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The Editor welcomes the free expression in these pages of genuine opinions on any matters of interest relating to Wales—its modern developments as well as its ancient history—but disclaims responsibility alike for the opinions themselves, and for the manner in which they are expressed.

Y Cymmrodor.

Vol. XXXVI. "Cared doeth yr encilion." 1926.

The "Book of BasingWerk" and Ms. Cotton Cleopatra B.V.

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III.[1]

The purposes of this section will be: (1) to discuss the opinions written about the Cotton MS. Cleopatra B.V.; (2) to indicate its probable relationship with the "Book of Basingwerk"; and (3) to analyze one or two further passages in order to give an estimate of its value in relation to the general problem raised by Professor Petrie.

There are four parts to this manuscript, if the *Bruts* be divided, as they undoubtedly should be, namely: *Brut y Brenhined*, *Brenhined* [*Brut*] *y Saesson*, *Leges Howelli Boni*, and an incomplete *Dares Phrygius*. The two *Bruts* form one manuscript, and the *Laws* and *Dares* are also independent. There are in all 248 folios; and folios 163 and 164 are apparently missing, to judge by the numbering, which skips from 162 to 165. This break occurs at the end of the *Brut y Saesson*; the *Laws* follow on folio 165.

There appeared in the first volume of the *Cambrian Register*, 1795, the text of the *Brut y Brenhined* from this manuscript, with a close translation; which, however, broke off in the second volume just before the mention of

[1] For sections I and II, see *Y Cymmrodor*, vol. xxxv, pp. 49-116.

Dyfnwal Moelmud (Geoffrey II, xvi), and was never completed. Comparison with a complete set of rotographs shows this to be a fairly accurate transcript; the ŷ's, however, are not dotted, and a few spellings are modified. In a series of prefatory remarks, together with a note to them on the first page (p. 26), we are told that "The following copy of Geoffrey of Monmouth's history is given . . . from a very valuable and ancient Welsh manuscript in the British Museum:—Bibl. Cotton, *Cleopatra*, B.V. - - - That book contains also *Brut y Saeson*, or *Chronicle of the Saxons*, to the time of Richard I, which may be the date of it"—e.g., 1196. No notice is taken of the wide divergences from Geoffrey's text, which are manifest, and which preclude mere translation of the accepted Latin text.

In 1801 the editors of the *Myvyrian Archaiology of Wales* printed the *Brut y Saeson* in their second volume; and in the notes to the *Brut Tysilio* they also printed the "Prophecy of the Eagle" (p. 561, 2d. ed.), which begins on fol. 14vo and ends on fol. 16^{recto}, line 10, of the manuscript. This text in the *Myvyrian* is, however, probably reproduced from the *Cambrian Register*, rather than direct from the manuscript, as there are minor errors in spelling. No description of the manuscript is attempted.

The printed catalogue of the Cottonian manuscripts, in 1802, lists three titles in Latin, but gives no date; and the *Brut y Brenhined* and *Brut y Saeson* are not distinguished, but are described as one continuous chronicle.

Aneurin Owen used the third part or Laws of Howel Dda, in his *Ancient Laws and Institutes of Wales*, 1841; and he correctly describes that part as "written about the middle of the fourteenth century".[1] There is no mention of the *Bruts*.

[1] Vol. i, p. xxxi, MS. X taken with MS. W.

In 1848, the *Brut y Saeson* was used or "collated" in the *Monumenta*, as described above, in conjunction with the *Red Book* text of the *Brut y Tywysogion*. It is called, as we have seen, "a very carelessly constructed" compilation, "the facts in many instances perverted, and the language frequently obscure" (p. 95). The chronology is said to be "derived from the 'Annales'" [Cambriæ], but the differences would render this statement hard to prove. Any estimate of the age of this part of the manuscript, or discussion of its orthography, is conspicuous by its absence. The illustrations given in the preceding section should, it is hoped, demonstrate that this portion of the manuscript has not been adequately analysed.

In 1847 Villemarqué had written the highly curious statements quoted at the end of Section I (which misinformed De la Borderie), but in 1856 he had visited London, and had actually examined the manuscript. He then published *Notices des Principaux Manuscrits des Anciens Bretons*, in which he clearly distinguishes this *version* from that of the *Red Book* (p. 28). His theories about the Breton dialect render much of this essay out of date, but his estimate of the age of the manuscript is unquestionably his own. For the rest he but reproduces the ideas in the Preface and Notes to the *Monumenta*. He writes (p. 27):

> "C'est un petit in-quarto vélin de deux cent cinquante feuillets, de l'écriture de la fin du xiii^e^ siècle. Il renferme une copie incomplète des lois d'Howel-le-Bon, qui occupe quarante-trois folios (du 169^e^ au 223^e^) [rectè 165-222].
>
> Une chronique des princes gallois, mal intitulée *Brut y Saeson* (Chronique des Saxons), commençant au folio 109 et finissant au folio 165 [162 *verso*].
>
> Une chronique des rois de l'île de Bretagne les plus anciens (du fol. 1 au fol. 109) [1 to 108 *verso*].
>
> Un fragment de *l'Histoire des Troyens*, attribuée à Darès le Phrygien (du fol. 223 au fol. 250)".

This impression of the age of the manuscript is interesting in the light of what will follow; but Villemarqué obviously failed to distinguish between the age of the *Bruts*, and that of the *Laws* and *Dares Phrygius*.

The Rolls Series volume of the *Brut y Tywysogion*, edited by J. Williams Ab Ithel, appeared in 1860. Using the unpublished manuscript Introduction of Aneurin Owen, Ab Ithel wrote of the *Brut y Saeson* section (p. xlvi): "The manuscript marked D. is a corrupted version of the preceding chronicle [Peniarth 20=Hengwrt 51], amalgamated with the Annals of Winton, in order to connect, and detail, contemporaneous occurrences in England and Wales. The portion devoted to Welsh events is very carelessly constructed, the facts being in many instances perverted, and the language frequently obscure. This manuscript is in the Cottonian collection at the British Museum, and is there marked Cleopatra, B.V.; it is written on vellum, and may be ascribed to the latter end of the fifteenth century".

There is a wide difference between the "end of the thirteenth century" of Villemarqué, and "the latter end of the fifteenth century" of Aneurin Owen and Ab Ithel. Mr. Phillimore accepts this later dating in his article cited above;—"a fine MS. of the fifteenth century" (p. 156), leaving the part of the century undetermined.

In 1865 Hardy published his *Descriptive Catalogue of Materials Relating to the History of Great Britain and Ireland*, and in vol. ii, p. 529, No. 691, we read: "Historia Britonum Regum et Principum Walliæ, a Bruto ad tempora Ricardi Primi Regis Angliæ, in lingua Britannica No. 11—MS. Cott. Cleopat. B.V., ff. 1-162 b, vell. 4to, XIV cent." In the same volume, p. 142, No. 208, we read under *Brut y Tywysogion*, as the fourth manuscript listed: "MS. Cott. Cleopat. B.V., vell., XV cent."; and a note quotes

the oft repeated and by now thoroughly familiar phrases of Aneurin Owen, at the end directly mentioning him :— "Mr. Aneurin Owen is of opinion that the portion devoted to Welsh events is very carelessly constructed, the facts in many instances perverted, and the language frequently obscure". One wishes, since Owen's opinion was so highly esteemed, that that scholar had worked more accurately, and that he had left some indications of his reasons for these statements, many of which are obviously too general in their nature. In any event, Hardy gives two dates in the same volume for the *Bruts*, and like the earlier Cottonian *Catalogue*, he fails to distinguish between the *Brut y Brenhined* and *Brut y Saeson*. It is when he treats them as one chronicle and therefore had under consideration the first, or *Brut y Brenhined*, that he gives the earlier, fourteenth century date. He *may* have been influenced, therefore, by the appearance of the opening folios of the *Brut y Brenhined*.

So far we have for the *Bruts* portion of this manuscript, ages ranging from 1196, to the end of the thirteenth century, to the fourteenth century, to the fifteenth century, and finally to the "latter end of the fifteenth century". This is an extended choice.

Skene, in 1868, next discusses the *Brut y Brenhined* in this manuscript, which he says "differs" from the "Book of Basingwerk," but "approaches more nearly to it than to the *Brut G. ap. Arthur*. It has been written about the end of the thirteenth century".[1] Skene obviously examined the manuscript, as at least once he quotes correctly from it, and his opinion, coinciding with Villemarqué, cannot be overlooked. His interpretation of the various colophons, however, is incomplete in many respects. For example, he says that the *Brut y Saeson* "is expressly

[1] *The Four Ancient Books of Wales*, p. 25.

said by the Cotton MS. to be the work of Caradauc of Llancarvan" (p. 26). We shall discuss this in connection with the next description, when the colophon to the *Brut y Brenhined* will be quoted in its entirety direct from the manuscript. It is hardly a justifiable inference, as will be seen.

The *Catalogue of Romances* by H. L. D. Ward, vol. i, 1883, p. 255, referring to folios 1 to 108b (the *Brut y Brenhinoedd*), merely says "XVth cent." This is not, however, the opinion of Mr. Ward himself, as Sir E. Maunde Thompson makes clear in the preliminary notice: "The present volume, *with the exception of the descriptions of MSS. in the Welsh language*, is entirely the work of Mr. H. L. D. Ward." (italics ours). No clue is given as to who is responsible for these descriptions of Welsh manuscripts; they are not very illuminating,—in marked contrast to those by Mr. Ward. On the next page (256), there occurs the following paragraph: "This translation, [of Geoffrey's *Historia*] if it may be so called, for it is far from literal [*nota bene*], holds a middle place between the abridged version of the so-called Brut Tysilio and the Brut Gruffydd ap Arthur, differing considerably from both, and being fuller than the one, and not so full as the other. In the prologue, the book given by Walter the Archdeacon is called 'Llyvyr Kymraec' (A Welsh Book), and in the postscript it is said that Walter translated the work originally from Latin into Welsh, from which it was re-translated into Latin by Geoffrey. It is in this postscript that the Brut y Saeson is attributed to Caradoc of Llancarvan." Here we see a repetition of the statement made by Skene. The colophon, or concluding sentences, however, read as follows:

Ar tŷwŷssogeon annant ar gŷmre gwedŷ hŷnnŷ pob eilwers: aorchmŷneis ŷnnev ŷ garadauc o lan garban· vŷng kŷt oesswr ŷ

oed hwnnw· Ac ŷdaw ef ŷd // edeweis ŷ defnŷd ŷ ŷsgrivennv brenhined ŷ saesson o hŷnn allan: affeidŷaw or kymre· Canŷt ŷdiw ganthunt ŷ ĦŷvŷR kymraec ŷr hwnn a ŷmchweŷlws Gwallter archdiagon rŷt ŷchen o ladŷn ŷng kymraec· Ac ef aŷ traethws ŷn wir ac ŷn gwbŷl o herwŷd ŷstoria ŷ raedŷwededigeon kymre. A hŷnnŷ oĦ adatŷmchweilieis ŷnnev o gymraec ŷn Ħadŷn· Ac velly ŷteruŷna ŷstorea brutus.[1]

That is, literally translated, and with no restorations:

> And the princes who were over Kymru [Wales] after that from time to time I committed to Caradauc of Llancarban, my contemporary was that one. And to him I promised the material for writing the kings of the Saxons from that time onwards. And let them refrain from the kymry for they have not that kymraec book which Walter archdeacon of Oxford turned from latin into kymraec. And he treated truthfully and completely concerning the history of the aforesaid kymry. And all that I turned from kymraec into latin. And this ends the history of Brutus. (Canon Jones' translation.)

Whatever this is, it is not a *translation* of Geoffrey's *envoi*. It may be a rewriting of it. The first sentence is *identical* with that in the Dingestow Court MS., quoted above: "And the princes who were over kymru after that from time to time I committed to Caradauc of Llancarban my contemporary"—so the Dingestow Court MS. supersedes the Cottonian as manuscript authority for the ascription of some *Brut y Tywysogion (Saeson?)* to Caradoc, and takes us back to about 1200. Such an ascription in the Cottonian colophon of the *Brut y Brenhined*, however, hardly justifies the direct statement that the chronicle headed "*Brenhined y Saesson*," which follows on a new page, but which has no indications of authorship, is "expressly said to be the work of Caradoc of Llancarvan" in this manuscript, made by Skene, and less positively by the

[1] Fol. 108 recto, last four lines, and verso, eight lines. Cf. the *Myvyrian Archaiology of Wales*, 2d ed., p. 601. The only error is in transcribing adatŷmchiveilieis without the i. Cf. Plate III.

writer in the *Catalogue of Romances*. No such chronicle occurs in the Dingestow Court MS., where this same ascription appears. There is, in addition, the same "promise" to give material to Caradoc in both colophons. The reference to William of Malmesbury and Henry of Huntingdon which is in the Dingestow MS. has been dropped out in the Cottonian, but as the verb in the next sentence of the latter is in the plural—"let *them* refrain from the kymru because *they have* not that kymraec book" —it is an obvious copyist's oversight, as no plural subject has previously occurred.

It has been customary to claim (as we shall see presently) that this Cottonian MS. is a species of forgery, or semi-forged compilation, characteristic of certain Welsh enthusiasts. But the absolute *verbal identity* of this first sentence of the colophon with the surviving portions of that in the early Dingestow Court MS. renders this theory irrelevant, because no one has at any time attempted to project the "Eisteddfodic spirit" back into the thirteenth century, and certainly not into the twelfth. The Cottonian colophon is probably a garbled transcript (omitting the sentence about William of Malmesbury and Henry of Huntingdon, but retaining the following sentences addressing them) of this early colophon, and it *may* supply us with the missing portion at the end of the Dingestow, namely, that "they have not that Kymraec book which Walter the archdeacon of Oxford turned from Latin into Kymraec. . . . And all that I turned from Kymraec into Latin".

Far from being confusing and contradictory, the statements bear out those of other colophons in utterly different manuscripts and versions, and each has every air of verisimilitude. The colophon to the so-called *Tysilio* version (which from this colophon should be called

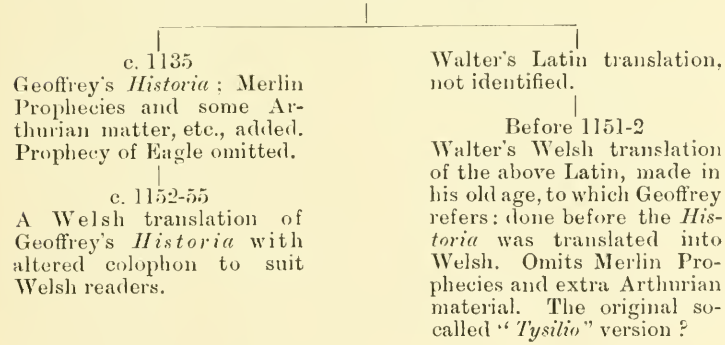
"Walter's Book") reads: "I, Walter, Archdeacon of Oxford, turned this book from Welsh into Latin, and in my old age I have turned it the second time from Latin into Welsh". This perfectly natural sentence does not seem to require any support, nor *per se* to be reasonably open to attack on the grounds of a spurious forgery. One half of it might have been invented, but both statements in juxtaposition would constitute a remarkable thesis for a forger to propound. We know that Geoffrey outlived Walter, and Walter may well have been the older man. It is entirely natural that Walter should have made his own Latin translation of the Welsh book that he had discovered; and, if he had given away the original, should have made a second translation, "turning" back, in old age, his own Latin translation into his native tongue, for Welsh friends. The very success of Geoffrey's literary embellishments may have caused him to wish to preserve the original book more nearly in its original form. Geoffrey, either making his own translation into Welsh of his highly successful and embellished literary venture, or writing a new colophon for a Welsh translation of his work made for him, adheres to the general form of the original Latin colophon, but makes noteworthy changes to suit his Welsh audience. He now distinguishes between the Kings *(Brenhined)* and the Princes *(Tywysogion)* who ruled over the Welsh after 682. He speaks of the material that he had *promised* (in the past tense) to Caradoc—"my contemporary *was* [not is] that one"; and as Caradoc died about 1147 or earlier, Geoffrey seemingly wrote this ten or fifteen years after the first publication of his book, and, of course, before 1155, when he died. He now refers, not to the original *vetus liber* which Walter gave him to translate, but to Walter's Welsh book which the latter had translated from his own Latin rendering of

the original *vetus liber*—Walter having made his double translation since Geoffrey first translated and dressed up the original in Latin. Among Welsh readers, Walter's own Welsh rendering would be the one widely known, and would naturally have supplanted the original Kymraec book, first, because people then did not have the respect for sources that we have to-day; second, because the modern version would be more easily read and copied; and third, because it was probably fuller and more complete. Knowing of the existence of this Welsh version of Walter, and addressing Welshmen, Geoffrey refers in his own Welsh translation to his friend Walter's Kymraec book, which the latter had [as he himself tells us, in his old age] translated from Latin into Kymraec.

As Walter died in 1151 or 1152, and in the next sentence Geoffrey writes that he, Walter, "treat*ed* truthfully and completely concerning the history of the Kymry"—still in the past—this may narrow the date of Geoffrey's writing the new colophon to the last three years of his life. Finally, not to give all the credit to Walter, he reminds his readers of his own work, by repeating the statement, quite simply, and with none of the literary flourish of his Latin original: "And all that I turned from Kymraec into Latin." The translations back and forth are at first sight confusing, but are not in the least surprising—in fact, they are what we might expect from the known and immediate popularity of Geoffrey's *Historia*. What can be more reasonable than to suppose a prompt translation, not merely of the *Historia* into Welsh, but that Walter should both supply his Oxford friends with his own Latin version of the original discovery, and (the original Welsh Book having been given to Geoffrey and passed on perhaps to Robert of Gloucester—*vide* Gaimar) his Welsh friends also with

a new Welsh version based on his own Latin translation?

There does not seem to be any warrant for the gratuitous statement that "Walter translated the work *originally* from Latin into Welsh, from which it was *re*-translated into Latin by Geoffrey". The addition of the word "originally", which the colophon does not itself give, seems only to confuse the issue, and to make of no account the consensus of statements about the original *vetus liber* being in Kymraec. Nor does the colophon say that Geoffrey *re*-translated, but merely that he had translated all that [also?] into Latin. Furthermore, Geoffrey's very phrase "and *all* that" indicates several copies and versions; and writing, as apparently he is, perhaps eighteen or twenty years after the first translation and elaboration he himself had made, he refers to Walter's Welsh version (not to the original *vetus liber*) of Walter's own Latin translation of the original Britannic book as if it were currently known, and only needed a reference to distinguish it. A diagram may make this clearer.



There does not seem to be anything forced in the above interpretation; and the only alternative is to resort to a wholesale accusation of deliberate invention and

forgery, perpetrated (say by the xivth century) long before any motive can reasonably be ascribed for so doing. We might add that "les liveres as Waleis", which Geoffrey Gaimar says Walter Espac got from Robert of Gloucester (who had had it translated), and which was passed on, Gaimar says, to Raul Fitz Gilbert, whose wife, Dame Constance, gave it to Geoffrey Gaimar, who in his turn translated it into his (lost) Norman French verses—this Welsh book may well be one of these Welsh versions, certainly not, because separately mentioned, the old-age re-translation of Walter of Oxford, but perhaps Geoffrey's *Historia* in Welsh. If so, there is no confusion in the clear distinction Gaimar makes between this book, and "le bon livre de Oxeford, Ki fust Walter larcediaen"—and which has caused so much bewildered speculation[1]. Gaimar without question knew of *two* books—and mentions both (lines 6, 447 ff.: cf. p. 829, col. a, of the *Monumenta Hist. Brit.*). And in any event, he does not mention

[1] The next source given by Gaimar is "E del estorie de Wincestre Fust amendé ceste geste". As no Winchester version of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* is known, the source has not been identified. Coming in close juxtaposition with mention of these Welsh "Books", it is at least suggestive, first, that the compilation known as *Brut y Saeson* should contain, along with Welsh material, so many extracts nearly similar to the *Annales de Wyntonia* (a few significant points of difference, rather than the similarities, were stressed above for our purpose): second, that the earliest form of these Annals of Winchester should be an unpublished manuscript that ends in 1135 (the Cambridge No. 339), about 15 or 20 years before Gaimar wrote; third, that Geoffrey speaks, apparently, of having "material" which he gave to Caradoc to compile a history of the Welsh Princes: and fourth, that Gaimar wrote after the death of Caradoc of Llancarvan, so that some version of these Winchester Annals may have been used by Caradoc in an original form of his history combined with the (scanty) native material that Geoffrey of Monmouth "promised" him. This, of course, is the merest suggestion—but no hints or possibilities can be overlooked if the problem of sources is ever to be worked out.

Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia*, but instead Walter the archdeacon of Oxford's "good book" which the latter "made"[1]; and in this he is followed by many later writers. Alfred of Beverly, writing "soon after 1143", does not directly refer to Geoffrey, but tells us that "Ferebantur tunc temporis per ora multorum narraciones de hystoria Britonum", and thereafter he cites as authority "ut in Britannico legitur", or (five times) "Haec secundum Britannicum" as contrasted with "Haec Beda", etc.[2] In other words, he refers to a British, or Welsh source. Numerous later writers, too numerous to cite here, such as Sir Thomas Gray in the *Scalacronica*,[3] refer to Walter's book; and Higden and Gutyn Owain refer to both Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia* and Walter's Book, so that both were known together, and a distinction was made between them.

It seems, therefore, entirely unnecessary to dismiss these colophons as forgeries, or to say that "their very misleading statements about their authorship afford no information as to the real facts".[4] It would seem that fuller consideration would not have led to such an opinion. The whole problem needs to be carefully worked out in the light of all the surviving manuscripts.[5]

[1] Not "belonged to," as stated by C. J. Martin in his Preface to the Rolls Series, *Lestoire Des Engles*, vol. ii., p. xvii.; and again in the translation, p. 204. The word is "fust"; Walter himself says "translated".

[2] *Aluredi Beverlacensis Annales, sive Historia de Gestis Regum Britanniæ*, Hearne's unique edition, Oxford, 1716, pp. 2, 8, 26, 51, 55, and 74. The editor's note, p. 164, that "Vox *Auctor* subintelligenda est, ut in Præfatione ostendimus", may be disregarded.

[3] Corp. Ch. Col. Cam. MS. 133; fol. 1vo, col. a, l. 16.

[4] R. H. Fletcher, op. cit., p. 117.

[5] Many of the colophons are lost because of damage to the last pages of a manuscript. The *Red Book* variant "Hyfyr brwtwn" may be an ignorant and phonetic attempt to render the Latin

To resume the discussion as to the actual age of the Cleopatra B.V., Mr. Edward Owen compiled and edited for the Cymmrodorion Record Series (No. 4) *A Catalogue of the Manuscripts Relating to Wales in the British Museum.* This catalogue states that both the *Brut y Brenhined* and the *Brut y Saeson* are "15 cent". There are one or two trifling slips or confusions in this description, which for the sake of clearness we shall notice here. For instance, we find on page 35, § [96]: "(a) ff. 1-110*b*. *BRUT Y BRENHINOEDD*; 15 cent. Welsh." This *Brut* runs apparently to 108b, not to 110b. Under this caption, reference is made to the second edition of the *Myvyrian Archaiology* (published by Gee) "p. 652", but the *Brut y Brenhined* from this Cotton manuscript was not published in either edition of the *Myvyrian*. It has been confused with the *Brut* that follows, the *Brenhined y Saesson*, which in the first edition occupies the top portion of pages 468 to 582 of volume ii, and in the second (Gee or Denbigh) edition, begins on p. 652, and ends on p. 684. Again under the *Brut y Brenhined* caption, reference is made to *both* of Hardy's entries, the first of which deals only with the *Brut y Tywysogion*. The account, however, combines the two entries in a curious way, saying that "it [supply not *Brut y Tywysogion* but *Brut y Brenhined* which the account is discussing] is styled Brut y Saeson [which Hardy does not do], is said to extend from ff. 1-162*b* [this applies to both *Bruts*, treated as one by Hardy in his second entry], and to be of the 14 cent." [applied to both *Bruts*]. No allusion is made to the "fifteenth century" age, given by Hardy for the *Brut y Saeson* (=*Tywysogion*) in §208, probably on Aneurin Owen's authority. In the next

"librum Britannici sermonis", which the scribe did not equate with Kymraec. Dr. Evans is undoubtedly right in questioning Skene's translation of "Breton". Cf. the note 2 to page x of the *Text of the Bruts.*

subdivision, caption (b), Mr. Owen gives the number of folios for the *Brut y Saeson* as extending from "111-164*b*", when they actually appear to extend from 109[recto] to 162b, or verso. He fails entirely to mention the incomplete *Dares Phrygius*, which follows the *Laws*, folios 223 to 250.

In the Preface to the *Text of the Bruts From the Red Book of Hergest*, written in 1889,[1] are listed, with brief descriptions, thirty of the manuscript *Bruts*, or less than half of the total since described. These thirty are divided for purposes of classification into three groups; nine in the first, comprising the "*A or Vaticinium Version*", containing the Prophecies of Merlin; four in the second, or the "*B or Llevelys Version*" adding presumably the Llevelys story; and seventeen among "*The Compiled Versions*".

Of the first group the Preface states that "It is difficult to determine the exact relationship" (p. xiv.)—a statement with which anyone attempting it must be in hearty accord; continuing, "If the text of any one of the [first] six were selected for printing it would be possible to give in the notes the variant readings of the other five up to the end of the Vaticinium". But though the writer distinctly states that "The six MSS. belong to the same version", he does not point out (as we have seen above in discussing the colophon, and as is illustrated in an additional instance below) that the variants are sometimes of such a nature as to preclude *translation* from Geoffrey's Latin *Historia*. He adds: "From the concluding words of Merlin's prophecy to the end of the *BRUT* the text of Nos. 5 and 6 differs from that of Nos. 1-4, and yet we have not even here independent translations. Certain agreements and differences in the wording of the six MSS. point to the probability of their being independent tran-

[1] By Dr. J. Gwenogvryn Evans.

scripts of a lost original." The inference is that this lost original was a mere translation of the *Historia*. As the oldest transcript is admittedly to be dated *c.* 1200, the original source is probably pushed back into the twelfth century. This is virtually all the comparison that this group of manuscripts has ever received, and no hint is given that the Welsh colophons vary markedly from the Latin of Geoffrey, or that other differences, varying in importance, occur on almost every page. Nor is any interpretation offered to account for these variations in the earlier portion (Geoffrey, Books I-VII), or to explain why the later portion (Geoffrey, Books VIII to XII) varies from the respective earlier sections in style and orthography, and differs still more as between the six manuscripts. The implication is merely that all differences are due to the vagaries of individual scribes.

The writer of this Preface, however, makes no pretence to finality in this and the following surveys,—on the contrary he disarms all criticism under these heads by writing in conclusion that he is "painfully conscious of the shortcomings of this brief review"; and he admittedly expects that "The evidence of other important MSS., as well as a more minute examination of some of those enumerated above, cannot fail to furnish some fresh light which will doubtless necessitate modifications in many of the statements" (p. xxiv). In a preceding note (p. x) he had stated that "To obtain certainty some MSS. must be read from Prologue to Colophon; others must be brought together for comparison". In view of these quotations, it seems surprising that this Preface has been cited so confidently as unqualified endorsement of the widely current opinion that all these Welsh versions are no more than late translations or abbreviations of Geoffrey's Latin *Historia*.

Of the second, or "Llevelys" group, little is said; and the heading is slightly misleading, as the two first manuscripts cited (numbers 10 and 11, really one manuscript, separated and bound apart) do not contain a Llevelys story at all. This version is there equated with a portion of the "Brut Gruffud ap Arthur of the *Myvyrian*" (pp. 476-554). It is practically contemporary with the Dingestow Court MS., varies considerably from it, and unfortunately lacks the concluding pages and colophon. There is *no* preliminary "Dedicatory Epistle" to Robert of Gloucester (agreeing with the *Tysilio* MSS.), nor "Description of Britain". Nor does the letter of Geoffrey to Bishop Alexander, introducing the Merlin Prophecies, nor these Prophecies, appear; the narrative continuing without a break (Llanst. I, fol. 65). A complete set of rotographs lies before me.

The Preface heads the "*Compiled Versions*" with our Cotton Cleopatra B.V.; and appends a note to the whole group, which gives a clear indication of the estimation there placed upon them. "It is a painful fact that we no sooner find records of the Eisteddvod and its doings [*c.* 1455] than the spirit of tampering with texts becomes dominant; and from that time to this the *Eisteddvodic spirit* has been the bane of Welsh literature, the curse of the Welsh tongue, and the enemy of all that is sane, natural, and progressive. It is scarcely open to doubt that the scribe of Cotton Cleopatra B.V., was the most prominent Eisteddvod-wr of his age, and the very first archdruid that Wales unhappily produced. Alas, that he should not also have been the last" (p. xvi).

We may infer, then, that this document (and its sixteen listed successors) is a species of concocted history, forged to simulate genuine historical documents, and therefore worthless as an authority, and dangerous as a

basis for any sound critical argument. A few such forgeries have been perpetrated by Welshmen; but the fear of it seems to have blinded later serious scholars to the fact that such misguided geniuses as Iolo Morganwg actually possessed and copied from old documents which have since disappeared, and that his writings (as a typical instance) deserve careful sifting and appear at least in certain cases to be well worth critical analysis.

An authority not even second to the author of the *Text of the Bruts* in his knowledge of Welsh manuscripts, namely Mr. Egerton Phillimore, disagrees with Dr. Evans on the subject of this very note. Mr. Phillimore wrote in the article already cited:

> His [Dr. Evans'] note 1 on p. xvi., takes for its text the interpolated and composite character of the *Bruts* in Cleopatra B.V.; but we do not know what foundation there is for his suggestion in that note that there was any connection between the tampering with and falsification of texts and the spirit of Welsh *Eisteddfodau* or *Eisteddfodwyr* as early as the fifteenth century. The great falsifiers of early Welsh texts and traditions (between whose "spirit" and certain regrettable sides of the modern revived *Eisteddfod* we admit there is much relationship to be traced) were the later antiquaries of Morganwg to whom we owe the "Third Series" of Triads . . . The composition of such literature seems to us to have been confined to one of the four chief districts of Wales, and not to have commenced as early as the 15th century, or much before 1600 (pp. 156-7; n. 8).

This is exactly the writer's opinion, and though the versions of the *Bruts* in the Cleopatra B.V. are padded out and interpolated, these additions are quite readily distinguishable on comparison with other versions, and they do not derogate from the original matter which appears here and there when an attentive search is made. Evidence for the existence of such original matter was offered in the last section, and the reappearance of

the Dingestow colophon, apparently completed, is an additional and important instance.

The Preface describes the Cleopatra B.V. as follows:

> Vellum; xvth century. Folios 1-108, which are in the same hand as the continuation of *Brut y Tywysogion* in Hengwrt 51.[1] This MS. contains the Prologue, the Llevelys Story, and the Vaticinium; it has also incorporated in its text the Prophecy of the Eagle.

On page xx of the Preface, it is stated of the *Dares Phrygius* part of this manuscript:

> Vellum; early xvth century. Double columns. Beginning lost. In the same hand as Hengwrt 51, which is earlier than the rest of this MS.

The *Brut y Saesson* text is not described when that chronicle is discussed on pages 23-24.

In 1910, Dr. Evans re-examined the manuscript for the Historical Manuscripts Commission, and this latest

[1] It is worth noting first, that a scribe who added the entries from 1287 to 1332, to the *Brut y Tywysogion* of Peniarth 20 (=Hengwrt 51, the C text of the *Monumenta*), should also have written out the *Brut y Saesson* of our Cotton MS. in full, as if he considered both *versions* worth preserving, and also had materials for writing native history; and second, that the last entry made by him in Peniarth 20 is dated 1332, a fourteenth, not a fifteenth, century date. His entries follow in regular annual sequence, the decades written out in full—e.g., "Anno dñi. M. CCC.XXX", then below, "Anno. j." etc.—and give the impression of having been made, originally at least, very nearly contemporaneously with the incidents they narrate. Are we to assume that this continuation of the *Brut y Tywysogion* is also written "in an archaic style", and forged to simulate genuine history? This, at least, has never been said of it; yet the handwriting, style, and orthography appear to be the same as those in the Cotton MS. Aneurin Owen, Phillimore, and others describe this Peniarth MS. 20 as fourteenth century; the *Reports* alone call it fifteenth century, and the "continuation", which contain exactly the last entries in the Cottonian handwriting, are there termed "interesting" and are printed in full (I, pp. 343-6). They have unquestioned historic value.

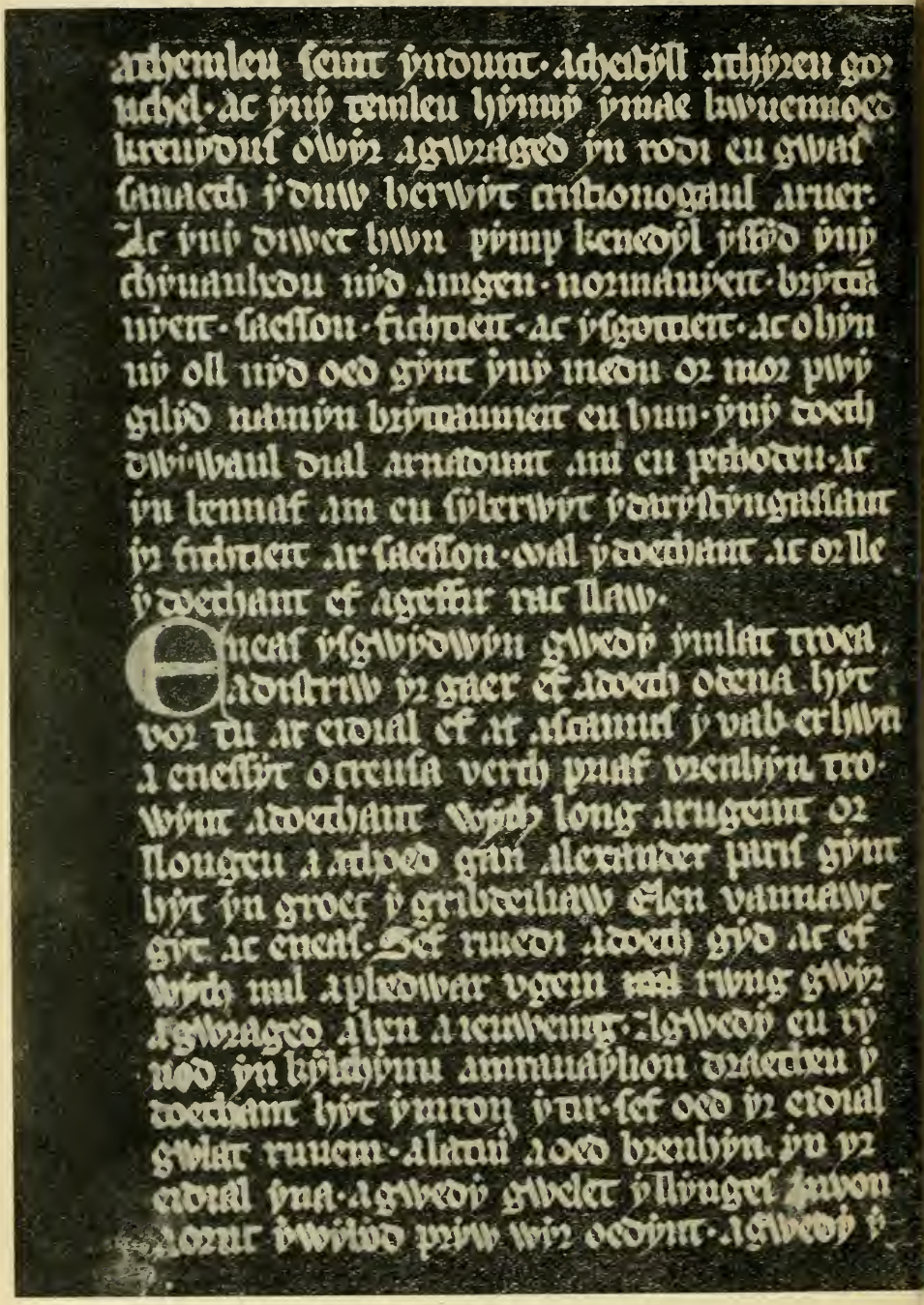
and revised description we give in full (vol. ii of the *Reports*, pp. 952-3).

> "Compiled versions of *Historya Brenhined y Brytanyeit*, *Brut y Saeson*, and the "*Gwentian*" *Code* of the *Welsh Laws*; also the *Historia* of *Dares Phrygius*. Vellum: $7\frac{1}{2}$ x $5\frac{1}{4}$ inches; folios 1-250 (folios 163-4 are wanting); bound in Russia leather.
>
> This MS. is a composite one. The *Bruts* (fols. 1-162b which have 33 lines to the page) are written in an archaic style. The end of the *Brut of the Saxons*, which usually stops with the year 1461, is wanting, but as this MS. is inferentially the archetype of the *Bk. of Basingwerk* and Peniarth MS. 270 we may conclude that the writing of it was not finished before that year. The large initials are in red and green. The *Laws* (fols. 165-222) have 20 lines to the page and are in a hand of about 1350. The large initials are in red, blue, or green, and highly floriated, while five are illuminated, an unusual thing in Welsh MSS. This part of the MS. belonged to Jasper Griffith in 1600 (fol. 165b). The *Dares Phrygius* (fols. 223-250, bi-columnar, 28 lines to the column), belongs to the same school of writing as the Laws, if it is not actually from the same hand, but a little later.* The ink is pale, the large initials are one in red and one in green, but without floriation".

There follows a page of extracts and notes; the whole colophon of the *Brut y Brenhined* is given; and also the last decipherable sentences of the *Brut y Saesson*, with the following comment: "*fol. 162b is difficult to read and the end of the Brut is wanting*". A note indicated by the asterisk above, says of the age of the *Dares Phrygius*: "In the Oxford edition of the *Bruts* this part of the MS. was confounded with the earlier portion and an erroneous date assigned in consequence".*

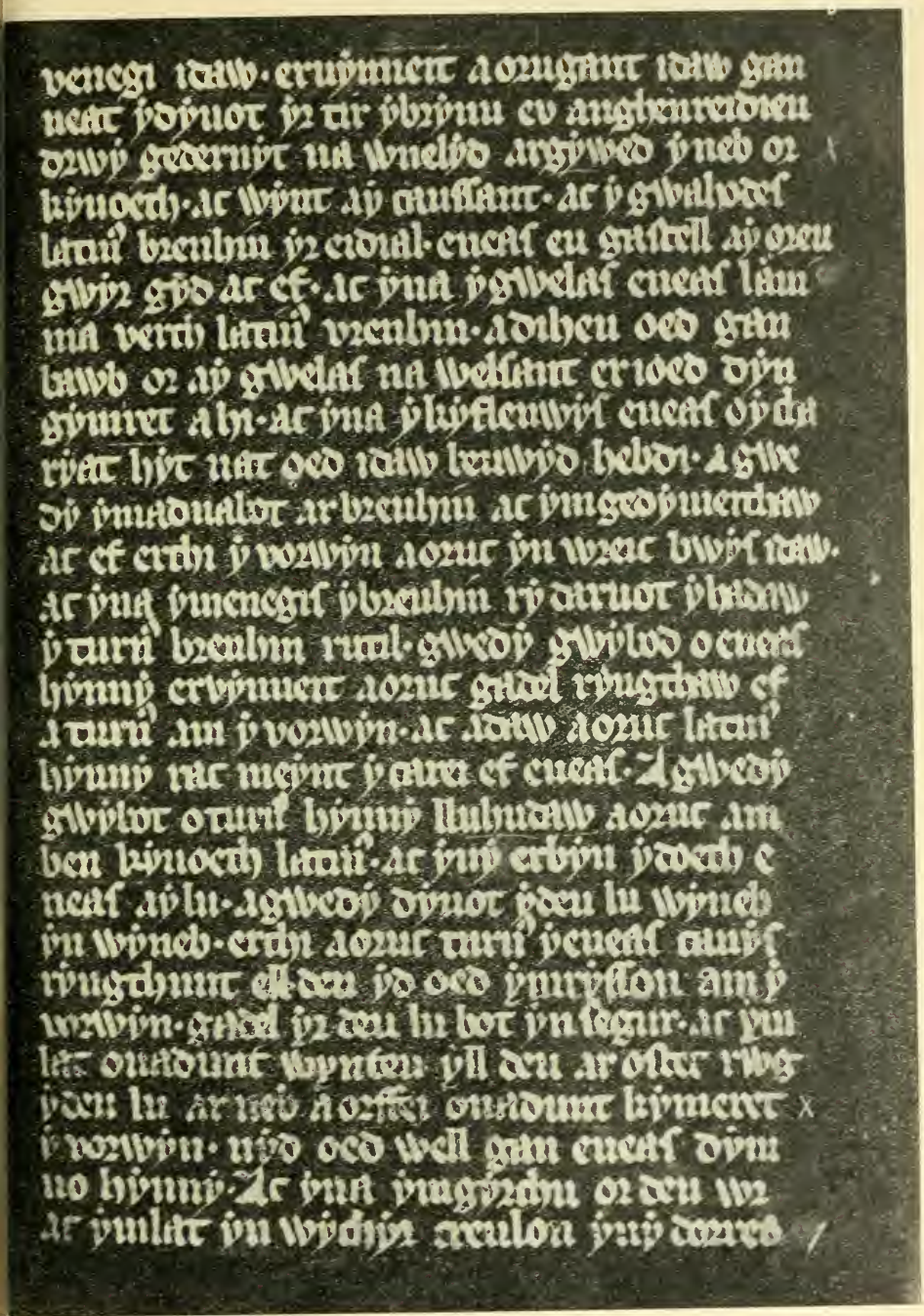
This is unquestionably a careful description, and coming from Dr. Evans, is also authoritative. Nevertheless, a close study of rotographs would suggest certain supplementary information.

The question of importance for our purpose is chiefly to determine the age of the *Bruts*, especially of the *Brut y Brenhined*. Once the age of the handwriting can be



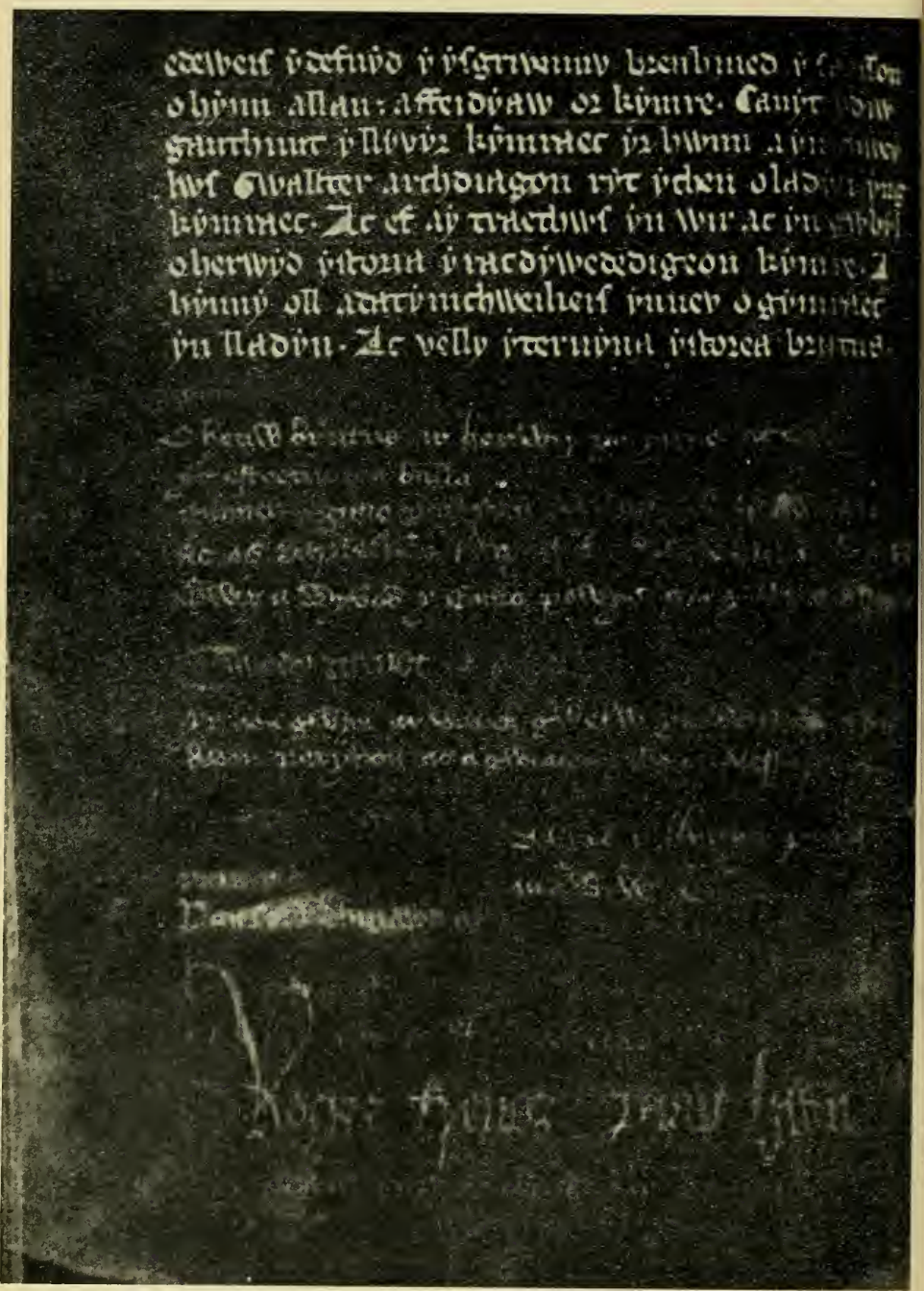
BRITISH MUSEUM MS. COTTO

Note the large letters and firm, heavy stroking, with 28 lines to the page. The opening
the fall of Troy and the destruction of the city", etc.—diffe



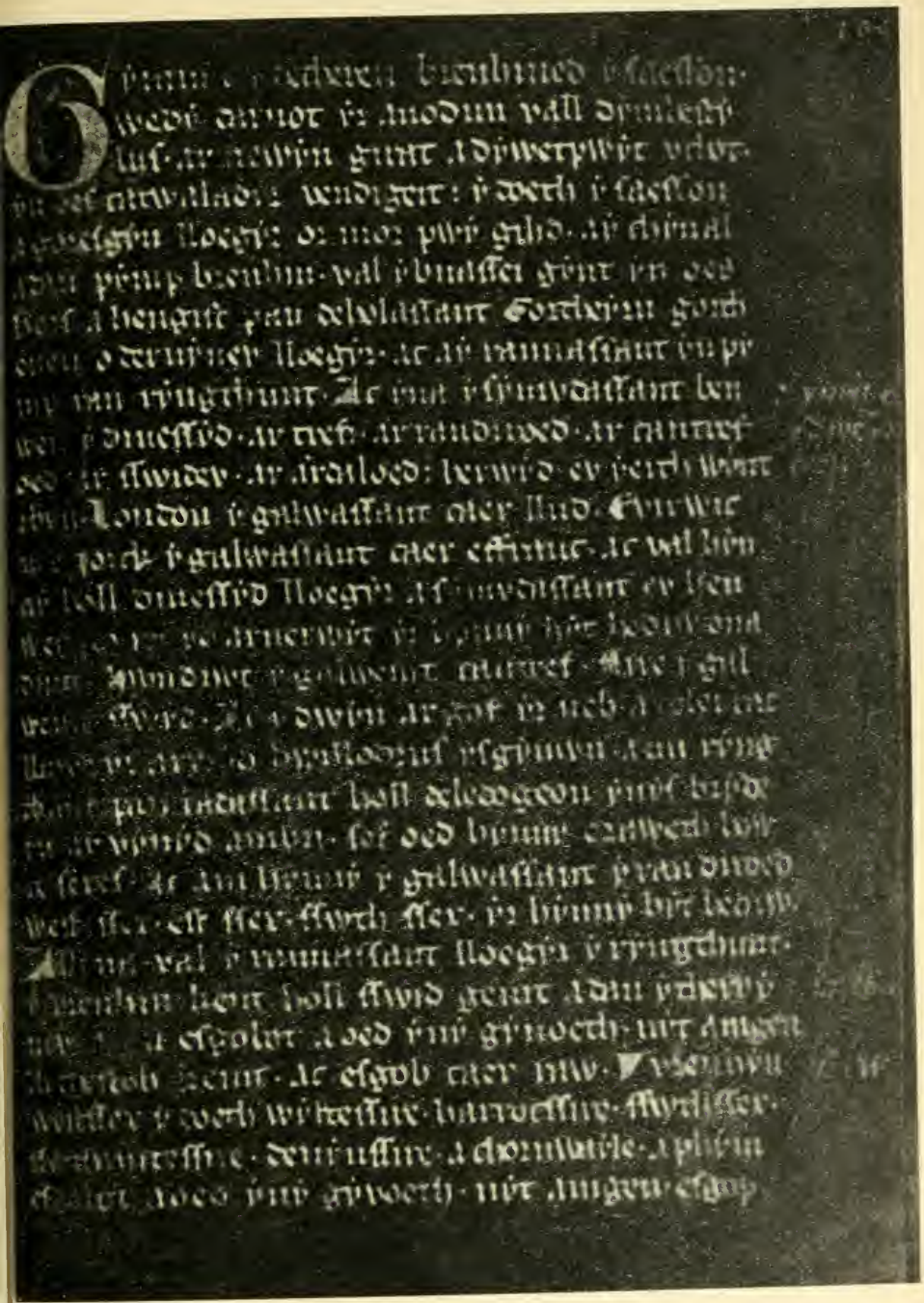
LEOPATRA B.V.—Fol. 2b and 3a.

ıe Chronicle proper, after the "Description of Britain"—e.g., "Eneas whiteshield, after ubstantially from Geoffrey's *Historia*, I, iii. Cf. Plate III.



BRITISH MUSEUM MS. COTTON

The end of the *Brut y Brenhined* and the opening of the *Brenhined y Saesson*. Note the lines to the page. The writing at the end of *Brenhined y Saesson*



CLEOPATRA B.V.—Fol. 108b and 109a.

smaller, finer writing, uneven pressure of the pen in stroking, frequent use of colons, and 29
s even smaller, to admit 33 lines to the page. Cf. with Plate II.

definitely established, one can reason with some definiteness, on making comparisons with other manuscripts, as to the probable relation and original composition of the *versions* involved.

Certain definite statements about the *Bruts* stand out in the description given in the *Reports*:

(1) Folios one to 162b have "33 lines to the page".

(2) These folios, comprising the whole of both *Bruts* "are written in an archaic style".

(3) The end of the *Brut y Saesson* is "wanting".

(4) This *Brut* "usually stops with the year 1461".

(5) "This MS. is inferentially the archetype of the *Bk. of Basingwerk* and Peniarth MS. 270".

(6) Therefore, "we may conclude that the writing of it was not finished before that year", i.e., 1461 or later.

Let us examine one by one the above statements.

(1) Only the concluding folios of the *Brenhined y Saesson* have 33 lines to the page. The *opening* folios of this second *Brut* (109 ff.) have 29 lines per page (cf. Plate III). The first six folios of the manuscript—namely the *Brut y Brenhined*, have 28 lines to the page (cf. Plate II). From folio 7vo to folio 108 recto, the entire *Brut y Brenhined* has 29 lines uniformly.[1] Folio 108 verso gives the conclusion of the colophon in eight lines, and the rest of the page was left blank. This has been filled in with several entries in three different hands, the earliest probably late fifteenth century—as the *Reports* state,[2] and therefore, after

[1] Fol. 7^{rec} has one word over the line, making strictly 30 lines to this one page.

[2] Third note, p. 953. The *Reports* omit the first entry; which in translation reads: "From the name of Brutus was the island named, and the name of the strangers *ceased*". In the middle of the page, in a hand similar to that of the body of the manuscript occurs the

the body of the manuscript itself is said in the *Reports* to have been written.

The great body of the *Bruts*, therefore, have 29, not 33, lines to the page—with a few opening folios, written larger, with only 28. All of the *Brut y Brenhined* is in 28 or 29 lines.

(2) The *Bruts* "are written in an archaic style". This is manifest, as, it is hoped, the reproductions accompanying this paper will make clear. All the ŷ's are dotted, and the letter formation seems to be very much earlier than that current in the fifteenth century. The use of such forms as *ruvein* (cf. "Book of Basingwerk" *ruvain*), *ŷn wreic* (cf. *yn wraic*) *ŷ dyrchauel* (cf. *i drychauael*) also bears this out;—*ai* does not appear to be used, nor does one discover such forms as those listed by Dr. Evans as characteristic of the middle of the fifteenth century—namely, doyd*ut*, geir*av*, eneidi*av*, dev*aid*, wnel*ai*, etc.[1] Dr. Evans also points out that the regular dotting of the ŷ's and the discontinuance of that practice, occurred about the middle of the fourteenth century; and he cites Mostyn MS. 116, as an example—earlier than the *Red Book* (c. 1380, which has no dotted ŷ's)—where the y's are scarcely ever dotted. The *Bruts* of Cleopatra B.V., however, are regularly dotted—only the fewest ŷ's are missed—slips such as any scribe might make. This is equally true of the forepart of the "Book of Basingwerk".

By the use of such a phrase as "written in an archaic style", however, the author of the *Reports* may

opening of the *Brut y Saesson*, which was discontinued. The names of Gytto Powis, Gruffyd ap Adam ap Pothon, and Roger Trevor occur, the last two claiming ownership of the manuscript (cf. Plate III).

[1] Cf. his note to Peniarth MS. 23, p. 349.

perhaps explain such points of orthography, and still claim a late and deliberate reproduction of older writing. But a motive, and a very special motive, for doing so, would have to be provided. Any scribe deliberately setting out to reproduce ancient handwritings, would reproduce those far older than a mere century before him; and he would also give minor indications in more than three hundred pages of writing, that this form of writing was not naturally his own, by little slips, or awkwardnesses, or variations in certain difficult letters. We can only say that we have not been able to detect any. We shall return to this question a little later.

(3) The end of the *Brut y Saesson* is "wanting". This is a fair inference, but as the first nine or ten lines only of folio 162^{verso} can be deciphered, and the last lines on the page are faded and rubbed off, it cannot be definitely proved. The last decipherable entries may be dated 1196—7, and as it stands the manuscript ends shortly thereafter. If the two missing folios, numbers 163 and 164, were the continuation, so late a date as 1461 could not be reached, unless the whole style of narration changed, and became extremely condensed. A date, however, in the early part of the fourteenth century would be possible, though the period in 1270, given by Humphrey Lloyd, would seem far more likely as the logical ending for this *Brut*.

(4) This *Brut* "usually stops with the year 1461". The "Book of Basingwerk", a kindred *version* with the Cottonian, does stop in 1461, continued perhaps to that date by Gutyn Owain, as Humphrey Lloyd said. The *Brut y Saeson* in the *Red Book* and Peniarth 19, (a copy of it) is an entirely different composition, as

Dr. Evans states clearly in his Preface, p. 23—so also the transcripts of these last: Peniarth 32 (fifteenth century, breaks off 1376), Peniarth 253 (third quarter sixteenth, breaks off 1355), Peniarth 27, Pt. ii (late fifteenth, breaks off 1015; with a transcript of it by John Jones in Peniarth 267), and Peniarth 22, translated from the Latin by David ap Meredith Glais, 1444, which breaks off in 1048. Only one other text similar to ours is known, namely, Peniarth 264, a transcript by John Jones in 1635-6, made "in the Fleet prison, Caerludd" (London), and that is not verbally the same and ends in 1461. The other *Brut y Saeson*, said to be like the text in the Cotton MS. and in the "Book of Basingwerk", namely, Jesus cxli (Evans, p. 22) is not at all alike, it ends in 1471, and it was probably translated by Gutyn Owain from the Latin. The authorities from which it was compiled were given in the last section (p. 86). To what MSS. then does "usually" refer?

(5) Dr. Evans says that as the *Brut y Saeson* "usually" stops with the year 1461, and as "this MS. is inferentially the archetype of the *Book of Basingwerk* and Peniarth MS. 270", therefore,

(6) "we may conclude that the writing of it was not finished before that year". But has not the fact been overlooked that the first forty-eight pages of the *Bruts* in the "Book of Basingwerk" were not by Gutyn Owain, are certainly earlier, and may safely be dated in the fourteenth century? Either the Cotton MS. must be pre-dated into the fourteenth century or earlier, or it cannot be the archetype of the "Book of Basingwerk". Furthermore, Peniarth 270, a miscellaneous collection of more than fifty fragments, of 520 loose pages, in many hands, much of it in

English and Latin, bears no relation to our manuscript—so there is some confusion here. Perhaps the reference should have been to MS. 264, the transcript by John Jones—though that is not the same.

In other words, the Cottonian MS. is assumed to be the one from which Gutyn Owain transcribed his "Book of Basingwerk", and since the latter ends in 1461, it is supposed that the Cotton MS., at the time when Gutyn Owain wrote, was complete, ended in that year, and therefore is a manuscript of that date. Furthermore, it is assumed that Gutyn Owain, who attended the Eisteddvod of 1455, had transcribed the forged compilation of an "arch-druid", while the sixteenth century testimony of Humphrey Lloyd is left out of account; and another manuscript by the same scribe (Peniarth 20) is accepted without question, though the style, writing, and orthography seem to be the same.

We feel compelled to disagree on these points, in view of all the facts.

It is exceedingly hard to decide from rotographs whether or not there may be *two* handwritings in this *Brut* also, but a comparison of Plates II and III will show at a glance the obvious differences. The writer has been told that an examination of the manuscripts suggests the possibility of a break on folio 51, line 10. If so, the theory of a late forger deliberately affecting "an archaic style" becomes even more difficult to maintain. There are many slight variations in letter formation (none conclusive, however), such as the initial capital A's—which, in the early part are often round, but in the later folios are tall and slender, erect, and with tails attached. In the later part, also, colons are used as punctuation, which do not occur in the earlier folios, and which is usually a personal characteristic. We must, however, leave this matter

undecided, though strongly inclined to agree with Hardy's dating in the fourteenth century.

To sum up the immediate discussion, therefore, the *Bruts* of the Cotton Cleopatra B.V. have been twice dated, by Skene and Villemarqué, as at the end of the thirteenth century; by Hardy as fourteenth century; and the *Brut y Saesson* as of the fifteenth century by Aneurin Owen, who was followed by later writers. Dr. Evans, seeing in this manuscript the compilation of a literary forger, also dates the *Bruts* shortly after the middle of the fifteenth century, though admitting that it is "archaic" in appearance. But for the reasons we have set forth, it may very well be that the actual writing of the manuscript should be dated in the fourteenth century, if no earlier.

A clear distinction, however, must be made between the actual age of the manuscript, and the time when these particular chronicles or *versions* of British and Welsh history were compiled. Even if it can be demonstrated that the handwriting was a uniformly successful imitation (and this would be hard to determine, as it has been suggested that there are signs in places of "inking over"), and therefore fifteenth century writing, the compilation was not originally made in the fifteenth century. There is a striking similarity between both the *Bruts* in the Cleopatra B.V. and those in the "Book of Basingwerk". This is closest in the forepart of the *Brut y Brenhined*, though the diction and orthography are often different, and it is precisely this forepart of the "Book of Basingwerk" that we find to be earlier, probably of the fourteenth century, *as a manuscript*. This early fragment was completed by Gutyn Owain, apparently from a dissimilar but allied copy. The later portion in his handwriting, still follows the "family likenesses", so to speak, of the particular version, but is modernized throughout, and

there is constant verbal variation, occasional differences in dating, and the introduction of phrases and incidents. This practically precludes the direct copying of one from the other. The almost inevitable conclusion to draw from a textual comparison of these two manuscripts is that three similar transcripts survive, worked over and somewhat freely interpolated, of a common original, or perhaps kindred originals—which is exactly the suggestion casually made by Ab Ithel, already quoted, and the significance of which seems to have been overlooked.

If this be so, it opens a series of interesting possibilities. Dr. Evans places this manuscript as the first (because the oldest?) of a numerous species of Welsh chronicles which he denominates "Compiled Versions", usually adding the words, "of Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Regum Britanniæ*"; but *from what* were these differing versions compiled? Only one standard text of Geoffrey has been accepted. To admit different versions of *Geoffrey*, is almost to admit the rehandling of Welsh history, by Welshmen, with Welsh sources—Geoffrey's original Latin translation of an original *vetus liber* in Welsh being merely one of the number, and because of its brilliance and success, creating a stereotyped mould. This, more or less, is exactly what Welsh historical writers like Sir John Price and Lewis Morris constantly assert, and which English writers like Polydore Virgil have rejected. But as Polydore Virgil and his successors give no evidence of ability to read Welsh, nor of having ever examined the Welsh manuscripts involved, their testimony is of little value. When an English editor, Giles, writing in 1848, gives the following reasons for rejecting Geoffrey's claim to a native source, we may suspect prejudice:— "1.—It was first made known six hundred years after the events which it relates. 2.—No

MS. copy *is* now in existence, *nor any record of its ever having been multiplied by transcription* (italics ours). 3.—It relates stories utterly at variance with acknowledged history. 4.—It abounds in miraculous stories, which, like leaven, ferment and corrupt the whole mass. 5.—It labours under great suspicion from the mendacious character of the people, whose credit it was written to support"[!][1] And Mr. Phillimore, referring to Geoffrey's warning that, because they did not have the *vetus liber*, William of Malmesbury and Henry of Huntingdon must be silent on native British history, comments: "As if any of Geoffrey's contemporaries would have ventured to infringe on his prerogative as *facile princeps* in the art of historical lying!—or perhaps it would be more polite to say 'romancing'" (p. 150, n.).

History, and the discovery of historical evidence, are not served in this way. Professor Petrie, however complicated the problems are, seems amply justified in his reproach that ancient British History has been neglected; and an examination of the Welsh manuscripts to which he refers seems to bear out, not to contravene, his thesis.

So far the argument has of necessity been largely negative; and it is impossible in one essay to attempt to cover all the ground. As a first step in preparing the way for future research and analysis, it seemed essential to clear away certain fundamental errors and confusions about the primary documents that must be used. After that, positive contributions may be made with far greater certainty and accuracy.

One final illustration may be offered under this head, in conclusion—an illustration which seems to prove at

[1] pp. 291-2 of the Bohn edition of Giles' translation of the *Historia* in *Six Old English Chronicles*.

once the danger of working at second hand in this field, as also the opportunity that awaits any student who will equip himself to examine the sources.

In Dr. Chambers' final "Note on the text of Geoffrey of Monmouth"—his reply to Professor Petrie's "Rejoinder" to his original critique—he raises the question of the itinerary and six place-names listed in Brutus' voyage from Greece to Britain. Professor Petrie had pointed out, in a most brilliant analysis of them, that these place-names, all in the right order and familiar to seamen in Roman times, could not have been invented by Geoffrey "as the Arab conquest wiped out the old names and the old trade"—*circa* A.D. 700—and no one of the medieval geographers mentions all of them. Professor Petrie, therefore, argues strongly for an early source, which Geoffrey must have copied.

Dr. Chambers, however, answers:—

> But the six places do *not* occur in the text of the *Brut Tysilio*, as printed in the *Myvyrian Archaiology*, 1801 and 1870. Three only are to be found there: 'the altars of the Philistines', 'Mauritania', and the 'caves of mighty Hercules'. (Note 3 says: "I am indebted to Mr. O. T. Williams for translations of passages from *Tysilio*".) It is true that all six are to be found in Roberts's translation of the *Brut Tysilio*, but this is because Roberts has interpolated the three other places (Salinæ, Ruscicada, the River Malva) into his translation of *Tysilio* (pp. 43-44).

Dr. Chambers, however, has failed to mention from what source Peter Roberts derived the names he interpolates, and which he marks distinctly as interpolated, into the *Tysilio* text.[1] The six appear entire in the "Book of

[1] Cf. p. 19, where the passage from the "Book of Basingwerk" is translated, though not correctly and with one omission, by Peter Roberts, below the line; and he also gives variant spellings of the names from Geoffrey, the *Brut Gruffyd ap Arthur*, and "MS. B."—which is Havod MS. 1, a manuscript of the early fourteenth century, which runs very closely with the Dingestow Court MS. Manley

Basingwerk" (col. a, p. 51), the very manuscript Professor Petrie considered the "best", and which Dr. Chambers ignores. They also appear in the Cotton MS., and in the Dingestow Court MS. and Peniarth 44; the last two, as said, of about an equal age, and to be dated close to 1200. We shall give these in a literal translation in parallel columns, reproducing the spelling exactly as it stands.

Dingestow Court MS.
page 15, l.1-8.

And they hoisted sail and set out on the barren sea and for thirty days they travelled to Africa and from there they arrived at the altars of the philistewẏdẏon and to the lake of the saltwater [or willows; cf. n. 2, p. 32]. and from there they went on from ruscan and the mountains of azaras. and there a fight happened between them and the clan of the piratas. and when they conquered them they took much spoil of the piratas. and from there they went across (or beyond) the river malis until they came unto mawritan.

Peniarth MS. 44
Page 11, l. 5-12.

At the end of the ninth day of their sailing (lit. proceeding) they came to Africa, and still they knew not to what earth or land they should direct their ships. and from there they came to the Altars of the Phẏl-ẏstewẏssẏon. From there they sailed between rwẏskat. and the mountain of azared and there they came into great peril from the pẏrwẏsson. and at last they gained the victory and were enriched by their spoils. and from there they sailed as far as the river malẏf and they came to the frontier of mawrẏtanẏa.

Dingestow Court MS.
Page 14, ll. 26-7, and p. 15.

Ac ẏuellẏ ẏ kerdẏssant deudẏd anᵉsweith ar gvẏnt ẏn rvẏd vnẏavn ẏn eu hol ac/ẏ eu llongeu a dẏrchauael hvẏllẏeu a chẏrchu ẏdifeithuor a dec dẏeu arugeint ẏ buant ẏn kerdet hẏt ẏrafrẏc. Ac odẏna ẏ doethant

Peniarth MS. 44.
Page 11, line 3 ff.

Ac ena nẏ bv vn gohẏr mẏnet ẏ ev llonghev aorvgant a dẏrchavael hwẏlẏev a hollẏ e gorwuchel vor ac em pen enavuettẏd o wuan kerdet wẏnt adoethant hyt er affrẏc ac nẏ wẏdẏnt hagen pa tẏr nev padaẏar

[ekẏrcheẏ

Pope's 1862 re-edition of Roberts, pp. 16-17, suppressed all footnotes and indications of variant readings and interpolations, and is consequently thoroughly misleading.

hŷt ar allorŷeu ŷ philistewŷdŷon. a hŷt ŷn llŷn ŷr helic. Ac odŷna ŷddethant ŷ rvng ruscan a mŷnŷded azaras. Ac ŷna ŷ bu ŷmlad mavr arnadunt gan genededŷl ŷ piratas. A gvedŷ goruot o nadunt hvŷ. Kŷmrut llawer o ŷspeil y piratas a wnaethant. Ac odŷna ŷ kerdassant tros avon malis ŷnŷ doeth^ant hŷt ŷ mavritan. Ac ŷ bu reit ndunt ŷna otlodi bvŷt adŷavt mynet ŷr tir oe eu llongeu. ac anreuthav ŷ vlat a wnaethant or emŷl pvŷ gŷlyd. A gvedŷ llenwŷ eu llongeu ŷ doetant hŷ^ŷg kolofneu hercvliff. (sic?)

ekŷrrev blaen ŷ ev llonghev. Ac odŷna edoethant hŷt ar allorŷev ephŷllŷstewŷssŷon. Odŷna ed hwŷlŷassant er rwng rwŷskat a mŷnŷded azared. Ac ena ekavssant perŷgŷl mavr kan epŷrwŷsson. Ac eŷssŷoes vwndvgolŷaeth a kavssant wy ac emkŷ voethogŷ oc ev hŷspeŷl wŷ. Ac odŷna ed hwŷlŷassant ar hŷt avon malŷf ac edoethant hŷt ar tervŷn mavrŷtanŷa. Ac ena rac tlodŷ ew bwŷt ac ev dŷavt ebv reŷt vdvnt mŷnet oc ev llongev ac em vedŷnav ac anreŷthyav er enŷs or emŷl pwŷ gŷlŷd ŷdŷ. a llenwŷ ew lloghev. Ac odŷna edoethant hŷt eg kolofnev hercvlf.

In a preceding sentence, just before the verses, Geoffrey had already written of pirates: "Applicueruutque in quandam insulam vocatam leogecia (*leogetia* Bern) quae antiquitus ab incursione piratarum uastata." For this Peniarth 44 has, p. 9, line 16 ff.:

> Ac evellŷ dev dŷd anossweŷth argwŷnt en rwŷd vnŷavn enev hol wŷnt a adoethant hŷt en enŷs a elwŷt leogecŷa ar enŷs honno dŷffeŷth oed hep nep enŷ chŷvanhedv gwedŷ darvot ŷ kenedŷl a elwŷt pŷratŷ ŷ hanreŷthŷav.

Can *piratarum* appear once as pŷratŷ and a few sentences later as epŷrwŷsson?

The fact, therefore, that the *Brut Tysilio* printed in the *Myvyrian* does not contain all these names does not seem a valid argument against the Welsh sources. Nor would it be easy to prove that either or both of the above passages were *translations* of Geoffrey. The variations

are striking and significant. After Brutus and his followers had sailed "inter russicadam 7 montes zarec" or "zaree" (Azare)—to reproduce the text of the Cambridge and Bern MSS. already cited—"ibi ab incursione piratarum maximum passi sunt periculum" (folios 8vo and 9rec. Cambridge; fol. 22recto, Bern). How can this simple Latin phrase have been *translated* into: "and there a fight happened between them and the clan [tribe] of the piratas",[1] or "and there they came into great peril from the pŷrwŷsson"? The Peniarth MS., with the so-called Tysilio group, has "At the end of the *ninth* day of their sailing"—perhaps a mystic number—instead of the thirty days of Geoffrey, and also adds the natural phrase, "and still they knew not to what earth or land they should direct their ships". The Peniarth MS. also omits a reference to the "lacum salinarum", which the Dingestow MS. puts into a phrase—ar hŷt ŷn llŷn ŷr helic[2]—not

[1] Walter's Book = Jesus lxi = xxviii has: "and there they had great peril in fighting with the Pyraniad, who were a fierce people". The *Red Book* follows the repetition of the Dingestow Court MS., using the name twice, and spelling it "piratas". It is four versions against one that Geoffrey turned an unrecognized name into simple "pirates". The "Nennius" account omits this detail. The word for pirate in Welsh is "morleidr". The tribe referred to may, at a guess, be the Epirots—in Greek (cf. Strabo, Bk. vii, 1, 6, 7, 8, etc.) Ἠπειρότες—the initial H misread by some scribe as the article, and so Ἡ Ἠπειρότες = y piratas or pŷratŷ, derived corruptly there from.

[2] Heli means "brine"; *helyg* or *helic* means "willows". The phrase as it stands in the Welsh reads "the lake of willows"—not the "salt lake" or "the lake of salt-water". The addition of the final *c* may be a scribal slip, though it occurs in more than one manuscript. It is extremely difficult, once again, to suppose that the "lacum salinarum" of Geoffrey should have been rendered "the lake of willows"—and this in independent versions. We have here an evidence—since we may reason safely that the original stopping-place was the well-known salt lagunes—of a scribal error in transmitting copies of manuscripts, but not of translating Geoffrey's text.

recognizing, if he were translating, Geoffrey's place-name, which the latter may have got from "Nen-nius" correcting a scribal error in *his* original.

Such differences *may* be attributed to free translation or elaboration, but definite proof is hard to produce; and one is forced to resort to the general probabilities of the case. These probabilities seem all to be, as Professor Petrie has pointed out, in favour of the existence of native records and native material, written and not limited to oral traditions. "Nennius" represents but a fragment of them; and other fragments survived into the twelfth century, and were seized upon eagerly, when found, by the Oxford scholars of the day—a Walter, a Geoffrey, a Henry of Huntingdon. Because the surviving Welsh manuscripts have never received adequate critical editing and analysis, these native records have been known to us virtually in one form only—the literary and embellished *Historia* of Geoffrey of Monmouth. Students should be grateful to Professor Petrie for calling their attention to the possibilities of this field, and he may be sure that a younger generation will avail themselves of the opportunities that lie before them.

CORRIGENDA.

Y Cymmrodor, vol. xxxv.

Page 82, note. *For* Ascansius *read* Ascensius.
„ 84, note. *Gan* is an intensive used before personal names, and the last sentence of the note is an error.
„ 88, line 3. Parentheses around "in his time."

Welsh Poetic Art: A Review.

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The substance of the three final chapters in this study[1] was delivered as a series of lectures at the University College of Wales, Aberystwyth, in 1923. In the volume now published a short introduction and a further chapter are added to the work. In the introduction, the difference between verse and prose is discussed, and the second chapter deals with poetic diction, idiom and vocabulary, tropes and figures of speech. The other chapters are devoted to the study of poetic forms, metre, alliteration and rhyme, and the rules of the metrists.

It will thus be seen that the work is an enquiry into the rules and practices of the Welsh literary tradition. The earlier Codes are examined in detail, the conclusions are stated with admirable order and clearness, and illustrated with quotations which show an astonishing acquaintance with manuscript literature. In fact, it is impossible to read the work without realising that the author brings to his task the enthusiasm and devotion of a lifetime, and the book is certainly more than the mere record of a painstaking inquiry. It is the reflection of a personality which, in the future, without a doubt, will be recognised as the most inspiring force in the literary and scholastic life of Wales in a period otherwise characterised

[1] "Cerdd Dafod, sef Celfyddyd Barddoniaeth Gymraeg." Gan John Morris-Jones. Rhydychen: yng Ngwasg Clarendon, 1925. (Crown 8vo, pp. xxviii and 382, price 12s. 6d. net.)

by an educational policy deplorably timid and subservient. To find anything like the spirit of this work, we have to go back to the great scholars of the sixteenth century, who had inherited a culture at least native and self-respecting, widespread in appeal, and democratic enough in spirit although aristocratic in form. The first works dealing to some extent with the subject—the grammars of Dr. Siôn Dafydd Rhys and Dr. John Davies—were in Latin, and the attempts of the industrious but misguided writers of the last century, such as Ab Ithel, were in English. It is significant that the fullest and most scientific study of the subject should be in Welsh. This, taken with other recently published works of research, seems to mean the abandonment of the notion of culture that has prevailed in Wales for about four hundred years, namely that Welsh scholarship could be no matter of interest to Welsh speakers generally, and that the language could not be used for the purpose of scholarship.

The subject of the enquiry is a highly technical one, so much so that, without the instinct conserved by an unbroken tradition, research would always tend to understate or to overstate some of the facts. Both cases could be amply illustrated. The class of critic to whom metrical rules are merely negligible nonsense is himself negligible, especially when he removes every shadow of doubt by venturing to express his sentiments in an imitation of metrical form; for although difference of opinion with regard to the value or effectiveness of such a form be intelligible enough, criticism which claims to interpret the meaning of verse, written in such a medium, without the slightest notion even of the existence of such rules, is simply the negation of all the necessities of criticism. Other interpreters, of undoubted critical ability and general scholarship, owing to the lack of the traditional

knowledge, common enough to a degree among folk poets in Wales itself, may discover rules in mere accidents.

It may therefore be claimed that the results of this enquiry should be of extreme interest not only to Welshmen who have any idea of the necessary continuity of culture, but also to all those capable of appreciating the wonderful ways in which artistic impulse always seeks to employ, for its own gratification, the various verbal forms created by the expediencies of human speech-necessity. On the other hand, it is equally interesting to observe, as we here get the opportunity of observing, those possibilities of language which emerge from the subjection of sounds to the rules of rhythm and harmony. In this respect, in particular, the value of the work is rendered greater by the fact that the phenomena dealt with happen to be found in the case of an old language still living, in which the verse-forms studied are still practised, and have been practised, even by peasants and workmen, with a degree of unbroken continuity sufficient, at least, to enable scholars who have a competent acquaintance with the subject to discover and to understand even those niceties of detail which, in the course of time and owing to the effects of political and social changes, may have been to some extent obscured or misunderstood at various periods. It cannot be doubted, for instance, that Greek versification, with its imitation by the Latins, must contain rules and peculiarities which have escaped even the scrutiny of specialists; hence the general value of a study of highly developed technique in a still living idiom possessing some affinities with those languages. There are, for instance, even in Homer, and in some of the earlier Latin poets, not to mention modern poets in other languages, some examples of consonantal and other correspondences which, as it would seem to any person

acquainted with the rules developed in Irish or Welsh, cannot have been the result of mere accident. What seems fairly clear is that, in the Celtic languages, owing to the conservation and expansion of certain phonological characteristics, such as initial mutations, for instance, it was found possible to employ the principle of vocalic and consonantal harmonies to an extent impossible in other languages.

The subject of the first chapter, "Poetic matter: Substance and treatment," belongs properly to philosophy, and the remainder of the work to the history and development of form. Whilst admitting that the author was not called upon to deal generally with the subject in this work, the discussion is found to be so interesting that one cannot help wishing to have more fully stated the ideas of the writer on some aspects of the question necessarily left here with only a mention. In modern verse, at least in cultivated languages, there are many devices and characteristics not recognised at all by the older writers on the theory of poetry. Are we, for instance, to refuse the title of poetry to the *vers libre* of a writer like Paul Claudel? It would also be very interesting and valuable to have the author's own argument on the question of descriptive verse. Gummere is cited as substantiating the claim that there is no such thing as descriptive poetry, and a quotation from Glasynys is given (p. 10) as a specimen of metrical description. It will readily be agreed that there is no poetry in this quotation, and the absence of feeling is not the only reason for its sterility. There is no word-painting at all in it, and even as prose it would be wretched. Yet, even in Welsh, and certainly in French and English, there is no lack of specimens of truly poetical word-painting, even with no other motive. In spite of Lessing and Gummere, a good case might be made out

for the possibility of what could more aptly be defined as descriptive poetry than as anything else. But it is true that the author qualifies his view by stating that emotion is necessary to convert mere description into poetry, which suggests that his definition of mere description must be taken to exclude emotion. This, of course, raises the further question of the definition of motive and of the expression of emotion. The author's suggestion that prose is not a "fine art" is a point upon which many would disagree. As evidence of the fine art of prose-writing, passages from his own work might be quoted. It would be interesting to have in greater detail the author's own analysis of the subject of poetical vocabulary, for while there can be no doubt, as he shows, that many words are, for some reason or other, unpoetical, it would seem that most objections are really not based upon any ascertainable law. The creation of new forms was a practice recognised in the mediæval Latin tracts on prosody, and in English, for instance, proceeded to an enormous extent. But, as the author himself wisely says, "There is no law but instinct in such matters."

Some would say, perhaps, that we have here a tendency to over-value the forms of the past, and claim that such a standpoint would have the effect of arresting all development. This, however, would be a superficial conclusion, for throughout the discussion there is evidence that the author is really not seeking to limit development, but contending—a most necessary contention in modern Wales—that it should be a natural growth out of the tradition of the past, which, after all, is the essence of literary form.

"Tropes and figures of speech," we are told, "occur naturally in language. The poet's duty is to improve upon nature, and to use them artistically. Every art is derived

from nature, but the artist has inherited the experience of ages in selection and employment. The fruit of this experience comes to him through the examples and the teaching of the masters. If we seek in Welsh poetry, we may find their expressions, we can classify them and show their value, as has been attempted above. And these things can be taught to him who would be a poet. But the essence of style cannot be taught to anyone. All that teaching can do for a man is to enlighten and to strengthen his faculties ; it cannot change their nature or their innate powers. The first necessity of a good style is acquaintance with the resources of the language ; this knowledge can be placed within the reach of a man, but it must be possessed by his own nature. The ability to perceive the beauty of language, and especially to receive its impression, and to reproduce it in new thoughts, is a natural gift. But deeper attributes than the gift of speech go to the forming of style : intelligence, emotion, eye and ear ; and governing all, judgment. 'The style,' says Buffon, 'is the man'."

It will be seen that though, for our own pleasure and instruction, we might wish to have a fuller discussion of some aspects of the subject of the first chapter from the pen of the gifted author, they are by no means left untouched. A book on the history of metrical art is really not the place for an exhaustive treatment of the theory of poetry, although, of course, such a work would be incomplete without some introduction of the kind. We get it, and it is so thoughtful and provocative of thought that we could wish that the author at some other time should give us a book on the theory of poetry.

The chapters dealing with the history and characteristics of Welsh metric are exhaustive and illuminating, and the analysis of the function of the stress-accent in the

earlier material, with its later obscuration by the principle of syllable-counting, is a discovery of capital importance. For the sake of readers unacquainted with the subject, it may briefly be stated here that, in Welsh, the literary tradition is found standardised at an early period, both with regard to subject and form. Not only do we find forms, such as the eulogy, the elegy, solicitation, contention, description, etc., but even the subject tradition is carefully standardised, the principles of the eulogy, for instance, having been systematically codified. It is true that the codification, as we know it, is not very early, but it seems to be borne out by earlier practice. In metric, at least from about the twelfth century, there are twenty-four standard metres, with a progressive standardisation of the principles of Cynghanedd, the latter extending to the middle of the sixteenth century, at least. These 24 metres are fixed stanza-forms, some of them, notably the later inventions, having been manifestly intended, not as serious media for the expression of thought, but as tests of metrical proficiency. If these metres be scientifically classified, it must be admitted that several of them answer to a single type, so that we see that the classification, which undoubtedly did proceed in the standardisation of Cynghanedd, was not operative at all in the subject of metrical forms. Iolo Morganwg, in the eighteenth century, it is true, at least sought to apply the principle of classification in the system of 24 metres which he invented and for some obscure reason claimed to be the original system in Welsh.

There is nothing peculiarly Welsh in the principle of fixed stanza-forms, but the metrical phenomena and the terminology indicate a highly developed native tradition. Distinctive features of Welsh verse-craft relate principally to rhyme and consonance. Identity of terminal

syllable forms rhyme in Welsh. Dulpicated or feminine rhymes, although found in thirteenth century examples, where they are manifestly due to Latin influence, are made obligatory only in a fifteenth century revision of the rules of prosody, and that in some metres only—strong evidence of their Latin origin. Thus, according to general Welsh practice, forms like morn*ing* and sing*ing* are held to constitute regular rhyme—this may be seen reflected in many modern attempts by Welshmen to write English verse. Another distinctly Welsh peculiarity is the rhyming of accented with unaccented syllables, permissible in all the strict metres and obligatory in some of them. Take as an example the following metrical imitation of a Cywydd passage by Dafydd ap Gwilym :—

"Night may dare not, my dear*est*,
Shadow throw where she doth r*est*;
Daylight round her shall dall*y*,
As sunshine on snow is sh*e*;
When amid the green meado*w*
Daises bloom, and roses blo*w*,
If to the grove she rove*th*,
Summer brings a merry bre*ath*."

This example is constructed also to illustrate the principle of Cynghanedd, which will be explained later. For the moment, the character of the end-rhyme only should be considered, with its probable relation to the rhyme-form morn*ing* : sing*ing*. If it be remembered that formerly the accent in Welsh fell on the ultima, then the origin of both these peculiarities will be evident, for the equivalences illustrated in morn*ing* : sing*ing*, dear*est* : r*est* owe their present rhyme-function to the time when the accent would have equalled morn*ing* : sing*ing* ; dear*ést* (:r*est*). Internal Rhyme, common in Welsh, is the occurrence of rhyming syllables in the body of a line. What may be called Linking Rhyme is the rhyming of the end of one line with the

middle of the next. Concatenated Rhyme is the alternation common in other languages—a b a b, or a b b a, for instance. There remain, in what I have called the Toddaid formation, a kind of rhyme which is internal with regard to position in the line itself but is not the ordinary Internal Rhyme, for it forms end-rhyme with the other lines in a stanza. In the standard metres, it occurs only in a ten-syllable line, and may come on the seventh, eighth or ninth syllable, so that the post-rhyme portion of the line ("Gair Cyrch") will vary in length from three syllables to one. This portion itself is linked with the second line either by consonance or by rhyme. It is difficult to account for the origin of this rhyme position. There can be no doubt, that, as pointed out in the present work, it came to indicate a break or a pause in the line, but I am somewhat doubtful whether that function explains its origin. It seems to me that some of the so-called englynion, attributed to Llywarch Hen, for instance, are only proverbs, or forms of proverbial sayings, classified according to identity of terminal syllables, that is, by rhyme. This, of course, would establish the earlier prevalence of end-rhyme. In some of these englynion, there are instances of lines with the post-rhyme portion. If such a classification be admitted, then the presence of a mid-line rhyming element might mnemonically serve the classification purpose, and the arrangement afterwards might develope into a metrical rule. There is one other type of rhyme in Welsh which is certainly peculiar. In the Codes, it is included with the Cynghaneddion, but in principle it is rather a matter of rhyme. Professor Glyn Davies (*Welsh Metrics*) has happily called it *Penult Internal Rhyme*. It is illustrated by the following line from the passage given above :—

"If to the grove she roveth."

I am personally inclined to trace the origin of this to the shifting of the accent—it is simply a development of what was, before the accent was thrown back, merely a case of ordinary Internal Rhyme. Quite modern Breton instances of this Penult Rhyme, especially when read with the French accent imposed upon Breton, are just what such a line would have been in Welsh before the shifting of the accent.

It should also be understood that Welsh Cynghanedd is a much more highly developed art than what is known in English and other languages as alliteration. We may take, as an example of fully alliterated lines in English, the well-known couplet :—

> "Begot by butchers, but by bishops bred,
> How high his haughty highness holds his head."

This, of course, is a *tour de force*. Generally, consonantal correspondence merely in two or more stressed syllables will be held to constitute alliteration. Even in Anglo-Saxon, or at least in Early English, the correspondence was frequently for the eye rather than the ear, as for instance (*Piers Plowman*, Prologus, 74) :—

> "He *b*onched hem with his *br*euet and *bl*ered here eyes."

Here, it is seen that the single *b* is answered by the grouped sounds *br* and *bl*. Now, compared with this, Cynghanedd is a complete consonantal harmony, standardised according to a highly scientific appreciation of the laws of sound. The correspondence *b* : *br* : *bl*, for instance, would not suffice. Take a line from a poem by James Howell, a Welshman, who was undoubtedly imitating the verbal music of his mother-tongue :—

> "I *v*ei*l* u*n*to my *v*a*l*e*n*tine."

Compare with this the following from Tennyson, who was

likewise, it might be shown, seeking to imitate Welsh Cynghanedd :—

"The island *valley* of *Avilion*."

If Tennyson's line had been equal, in this type of technique, to Howell's, it would be something like this (I apologise for the weakness of a mere illustration) :—

"*The* i*sland* val*ley* of see*the-lined* A*vilion*."

The pause in Howell's line comes after *unto* ; in my illustrative attempt, it comes after *valle-y* ; *my*, in Howell's line, and of *see-* in the other, are, as it were, bracketed, thus—

"I veil unto (my) valentine."
"The island valley (of see)the-lined Avilion."

Then the consonantal sounds in the second portion of both lines, as it may be heard if the lines be read out, correspond, in strict order, to those in the first, up to the one following the last stressed vowel preceding the pause, so that the accent is also involved in the correspondence. Lack of accentual balance, or wrong consonantal sequence, is at once perceptible to a trained ear, and would be as painful as discord—used to be to musicians. Now, this is the principle of Cynghanedd. It is treated in various ways, but always observes these laws of sound and accent. If the passage already given be analysed, the various kinds of correspondence may be seen :—

"*N*ight *m*ay *dár*e | *n*ot, *m*y *de*á*r*est,
*Sh*a*d*ow *thr*ów | where) *sh*e *d*oth *r*ést ;
*D*áylight (round her shall) *dálly*,
A*s* *sun-sh*íne (on) *sn*ow i*s* *shé* ;
Whe*n* a*míd* (the gree)*n* *méad*ow
Daisies *blóom* | and roses *blów*,
If to the grove she roveth,
*Summer br*íng|*s* a *merry br*éath."

The consonants printed in italics show the correspondences. The acute marks the last stressed element in each

unit. The line above certain sounds indicates internal rhymes. Sounds written but not pronounced (i.e., *gh* in *night* or *s* in *island)* are not taken into account, and two identical sounds coming together, of course, count as one. (I hope these attempted explanations, which I have added at the Editor's suggestion, may be of some assistance to readers having no previous acquaintance with the peculiarities dealt with.)

With regard to the history of the Welsh metrical forms, the author accepts the Latin origin of the form known as Cywydd Llosgyrnog, but doubts the theory of Sir John Rhys that the Englyn is of Latin origin. Rhys, relying upon the rhythm which seems to be present in the Latin inscriptions found upon stones in Wales, argues for the connection of the Englyn with the accentual elegiacs of late Latin. A later and much bolder claim has been advanced ("Blodeuglwm o Englynion", Professor W. J. Gruffydd) that the Englyn Unodl Union "possesses the highest descent in the literature of Europe, as it is directly derived from the classical elegiac couplet."

In the present volume, Sir John Morris-Jones gives as follow his reasons for disagreeing with Rhys :—

"(1) It is certain that the original Englyn was made up of a line and a half, and not of two lines like the Latin (elegiac) couplet. (2) As the accent fell on the ultima in old Welsh, there was no resemblance between the old Toddaid Byr and the Hexameter; the Hexameter always ends with the accentuation ´ ˘ ˘ | ´ ˘, but the old Toddaid Byr with the accentuation ˘ ´ | ˘ ˘ ´ (or ˘ ˘ ´ | ˘ ´), a totally different movement. That the Toddaid Byr is *now* similar to the Hexameter affords no reason at all for claiming that the *dis*similar, *old* Toddaid Byr is derived from it. (3) It is clear that all the Englynion are of the same origin; Englyn Penfyr and Englyn Milwr are only

two variants of the same thing, and no one would have supposed the latter to have sprung from the Latin. (4) There has been too much of a tendency to derive everything from the Latin. . . . . It is more likely that the Toddaid Byr is derived from one of the forms taken by the six-beat metre in Brythonic than that it is derived through the Latin from a form taken by that ancient metre in the Greek."

The force of these reasons, it seems to me, must be admitted. With regard to determining the origin of the early forms, much depends, of course, upon the date of the shifting of the accent in Welsh. If it could be shown that in Old Welsh the accent came regularly, or invariably, in all forms, on the ultima, then it seems to me that such lines as the following may belong to a period of uncertainty :—

> " Gwr gwiw uch i amliw seirch
> A roɓei veirch i eircheid."

Here, the rhythm at least suggests a mixture. There can be little doubt that the unrhythmical rhyme in Welsh is due to the shifting of the accent, and consequently the most important requirement for the dating of the early material is the dating of the shifting of the accent. With regard to the wider claim touching the origin of the Englyn Unodl Union, it seems to me to be uncritical to cite insular Latin inscriptions, in which the dactyllic element—really the basic element in hexametric verse—may be simply accidental, or merely due to the frequency of the dactyl in Latin, as proof of the identity of the Englyn Unodl Union and the Latin Elegiac couplet. As there is no early instance of the Englyn Unodl Union, and as the stanza as we know it does bear a striking resemblance to the Elegiac—due, as Sir John Morris-Jones implies—to the period following the shifting of the accent,

it seems to me reasonable to suppose that the form is due to a conscious imitation of the Elegiac, first made by one of the earlier prosodists, demonstrably acquainted with mediæval Latin rules of prosody. In a poem of Cynddelw Brydydd Mawr (1150-1200) there is a distinct reference to the connection between Welsh verse ("Hir Doddeit," "Kathyl," "Kynheilweit") and Latin grammar ("Llyfr Doneit"=liber Donati). There are, of course, plenty of Latin Englynion, composed by Welsh scholars after the fashion of the Welsh stanza. No argument can be based upon those, but when one comes across a Latin epigram like the following (Buecheler, *Carm. Epigr.*, 1499) with its more than a mere suspicion of intentional consonantal harmony, one begins to think after all there may be more to say with regard to the origin of the Englyn :—

> "Balnea uina Venus corrumpunt corpora nostra,
> sed uitam faciunt balnea uina Venus."

Personally, in view of the frequency of similar metrical formations in mediæval Latin, I find it difficult to believe that the Rhupunt structures in Welsh have no connection with Latin examples. This is also strengthened, in my opinion, by the presence in Welsh verse of many of the devices and usages of mediæval Latin prosody, not mentioned in the books of the Welsh teachers. It would, of course, be natural for Latin influence to spread widely with the dissemination of Christianity, and this would tend to affect even a fairly strong Celtic metrical tradition. Another matter in which research must be carried further before we can speak with certainty of the origin and nature of early folk-verse is the history of the Clêr and their metres. This is made difficult by the paucity of early examples. It is clear that buffoonery ("croesanaeth") was a prominent characteristic of the habits and composi-

tions of the Clêr (as it continues, no doubt in an unconscious form, in the attitudes of the modern "Gorsedd y Beirdd"). This is borne out by references in the Laws, and in ecclesiastical material, just as such material is the most fruitful source for the history of French folk poetry. Another point of difficulty in the Welsh material is the fact that the Clêr, in the earliest specimens of their work preserved for us, are undoubtedly imitating the forms of the official bards as far as they can, so that we possess no unmixed specimens of folk-verse. We are also practically without any information concerning Welsh dances, and so far no competent attempt has been made to explain the musical terms of the fifteenth century and earlier times. This will only come when, at long last, it is discovered that Welsh musicians, and their teachers, must after all know something about Welsh and Wales. It seems to me probable that, when these researches are fully carried out, they will substantiate in detail most of the general conclusions of the author in this part of his brilliant study.

The work is throughout full of erudition, wisdom and keen observation, but when we come to consider the section dealing with the later history of the 24 metres and the development of Cynghanedd, where the material for study is available, we get, admirably written, the results of wide scholarship and sound judgment. It would be vain to attempt to deal in detail with the conclusions and criticism, for they are concisely stated in the book. On every page, we see the author's especial gift for the selection of illustrative quotations, not only for the elucidation of a point in metre or Cynghanedd, but also for their literary value. Some of us, whose lot it is to deal with Welsh literature and its history, often deplore its many weaknesses, its many promises which failed to mature, through the effects of political events and the re-

peated destruction of its centres of cultivation; but the author invariably sees all its excellencies, and his quotations, here as well as elsewhere, cannot be read without feeling that, after all, it possesses many splendid qualities. That the development of those qualities was arrested by the imposition upon the people of alien standards, themselves borrowed and practised with slavish imitation, must be deplored by all scholars.

The author, in his analysis of the question of the accents generally, and their position and significance in particular in the Toddaid formation, has undoubtedly discovered a principle which had become obscure to the metrists of the 16th century, and the discussion of these points is a brilliant piece of work. He shows that, originally, the Welsh metres were stress-accent metres, a fact which in itself at once gives the works of the Court Bards of the Princes a rhythm unrecognised by any earlier writer on the subject, and which removes all ground for the charge of clumsiness so frequently brought against them. It is easy now to see that the real clumsiness is due to the principle of syllable-counting introduced with the standardisation of Cynghanedd. This development, due to the fact that there was always a tendency to approximate to the same number of syllables, played havoc with the rhythm of the old metres, leading as it did to an artificial accent, to the exclusion of the natural speech-rhythm. Some modern attempts at restoring the stress-accent principle and at excluding the superfluity of end-rhyme in verse, are approved of by the author, who points out that even the absence of end-rhyme is in some cases justified by early Welsh practice. In my own opinion, the long monorhyme stanza, although undoubtedly an early practice, has been a source of great weakness in Welsh verse. In the great rhetorical Odes of the

masters—Tudur Aled, for instance—the monorhyme is yet tolerable, because of the rhetorical character of the verse and the mastery of the poets over their medium; but in the later examples, when the poets had no exact knowledge of many points in the art of their predecessors, and when the Ode became a mere patchwork of various stanza-forms, the monorhyme becomes simply a barbarous clang, for the sake of which everything is sacrificed.

It has already been pointed out in this article that Cynghanedd in Welsh is much more highly developed than alliteration in any language, and the question whether, in modern verse, such an adornment should be preserved has often been discussed. Naturally, it has been condemned by those who know least about it. A reasonable view of the general subject would seem to be that it depends upon the genius of the language in question. Alliteration in English is generally held to be undesirable, and is sometimes supposed to be infantile, though some of Swinburne's marvellous lines cannot easily be matched in English for any quality. But perhaps the best argument against over-alliteration in English would be its extreme difficulty without resort to a style open to the charge of being unnatural. German, on the other hand, affords great facility for a degree of consonance far in excess of anything possible in English—in fact, although there are no standardised rules, as far as I am aware, it often answers to the studied effects of Welsh practice. Uhland, in particular, within my own reading, abounds in examples, such as :—

"Was kost so sanft und küsst so süss"
"Durch einen wilden Wald"

and many others. I even find many French examples in Lamartine (whose wife is sometimes stated to have been a Welsh lady, and who certainly had some correspon-

dence with Welshmen). Thus, what would be a reasonable standard in one language cannot be applicable in another. In Welsh, there can be little doubt that the rules of Cynghanedd have led to a great deal of formality, and the employment of useless metrical interpolations. Only the best writers of the 15th and 16th centuries avoided this weakness, and the attempt of Tudno in the last century to avoid it only led, as shown by Sir John, to worse results. The opponents of Cynghanedd in the last century seemed to think that its mere abandonment would have improved Welsh poetry at once. The reading of their own free-metre efforts effectively shows that they were sadly mistaken. Sir John Morris-Jones is undoubtedly a supporter of Cynghanedd. His judgment is that of an artist with, I should say, a basically musical bent, or at any rate a very strong sense of balance. He claims that metre is an essential form and that its apparent restriction is really a great help. To support this view, he quotes Leigh Hunt, adding Lord Morley's statement with regard to Comte's self-imposed rules for the writing of prose. Thus, to him, Cynghanedd is not a hindrance, but rather the occasion of artistic effort and achievement. He says :—

"To the unskilled and the ungifted, the restraint which drives him from the common causeway, is nothing but a hindrance, and he can only wallow in bogs and holes ; but the true genius knows the way to the gardens of language and fancy, where he finds words and thoughts undreamt of before. He experiences a feeling of exaltation and enthusiasm, and the words and thoughts glide into their places in the form prepared for them. It is no wonder that the old bards claimed that the passion which took possession of them in this way was the inspiration of the goddess they called the Muse ; and it is no wonder

that their contemporaries believed them, in view of the splendour of their expressions. But this passion sprang out of the struggle with the restraint of metre, and out of the joy of victory, out of their success in bending language to metrical form, and finding that words and thoughts possessed a grandeur unimagined before the effort. This grandeur is the distinguishing characteristic of poetry. It can be imitated in prose, but however great the success of the imitation, it is imitation only. Call it ' poetic prose ' if you will, but do not call it poetry. Cotton can be treated so as to look like silk, but it will not be silk. Silk is only obtained from the web of the silkworm, and poetry is only obtained through the placing of words in metre. Metre has made and makes poetry what it is. And as the joy of the poet is the discovery of the way to clothe his thought in noble words which at the same time answer all the demands of his metre, so this happy union, once made, is the source of joy for ever to us. Take as an instance one of the stanzas already quoted :

> " Dwyn ei geiniog dan gwynaw,
> Rhoi angen un rhwng y naw ".

Is it not a perpetual wonder that these words yield this harmony? The wonder is not that they perfectly express the feeling of the poet, nor that they yield perfect harmony, but that both perfections meet in them. Their charm resides in this, and that charm is not found in prose however ' poetic ' and musical it may be. ' It is strange,' says Taine, ' how two similar sounds at the end of two lines of the same length can console the greatest afflictions.' Many truths are spoken half in jest.

No apology is necessary for quoting this enthusiastic defence of metre, even though I, for one, must still confess to a great, possibly a greater, admiration for the simplicity of noble prose, of which I personally count Sir

John a master. The excellence of poor Dewi Wyn's couplet, it seems to me, is just that, for once—in spite of the standards, not of himself only, as sometimes capriciously implied, but of his age—it is as simple as noble prose. Yet, one must admit the wonder that language should yield, along with perfect simplicity, such absolute harmony. This quality of the Welsh language, then, cannot, it seems to me, be ignored in metrical art. How far, then, should standardisation be insisted upon? Sir John does not seem to express a decided opinion upon that point. A master of Cynghanedd, like Goronwy Owain, for instance, at first insisted upon Cynghanedd in Welsh verse, but when he became acquainted with the less regular Cynghanedd of the Court Bards, he lost his enthusiasm for the regularised Cynghanedd of the later period, which he called a "horrid jingle." And a horrid jingle it frequently is, there can be no doubt. Ars est celare artem. Sir John has written :—

"Cynghanedd is not suitable to express thoughts already formed; the thoughts expressed in it must form themselves in its music. . . . Lame sense is better than agile nonsense. . . . It is a mistake to strive for too much ingenuity . . . it is a sign of decadence in all art to multiply showy and useless ornament at the expense of symmetry." Perhaps no more can be said.

There is another point which deserves consideration, and that is, whether poetry should be other than lyrical. In Celtic, as Sir John states, it was always lyrical, and his claim that, in this matter, the Celts were only anticipating modern tendencies in other languages, could well be defended. In Welsh, the talk about Epic poetry only came with the English pseudo-classicism of the 18th century, and in the best of the so-called Epic poems produced in the language—those of Williams, Pant y Celyn,—the

form and treatment are certainly lyrical. If we accept this view of poetry, then, it seems to me that Cynghanedd, in Welsh, is to some extent a necessary element in poetic art. Yet, if there be a future for Welsh poetry, I am inclined to think that the art of it must be based upon the principle of the stress-accent, the limitation of rhyme to its original and proper function—the marking of breaks or pauses in a line,—and the expansion, and in some cases, the simplification of Cynghanedd. All these principles, I think I am justified in saying, are implied in this work of Sir John Morris-Jones, one of those rare books which help one not only to understand the development of literary forms, but also to comprehend what is the real meaning of what we call Culture.

The Indiscretion of Anthony Wood.

BY

THOMAS RICHARDS, D.Litt., Maesteg.

If there was a greater Royalist in Wales of the Civil Wars than David Jenkins of Hensol, it would be very difficult to find him. Whenever the Puritan powers drew up a proscription list, the name of Jenkins was invariably near the top.[1] He was not a daring soldier like the Bassetts and Stradlings who were slain or captured at the battle of St. Fagans, but a man well-nigh sixty years of age in 1642, Justice of Great Sessions for Cardigan-Carmarthen-Pembroke, a keen lawyer, and well versed in all the arts of controversy. He seems to have been especially busy in recruiting men for the King's service, adding legal terror to his other arguments; no doubt he spent in the same cause much of the great wealth he had gathered together.[2] The Parliament were exceedingly relieved to find him among the prisoners taken at the fall of Hereford in 1645. Thereafter he was kept in safe quarters at the Tower, in Newgate, at the castles of Wallingford and Windsor. But in whatever prison he was lodged, he managed to send out a series of pamphlets—well over a dozen—whose main purpose was to defend the old order and deride the jurisdiction of his new accusers.[3] Cordials,

[1] See the 1650 Act for Tryal (N.L.W. *Civil War Tracts*, No. 153); the 1651 Act for Sale (*ib.*, No. 155).

[2] J. R. Phillips: *Hist. Civil War*, i, 254, 261.

[3] For a list of these, see N.L.W. *Cat. Civil War Tracts*, 79-80. There are at least nine of these pamphlets in the *Wood Collection* (No. 476) at the Bodleian.

Vindications, Pleas, Scourges,[1] Remonstrances—all told the same tale. Two or three of them were deliberate attempts to widen the rupture between Army and Parliament. He was fined, impeached of treason, brought before the High Court of Justice, haled to the bar of the Rump, before whom he refused to uncover and to whom he roundly said he would mount the scaffold with Magna Carta under one arm and the Bible under the other. Sentence of death was passed, but it was never carried out. Indeed, he was set at liberty in 1656. Henry Marten sometimes gets the credit of intervening on his behalf; it is much more likely he owed his life to the long arm of Colonel Philip Jones of Llangyfelach, Cromwell's close friend and virtual ruler of South Wales. His life was saved only to find his estates confiscated and his office given to another. If any old Cavalier deserved to be well remembered at the Restoration, David Jenkins was the man. It is one of the many mysteries of the time that he was not. Even his former post in the south-western counties was given to an English lawyer named Simon Degg.[2] It is not likely that the doughty old man of Hensol who boasted the motto—"*fe dâl am daro*"—would forget to hit out as manfully at the ingratitude of the new powers as he did of old against the engineers of usurpation. He died in December 1663.

He happened to have married a sister of Sir John Aubrey of Llantrithyd, another Glamorgan gentleman who had done great service to King Charles I. Kinsman to both, though a somewhat remote one,[3] was John Aubrey the naturalist and antiquary, a man curious to a fault,

[1] The title of a 1647 pamphlet read—"A Scourge for the *Directorie*, and the Revolting Synod. Which hath sitten this 5 Yeares more for foure shillings a Day then *(sic)* for Conscience sake".

[2] *Bodl. Rawlinson MS.* A. 119, p. 32 (August 1660). Degg developed into a legal writer of some note.

[3] *Brief Lives*, ed. Clark, i, 49, 56.

exceedingly observant, who had the dangerous habit of putting down on paper—sometimes after a lapse of years—whatever fact or gossip came to his ears. His travels brought him to the Vale of Glamorgan[1] and to the presence of the old Judge, just at a time when the latter was indiscreetly eloquent about his sufferings and the scurvy way in which they were requited. "*'Tis pitty he was not made one of the judges of Westminster-hall for his long sufferings; and he might have been, he told me, if he would have given money to the Chancellor* [Clarendon], *but he scorn'd it*". These were the words Aubrey wrote down; that is how they appear in MS. Aubrey 8, fol. 27a; that is how they were copied into the *Brief Lives* edited by Andrew Clark in 1898[2]. Unfortunately, there is no proof that Aubrey wrote them down at all before 1682, which was at least nineteen years after the date on which they were said to have been uttered. Would Aubrey's memory ring soundly true after such a term of years?

For a long time this gentleman was on terms of great friendship with the Oxford antiquary Anthony Wood (or -à Wood, as he affected to call himself), and allowed him to make full use of his materials. Wood, it is true, spent some of his time in playing upon the fiddle, and more of his time in sampling the ales of Oxford and its environs; but he was an exact and scientific antiquary, had enormous powers of application, took great pains to fortify his facts. When distinguished visitors came to the University, they did not leave without being presented with Loggan's *Oxonia Illustrata* and Wood's *Antiquitates*. His facts are usually safe, his opinions fearfully erratic. He had all kinds of prejudices: for example, he had no love for Jesus College, still less for Christ Church. He was such a

[1] It is known he was in the habit of visiting Llantrithyd (*Brief Lives*, i, 39).

[2] ii, 6 (cp. p. 4).

Royalist that the very memory of the usurpation sent him into a towering rage,[1] the very word "Presbyterian" would draw from him big mouthfuls of fiery expletives. Will it be believed that one of the pet aversions of this great Royalist was the Lord Chancellor Clarendon, the great architect of the Restoration settlement?

His papers and diaries are alive with this animus: even in 1660 he describes Clarendon as a great getter of money, and not kind to suffering Cavaliers:[2] in 1662 he reads the most selfish motives into the marriage of Clarendon's daughter with the Duke of York;[3] he loves to contrast the Chancellor's seven years of prosperity with the seven lean years of his exile.[4] It will be at once appreciated what a delicious morsel to such a man was the information brought by Aubrey about Judge Jenkins. He made an exact and full note of it. And when the second volume of the *Athenæ Oxonienses* came out in 1692, it was found that the words incautiously uttered in Glamorgan thirty years before were made to appear in cold print on p. 221. It was on the 18th July the volume was published in London; three days later Wood was told by a Jesus graduate (as ill-luck would have it!) that the *Athenæ* had sent the whole University into an uproar.[5] The publication of the second volume, with its plenitude of facts and its mass of imprudences, caused many a storm which no tea-cup could hold. For instance, he stated on p. 269 that the Parliamentary lawyer John Glynne (of the family of Glynllifon) had never been made

[1] It was only when he contrasted the Oxford of the Restoration with the Oxford of the Republic that he deviated into sense on this point (*Life and Times*. ed. Clark, i, 296-297, 299, 333).

[2] *Life and Times*, i, 337. [3] *Ibid.*, i, 440. [4] *Ibid.*, ii, 122.

[5] *Ibid.*, iii, 395. With his customary love for detail, Wood tells us this encounter took place "beyond Hinxey steps", between eight and nine at night. The name of the Jesus man was James Harries.

"prime serjeant" in 1660 had it not been for corrupt dealings with the then Lord Chancellor, a remark which aroused great indignation among the Glynnes of Hawarden.[1] The greatest storm of all was caused by the story about Judge Jenkins, in which the memory of one of the most distinguished Chancellors of the University was vilified by the words of its recognised historian.

Is it likely that insinuations such as these would be allowed to pass scatheless in a circle where the Hyde influence was still strong, in a University of which Clarendon's son Henry had been High Steward since 1687? "To the loss of my pretious time & hindrance of my public studies" Wood had to file a defence in the Vice-Chancellor's court, with the result that on 29 July, 1693, he was compelled to pay the expenses of £34, to have the offending volume burnt in the yard of the Sheldonian Theatre, and (until official recantation made) to lose all his privileges in his beloved University. It should be said here that the learned Henry Dodwell[2] (well in the confidence of the younger Clarendon), writing to Wood six months before the above sentence was delivered, had suggested his Lordship would be satisfied with a public apology in open court duly registered, adding the significant words that "you can pretend no informations in this whole matter but what may very probably fayl you." Notwithstanding this opinion of Dodwell's and the sentence of 1693, the eccentric antiquary during the two years left him of life would pertinaciously have it that he had said nothing but the truth, that 'if he had liberty' he

[1] From a note at the foot of p. 311 in the *Life* of 1848, there was a possibility of this indignation taking a very active form.

[2] The same Dodwell who held up the arms of Bishop William Lloyd in the debate at Oswestry with Philip Henry (*Diaries*, p. 309). In 1691 he had lost the Camden Professorship at Oxford, because he would not take the oaths to William III.

could justify every particular, and that John Aubrey had not only told him, but Edward Lhwyd as well,[1] of the definite statement made by Judge Jenkins.

Anthony cut a very sorry figure over this case. When he *had* full liberty to plead his justification, he preferred to say it was not the Lord Chancellor Clarendon he referred to in the *Athenæ*. He talked now as if Aubrey was the most dependable chronicler in the world, forgetting that in 1667 he had accused the same Aubrey of being credulous, of stuffing his letters with wrong information, of guiding him (Wood) into the paths of error. At one point in the case he says his information was derived from "persons of knowne reputation"; at another he is willing, according to a letter written to Dodwell, to insert an 'advertisement' or apology in the next volume[2] of the *Athenæ* that he had been imposed upon by these same persons. Seven weeks before his death he had a stormy interview with Clarendon at Oxford, at which he "began to rip up all the matter," managing before the end to allude to the inflammable subject of the father's banishment. He even descended to the ignoble plea that since the Chancellor had died in a forced exile, 'he was capable of no law to vindicate his memory'. Such was the measure of the antiquary's prudence and the depth of his mortification. The son rejoined that though his father was banished in person 'yet they did not banish him in honour' (which is the considered judgment of history)[3].

No serious effort has been made by later writers to drive home the charges preferred in the *Athenæ*.

[1] The famous British scholar, then Keeper of the Ashmolean Museum.

[2] ? Edition.

[3] For the sources of this paragraph, see *Life* of Wood, ed. Bliss (published in 1848 by the Eccl. Hist. Soc.), pp. 152-153, 290-316, and especially App. vii, 358-388.

The antiquary Thomas Hearne, again depending on oral evidence, was of the same opinion as Wood, and Dr. Philip Bliss (the editor of the *Life* of Wood published in 1848) professed to have seen a MS. at the Ashmolean Museum, penned by the informant Aubrey in 1682, which contained almost the exact words used of Judge Jenkins in the *Athenæ* (this, however, is almost certainly the MS. already referred to as MS. Aubrey 8). One is disposed to turn back to 1668 and recollect the Cowbridge cross-examination of Vavasor Powell by Dr. William Bassett, the uncanny quickness with which the great Puritan discomfited his questioner by dwelling on the fall of Clarendon, the evident enjoyment of the scene by the six Deputy Lieutenants present[1]. Were they thinking of Judge David Jenkins, buried five years before in the south aisle of the church close by? Had these Cavaliers listened to the judge dilating upon his disappointment of 1660 and upon his grievances against the Chancellor? In the region of surmise, they are questions not devoid of interest. It is practically certain Sir John Aubrey of Llantrithyd took the chair at that meeting[2]. Unfortunately, rhetorical surmises are even of less use in law than hearsay evidence. Even if these questions could be answered in the affirmative, that would only prove the sympathy of Glamorgan gentlemen towards their departed neighbour and respect for the brother-in-law who sat in the chair. Legal proof of the judge's charge was still far to seek.

Nor is Andrew Clark, the learned and meticulous editor of Wood's *Life and Times* (published 1891-1895),

[1] *Life of Powell* (1671), p. 139.

[2] The names of the D.L's are not given. This examination on 17 October, 1668, was followed by another on 8 November. At that meeting Sir John was undoubtedly present (*Life*, p. 177).

having had full access to documents at the Bodleian and the Archives, able to improve very materially upon the information given by Dr. Bliss in 1848. Fifty pages, divided into sixty heads, are exclusively devoted in his fourth volume to the records of Clarendon *versus* Wood. It is only in Head LVI[1]—Wood's criticism of the court's sentence upon him as published in the *London Gazette*[2]—that a new element comes to light: the antiquary there says that the actual words used on p. 221 were supplied to him by 'the daughters and nephew of the said David Jenkyns'.[3] Then what are we to make of the fact that they are an exact transcript of the words of MS. Aubrey 8, fol. 27a? And is it not matter for high surprise that all this was not brought out till the case had been decided, that neither John Aubrey nor Edward Lhwyd nor the relatives of Judge Jenkins were called as witnesses before the Vice-Chancellor, and that not a single reference was made to the 'corruption' articles brought against Clarendon in 1667, by one of which he was accused of 'enriching himself by the sale of offices'?[4] If Wood had lived to see the publication of the Clarendon Papers and found Clarendon indignantly denying the charges of corruption without adding a word in expatiation of his denial, would he look upon this silence as evidence of guilt and as indirect proof of what Judge Jenkins had said?

Let us turn the shield round. It is rather curious that neither in the case itself nor in the many papers collateral to it, no one seems to have defended Clarendon's action by pointing to the incongruity of promoting an old man to Westminster Hall at a time when the law-courts would

[1] Pp. 47—48. [2] 3 August, 1693.

[3] Clark contributed a mistake of his own (*Life and Times*, i, 337. n. 6) by saying that Wood got his information *from the Judge himself.*

[4] Article V (*Cobbett's State Trials*, vi, 396, 414).

have to deal with a crop of refractory problems arising out of the Restoration unsettlement. It might also be asked how would a rugged partisan like David Jenkins comport himself with Hale and Vaughan, with Windham and Twisden, judges only just past the prime of life, some of whom had deepened their large knowledge of the law in the long leisure moments of 'the late sad times'[1]. Perhaps it was this comparative unfitness of an old man that Dodwell had in mind when he told Wood that young Clarendon had more proofs of his father's honour 'than you are aware of'[2].

[1] Cp. Justice Keeling's remarks on his appointment in 1663 (1 *Keble*, 526-527).

[2] In a letter written on 18 January, 1692-1693.

Denbigh Castle.

By WILFRID J. HEMP, F.S.A.,
Inspector of Ancient Monuments for Wales.

I.

HISTORY.

"The said Castle is built high up on a rock of stone, very stately and beautifully in a very sweet air." Such is the description of Denbigh Castle given in a survey of the town dating from the time of Henry VIII; but the words describe it equally well in its present state of ruin, and it still dominates the modern town as it did the mediæval borough.

In spite of a complete lack of evidence it is possible that there was some stronghold here from the earliest historical times, as the Welsh name Dinbych suggests the former existence of a "dinas", or early hill fort.

The earliest reference to the place is contained in a letter written in 1230 by Nicholas, Abbot of Vaudey, to Ralph, Bishop of Chichester and Chancellor, in which he states that he found Llywelyn (the Great) at "Tynbey".[1]

It is not, however, until the latter part of the thirteenth century that it comes into any kind of prominence, i.e., after it became the principal residence of Dafydd ap Gruffydd, who was the brother of Llywelyn, the last native prince of North Wales. Llywelyn himself was there in 1269, as in that year he dates a letter to Henry III from "Denbych".[2] Moreover, it is recorded in the

[1] Shirley's *Royal Letters* (Rolls Series), I. 366.

[2] *Ibid.*, II, 329. (I owe these two references to Professor J. E. Lloyd.)

To face p. 64.

Fig. 1. North View of Denbigh Castle, 1750 (Boydell).

"Extenta Castri et Honoris de Dynbiegh", made in 1334, that the free and native tenantry of the commote of Isaled in the time of the native princes of Wales were accustomed to build and keep in repair for the prince a hall, a chamber with its garderobe, a chapel, buttery and bakehouse at Denbigh, and to make and keep in repair the fences there around his court;[1] while the contemporary chronicler Nicholas Trevet also records the grant to David of the *Castle* of Denbigh by Edward I.[2]

The proximity of Denbigh to the Border and especially to the English stronghold of Rhuddlan, suggests that the Prince's "Hall", etc., are likely to have been capable of defence, and that this was actually so is proved by the fact that it withstood the attack of the English army for an appreciable time in 1282.

It is therefore clear that the Welsh Prince had some fortified residence which possibly took the form of a "motte" or castle mount, i.e., a flat topped hillock, usually artificially made of earth and surrounded by a ditch. On the summit of the mount was built a tower of timber and at its base was a bailey or courtyard surrounded by earthen banks which were ditched and crowned by stockades; sometimes one or more additional baileys were added.[3] Such was the typical small castle of pre-Edwardian

[1] *British Academy Records*, vol. i, p. 149. "De construccione domorum et sepium.—Item omnes liberi et Nativi istius commoti solebant construere et sustinere sumptibus eorum apud Dynbiegh' pro Principe vnam aulam vnam cameram cum gardroba et vnam capellam et eciam vnam boteleriam et vnam pistrinam et eciam facere et sustinere sepes circa curiam Principis".

[2] *Nich. Trivet, Eng. Hist. Soc., ed. 1845.* p. 298: "David fuga dilapsus multis annis cum rege Angliae . . . stetit, eidem [David] castrum de Dinbey [Rex] contulit in Wallia, cum terris ad valorem mille librarum annui reditus".

[3] It is however to be noted that there are now no earthworks to be seen on the sites of Llywelyn's residences at Aberffraw and Ystum-

days, as first introduced into Wales by the Normans. The exact position of this castle and "court", however, has not yet been determined: it is conceivable that it may have stood where the present building does, but there is no tangible evidence of any previous occupation of that site, and, although it has been suggested that the earlier castle may be identical with the fine mount and bailey known as Llys Gwenllian,[1] historical evidence is definitely against this hypothesis, and that castle, although only a mile away, lies in a different commote.

In the centre of the present town of Denbigh, now hidden away behind the Crown Hotel, is a high isolated mass of limestone rock, still known as the Mount, which would have provided an admirable natural "motte". This hillock is now obscured by modern buildings, and one side has been partly quarried away, so that all evidence of its occupation has now disappeared—even if any remained after the building of the present castle. Some weight however is given to this suggestion that it may have been the site of the original castle, by the tradition recorded by John Williams in *Ancient and Modern Denbigh*, written in 1856, that the Mount was formerly connected with the present defences by walls, of which some traces yet remained,[1] although the suggestion there made that these walls had formerly enclosed two or more additional wards of the later castle is of course an impossible one.

In March, 1282, Dafydd suddenly revolted in support of Llywelyn in his quarrel with Edward I, the result of

gwern, from each of which Edward I removed bodily a hall of timber into his new castles of Carnarvon and Harlech respectively. See *Cymmrodorion Transactions*, 1915-16, p. 17, and 1921-22, pp. 69 and 77.

[1] *Royal Commn. Inv. Denbighshire*, p. 136. Howell T. Evans, *Wales and the Wars of the Roses*, p. 111, note. *Arch. Camb.*, 1919, pp. 292-8. [2] *Ancient and Modern Denbigh*, p. 38.

which was the final conquest of North Wales by the English king. Edward at once undertook the systematic conquest of the country[1] and by the second week in June he had summoned a large body of English troops to Chester, and had joined them there himself with Henry de Lacy, Earl of Lincoln.

David's base was at Denbigh, with outposts at Dinas Bran, Hope and Hawarden. Hope was captured by June 16th, and Hawarden evacuated by David in July; Rhuddlan became the King's base, and arrangements were made for the final attack on Snowdonia. This began with the capture of Ruthin by Reginald de Grey in the first fortnight of September, while Denbigh itself was surrounded very shortly afterwards by the troops commanded by the King and de Lacy, and fell in the middle of October, thenceforward to remain securely garrisoned. Edward was at Denbigh from October 20th to November 5th, and on October 16th he granted the district, together with a large tract of the neighbouring country, to the Earl of Lincoln,[2] in order that the earl might build a castle there and hold down the district, a like task being allotted to de Grey at Ruthin; while Edward himself took in hand the construction of Carnarvon and the other castles along the north and north west coasts of Wales.

As in the case of the Royal Boroughs, the town and castle of Denbigh were designed to form a single unit for offence and defence, and the construction of a ring of outer defences for the town would naturally be the first step to be taken in a newly occupied country, assuming that there already existed a stronghold to protect the men engaged on the work.

At Carnarvon the stronghold was supplied by the

[1] J. E. Morris, *Welsh Wars of Edward I*, passim.
Calendar of Chancery Rolls: Welsh Roll, 16 Oct., 1282.

mount and bailey castle lately occupied by Llywelyn, which at first was merely strengthened until the town walls had been built, and then was gradually converted into a stone castle. At Denbigh it would seem that David's residence probably provided the defences necessary for the garrison while the present castle was being built and, as has already been suggested, the Mount may possibly have been the site of the earlier structure.

Towards the end of 1282 several workmen were engaged on the fortifications of Denbigh at the royal expense,[1] but the main cost of the building does not appear in the public accounts.

By 1284 the new settlement must have been in thorough working order and the castle and town in a defensible condition, as in September of that year de Lacy was granted "of the King's gift" forty bucks and does from the forest of Delamere wherewith to stock his park of Denbigh,[2] while in the following month he was licensed to alienate in mortmain forty-two marks in his manor of Denbigh to seven chaplains celebrating Divine Service in the chapel of the said manor,[3] and in 1290 he obtained a charter exempting his men inhabiting his town of Denbigh from various tolls and duties in Wales and the border counties.[4]

In the autumn of 1294 came the Welsh revolt; Denbigh castle was captured, and de Lacy was defeated under its walls on November 11th while attempting to retake it, and forced to retire.[5] It was recaptured on the suppression of the rising.

To this period, say the last fifteen years of the thir-

[1] *Welsh Wars of Edward I*, p. 180.
[2] Calendar of Close Rolls, 28 Sept. 1284.
[3] Calendar of Patent Rolls, 18 Oct. 1284.
[4] Cal. Pat., 28 Aug. [5] *Welsh Wars of Edward I.*, p. 253.

teenth century, can be assigned the main part of the building of the castle, with certain exceptions to be noted later, when reasons will also be given for drawing the conclusion that thereafter the work proceeded in a leisurely manner, and that the main constructional work of the castle was done between the years 1282 and 1322.

It is probably no more than a coincidence that this latter year also saw the end of the de Lacy connection with Denbigh, following the execution of the Earl of Lincoln's son-in-law and successor, Thomas Plantagenet, Earl of Lancaster, whose marriage to de Lacy's daughter Alice had taken place in 1294, she then being eleven years old and he about sixteen. De Lacy himself had died in 1310, and the local tradition is strong that as a result of the tragic death of his eldest son Edmund, he had abandoned the castle and never revisited it; in the words of Leland, the mid sixteenth century topographer, "Sum say that the Erle of Lincoln's sunne felle into the castelle welle, and ther dyed: wherapon he never passid to finisch the castelle".[1]

In March 1322 Lancaster was executed at Pontefract, and three months later his widow surrendered all her rights in the castle and manor to the King, (Edward II,) who granted them to Hugh le Despencer, Earl of Winchester, as a "gift for good service rendered and to be rendered".[2] Four years later Winchester was hanged at Bristol and the castle given to Roger Mortimer of Wigmore, in fulfilment of a promise made by the King "before he took the helm of the Kingdom while abroad . . . to provide the said Roger with 1000*l* of land and rent".[3]

Mortimer was hanged in 1330; the castle again came

[1] *Leland's Itinerary in Wales* (Toulmin Smith Edition), p. 98.
[2] Cal. Charter Rolls, 9 July, 1322.
[3] Cal. Fine Rolls, 15 Dec., 1326, and Cal. Charter, 13 Sept. 1327.

into the royal hands, and together with the town, manor, and honour was granted by Edward III in the following year to William Montague, Earl of Salisbury, "to whom the King had revealed his secret design touching the arrest of Roger de Mortuo Mari, late Earl of March, and his accomplices and who was strenuous therein and preserved the tranquillity and peace of the realm", at a valuation of 1000 marks, in part satisfaction of the £1000 which parliament considered he had earned by his services in the affair.[1] Salisbury held it until his death fourteen years later, and from that date until 1353 the custody of the castle seems to have remained with the Crown under the claim that it was part of the Principality of Wales, William Montague the young Earl of Salisbury being a minor, but on October twenty-fourth of that year he "did homage to the King for the barony of Dynbegh".[2] The next year, however, another Roger Mortimer, newly restored to the Earldom of March, claimed the castle and lands as heir of his grandfather[3] and, his claim being admitted, the castle was granted to him in 1355.[4] He held it until his death, when it descended to his son Edmund, and his grandson Roger, and so eventually passed to the Crown.

Denbigh had its share of the troubles of Henry IV's reign. During the last year of that of Richard II accounts for small repairs shew that the castle was being put in order;[5] and on October 29th, 1399, a month after Henry's accession to power, Henry Percy—"Hotspur" was appointed constable of various North Wales castles and made Denbigh his headquarters, having there a garrison of 30 men at arms and 120 archers under the

[1] Cal. Charter, 18 Jan., 1331. [2] Cal. Close, 24 Oct., 1353.
[3] Cal. Close, 21 June 1354 and 20 Jan., 1355.
[4] Cal. Close, 15 July, 1355. [5] P.R.O. Ministers Accounts 1184/23.

command of "Mons' de Ruttleland";[1] later on in 1402-3 there were 20 spearmen and 60 archers.[2]

In 1402 the town was burnt in Owen Glyndwr's rising, and apparently the castle suffered some damage, as two years later it was said to be in urgent need of defence.[3] Meanwhile Hotspur had allied himself with Glyndwr, and lost his life at the battle of Shrewsbury in July, 1403.

We are told that immediately after that battle "all Welshmen then within the castle for the safety of their goods were constrained by the keepers of the castle to go out into the country against the coming of Owin de Glendourdy."[4]

Four days after Shrewsbury, on July 25th, 1403, the Prince of Wales (Henry V) was given full power to punish or pardon all rebels in the counties of Chester and Flint and the Lordship of Denbigh "who lately rose against the King in the company of Henry Percy, son of the Earl of Northumberland",[5] and in August, 1404, he was granted the fine of 3,000 marks levied on the county of Chester "for the custody and governance of the castle of Dynebegh, in the King's hands by reason of the minority of the Earl of March".[6] Evidently the position at Denbigh was causing much anxiety at this time, and the townsfolk were said to be deserting to the enemy. Sir John Stanley, steward of the household of the Prince at Chester,[7] attended the meeting of the great council at Lichfield in this month to report the state of affairs and in addition to the grant of the fine, twenty

[1] Proceedings and Ordinances, Privy Council, ii, 66.

[2] Proc. and Ord. Privy Council ii, 69.

[3] J. H. Wylie, *History of England under Henry IV.* Vol. II. p. 2 and passim. [4] Cal. Pat. 1407. [5] Cal. Pat. [6] Cal. Pat.

[7] 36th Report, Deputy Keeper Public Records, p. 447 (Chester Recognizance Rolls).

gold marks were allotted to be distributed among the discontented garrison.

The Wars of the Roses[1] found Denbigh a Yorkist stronghold, but on January 5th, 1460, the office of Constable of the Castle, "in the King's hands by forfeiture", was granted to Jasper Tudor, Earl of Pembroke, the King's half brother;[2] and a month later, February 5th, "the King's esquire, Owen Tudyr", was appointed parker of the five parks, together with "le wodewardship" of the lordship,[3] while on February 22nd, the Earl of Pembroke was granted "for good service in besieging the castle of Denbigh and crushing the rebels therein, all moveable goods of such rebels in the castle, when it be reduced, to distribute at his discretion to such as give their service herein".[4]

These grants were rather premature, as it is clear that the Yorkists were still holding out, and it seems that the castle had not been reduced by March 13th, when the Earl was allowed 1,000 marks "to support his charges in the recovery of Denbigh Castle and other Castles . . . . . now in the hands of the rebels".[5] The actual date of its capture is uncertain.

After the Lancastrian defeat at Mortimer's Cross on February 2nd, 1461, the position was reversed and the Lancastrian supporters held the castle for some considerable time under the command of Roger Puleston, the governor; but on July 1st a previous Yorkist appointment of Robert Bold, Esquire, as constable is confirmed,[6] and on December 3rd, the King's servant, Thomas Stringer, is also confirmed in his appointment as "porter of the gate of the outer ward of his Castle of Denbiegh and surveyor of his works

[1] See *Wales and the Wars of the Roses*, passim.
[2] Cal. Pat. [3] *Ibid.* [4] *Ibid.* [5] *Ibid.*
[6] *Ibid.*

there" made by "the King's father Richard duke of York true heir to the kingdom".[1]

Denbigh seems to have remained thereafter in Yorkist hands, but in the early summer of 1468, Jasper Tudor, now deprived of his earldom, landed at Barmouth and made his way to Denbigh, at the head of 2,000 Welsh it is said. The castle which was held by its constable, William, Lord Herbert, resisted attack, but the town was captured and burnt, and Tudor held sessions there in the name of Henry VI.

Camden attributes the removal of the town to its present site, outside the walls, to the period of the Wars of the Roses[2] and Leland says that "The new towne of Denbigh was close defacid with fier by hostilite A°.D. 1468".[3] The devastation of North Wales was very great—"In Harlech and Denbigh every house was in flames, and the Vale of Conway reduced to cinders, in the year of our Lord 1468"[4] and Sir John Wynne writing a century and a half later records in his "History of the Gwydir Family" that the marks of the fire were still to be seen.[5]

Leland is the only authority for the statement that "King Edward the 4 was besegid in Denbigh Castelle: and ther it was pacted bytwene King Henry's men and hym that he should with life departe the reaulme never to returne. If they had taken King Edwarde there *debellatum fuisset*".[6]

The last echo of the wars seems to be the grant of 200 marks for the repair of the Denbigh walls in 1485,

[1] Cal. Pat. [2] Gough's Ed. iii, 207. [3] Loc. cit., p. 97.

[4] Hardlech a Dinbech pob dor
Yn Cunnev,
Nanconway yn farwor
Mil a phedwarcant mae Jor
A thrugain ag wyth rhagor.

[5] Askew Roberts. Ed. 1878, p. 55. [6] Loc. cit., p. 98.

being the balance of 1,500 marks granted by Edward IV in 1462[1] to the burgesses towards the rebuilding of the town.

Possibly more work was being done in 1518, as the re-appointment is recorded in that year of one Robert Lloyd to be "clerk of the works and repairs . . . in Denbigh Castle",[2] he having held the post of clerk of the works for the past nine years.

In 1532 the Bishop of St. Asaph "has licence to imprison persons convicted of felony within his diocese in the 'Rede Towre', otherwise called the Bishop's Tower, in Denbigh Castle, as he and his predecessors have been accustomed to do not having any castle or gaol belonging

[1] *Harl.* 433, fo. 154b. Richard &c. To the Receivour of our Towne and lordship of dynbiegh that now is and that for the tyme shalbe greting where as our derest brother of noble memorie king Edward the iiijth whome God assoill considering the gret losses hurtes and damages that our welbeloved subgiettes and tenauntes the Burgesses and inhabitauntes of our said Towne had and sustened afore tyme by occasion of brennyng of the same Towne violently doon by certaine our Rebelles and traitors Gave and graunted unto them toward the Reedifying and newe bulding thereof the summe of fyftene hundred markes. It is soo now that on the behalve of our said burgeys and tenauntes we understande that two hundred markes Residue of the said some Resteth yet unpaidd unto them ffor the contentacion Whereof they have besought us to shewe unto them the favour of our grace wherupon we considering the premisses with the feithfull hertes and services which they at all tymes have borne and shewed unto Us and our blode be content and agreable that they shall have and hooly perceive the said cc markes of thissues Rentes ffynes and myses commyng and groweng of our said lordship that is to say of oon hundred markes at Michilmesse and the other hundred markes at Michilmesse than next ensuying Wherefore we woll and charge you that accordingly ye make unto our said Burgesses and inhabitauntes due and full satisffaccion in that partie and these our lettres shalbe therein your sufficiaunt warraunt and discharge at your accomptes before our auditour to be holden. Geven, &c., the xxiij^{t} day of ffebr. anno primo.

[2] *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic*, Vol. 2, Part 2, No. 4116.

to the bishopric".[1] The "alias" here is curious as the Red Tower and the Bishop's Tower are separately named in the survey of only thirty years later (p. 85).

The next historical personage to be connected with Denbigh was Sir Robert Dudley, K.G., Earl of Leicester, who acquired the castle and its dependencies in 1563, and held them until his death.[2] His extortions made him far from popular with his tenants.[3] His chief monument in the town is the unfinished church which he intended, it is said, to supplant the cathedral church of St. Asaph. He also carried out some small repairs to the residential parts of the castle and the town walls.

The castle was at least habitable in the early part of the seventeenth century, as on March 30th, 1621, the governor, Charles Myddelton[4] died within the building while in residence, and his sister, Margaret Myddelton of Eglwyseg, when giving evidence in a Probate action following the governor's death, declared that "shee could not bee permitted to come within the sayd castle gate,

[1] *P.R.O. Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic*, Vol. v., No. 1499, 21.

[2] He was created Baron of Denbigh on September 28th, 1564, and on the day following Earl of Leicester; his infant son who predeceased his father is described on his tomb in the Beauchamp Chapel at Warwick as "the noble impe, Robert of Dudley, Baron of Denbigh" *(Complete Peerage)*.

[3] The public estimation of his character is reflected in Ben Johnson's epitaph:—

Heere lyes a valiaunt warrior who never drew a sword,
Heere lyes a noble courtier who never kept his word,
Heere lyes the Earle of Leicester who governed the Estates
Whom the earth could never, living, love, and the just heaven now hates.

[4] He was son of another governor of the castle, Richard Myddelton, M.P., and brother to Sir Thomas, Lord Mayor of London, who was probably born in the castle, and to Sir Hugh, the projector of the New River.

when that shee did see and could behould some of that house going passing and stirring uppon the castle wales" (walls).[1]

The castle plays its last active part in history during the Great Rebellion and the hero of the tale is its royalist commander, Col. William Salusbury of Rûg, who was commissioned by the King to garrison it in November, 1643. Salusbury undertook the work of repair and fortification at his own and his relatives' expense, and the castle served as a refuge for many of his royalist friends.

On Thursday, September 25th, 1645, the King came to Denbigh from Chester after the final disaster of Rowton Heath, and remained at the castle until about ten o'clock on the Sunday night, when he set out for Chirk. Tradition has it that he stayed in what had previously been called the Great Kitchen Tower, afterwards the King's Chamber or King Charles' Tower. Possibly it was on this occasion that Salusbury 'spake so plainly to His Majesty for two hours in private, that the good King said "Never did prince hear so much truth at once"'.[2]

The actual siege of the castle by the Parliamentary troops, under the command of General Mytton, did not begin until April 17th, 1646. A slight skirmish had taken place near Ruthin ten days previously, between "about 120 men and 30 firelocks out of Denbigh Castle" and some Parliamentarian soldiery from the recently

[1] W. M. Myddelton, *Pedigree of the Family of Myddelton*, 1910, p. 11.

[2] Richard Newcome, *An Account of the Castle and Town of Denbigh*, 1829, p. 101. N.B.—Except where otherwise noted, the description of the events connected with the Civil War Siege is derived from this book, to which reference should be made for a fuller account.

captured castle of Ruthin. It is to this encounter that reference is made in the following letters; the first from Mytton calling on Salusbury to surrender Denbigh, and the second Salusbury's reply.

GENERAL MYTTON TO COL. SALESBURY.

Ruthin 7th Aprilis. 1646.

Sir,—I have here inclosed a list of those that are brought prisoners here; how many are thyne I doe not yet know, but I am heartily sorry things doe grow soe high between us, and so are your friends at London. Sir, I beeseich you remember your country, yourself and your posterity, and goe on no further in this way, to the undoeing of the first and extreme hazarding of the others. If you please to make use of me, as an instrument to make your peace with the parliament, rest assured you shall engage the best endeavours of him that will shew himself to be

Your ould friend and humble servant,

THO. MYTTON.

Credit me, the King hath noe army left him in the field in any place in the Kingdom".

COLONEL SALESBURY IN ANSWER.

Worthy Sir,—I acknowledge myself much obliged unto you for your kind expressions in your letter sent by my Drum, which I hope to requite in a most reall way before I die. Sir, I have been and am dayly robbed and spoiled, contrary to the law of God and this Kingdom for noe other offence that I know but for my loyallty to my king. The parliament (if I may soe call it) I have noe ways offended, unless (as before) in being loyall to my king, in observing his commands, as well by commission under his hand and seale as also by word from his own mouthe, for the keeping of this place, his Majestie's own house; which (without regard to my own life, lands, or posterity) with God's assistance, I will endeavour to make good for him to my last gaspe, soe I rest your poore kinsman, and ould play fellow to serve you,

WILLIAM SALESBURY.

Denbigh Castle, this 8th day of April, 1646.

I take the king's own person for a sufficient armey, and what armeys alsoe be in England should of right bee his. Upon my credit, noe more of this place but one man killed, and that, (as they say) after quarter given—one other's pate cutt slightly. Too much security hath lost many a fayre game at tennis, as you know: and soe fared it with our men last day.

Mytton makes a second appeal on April 17th, dating his letter from Denbigh town, and again another on June 24th, when he informs Salusbury of the fall of Carnarvon and Beaumaris. The correspondence continued without result until Salusbury succeeded in sending a letter to the King to ask him for instructions. The King's reply was dated from Newcastle on November 14th and authorized him "upon honourable conditions, to quit, and surrender the Castle of Denbigh entrusted to you by us, and to disband all the forces under your commands".

The articles of agreement for the surrender were concluded on October 13th, 1646, and stipulated that the garrison should march out with "colours flying, drums beating, matches light at both ends, bullet in the mouth, every souldier with 12 chardges of powder, match and bullet proportionable, with bag and baggage, &c.". This they did on October 26th.

One incident of the siege is worth recording—it should be remembered that in many cases besiegers and besieged were closely related.

> "Edward Wynn, 4th son of Edward Wynn the only son of Maurice Wynn of Gwydir and Catherine of Beren, by Blanch his wife, daughter of John Vychan of Blaen y Cwm, was captain of a company of foot in Denbigh castle in the service of Charles the First, was wounded in a sally made by the said garrison against the besiegers under Sir John Carter, and in three days after died of his wounds, and was interred with military honours at Llanrhaiadr, being conducted by a part of the garrison as far as Ystrad Bridge, where he had three vollies, thence taken by a party of the Oliverians, who likewise conducted him to his grave after the same manner".

After the surrender the Castle was used for the safe keeping of about 100 Royalist prisoners, among them Sir John Owen of Clenenney, and at least one attempt at rescue and the capture of the Castle was made:—

"1648,

About the end of June, Mr. Doulbein and Mr. Chambers of Denbigh hadd a design to take the castle of Denbige; they scaled it in the night, and about 60 men got into ulter-ward but they were discovered, and some of them taken; they both plundered but escaped as is said".

The contemporary report of this enterprise is worth quoting.[1]

Denbigh Castle surprized for the King by 60 Cavalliers that scaled the walls, who were all after taken Prisoners and the castle secured With a list of the chiefe officers.
London.

Printed for the generall satisfaction of moderate men.
MDCXLVIII.

A Letter from CHESTER of the Designe about surprizing of Denbigh Castle for the KING.
Noble Sir.

We find the King's party still very active in these parts, those in *Anglesey* that revolted, will not accept of the indempnity, but resolve to keep the island for the King.

Sir *John Owen* is acting in *Denbigh* castle where with his confederates the castle was very neere being surprized.

On Monday night last, the Captain of the Guard for *Denbigh* Castle being gone to bed, they began to act their designe.

And there was engaged in this busines for surprize of *Denbigh* Castle (where Sir *John Owen* is prisoner) a Corporall and a Sentinell belonging to the Castle, of the Parliaments Souldiers, who had (it seems) been wrought upon by those who carryed on the design, to whom large promises were made.

These men we have discovered, besides some others whom we cannot yet finde out, to have been corrupted by Sarjeant Major *Dolton*, Captain *Cutler*, Captain *Parrey*, Captain *Charles Chambers*, and some others, who were the chief actors in this plot.

There was a party of the Cavaliers that came that night with scaling ladders, who came privately to the walls, without giving any alarm at all, the Corporall and the two Sentinels of the Guard being privy to their designe, and confederacy.

And about some 60 of the Cavaliers had scaled the walls, and were got over without any opposition at all, and were within the

[1] See also Appendix III.

walls at least an houre before any alarum was given. and it was an hundred to one that we had not been all surprized and ruined, but we were miraculously delivered.

The aforesaid three score Cavaliers that were got over were so neere entrance into the inner Wards of the Castle. that they had but onely one Horse-lock to break, which the Corporall was ready to have assisted them in, to open one of the Sally-ports.

It so pleased God that the Captain of the Guard could not sleep in his bed, but was much troubled, though he knew not for what, and at last he resolved to rise and walk the rounds with his Souldiers, for which purpose he did get up accordingly.

When he had drawn out some Souldiers to walk with him about the rounds, he went with them, untill at last he espied a party got over the wall, and scaling ladders upon the walls, whereupon an alarum was given to the castle; and the Town also, by this means took an alarum. But they all yeelded themselves prisoners at mercy, only some few that had got back again over the wall. And upon search of the businesse the Corporall was discovered to be going with them to help them to open the gate.

I hope this will be a sufficient warning to them all to look well about them, both in that Castle, and also in other parts about us.

Chester City this 8 of July, 1648.[1]

The story ends in bathos, for

"In this month aboute the 16th Dolbein and Chambers with their companye came before Denbigh Castle. and, in a bravado discharged their pistols and wente away".

It is evident that throughout the siege the town walls were held and defended together with the castle and that the main efforts of the besiegers were directed against the Goblin Tower. The earthworks referred to in the following contemporary account of the early days of the siege are still to be seen at its foot; they consist of a crescent shaped bank encircling the base of the tower, which has

[1] It is clear from the other two reports of the occurrence printed in appendix III that the alarm was given after the mantlet had been taken, and while an attempt was being made to force the Upper Gate of the Postern.

been partly obliterated by the Goblin Farm, as well as an outer mound which resembles a tumulus.

> "Each seidges have made works suitable to the condition of the places, our hopes must be of starving, not storming any of them. Denbigh we laid siedge too, soone as wee took Ruthin, which now is 6 weeks since, its governor is a verie wilfull man, he hath verie nigh five hundred able fighting men in it, it hath in its situation all the advantages for strength that any castle can have, there are many Gentrie in it and some riches in it, but it would do well that as they are notoriously refectorie (sic), so they may be made notoriously exemplary by the justice of the parliament upon them and their estates according to their demerits; the countries have improved their interests and many other ways have bin used but all ineffectual, their hearts are as hard as the very foundation of the castle its selfe, being an unpierceable rock: there are Mounts raised round about it and approaches for battering of a tower called the Gobling's Tower, hoping thereby to deprive them of the benefit of a well in that tower, which can we attaine, we may then soon expect the castle, thro' want of water, they having but one well more which is usually, as it is reported, dry in June or July every summer".

This summary of the history of the Castle may conclude with Thomas Churchard's description of it in his "Worthines of Wales", published in 1587. His enthusiasm may be his excuse for the sad doggerel he employs.

> O DENBIGH now, appeare thy turne is next,
> I neede no glose, nor shade to set thee out;
> For if my pen, doe followe playnest text,
> And passe next way, and goe nothing about,
> Thou shalt be knowne, as worthie well thou art,
> The noblest soyle, that is in any part:
> And for thy seate, and castle doe compare,
> With any one, of Wales what ere they are.

The strongest castle and seate that ever man beheld

> This castle stands, on top of rocke most hye,
> A mightie cragge, as hard as flint or steele:
> A massie mount, whose stones so deepe doth lye,
> That no device, may well the bottome feele.
> The rocke discends, beneath the auncient towne,
> About the which, a stately wall goes downe,

With buyldings great, and posternes to the same,
That goes through rocke, to give it greater fame.

I want good words, and reasons apt therefore,
It selfe shall shewe, the substance of my tale:
But yet my pen, must tell here somewhat more,
Of castles praise, as I have spoke of vale.

Mark wel the situation and buylding of the same.

A strength of state, ten tymes as strong as fayre,
Yet fayre and fine, with dubble walles full thicke,
Like tarres trim, to take the open ayre,
Made of freestone, and not of burned bricke:
No buylding there, but such as man might say,
The worke thereof, would last till judgement day.

The seate so sure, not subject to a hill,
Nor yet to myne, nor force of cannon blast:
Within that house, may people walke at will,
And stand full safe, till danger all be passed.
If cannon rorde, or barkt against the wall,
Frends there may say, a figge for enemies all:
Five men within, may keepe out numbers greate,
(In furious sort) that shall approach that seate.

Who stands on rocke, and lookes right down alone,
Shall thinke belowe, a man is but a child:

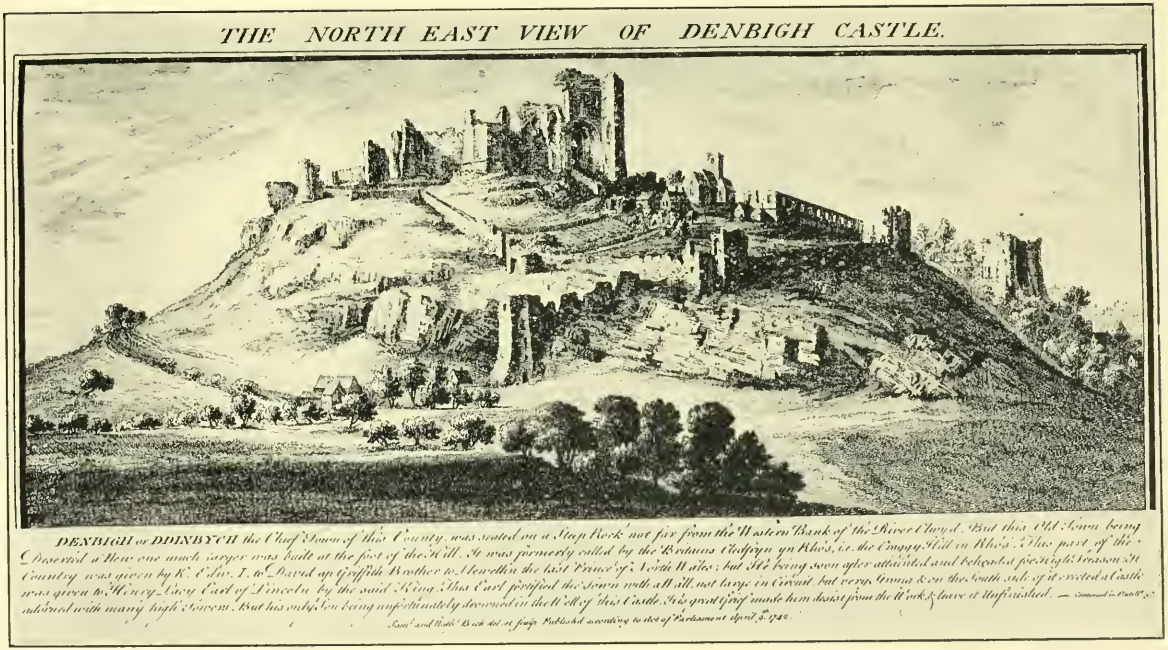
A practise by the author proved.

I sought myselfe, from top to fling a stone
With full mayne force, and yet I was beguyld.
If such a height, the mightie rocke be than,
Ne force nor sleight, nor stout attempt of man,
Can win the fort, if house be furnisht throw,
The troth whereof, let world be witnesse now.

It is great payne, from foote of rocke to clyme
To castle wall, and it is greater toyle
On rocke to goe, yea any step sometyme
Uprightly yet, without a faule or foyle.
And as this seate, and castle strongly stands,
Past winning sure, with engin sword or hands:
So lookes it ore, the countrey farre or neere,
And shines like torch, and lanterne of the sheere.

A great glorie given to Denbigh.

Wherefore Denbigh, thou bearst away the praise,
Denbigh hath got, the garland of our daies:
Denbigh reapes fame, and lawde a thousand waies,
Denbigh my pen, unto the clowdes shall raise.
The castle there, could I in order drawe,
It should surmount, now all that ere I sawe



To face p. 82.

Fig. 2. The North East View of Denbigh Castle, 1742 (Bucks).

To return to the structural history of the castle:—There are stray entries in the public accounts referring to work done when the building was from time to time in the hands of the Crown; the Minister's Accounts for the 47th year of Edward III (1374)[1] record the expenditure of £21 10s. 1½d. on various small works, including stone and timber for the Red Tower, for which, in all probability most of the other materials also were required—a great "wyour" (beam), "gystes" (joists), "walleplates", &c., &c.

This work on the Red Tower is the last new construction of which we have any record, although there is mention in the Minister's Accounts for 20-21 Richard II. (1398)[2] of the "New Tower",—apparently not the same as the Red Tower, which is also mentioned, as is the "Green Tower".

Neither the New Tower nor the Green Tower can be identified with any certainty, nor "le newtowre de Willmo Pygott" of 1411-12, at which time sundry small tasks were being done, mainly repairs to roofs.[3]

It would seem that little or no attempt was made to keep either castle or town walls in repair after the Wars of the Roses were at an end, and the progressive decay throughout the 16th century is clearly illustrated by four official surveys. The first of these[4] dates from the time of Henry VIII, possibly about 1530; the second was made in 1561 just before the Earl of Leicester came into possession; the third[5] in 1594, nine years after his death; and the last in 1603.

The 1561 survey[6] is given in full so far as it relates to

[1] 1183/15. [2] 1184/22.

[3] P.R.O. Exchequer Accounts K.R. 487/16.

[4] Appendix I, p. 112. [5] Appendix II, p. 114.

[6] *P.R.O. Rentals and Surveys:* Exch. Portf. 27, No. 28. (N.B.—Some of the words which are contracted in the manuscript are here printed in full.)

the castle, as it is the most important and interesting of the four, and identifies the different parts of the building; the names it gives to the towers have been adopted for the plan.

"The Survey of the Qnenes heighnes castle of Denbighe in the Coñ of Denbighe taken & vewed by the Jurers subscribed the vjth day of decembre anno Quarto Regine Elizabethe, &c.

Dauyd Byrchinsha, Hughe lloyde, harry Peake, harry Barker, Roger Fletcher, Richard Eaton, Robt. Salusbury de Henllan, Robt. Rutter, Rychard Runckhorne, Rowling Billinge, Robt. Wynwey, Ric' Pigot, Robt. Lewys, Dauyd ap Robt., Fowlk Dolben, Robt. ap Ric' Birchinsha.

Fyrste the said Jurors doe present that the castle of Denbighe standethe upon a Rocke of verey good fundacõn upon the sowthe syde of the towne of Denbighe.

Item they present that at the entry of the castle drawe bridge which bridge is on the Northe parte of the same castle, thear stande two stone walls in good reperacõn vidz one walle on eyther syde the waye at the same entry next before the bridge which walles conteigne in lengthe vj yards, and in height viij yards. The waye before the bridge conteignethe iiij yardes breadthe.

Item thei present that the said drawe bridge contaynethe in lengthe xx (?) yards & in breadthe ij yardes, falling in decaye.

Item thei present that thear is a princely & sumpteowse gate house fynely vawted aboue with karved stone worke, being in lengthe xiij yards & in breadthe x yards, the thyckenes of the wall of the said gatehouse contayneth viij yards, beinge covered with leade & in sufficient reperacõn, with also a porcullys over that gate, & two chambres next that gate, whearin the porter lodgeth in thone of theym and thother is a streyt prison gatehowse.

Item within the said castle thear stande viij fayre towres, every towre distant from the other xxx yardes, & the thyckenes of the walles betwene every of these towres conteigne iiij yardes.

on ye west side of

Item the fyrst of the sayd towres called Badnes towre being on the sowthe parte of the saide gate, & being a rounde heighe towre contaynethe vij yards in lengthe & vj in breadthe having thrie heightes, falling in decaye yet covered with leade.

Item next to that towre on the East parte is a fayre chapple called the quenes chapple, vij yards in lengthe & v in breadthe fayre vawted with stone & covered with leade.

on thest part.

Item next to that, the heighe rounde towre called the great Kytchyn with two great chymneys in the same, two ovens & well covered with leade, in breadthe conteigning xv and in lengthe xvj yards.

Item next to that being the thyrd towre called the White chambre being a verey heighe rounde towre contayninge in lengthe xij & in breadthe xij yardes, & of thrie heightes covered with leade, being ruynowse.

Item a gallery xiij yards in lengthe & two in breadth covered with leade.

Item a small turred called the pitcherhowse being in vtter decaye.

Item a great chambre of stone worke with a vawted seller undernethe in breadth ix and in lengthe xxvij yardes, two heights of great tymbre, covered with leade falling in decay.

Item an other fayr heighe towre called Postorne towre in length ix and in breadthe vij yardes, fowre heightes of tymber covered with leade decayed.

Item a turred by that postorne towre of one height in breadthe iij and in the length iij yards covered with leade, in utter decaye.

Item a fayre towre called the Tresorhowse whearin are kept all the records of the Lordship of Denbigh in length iiij and in breadth iij yards well covered with lead and in good state.

Item the towre next the Tresorhowse in length vj & in breadth vj yardes of iij heightes & covered with leade, falling in decaye.

Item a towre called the busshopps towre in lengthe vj & in breadthe iiij yardes, of iij heightes, covered with leade, & in vtter decaye.

Item a fayre lardge & heighe towre called the redde towre in lengthe ix and in breadthe other ix yardes of iij heightes covered with leade & in good state.

Item a fayre towre called the Stavellole wherin thear is a deape dongion with two fayre prison chambres and rowmes over the same wel covered with leade.

Item the vtter mantellet of that castle, begyninge at the towre called the Postorne Gate which towre conteigneth in length x & in breadthe vij yardes of iij heightes, covered with leade with two drawe bridges and port culles over the same falling to decay.

Item two litle turrettes in the manteled iij yards in breadthe

and iiij in lengthe, sometyme covered with leade and now in vtter ruyne.

* * * * * * *

Item the grene within the castle being a fayre lardge launde contayning in lengthe iiij^{xx} & iiij yardes & in breadth lxx yardes with a ruynowse chapple being vpon that greene the compas of that castle within the walles is iiij^{c} yardes, the walles of the towne adioyning on bothe sydes to the castle.

It will be noted that there is no mention of the Hall—nor is any reference made to it in either of the later surveys, probably the "fully decayed" roof had by now collapsed and its place had been taken by the Green Chambers. The Treasure House Tower is still in good order, serving as it did a practical purpose.

In 1594 there are fewer details, but of the "ten Towers" "fower towers are couered with lead and wanting some reparacõn aswell of Joists and Somers (beams) as also of lead, some of the said fower towers having Iron Barres in the windowes and all vnglased", while six towers are "wholy decaied sauing the walles and having neither dores windowes nor ioists".

The Green Chambers are still covered with lead but have neither "windowes glasse or dores". The estimate for the repair of these chambers and the four towers is £200.

Nine years later however (1603)[1] three Commissioners find

"that the castle of denbigh is altogether in Ruine and vtter decaie all vncouered and spoiled of all timber Iron and lead saveing that of a Ruine called the green Chamber wthin the said Castle was of late couered wth lead by the earle of leicester haveing in the same chamber neither iron glasse dore nor timber more than that which houldeth vp the leades and Ruinous in all other places of the said chamber. And the said Jurors vpon ther oathes do further saie and present that the gatehowse at the

[1] *P.R.O. Special Commissions (Exchequer)*, 3413.

entring in of the said Castle being couered with lead is altogether broken and Ruinous so that by reason of the Raine and continuall wett the same will fall downe to the ground vnles it be presentlie Repaired. And the said Jurors vpon ther said oathes do further saie and present that ther be divers other towers vpon the walles of the said castle all in decaye haveing neither lead Iron glasse nor timber saveing the Read towre the Kitchin Towre and on litle Towre within the said castell and another towre vpon the wall of the said castle called the Excheqr towre w^{ch} towers are in some sorte couered wth broken lead but altogether in decay and the tymber therof Rotten and no Iron left saveing in fowre litle windowes. . . . . there is on other towre ioyneinge to the castell called the Countesse Chamber haveing neither Iron glasse timber nor lead in the same. . . . . the said castle will not be sufficientlie repaired as formerlie it hath bene wth the Charge of fowre thousand poundes, and that the stone in the said castle is little or nothing worth to be sould for that there be plentie of stones there and the timber in the said castell being Rotten is nothing worth to be sould more than for firewood and the said Jurors . . . . say that they do estimate the leade of the said castell to be worth to be sould XLł and the Iron XL*s* and the . . . . . herbage wthin the said Castell is worth to be lett by yeare tenne shillinges.

Finally we have a note in the Survey of the Lordship dating from the 6th year of James I.[1]

"Memorand̄ that wthin this Lo^{pp} his Ma^{tie} hath one Castell called denbigh Castell w^{ch} of longe tyme paste hath bene nowe is in greate ruyne & decaye for wante of reparacõns".

The town walls and towers were in a similar condition, in spite of some repairs carried out by Leicester, and the conversion of the ruin into a fortress capable of successfully withstanding a siege of six months and housing 500 troops as well as a large number of the local gentry must have been a heavy and costly task. Col. William Salusbury of Rûg and Bachymbyd, that "verie wilfull man", deserves that his memory should be kept green by all lovers of Denbigh Castle and those who cherish loyalty.

[1] *P.R.O. Land Revenue Miscellanea Books*, Vol. 240, p. 197.

The rest of the story is quickly told. On July 5th, 1655, an order was issued[1] that Conway and Carnarvon were to be "slighted" (i.e. made incapable of defence) but the forces in Redcastle (Ruthin) and Denbigh were to be retained and recruited from Conway and Carnarvon.

On March 10th, 1660,[2] however, General Monk orders Col. Sir John Carter to employ the people of Denbigh to make the castle untenable and to use the timber and materials towards the expense of doing so. An agreement was made on the 27th of the month whereby the gentry, &c., of Denbighshire agreed to give Capt. John Arundel £200 and all the materials of the castle on condition of his rendering it untenable within six weeks.

Before the end of the year the castle was "demolished" and the disposal of the materials was the cause of much ill-feeling and cross petitioning, Captain Arundel and William Ravenscroft both claiming the right to the timber, etc.[3]

In recent times the building has been administered as a part of the Crown estates by H.M. Commissioners of Woods and Forests, and was transferred to the custody of H.M. Commissioners of Works in 1914. Since that date the preservation of the remains has been proceeding steadily, although the War and its consequences have necessarily made the progress slow.

II.

ARCHITECTURAL DESCRIPTION.

In the case of a "semi-private" castle such as Denbigh the documentary evidence afforded by the public accounts of the Kingdom where the royal castles are concerned is

[1] *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic.*

[2] *Cal. S. P., Dom.*, 1661. [3] *Cal. S. P., Dom.*, 1661 passim.

Fig. 3. Denbigh Castle: General View of the interior.

To face p. 89.

lacking, and any attempt to recover the structural history of the building demands in the first place consideration of the plan, and secondly study of the architectural details of the masonry.

One feature of the Denbigh plan is evident at the first glance—the essential difference in the design of the north eastern and south eastern sides of the castle compared with that of the north western and south western. These last consist of plain half round towers, connected by relatively thin curtain walls which continue the lines of the Town Walls outside the castle, forming, in fact, a salient angle of the town at the highest and least accessible part of the site. The north eastern and south eastern sides of the castle which cut off this angle present a great contrast, the towers are angular and elaborately planned, and the curtain walls are of much greater thickness and height. In this sector, moreover is the very elaborate Gatehouse.

The natural conclusion is that this contrast in design should point to a difference in the date of the construction of the two parts of the castle, and, although complete documentary proof of this is lacking, the masonry affords clear evidence of additions and alterations at several points.

It is possible that when the castle was captured during the revolt of 1294, the townward defences were not far advanced, or even were still of a temporary nature (perhaps wooden palisades only) and therefore easily destroyed and rebuilt shortly after that date.

The general character of the work carried out at Carnarvon during the second and third periods of activity there, between 1295 and 1322, closely resembles that of this inner range of towers at Denbigh. In the case of the two gatehouses the likeness is striking and clearly suggests

a common origin and date. At Carnarvon this date falls between the years 1318 and 1322; and while the simpler style of the architecture of the western half of Denbigh castle is "common form" work of the late thirteenth century, the eastern half together with the Postern and other additions reveals directly or indirectly the mind of a great architect, the same mind that produced Carnarvon castle in its present form. There the design is probably due either to Walter of Hereford, or his assistant Henry of Ellerton, who had succeeded him as "Master Mason" by 1315; and an obvious explanation of the Denbigh plan would be that after the suppression of the 1294 revolt the work of completing or "reconditioning" Denbigh castle was directed by the royal architects. If this was so, however, the cost must have been borne by de Lacy as no charges for the work appear in the public accounts.

Some of the architectural detail at Denbigh—e.g., in the Green Chambers—suggests that the work may still have been in progress in about 1340; and even as late as 1374, when £21 odd was spent on the castle, although minor repairs and fittings accounted for a good deal of the cost, stone, timber, and roofing materials were purchased for the Red Tower.

In one feature the two castles were strangely contrasted, Carnarvon had a profusion of arrow slits, while Denbigh had none, save for those which may have existed in the now vanished battlements.

The Mantlet together with the Postern and Sallyport is clearly an addition, and formed part of the general strengthening of the defences; in all probability the rock-cut moat along the southern face of the castle also dates from this period of reconstruction.

The main entrance to the castle is through the

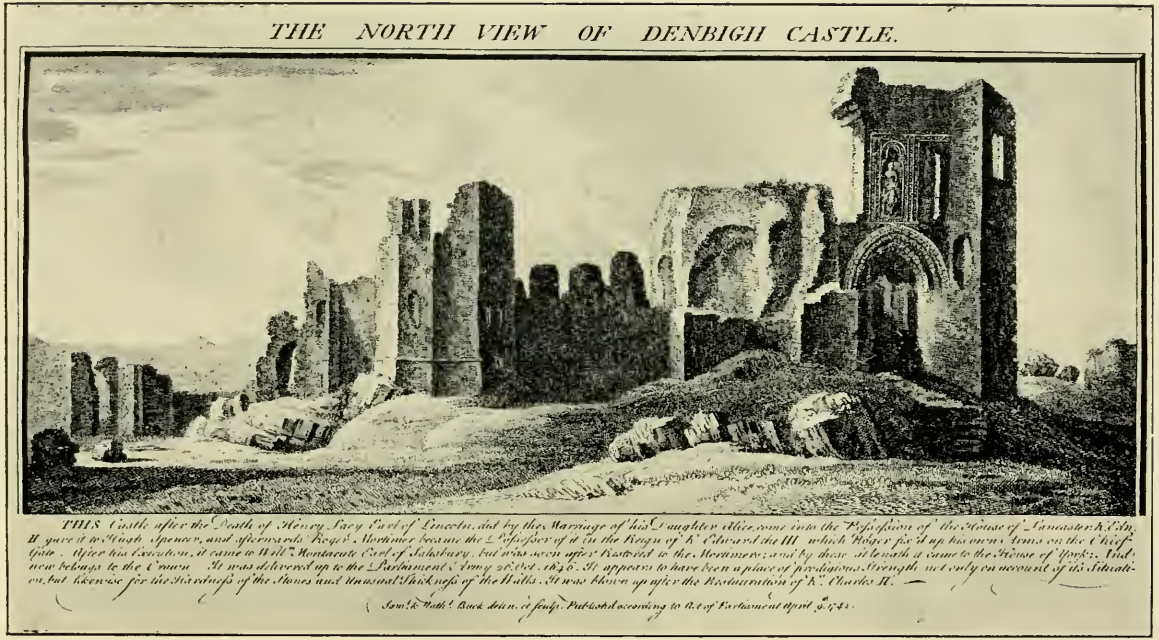


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Fig. 4. The North View of Denbigh Castle, 1742 (Bucks).

"princely and sumpteowse" GATEHOUSE. The plan shews this to consists of three octagonal towers, one placed on either side of the entrance and backed by a third; these three towers and their connecting wings of masonry enclosed a large central hall in the shape of an irregular octagon.

The approach to the Gatehouse crosses the site of a BARBICAN, the foundations of which lie underground and extend outside the modern iron gate. The 1561 survey says that it consisted of two walls one on either side of the approach, six yards in length and eight in height; these walls have now disappeared above ground, but excavation has proved that the lower part of them remains as the masonry facing of a causeway of natural rock which forms the present approach, and that this revetment returns on either side at the outer end of the Barbican as retaining walls to the castle ditch, here almost completely filled by debris. The ditch was about 30 feet wide. At the end of the causeway are the two pits of the drawbridge spanned by a magnificent deeply recessed arch springing from either tower of the Gatehouse. This arch originally consisted of four or more orders, but only the two outer ones now remain. The wall above it was divided into three decorated panels, and the centre one still contains the seated figure of a man. It is probable that this effigy was intended to represent the king, as at Carnarvon, although Leland attributed it to de Lacy. Gough's edition of Camden (1808)[1] in quoting this statement adds that the figure of de Lacy's wife "on his left hand was lately pulled down" a statement which is made very difficult of acceptance by the structural details of the masonry. Here, as elsewhere in the castle, the quoins are of sandstone, while the upper part of the gate above the panels

[1] iii., p. 212.

is built in a chequer of sandstone blocks and small pieces of limestone. The use of these small pieces here and elsewhere is a marked feature of the Gatehouse.

According to the survey of 1562, the Prison Tower, that on the west of the entrance, was known by the curious name of "Stavellole"; this may have been an Englishman's attempt at the Welsh words 'Ystafell Oleu', the 'light chamber', and was perhaps a reference to the well lighted upper rooms in contrast to the prison in the basement, which may have been known as 'Ystafell dywyll', the 'dark' or 'gloomy chamber'.

The same survey names the southern tower the Badnes, Tower, another obscure name, and rather suggests that the eastern one was called the Porter's Lodge; this is curious, as not only was there no direct access to the gate from the lower part of this tower, but the wing wall connecting it with the Badnes Tower contains a small room supplied with a garderobe and entered by a crooked passage leading directly to the doors and portcullises, and it is difficult to imagine that this room could have been anything but the lodge for the porter.[1]

The masonry on either side of the ENTRY (marked A on the plan) leading directly into the central octagon has been much ruined and its details obscured by the addition of modern supporting pillars, but the grooves for two portcullises are still traceable. There must have been one door immediately behind the inner pit and another at the point of entrance into the Octagon. Over the entry was a chamber, into which the portcullises rose when lifted. This chamber was reached on either side from passages in the thickness of the walls, which also led to the curtain walls on both sides of the Gatehouse, thus enabling the defenders to pass from one to the other without

[1] He may, however, have had his residence in the tower.

entering any of the residential rooms. Such free access to the different parts of the defences was an essential feature of the mediæval castle, and it is interesting to see how it was secured at Denbigh. It was possible to make a complete circuit of the wall tops, as the stairs in the Kitchen, White Chamber and Red Towers not only led up from the courtyard, but also served to connect the adjacent wall walks, which changed level at these points; while the stair in the Badnes Tower provided another point of access, and it is probable that the chief motive for certain additions to the inner faces of the earlier towers was to enable the wall walk to be carried round them without a break.

The OCTAGON (marked B on the plan) was vaulted in stone and the slight evidence which remains suggests that the crown of the vault rose almost to the floor level of the series of rooms over the Entry. Excavation has not revealed any evidence of a central pillar.

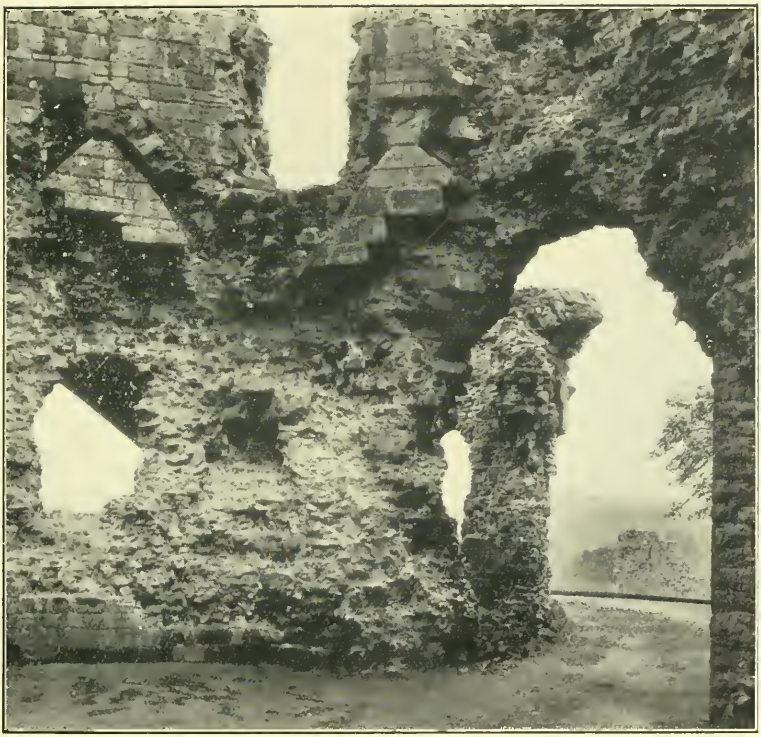
It is, however, doubtful whether the rooms intended to have been built above the Octagon and the Entry were ever completed; Leland's description written about 1540 certainly suggests that they were not; had they been they would have connected the upper rooms of the three towers and with them have formed an extraordinarily fine and—for the period—comfortable residence. Moreover, the Gatehouse as a whole would almost have served the purpose of a great tower, i.e., a self-contained stronghold designed to serve as a rallying point for the garrison and to resist attack even after the rest of the castle had been captured.

The "great tower" was an early feature in military architecture and had practically died out in the late thirteenth century—Flint castle contains one of the last examples to be built (1277)—the strongly fortified gate-

house taking its place at a slightly later date as at Harlech (1286). The Denbigh gatehouse seems to have been a compromise between the two ideas rather than a step in the development of the one into the other.

The main passage way or INNER ENTRY (marked C on the plan), continues across the hall and leads obliquely into the courtyard, past the remains of the gateway which once connected the Badnes and Prison Towers. At the inner end of this gate was a portcullis of which the grooves can still be seen, and its outer end was closed by a door, the position of which is marked by the hole for the draw bar. Above was a portcullis chamber which also served to connect the upper rooms of the Prison Tower with the courtyard, by way of the stair on the north side of the Badnes Tower. This stair, which was contained in an octagonal case, was reached from the courtyard through a porch in the west wall of the tower, which had an inner and an outer door of which the bar holes can be seen; it provided the chief means of access to the upper floors of the gatehouse; the branch already referred to led into the Prison Tower and so to the western curtain and the portcullis chamber over the main entry, while another led round the Porter's Lodge Tower to the same portcullis chamber, as well as to the eastern curtain. The stair also led to the upper chambers of the Badnes Tower, and to the series of rooms above the Octagon and the Entry.

A vaulted passage leads from the Inner Entry into the PRISON TOWER; opening from the left of it is a small garderobe chamber and from this chamber can be seen the elaborate arrangement by which the shoots from five different garderobes discharged into the common cesspit. The interesting contrivance by which rainwater was led from the roof to the pit by a curving pipe in the thick-



To face p. 94.

Fig. 5. The Gatehouse Octagon, S.W. side and Inner Entry.

ness of the wall should also be noticed on the left hand side of the adjoining passage. This passage originally led directly into the ground floor room; now it ends in rough steps which lead down through the broken roof and side of a small vaulted garderobe chamber which originally served the basement, the "deape dongion" of the 1561 survey.

It is certain that this room was built for a prison, and the fate of those condemned to inhabit it must have been unenviable. The only entrance was through a trap door in the floor of the room above; there was no light; and the only ventilation was provided by a small airhole in the north east wall, which led up to the outer face of the tower through twelve feet of masonry. A certain amount of air might have entered through the garderobe shaft, but this can scarcely have been of the sweetest, as the shaft led directly into the large cesspit already mentioned.

The survey tells us that above the "dongion" were "two fayre prison chambers and rowmes over the same". These were well lighted by large windows, they were provided with garderobes, and had fireplaces in the south east walls, of which nearly every trace has been lost. Including the "dongion" this tower was four stories high.

The ground floor passage continues past the entrances to the garderobe and the ground floor room and formerly led to a chamber beside the main Entry. There was no other approach to this chamber which may have helped to command the Entry by means of loop holes.

The floor of the passage is crossed diagonally by the foundation of a wall; this is in a direct line with the western curtain, and suggests a previous extension of it which has been removed to make room for the Gatehouse.

The companion tower, the PORTER'S LODGE TOWER has been much ruined, almost the whole of its

eastern side having fallen. It had no basement, otherwise in general design it resembled the Prison Tower in having a ground and two upper floors. The details of the plan, however, are quite different; the only entrance to the ground floor was by a passage which led directly into the courtyard and was protected by two doors and a portcullis.

The BADNES TOWER is also octagonal. It is badly ruined, especially on the south side. It contained three main rooms and has a rockhewn cellar; the ground floor was well lighted and was provided with a fireplace and a garderobe. The latter was placed in the north east wall, and was flushed by rainwater in the same way as was the pit in the Prison Tower; the shaft leads into a long gallery which receives those from several more garderobes.

This room was well lighted by two windows having deep embrasures, which looked out on the courtyard; between them was the door, reached by a porch in the thickness of the wall which contained a short flight of steps up from the courtyard. One stone on the right shews remains of the lead in a chase which held a hinge of the door, and just above is the hole for the draw bar. A third and much smaller window looked into the Octagon. In the thickness of the wall, over the head of this window was a stair leading from the octagonal staircase to the upper passages of the gatehouse. At the head of the stair on the right hand is a garderobe shaft, and further on are several more at the point where the wall walk leading to the Kitchen Tower leaves the Gatehouse.

This walk was originally in the thickness of the wall; on the left are embrasures which probably were provided with arrow slits, and above it on the top of the wall was a second walk; both led to the stair in the Kitchen Tower and by means of it to the curtains beyond.

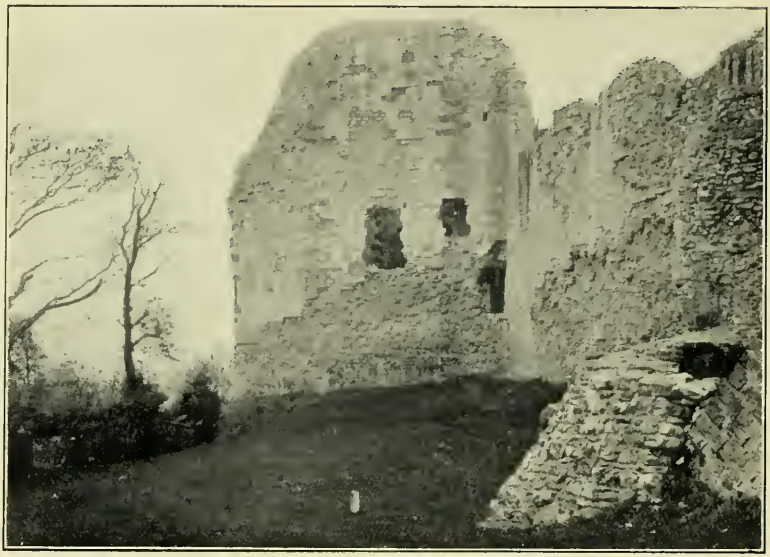


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Fig. 6. The Great Kitchen Tower.

Between the Gatehouse and the Kitchen Tower—according to the 1561 survey—stood the QUEEN'S CHAPEL, but this has now disappeared; so has a second, which stood somewhere within the courtyard, and—according to the Henry VIII Survey—was built "to serve the castle"; it was however "ruynowse" by 1561. Farther east is the WELL; this is now over fifty feet deep and has not been completely cleared. The battered condition of the masonry of the curtain near the well is due to the fact that at one time it served as butts for a minature rifle range.

The GREAT KITCHEN TOWER is also known as King Charles's Tower, as the King is said to have been lodged in it when he visited the castle in 1645. In plan it is an irregular hexagon, practically a square with the two projecting corners bevelled off. It is three stories high and its most notable features are the two great fireplaces, sixteen feet wide, in the north and south walls on the ground floor. The methods by which the flues must have been carried up in front of the window recesses on the first floor, immediately above the fireplaces, may be described as perversely elaborate and ingenious; the only light was from two small windows, one on either side of the door.

The upper room was reached directly from the court by a stair in the north west corner of the tower, from which led a wall passage into the window recess above the northern fireplace. The garderobes occupied the corresponding position at the south west corner, and a fireplace flanked by two small lights was built into the western wall. As already noted, the upper part of the stair connected the two wall walks of the adjoining curtain with the one which leads southwards along the face of the tower.

The GREAT HALL was built against the next stretch

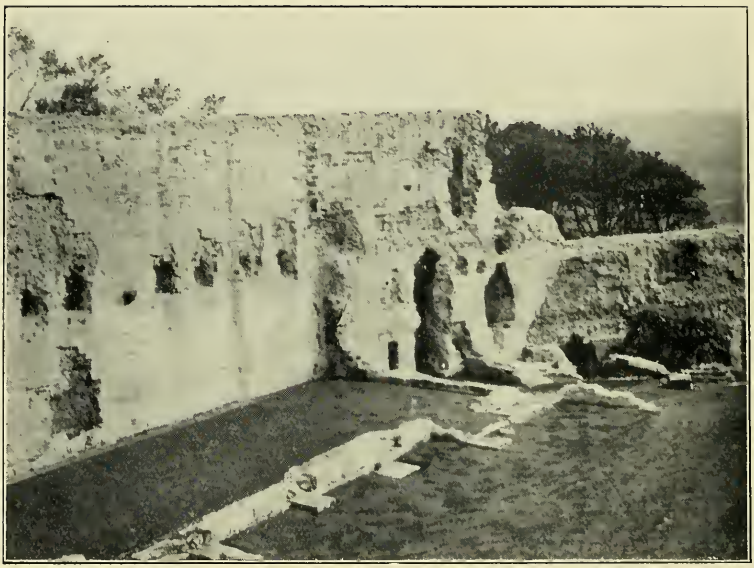
of the curtain, that joining the Kitchen and White Chamber Towers. Only the foundations now remain to bear witness to several minor alterations of plan, particularly of the porches at the north west and south west corners. The south west porch opens from a bay and was linked with the Green Chambers by a gallery. At the north east corner of the Hall a door provided direct access from the Kitchen to "the Screens".

The hall of a castle, together with its adjacent buildings reproduced all the essential features of a mediæval house; one of these was "The Screens", a passage way crossing the end of the hall which had a doorway at one or both ends and other doors on either side, leading on the one hand directly into the hall and on the other to the kitchen, buttery and pantry. At Denbigh as we have seen, the kitchen was in the adjacent tower, and it is practically certain that the remains of foundations north of the hall indicate the site of the buttery and pantry.

In the case of the typical residence, the living rooms of the family were placed at the end of the hall farthest from the service; here they were represented by the Green Chambers and the White Chamber Tower.

In a castle, moreover, as contrasted with a house, the hall served a rather different purpose, as it formed the common room of the garrison, while the governor of the castle and his family would normally have their meals in their own apartments.

For some unexplained reason the courses of the masonry of the curtain at the back of the Hall have been built parallel with the original sloping surface of the ground up to a considerable height, the upper part of the wall, however, above the roof level is coursed horizontally in the usual manner. In it can be seen two of the corbels which helped to support the roof, and the holes from



To face p. 99.

Fig. 7. Site of Hall and Pitcherhouse Turret.

which eight more have been taken. The roof and floor were described as "fully decayed" about 1530, and as the Hall is not mentioned after that date, it is probable that its collapse was not long delayed.

The area between the Hall and the Green Chambers is occupied by the somewhat confusing remains of stair and passage ways. Nearest to the Hall is a low wall, which carried steps leading up to a door at the foot of the circular stair in the White Chamber Tower. Immediately adjoining was a turret containing another stair which gave access to the upper floor of the Green Chambers. This second stair was reached from a third flight of steps which led down to a postern in the curtain.

The Survey of 1562 tells us that this turret, then in "utter decaye" was known as the PITCHERHOUSE (marked D on the plan), and it seems likely that the main purpose served by what we may therefore call the PITCHERHOUSE POSTERN (E on the plan) was to provide access to the well in the Goblin Tower which, as recorded in the seventeenth century account of the siege, provided the only source of fresh water within the defences when the well near the Kitchen Tower ran dry, as it usually did in the summer.

Possibly the small chamber in the base of the turret which opens from the head of the postern steps, was the actual "house" where the pitchers of water were placed as they were brought up from the well. Above this in the face of the tower can be seen the seatings for beams which supported the turret roof.

THE WHITE CHAMBER TOWER is for the most part in ruins. It was three stories in height, and in outward appearance must have resembled the Kitchen Tower; the plan however shows considerable differences. The basement was reached by a flight of steps down from the

court, while access to the upper floors was by the circular stair in the south west corner. A large section of this stair was thrown down when the castle was destroyed, and now lies in the nearest corner of the Green Chambers.

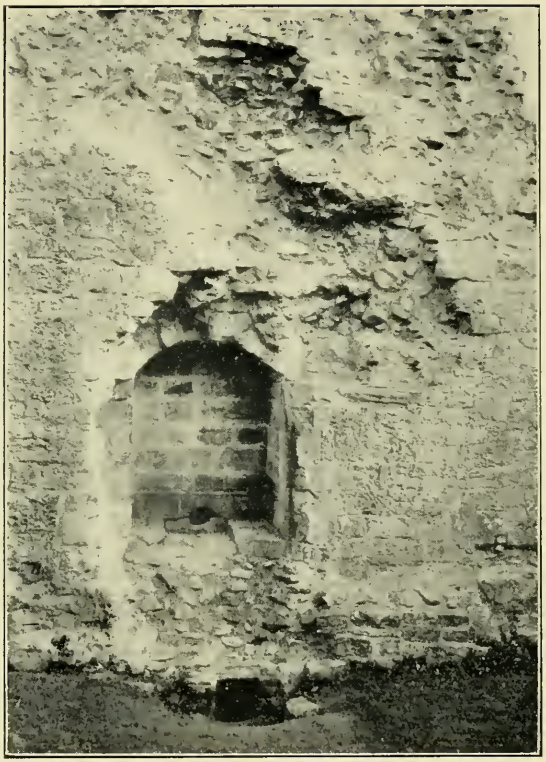
As the curtain wall south of the White Chamber Tower is considerably lower than the section north of it, owing to the fall of the ground, the stair also served to connect the two wall walks; it was reached from the lower wall top through a small lobby containing a flight of six steps.

A few yards away and now standing free in the court-yard are the foundations of a small building which may well have been the pigeon house, an indispensable adjunct to a mediæval castle, where the birds often supplied the only fresh meat available in the days before the cultivation of root crops made it possible to keep cattle alive throughout the winter and, of course, in case of siege.

The GREEN CHAMBERS probably date from the last part of the second and most important building period, i.e., from about the fourth decade of the fourteenth century.[1] It is clear that the main curtain wall was built first and that this group of rooms was added afterwards; but it is also certain that their erection was contemplated from the first, as the construction of the drain from the basement which passes through the foundations of the curtain shews that it was not an added feature, but could only have been built with the wall.

There were two vaulted basement rooms of unequal size, the southern entered from the court by a flight of steps, and the northern by a similar flight and also by a door to the Pitcherhouse Postern; both rooms were well

[1] The name is met with as early as 1362-3 in the Public Accounts. "et in cerura empta pro hostio le gryn chamb' ex mandato aud[itoris] et rec[eptoris] xiiijd." P.R.O Ministers Accounts 1182/7.



To face p. 101.

Fig. 8. Recess and drain holes in basement of Green Chambers.

lighted and the southern may possibly have served as a kitchen (although there is now no trace of any fire-place), as in addition to the large drain on the floor level already mentioned, it was furnished with a tank immediately above built into an arched recess in the curtain. The drain from this was carried through the wall and discharged into a triangular space at the back. Three carved corbels remain of those which supported the ribs of the vault, and are some of the few decorative details still remaining in the castle. In the northern corner is a maiden's head wreathed with a chaplet, in the western is an imp's head, and next to this a lion's face.

The two rooms on the upper floor were reached by the stair in the Pitcherhouse Turret, and possibly by another (of which the base only remains) at the southern corner of the Chambers, and by a gallery from the Hall. Towards the northern end was a fire-place in the curtain wall.

In the courtyard opposite the northern corner of the Green Chambers there is a curious free-standing block of masonry; this formed the base of an angle buttress, and was pierced by a doorway which was rendered necessary by the fact that the buttress also formed the end of the gallery which led from the south porch of the Hall and connected it with the Pitcherhouse and the Green Chambers. The corresponding buttress at the western corner was solid.

From the site of the stair at the southern end of the Green Chambers can be seen between their south west wall and the curtain the straight joint which shews that the two were not built at the same time. The stair was reached by a lobby contained in a thickening of the south eastern end of the south west wall of the Chambers and was itself built in the thickness of the curtain. As the curtain is now entirely broken through at this point it is

possible to see into the triangular space which, as already mentioned, took the discharge of the drain from the basement. This space fills the angle outside the castle at the junction of the curtain with the Town Wall and is cut off by a cross wall built at right angles to this last. The purpose of the cross wall is not very obvious, although it would have served to strengthen what might otherwise have been a weak point in the defences. It was built simultaneously with the curtain, but later than the Town Wall. At one time there was an opening through it by a half arch built against the Town Wall. This opening was below ground-level and was subsequently blocked up.

At the bottom of the triangle is a wide paved channel with sloping sides designed to carry the water flowing from the tank in the Green Chamber basement through the spout above to an outlet under the Town Wall. At a still lower level and completely covered in, is the covered channel of the larger drain which leaves the same room at the floor level.

There is some evidence to suggest that the space was vaulted and the chamber above it reached from the adjacent stair.

The POSTERN TOWER stands at the point where the earlier and later periods of the castle work join and together meet the Town Wall. The curious angle at which it is placed suggests that it was always intended that the junction should have taken place at this point, although the Green Chambers and the adjacent curtain were probably the first stone buildings to be erected on the site they occupy.

The tower shows much evidence of alteration. It contained three stories and a basement and originally projected beyond the curtain as a plain half round, similar

To face p. 103.

Fig. 9. The Postern, Lower Gate.

to the Treasure House Tower, its neighbour on the west; but when the castle was remodelled it was greatly altered by additions consequent on the construction of the new Upper Gate by its side. To the base of its outer face was added a mass of masonry which formed the side walls of the way down from the Upper to the Lower Gate, and also served to support the now vanished Gatehouse which must have spanned the Upper Gate and its two drawbridge pits, i.e., the "turred of one height in length viiij and in breadth iij yards covered with leade" which was "in utter decaye" by 1561.

The south west angle of the added masonry formed a spur buttress to the tower, while the eastern side was continued to form the outer wing wall which protects the steep passage-way between the Upper and Lower Gates. At its southern end this wall joined the Lower Gate, the POSTERN GATE of the Henry VIII survey, which as the 1561 Survey tells us was "of iij heightes" and was then "falling to decay". The main passage-way leads steeply down from the Upper to the Lower Gate; on the left hand were originally steps for foot passengers, and on the right a sloping way for horses; the original paving of this, of which no trace was found when it was excavated, has now been replaced by shallow steps. The Lower Gate covered the right-angle turn taken by the passage-way and extended westward to cover the inner drawbridge pit. No doubt it contained a chamber or chambers for the guard, served by a garderobe, of which the lower part of the shoot still remains. The upper floor was reached by the passage in the thickness of the western wall; the remains of the doorway leading to it can still be traced at the north end of the wall at the head of the lower flight of steps.

Beyond the site of the Lower Gate the main passage leads due west across the second drawbridge pit, through the

fragmentary remains of a slightly built BARBICAN, and so into the moat.

It should be noted that both these lower drawbridge pits and the building above them are obviously additions to the Lower Gate as first built. A "straight joint" is clearly visible east of the inner pit, and a second and longitudinal one in the wall south of the outer pit shews that the extension was built within a pre-existing barbican, while the later barbican was yet another addition.

From this point the way must have run along the bottom of the moat until it reached its western end somewhere below the Tower next the Treasure House, being flanked and commanded by the mantlet for the whole of the distance.

Recent excavation has proved that the ditch, at any rate in its present form, was made in mediæval times and that it probably owed its existence to that general strengthening of the defences which characterised the second period of the work on the castle and was responsible for the construction of the mantlet.

It will be seen that the Postern Tower marks the only point in the castle where the main walls were directly accessible to attack. The weakness however was more apparent than real, as the position was commanded by the tower at the Lower Gate of the Postern as well as by the Postern Tower itself and by whatever building may have covered the triangular space at the back of the Green Chambers.

A plain stretch of curtain connects the Postern Tower with the Treasure House Tower. It is probable that in the first place this wall was continuous and was not pierced by a gateway; while a clearly marked horizontal line in the masonry suggests that it has been heightened.

Inside the curtain, adjoining the entrance to the

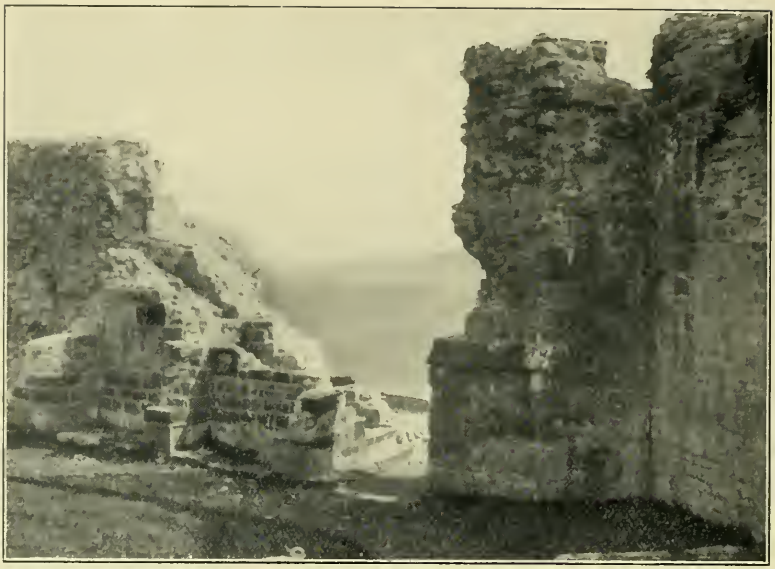


Fig. 10. Entrance to the Tower next the Treasure House, shewing thickening of the curtain.

To face p. 105.

Fig. 11. The Mantlet, Ditch, and Outer Bank, looking towards the Postern.

Postern, are the foundations of a square building and west of this was a long narrow one, both of unknown purpose. Farther west again and partly covering the inner face of the Treasure House Tower there has been added a stairway, which led to the wall-top and the upper floors, and buttresses which carried the wall walk round the face of the tower.

THE TREASURE HOUSE TOWER was a plain half round tower three stories high of which only a part of the basement now remains. It closely resembles the Postern Tower but lacks a cellar. The ground floor room, however, could only have been entered from the court and this was probably the "Treasure House", in which were stored the records of the Lordship of Denbigh; access to the upper rooms would have been from the curtain walls and, later, by means of the added stair.

THE MANTLET formed an additional line of outer defences along the southern and western sides of the castle from the Postern as far as the Exchequer Gate in the Town Wall. It was composed of five sections, each of which was intended to be commanded by a tower projecting from the curtain. Between the Postern and the Treasure House Tower is the only stretch which remains in a fairly complete condition. It is a terrace lying between the original curtain wall of the castle and a retaining wall built up from the face of the rock. The height and steepness of this rock were probably increased by the cutting of the dry moat at its foot, so that the total height of the Mantlet above the ditch now amounts to about 30 feet; thus a double purpose was served, a large amount of stone being obtained for the castle buildings and the defences increased by the addition of a ditch and an outer bank made of the smaller stones and rubbish.

A projecting bastion midway along this easternmost

stretch of the Mantlet formed the outer face of a small turret which would have commanded the entrance to the Barbican. The projecting wall just west of it once formed part of the shaft of a garderobe.

Access to this section was obtained by a passage at the side of the drawbridge pits of the Upper Gate of the Postern. It was cut off from the next stretch westward (which has now almost completely disappeared), by a cross wall at the foot of the Treasure House Tower. This wall which is pierced by a doorway opening eastwards was designed to have formed the base of a turret projecting from the tower. No mention, however, is made of any such building in the surveys, and no structural evidence remains to show whether it was ever completed. In the angle between the tower and the curtain westwards are the remains of garderobe shafts.

This second stretch of mantlet was also entered directly from the court by a doorway through the curtain. The lower courses of the original sandstone jambs remain and prove that an entrance was made here when the wall was first built, and that when it was thickened, the courtyard level was raised and steps inserted.

All trace of the retaining wall of the mantlet has now disappeared except at the south corner. It is known that much stone has been quarried away here and the present sloping bank consists of rubbish cleared from the interior of the castle and used to fill up the old quarry.

The original north western termination of this wall can only be conjectured, but the steepness of the rock at the foot of the Tower next the Treasure House, which appears to be in its original condition, makes it probable that the Mantlet ended at the base of that tower and was not directly connected with the long stretch which once existed between the tower and the Exchequer Gate.

The curtain north west of the Treasure House Tower was flanked internally for half its length by a long building—possibly containing the stables; then comes the doorway to the mantlet, followed by a stair leading to the wall-top. This stair was added to the original wall, which was heightened at the same time, and the thickening was carried round across the inner face of the Tower next the Treasure House. At the angle between curtain and tower the upper part of the original tower wall has fallen away, leaving the rough internal face of the thickening exposed and so making it clear that this thickening was built against pre-existing masonry.

Only the basements remain of the TOWER NEXT THE TREASURE HOUSE and the BISHOP'S TOWER. They differ slightly in plan from the Treasure House and Postern Towers, as each contains a rectangular chamber and window recess, in place of the simple chamber with semi-circular end which is to be found in the other two. Each was originally three stories in height. Additions have been made to the inner face of both; the base of the usual stair leading to the upper floors can be seen in front of the Tower next the Treasure House, while in front of the Bishop's are two stairways, one leading directly down into the basement of the tower, and the start of another, which led to the upper floors.

The greater part of the curtain between the Tower next the Treasure House and the Bishop's Tower has disappeared and with it the evidence to show how the adjacent stretch of the Mantlet was reached. The outer wall of the Mantlet has gone also, the present retaining wall being a modern one replacing the original which collapsed in the year 1853.[1] The position of the missing portion of the curtain is lined out with stones. Modern steps cross-

[1] *Arch. Camb.*, 1853, p. 155.

ing the site of it at a point south of the Bishop's Tower lead down to one of the most interesting details of the castle; a small but elaborate SALLYPORT, consisting of a narrow winding stair and passage leading down and out through the face of the Mantlet at a point in front of the Bishop's Tower. The passage was defended at the bottom of the stair by a portcullis and an inner door, direct access to which was prevented by a sharp turn in the passage. Each of the two lengths of the passage between the door and the entrance was commanded by a "murder hole", a contrivance by which assailants could be attacked from above by the defenders with very small chance of retaliation. Apparently there was no outer door.

The Sallyport must have been crowned by a turret which would have contained the portcullis when raised, as well as the machinery for working it, etc., and would also have served to divide the two lengths of Mantlet. But all the upper part is now destroyed. Presumably it must have been reached from an upper floor of the Bishop's Tower and have given access to the Mantlet.

The northern end of this portion of the Mantlet is now blocked by a large mass of fallen masonry, part of the Red Tower, which owes its present position to the deliberate destruction of the castle at the end of the Civil War. Close by, and in the usual place in the angle between the curtain and the base of the tower, is a garderobe pit.

The RED TOWER which no doubt owes its name to the red sandstone freely employed in its construction,[1] stands at the other junction between the Town Wall

[1] The account of the receiver of the Countess of March for the 47th year of Edward III mentions stone for "rubra turre". Min. Acc. 1183/15.

and the castle, but unlike the Postern Tower it belongs entirely to the later period of building. It is probable that it replaced a simple round tower, but as the greater part of it lies outside the area controlled by the Office of Works no complete examination has yet been possible. It is octagonal in plan. The two upper floors were reached by a circular stair placed in the angle with the western curtain, which also connected this curtain with the considerably higher stretch adjoining the Gatehouse. Through the thickness of the eastern side of the tower ran a wall passage which led to a similar passage in the Town Wall and so gave direct access from the interior of the castle to the Exchequer Gate. As usual there was no direct communication between the basement room and those above it.

The Mantlet once extended in front of the Town Wall from the Red Tower as far as the Exchequer Gate.

A series of buildings of some importance was placed against the curtain connecting the Red Tower with the Prison Tower; the foundations which remain, but are now covered in, shew evidence of different periods of building; the first was probably contemporary with the curtain, but some of the additions were of a quite late date.

A line of corbels for a roof and seatings for beams can also be seen in the curtain, the top of which was reached from a lobby on the first floor of the Prison Tower. This lobby also gave access to the first floor room of the tower, to a garderobe, to a small well lighted room leading to the portcullis chamber over the Inner Entry (and so to the courtyard by the octagon stair in the Badnes Tower) and, finally, to the passage leading to the portcullis chamber over the main Entry and by it to the eastern curtain.

In addition to the parts of the castle identified above, the following buildings, offices, &c., are mentioned in different building accounts and surveys. Their actual position is in most cases conjectural and some may have been connected with the Exchequer Gate, or lain elsewhere within the Town Walls:—

The New Tower.
The cellar under the New Tower.
The New Tower of William Pygott.
The Green Tower.
Noryce's Tower.
The Stable Tower.
The middle solar of the Stable Tower.
The Tower towards the Little Park.
Hauley's chamber.
The Auditor's chamber.
The chamber of the clerk of the court by the great steps over the Great Gates.
The Houses over the Treasury.
The Treasury within the castle.
The Bake house.
The Brew house.
The Salting house.
The Larder.
The Upper Granary.
The Lower Granary.
The Great Stable outside the castle.
The Stable at the end of the Great Stable.
The New Stable.
The "Muttehall".
The Pinfold.

In the few accounts for the castle expenses that are extant, the majority of the entries refer to the ordinary maintenance charges of the buildings; some are worth

quoting. An account[1] for Michaelmas 35 Edward III. records the purchase for 6/8d. of parchment for writing the extent of the Lordship of Denbigh, and the payment of 20s. to the clerk who transcribed it. At the same time five pairs of "feders" cost 4/2½d. In 1365-6[2] fifty bows cost 60/-, cables were bought for a drawbridge, and forty ells of green and white cloth. Green cloth for covering the Exchequer also occurs, and canvas and nails for the same purpose.

In 48-49 Edward III[3] the armoury of the Castle was being put in order; twenty-one pairs of 'iron gloves of Flanders' were bought for 42/- and twelve red skins cost 5/-. Old plates were renewed, and 3,600 nails with gilt heads for the same cost 18/-. All these were brought from London. There were also sixteen skins "cervorum et damarum" for the covering of the plates at a cost of 15/11d., twelve ells of canvas for the same, wax with which to wax the canvas, white thread, and the charge for sewing the covers of the plates. "Steel pro hameres" cost 3d., rosin 1½d., a cord "pro belies del smythie" 1d., and half-a-pound of "Vernashe" 9d. Then there were the wages of the armourer and his servant working at Denbigh, and hammers, small tongs, and other necessaries for making "brest plates."

In 47 Edward III[4] the account of the receiver of the Countess of March includes grease "pro le wyndas" which cost 3d., the occasion being the raising of a great "wyour" (beam) on a tower; this was carried to the castle from Postny, and Adam, son of Alan, was paid for making two "corbelles pro rubra turre in bosco de coedraghan", while John of Stokley had 36/8d. for carting "xliiij gystes et walleplates corbelles et laẽ cariata de Postny vsque ad castrum".

[1] Min. Acc. 1182/5. [2] *Ibid.*, 1182/9. [3] *Ibid.*, 1183/20. [4] *Ibid.*, 1183/15.

At the same time solder was required, no doubt for the roof, "in soudura empta pro brekkes plumbi stoppandis"; two men were paid for laying the hearths for the plumbers, and these last received pay for three weeks, including the time taken in sharpening their tools.

The accounts make it clear that while the roofs of the buildings were normally covered with lead, both shingles and tiles were also employed.

Apart from the acknowledgements already made, it remains for me to express my gratitude for the assistance I have had from Mr. C. R. Peers, and from my father Mr. J. K. Hemp.

APPENDIX I.

"*Archæologia Cambrensis*", *5th Series, Vol. V. (1888), Page 98.*

SURVEY OF DENBIGH CASTLE MADE IN THE REIGN OF HENRY VIII. (c. 1530).

(N.B.—Additions are indicated by square brackets.)

"The said Castle is built high upon a rock of stone, very stately and beautifully, in a very sweet air, seven miles from the sea; and near to the same Castle are a few houses and a fair chapel called the Borough of Denbigh.

"The same Borough and Castle being walled about with a strong wall standing high, but in a few places able to be come unto, by reason of the highness of the rock whereupon the said wall standeth. The same wall having two gates with portcullis; whereof the one [Burgess Gate] is north from the said Castle, and goeth down into the Town of Denbigh, called the Suburbs of Denbigh; and the other Gate [Exchequer Gate] is northwest from the Gate of the Castle, and is a fair lodging. Every of the said Gates two stories high. And from the West [Exchequer] Gate, straight South, the [Mantlet] wall is near the Castle, set for strength, and an outer fortress there to the Castle. And south of the said . . . . . the [Mantlet] wall is also near to the Castle, and two turrets in the same for the defence of the said wall. And a little from it is

a gate of the Castle [Postern], which goeth into a park adjoining to the same Castle, the same gate being three stories high; and before, without the door thereof, a strong bulwark of stone [Barbican], as well to hide the gate as to strengthen the same.

"And from that gate in the wall is a round tower [Bowling Green Tower] of two stories high, metely well repaired. And a little from that two other . . . . turrets. And next to the same a very strong tower, being built side the square, three stories high, called the Goblin Hole; and in the same a deep well. And northeast from that standeth another square tower called the Countess Tower, which is a fair lodging. And northwest from that another round tower [North east Tower]. And plain westward from that the wall extendeth to the North-gate [Burgess Gate] of the wall aforesaid.

"All the said towers in the wall being decayed in the timber-work, except the two gates and one round tower.

"And the way going forth of the said North Gate lieth in the suburbs of Denbigh, wherein the great number of the Burgesses and inhabitants of the said town doth inhabit, the same being three-quarters of a mile long. And in the High Street there is a fair room, wherein the Market is kept every Wednesday, being well served with grain and victual, fish and wildfowl, the same being the shire town of Denbighshire.

"And south-east from the Castle, adjoining upon the wall, lieth the said park, called the Castle Park, which is a ground very fertile and pleasant, wherein the deer cannot stray (being limited) out of the coverts, but are in divers places within the view of the said Castle; the park being two miles about at least, and hath not above fourteen male deer and thirty does and fawns; the same being able to bear four hundred deer. The keeping thereof is granted by the King's Majesty to one Piers Morton, his Grace's servant for the term of twenty years.

"The said Castle hath two gates, whereof the one is before mentioned [Postern]; and the other is the common gate [Gate-house], being in the north side of the same Castle,—a fair strong gate with a portcullis, three stories high; the corners of the same made with quoin-stones, and the wall is a fair rough wall. At the said north gate is a draught-bridge, and at the other gate before mentioned two other draught-bridges.

"The said Castle is six square, and hath at every square a strong tower; whereof two of them are three stories high, and the others . . . . stories high. And upon the west part of the said Castle towers of two stories high. All the said towers and wall of the Castle being embattled upon, and every tower and lodging therein very sweet and of good air.

"And within the Castle a building of stone, two great stately chambers called the *Green Chambers,* and under the same fair

cellars vaulted; and at the south corner thereof is a fair tower [Postern], which is on the way lying to the South [Postern] Gate. And at the north end of the said Green Chamber was a Hall, the roof and the floor thereof being fully decayed. And plain north from that a great strong tower [Badnes], seven square, adjoining the great Common Gate. And within the said Castle a fair large Green, wherein standeth a chapel to serve the Castle.

"The great Common Gate [Gatehouse] is to be repaired with little charge. The Green Chambers and a strong tower wherein the King's Grace's Records doth remain [Treasure House Tower], are all well repaired. All the rest are much in decay in the timber-work, and most in the lead."

APPENDIX II.

P.R.O. Special Commissions (Exchequer) 3413.

39 Eliz: (159A).

Inquisitio indentat capta apud Denbigh in Coñ Denbigh die Jovis viž vicesimo nono die Septembris Anno Regni Dnẽ nrẽ Elizabeth dei grã Anglie ffranc̃ et hiƀnie Regine fidei defensor &c̃ tricesimo nono. Coram nobis Robert Turbridge Dauid Holland Petro Salesbury Thoma Wynne ap Richard Wiłłmo Penryn Wiłłmo Middleton et Joħẽ Chalonor armigeř Virtute Commissionis diĉ dnẽ Rnẽ sub sigillo Dnẽ Rnẽ . . . . . [The Castle of Denbigh] the vtter walle whereof contayneth in Circũference about fowerscore Roodes within the wall of wᶜh Castell there are ten Towers whereof fower towers are couered wᵗʰ lead and wanting some reparac̃on as well of Joistes and Somers as also of lead, some of the said fower towers hauing Iron Barres in the windowes and all vnglased and the other sixe towers wholy decaied sauing the walles and having neither dores windowes nor ioistes.

2.—*Item* we find that there is in the said Castell one Chamber conteyning two Roomes covered wᵗʰ lead and a

vault vnder the same called the greene Chamber w^th^out windowes glasse or dores.

3.—*Item* there are also w^th^in the said Castell wall dyvers litle watch towers all vncouered and lykwise out of reparac̃on.

4.—*Item* we present that there is w^th^out the said Castell wall one other ruinous walle in compasse about half a mile both ends thereof adioyning to the Castell wall aboue specified vpon w^ch^ old ruinouse wall there fyve towers whereof the one is called the Exchequer tower covered w^th^ lead and conteyning fower roomis the windowes thereof vnglased. The second hath beene time out of mynd vsed by the Aldermen [illegible word] and Burgesses of the towne of Denbigh at their pleasures and is called the Burgesses tower, and the other three towers vtterly decaied sauing the stone wall.

5.—*Item* we p̃sent and saie that the Drawe bridge at the Castell gate is p̃sently verie needfull to be repaired, w^ch^ nowe is so decaied that the passage into the Castell is very daungerouse & lykwise that the fower towers and greene Chamber aboue remembred w^ch^ nowe are couered are in o^r^ opinion fytt to be repaired least the same shoulde fall to any ruyne or further decaie and in o^r^ estimac̃on could be repaired sufficiently w^th^ the charge of two hundred poundes.

. . . . . There is w^th^in y^e^ said Castell not any other munic̃on brasse or ordenñce belonging to the said Castell to o^r^ knowledge sauing two yron slinges w^ch^ nowe are so [illegible word] and canckered that they are not of any value.

APPENDIX III.

Historical Manuscripts Commission, 13th Report, Appendix, Part I., 1891.

MSS. of the Duke of Portland, Vol. I., p. 475.

Colonel Thomas Mytton to William Lenthall.

1648, July 5. Denbigh.—"Being here upon Monday night to meet Colonel Jones . . . . . had it not been that God in his mercy prevented the enemies' design we had been all surprised, they having engaged a corporal, one Sutton, and two private soldiers, Williams and Ashmont, who stood sentinels that night to betray the Inner Castle unto them. The corporal was to have 100*l*, the two private soldiers had no certain sum promised. We were all upon the pit's brink, they having effected their design so far as to be possessed of the outer works of the Inner Castle, and were got to a gate which cometh into the Inner ward which did not reach the ground by three-quarters of a yard there being a piece of timber put under the gate to prevent any passage that way, which would have been quickly and without noise removed, the corporal having laid a wooden bar ready for them at the place to effect it, but it pleased God that, a sentinel having called divers times unto the corporal to relieve him and the corporal not answering, one Sergeant Owen being Captain of the watch that night . . . . . speedily went the round and coming near to the place where Williams stood, first heard a noise and then espied the enemy got into the tower where the sentinel stood and gave the alarm. The Governor being not gone to bed, having parted with Colonel Jones and myself not half an hour before, got his men presently upon the works which when the enemy was aware of they made all possible haste to be gone, leaving many of their arms behind them in the Castle, and two of them fell under a draw-bridge where they could not come out till they were apprehended as soon as it was day, who have confessed unto us much of the design and divers of the persons that were there that night . . . . Williams fled away with them, the corporal and Ashmont we have taken, who have confessed how and by whom they were engaged. There is nobody that hath power to proceed against them by Martial Law, and this place hath more prisoners than soldiers in it, which I humbly desire may be taken speedily into consideration, it being of so considerable consequence that all the Parliament's interest in North Wales, excepting the county of Montgomery, will be lost next, if

the enemy should possess himself thereof Anglesey being in that posture it is yet in. The chief actors that we can discover as yet . . . are Major Dollbin, Captain Dollbin, Captain Rutter, Captain Parry, Captain Hughes and Captain Charles Chambers, all of them commanders heretofore for the King, William Chambers and one Hughes, both tradesmen in this town . . . . .".

Colonel George Twistleton to William Lenthall.

1648, July 10. Denbigh.

On Monday night Major Dolbin and his party "came to that gate of the Castle where those centreys stood between 12 and 1 of the clock and by the help of two ladders were all received in by them . . . and haveing the command of all the Onter Ward they came to the Inmost Gates. The Captaine of the Watch, Serjeant Owens misseing the Corporall and suspecting something in that hee was absent and had not releeved those two centreys as hee had commanded immediatly went the round, and towards that tower where hee suspected danger. The centrey made him stand whilest he called the corporalls severall tymes before hee would answere and the centrey beeng one of them in the plott would not let him pass untill the corporall gave the word who heareing the captaine of the watch soe exceedingly storme came as if hee had beene with reliefe to an other centrey, and bidd let him passe, but indeed as hee after himselfe confessed came from the gate where the enemy was. and hee was helpeing them to breake it open and that hee thought they had done enough to make all sure, before the captayne could give the alarum, much more before the castle could take it. The captaine passeing presently looked over the wall, saw the enemy all within and at the gate called to this centry to fire. Hee did not, hee then called to armes. I beeing then up in my chamber with Collonell Jones came late that night beeing designed by the howse for some speciall service touching Anglesey, tooke the first call, and came directly to the gate where I knew the greatest danger lay. Against which a gun was placed where I fownd the enemy. God directed us to doe that and soe astonished the enemy that they were presently put to shift for themselves. The corporall should have let the enemy through the way wee sent out and releeved our centreys which was over a draw-bridge that I made of purpose very strong and secure. The captaine of the watch before by an imediate hand of providence leadeing him went a litle after the setting of these treacherous centreys, and findeing the draw-bridge unlockt, onely haspt on the inside, hee lockt a doore which secured the passage to the draw-bridge by which means

the Corporall could not come to it to let them in, which if hee had done as was plotted, wee had then beene all irrecoverably lost for they might have come all round the castle in private wayes and to the prisoners which were in number more then I had souldiers in the castle, whereof was Sir John Owen and others of great noate to the number of above one hundred, and let them out uppon us before wee cold have taken the alarum. Another speciall peece of providence was that neither the enemy nor the corporall should thinke of useing there great hammer with which one blow upon the padlockes that lockt the bolts the corporall might have made way for them, and then they might all have rusht in a body. The enemy left behynd them near fifty armes, swords, bills, fowling peeces and suchlike weapons. Wee tooke a eleven (sic) prisoners first and last. The night was dark and rayny and my chardge within in respect of my prisoners was great, which was the cawse I would not sally untill I had secured all within. Then I did, but all the birds were flowen except two that wee tooke and by means of them gott a discovery of the persons that were both chiefe in and accessary to this plott. I have the corporall and one of the centreys in hold, and both of them did confesse all thóse particulars. I formerly mentioned they were to have an 100*l* but had in hand little, one 10*s*. the other 5*s*. I had informacion from Chester that the other centrey that came away with the enemy is apprehended there. They confesse noe more of my men in the plott. but I suspect many of the guard that was uppon the watch that night and have turned away some of them. Noe providence nor care can fence against treachery. I had ingadged all my souldiers seeing the desperatnes of the tymes in the inclosed ingadgement, had turned out and changed all—to the number of above threescore—that had beene cavaleers, and that had not morall principles of honesty at least to guide them. There was not the least discontent or shew of it in any, but duty readily and exactly performed according to as strict rules and orders as I could prescribe: yet these rogues were seduced who had served in these partes above four yeares, and never was of the enemyes party".

APPENDIX IV.

Notes on Boydell's and the Bucks' engravings.

The three engravings of mid-eighteenth century date depict the Castle as it was a century after it was "slighted", and make it clear that its present condition is substantially that in which it was left by its despoilers.

Boydell's distant prospect from the north dated 1750 (p. 64) shews the siting of the Castle, with the modern town almost entirely outside the Town Wall. The exceptions are a house on the site of the present Plas y Castell (wrongly shewn as outside the wall); a group of buildings just west of St. Hilary's chapel, which must contain Friesland Hall, and two other houses, one near the Gatehouse and another just inside the north western angle of the Town Wall. The wall is intact on either side of the Burgess Gate, but is not shewn running without a break to the north eastern tower—as it certainly did at this time. Leicester's church is complete save for its roof; and the Exchequer Gate is faintly visible above the left hand corner of the house inside the north western angle of the Town Wall.

The two views by the Bucks, are both dated 1742, the more distant one (p. 82) greatly exaggerates the height of the Castle, as well as of the Burgess Gate which is seen on the right. The Gatehouse of the Castle is actually of about the same height as the tower of St. Hilary's chapel, shewn between it and Leicester's church. Otherwise the drawing is reasonably accurate, save for one important omission, viz., the section of Town Wall connecting the Goblin Tower at the foot of the rock with the smaller tower in the Town Wall immediately behind it. The upper wall linking this tower with the Countess Tower is correctly shewn. The detail of the left hand extremity of the Castle is somewhat vague. The Lower Gate of the Postern may be indicated, and above it the Postern Tower and the round tower on the Town Walls, but it is not possible to be precise.

There is but little doubt that the eighteenth century draughtsman made rough sketches in the field—more or less accurate as the case might be, and worked them up afterwards; and it is clear that they often had difficulty in interpreting their sketches and notes.

It is extremely likely that some of the discrepancies of "The North East View of Denbigh Castle" may be attributed to the representation of the Castle itself having been transferred bodily from the other drawing "The North View of Denbigh Castle" (p. 91). Comparison of the two pictures will shew the probability of this suggestion being the true one; and it is difficult in any other way to

account for the Gatehouse being shewn as almost exactly twice its true height.

The detailed view appears to be carefully drawn. The Gatehouse is in very much the same condition as it is now, and the causeway leading to it seems to be indicated. On the extreme right is what is probably intended for the Exchequer Gate.

The curtain connecting the Gatehouse with the Great Kitchen Tower is standing considerably above its present height. The top, however, with its wall walk has disappeared, and the embrasures in the wall passage are open to the sky.

The White Chamber Tower is as badly ruined as it is at present, and the walls on the extreme left probably represent the round tower on the Town Walls.

Finally it will be noticed that all the buildings are free from the worst enemy of all ruins—ivy. It is largely owing to this fact that a century and three quarters have made so little difference to their appearance.

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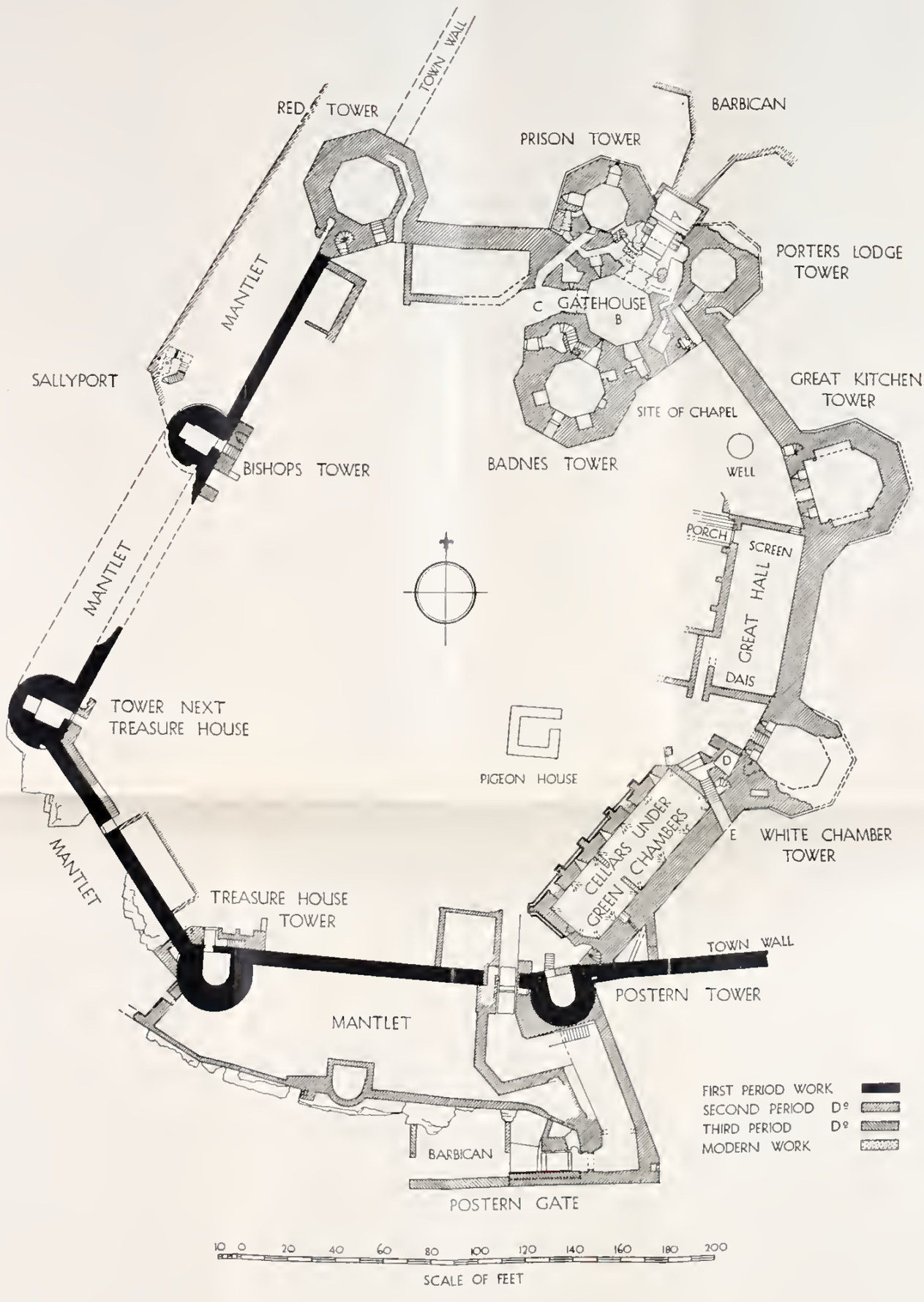

PLAN OF DENBIGH CASTLE.

(Reproduced by permission of H.M. Office of Works.)

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To face p. 121

Peniarth, in the County of Merioneth.

(From a Photograph taken by kind permission of Mrs. Wynne.)

Some Jacobite Relics at Peniarth in Merionethshire.[1]

By HERBERT M. VAUGHAN, M.A., F.S.A.

It is evident that interest in the story of Jacobitism in Wales is on the increase rather than on the wane, and consequently I do not feel it necessary to offer any excuse for a short account of the Jacobite relics contained to-day in one of our historic houses of Merionethshire, wherein the old tradition has ruled for over two centuries. Some illustrations of such relics have already appeared in my "*Welsh Jacobitism*", published in this Honourable Society's "*Transactions*" for 1920-21, and the wide interest taken by many persons in them has encouraged me to give some further examples of kindred historical treasures that still exist in Wales.

Peniarth, situated amid woods on the north bank of the Dysynni, some four miles east of Towyn, passed in 1771 to a branch of the Wynne family, through the marriage of William Wynne, of Wern, with Jane Williams, eldest daughter and sole heiress of Edward Williams of Peniarth, who was a grandson of Sir William Williams, of Bodelwyddan, Speaker of the House of Commons in the reign of Charles II. This Edward Williams had married Jane, daughter and heiress of Lewis Owen, of Peniarth, whose first husband (died 1738) had been

[1] I wish here to tender my sincere thanks to Mrs. Wynne of Peniarth for her kind permission to photograph these Jacobite relics and also for much valuable information concerning them.

Richard, fifth Viscount Bulkeley. The coat-of-arms and coronet of Jane Viscountess Bulkeley, whose daughter brought Peniarth into the Wynne family, appear conspicuously on the pediment of the present mansion, a handsome structure in grey stone and red brick, dating principally from the eighteenth century.

Within, Peniarth contains a number of interesting pictures, together with fine old furniture and a library that is still of considerable value despite the fact of the departure of "*The Black Book of Carmarthen*", the "*Great Bible*" of Cranmer (one of two illuminated copies on vellum) and other treasures that found their way to the National Library of Wales after the death of the late Mr. W. R. M. Wynne, lord-lieutenant of Merioneth. Amongst the contents of the house are included some surviving memorials of the Jacobite cult, which continued unbroken at Peniarth under the successive families of Owen, Williams and Wynne. These I shall now attempt to describe by means of illustrations.

In the first place there are preserved at Peniarth no less than thirty Notices of meeting of the "Cycle of the White Rose", the Jacobite society of North Wales which has already been described at various times by Mr. J. Arthur Price and by myself. Briefly, the Cycle was a club or association amongst the gentry of North Wales and the Marches, formed to keep the Legitimist landowners and their followers in close touch with the exiled Jacobite king and his agents. The Cycle was not however openly Jacobite; yet its chief festival was always fixed for June 10th, "White Rose Day", the anniversary of the birth at Whitehall Palace of James Francis Edward Stuart, the "James III" of the Jacobites and "The Old Pretender" of the Hanoverians. Its rules seemed innocent enough on the surface; nor did its badge, a flying wheel, own any

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(1773)

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apparent political significance. Its meetings were always of a social nature, usually for a banquet, yet there can be no doubt but that the Cycle was truly a secret and far-reaching source of Jacobite activity and propaganda in North Wales and in the adjacent counties of Salop and Cheshire. The first foundation of the Cycle has usually been ascribed to the young Sir Watkin Wynn, of Wynnstay, when he was only eighteen, which would give the date of 1723 or thereabouts for its inception. On one of the Notices at Peniarth, however, it is distinctly stated that the Cycle was "Instituted, June 10th, 1710", that is, during the reign of Queen Anne. Personally, I am inclined to believe that the later date of its origin is the correct one, with Sir Watkin for its first founder.

Of these thirty Notices of the Cycle at Peniarth, not one belongs to the stirring days of the Jacobite peril. For the earliest is only dated 1773-1775, whilst the latest is 1864. It is interesting to recall that in 1775 poor Prince Charlie was still living, a human wreck in Florence, "an old man with a red nose and a big stick". Did these members and accepted guests of the Cycle still toast him as the King across the water? Or after his death in January, 1788, did they raise their glasses with the traditional phrase to the mild old Cardinal-King, the Last of the Royal Stuarts, who himself passed away in 1807? Whatever the terms of the toast (and I am informed it still included "the King over the water" until well into the last century), the fierce devotion of the 'Fifteen and the 'Forty-five must by the date of the earliest of these Cycle papers have sunk to a mere formal ceremony, to a pious affirmation of Legitimist principles. And after the death of Cardinal York the toast, in whatever language it was couched, could have meant no more than a tribute to the Immortal Memory of the Royal Stuarts and of those who

had fought and faced exile in the past for the now extinct Royal line of Britain.

These Cycle papers are, with one exception, all circular, and exhibit the plan of a round table, divided into segments and rayed out like the spokes of a wheel. Each space or segment contains the name in writing of the member with the date whereon he is to entertain his fellow members. These Cycle papers are in fact rosters, drawn up for the convenience of members, and many of them indicate future meetings of the Cycle for considerably over a year, and even two or three years ahead. The decoration of these Notices varies considerably in detail. Three of them have true lovers' knots with a bordure of royal blue. Others show a wreath of oak leaves (in memory of King Charles the Second's adventure in the famous oak tree of the Penderels). In the centre of the paper there usually appears the word "Cycle", sometimes in the middle of an outlined rose. Also on certain Notices the name of the Lady Patroness of the meetings is inserted.

Another relic at Peniarth, and one of peculiar interest, is the gold Ring with a reversible table containing portraits of James Stuart and of his consort, Clementina Sobieska, grand-daughter of the warrior King John Sobieski of Poland. As the royal pair were married in 1719, this ring is probably contemporary with that event. In any case it cannot be later than the year 1735, the date of the Stuart Queen's death. It is the only specimen of this commemorative jewel I have yet seen, and it was probably a direct gift from the hand of the Jacobite monarch in Rome.

There are also two handsome Jugs of Chelsea-Derby china, dating apparently from the latter half of the eighteenth century, which are no doubt the survivors of a large tea and coffee service. The spout of each jug

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Chelsea-Derby (Jacobite) Jug at Peniarth, Merioneth. With the motto (FIAT) of the "Cycle of the White Rose".

is formed by a human head, and the jugs themselves bear the motto "Fiat", which was the pass-word of the Cycle, in gilt letters. The decoration of sprays of the White Rose and the Thistle of Scotland undoubtedly testifies to their Jacobite character. Mrs. Wynne of Peniarth has also told me that formerly the house possessed one specimen of Jacobite glass, that is, tumblers or wine-glasses bearing Jacobite devices. That at Peniarth was emblazoned with the arms of Williams (the two foxes in saltire), and the pass-word "Fiat". It seems that every member of the Cycle at one time owned private sets of china and glass that were brought to these banquets. Thus a good many examples of Jacobite glasses still survive in certain North Wales houses, and notably at Oulton, the seat of Sir Philip Grey-Egerton in Cheshire.

A humble but none the less romantic relic of Jacobite days is also carefully preserved at Peniarth. This is a piece cut out of the blanket which covered Prince Charlie's bed when he rested at Manchester either on his way to or from Derby—probably on the latter occasion. This very human memento of a famous campaign is enclosed in a discoloured wrapper of paper bearing the faded inscription in a contemporary hand: "A peece of the Blanket the P—— lay under when in Manchester". The relic is undoubtedly genuine, and it makes a pathetic appeal in its dumb testimony to antique loyalty. Family tradition holds that the original possessor of this relic had attached himself to the ill-fated cause of the Stuarts in 1745, and actually held the Prince's commission in his invading army. He was even captured (so the story runs) with this Royal Stuart commission in his pocket, but had the wit to slip the incriminating document unperceived into the fire shortly after his arrest, a lucky circumstance that no doubt saved him from the fate of David Morgan, the

Glamorganshire squire who suffered a felon's execution at Kennington in the following summer. A further tradition relates that this Jacobite Welsh officer was none other than Robert Howell Vaughan, of Hengwrt, Nannau and Rûg, who was later created a baronet in 1791. As Sir Robert Vaughan died in October, 1792, in his seventieth year, he would have been about twenty-two years of age at the date of the Jacobite invasion. As a zealous young Jacobite, he may very possibly have ridden to join the Prince, the more so as being at the time a younger son he had no estate to forfeit in the event of the Prince's failure. His elder brother, Hugh Vaughan, was High Sheriff of Merioneth in 1752. It would be interesting to discover the real facts of Sir Robert's early life.

On the grand staircase hangs a curious emblematic picture of the Apotheosis of King Charles II., and in this connection it is noteworthy that a fine avenue of ancient trees near the house itself is called the Restoration Avenue, which was probably planted about 1660 in honour of that event. On the staircase also is to be seen the striking life-size portrait of King Charles I., inscribed "Our own, our Royal Saint". The King is shown as seated in the red velvet chair he used at his trial. On his head is a large black broad-brimmed hat, and his black dress is relieved only by the blue ribband of the Garter. It is a dignified and sombre portrait, which is of real historical value. It is stated to have been given by Charles II. to Sir Philip Grey-Egerton, who later presented it to the Rev. Philip Puleston of Pickhill, husband of Mary Egerton. From the Pulestons this portrait passed to the family of Williams of Penbedw, from whom it descended (by the marriage of William Wynne with Elizabeth Puleston in 1800) to the Wynnes of Peniarth. With regard to its inscription, I may add here that King

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King Charles I.
("our own, our Royal Saint").
Portrait on the Staircase at Peniarth, Merioneth.

Charles I. was always held not only as a martyr but also as a saint by the Royalists; churches have been dedicated to him under the name of "Charles Church"; and even so late as the last century Dean Hook, the great Anglican ecclesiologist, stoutly insisted upon giving the status of Saint to the executed King.

Altogether, as will be seen by this list, there is collected at Peniarth a number of varied and interesting relics of a cause that was once most popular throughout the Principality. New cults and emotions have arisen since those far-off days, yet the remembrance of the old Welsh loyalty to the unfortunate Stuarts still "smells sweet and blossoms in the dust".

"South Wales and the March 1284–1415": A Review.[1]

By PROFESSOR MORGAN WATKIN, M.A., L. ès L., Ph.D.

University College, Cardiff.

Some of the most notable books which have appeared during the last generation on Welsh subjects—legend, history, law, grammar, etc.—have emanated from the Oxford University Press. One of the latest issues is *South Wales and the March* by Dr. William Rees.

The author who is an old student of the University College of South Wales and Monmouthshire, Cardiff, and a former Fellow of the University of Wales, has been engaged in research work on the various aspects of Welsh mediæval history for fully a dozen years. Very fittingly his early enquiries were concerned with the story of his native district, the Lordship of Brecon (1066-1325). This work which was read in part before the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion and is published in the *Transactions*, Session 1915-1916, won for him the M.A. degree (Wales). The book which I propose to review in the following pages was doubtless born of the inspiration and the ambition created by these early investigations. For some years Dr. Rees was a research student at the London School of Economics,

[1] "*South Wales and the March* 1284—1415, *a Social and Agrarian Study*" by William Rees, M.A., D.Sc., Lecturer in History in the University College of South Wales and Monmouthshire, Cardiff. Issued by the Oxford University Press, 1924, pp. 1—xvi. 1—303.

working under the guidance and inspiration of such men as Dr. Hubert Hall; and during that time *South Wales and the March 1284-1415* was awarded the degree of D.Sc. (Econ.) in the University of London.

I shall discuss the book under two headings: (a) *General Features of the Work*; (b) *Description of the Work*; and I shall endeavour *inter alia* to determine the importance of the contribution which the author makes in the several chapters to the advancement of the subject.

(*a*) *General Features of the Work.*

1.—The new book is the first piece of investigation into Welsh society as it actually existed throughout a great part of Wales in mediæval times and into that body of custom which constituted the great social bond of the Welsh people during many centuries and which lies at the root of the Wales of the present day. This is tantamount to saying that the book is of value not only as a record of the past—a very minute record in many respects—but as forming a key to the understanding of the present, and one might almost say, to the divining of the future of Wales. This represents the more modern conception of history.

2.—A study of the kind was beset with all the difficulties inherent in pioneer work.

In the first place the sources utilised were mainly in manuscript form and required on the part of the investigator a mastery of what is usually designated the Auxiliary Sciences of History: Palaeography, Diplomatic, linguistic knowledge (particularly of Latin and Old French), etc.

In the second place, there was no framework extant for the study of the subject in Wales. To be sure, certain sectional studies dealing with the records of North Wales

—records which are more accessible than those of the South—had been published; but these were sectional studies of certain documents or were based on the theoretical conditions set forth in the codes of law rather than upon the actual conditions which obtained in practice. The author of the present volume has culled his data not from theoretical treatises of any kind but from a host of disjointed facts relating to the details of humdrum every-day life and from such disjointed minutiæ he has pieced together the complete framework of Welsh society in the middle ages; and into this framework he fits all his deductions so that each item falls into its place in the scheme.

It follows from this remark that the work has been enormously condensed in order to keep it within the space of three hundred odd pages. Almost every statement, brief and concise as it may appear, is a deduction from a vast amount of information collected from various sources. The besetting sin of historians—and others—is to record all the detail which they can lay their hands upon, with the result that it is often difficult "to see the forest for the trees". An important feature of this treatise is the detail which is, so to speak, only adumbrated or which is relegated to the footnotes. This reminds us of one of the difficulties of writing economic history as compared with political history or the like where there is more scope for exercises in embroidery work.

The third great difficulty of such an investigation is the very mixed character of society in Wales after the French conquest and the very varied conditions which prevailed in consequence of the clash of two opposing civilisations—French and Welsh.

The French had forced the Anglo-Saxon institutions into their own scheme, and society in England had, there-

fore, become homogeneous and its description offers relatively little difficulty to the historian. In the case of Wales, on the contrary, the knowledge and skill demanded of the historian is far greater, for he must understand not only the French feudal society but also the Welsh tribal society and must furthermore distinguish all the various stages of overlapping which resulted from the intermixing of the two peoples. The difficulty which Dr. Rees had to encounter in this connection was clearly realised by Mr. Frank Morgan when in a recent review of his book he wrote: "His difficulties are increased by the almost innumerable varieties of obligations, some personal, some tenurial, some feudal, some manorial, some Anglo-Norman, some Celtic, some individualistic, some communal and some tribal . . . blended in widely different proportions".

3.—Despite these immense difficulties the author has succeeded in producing a book that has an appeal to readers in various planes. I can imagine the Welsh farmer or the Welsh miner perusing the descriptive parts with interest and profit. But underneath these descriptions there are currents and under currents of thought the full import of which can only be appreciated by the students of early society. The work is indispensable to the students of Seebohm and Vinogradoff.

4.—The author tells us that he has chosen the period 1284-1415 because he regards it as the 'watershed' in the history of Wales. This, to us, can only mean that it is the 'key' period in Welsh history. Some scholars have criticised the statement here given by saying that all history is a watershed. Dr. Rees evidently looks upon his period as the *great* cycle of change in our history and not as a *minor* cycle. Society in Wales at this time was beginning to break with mediæval traditions

and to lay the foundations of the modern dispensation. The author, therefore, as he tells us in his Preface, is unable to confine himself to the limits he gives in his title (1284-1415) ; but standing on his 'watershed' he has been constrained to look back to early Welsh society and to look forward to later society, even to our own times. It goes without saying, therefore, that *South Wales and the March* is a book of value not merely for Southern Wales but for all Wales, not merely for the 13th and 14th centuries but for our entire history, not merely for Welsh society but for the story of human societies in general. I should imagine that this is the major importance of the book.

(*b*) *Description of the Work.*

The treatise is divided into three parts. Part I consists of the *Introduction* and bears the sub-title *The Economic Aspects of the Conquest of Wales.* Part II which is termed *The Economic Organization of the Lordships of Wales* is made up of three chapters bearing the rubrics : *The Castle, The Manor. The Welsh Lands : The Welshry or Patria.* Part III is entitled *Pestilence and War.*

Of these various parts the Introduction is perhaps the most difficult to understand and consequently to appreciate. And still there can be no manner of doubt that this portion of the work contains some of the author's newest and most suggestive ideas. The Introduction is obviously intended to gather together the subject for the analytic study encountered in Part II and Part III ; but in the process Dr. Rees corrects old-time errors and compels historical revisions. For instance, he is not led astray, as Tout was, by the mere mention of shires to think that after 1284 we have the equivalent of six English shires established in Wales ; nor is he misled by the

feudal terminology in use after the Conquest into thinking that Welsh society was feudalised in its essentials. "The problem", he writes, "of the economic history of Welsh Wales during the mediæval and post-mediæval period lies in the direct transition from the stage of tribute to that of individualism without an intervening manorial stage with its particular complications".

In this chapter the old Laws of Wales are stated from the European standpoint, and, as far as I am aware, for the first time. In addition to a new reading of the Laws we have a detailed description of early Welsh administration, the court of the king with his officers and the arrangements made for their maintenance (the food dues and the system of circuit) as also of the organisation for local government. The treatment of the questions just mentioned together with that of the changes which were gradually developing in the Government before the time of the final conquest constitute an important contribution to historical study. It is interesting to note that the elements of feudalism were arising in Wales in pre-Norman days and that Wales might have developed into a feudal state of its own accord.

The remainder of the introductory chapter is devoted to Dr. Rees's own theory of the Conquest of Wales during the 11th, 12th, and 13th centuries, namely that true feudal conditions were introduced only into the more accessible parts of Wales, the plains and valleys where agriculture was possible—the 'Englishry'; that there was no war of extermination, but that the Norman baron stepped into the place of the Welsh *arglwydd*, arrogating his power and assuming his profits; that the old Welsh commote became the Norman lordship; that the Welsh of the hill districts remained practically undisturbed in their holdings but now paid their dues to their Norman lord;

that the old Welsh 'tribal' system was not suppressed but gradually broke up in succeeding centuries by internal decay and by contact with the Anglo-Norman system.

In this manner the book has succeeded in reducing to a system what was previously little else than a chaos of conflicting claims and struggles.

In Part II Dr. Rees proceeds to investigate the origin of the privileged rights of the Marcher Lords, and in the three chapters of which that part is composed he analyses:

(*a*) The rights of government of a Marcher Lord over his domains, the customs of the lordship and the rights and duties of his subjects. This chapter is termed *The Castle*, a chapter in which the castles of Wales are shown to have been not merely places of defence but centres of administration and civil life.

(*b*) The agricultural development of the lordship in the lowland 'Englishry'—*The Manor*.

(*c*) The condition of the Welsh remaining in the more purely Welsh district of the lordship—*The Welshry*.

The chapter entitled *The Castle* is of considerable interest and throws entirely new light upon such subjects as the "Days of the March", the growth of the power of the King of England in Wales, the holding of courts, the method of maintaining law and order, the old communal obligations of the Welsh people dating back to pre-Conquest days but now utilised in the lord's service, including the old military services of the Welsh people as also their numerous rents and services for the maintenance of the administration, purveyance and other dues. The officials of the lordships are subjects of close study and their various duties are carefully determined—Seneschal and Receiver, Rhaglaw and Rhingyll, Beedle and Reeve, Serjeant and Ceisiad.

A sub-section of this chapter is concerned with the

Forest and the Wastes and treats of such subjects as hunting, charcoal-burning, and of the very interesting though difficult subjects of common of pasture and of woodland, including such interesting customs as *cyfrif* and pannage.

It is indeed difficult to single out in this chapter anything for Wales which is not new both in conception and in detail.

The same remark may be applied to the chapter devoted to the Manor. Practically nothing had been written before this on the Manor as far as Wales is concerned. Apart from a very interesting description of the agricultural working of the Manor, a description containing new observations on the theory of rotation of crops and on the rise of sheep-farming in Wales, some of the author's best work is done on the subject of rents and compulsory services which the bond tenants of the Manor had to perform on the lord's 'demesne' or cultivated land. Having worked out these services in detail, he submits them to a critical analysis and discovers the origin of many in the old communal arrangements of the early Welsh long before they were forced into the Norman Manor system. He has also succeeded in showing the Manor in Wales in different stages of development and in this process has traced 'missing links' in the rise of the Manor in general. Apart from the interest of the details, perhaps this discovery, together with the contribution to the subject of tenures, will ultimately prove to be the chief contribution which the book makes to general sociological study. It would be a matter of impossibility in the space at our disposal to call attention to the picturesque details relating to the services and the disabilities of villeins—the boon-works, the ploughing services, the hauling works, the tallages, the poll silver,

the marriage fees, etc., etc., but it is worth recording that Dr. Rees has established the fact that there are stages of serfdom (villeinage) and that in Wales the customary tenants distinguished themselves from the villeins.

From this point the author proceeds to trace the gradual cessation of the services just mentioned and their replacement by small fixed payments or quit rents, a practice which became more and more common during the 14th century. In proportion as the bondmen made these money payments instead of actually performing the work, their servile condition received less emphasis. It was in this way that large numbers of the servile population in Wales (as also in England) managed to earn what was in practice, if not in law, their freedom. The process was helped by the fact that the lords gradually found it more profitable to give up farming themselves and to let out or 'farm' their lands to others, thus becoming virtually landlords with rent-paying tenants in the modern sense of the word.

Not only was this true of the tenants of the lowland manors but also of the Welsh of the hill districts ; and in a further chapter (Part II Chap. III) Dr. Rees proceeds to show that even in these purely Welsh districts a not dissimilar movement was silently proceeding. Thus the old-time practice of making the food renders to the lord by the big family or kindred *as a body*, is replaced by the system whereby the individual members of these large families made their own several payments in lieu of their share of the old contributions, thus virtually paying a rent and coming to be regarded as tenant farmers. In this way Welsh and Norman conditions were gradually coming together, in the so-called 'Englishry' through the break-up of the manor system, in the 'Welshry' through the decay of the

Welsh 'kindred' system. This process was assisted by two great factors, namely the terrible pestilences which ravaged the country and the serious economic disturbances brought about by the Glyn Dŵr Rebellion.

Part III is given over to a detailed study of the two factors I have just mentioned, and for the first time Dr. Rees sets forth the nature and extent of these two phenomena and their importance for the economic scheme. The causes of the Glyn Dŵr Rebellion arise naturally from the remainder of the theme, and the author finds one of the most fertile causes of the outbreak in the realisation by the Welsh of the effects of the practical application of feudal methods in land-holding introduced since the Conquest.

Possibly the chapter of greatest interest in the whole book for Welshmen is, however, that on the Welsh Lands; for, after all, our knowledge of Welsh society is slight. Here we have a glimpse of the Welsh system at work and the description breaks new ground almost all the way. The 'commote' stands out clearly with its courthouse or 'llys' with the 'maerdref' as also the subdivisions of the commote the 'maenor' and 'gwestfa' and the 'tref'. Here again we have a complete analysis of the tribal system—the 'cenedl' and the 'gwely'—and arguments are deduced in criticism of Seebohm's view of the patriarchal character of the tribal system. This chapter also contains a complete analysis of the rents and services of Tribesmen as well as of non-Tribesmen, including the 'gwestfa', 'dofraeth', serjeant rents, 'commorth' or 'horngeld', the 'amobr' and other survivals of the old order, the agricultural services and community rights in churches and mills.

Despite the immense care which has been bestowed

by the author and the press reader upon the correction of the proofs of this work a few slips have crept here and there into the printed pages; *e.g.*, *poition* for *position* on p. 91; *rdinary* for *ordinary* and *he* for *the* on p. 196.

When a new edition is called for, the author would be well advised to range the abbreviations of the numerous documents of Chancery, Exchequer and Special Collections at the Record Office in alphabetical order and place them on the very left of the page, adding the full denomination of such documents after the contractions. Under the arrangement adopted in the book, the full title of the MSS. comes first and the abbreviation is, so to speak, hidden away in the tail, with the result that those who wish to know something about the sources utilised encounter unnecessary difficulties.

It is likewise a matter for regret that Dr. Rees did not indicate by some symbol or other the original language (Latin or Old French) of the authorities he quotes. Such information would have helped us to know at what moment in different parts of South Wales official documents began to be couched in Old French and at what time that language fell into disuse as an instrument of correspondence in our baronial and ecclesiastical chancelleries.

I note with satisfaction that Dr. Rees does not tamper with the orthography of the Welsh and other proper names occurring in the charters, etc., which he has frequent occasion to cite. It is, however, to be regretted that he is inconsistent in his spelling of Welsh personal names in the text of his own descriptions and notes. Thus on p. 22 we meet with *Rhys. . . . lord of Dynevor* alongside *Meredith ap Rees lord of Dryslwyn*. We find such orthographies as *Rhys Gryg*, *Meredith ap Rhys*, *Llewelyn ap*

Gruffydd on p. 36; while on the following page we encounter *Rees ap Griffith* and *Meredydd*.

In spite of the assurance which the author gives us in the preface that his use of Welsh terms has been censored by a Professor of Welsh, several slips are to be noted. On p. 203, for instance, the regular construction (for the time) *Maenor Wynfe* has been changed into *Maenor Gwynfe*. *Wenllian* is employed on p. 27 instead of *Gwenllian*. The form *rhyngylds* with an initial *rh* is cited in a footnote on p. 100. It would be surprising if an instance of an *rh* were found in this situation as early as the date of the document there discussed.

There is also a slight inconsistency in the manner in which Anglo-Norman transcriptions of Welsh forms are restored. For instance we find *calamay* on p. 229 restored to its etymological spelling *calanmai*, but *commorth* on the same page is left untouched.

The book ends with a very useful Glossary; but the absence of such words as *Couwayn* (p. 171) and *med-day* make it clear that it is not quite complete.

The Welsh words recorded therein are followed by the sign (W.), but this sign has either been forgotten or has fallen out after *boteulu* 'the food of the band'. Both English and Latin terms are followed by a letter indicative of their origin; that is to say (E) and (L) respectively. But strangely enough there does not seem to have been any attempt at indicating the derivation of words of Old French origin. And what is stranger still, the author has ranged large numbers of this latter category under (L.); *e.g.*, *louvre*, *nief*, *seine*, etc. I know that such Old French forms are now and then to be found in Mediæval Latin documents; but their occurrence in a technical sense in such documents does not justify their being ranged in a Glossary alongside genuine Latin terms.

For otherwise all the Welsh words recorded should have been placed either under (L) or (E) or assigned an Old French etymology.

In the *Trans. Cym. Soc.* for Session 1919-20, pp. 64 and 71, I proposed a French provenance for both the words *aillt* and *taeog*, an origin which Dr. Rees's enquiries on the subject of *villeins* tend to confirm. The Normans were not acquainted with any class of people which corresponded exactly to the Non-Tribesmen of Wales and were clearly at a loss how to designate them ; hence very probably the use of such indeterminate low-class Old French denominations as *aillt* and *taeog*.

The occurence of *aillt* in the North Welsh versions of the Laws for the South Welsh *taeog* reminds one of another pair of words denoting the personage at the other extreme of the social scale in South and North Wales respectively. I refer to *breyr* and *uchelwr*.

On p. 72 of the volume of the *Trans. Cym. Soc.* to which reference has been made, I suggested that *breyr* was derived from an Old French variant of the word that has become *peer* in English. I now renounce this view, and in my book on the French Influence I shall prove that *breyr* was borrowed as it is from a variant of the more common *ber*, *beir*, *beyr*, nominative case of *baron* (> Welsh *barwn*).

This Old French etymology of *breyr* (of which *uchelwr* may conceivably be nothing but a translation) will lend support to Dr. Rees's criticism of Seebohm's view of the patriarchal character of the tribal system to which I have already alluded in this review.

The book contains three maps, one of the Lordship of Radnor in the 14th century showing division into 'Englishry' and 'Welshry', one showing the Manors of South Wales in relation to the physical features, and one

general map of South Wales showing the distribution of the lordships. There are likewise valuable tables and statistics, appendices, and notes (on Fisheries and Weights and Measures).

I lay down *South Wales and the March 1284-1415* with the conviction that it is one of the most important contributions ever made to Welsh history, and with the hope that Dr. Rees will receive sufficient encouragement to enable him at no distant date to publish his large-scale map of Mediæval Wales and thus make a still greater contribution to the history of his native land.