanddervel, Dervel Gadarn	Bishop of St. Asaph.
Llandrillo, Trillo	Bishop of St. Asaph.
Llangar, All Saints	Bishop of St. Asaph.
Llausanffraid Glyn Dyvrdwy, Ffraid	Bishop of St. Asaph.

DEANERY OF EDERNION AND PENLLYN, *Merionethshire.**Penllyn.*

Patrons in 1720.

Llangowair, Cowair	Bishop of St. Asaph.
Llanuwchllyn, Deiniol	Bishop of St. Asaph.
Llanvawr ym Mhenllyn, Deiniol ¹	Bishop of St. Asaph.
Llanycil, Beuno	Bishop of St. Asaph.
Bala Chapel ²	

8. DEANERY OF CEDEWAIN, *Montgomeryshire.*

Patrons in 1720.

Aberhavesp, Gwynnog	Bishop of St. Asaph.
Berriew for Aber Rhiw, Beuno	Bishop of St. Asaph.
Bettws Cedewain, Beuno	Bishop of St. Asaph.
Llandysul, Tysul	Bishop of St. Asaph.
Llanllwchaearn, Llwchaearn	Bishop of St. Asaph.
Llam-yr-ewig, Llwchaearn	Bishop of St. Asaph.
Llanllygan	Richard Hughes, Esq.
Llanwyddelan, Gwyddelan	Bishop of St. Asaph.
Manavon, St. Michael	Bishop of St. Asaph.
<i>Dolgyrvelin Chapel.</i>	
Newtown, St. Mary	Bishop of St. Asaph.

¹ This church, commonly known as Llanvor, together with Llannor or Llanvor in Carnarvonshire, which also stands for Llan Vawr, *i.e.*, the great Llan, and also Llanynys in Denbighshire, are ascribed by Rice Rees, either wholly or in part, to a saint Mor. The poem quoted by him on pp. 117-8 of his *Myr. Archæology*, i, 120, in support of his contention, contains no reference to any saint of this name, nor does Browne Willis appear to have heard of him. It is right to say, however, that the poet Lewis Glyn Cothi, according to the printed text, refers to such a saint in one of his poems—

Nawdd Mair, nawdd ei mab, ar El'sabedd;

Nawdd Iar, nawdd Mor, a nawdd Elwedd;

(L. G. Cothi's *Works*, ed. 1837, vol. i, 88).

² Bala Chapel was erected by subscription in 1811 (Lewis's *Top. Dic. Wales*, ed. 1833, s. Bala).

Tregynon,¹

— Weaver, Esq.

9. DEANERY OF CYVEILIOG, *Montgomeryshire.*

Patrons in 1720.

Cemes, Tydecho

Bishop of St. Asaph.

Darowen, Tudur

Bishop of St. Asaph.

Llanbryn-mair, St. Mary

Bishop of St. Asaph.

Talerddig Chapel.

Llanwrin, Gwrin

Bishop of St. Asaph.

Machynlleth, St. Peter

Bishop of St. Asaph.

Penegos or Penegwest *alias* Llan-
gadvarch,² Cadvarch

Bishop of St. Asaph.

10. DEANERY OF POLE AND CAEREINION, *Montgomeryshire.*

Patrons in 1720.

Castell Caereinion, Garmon

Bishop of St. Asaph.

Garthbeibio. See Llan ym Mawddwy in

Deanery of Mawddwy.

Guilfield or Cegidva, Aelhaearn

Bishop of St. Asaph.

Hirnant, Illog

Bishop of St. Asaph.

Llandrinio, Trinio

Bishop of St. Asaph *in*
commendam.

Llandysilio, Tysilio.

Melverley (Shropshire), St. Peter.³

New Chapel, Holy Trinity.

Llanervyl, Eryl

Bishop of St. Asaph.

Dolwen Chapel.

Llangadvan, Cadvan⁴

Bishop of St. Asaph.

Cyffin.

¹ Browne Willis ascribes this church to a "St. Knonkell" (*Par. Anglic.*, 221), the first part of which name looks like Cynon. In the *Progenies Keredic* there is a "kenider Gell. filius kynon filii keredic" (*I' Cymmrodor*, xix, 27).

² "Ecclesia de Penegwest alias Llan Gadvarch," quoted in *Lives of British Saints*, ii, 10, as being on a 1728 chalice belonging to this church.

³ Browne Willis places Melverly in the Deanery of Marchia, Shropshire.

⁴ "It is supposed that there were formerly chapels in the townships of Cyffin, Cowny and Maesllymysten, which were served by monks from the adjoining monastery of Cyffin; and, according to tradition, the inhabitants of these townships had no sittings in the parish church, the smallness of which appears to corroborate the account" (*Lewis's Top. Dic. Wales*, ed. 1833).

Llangynog , Cynog	Bishop of St. Asaph.
Llangynyw , Cynyw	Bishop of St. Asaph.
Llansanffraid ym Mechain , Ffraid	Bishop of St. Asaph.
Llanvair Caereinion , St. Mary <i>Capel Cil-yr-ych.</i>	Bishop of St. Asaph.
Llanvechain or Llanarmon ym Mechain , Garmon	Bishop of St. Asaph.
Llanvihangel yng Ngwynva , St. Michael ¹	Bishop of St. Asaph.
Llanvyllin , Myllin	Bishop of St. Asaph.
Llanwddin . See Llanrhaeadr ym Mochnant in Deanery of Marchia.	
Meivod , Gwyddvarch <i>and</i> Tysilio	Bishop of St. Asaph.
Pennant Melangell , Melangell <i>Hen Eglwys.</i> ²	Bishop of St. Asaph.
Welshpool or Trallwng , Llywelyn ³ Buttington, All Saints. ⁴	Bishop of St. Asaph.

¹ "It is more commonly called 'Llanvihangel y Gwynt' (St. Michael's the Windy), from the bleakness of its surface, to distinguish it from 'Llanvihangel yng Nghentyn', as the Welsh designate Alberbury, on the confines of Salop" (Lewis's *Top. Dic. Wales*, ed. 1833). Gwynva, of course, is right, being the old name of the district in which the church is situated.

² "On the mountain between Llanwddyn and [Pennant Melangell] there is a circular enclosure surrounded by a wall, called 'Hen Eglwys'" (Lewis's *Top. Dic. Wales*, ed. 1833, s Pennant).

³ There can be no doubt as to Llywelyn being the primitive and original saint of Welshpool. His name appears in connection with this place in the earliest and best copies of *Bonedd y Saint*. The ascription to Cynvelyn is due to confusion with Llywelyn; that to St. Mary is, of course, later.

⁴ Buttington was made a distinct parish in 1759, having been a chapelry to Welshpool before that date (Lewis's *Top. Dic. Wales*, ed. 1833, s Buttington).

Diocese of Hereford.

Radnorshire.

Knighton <i>or</i> Trevyclawdd, St. Edward ¹	Patrons in 1721.
Michaelchurch on Arrow <i>or</i> Llanvihangel Dyffryn, St. Michael. ²	Hospital of Clun.
New Radnor <i>or</i> Maes Hyvaidd , St. Mary. ³	The Crown.
Old Radnor <i>or</i> Pencraig , St. Stephen Ednol. ⁴	Chapter of Worcester.
Kinnarton, St. Mary. <i>Llanlugo</i> , St. James.	
Presteign <i>or</i> Llanandras , St. Andrew	Earl of Oxford and Mortimer.
Discoed, St. Michael.	
Norton <i>or</i> Nortyn, St. Andrew	The Crown.
Byton, St. Mary	} in Herefordshire.
Kinsham	
Lingen, St. Michael	

Monmouthshire.

Dixton <i>or</i> Llandydiwg , Tydiwg ⁵	Lord Gage.
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¹ A chapel to Stow (St. Michael), Shropshire. Dona is commemorated near Knighton in Radnorshire, where there is a Craig Dona and a chasm in a rock known as Dona's bed; also a holy well where people used formerly to resort on Sunday evenings (J. T. Evans's *Church Plate of Radnorshire*, 37, notes 5 and 6).

² A chapel to Kington (St. Mary), Herefordshire.

³ "There is an olde churchestondynge now as a chapell by the castle. Not very farre thens is the new parochie churchest buildyd by one William Bachefeld and Flory his wyfe" (Leland's *Itin. in Wales*, ed. 1906, p. 10).

⁴ "Ednol Chapel now a ruin, four walls and no roof, is used for folding sheep. The font is in the garden at the Grove."—J.A.B. (June 1909).

⁵ Dixton *olim* Dukeston = Hennlann Titinc, Ecclesia Tytinc, etc., of the *Book of Llan Dâv* (v, Index, 404), *i.e.*, Tydiwg or Diwg, whence the names Dukeston and later Dixton have sprung. The saint is the Dwywc of the *Iolo MSS.*, p. 128, and the place name is probably represented in the Peniarth MS., 147, of *circa* 1566, by "ll. giwc" (Evans's *Report*, i, 919, col. iii).

*Wyesham Chapel.*¹

Monmouth or Trevynwy , St. Mary	Duke of Beaufort.
Monmouth, St. Thomas. ²	
Welsh Bicknor or Llangystennin	
Garth Benni , Constantine ³	The Crown.
Welsh Newton , St. Mary ⁴	Sir William Compton.

Montgomeryshire.

Chirbury or Ffynnon Wen (Shropshire),	
St. Michael	Free School of Salop.
Churchstoke, St. Nicholas.	
Forden.	
Hyssington.	
Montgomery, St. Nicholas	The Crown.
Snead.	

¹ "There was formerly a chapel at Wyesham, where are some slight remains called the 'Friars' stump'" (Lewis's *Top. Dic. England*, ed. 1844, s., Dixon). "A cottage now occupies site of chapel. One small Gothic window remains."—J.A.B.

² "*St. Thomas Capella* in *Monmouth*, annex to *Monmouth St. Mary's* in the Diocese of *Hereford*, its Parish or Mother-Church" (*Par. Anglic.*, ed. 1733, p. 203).

³ Welsh Bicknor, although geographically in Herefordshire, was formerly in the county of Monmouth. The later dedication is to St. Margaret.

⁴ A part only of this parish was in Hereford Diocese (*Par. Anglic.*, 197).

Diocese of Chester.

Flintshire.

Patrons in 1720.

Bangor Iscoed or Bangor ym Maelor , Deiniol	Mr. Lloyd.
Marchwiél (Denbighshire), Deiniol.	
Overton or Orton Madoc, St. Mary.	
Worthenbury, Deiniol	Mr. Puleston.
Hanmer , St. Chad	Sir Thomas Hanmer.
<i>Llaneliver.</i>	
Hawarden , Deiniol ¹	Sir Stephen Glynn.
Broughton, St. Mary. ²	
Buckley, St. Matthew. ²	

Denbighshire.

Capel Iscoed	} chapelries.	See Gresford, Deanery of Bromfield and Iâl.
Holt		

Diocese of Lichfield.

Flintshire.

Penley, St. Mary (chapelry to Ellesmere,
Shropshire).³

¹ The dedication of Hawarden Church is given as All Saints in Evans's *Report on MSS. in Welsh*, i, 914, note 32. Holy Cross also puts in a claim, so that judging from Lhuyd's evidence in 1699, there is a third claimant (*Lives of British Saints*, ii, 329, note 1).

² Buckley Church was erected in 1822, and Broughton Chapel of Ease before 1833 (Lewis's *Top. Dic. Wales*, ed. 1833, s. Hawarden).

³ Browne Willis places Penley in Denbighshire (*Par. Anglic*, ed. 1733, p. 218).

NOTE ON ST. DAVID.

(a) *St. David's Paternal Ancestry.*—St. David's paternal pedigree is as follows, *Dewi ab Sant ab Cedig ab Ceredig ab Cunedda Wledig*. There is unanimous agreement on the part of all old and reliable documents as to this pedigree except in one particular, namely, Sant's father. The *De Situ*, the *Cognacio*, and the *Progenies Keredic*, all affiliate Sant to Ceredig and not to Cedig; so also the *White Book* and the various *Vitae S. David* (Welsh and Latin), and the *Jesus College MS. 20*. On the other hand the two oldest copies of *Bonedd y Saint* in the Peniarth collection, MSS. 16 and 45, affiliate Sant to Cedig. It is true that Cedig may merely be a scribal contraction for Ceredig; but that the name did exist seems evident from the *Progenies Keredic*, where we have Kedic or Kedich given as a son of that prince. Nothing seems to be known of Cedig, for which cause it is more likely that his name should have dropped out than that it should have been put in.

It should be noticed that St. David's descent from Cunedda is through the princes of Ceredigion and not through those of Gwynedd or of the rest of North Wales. There are no ancient foundations of St. David in the whole of Gwynedd, nor indeed in the whole of the Cuneddan district with the notable exception of Ceredigion; and it is a remarkable fact that even in Ceredigion they are confined to the southern division. [By the Cuneddan district I here mean the same as defined in the *Harleian MS. 3859* and the *Vita S. Carantoci*, namely, from the river Dee to the river Teivi or the river Gwaun.]

(b) *St. David's Maternal Pedigree.*—According to the oldest and most reliable copies of *Bonedd y Saint*, St. David's mother was Non, daughter of Cynyr of Caergawch in Mynyw. Caergawch, as the name implies, would represent a stronghold, and Mynyw the district wherein it was situated, namely, the peninsula, in which St. David's now stands, forming the whole of the northern promontory of St. Bride's Bay in Pembrokeshire. It is to the south of the river Gwaun, and consequently outside the Cuneddan district. Nothing seems to be told us of Cynyr in ancient and trustworthy documents.

Non's mother is given as Anna, daughter of Vthyr Pendragon, in the thirteenth century *Mostyn MS. 117*, but it should be stated as a warning to the unwary that the pedigrees, in which this occurs, are appended to a copy of Geoffrey's *Historia Regum Britanniae*, are written by the same hand as that work, and are confessedly affected by it. In this particular, however, they contradict Geoffrey, who, in Book ix, ch. 15, describes St. David as Arthur's *avunculus*, that is, Arthur's uncle. In other words, whereas these pedigrees would make St. David to be Arthur's great nephew, Geoffrey would make him brother to one of Arthur's parents.

The evidence seems to shew that St. David, like Brychan Brycheiniog, had more to do with his mother and her kindred and country than with his father. The southernmost boundary reached by the stock of Cunedda in Pembrokeshire was the river Gwaun, but it was in Mynyw, south of the Gwaun, that St. David was born, and it was in Mynyw that he built his chief foundation. Beyond the fact

of paternity Saut's concern with David would seem to have been of the slightest, whilst the close association of the saint with his mother, Non, is witnessed by the curious fact that so many of his churches are accompanied by those of his mother. Mr. Willis Bund goes so far as to write as follows: "That in after-life he adhered to his mother and her people only confirms the view that he had no rights of succession from his father; and that he counted his descent from Cunedda, to which some writers attach so much importance, as less than nothing."

(c) *St. David as Patron of Wales*.—The *Vita S. David* is confessedly written by Rhygyvarch, apparently Rhygyvarch ab Sulien, who died in 1099. He compiled it, so he tells us, from what he had found scattered in the very oldest writings of the country, and especially those of the monastery of St. David's itself, which had survived the ravages of moth and time and were written after the old style of the ancients. By this we understand that he had several written sources in ancient hands, from which he made excerpts, throwing them together into the usual form of a saint's *Vita*.

It is amply clear from this compilation of Rhygyvarch that as early as the eleventh century the Bishops of St. David's were claiming to be metropolitan archbishops. We are told that thirty years before St. David was born, St. Patrick, the future apostle of Ireland, came to Dyved and settled at *Vallis Rosina* where he vowed to serve God. An angel however was sent to inform him that *Vallis Rosina* was reserved for a child unborn, yea, for a child who would not see light for thirty years to come. St. Patrick therefore was obliged to surrender *Vallis Rosina* to St. David and to depart for Ireland. In Brittania, therefore, although St. Patrick was a native and a Briton, St. David was greater than he. Again, it happened that the famous St. Gildas was struck dumb whilst preaching in the presence of Non at the time that she held the unborn St. David in her womb, the reason being that the unborn child excelled him in grace and power and rank, for God had given him status, sole rule, and control of affairs over all the saints of Brittania for ever. Gildas could no longer stay, for to St. David was committed the monarchy over all the men of this island. Necessity was laid upon Gildas to find some other island and to leave the whole of Brittania to St. David, who in honourable rank, effulgent wisdom and eloquence of speech would excel all the doctors of Brittania. And so just as St. David was shewn to be greater than St. Patrick, he was also shewn to be greater than St. Gildas.

In this story the name of Gildas has been substituted for that of Aelvyw, a well known saint and bishop of Munster, to whom the incident is referred both in his *Vita* and also in the *Historia Regum Britanniae* (Book vii, 3) where he is correctly described as *praedicator Hyberniae*, a preacher of Ireland. Aelvyw was an early Irish saint, a contemporary of St. Patrick, and lived for a while in the *regio* of Mynyw, where his foundation is still extant four miles to the east of St. David's and now known as St. Elvis. He is mentioned in the *Vita S. David* as *Helue Meneviensium* (vel *Muminensium*) *episcopus* and as having baptized St. David. The substitution of Gildas for Aelvyw has been clumsily done for Gildas is made to say that he will have to go to another island which was true of Aelvyw who finally settled in Ireland and not of the substituted Gildas, who finally settled in

Brittany. St. Gildas was eight years younger than St. David, but it served the metropolitan claim to shew that St. David was superior to the really far more celebrated author of the *Epistola Gildae*, who was also the reputed author of the *Excidium Britanniæ*.

St. David is made to go on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem with St. Teilo and St. Padarn, the patrons of the two powerful monasteries of Llandâv and Llanbadarn Vawr respectively. When they reach the continent St. David is distinguished from his two companions by being endowed with the gift of tongues like the apostles of old. And so as St. David is superior to St. Patrick and St. Gildas, he is also superior to St. Teilo and St. Padarn; and this is further shewn by the statement that whereas the three were consecrated bishops by the Patriarch of Jerusalem, St. David received the additional honour of being raised to the degree of archbishop.

Again, a great synod is held at Brevi where it is agreed that one should be made metropolitan archbishop. As none present is able to meet the required conditions, St. Daniel, patron of the powerful rival house of Bangor in North Wales, and St. Dubricius, another patron of Llandâv and the consecrator of St. Samson, the reputed metropolitan archbishop of Dol in Brittany,—these two are made to fetch St. David, and lo! in the presence of such celebrities, and with the consent of all the bishops, kings, princes, nobles, and all ranks of the whole Brittanic race, St. David is made Archbishop; and his city, St. David's, is set apart as the metropolis of the whole country, so that whosoever should rule it in future, should be accounted Archbishop. And so St. David was *caput et præius ac bragmaticus omnibus Brittonibus* and so forth to the same primatial effect, by which account we are made sure of this much at least that Mynyw was claiming to be the head and centre of Welsh Christianity before the interminable period when alien or alienized bishops began to be foisted on the see by outsiders.

For the same purpose of shewing forth the glory of St. David, Rhygyvarch tells us that he founded twelve monasteries in all to the praise of God. The list, with which he provides us, is the earliest we have of the possessions and daughter foundations of St. David's, and is as follows:—Glastonia; Bathonia; Croulan; Repetun; Colguan; Glascun; Lenministre; Raglan in Gwent; Langemelach in Guhir; the foundations of Boducat and (?) Martrun in the province of Cydweli, who submitted to him; and Rosina Vallis or Hodnant. In the Welsh version of the *Vita S. David* Glastonia appears as Glastyuburi; Bathonia as Yr Enneint Twymyn; Krowlan; Repecwn; Collan; Glasgwin; Laun Llioni on the Severn; Raclan in Gwent; Llaun Gyfueiach in Gwyr; Boducat and Nailtrun in Cydweli; and Glyn Rosin or Hodnant. These twelve foundations in modern style would read as follows:—Glastonbury, Bath, Croyland (Lincolnshire), Repton (Derbyshire), Colva, Glasgwin, Leominster, Raglan, Llangyvelach in Gower, two foundations in the Kidwely district, and St. David's. That these are the places intended by the *Vita S. David* there can be little or no doubt.

Rhygyvarch, as son of a bishop of St. David's, was in the best possible position to know what were its possessions and daughter foundations in the century in which he was writing: and wherever in his list he keeps within what was or became the diocese of St. David's, his evidence is confirmed by that to the *Black Book of St. David's*, which

is an extent of the estates of the bishopric in 1326. Of the twelve foundations, Glasgwm in Radnorshire, Llangyvelach in Gower, and of course St. David's itself, are well known possessions of the bishopric as recorded in the extent. Colva is a chapelry under Glasgwm "dedicated" to St. David and therefore goes with the Glasgwm property. The two foundations in the province of Cydweli are doubtless represented by the estates recorded in that district, where we still find Llanarthneu attributed to St. David (with Llanlluan and Capel Dewi given as daughter establishments), also Bettws, to say nothing of a Llan Non under Penbre. Thus six of the twelve monasteries present little or no difficulty. But once Rhygyvarch goes outside the diocese he is clearly following the wild guesses of writers, who were neither so familiar with the possessions of the see nor so well acquainted with the localities. Raglan in Gwent, for example, although also associated with St. Cadog, may very well have been a Dewi church like the neighbouring Llanddewi Rhydderch and Llanddewi Ysgyryd, but it is far more likely to have been so owing to one of the several of this name (all distinct from him of Mynyw) mentioned in the *Book of Llandáw*. Again, Leominster in its Welsh form Llanllieni could easily be a misreading of the well known St. David's property of Llanlluan in Carmarthenshire, mentioned above and in the extent; so also Glastonia for Glascom, misread as Glaston, that is, Glasgwm; Croulan for Rhiwlen, which, like Colva, is a chapelry "dedicated" to St. David under Glasgwm; Repetun, or Repecwn, let us say for Lann Degui Cilpedec, that is, Kilpeck in Herefordshire, also probably after a Dewi other than the son of Non. All, then, that we can so far be certain of from the above list is, that at the time it was drawn up by Rhygyvarch or incorporated by him into his *Vita S. David*, within the second half of the eleventh century, St. David's had daughter foundations in the *regio* of Elvael in modern Radnorshire; in Gowerland in modern Glamorganshire; in the *regio* of Cydweli in modern Carmarthenshire; and in the *regio* of Mynyw in modern Pembrokeshire.

To these we must add, according to the Welsh life, two properties mentioned at the commencement of Rhygyvarch's Latin *Vita*, namely, Linhenlanu (for Linhenlann) near the river Teivi; and Maucanni monasterium, which was also known as Depositi monasterium. The former is identified in the Welsh life with Henllan on the river Teivi, and the other is referred to as Litoninanecan (for Litonmaucan?) They appear to me to be represented to-day by Glyn Henllan in the parish of Cilgerran, and Lanveugan (pronounced Llanvoygan) in Bridell, in north-east Pembrokeshire, near the river Teivi.

The next list of foundations owned by St. David's is that found in the poem *Canu y Dewi*, by Gwynvardd Brycheiniog, who flourished between 1160 and 1220. They are twenty or so in number, Mynyw or St. David's; Maenordeivi; Llanddewi Brevi; Bangor Esgor; Henllan; Henvynyw; Llanarth; Meidrym; Abergwyli; Llanarthneu; Llangadog Vawr; Llanddewi'r Crwys; Llangyvelach in Gower; Llanvaes; Llywel; Garthbrengei; Trallwng; Glasgwm; Craig Vuruna; and "Ystrad Uynhid". Here, in addition to the establishments in the modern counties of Pembroke, Carmarthen, Radnor, and Glamorgan, we find others in Cardiganshire and Breconshire.

Thus, notwithstanding the fact that it is the object of both Rhygyvarch and the poet Gwynvardd Brycheiniog to exalt St. David and his see, they can recount no genuine foundation belonging to St. David's outside the diocese. And it is questionable whether in Rhygyvarch's time there was a single David church north of the river Teivi. The evidence seems to lead to the view that at the first St. David's monastery was a rival of St. Elvis in the *regio* of Mynyw, north of St. Bride's Bay in Pembrokeshire; that there was an early struggle for the pre-eminence in this *regio* between David and Aelvyw; that Mynyw became the chief religious establishment of Dyved, which at one time included Ystrad Towy; that there was a struggle between St. David's and Llandarn Vawr in upper Ceredigion, and with Llandav which claimed rights over the Teilo churches of south-west Wales; and that ultimately St. David's became supreme throughout the Deheubarth (which did not include Morgannwg); and that last of all after having attained this position, it made the bold claim of being the centre and head of all Welsh Christianity.

We are so accustomed to think of St. Davids as a kind of ecclesiastical octopus sprawling at the westernmost point of North Pembrokeshire and throwing its arms throughout Wales and the Devonian peninsula even to Brittany, that it comes to us as a kind of shock to be told that there is not a single ancient foundation of St. David throughout the whole of North Wales. Add to this that the same applies to the northern portion of Cardiganshire; that the David foundations of Monmouthshire and Herefordshire most probably belong in every instance to a David other than the patron saint; and that outside Gower there is no really ancient and genuine David foundation in the whole of Glamorganshire. Add to this again that the evidence is little short of being convincingly in favour of the view that St. Davids grew ecclesiastically with the political growth of the Deheubarth, and it will seem as though the actual St. David, who lived in Mynyw in the fifth century, has an altogether fictitious historic importance; in other words, it would seem as though St. David is not so important as St. Davids.

ADDENDA AND CORRIGENDA.

Page 29, read after line 19, **Llanycevn.**

Page 31, read after line 8, **Crinow, Teilo.**

Page 55, read after line 25, *Glyn Henllan.*

Page 95, line 15, delete **Meirion**, Meirion, *later.* The note may stand, but I have misread Mr. Phillimore in *F Cym.*, ix, 177, note 7.

Page 97, read after line 14,

Llanvair juxta Harlech, St. Mary Bp. of Bangor.

Llanvrothen, Brothen Bp. of Bangor.

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The Chronology of Arthur.

BY THE REV. A. W. WADE-EVANS,

Vicar of France Lynch, Glos.

“Wele'n awr y mae ein taith o'r diwedd wedi ein harwain ni hyd at vrenhinllys y penadur dieithr ac anirnadadwy hwnnw sy wedi peri cymaint o ddyrswch i hanesyddion a chwilwyr llenyddol yn yr oesoedd diweddar.”
Carnhuanawe (1836-1842).

CHAPTER I.

(a) *Evidence of the Excidium Britanniae.*

In ch. 26 of the *Excilium Britanniae* the siege of Badonicus Mons is given as occurring in “the forty-fourth year with one month already elapsed”. Bede, in his *Historia Ecclesiastica* i, 16, interpreted this passage as meaning the forty-fourth year from the Advent of the Saxons into Britannia at Vortigern's invitation. According to the Bedan date of this last event (449), the siege would have taken place in $(449 + 43) = 492$. According to a British date (428), it would be $(428 + 43) = 471$; and as the annalistic year in the fifth century commenced on September 1st with the indiction, 471 would mean *our* September 1st, 470, to August 31st, 471. If, then, the siege took place when the first month of the year had already elapsed, the date would be October, 470.

(b) *Evidence of the so-called Annales Cambriae.*

Two incidents in Arthur's life are dated in the so-called *Annales Cambriae* as follows:—

Annus LXXII. The Battle of Badon, in which Arthur carried the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ, for three days and three nights on his shoulders, and the Britons were victorious.

ANNUS XCIII. The Action of Camlann, in which Arthur and Medraut perished.

In the era of the *Annales Cambriae*, ANNUS LXXII gives $(445+71)=516$,¹ which does not correspond with "the forty-fourth year" of the *Excidium Britanniae* whether this forty-fourth year be computed from 428 or 449. Nor does it give satisfaction if we equate the forty-fourth year with 516, and then compute backwards for the equivalent of ANNUS I, because we merely reach $(516 \text{ minus } 43)=473$, which is otherwise unknown as an initial year for chronological calculation. In no way can we make ANNUS LXXII tally with the forty-fourth year of the *Excidium Britanniae* by any calculation from initial years which are known to have been used for purposes of chronology, except by computing ANNUS LXXII from that year of Stilicho's consulship which is actually used as an initial year in the calculations which preface MS. A of the *Annales Cambriae*, viz., the year 400. If ANNUS LXXII be computed from this year of Stilicho's consulship, we get $400+71=471$; and as 471 means *our* Sept. 1st, 470 to Aug. 31st, 471, and as the siege occurred in the second month, we again arrive at October 470.

The other Arthurian annal from the same initial year gives as the date of the Action of Camlann and Arthur's

¹ There are still many students who do not seem to have observed that the editorial equation of ANNUS I of the so-called *Annales Cambriae* with the year 444 is in flat contradiction to the editorial equations of the other *Anni* of this chronicle, which are all based on the equation of ANNUS I with 445. For example, if ANNUS LXXII in the era of the *Annales Cambriae* is 516, as everybody agrees, then ANNUS I cannot possibly be 444. Surely it is not necessary to have to explain that if ANNUS LXXII in the era of the *Annales Cambriae* is the equivalent of 516, as everybody agrees, the way to find the equivalent of ANNUS I is to subtract from 516 not 72 but 71; or must it be set forth in sober print that if ANNUS II be 446, ANNUS I will not be 446 *minus* 2?

death therein $(400+92)=492$, that is, our Sept. 1st, 491 to Aug. 31st, 492.

(c) *Evidence of the Historia Brittonum.*

In ch. 56 of the *Historia Brittonum*, the statement that Arthur "carried the image of Saint Mary, perpetual virgin, on his shoulders, and the pagans were put to flight on that day, and a great slaughter was inflicted on them through the power of our Lord Jesus Christ, and through the power of Saint Mary, his mother" is associated with Arthur's eighth victory, viz., the Battle of Castellum Guinnion, and not with the Battle of Mons Badonis.

As to the Battle of Mons Badonis, Arthur is described as having slain 940 or 960 or 440 men in one day; and it is particularly stated that he did this by himself without assistance.

(d) *Evidence of the Historia Regum Britanniae.*

In Book ix, ch. 1, Geoffrey states that Arthur was in his fifteenth year when he began to reign, but does not give the interval of time which elapsed between his succession to power and his first attack on his foreign foe. As he mentions twelve years of the reign in Book ix, ch. 10, and another nine years in the following chapter, Arthur must have ruled at least twelve *plus* nine, or twenty one years.

In the same ch. 11 of Book ix Arthur is made to land in Gaul, which is said to have been committed at that time to the charge of a certain Follo, tribune of Rome, under the Emperor Leo. This Emperor Leo must either be Leo I, who ruled in the East from 457 to 474, or his successor Leo II, who only ruled for a few months in 474; for the next emperor of this name did not live till the eighth century. Leo is mentioned again as Arthur's con-

temporary in Book x, ch. 6, and in Book xi, ch. 1. As Arthur reigned *at least* twenty one years, and the two Leos only seventeen years between them, a portion of Arthur's regnal period must have fallen within the years 457 to 474, and another portion must have fallen outside them.

In Book viii, ch. 20, Geoffrey tells us that Arthur had a sister called Anna, who was married to Lot (Book viii, ch. 21) and became the mother of Walvanus (Gwalchmai). When Arthur had reached at least the twelfth year of his reign (Book ix, ch. 10), Walvanus was in his twelfth year, having already received arms from Pope Sulpicius or Suplicius, into whose service Arthur had sent him (Book ix, ch. 11). This Pope can be no other than Pope Simplicius, who ruled from 468 to 483. As Arthur's reign reached a tenth year after receiving the boy from Pope Simplicius (Book ix, ch. 11; Book x, ch 13), it must have extended to a tenth year from one of those during which Simplicius was Pope, that is, Arthur's reign must have terminated from $(468+9)$ to $(483+9)$, that is, from 477 to 492. It is certain therefore that Arthur ruled at least three years after the death of the Emperors Leo I and II in 474; and also that Arthur died sometime from 477 to 492.

In Book ix, ch. 4, Geoffrey unexpectedly and as it would seem *unwittingly* clears up the mystery surrounding Arthur's slaughter of 940 or 960 or 440 men at Mons Badonis by giving the number as 470, which is now seen to be none other than the date of the battle in our own familiar era. How the blunder in the *Historia Brittonum* originally arose is not easy to determine. "In uno die decccxl," etc., may be a misreading for some form of "in a d cccclxx" that is, in anno domini cccclxx; or there may be some other explanation. But in any case Geoffrey

seems to have copied the number 470, which in the light of our other evidence, and especially in the light of the evidence of Geoffrey himself, is clearly a date in the Dionysian era.

Geoffrey therefore *beyond all doubt* is following a consistent tradition which places Arthur's victories and death within the last half of the fifth century. But that he overlooked the limits of time postulated by his references to Pope Simplicius and the Emperor Leo appears evident from the very definite date to which he ascribes Arthur's defeat in Book xi, ch. 2, namely, the year 542. In giving this definite date Geoffrey departs from his usual practice, and as by so doing he here dislocates the chronology which he appears to be unwittingly following, it is clearly an importation from another source. The date 542 is as designed as the implicit dates demanded by the references to Pope and Emperor are undesigned. What then is Geoffrey's authority for 542 as the year of Arthur's fall at Camlan? I do not hesitate to say that it is the *Annales Cambriae*, in which, as we have seen, Camlan is placed opposite Annus xciii. Geoffrey equated Annus i with the Bedan date of the Saxon Advent, viz., 449, to which he simply added according to his wont Annus xciii with the above result $(449 + 93) = 542$.

As Arthur was in his fifteenth year when he began to reign, and as the parents assigned to him by Geoffrey, namely, Uther and Igera, came together after Uther had been made king, Uther must have reigned at least fifteen years.

In Book viii, chs. 14 and 15, the death of Aurelius Ambrosius, whom Uther succeeded, is made to synchronize with the appearance of a comet of extraordinary brilliance and magnitude. The only phenomenon of this description, which our chronology allows, is the comet which appeared

in the winter of 442-3. It is mentioned by Idatius and Marcellinus, and was visible in Britain. In the following Easter Uther meets Igerna (viii, 19), marrying her soon afterwards, Arthur's birth occurring probably the next year, viz., 444. As Arthur was in his fifteenth year when he began to reign, Uther must have ruled till $(444+14)=458$. This would mean that Arthur was a contemporary of the Emperors Leo I, Leo II, and Zeno.

Assuming now that Arthur won at Mons Badonis in October 470, let us follow Geoffrey's chronology of subsequent events in Arthur's career, which I read as follows:—

- ix, 8. Arthur is made to celebrate the following Christmas at York, *i.e.*, Christmas, 470.
- ix, 10. Arthur is made to land in Ireland in the following summer, *i.e.*, the summer of 471. Arthur is made to return to Britain at the close of winter, *i.e.*, the close of winter, 472. Arthur is made to remain in Britain, ordering the affairs of his realm till the twelfth year, *i.e.* $472+11=483$.
- ix, 11. In 483, then, Arthur is made to attack Norway, Denmark, and Gaul. At this time Walvanus is in his twelfth year, having received arms from Pope Simplicius, who, as a matter of fact, died in this very year, 483. Walvanus, therefore, was born in 472. In the ninth year Arthur is made to return to Britain in early spring, *i.e.*, the early spring of $(483+8)=491$.
- ix, 12. Arthur is made to celebrate the Whitsun Festival at Caerleon, *i.e.*, Whitsun, 491.
- ix, 15. The Romans are made to order Arthur's appearance at Rome by the middle of August

in the following year, *i.e.*, mid-August, 492. For some five years previous to Whitsun, 491, Arthur had engaged in no war (cf. also x, 7), *i.e.* (491 minus 4) to 491, *i.e.*, 487 to 491.

ix, 20; x, 2. Arthur is made to start for Rome at the beginning of August, *i.e.*, August, 491.

x, 13. Arthur is made to remain subduing the cities of the Allobroges in Gaul throughout the following winter, *i.e.*, 491-2; and with the opening summer to ascend the mountain passes for the City of Rome, *i.e.*, the opening summer of 492. At this point the news arrives of Modred's rebellion.

xi, 1. Arthur is made to hurry back to Britain, postponing his expedition against the Emperor "Leo". Battles are fought in rapid succession at Richborough, Winchester, and Camlan. In the latter Arthur falls, presumably in the summer of 492.

Geoffrey was certainly wrong in continuing the reign of the Emperor Leo to the year of Arthur's defeat at Camlan, for both Leos died in 474; and, as we have seen, the reference to Pope Simplicius and Walvanus extends Arthur's reign years after the death of the Leos, and indeed makes Arthur's reign to terminate from 477 to 492.

CHAPTER II.

BADONICUS MONS.

(a) *Evidence of the so-called Annales Cambriae.*

The earliest MS. extant of the document, which now goes under the unsatisfactory title of *Annales Cambriae*, contains two entries, which I read as follows:—

Annus LXXII.—The Battle of Badon, in which
Arthur carried the cross of our Lord Jesus

Christ for three days and three nights on his shoulders; and the Britons were the vanquishers.

Annus ccxxi.—The Battle of Badon for the second time.

The first of these, as we have seen, refers to an event which took place in October, 470, A.D.

The second is presumably an event of the latter half of the 7th century, for Annus ccxxi, in the era of the *Annales Cambriae*, is $445 + 220 = 665$.

(b) *Evidence of the Historia Brittonum.*

The *Annales Cambriae* (MS. A) was compiled about the mid-tenth century as a continuation of the *Historia Brittonum* and the other writings, which are associated with the name of Nennius, or, at least, as an addition to them. The *Historia Brittonum*, therefore, is the older authority.

In the enumeration of Arthur's twelve victories in ch. 56 of the *Historia Brittonum* the following items appear among others:—

The eighth was the battle at Castellum Guinnion, in which Arthur carried the image of Saint Mary, perpetual Virgin, on his shoulders, and the Pagans were put to flight on that day, and a great slaughter was inflicted on them through the power of our Lord Jesus Christ and through the power of Saint Mary his mother.

The twelfth was the battle at Mons Badonis, in which 960 men fell in one day through one onset of Arthur; and no one overthrew them except himself alone.

Now it will be immediately observed that the portage of Christian symbols on Arthur's shoulders is stated in

the older tradition of the *Historia Brittonum* to have occurred in the battle of Castellum Guinnion and not in that of Mons Badonis. And as the battle of Castellum Guinnion became much less known than that of Mons Badonis (which last indeed has long been world famous), there would be a greater and an increasing tendency to ascribe these particulars, whereby Arthur figures as a Champion of Christendom, to the battle of Badon rather than the reverse. The older tradition, therefore, of the *Historia Brittonum* is to be preferred to the later statement of the *Annales Cambriae*, and the original pre-eminence of the battle of Castellum Guinnion in this particular is to be restored as against the battle of Badon.

Indeed, if we omit the statement as to the slaughter of 960 men in the battle of Badon (which we have seen to be a mere bungle as to a simple date in the Dionysian era), it will be found that in the list of Arthur's victories the battle of Castellum Guinnion stands alone as to any record of details. The list, translated from Mommsen's text, reads as follows:—

The first battle was at the mouth of the river which is called Glein.

The second, third, fourth, and fifth, on another river which is called Dubglas, and is in the region of Linnuis.

The sixth battle on the river which is called Bassas.

The seventh was the battle in the wood of Celidon, that is Cat Coit Celidon.

The eighth was the battle at Castellum Guinnion, in which Arthur carried the image of Saint Mary, perpetual virgin, on his shoulders, and the Pagans were put to flight on that day, and a great slaughter was inflicted on them through the power of our Lord Jesus Christ and through the power of Saint Mary the Virgin, his mother.

The ninth battle was fought in the city of Legion.

The tenth battle occurred on the shore of the river which is called Tribruit.

The eleventh battle took place on the mountain which is called Agned.

The twelfth battle was at Mons Badonis, wherein 960 men fell in one day through one onset of Arthur; and no one overthrew them except himself alone.

The contrast between the treatment of the battle of Castellum Guinnion and that of the rest appears to give this victory an importance which pertains to none of the others, not even to Mons Badonis.

Moreover, whereas all the texts used by Mommsen are in general agreement as to the first ten battles, the reverse is the case as to the last two. The confusion is so great that all the Irish MSS. not only omit the names of the final victories including Badon, but omit the eleventh altogether, leaping from the tenth to the twelfth. Agned is left out by M and N, which give the eleventh as "Breguoin (or Breuoin) which we call Cat Bregon". This last is omitted by H and K, whilst no less than six MSS., viz., C, D, G, L, P, and Q, jumble the two names together thus, "which is called agned cath regomion (*or agned cat bregomion or agnet tha bregomion*)."
MS. P like the Irish MSS., omits the name of Mons Badonis but gives the rest of the statement as to the twelfth battle. We have thus five MSS. giving thirteen names for Arthur's twelve victories; and as the confusion is confined to the last two victories, the disturbing cause must be sought for in that quarter.

There are clearly three claimants for the two final victories, namely, Agned, Breguoin, and Mons Badonis; and of these three it may be said at once that the chances for retention in the list were all in favour of Mons Badonis. The mention of the "*obsessio Badonici montis*"

in the *Excidium Britanniae*, and the acceptance of that document by Bede, who not only incorporated it largely into the text of his *Historia Ecclesiastica*, but at least hinted (Book i, ch. 22) that it was a work of Gildas, were favourable to the cause of Badon's renown. Therefore of the three names, if one had to be ejected, it was not likely to be Badon. And so some omitted Agned and others Breguoin, but most jumbled the two together, the object being to find room for Badon at all costs.

It is thus practically certain that the Mons Badonis victory was not originally in the list of Arthur's triumphs, but was introduced under the influence of the *Excidium Britanniae* and of Bede. Once introduced it began to cause the confusion which we now see in every text of the the Arthurian tractate which has come down to us.

The victory of Badonicus Mons is clearly stated in the *Excidium Britanniae* to have been due to unexpected assistance. This is contradicted in the *Historia Brittonum* where Arthur wins unaided.

"Y cyvryw yw hanes Arthur vel y ceir ev yng ngwaith Nennius ; ac oddieithr y rhivedi anghyffredin a haerir iddo ladd ai law ei hun, nid oes dim yn yr hanes i gyffroi amheuaeth perthynol iw hanvodiad. A gall vod peth anghywirdeb yn yr ail ysgriviad o'r rhivedi yma ; canys y mae'r Brut wrth grybwyll am yr un vrwydr, sev Mynydd Badon, yn dywedyd mai 470 oedd y rhivedi a laddodd. Ond bydded hyn vel y bo, nid rhyw un haeriad o'r vath hwn sy ddigon i ddyrchwelyd hanesiad cyvan ; onide, nid aml y gwelem hanes awdurdodol yn perthyn i un genedl ba bynnag. A meddyliav am yr ysgrivenyddion a amheua hanvodiad Arthur na ddarvu iddynt erioed ystyried ei wir hanes, ond yn unig edrych ar y ffugdraethoden a geir yn y Brut a'r hen gyvansoddiaden ereill o'r canoloesoedd."

Carnhuanawc, 1836-1842.

(c) *Evidence of the Historia Regum Britanniae.*

In Book ix, 3, 4, Geoffrey unhesitatingly locates Mons Badonis at Bath, and, in his description of the battle,

states of Arthur that he bore “on his shoulders the shield called Priwen, in which was painted an image of Saint Mary, mother of God, which frequently recalled her to his memory”. This, together with the number 470 lower down (with which we have already dealt), shews that Geoffrey had before him a less corrupt tradition than has otherwise reached us, for the reference to the shield indicates that the account of the portage on Arthur’s shoulders is due to a misreading of *iscuul*, shoulder, for *iscuit*, shield. Geoffrey, of course, in his account combines the purer and corrupter elements, but leaves enough to shew that he knew and was using a purer tradition.

I’r mae’r geirieu Cymraeg, ysgwyd, tarian, ac ysgwydd, aelod o’r corff, mor gyffelyb yn enwedig mewn hen ysgriveu vel y byddai’n hawdd eu camsyniad; ac yn lle cyfieithu ar ei darian rhoddi ar ei ysgwyddau. Ac y mae [Sieffre o Vynwy] yn rhoddi’r ymadrodd yn vwy eglur yn y modd canlynol, Humeris quoque suis clypeum vocabulo Priwen in quo imago sanctae Mariae, etc., ac ar ei ysgwyddau darian a elwid Priwen a llun Mair santaidd arni.
Carnhuanawc, 1836-1842.

(d) *Evidence of the Excidium Britanniae.*

According to the *Excidium Britanniae* the Saxons first settled in Britain no small interval after A.D. 446. They came as auxiliaries, but soon found a pretext to rebel, and drove the Britons completely from the eastern portion of southern Britain to “the western ocean”, “from sea to sea”; all that was left to the Britons were the mountains, forests, and sea-islands of the west.

After the Britons had thus been completely driven into the western uplands of southern Britain, they gathered together under Ambrosius Aurelianus, lest they should be utterly destroyed, and won their first victory. Not a word is said of the Britons recovering any lost ground, only that they managed owing to this victory to save themselves from total extermination.

In chapter 26 we read that from the time of this victory warfare continued between the Britons and Saxons, now favourable to the one and now to the other, “until the year of the siege of Badonicus Mons and of almost the last slaughter, though not the least, inflicted on the gallows rogues; *which year begins, as I have discovered, as the forty-fourth year with one month already gone; which also is the year of my birth.*” Those who witnessed “the hopeless ruin of the island” caused by the invaders, and the “unexpected assistance” which resulted in the victory of Badonicus Mons, remembered the lesson to their advantage. But when these witnesses died away and a new generation arose “ignorant of that storm and having experience only of the present quiet”, the lesson was forgotten, except by a very few.

Whatever may be thought of this passage as it now stands, this much at least seems clear that, following on a tumultuous period, a notable victory had been won over the Saxons, which in the Latinity of the text bears the name of Badonicus Mons, “the Badonic hill”; that this victory was regarded by the author of the *Excidium Britanniae* as due to unexpected assistance; and that it was succeeded by a period of external peace, which had lasted more than a generation when the author of the passage in question was writing.

As the passage now stands, Badonicus Mons is undoubtedly intended to represent a victory of Arthur in October 470, this date being added in terms of the 428 computation of the first Advent of the Saxons. But as the *Excidium Britanniae* places the first advent of the Saxons no small interval after the letter to Aetius in 446, it is clear that its original author was not using the 428 computation but one which dated the first coming of the Saxons sometime after 446. The statement there-

fore as to “the forty-fourth year with one month already gone, being also the year of my birth”, must be treated as a gloss incorporated into the text and contradicting it.

According to a prophecy mentioned in chapter 23 there was to be no considerable interval of peace between the Britons and the Saxons for one hundred and fifty years from the arrival of the latter. For the first one hundred and fifty years the Saxons were to be engaged in frequent devastations. As then these devastations did not cease until the siege of Badonicus Mons, when a period of peace began, which had already lasted more than a generation when the author of the *Excidium Britanniae* was writing, it would follow that *Badonicus Mons* was fought a century and a half after the Saxon Advent; and as the author fixes the Saxon Advent no small interval after A.D. 446, it follows that the battle took place in the seventh century. This plain purport of the narrative that Badonicus Mons terminated the one hundred and fifty years' frequent devastations of the Saxons has been obscured by the above gloss.

As we have seen, it is practically certain that Badonicus Mons did not figure in the original list of Arthur's victories, but was forced into the list on the strength of this very passage in the *Excidium Britanniae*.

Badonicus Mons is treated as having brought to an end that stormy period, which witnessed “the hopeless ruin of the island”. Now it is the basic fallacy of the *Excidium Britanniae* that it regards the term ‘Brittania’ as equivalent to the whole island of Britain, from John o' Groat's to Land's End, which is assumed to have been held by Britons from one extremity to the other under Roman rule, until the north of the island, beyond the Stone Wall, was filched from them before A.D. 446 by the Picts and Scots; and the south of the island from

its eastern part to the western ocean was seized by Saxons, who landed for the first time no small interval after A.D. 446. And all this is made to have taken place after the insurrection of Maximus in A.D. 383-388! By the above passage, therefore, we are actually asked to believe that within less than ninety years, from 383 to 470, the Britons had been deprived of the whole island of Britain from John o' Groat's to Land's End, except the mountains, forests, and sea-islands of the south west! Nay, that prior to 470 the Britons had been completely expelled from "England", "from sea to sea", by Saxon invaders, who did not arrive until a considerable interval had elapsed after A.D. 446¹!

It is not to be thought of that a British writer, born in 470, could have so misconceived the process of our island history from the usurpation of Maximus less than a century before; that he could have supposed that the walls of Antonine and Hadrian and the forts of the Saxon Shore were built within that period; much less that that writer could be Gildas ab Caw of Pietland, who, born near the Walls, was actually one of those very "Picti" whom the author of the *Excidium Britanniae* rails at.

If it be assumed that the original writer of the *Excidium Britanniae* knew what battle was referred to, when its native name was translated into such bombastic Latin as *Badonicus Mons*, "the Badonic hill", it must be allowed that in such unfamiliar guise it was liable to misunderstanding. It was certainly so misunderstood by the person who made sure that it was the Arthurian victory of 470, who dated it in the era of 428, and synchronized the year of its occurrence with the birth of Gildas.

¹ See my forthcoming paper "*The Saxones in the Excidium Britanniae*" in the *Arch. Cambrensis*; also pp. 449-456 in the number of that journal for October, 1910.

It remains, therefore, for us to identify the contest, and to seek for it in the seventh century, when the English were in full occupation of south eastern Britain, "from sea to sea", with the Britons in Wales and the West. Nor have we far to seek, for opposite Annus ccxxi in the oldest copy of the *Annales Cambriae* we find marked a "Battle of Badon for the second time". Seeing now that the first Badon is a misnomer, it is allowed us to strike out the last words, and to regard this as the one genuine Badon, which, in the era of the *Annales Cambriae*, fell in $(445+220)=665$.

The real Battle of Badon, therefore, was fought in the seventh century, in a year bearing an annuary number 665.

NOTE.

CAW OF PICTLAND, FATHER OF ST. GILDAS.

The earliest *Vita Gildae* as far as chapter 31 was written in Brittany about the end of the 10th century by a monk of Ruys. According to this *Vita*, Gildas, who was the son of Caw o Brydyn, that is, Caw of Pictland, was born in the *regio* of Arecluta, where his father reigned as king. Arecluta, later Arglud, means on or opposite the Clyde, just as Arvon means on or opposite Môn (Anglesey). The *Vita* describes the *regio* of Arecluta as a part of Britain, which took its name from the river Clut (Clyde) "by which that *regio* is for the most part watered." The family of Gildas, therefore, originated near the western half of the Wall of Antonine.

Caw is variously described in the *vitae Gildae* as *rex Scotiae*, a king of Scotia, *rex Albanie*, a king of Albania, and *rex Pictorum*, a king of the Picts. The latter is the nearest equivalent of the oldest name by which he is known in Welsh, namely, Cau Pritdin. This last is found in the *Vita S. Cadoci*, by far the most valuable of our Welsh *vitae sanctorum*, where *Cau cognomine Pritdin* is said to have reigned for many years *ultra montem Bannauc*. Mr. Skene and Mr. Phillimore see the name *Bannauc* in the place-name Carnumock, near Glasgow, and on this account would identify *Mons Bannauc* with the Cathkin

Hills. In this case the *regio* of Arecluta would be in modern Renfrewshire.

Caw o Brydyn is also known in Welsh manuscript literature as Caw o Dwrcelyn, Caw of Twrcelyn, a *regio* in the north of Anglesey, and at one time one of the six *cymwds* of the island (see pp. 93-5 *supra*). He is repeatedly so called in Dr. Gwenogvryn Evans's *Report on MSS. in Welsh*. "It is not clear (says Mr. Phillimore) how Caw got the name of 'Caw of Twrcelyu' (in Anglesey), which is found in *Hanesyn Hen*, pp. 12-3, 46-7, where are also given the names of his seventeen or twenty-one children, some of them daughters, and many of them commemorated as saints in Anglesey" (*Y Cymmrodor*, xi, 75, note 7).

The association of the family of Caw, in literature, with Twrcelyn in Anglesey is as early as the Breton *Vita Gildae* itself, for it states how that two of his sons, Egreas and Alleccus, together with a daughter Peteova, withdrew to a remote part where each of them founded an oratory. These three oratories were near one another, that of the virgin sister being in the centre. Thus the two brothers were able to sing mass for their sister every day alternately. As they died they were buried in their respective oratories, which, in the time that the monk of Ruys was writing, were famous and illustrious for their constant miracles. The sites of the oratories of Egreas and Alleccus are represented to day by the churches of Llaneugrad and Llanallgo, both situated within the ancient *cymwd* of Twrcelyn in Anglesey, and about half-a-mile apart. The oratory of Peteova must have lain between them.

When St. Cadog met Cau Pritdin, the latter was no longer reigning in the *regio* of Arecluta. He had come away from beyond Mons Bannauc *ad has oras*, to these borders or coasts, where St. Cadog had settled for a time to build a monastery and to convert pagans. The legend of St. Cadog's raising Caw from death and hell would seem as though Caw himself were a pagan, but, however that may be, Caw is made to become a disciple of St. Cadog, and to remain in that place till his death (*ad ipsius obitum illic*). Consequently Caw never returned to settle in his old *regio* and *regnum* of Arecluta. The passage ends with the significant statement that Caw received a grant of twenty-four vills from the *Albanorum reguli*; in other words, Caw who had formerly been a king beyond Mons

Bannauc, in the little *regio* of Arecluta, received a new little *regnum* of twenty-four vills. And as Caw lived the last years of his life near Cadog's monastery, it is practically certain that that monastery was surrounded by this little *regnum*.

It is clear that to the writer of the *Vita S. Cadoci* (§22) all this took place in Scotland, where he has made Cadog go on pilgrimage to St. Andrew's in imitation of his former pilgrimages to Jerusalem and Rome. But as St. Andrew's was founded centuries after Cadog's time, this can only be a gloss on the original account. All that we can be certain of is that Cadog went amongst the Albani or Picts; that he met Caw of Pictland, who became his disciple, and died near the monastery which Cadog had founded; and that Caw had a little kingdom of twenty-four vills in that place, which was not Arecluta. The writer and compiler of the *Vita S. Cadoci*, seeing that Cadog had gone amongst the Picts, thought that this must be Scotland, and added his explanation of a pilgrimage to St. Andrews. But in St. Cadog's time there were "Picts" in southern Britain, to wit, between the R. Dee and the R. Teivi, where Cunedda and his sons, *gwyr y gogledd*, had settled from southern Scotland. If, therefore, we look for Cadog's monastery, which he founded among the Picts, in North Wales and Cardiganshire, we find that in the whole of this district there is only one, and that one is in the *cymwd* of *Twrcelyn* in Anglesey. It is still called Llangadog, *i.e.*, the *llan* or *monasterium* of Cadog, being situated about the middle of Twrcelyn, and not three miles distant from the once illustrious oratories of Egreas, Alleccus and the virgin Peteova, the children of Caw of Pictland.

There can then be little or no doubt that Cau Pritdin, the father of St. Gildas, was a Pictish raider, who in the fifth century came from the banks of the Clyde *ad has oras*, to these coasts of Anglesey, *causa diripiendi easdem atque vastandi*, for the purpose of plundering and ravaging the same, as Caw himself is made to confess in the *Vita S. Cadoci*; and that he established himself in the district of Twrcelyn, with which his name was afterwards associated, where he became a disciple of St. Cadog at the new monastery of Llangadog in Twrcelyn, and where he ruled as king over a little *regnum* of twenty-four vills till his death.

It remains to be said that the pedigree of Cau Pritdin

appears to be unknown. No ancient or reliable document seems to give it. Only in late post-reformation and very much doctored writings, contained in the *Iolo MSS.*, do we find a table of ancestry provided for him, which, however, is not that of a Pictish raider, but of a quite respectable Devonian royal house, namely, the line of Geraint ab Erbin. Geraint had a son called Cadwy, with whose name that of Caw of Pictland has been confounded. It is in these same writings, in the *Iolo MSS.*, that we find the ridiculous identification of Gildas with "Aneurin", on the strength, no doubt, of the supposed connection between *Gild-as* and *An-aur-in*. "Aneurin" would be for Aneirin, said to come from the Latin *Honorinus*. In the *Historia Brittonum* (ch. 62), the name is written Neirin. I can find no evidence for Prof. Anwyl's statement in the *Encycl. of Religion and Ethics*, ii, 1, that Aneirin was the son of Caw.

HUAIL, SON OF CAW.

According to the Breton *Vita Gildae* Caw was succeeded as king by his warlike son Cuillus. In the *Vita Gildae* of Caradog of Llangarvan, who was a contemporary of Geoffrey of Monmouth, Caw is given twenty-four sons, victorious warriors, one of whom was Gildas. That Gildas, however, is not to be counted for a victorious warrior appears lower down where his twenty-three brothers are described as constantly resisting Arthur, "the king of the whole of Great Britain". The eldest of them is called Hueil who would submit to no king, not even to Arthur, a statement which is echoed in the story of *Kulhwch and Olwen* where, in the list of Caw's children, it is remarked of Hueil that he never made a request at the hand of a lord. Hueil, says Caradog, used to sally forth from "Scotia" to ravage and plunder, and this so successfully and so frequently that Arthur had to run him to earth, which he did in the island of "Minau" or "Mynau". [This is usually supposed to be the Isle of Man, and Caradog may have intended it as such. The death of Hueil at the hands of Arthur *in insula Minau* undoubtedly represents a fact of history, which I would read as happening in Anglesey rather than in the Isle of Man]. The animosity between Arthur and Hueil is also echoed in the story of *Kulhwch and Olwen*, where it is ascribed to the fact that Hueil had stabbed Gwydre, his own sister's son. [It may

be stated that according to this story Arthur himself had a son called Gwydre, whose death is ascribed to the boar Twrch Trwyth at the same spot where Gwarthegyð the son of Caw was also killed by the boar.]

The Cuillus of the Breton *Vita* is generally identified with the Hueil of the Welsh *Vita*; and if Egreas and Alleccus may stand for Eugrad and Allgo, so no doubt may Cuillus for Hueil. Hueil, however, according to Caradog, never became king, whereas Cuillus succeeded his father in the kingdom. It should be stated that among Caw's children, as recorded in *Kulhwch and Olwen*, there appears one called Celin, who may possibly be the Cuillus of the Breton *Vita Gildae*, especially if it could be shewn that he gave his name to Twrcelyn.¹

NOTE ON ST. DAVID'S CHRONOLOGY.

St. David's Birth-year and Death-year.—Rhygyvarch, son of a bishop of St. David's in the latter half of the eleventh century, informs us that St. David was 147 years old when he died. In MS. A of the *Annales Cambriae*, St. David is provided with this bare and solitary notice opposite Annus *CLVII*, *Dauid episcopus moni iu-deorum*, without any indication as to whether it refers to his birth, death, or what not. It is here synchronized with the death of Gregory the Great, between which and the notice of St. David, which follows, Mr. Phillimore thinks that the conjunction *et* has dropped out, so that the passage would have originally run as follows: *Gregorius obiit in christo [et] Dauid episcopus moni iu-deorum*. I am inclined to differ from this and to regard each item as quite distinct from the other, the verb of the second either having dropped out or being involved in the obscure *iu-deorum*. I would suggest that *moni* terminated with *in* and was followed by some such phrase as *in deo dormit*. In any case the notice has certainly been regarded from of old as referring to the death of St. David, and, as we shall see, the age of David as recorded by Rhygyvarch is partly based on it. In another copy of the *Annales Cambriae* there is also a notice of St. David's birth, which is made to concur with the year 458 and Annus *XIV*. Now if Annus *CLVII* of MS. A is calculated from 449, the false Bedan date of the Saxon Advent, as it certainly should be in the case of the obit of Gregory according to Bede, the death of St. David falls in the year (449 plus 156) or 605. Rhygyvarch or one of

¹ The two lives of St. Gildas are printed with translations, notes, etc., in the Rev. Dr. Hugh Williams' *Gildas* (317-413), which work constitutes No. 3 of the *Cymmrodorion Record Series*.

his sources, perceiving this synchronization of David's death with that of Gregory the Great, and accepting A.D. 605 from Bede as the date of the latter event, treated St. David's obit as having also occurred in A.D. 605, from which was subtracted the above quoted year of St. David's birth, viz., 458, with the result that St. David's age at the time of his death was found to be (605 minus 458) or 147 years, as Rhygyvarch says.

Whether Annus CLVII be equated with 601 or 605, the obit of St. David on Tuesday, March 1st, could not have occurred in either of those years, as their March 1st was not a Tuesday, which is a condition postulated by Rhygyvarch's evidence.¹ And that such dates are far too late is shown by the fact that there is a tradition so embedded in the various *vitae* of the saint that he was born thirty years from Patrick's appearance in Ireland as bishop, that it cannot possibly be ignored. Patrick's mission to Ireland as bishop took place in 433, and so the birth of St. David falls in (433 plus 29) or 462; and this is borne out by MS. B of the *Annales Cambriae*, where the birth is equated with Annus XIV. If Annus XIV be computed from the false Bedan date of the Saxon Advent, we arrive at the same year, viz., 449 plus 13=462. On the evidence then before us the year 462 as that of St. David's birth is practically certain; and by 462 is meant our September 1st, 461, to August 31st, 462.

Most of the students, who reject 601 as the year of St. David's obit, are found fluttering for it around those two highly deceptive dates 542 and 547, the reason being as follows. Geoffrey of Monmouth places Arthur's death in 542; in the following chapter (Book xi, ch. 3) he makes Constantine to be crowned as Arthur's successor, and says that *tunc*, at that time, St. David died at St. David's, and was there buried by command of Maelgwn Gwynedd. Now according to the *Annales Cambriae* Maelgwn Gwynedd died in a pestilence, which is placed opposite Annus CIII; and this in the era of that chronicle makes 547. The death of David, therefore, it is argued, must have fallen between 542 and 547; and as the only one of these years, in which March 1st fell on a Tuesday, is 544, this must have been the year in which the saint died.

But alas! for such advocates, the year 542 as that of the Action of Camlan is one of the most illusory of the many in early Welsh history. Based on a miscalculation, it was the result of further miscalculation on the part of Geoffrey, so that it contradicts even the *Annales Cambriae* itself, from which it was taken; and diverges from Geoffrey's own evidence to the extent of half a century!

According to the *Annales Cambriae* the Action of Camlan fell in Annus XCIII, and the pestilence, in which Maelgwn died, in Annus CIII, thus allowing an interval of ten years between these two events. This interval of ten years is supported by the early 13th century tract, entitled *O oes Gwrtheyrn*, which calculates the intervals between leading military events in Welsh history, as distinct from ecclesiastical, from the time of Vortigern to that of King John. [It need hardly be said that the death of Maelgwn was a military event

¹ *tertia feria in kalendis Martii* (Cambro-British Saints, 141); *dyw mawrth ydyd kynntaf o galan mawrth* (Elucidarium, 118; cf. Cambro-British Saints, 116).

of the first importance, as he was the head of the House of Cunedda, and, after Arthur, the greatest soldier of his time.] If this interval of ten years is correct, in other words, if *Annus xciii* and *Annus ciii* are to be reckoned from the same initial year, then, as Camlan was fought in 492, the pestilence, in which Maelgwn died, was raging in 502.

In the *Historia Regum Britannice* (Book xi, 3-8) Arthur is made by Geoffrey to be succeeded by Constantine, who is killed in the third year. If we substitute 492, the true date of the Battle of Camlan, for Geoffrey's impossible 542, this would make Constantine's death occur in (492 *plus* 2) or 494. Constantine is succeeded by Aurelius Conanus, who dies in the second year of his reign, that is, in (494 *plus* 1) or 495. Then comes Vortiporius, who reigns till his fourth year, that is (495 *plus* 3) or 498; and then Maelgwn Gwynedd begins to rule as "monarch of the whole island." Unfortunately Geoffrey does not furnish us with the length of Maelgwn's reign, nor does he refer to the pestilence which carried him off.

It has long been noticed, and is indeed well known, that the Constantine, Aurelius Conanus, Vortiporius, and Maelgwn Gwynedd, whom Geoffrey places in this order as monarchs of the whole island of Britannia after the Battle of Camlan, were four *contemporary* kings ruling in south-west Britain in the days of Gildas, who, in his *Epistola*, rebukes them by name for their shortcomings. Historically, Constantine was king in the Devonian peninsula, Vortiporius in south-west Wales, and Maelgwn in north-west Wales. Geoffrey simply culled four of the five mentioned by Gildas and treated them as successive monarchs of the island of Britannia, instead of as contemporary kings in Britannia, that is, in that Britannia of south-west Britain, which, in Gildas' time, was roughly equivalent to Wales *plus* the Devonian peninsula. Geoffrey, perceiving the interval between the notices of Camlan and Maelgwn, and converting the geographical order of Gildas' kings into an order of time and succession (Maelgwn being last) crowds three kings into the interval, making them kings of the whole island.

I know no reason to doubt the accuracy of the ten years' interval between the Battle of Camlan and the appearance of the plague, in which Maelgwn Gwynedd died. The kings, therefore, rebuked by St. Gildas, were contemporaries of the leaders who fought at Camlan in the last decade of the 5th century. The pestilence, which carried off Maelgwn (before which event the *Epistola Gildae* was written) raged in 502.

If now we accept Geoffrey's statement (Book xi, 3) that St. David died soon after the Battle of Camlan and was buried by Maelgwn's orders at St. David's whilst Maelgwn was still only king of Gwynedd, we should be bound to search for a year, between 492 and 498, when March 1st fell on a Tuesday; and as the only instance of this concurrence in these years is 494, we should be compelled to take 494 as the true year of St. David's obit, although St. David was only thirty-two years of age at the time.

According to Geoffrey (Book xi, 8) Maelgwn Gwynedd, who, as we have seen above, died in the pestilence of 502, was succeeded by Careticus. The number of years that this mysterious Careticus ruled is not given. All that Geoffrey tells us is that he succeeded Maelgwn, so that his reign must have commenced about 502. As

his immediate predecessors according to Geoffrey, namely, Constantine, Aurelius Conanus, Vortiporius, and Maelgwn Gwynedd, were historically contemporary princes ruling in different parts in the last decade of the fifth century, it may be inferred that Careticus also was contemporary with them and ruling in a part of his own. However that may be, Careticus is made to succeed Maelgwn, so that he must have been a younger contemporary. Careticus, therefore, was ruling in the first quarter of the sixth century.

Geoffrey, however, supplies us with this important information relative to Careticus, namely, that with him the Britons lost the *diadema regni*, the crown of the kingdom, and the *insulæ monarchia*, the monarchy of the island, but not for ever. They lost it only *multis temporibus*, for a long time, the next holder of the *diadema regni*, according to Geoffrey, being Cadvan, king of Gwynedd, who obtained it immediately after the battle of Chester, which was fought in 616-7. Cadvan is the well-known father of Cadwallon, Penda's ally, who was slain by Oswald in 635. The long time, therefore, *multa tempora*, that the Britons lost the crown, was between the first quarter of the sixth century and the first quarter of the seventh century.

Multa tempora must mean that Careticus died a long time before the battle of Chester; and as Maelgwn, according to Geoffrey, was ruling even before Careticus, the evidence of Geoffrey is here again clearly in favour of an early date in the sixth century for Maelgwn's death. That Geoffrey in this particular is true to history is proved by the fact that Cadvan, whom he makes to fight in the battle of Chester in 616-7, was great-grandson to Maelgwn.

As long as Geoffrey's mysterious Careticus was regarded as flourishing after 547 or so, he remained mysterious indeed, for there is no one in Welsh or English tradition with whom he could be identified. But now that we know that he was ruling in the first quarter of the sixth century, it becomes clear that Careticus is none other than Cerdic of Wessex. Geoffrey certainly meant us to understand that Careticus was a Briton, which seems to be confirmed by his name not only in its British but also in its Saxon form; and to-day there are even English writers who allow "a strain of Welsh blood in the West Saxon royal family" simply and solely on account of this name Cerdic, and others like it, such as Ceadwalla, Mnl, and Cada. If Geoffrey then made a mistake in putting forward Cerdic of Wessex as a Briton, it must be classed by the historians of England with his most excusable errors.

Geoffrey describes Careticus as *amator civiū bellorum*, a lover of civil wars; also *invisus Deo et Brittonibus*, hateful to God and the Britons. Both phrases are significant, especially the last, which is even more significant in the light of the fact that it is the one used of *Saxons* by the author of the *Excidium Britanniae* (ch. 24), who says that they were *Deo hominibusque invisi*, hateful to God and men; and that this is not a mere coincidence is shewn by the fact that Geoffrey's account of the devastation of Britannia in Careticus's time is taken from the very next chapter of the *Excidium Britanniae* (ch. 25).

Geoffrey also associates Careticus with Cirencester and the neighbourhood of the Severn in a passage where he has clearly dragged in incidents concerned with the Scandinavian invasions of Ireland and Britain centuries later. His Gormundus, king of the Africans, who besieged Careticus in the city of Cirencester, is a confused remem-

branch of Guthrum, a leader of *gentiles nigri*, black pagans or Danes, who did occupy Cirencester in 879. Even Giraldus Cambrensis noticed that Geoffrey's Africans were Scandinavians (*Top. of Ireland*, iii, 39).

Now, according to the *Preface* of the *Saxon Chronicle*, Cerdic makes his appearance when 494 years of Christ are over, which is another way of saying 495, and this tallies with the *Chronicle*. About six years after (continues the *Preface*), he began to rule, that is, about 500, and ruled sixteen years, which would bring us to about 516. But the *Chronicle* does not place the commencement of Cerdic's reign till 519, which is made to end in 534. This serious discrepancy, which is really due to computations according to different systems of chronology, so baffled the compiler of the *Chronicle* that in order to fit in the death of Cerdic with what he supposed was the year 534 in the Dionysian era, he actually suppressed the name and reign of Creoda between Cerdic and Cynric, and made the latter to be Cerdic's son instead of his grandson. The annuary numbers, therefore, implied in the *Preface* to the *Saxon Chronicle* for Cerdic's accession and death, are nearer those of the Dionysian system than are the annuary numbers of the *Chronicle*. Mr. W. H. Stevenson has arrived at a similar conclusion relative to the discrepancy between the *Preface* and the *Chronicle*. "This discrepancy (says Mr. Stevenson) may be reconciled by assuming that Cerdic reigned from 500 to 516, Creoda from 516 to 534, and Cynric from the latter date until 560" (Asser's *Alfred*, ed. 1904, p. 159). As Cerdic then succeeded Maelgwn Gwynedd, according to Geoffrey, Maelgwn's death must be thrown back to close about 500; and even if it be insisted that Cerdic began to reign in 519, Maelgwn's obit will still have to be thrown back before the third decade of the sixth century.

What is invariably regarded as the notice of St. David's death is placed in the *Annales Cambriae*, opposite Annus CLVII, which in the era of that chronicle makes (445 plus 156) or 601. As we know the saint to have been born in 462, and to have been contemporary with Maelgwn Gwynedd, who certainly died before the third decade of the sixth century, and is reputed to have arranged the place of the saint's burial, it will be seen that the obit of St. David is post-dated in the *Annales Cambriae* by about a hundred years. Nay, as we have seen strong reason to believe that Maelgwn died in 502, it will be observed that St. David's obit in the *Annales Cambriae* appears to be post-dated by a complete century. Such variations of a complete century are known to have been sometimes made through the misreading of annuary numbers, beginning with D^c or DC., that is, five hundred, as though they represented the normal DC or six hundred. Such a misunderstanding is responsible for this post-dating of St. David's obit by a century in the *Annales Cambriae*, as also for that of St. Dubricius opposite Annus CLXVIII in the same chronicle, with the ridiculous result that the consecrator of St. Samson, Bishop of Dol, is made to die in 612.

If then 601, the equation of Annus CLVII, is a misreading of D^c I or DC. I, that is, 501, the latter must be the year of St. David's obit; but in that year March 1st did not fall on a Tuesday. We have already seen, however, that this notice of St. David is synchronized with the death of Pope Gregory the Great, who, according to Bede, died in 605. Annus CLVII, therefore, is computable not from 445, but

from the false Bedan date of the Saxon Advent, namely, 449, for 449 plus 156 is 605; and this in the case of St. David is a misunderstanding of D^{CV} or DC.V, that is, 505. Now in 505 March 1st falls on a Tuesday.

But we have seen that according to Geoffrey, St. David was buried after the Battle of Camlan by Maelgwn's orders; and as Maelgwn died in the pestilence of 502, St. David must, according to this evidence, have died between 492 and 502; and as 494 is the only year in this interval and even until 505, when March 1st falls on a Tuesday, 494 must, according to Geoffrey, be the true date. This year, however, can in no way be made to tally with Annus CLVII of the *Annales Cambriae*, or with the emendation of the same as Annus LVII.

The fact that Geoffrey avoided giving the number of years in the reigns of Maelgwn and Careticus shows that he failed to reconcile the death year of Maelgwn with the accession year of Careticus. He was face to face with the same difficulty of the year of Cerdic's accession as accosts modern writers. If Cerdic began to rule about six years after 495, as says the *Preface* to the *Saxon Chronicle*, then he was "monarch of the island" at the very time that Maelgwn was supposed to be occupying that august position. If he began to rule in the twenty-fifth year from 495, as says the *Saxon Chronicle* itself, then Maelgwn's supposed sway over the island of Britain must have long passed the death year of St. David, even if this was 505.

Geoffrey's evidence is as follows; in Book ix, ch. 15, he informs us that David, Arthur's *avunculus*, was consecrated Archbishop in succession to St. Dubricius. In Book xi, ch. 3, he tells us that whilst Constantine was reigning "David, the most holy archbishop of Caerlleon, died in the city of Menevia, within his own abbey, which he had loved above the other monasteries of his diocese, because the blessed Patrick, who had foretold his birth, was the founder of it. For while he sojourned there among his brethren, he was taken with a sudden illness and died, and at the command of Maelgwn, king of the Venedotians, was buried in the same church." Now, historically, St. David was never archbishop of Caerlleon, but simply the head of his monastery at St. David's, where he lived, died, and was buried in the natural course. Again, Maelgwn was king of Gwynedd and could have had no jurisdiction in Dyved, where Vortiporius was reigning, much less in the monastery of Mynyw. Geoffrey's statement, therefore, as to Maelgwn Gwynedd's part in St. David's burial may be disregarded. In preference then to 494 we must accept the date, to which the *Annales Cambriae* points, namely, 505. St. David, therefore, on the evidence here quoted, died on Tuesday, March 1st, 505, in the 44th year of his age.

Gormund and Isembard.

A POSTSCRIPT TO "THE VANDALS IN WESSEX".

By E. WILLIAMS B. NICHOLSON, M.A.,

Bodley's Librarian.

In my paper "The Vandals in Wessex and the battle of Deorham" (*Y Cymmrodor*, xix, 5), I urged that a wealth of lost history was buried in Book xi, ch. 8 of the despised Geoffrey of Monmouth. It seemed clear to me that the Vandals, who absolutely disappear after the Byzantine order for their exile, had gone to Hiberia (so *corr.* for Hibernia), the country they had come from; that they had helped the Visigoths to complete its conquest; that an army of them had been engaged by the West Saxons for their campaign against the South Midlands; and that this army had left its name on various places within the known or probable dominion of the West Saxons—Wandsworth in Surrey (Wendleswurthe), Windsor in Berks (Wendlesore), Wændlescumb in Berks, Wendlebury in Oxfordshire (Wendelebur'), Wendlesclif in Worcestershire, Wendlesbiri in Herts, and Wendlesmére in the Fens. Their king, Gormund, we are told, was besieging Cirencester when "Isembard" (Isenbard), grandson of Lodovic, king of the Franks, came to him and engaged his help to conquer Gaul, from which an uncle had expelled him.

I scouted any idea that this story could be the mere irrelevant invention of a South Welshman. I said it must

come from the Breton book¹ which Geoffrey declared he had translated, and I suggested that with the besieged Britons at Cirencester was a Breton contingent, in which the Frankish refugee Isenbard had come. I am now able to *prove* that part, at least, of the story is anterior to Geoffrey, and of Gallic origin—almost certainly, however, not Breton but Norman.

Hariulf of St. Riquier wrote a chronicle of that abbey which he carried down to 1104. He left St. Riquier in 1105, to become abbat of Oudenbourg, where he died in 1143. Now, when his chronicle has anything in common with Geoffrey, that cannot be *borrowed*, but must be prior to Geoffrey's book, because Hariulf left his chronicle behind him² at St. Riquier—some quarter of a century before we have any reason to suppose that Geoffrey began to write. And in ch. 20 of his third book, he has a version of the story of Isembard and Gormond, which is not likely to have been written after 1088, when he finished his *fourth* book.

According to Hariulf, a noble "Francigena", named Esimbardus, had offended Louis III ("Hludogvicus"), and, becoming a traitor, invited "gentium barbariem" to visit the country. Their king, Guaramundus, said to have brought many kingdoms under his rule, wished also to dominate France. The story of the invasion was told not only in histories, but was the subject of daily reminiscence and song among the people ("patriensium memoria quotidie recolitur et cantatur"). On the approach of the "barbari" the treasurer of St. Riquier took a box of valuables and fled to Sens. The enemy, after landing, marched through the provinces of Vimeu and Ponthieu,

¹ In my list of incidents exhibiting the Breton element I ought to have included the procuring of an overking from Brittany (vi, 4).

² See Lot's ed., p. LVII.

overthrew churches, killed Christians, and filled everything with death and blood, finally plundering and burning the church of St. Riquier.

Louis III encountered them in the Vimeu district, and obtained a triumph, the king of the infidels, Guaramund, being killed. Thousands of his people were slain and the rest put to flight. Louis, however, died, it was said from an internal rupture caused by the over-violence of his blows.

Now it is clear that if Hariulf's data are correct Geoffrey's cannot be; but, on examining Hariulf, his account turns out to be a composite one, partly derived from the *Francorum regum historia* (which he quotes *verbatim*), partly from the tradition of the monastery as to the flight of its treasurer and the plunder and destruction of its buildings, and as to other particulars from an unnamed source.

Well, the purely monastic part of the account does not mention Esimbard, Louis, or Guaramund. And the *Francorum regum historia* does not mention Esimbard or Guaramund, nor does it allude to the death of Louis as in any way connected with the battle. Yet the account in that work was written in 886-7, only some five or six years after Louis defeated the invaders. Let me add that Louis did not die till the year after the battle, and that the cause of his death was quite different. It is noticeable too that the *Fr.h.* says the invaders were Normans, and that Hariulf does not.

There is in the Royal Library at Brussels a fragment of a French verse-romance on the subject (MS. II, 181). The MS. is of the 13th century. It was reproduced in 1906 in facsimile, with a transcription by Dr. Alphonse Bayot, and a bibliography. This romance (through which I came to learn the existence of the legend of Hariulf)

calls Gormund or Gormunt an Arabian and an Oriental, but there is no evidence that it was not composed after, and partly based on, Geoffrey's account.

Of the books and articles mentioned in the bibliography, the most important is an article by M. Ferdinand Lot in *Romania*, xxvii, pp. 1-54 (1898); but he attributes the composition of the verse-romance to 1060-70, which would make it impossible for it to have borrowed from Geoffrey, in spite of its mention of "Cirencestre". On the other hand, M. Gaston Paris in *Romania*, xxxi, pp. 445-8 (1902), reviewing a Swedish authoress who places the poem in the late 12th or 13th century, shows that, on account of an allusion to the king as feudatory of St. Denis, it cannot have been written *before* 1082¹; and, while denying that it is so late as the end of the 12th century, says one can continue to place it towards the end of the first third of that century. Now Geoffrey's book was at Bec in Normandy in January 1139, and how much earlier we cannot tell: M. Paris gives no reason why the poem should not be at least as late as that.

In my paper I preferred the reading "Godmund" to "Gormund", and connected with the invader Godmundcestre and Godmundesleah. That must be given up, in face of Hariulf's Guaramundus.

The reader will probably have begun to wonder whether there is *any* truth in Geoffrey's story so far as it relates to the 6th century, and, if so, whether there were any Vandals concerned at all. That question I am not going to shirk, but we shall be in a better position to discuss it

¹ He thinks Louis VI was the first to recognise formally this feudal bond: in 1124 that king made open declaration of it, and "raised" the banner of St. Denis for the first time.

when we have cleared out of the way those elements which are certainly later.

Geoffrey has mixed up two foreign encampments at Cirencester. The first was that of the West Saxons in 577. The second was that of the Dane Guthrum or Guthorm, who, after making peace with Ælfred, lay with his host at Cirencester in 879, retiring in 880 to his kingdom of East Anglia, and dying in 890.

In 879 another Danish host came to England, but in 880 left for Ghent, where it lay for a year, and in 881 had a battle with the Franks. That may be the victory gained at Saucourt by Louis III, or it may be the one in the Vimeu district. There is no record that Guthorm came from East Anglia to join the invaders, but there is no proof that he did not. And it is maintained that his name might be shortened to Gorm and Latinized to Gormo, which would become in French Gormon. I cannot see that any evidence has been produced of Gorm as an abbreviation of Guthorm. I will, however, add on my own account that the *th* would eventually disappear in French, so that we might have Guorm-on, and *apparently* that might happen as early as the time when Hariulf wrote.

But there is another name out of which it is quite truly said that Gurmond may have arisen. The *Annales Bertiniani* show that in 882 there was among the Normans on the continent a prince named Vurm-o (dat. *Vurmoni*). The *Annales Fuldenses* call him Vurm, and of course his name was the Scandinavian Wurm (also Worm?) *i.e.* Snake (our "worm"). Now in those parts of France where Kymric was the original vernacular Teutonic *W*- became *Gu*-¹ and *G*-—so that Wurm-o-n would produce

¹ Under the influence of the same sound-change in Kymric, which took place not before the 8th century, perhaps even in the early

Gurmon. And it is suggested that the Gurmond of the French romance is a compound of this Wurm and of Guthorm.

M. Lot says that Geoffrey must have been in Normandy in and before 1128¹ as chaplain to Guillaume Cliton, *i.e.* William, son of duke Robert of Normandy. If so, he would naturally visit St. Riquier and hear the Guaramund story there. When he got back to England and came to write his "History", he obviously confused the capture of Cirencester by the West Saxons in 577 and the encampment of the Danes in 879.

And here the question arises, "How comes Geoffrey to be so interested in Cirencester, or to know anything about the siege of 577"? He shows no sign of having consulted an Anglo-Saxon chronicle: if he had, he would have known that Bath and Gloucester were captured in the same year, and would hardly have omitted to name them. Moreover, in his poem on Merlin he makes the latter prophesy:—

Hunc lupus aequoreus debellans vincet et ultra
 Sabrinam victum per barbara regna fugabit.
 Idem Kaer Keri² circumdabit obsidione
 Passeribusque domos et moenia trudet ad immum.
 Classe petet Gallos, sed telo regis obibit.

Here we have three new facts (1) that the invader captured the town by means of sparrows (which, later

9th. In those French dialects in which W- remains, the Keltic vernacular was doubtless Goidelic—see the map in my *Keltic Researches*, at p. 113. Hariulf himself used G- forms, as in Gualaricus for Valery, and even in the middle of a word, as Illudogvicius (-*gui*-).

¹ The *Diet. of Nat. Biog.* is silent about this chaplaincy, and M. Lot gives no authority.

² *i.e.* Cirencester. Either we should read Ceri=Cerin (Corinium), or at any rate that must have been an earlier form. Note that *here* he seems to make the invader capture the city *after* driving the British king across the Severn.

writers explain, was by making them carry fire), (2) that he did accept Isembard's invitation, (3) that he was killed by the French king. The last two he would naturally get from France, but whence his sparrows except from local tradition?

When his lord, William of Normandy, nephew of Henry I, died in 1128, he came to England, and in or about 1129 signs the foundation-charter of Oseney Abbey, just outside Oxford. Whether he was one of the canons who served it is unknown, but some residence in the neighbourhood seems to have originated his statement that Oxford was a prae-Saxon town bearing the name *Ridichen*, *i.e.* Ford of Oxen. Just then, the Abbey of Cirencester was founded by Henry I and served by canons, and I suggest that Geoffrey was one of them. There was a special reason why he should desire to go West: it would bring him nearer to his dead patron's father, duke Robert, who was in the custody of Robert of Gloucester, and nearer to Robert himself, who was the king's son and a man of great political importance, and who had the "History" dedicated to him later on.

And now why should not what I call the Vandal part of the story be simply an element in the confusion? Why should Geoffrey's "Africans" and "Hibernia" conceal any reference to the Vandals and Hiberia? Why should they not be borrowed from the French romance, which calls the invader an Arab, and speaks of his having troops from Ireland? Surely this is the simple and only natural explanation?

Well, the French romance speaks of "Cirencestre" as being in the invader's countries, and the probability is enormous that *it* was borrowing from Geoffrey, and not *vice versa*. There is not a trace of Cirencester, Africans, or Ireland in Hariulf, and nothing would induce me to

admit that these features in the romance are *not* borrowed from Geoffrey except the proof (which has not been, and I believe cannot be, given) that the romance was anterior to him.

Putting that theory aside, I should still be willing to admit that the Africans and "Hibernia" *might* be blunders or even inventions of Geoffrey's, but there is Careticus: where does *he* come from? Well, I am prepared, if need be, to jettison him too! But the story that the Saxons in their attack on Cirencester were aided by foreign mercenaries, and the idea that those mercenaries were Vandals, is too complete an explanation of hitherto unexplained facts for me in the present state of my knowledge to abandon *that*. *Why are there these 7 Wendel names on the map of England? Why are they apparently confined within the limits of ancient Wessex? Why are there no such names in parts of Wessex known to have been conquered before 568, or in the later Wessex conquests of Somerset, Devon, and Cornwall? Why, in fact, are they limited to regions conquered in the last third of the 6th century?*

The prefix Wendel- is given to a cliff, a combe, a "mére", an *or* (boundary), a-*worth* (dwelling), and two *bury's* (forts). There is no Anglo-Saxon common substantive, adjective, or verb to explain it. Also in six of the seven instances it is in the genitive singular—a virtual proof that it is a proper name. Yet there is no Anglo-Saxon person-name Wendel—except in the compounds Uendilbercht, Wendelbeorht, Wendelgær (Vendelgerh), and Wendelburh, each of them found once only.

So that there seems to me a quite distinct balance of probability that the West Saxons did import Vandals. Whether they came from Hiberia ["Hibernia"] we do *not* know. Nor their leader's name. And the legend that Gormund, after taking Cirencester, conquered other parts

of the isle probably refers to Guthorm and not to the Vandal leader with whom Geoffrey confounded him: for Guthorm went from Cirencester to East Anglia, and regularly occupied that.

“Careticus”, who fled into Wales, remains in doubt. Was that really the name of the chief British king, or is it as absolute an invention as the names of most of Geoffrey’s prae-Roman kings? The Harleian Genealogies do not mention him; but, unless any family descended from him survived until the 10th century, or near it, they would not be likely to do so. They mention neither the great Arthur (who of course left no sons) nor Ambrosius Aurelianus (who certainly had *some* descendants living in 548). There is in another Welsh genealogy¹ a “Ceredic”, belonging to one of the chief royal lines of Wales, who would suit perfectly as to date. He was son of Ceneu (weakened from Lat. Caniō), son of Corun (=Lat. Corōnius), son of Ceretic, or Karedig, earliest of the kings of Cardigan, and son of Cunedag. Ceretic and Careticus are weakened *umlaut* forms of an earlier Caratic(us), derived from the *carato* stem, but not to be confounded with Caratācus, Caratauc, with which their phonetics are quite irreconcilable.

“Careticus” came to his overkingship, according to Geoffrey, on the death of Maelgwn. Maelgwn died in or about 548, and, as Ceredic was a generation further off from their common ancestor Cunedag, that exactly squares with probability. He may conceivably be the Ceretic whose death is recorded at [616] by the *Annales Cambriae*, and who is just too early to be “Cercic” of Elmet. In

¹ See *Y Cymmrodor*, viii, 90 (no. xlix), corrected by vii, 133. I get this through Mr. A. Anscombe’s index in *Archiv. f. kelt. Levic.*, iii, 71-2.

that case he must have died at a very great age, and must have been unusually young when chosen overking: I merely throw out the suggestion as a bare possibility. It seems equally likely that the man whose death is recorded in [616] was not this Ceredic but his great-grandson "Caredic".

George Borrow's Second Tour in Wales.

By T. C. CANTRILL, B.Sc., F.G.S.,

AND

J. PRINGLE.

THE reader of Dr. Knapp's *Life of Borrow* will remember that, three years after the 1854 expedition to North Wales, George Borrow made a rapid traverse through the south-western portion of the Principality. The incidents of the former excursion formed the basis of *Wild Wales*, but the only published record of the latter tour is the brief itinerary given in the *Life*.¹

It so happens that for several years past our professional duties have taken us into the western regions of South Wales, and into parts of the counties of Carmarthen and Pembroke traversed by Borrow in 1857. Not satisfied with the bald outline of the journal published by Dr. Knapp, one of us wrote to him in Paris with the request that he would be kind enough to furnish us with a few details as to the villages passed through, and the inns where Borrow lodged. To our gratification Dr. Knapp did far more than we had asked; he sent us a verbatim transcription from the original note book, accompanied by the following letter² :—

¹ "Life, Writings, and Correspondence of George Borrow", by W. I. Knapp, 1899, vol. ii, pp. 184-5.

² Shortly before his death, Dr. Knapp, in a letter (27 Aug. 1908) to the Secretary of the Gypsy Lore Society, thus alluded to this correspondence :—"I have just sent off a bulky parcel that cost me *three weeks* to write, containing the transcription of one of Borrow's Note Books of 1857." See *Journal, Gypsy Lore Soc.*, New Series, vol. ii, (Jan. 1909), p. 196.

191 r. de l' Université, Paris.

26 Aug. 1908.

DEAR SIR,—Your very interesting communication of the 1st of Aug. reached me on the 6th. My chests containing Borrow's MSS., Letters and Note Books, are stored and sealed up, so that they are no longer readily accessible even to me, in the present state of my health and impaired strength. Besides, the Note Books are in pencil, written as he strode along the roads of England and Wales, very badly, and subsequently much thumbed as he pored over them in later years. Hence they are very trying to the eyes, and as mine are giving me much trouble, growing weaker and weaker, I dreaded to subject them to any fresh tension even with the powerful lenses I am forced to employ. However, after much reflection I decided to unscrew the boxes till I came to the Note Books, from among which I drew forth the little one for 1857. And although it has cost me two weeks to decipher and write down only ten pages, I feel that the labour is wisely bestowed if it in any way accomplishes your desire. From Lampeter into Brecknock hills to Builth I could no longer follow Borrow. He is full of badly written Welsh, is constantly losing his way, and the Welsh names of villages, hamlets and parishes cited are not in Lewis or Lett's County Atlas as he gives them. Still, if you want the Itinerary or anything further, please let me know.

I should very much like to meet you, but I travel little. Last year we were in Norwich three months—July 1 to Oct. 1—for my wife's health, but we went nowhere, only passing thro' London going and coming. I was glad to learn the *date* of Henrietta's death. Mr. Murray wrote me of the fact without mentioning the date. By the way I should like a picture of Borrow's birthplace at Dump-ling Green; I have the one given in "The Sphere" but cannot lay my hands on it. Could I trouble you further for the title of the best modern Welsh-English Dictionary—not Pughe's—and a Grammar with Exercises, and of whom it could be ordered. Your letter is very valuable to me and I prize it greatly.

Yours very truly,

W. I. KNAPP.

T. C. Cantrill, Esq.

As neither of us saw any prospect of following Borrow's route beyond St. David's, we had refrained from troubling Dr. Knapp for details of that part of the journey.

With Dr. Knapp's transcript in our hands we have traversed on foot much of Borrow's route, and made personal enquiries of some of the older inhabitants, and, in some cases, of descendants of Borrow's informants, in an attempt to rescue from oblivion some particulars of the places visited and the characters encountered by Borrow in 1857; and now, since the Note Book appears to have left Europe for a transatlantic home, it seems desirable to publish so much of the transcript as is available, together with our comments.

Apart from the usual Borrowian disregard for accuracy as to distances, directions, and orthography of place-names, the journal is remarkably straightforward, and the task of identifying the un-named localities a light one. In his passage of Milford Haven, however, it is difficult to follow Borrow, as we have pointed out. Nor perhaps shall we ever know now how he got to Laugharne, where the notes commence abruptly at an un-named inn. Presumably he availed himself of the railway, which was open at that date and would bring him to St. Clears, five miles from his starting-point.

One wonders how much the world has lost by Borrow's neglect to incorporate the experiences of 1857 in a volume similar to *Wild Wales*, but there is no doubt that the impressions he gathered were brought to bear on that work, which was not published till 1862.

Once again, ten years later, Borrow made an expedition into Wales, though of this journey the sole evidence appears to be a note book, among the Borrow MS. scheduled by Dr. Knapp,¹ of a tour in Western Wales in April, 1867.

¹ *Life*; vol. ii, p. 381.

The following is the transcript of the 1857 note book as received from Dr. Knapp (except that several of his comments, chiefly orthographical and now superfluous, are dropped); of the insertions in square brackets, some are Dr. Knapp's, some are our own; for the notes, we alone are responsible:—

[August 23rd, Laugharne].—Sunday morning. Brilliant day. Paid moderate bill for good accommodation. The landlady said she hoped she sh'd see me there again.¹ The bridge. Wooded dell.² Took the hill route to Tenby, turning to the left. Beautiful scenery between the two high wooded banks, road rapidly descending.

The little place, Plasholt.³ The child of the Church of England whose mother was at church. Soon found myself on level land and a good road; denes⁴ and moory lands between me and the sea, bounded by high banks of sand. Wooded hills on my right with here and there a farm house upon them or at their foot. Dreadful heat—sought refuge in a meadow with a high hedge to the road. Pursued my way along the road for several miles—beautiful gentleman's seat⁵ under the hill at a little way from the road. Came to a little farm house close by the road. The woman and cows—asked for water. The woman not civil till I had given her a penny. The Burrows—rabbits—view.

Pendeane [Pendine], "Head of the Denes". The man, son of Cornish boatswain. The public house on the shore⁶

¹ It is difficult to locate the Inn at Laugharne, but from the numerous enquiries we made, it is possible it was the house kept by a Mrs. Brown, and still known as Brown's Hotel.

² The bridge and wooded dell. The latter divides the town into two halves.

³ Plashett.

⁴ Dene or Dean.—Borrow was doubtless well acquainted with this word in the place-names North Denes and South Denes, at Yarmouth, where the term is applied to the sandy waste flats north and south of the town.

⁵ Llanmiloe, the residence of Mr. Morgan Jones.

⁶ The Spring Well Inn, kept in 1857 by a man named Saer.

George Borrow's Second Tour in Wales.

—company. The kind of flush farmer⁷ who had been to Australia and who said the Chinese got all the pretty girls—the lone village on the top of the hill⁸—the church. The old woman of the Church of England reading her English Bible by the wayside. Over burning hills.

Marrows [Marros]. The English village. “Mr. Morgan holds another parish where he preaches in Welsh.”⁹ Presently very near view of the sea on my left, seemingly a bay. Coast stretching to the South—headlands to the East.¹⁰

The English musicians, one of which [*sic*] was a harper, by the road side. Noble prospect of bay¹¹ whilst descending the hill—the scene very much like Douglas Bay.

After descending hill, crossed a little foot bridge¹² over a kind of pebble way,¹³ then on the sea shore and in Pembrokeshire. Discourse with men who sat on beach. Puzzled them by telling them that the name of the bridge, which it seems had no name, should be Pont y Terfyn.¹⁴ I observed that one of them, a young man, instantly jotted the words down in a book. They both spoke Welsh and were out of Carmarthenshire. Presently left shore and, after ascending and descending a hill or two by a circuitous route, soaked with perspiration and almost exhausted I reached Saundersfoot¹⁵—Picton Arms.¹⁶ Kind good humoured honest woman who apologized for the

⁷ Possibly a man named Phillips, a native of Saundersfoot.

⁸ The original Pendine, grouped about the church. The houses near the shore are probably later additions, in part due to the attractions of Pendine as a summer-resort.

⁹ Mr. Morgan's other parish was Cyffie, near Whitland.

¹⁰ Borrow undoubtedly included the Island of Caldy as one of the headlands.

¹¹ Saundersfoot Bay.—Borrow makes several allusions to Douglas. He stayed there in 1855. The scene in descending the hill from Marros to the shore at Amroth is indeed a noble one, and for picturesque beauty and charm of colour the view can have few equals.

¹² Now superseded by a cart-bridge.

¹³ A storm-beach.

¹⁴ Pont-y-terfyn: the bridge of the boundary. The little stream crossed by the bridge divides Carmarthenshire from Pembrokeshire.

¹⁵ Borrow does not mention Amroth. Possibly the omission was due to the state of the tide which, if near high-water, would keep

indifferent accommodation of the house, by saying that S. was a country place and that they were Welsh.

[August] 24th, [Monday].—Breakfast. Burning morning. Bathed in the sea beyond the little pier, on sandy beach with rocks here and there—water shallow, tide going out—waded some way—then swam—dived at last in water between seven and eight foot—rock and sand at bottom, deep—strolled up hill after dressing—the shaft of deserted mine.

Saundersfoot is a small straggling place on the bottom and declivity of a hill—there is a pier, coal works, and tramway. There is a great rise and fall of tide here, sometimes thirty feet. At the end of the headland to the South-East is a strange rock, which can be reached at low water, called the Monk's Rock.¹⁷ Written on the pier at Saundersfoot. The coast strikingly resembles the scenery about Douglas; but Saundersfoot cannot be compared with Douglas, pier exceedingly rude, very narrow, entrance at N. into bason quite dry at low tide. High and strong wall to the East and cliff to the S.

I was very much fatigued from the journey of the previous day. Laugharne is only 12 miles from S.F. but I shall never forget the heat of the weather—it was truly horrible. The Australian Welshman said that the heat of Australia was nothing to it.

[August] 25th, [Tuesday].—After breakfast started from Saundersfoot after paying bill which was very moderate, the dear good landlady apologizing for my indifferent accommodation though it had been excellent. Written at the top of St. Margaret's Rock, Tenby.¹⁸ In Tenby Castle.

him close up to the storm-beach, and so curtail his view. This is corroborated by the fact that he proceeded to Saundersfoot by road. Had he been able to walk along the shore, he would have materially shortened his journey.

¹⁶ Picton Castle Hotel, kept in 1857 by a Mrs. Rees. The Inn is now named Hean Castle Hotel.

¹⁷ Monkstone.

¹⁸ St. Catherine's Rock. Borrow evidently confused this with St. Margaret's Island, off Caldy Island. The fort which now occupies the top of St. Catherine's Rock was not built till 1868.

About 5 miles from Tenby, St. Florence. Beautiful girl with donkey. No Welsh spoken in the parish.

Halfway House. Manbedring parish¹⁹—bason of water.

Llanfar²⁰—singular village 2 m. from Pembroke. Handsome girls in singular dress, milking cows in the street—some good-looking houses—church with tall thin spire.

Pembroke—mean entrance—dull, lifeless, town—fine castle towards the end. Lion Inn.²¹

Pembroke Castle—written in the birth-room of Henry VIIIth.

Patters Barracks,²² firing. Difficulties of crossing water. Walk to Milford—Llan Stadwell—returned.²³ Drunkard by the road's side. "This is my residence, Sir," but never asked me in. Soldiers with deserters.

[August] 26th, [Wednesday].—Milford Haven—glorious bay, but the sun so hot and dazzling as nearly to deprive me of my senses.

Stanton²⁴—the same peculiarly thin kind of spire which I had seen at Llanfar.

¹⁹ Presumably Manorbier parish. We have not identified the "half-way house".

²⁰ Lamphay.—Borrow probably thought the name to be a corruption of Llanfair (St. Mary's). The name is a corruption of Llanffydd (St. Faith's).

²¹ The proprietor of the Lion Inn in 1857 was a Mr. Jones. There is no record of Borrow's visit, nor is there at the lodge of Pembroke Castle.

²² Pater battery (pronounced "Patter"), near Pembroke Dock. Borrow appears to have crossed Milford Haven by boat (probably from Hobb's Point) to Neyland, and to have set out on foot *via* Llanstadwell for Milford; but whether he got as far as Milford that day is doubtful.

²³ This is ambiguous. Dr. Knapp, in his transcript, suggests in an insertion that Borrow returned to Milford. But there is no evidence that he reached Milford on the 25th, and on studying the notes we conclude that he retraced his steps to Pembroke, and stayed that night (Aug. 25th) at The Lion. Unfortunately there is no record of his visit left at Pembroke. Next day (the 26th) he probably crossed from Hobb's Point direct to Milford, though he does not say so.

²⁴ Steynton, on the road between Milford and Haverfordwest.

Johnston—village—no Welsh.

Haverfordwest—little river—bridge;²⁵ steep ascent²⁶—sounds of music—young fellows playing—steep descent—strange town—Castle Inn. H.W. in Welsh Hool-fordd.

[August] 27th, Thursday.—Burning day as usual. Breakfasted on tea, eggs, and soup. Went up to the Castle. St. Mary's Church—river—bridge—toll—The two bridge keepers—River Dun Cledi²⁷—runs into Milford haven—exceedingly deep in some parts—would swallow up the largest ship ever built²⁸—people in general dislike and despise the Welsh.

Started for St. David's. Course S.W.²⁹ After walking about 2 m. crossed Pelkham Bridge³⁰—it separates St. Martin's from Camrwyn³¹ parish, as a woman told me who was carrying a pipkin in which were some potatoes in water but not boiled. In her other hand she had a dried herring. She said she had lived in the parish all her life and could speak no Welsh, but that there were some people within it who could speak it. Rested against a shady bank,³² very thirsty and my hurt foot very sore. She told me that the mountains to the N. were called by various names. One the [Clo—?] mountain.³³

The old inn³⁴—the blind woman.³⁵ Arrival of the odd-looking man and the two women I had passed on the road.

²⁵ Merlin's Bridge, on the outskirts of Haverfordwest.

²⁶ Merlin's Hill.

²⁷ River Dauceddau. The river at Haverfordwest is the Western Cleddau; it joins the Eastern Cleddau about six miles below the town. Both rivers then become known as Dauceddau or the two Cleddaus.

²⁸ Borrow means Milford Haven; the swallowing capacities of the Western Cleddau are small.

²⁹ North-west.

³⁰ Pelcomb Bridge.

³¹ Camrose parish.

³² Appropriately known as Tinker's Back.

³³ Dr. Knapp was unable to decipher this word. He remarks in a note that the pencillings are much rubbed and almost illegible. We think, however, that the word should be Plumstone, a lofty hill which Borrow would see just before he crossed Pelcomb Bridge.

³⁴ This was a low thatched cottage on the St. David's road, half-way up Keeston Hill. A few years ago it was demolished, and a

The collier [on]³⁶ the ass gives me the real history of Bosvile. Written in Roche Castle, a kind of oblong tower built on the rock—there is a rock within it, a huge crag standing towards the East in what was perhaps once a door. It turned out to be a chapel.³⁷

The castle is call'd in Welsh Castel y Garn, a translation of Roche. The girl and water—B—? (Nanny) Dallas.³⁸ Dialogue with the Baptist³⁹ who was mending the roads.

Splendid view of sea—isolated rocks to the South. Sir las⁴⁰ headlands stretching S. Descent to the shore. New Gall Bridge⁴¹. The collier's wife. Jemmy Remaunt⁴² was the name of man on the ass. Her own husband goes to work by the shore. The ascent round the hill. Distant view of Roche Castle. The Welshers, the little village⁴³—all looking down on the valley appropriately called Y Cwm. Dialogue with tall man Merddyn?⁴⁴—The Dim o Clywed. Solva, &c.⁴⁵

new and more commodious building known as the Hill Arms erected on its site.

³⁵ The old inn was kept by the blind woman, whose name was Mrs. Lloyd. Many stories are related of her wonderful cleverness in managing her business, and it is said that no customer was ever able to cheat her with a bad coin. Her blindness was the result of an attack of small-pox when twelve years of age.

³⁶ Dr. Knapp's insertion.

³⁷ It is doubtful if there was a chapel; no one remembers it.

³⁸ Nanny Dallas is a mistake. No such name is remembered by the oldest inhabitants, and it seems certain that the woman Borrow met was Nanny Lawless, who lived at Simpson a short distance away.

³⁹ Evan Rees, of Summerhill (a mile south-east of Roch).

⁴⁰ Sger-lâs and Sger-ddu, two isolated rocky islets off Solva Harbour. The headlands are the numerous prominences which jut out along the north shore of St. Bride's Bay.

⁴¹ Newgale Bridge.

⁴² Jemmy Raymond. "Remaunt" is the local pronunciation. Jemmy and his ass appear to have been two well-known figures in Roch 30 or 40 years ago; the former died about the year 1886.

⁴³ Pen-y-cwm.

⁴⁴ Davies the carpenter was undoubtedly the man; he was noted for his stature. Dim-yn-clywed—deaf.

St. David's. Commercial Inn.⁴⁶

[August] 28th, Friday. St. David's.

[August] 29th, Saturday. Started for Fishguard or Aber Gwayn.⁴⁷ Abereddy—Matrice⁴⁸—came at last to Fishguard upon the coast. Commercial Inn.

[August] 30th, Sunday. Fishguard to Newport—the public house—the old good humoured talkative landlady. Gin and water—Bayvil parish—Aber Tafi⁴⁹ on the left—broad and beautiful bridge. Cardigan Inn—the 3 com. trav.—Rec^d letters from wife.

[August] 31st. Burning day. Stopped within, the greater part of it—felt unwell—cholera pains.

Sept. 1st. To Llechrhyd, thence to Kilgerran Castle and back to Ll.—Pont Kennarth. New Castle Emllyn. Salutation Inn. Rain during the night.

Sept. 2nd. To Lampeter Inn.

Sept. 3rd. Lampeter to Llandewy Brevi⁵⁰. [Dr. Knapp here adds "the rest impossible; all mts. and obscure places not on maps"].

Sept. 5th. To Builth.

Sept. 6th. Start from Builth for Presteyne (Sunday). Radnorshire Arms. Asked waiting maid if Presteyne was in Wales—"No," she replied. "Is it in Hereford, then?" "No, Sir, in Radnorshire".

[Paris, 26 Aug. 1908. Deciphered from rubbed notes in pencil made 51 yrs. ago—a full 8 days' hard work. K. aet. 73.]

⁴⁵ Dr. Knapp here says "descriptions omitted." Up to this point they are complete, but from here onward only a selection has been transcribed by him.

⁴⁶ The inn is now a private residence.

⁴⁷ Aber-Gwaen.

⁴⁸ Mathry.

⁴⁹ Aber-Teifi, *i.e.*, Cardigan.

⁵⁰ Borrow alludes to his traverse of this region in a passage in *Wild Wales* (chap. 93), where he says that "long subsequently" (to 1854) he found that these parts of Breconshire and Carmarthenshire contain some of the wildest solitudes and most romantic scenery in Wales. The "long subsequently," however, was really not quite three years!

The transcript enables us to make a correction in the Itinerary as given in the *Life*. Borrow is there said to have walked, on Sept. 3rd, from Lampeter to Builth. This should read "Lampeter to Llanddewi Brefi." Where he slept on the night of Sept. 4th we are unfortunately left to conjecture, for it is just here that Dr. Knapp was overcome by the difficulties of transcription and by want of access to large-scale maps, as he admits in his letter. We may, however, hazard a guess that, unless Borrow got hopelessly out of his way, he slept on the 4th at Abergwessin, about half-way between Llanddewi Brefi and Builth. On the 5th he reached Builth, and on the 6th he accomplished a matter of twenty-eight miles from Builth to Mortimer's Cross (alluded to in chap. 36 of *Wild Wales*)—not a bad day for a man of fifty-four! Beyond this point, however, all we know is that on the 17th he was at Shrewsbury, and on Oct. 5th at Leighton, Uppington and Donnington (all in the neighbourhood of the county town) looking up traces of Goronwy Owen.

And so we leave him. Some day, perhaps, some enthusiast will publish a transcript of the remainder of Borrow's Note Book of 1857, and also, perhaps, that of 1867, when we may have a further opportunity of following still more closely the tracks of Lavengro across the heart of wildest Wales.

ON THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY BALLAD
ENTITLED
“*A Warning for all Murderers.*”

BY
WILLIAM E. A. AXON, LL.D.
(*Manceinion.*)

LOCAL ballads are not very common, and even when the subject-matter is mythical or spurious they are still worthy of attention. Welsh bibliographers have not so far noted a remarkable and incredible story of an alleged murder at Ruthin which is to be found in the Roxburghe Collection (I. 484) of ballads in the British Museum. It is a folio broadside and has a frontispiece in three divisions. In the first is seen a soldier with a blackened face; the second represents a servant entering a room, and the third shows a woman on a bed and the hands, and one arm, and one leg of a child are visible.

The ballad is in two parts. In the first part the verses are arranged in three columns; in the second they are in two columns only. There is no date, but it can be reasonably conjectured from what is known of the printer.

The strange story told in the ballad is of the murder of David Williams, a gentleman of Ruthin, who has an estate, worth £100 yearly, which excites the cupidity of his cousins. In order to obtain it they resolve to kill him and his wife and her unborn child. When Williams, who has a foreboding of impending doom, is having an evening walk with his wife, he is slain by his cousins who have disguised themselves as broken soldiers. The wife is also

stabbed, but her wounds are not fatal and the birth of the posthumous heir prevents the murderers from benefiting by their crime. The boy happens to be with his nurse at a house where one of the murderers was playing at "tables". The child who has crept under the table bites the ankle of the cousin, and the wound ends in a mortification which proves fatal.

Twelve months later the second murderer is drinking merrily when the fatal child takes a great pin from his coat and thrusts it into the man's thigh. Another death is the result, and the child, although beaten, will not ask for forgiveness.

The third murderer remains, and, taught prudence by the fate of his colleagues in crime, he avoids the child, but one day falls asleep in the harvest field. The boy thrusts a bramble-stick down the man's open throat, and in endeavouring to extract it damages his windpipe so that death ensues. He, however, before shuffling off this mortal coil, confesses the murder in which he had a third share. Such is the argument of this quaint old "ballad in print". The poet may perhaps have had some slender traditional groundwork, but the story seems rather to belong to folk-lore than history. It may indeed be purely a work of fancy, but even in that case it illustrates in a naive fashion the deep conviction of the popular mind that the shedder of innocent blood cannot in the long run escape vengeance.

It is possible that our sorry poet may have found the story in some of those collections of anecdotes in which our ancestors delighted, but I cannot trace it in Beard's "Theatre of God's Judgment" or in Turner's "Remarkable Providences", or Reynold's "God's Revenge against Murder", but it may possibly exist in some other once-popular collection of probable and improbable anecdotes.

It is difficult to imagine this lugubrious narrative as a composition to be sung, but it is marked as intended to go to the tune of "Wigmore's Galliard", which is given in William Chappell's "Popular Music of the Olden Time" (p. 242). The tune is mentioned as early as 1584.

Henry Gosson, the publisher of "A Warning for all Murderers", was not an unknown man. He issued many trifles and also some things of greater moment. The *Editio princeps* of "Pericles" came from his shop. John Taylor, the Water Poet, was one of his patrons or protégés as the case may be. In 1607 he published Richard Johnson's "Pleasant Walks of Moore-Fields" and he was still in business in 1640. The "Warning" is conjectured by the British Museum authorities to belong to the year 1635.

The name of Williams is, of course, a common one in Wales, but it is worth notice that John Williams, archbishop of York, was educated at Ruthin School.

We may now give the text of the ballad from that in the Roxburghe collection in the British Museum (I. 484). It is catalogued under WILLIAMS (David).

A WARNING FOR ALL MURDERERS.

A most rare, strange, and wonderful accident, which by God's just judgment was brought to passe, not farre, from Rithin in Wales, and showne upon three most wicked persons, who had secretly and cunningly murdered a young gentleman named David Williams, that by no means it could be knowne, and how in the end it was revenged by a childe of five yeeres old, which was in his mother's wombe, and unborne when the deed was done.

To the tune of Wigmores Galliard.

[Picture.]

Give care unto my story true,
 you gracelesse men on earth :
 Which any way in secret seeke
 your neighbours timelesse death.
 Not many pleasant Summers past
 this wicked worke was done,
 Which three accursed kinsmen wrought
 against their Unckles sonne.

A kind and courteous gentleman,
 his aged Father's joy,
 The only heire unto his Lands
 that should his place enjoy.
 His envious Nephewes gaping still,
 his day of death to see,
 Thought every yeere that he did live
 seven yeeres and more to bee.

Because this gentle Gentleman,
 once being laid in grave,
 Their aged Unckle being dead,
 they should the living have :
 The thought whereof did often make
 their hearts with joy abound,
 For that they knew the living worth
 each yeere an hundred pound.

But when they saw this toward youth
 live up to man's estate,
 And to himselfe hath likewise chose
 a faithfull loving mate,
 Then were they out of hope and heart,
 but most, when they did see
 His beauteous wife in little space,
 most big with child to bee.

Then did the Divell intice them straight
 to murther, death, and blood,
 Thereby to purchase to themselves
 their long desired good.
 A hundred waies they did devise
 this Gentleman to kill :
 But yet his wife being big with child,
 stuck in their stomach still.

If we should slay the one, they said,
and let the other live,
No comfort to our hearts desire
that deed at all would give :
The brat new bred within her wombe,
none can for heire deny :
Therefore 'tis meet and requisite
that both of them should die.

And for to blind the eyes of men,
strange garments had they got,
Which to performe that wicked deed
they onely did allot.
And after this most bad pretence,
the gentleman each day,
Still felt his heart to throb and faint
And sad he was alway.

His sleepe was full of dreadfull dreames,
in bed where he did lie,
His heart was heavie in the day
yet knew no reason why,
And oft as he did sit at meate,
his nose most suddenly,
Would spring and gush out crimson blood,
and straight it would be dry.

It chanced so upon a time,
As he his supper ate,
His eyes and heart so heavie were
that he slept at his meate.
Now fie, then quoth his loving wife,
and woke him presently,
Why is my Deare so drowsie now?
quoth he, I know not, I.

Good wife, he said, let us goe walke,
about our Land a while,
I shall be wakened thorouly
When I have walkt a mile.
His wife agreed, and forth they went,
Most kindly arme in arme :
But suddenly were they espied
that thought on little harme.

A Warning for all Murderers.

At length three sturdy men they met
in Souldiers tattered ragges,
With swords fast girt unto their sides,
which tangled in their jagges ;
Their faces smear'd with durt and soote,
in lothsome beastly wise,
With black thymb'd hats upon their heads
as is the Germanes guise.

And when they saw no persons nie,
Those helplesse couple then,
They wounded sore in cruell sort,
like most accursed men,
And in the thickest of the corne,
which in that place was hie,
They drag'd the murdred bodies then,
and so away did hie.

And soone they shifted off their rags,
And hid them by the way,
And weaponlesse they homeward went,
clad in their owne array.
Long did the silly servants waite
their Master's comming home,
Which dead within the field did lie,
All bath'd in bloody fome.

FINIS.

*Printed at London for Henry Gosson,
dwelling upon London Bridge,
nere the Gate.*

A WARNING FOR ALL MURDERERS.

The second part of the murder of David Williams, and his Wife being great with childe, which was revenged by a childe of five yeeres old, which was in his mother's wombe, and unborne when the deed was done.

To the tune of Wigmore's Galliard.

At length when dark and gloomy clouds
 had shadowed all the skie,
The servants wandred up and downe
 their Master to espie :
And as they past along the place
 where these were lately slaine,
Within the corne they heard one grone,
 as heart would breake in twaine.

And running straight to search and see,
 who gave this ghastly sound :
Their Master dead their Mistris stab'd,
 yet living there they found,
In bitter pangs in travell then
 this woefull woman lay,
And was delivered of a Sonne,
 before the breake of day.

Then died she incontinent,
 No memory had she
For to descry the murtherers
 nor found they could not be.
They both together buried were
 the childe to Nurse was set,
Which thriv'd and prosper'd passing well,
 no sicknesse did him let.

But now behold God's judgement just :
 the truth I shall you tell,
 Ere this child was seven quarters old,
 this strange event befell :
 One of the murthurers being set
 at Tables on a day,
 The Nurse did chance to bring this child
 within that place to play.

The child under the Table got,
 unthought of any one,
 And bit his Cousin by the legge,
 hard at the ankle bone,
 Which by no help nor Art of man
 could ever healed be,
 But sweld and rotted in such sort,
 That thereof dyed he.

Not full a twelve months after this,
 this child did chance to be,
 Whereas the second murderer
 was drinking merrily :
 He tooke one of the biggest pinnes
 that stuck about his brest,
 And thrust it in his Kinsman's thigh,
 where then the signe did rest.

Which done, he laughing ran his way,
 the wound did bleed amaine :
 By no means could they stanch the blood,
 nor ease his extreme paine.
 The griefe and anguish was so great,
 which thereof did proceed,
 That ere three days were fully past,
 the man to death did bleed.

The child with rods was swing'd full sore,
 for this unhappy act,
 Yet never would forgivenessse aske
 for his committed fact.
 Thus past it on, untill the time
 this child was five yeeres old :
 The other murderer living still
 with conscience bad, behold.

He never after saw the child
but he would shun the place,
The child did never looke on him
but with a frowning face :
And stones at him would he fling
where ere he did him meete :
Which made the neighbours wonder much
that often-times did see't.

In Harvest next this little child,
with other boyes beside,
Went to the Fields, and open mouth'd
this man asleepe they spide :
The child having a bramble sticke,
within his hand to play,
Did thrust it downe his Cousins throat,
a sleeping as he lay.

The man therewith being soone awak't,
did strive to pull it out :
And he thereby did rent and teare
his wind-pipe round about :
Which being found incurable,
as he lay on his bed,
His murderous deed he did confesse,
as you before have read.

FINIS.

*Printed at London for Henry Gosson,
dwelling upon London Bridge,
neere the Gate.*

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Y Cymrodor

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