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# Y Cymmrodor.

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VOL. XVII.

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# Y Cymmrodor.

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VOL. XVII. "CARED DOETH YR ENCILION."

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1903.

## The Holy Grail.

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### PART III.—THE QUEST.

WE have seen that in the eighth century the Holy Lance and Cup were known in Britain as objects of reverence to Eastern Christians, and that the *Gospel of Nicodemus*, in the same century, was translated into English, possibly by a monk of the Welsh marches. It is not unreasonable to suppose that some word of the relics guarded in the palace of the Emperor at Constantinople may have reached Britain, and that the Precious Blood was thus known to British Christians also, as one of the authentic heirlooms of the Church. De Borron's *Joseph*, the recognised "Early History" of the Grail, has preserved certain ancient ceremonies, fragments of a supposed ritual of the Grail. These ceremonies could only have been maintained openly in a country which, like Wales, had little communication with the rest of Christendom, and it is certainly from Wales that the characteristic features of the Grail stories come: names and genealogies, manners, church customs, and to a large extent the mythology also. We have thus a strong probability that the existence of the precious relics—the Spear, the Cup, and the Precious Blood—spoken

of everywhere, may have been known also in Wales, not long after the coming of Arculf to Hi. If so, the belief might easily have become, under the peculiar circumstances of the country, a belief in the relics as existing in *the very place* from which the news was brought—say Hi, or Mailros or Wedale. With no communications any longer by which to control local opinion the story of the Holy Lance and the Cup may have grown, as stories do, into a belief that those relics belonged to Britain, and were guarded in some secret place in the North, where first they were heard of. There would thus be created the conditions favourable to the production of a Grail legend; whether they were all that was needed, and did of themselves lead to an extension of the History of Joseph of Arimathea, to form the historic ground of the belief, may be doubted, though they do predispose us to look to Wales as the country where, if anywhere, the story of the Grail might have been formulated. Under the strong conviction that this relic had been brought to Britain, and was preserved somewhere in that Pietish country from which the Welsh had been separated by the fortune of war, a story such as that told by De Borron might readily have been imagined. It would naturally take the story of Joseph as its foundation, and would be fortified with whatever scraps of British history might be applicable, and it is possible that such a story did grow up during the time that Wales was living an almost independent existence. It is possible, but while this *may* have been going on *it is certain* that the other and more romantic half of the story, that of the Quest, must have had its origin there, and may even have preceded the “Early History” as a concrete statement. One of the unexpected discoveries in the development of the story of the Grail is that the second part of it, the “Quest of the Grail”, did not grow immediately out of the

loss of the Sacred Vessel supposed to have been brought to this country by Joseph and lodged in the castle of Corbenic, but that it had a quite independent origin, and only became a Quest of the Grail by attraction. This is a point of cardinal importance in considering the genesis of the story. The two parts, so far from being historically connected, as beginning and sequence, had in fact so little relation one to the other that, when the story of the Quest took shape, it is quite possible no suspicion existed that the Vessel had been lost. We have therefore to deal not with one continuous story but with two independent stories, which were drawn together by mutual attraction and became the strange and mystical legend of the Grail; and we have thus two separate origins to be kept in mind: one religious, born of the eager curiosity of Christians concerning relics of the Passion, the other an accidental prefiguration in a pagan story of the same Divine Mystery.

Of the origin of the belief which holds together both branches of the Grail story enough has been said in the first paper. The course of our enquiry has brought us to the consideration of the growth of the second part of the legend, and for this a veritable document will be the starting-point. We begin, then, with the Story of Peredur—a Welsh romance of unknown antiquity, which appears to contain the fruitful seed from which the idea of the Quest of the Grail was born, and which also, as the husk or envelope of the seed, gave to the Quest its first literary form. The story exists in two Welsh versions and in various translations.<sup>1</sup> We propose to make our abstract from Mr. Nutt's edition of the *Mabinogion*, but Mr. Joseph Loth's French translation, or the first English one of

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<sup>1</sup> On these see Mr. Alfred Nutt's edition of the *Mabinogion*, 1902, the Notes.

Lady Charlotte Guest, may be used for reference. The whole story should be read. *Peredur, son of Evrawc*, is the title of the Welsh story:—

A boy destined to great events is brought up by his mother in retirement, the father having been slain. The boy goes to Arthur's Court and is recognised as son of his father by two dwarfs. He fights a knight whom all the household of Arthur were afraid to meet, and kills him—much as David did Goliath. He then departs, having been displeased by Kai, and comes to a castle by a lake.<sup>1</sup> The castellan was seated on a satin cushion watching his men fish: he was lame and grey-haired. He appears to have expected Peredur, whom he calls his nephew, and he set himself to teach the boy the handling of weapons. The first trials were with the endgel, and they showed Peredur to be a born fighter. The uncle next proceeded to teach him good manners, and chiefly *that he ought never to exhibit surprise at anything, nor ask questions when things new and wonderful presented themselves*. Peredur left this uncle and came to the house of another, where his strength of arm was tested and also his obedience to the rules of conduct he had learnt. Two young men enter the hall carrying a lance of extraordinary length, from which three streams of blood fell to the ground. At this the whole household set up a great cry of lamentation, but the uncle said no word, and Peredur refrained from asking. When the wailing ceased two damsels entered bearing a large dish on which was a man's head swimming in blood. The wailing was renewed, but no explanation was given and Peredur maintained his impassivity. So far well, the skill and courage of the future hero have been tested, he has now to receive his supernatural arms. He next lodges in a castle which was periodically assaulted by the nine witches of Caer Loyw (Gloucester). He undertakes the defence of the castle and forces one of the witches to beg for mercy: she knew him, and predicted he would be the cause of disaster to her and her sisters, though destiny compelled them to furnish him with horse and arms and to teach him all that belonged to chivalry. Peredur spares her

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<sup>1</sup> All that relates to Arthur's court, down to this point, is part of the story of the Red Knight or *Sir Percyelle*, and is quite inconsistent with what is just going to be related.

and goes with the nine sisters to Gloucester, and there he received arms and was made perfect in the use of them. He then set out to return to the Court he had left, a raw lad, not long before. On the way he had the vision of the wounded bird on the snow, inevitable in Celtic romance, and thereupon fell into musing over the pink and white complexion and raven locks of "the Countess". This lady he had freed from a covetous knight who proposed to marry her as a short way of getting possession of her estates, an adventure in which the robber knight takes the place of the Monster in the story of Perseus. Peredur must needs now commit himself to one of the rash obligations of the courtly lover, and was bound by it to avoid the company of his fellow men until the vow was discharged. He had strange adventures in the desert, but he returned at last to Court and was freed from his oath. Restlessness drives him again to the desert, and he meets the "Black Oppressor", whom he overcomes, and from him he learns the whereabouts of the Adanc of the lake. He kills the Adanc by help of a stone, which made him invisible. The adventures which follow are those of the sun hero: many of them are found in the story of *Owen*; they belonged doubtless to the ordinary stock of the professional story-teller, and do not interest us, except as showing that this story is highly composite and may have been told in many ways. The interest of the story attaches to the Countess: it was she, apparently, who gave Peredur the magic stone which rendered him invisible. He does not appear to have recognised her, but that is nothing; he did not know her again at Constantinople, where he had engaged to meet her. At Constantinople she is Empress, but always she is "the fairest he had ever beheld".

They marry, and a long story might be supposed to end here. Possibly at one time it did so end, for nothing remains to tell:—Peredur has done all that the hero is ever supposed to do; he has triumphed over all opponents, abolished bad customs, and won the Princess. We are prepared to applaud, when our attention is demanded for a new set of incidents. Peredur had been taught to regard curiosity as a weakness, and to maintain an unmoved serenity in face of every event. That would have been

the correct demeanour at the time when this story may be supposed to have taken its first form; it belongs to the dignity of the high-bred savage everywhere. Suddenly he is asked to adopt a quite contrary standard of behaviour and to exchange impassiveness for curiosity. A new influence is at work, and, like the Sicambrian King, Peredur is constrained to burn all that he had been taught to adore. The influence in both cases was probably the same. We are not told how, after fourteen years of wedded life, Peredur found himself again at Caerleon, but there he is, sitting in hall with Owen, Gwalchmai and Howel, when—

to them comes a hideous hag who upbraids Peredur because "when he was at the Court of the Lame King he did not enquire the meaning of the streaming spear or of the other wonders," and she goes on to say that, had he not failed in this "the King would have been restored to health and his dominions to peace."<sup>1</sup> Peredur swears he will not rest until he know "the story and the meaning of the lance". He sets forth therefore to find the castle of his uncle, and meets with adventures, some of which belong properly to the former part of the story, for the winning of the Empress is supposed to depend on them; they are of no importance to us now. He meets the loathly one once more, but this time in form of a young squire, who explains that it was he who had brought in the dish with the bleeding head,<sup>2</sup> and that it was the head of his own cousin slain by the witches of Gloucester,<sup>3</sup> who had also maimed the King, and that Peredur was the one on whom devolved the punishment of the murderers. He does not say why he himself did not take up the quarrel; we are perhaps to understand that the days of private vendetta are past, for Peredur, finding the duty

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<sup>1</sup> There is no suggestion in the earlier part of the story that the lame uncle was a king.

<sup>2</sup> The story says it was brought in by "two damsels".

<sup>3</sup> These witches and the slaying appear to be the same with those in the story of Saint Samson, *Book of Llandaff*.



thrust upon him, appeals to Arthur, and an expedition is organised against the witches. Peredur accompanies the King, but takes no part in the fighting until three of his companions have been killed before his eyes. He then attacks and the witches flee, crying "It is Peredur, by whom we are destined to be undone." They are all killed, and so the story ends once more,

or rather, is broken off—for the inconsequence of the second part abides with it throughout. Nothing follows of all that Peredur was exhorted to undertake; there is no bleeding lance nor maimed King, there is no *asking* therefore; everything for which the story was professedly extended has been forgotten, and instead of the healing and the pacification we have a fragment of a quite different story. No doubt the existing Welsh version is impure, such as it is, however, the early origin of the story is discernible—not Christian, and almost certainly Welsh or Romano-British. The form is conventionally Christian, but the substance is Pagan, with certain additions of incident and expression which mark a time of transition, or a conscious adaptation. The period of its history, marked by the introduction of the hag and her denunciation of Peredur's pagan manners, is probably that of the adaption of the story as a Grail romance.

With this story we must now compare those versions of the Quest of the Grail, which were published under the names of *Percival*, *li Contes del Graal*, *Parsifal*, *Percival le Gallois*, about the end of the twelfth century, and about the same time, not later, a more highly developed and mystical version, called the *Queste*. The earliest of all is the *Conte*, by Chrestien of Troyes; like the others it has Perceval for hero, but Gawain also plays a prominent part. The *Conte* follows *Peredur* most nearly,

—it begins exactly as does *Peredur* and brings us with few deviations to the house of the second uncle. It is here that the Grail appears, it is carried in the place of the

Bleeding Head by a damsel, attended by two squires bearing lights; after this damsel comes another holding a silver plate or dish, Perceval respects the advice of Gouemans (the first uncle), and asks no question; next day he meets with his cousin, a damsel, who calls him Caitif, and upbraids him for not having asked concerning the *grail*, the *lance*, and the *dish*; had he but asked "the good king would have been made whole," and many other things would have been better. After this introduction of the Grail, the incidents again correspond with those of the *Peredur*, but the Empress does not appear, nor do the witches of Gloucester. Some new incidents are introduced, which seem to belong to the story of Gawain;<sup>1</sup> while relating these Chrestien suddenly stops. His continuator does not advance the story, but gives us various manifestations of the Grail, and some explanations, together with a crowd of incidents taken from other stories. Finally, under a third editor, comes the crowning of Perceval as king of the Grail Castle, where he reigns peacefully for seven years, after which he follows a hermit into the wilderness, and carries with him "Grail, Lance and Holy Dish." After serving the Lord for ten years more as hermit-king he dies, and the Grail is "doubtless carried up to Heaven, for since that day no man saw it, nor Lance, nor Dish." There is a fourth contributor to the *Conte*, Gerbert, who has very different sources of inspiration, and on one point differs materially, for whereas Manessier, the third editor, is disposed to asceticism, and prepares the way for the supreme chastity of Galahad, Gerbert obliges Perceval to marry, as a condition precedent to success; in this, following *Peredur* more closely.

Another Perceval, called sometimes the *Petit Saint Graal*, is known to us by one MS. only, which, from having belonged for a time to the library of M. Didot, has acquired the title of "the Didot Perceval".

It is a fully developed Grail romance, and has very little of the *Peredur* left but the procession scene. The tourna-

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<sup>1</sup> There was undoubtedly a story in which Gawain was protagonist, and possibly one with Arthur as Questor, but Arthur's dignity of Emperor soon overshadowed his achievements as Knight.

ment at Constantinople, however, reappears in this *Perceval*,<sup>1</sup> it had been forgotten or neglected by the editors of the *Conte*, so capricious and unaccountable are the variations we meet with. As the result of the tournament, Perceval ought to have married the Empress, but this did not suit the extreme spirituality of this version, and Perceval is made to say that he was not permitted to marry. In lieu of the charming prologue or opening scene of the *Peredur*, we have in the *Didot Perceval* an introduction, which tells of the establishment of the Round Table by Arthur, on his coming to the throne. The Grail belongs to the Table; there is a Keeper of the Grail, called the Fisher King, "old and full of sickness," who waits to be relieved of his charge by a young Knight, a companion of the Table, who should ask "of what use is the Grail?" Thus the new conditions being fairly set forth at the outset, the inconsistency of the earlier adaptations is avoided, and an independent Grail romance produced. Perceval fails to ask at first, as tale-telling requires, but on the second occasion he overcomes his timidity and the solution follows; the old king tells him "the secret words", and resigns in his favour.

There is again the *High History*, printed by Potvin in the first volume of his edition of the *Conte*; it is also called *Perceval le Gallois*, a very poetical and highly mystical form of the story. It has been admirably translated by Dr. Sebastian Evans. There is another Perceval, *Sir Percyvelle of Galles*, an English romance of about A.D. 1440.<sup>2</sup> Though late, this may probably preserve for us a very early form of the *Peredur*. It has no training of the hero, and no testing. Having won the arms of the Red Knight, Percyvelle enters at once on his career, and there is consequently no scene of the bleeding lance, nothing on which to hang the Christian legend. *Sir Percyvelle* remains therefore a pagan story.

<sup>1</sup> See incident 15 in Mr. Nutt's analysis of the *Petit Saint Graal*, *Studies in the Legend of the Holy Grail*.

<sup>2</sup> In the *Thornton Romances*, edited for the Camden Society by Halliwell, 1884.

Now we come to the version which is known as the *Queste*. According to Nutt, p. 95,<sup>1</sup> this is of later date than the first part of the *Conte*, but not so late as Manessier's continuation, or Gerbert's; it must then be from a different source, for it is a much more developed Grail story. Chrestien may not have been the first to translate the Welsh or Breton romance of *Peredur*; the rival stories under the titles of *Perceval*, *Perceval le Gallois*, *Parsifal*, point to other forms not existing to-day, from which Wolfram and the writers whose names we do not know may have worked, but all these titles are presumably older than that of "Quest." When *Peredur* was sent back to the Castle of Wonders, he was not told where it might be; then the quest began, it was an accident of the amended or Christianised version of *Peredur*, and *not until the appendic to the story became the story itself*, would "Quest" become the proper title. The *Queste* is therefore, as we might have expected, a more advanced phase of the story. In the *Conte*, Perceval and Gawain and others set off to find the Grail, but it is for the sake of liberating a sorely-oppressed king, and restoring peace to his country; in the *Queste* the recovery of the wonder-working relic is the object of the journey. The "maimed king" remains certainly, but his cure is a secondary affair, a sort of by-product of the achievement, and the hero gets no reproaches on his account. The blame is now for Lancelot the sinful, "for that (having seen the Grail working wonders) he yet moved not, nor said never a word."

The revised story opens with a Round-table of the Grail, not a sacramental function, where everyone is filled with such food as he most desires, then the Grail disappears, and Gawain and the rest make a vow to seek it

<sup>1</sup> It is always to the *Studies* that reference is made.

for a year and a day. Galahad is the first to take the oath, but Gawain was first in proposing it.<sup>1</sup> Lancelot, though unworthy to achieve the Grail, is the first to arrive at Castle Corbenic; that much is allowed him as greatest knight. Then Galahad, Perceval and Bors come to the Castle. There is again a table of the Grail, but it is a Pontifical Mass, not a simple feeding of the multitude. Galahad heals the maimed king, not by asking a question, all that part of the story is gone, but by virtue of his royalty, and the three set sail in Solomon's ship, taking the Grail with them. They are cast into prison, and the Grail feeds them for a year. Galahad is then made king of the country; he fashions a tree of gold and precious stones<sup>2</sup> to overshadow the Grail, and prays before it morning and evening. There is a celebration by Joseph, at which Galahad is allowed to see the Grail, which has been veiled hitherto. He takes leave of Perceval and Bors and dies, and angels carry away his soul. A hand from heaven then takes the Vessel and the Lance, and no one has since dared to say he has seen the Grail, "except Gwalchmai (Gawain) once".

The development of our story is now complete; the *Queste* and *Peredur* are now two stories, though the *Conte* and *Peredur* move with nearly equal steps. A new motive is set up: the discovery of the sacred vessel. There is no quest in the first form of the *Peredur*, nor has it the vessel nor anything corresponding to it; these are the additions which Christianity has made.

*Peredur* is either a story of revenge or, eliminating the witches who do not seem to have belonged to the story originally, it is a collection of well-known adventures, less

<sup>1</sup> A recognition of the lead taken by Gawain in one group of these romances.

<sup>2</sup> A shrine in another version.

interesting in themselves than those of Owen and Geraint. Why the Grail should have attached itself to such a story is the question that interests us: why the highly mystical, devotional sentiment that inspired the search for the Grail should have chosen for its expression a romance of love adventures, of fighting, or of revenge? The obvious answer is that it could not have been for any of these things that the Grail borrowed the form of this romance. Had there been nothing in the story of *Peredur*, but those ordinary characteristics of the heroic story, it would never have been annexed, for none of these things are permanent: they were discarded as the new story got strength, until in the *Petit Saint Graal* and the *Queste*, nothing of the original *Peredur* is left but the one strange, inexplicable scene, which made the fortune of the story. This scene, which would never have had more than a passing interest so long as the career of *Peredur* was the subject of the story, is all for which the *Grail* is indebted to *Peredur*. Our enquiry into the origin of the second part of the Grail story begins, then, at the house of the second uncle, where the scene of the bleeding lance was presented.

Whether the ghastly head and the lance dropping blood were real things it is hard to say. They might be imagined as ancient trophies of the Celts—the spear of Cormac to wit, and the *Cenn Crúach* or bleeding-head, but for the wailing. If we assume that the wailing was invented when the story became one of vendetta, we bethink us that, so long as vengeance was incomplete, the head would more probably be found on a stake in front of the slayer's castle than in possession of the father. Perhaps the opinion of the learned Principal of Jesus College may be accepted;—that the appearance was magical only, and intended to test the courage of the neophyte. Such testing of the candidate for the title of

“champion” was usual; the two examples we are about to give are chosen because they also employ supernatural means.

Cuchullin contested with Conall and Laeghaire the title of prime champion of Erin. The test offered was that the candidates should allow their heads to be cut off on the promise that they would be made whole again on the morrow. Conall and Laeghaire withdrew, saying they did not trust in the rehabilitation. Cuchullin feared nothing, and by accepting the conditions was at once pronounced victor, the trial being really one of moral courage.

Sir Bors arrived at the Castle of the Grail, and was put into the haunted chamber, to go through the customary ordeal of the novice. He is assailed as he lies in bed by a “flaming spear”, which wounded him in the shoulder, possibly the same spear as that described as “streaming” with blood in the *Peredur*, it was certainly phantasmal, for he was able to defend himself in the succeeding trials, from attacks by an armed knight, a lion, a leopard, etc., none of which also, though terrible, were real.

Gawain had a like adventure at the Castle of Wonders.

If, then, we may regard this apparition of the bleeding spear and the head as a test of the hero's firmness, it is obvious that the scene would not be repeated; it had but a momentary use in the story, and having served its purpose, would be forgotten. Nothing could afterwards turn upon it. Why then, we ask, was a repetition of this scene contrived? Let us recall the astonishment with which we saw *Peredur* brought back from Constantinople to be reproached for *not* having been affected by that procession, for *not* having asked what it meant. Such shameless inconsistency could never have been original; it marks rather the forcible annexation of the story by strangers, indifferent to its meaning and careless of the unity of the composition. It is not accidental, and its purpose is not difficult to find. We can understand how startling to a Christian must have been the sight of that bleeding spear—

how naturally it would occur to a proselytizing clergy that this scene might be made an admirable expositor of the mystery of Calvary! It did become that, and it is reasonable to suppose that the conversion was intentional.

If we prefer to suppose a simple lapsing of the story—an unconscious taking on of Christian sentiment, how shall we explain the loud denial of all that the story had been accustomed to assert as right and becoming? That is not unconscious. To make the story Christian and useful for the propaganda two things were needed; the doctrine of indifference must be given up, and the spirit of enquiry encouraged. People must be taught to ask concerning the Grail—"whereof it served"? There was possibly another reason why the story should be lengthened, even by a contradiction, rather than adapted by degrees. It might have been impossible to make the required change in any other way; nothing is so difficult as to alter an accepted version. Moreover, the old story was needed to launch the new. The storyteller by lengthening, not modifying, had complete control of what was added, and he takes care to lead us at once towards the new interpretation of the "wonders".

What happened when Peredur arrived once more at the house of the second uncle the imperfect fourteenth century version does not tell, but something may perhaps be gleaned from the *Conte*. The *Conte*, it must be remembered, is the work of four contributors, and it may have taken thirty years to write. There are endless diversities, due partly to the corruption of a long tradition, partly to the fact that various tellings of the story are brought together in this long poem. In Chrestien the procession in the uncle's castle is with Grail, Lance and Holy Dish, and Manessier repeats this; the other contributors make the procession of Grail, Lance, and Sword. One of the incarnations of the hero was Gawain; he preceded Perceval,



and his adventures may have been more like those of the converted Peredur than are those of the later hero. We should expect a Gawain version to be less developed than the Perceval story.

Gawain, "who never failed in anything he undertook", arrived at his uncle's castle (Arthur's),<sup>1</sup> where he asks concerning the lance, the sword, and the bier (on which lay the Red Knight), but about the Grail he asks nothing, it was not yet classed among the wonders. It appeared and served the tables, supplying all needs without aid of "varlet or sergeant"; the recognised automatic seneschal of the castle, but not yet the Holy Grail. Gawaine was astonished, "*auidés-me, sire Dieus*", but the five hundred guests who sat down saw nothing unusual. Only when the supper was over and the tables removed did the king, like the giant in another Welsh story, produce his marvels. Gawaine asks duly of the lance "why it bled", and was rewarded, but not fully. In the earlier version, possibly the cure of the dead knight, who lay on the bier, would have followed. This, however, is a Perceval version, and the most that is permitted to Gawain is to see the waste country blossom again—

" N'estoit pas plus que miemis  
Le Soir devant, que Dex avoit  
Rendu issi com il devoit  
As aiges (eaux) lor cors el país ;  
Et tout le bos (bois), ce m'est avis,  
Refurent en verdor trouvé.  
*Si tos com il ot demandé*  
*Por coi (pourquoi) si saïnoit en l'anstier*  
*La lance ;*"

*Conte*, vv. 20,344-52.

which is precisely what Peredur set out to do. So much

<sup>1</sup> We must suppose the host to be Arthur. *N'avoit en la crestienté*  
*Si bel home ne si cortois.* *Conte*, vv. 20,105, *et seq.*

then we may think we have recovered. We see the converted Peredur asking about the lance, according to his vow, and we have the first sight of the Grail, not the Holy Grail, but the pagan one which supplies food to Arthur's Court.

Certain other possible survivals of an intermediate version, older than the *Conte*, later than *Peredur*, may be detected. We may presume that, when Peredur was sent back to the Castle to undergo the ordeal anew, under Christian direction, the adventures on the way would be of the nature of hindrances from the powers of darkness. The adventures of the *Mabinogion* version of *Peredur*, we have already remarked, do not belong to the after part of the story but to the earlier, or they belong to another ending quite different from that prefigured by the exordium of the loathly damsel.

In the *Conte*, Perceval comes to the river where he had first met the fisher king; he tries to cross but cannot, and a damsel offers to show him the ford; she leads him into deep water and would have drowned him but for a friendly chestnut tree to which he held until help came.<sup>1</sup> Manessier relates a similar attempt,<sup>2</sup> and again,<sup>3</sup> where the Devil himself misleads the knight. Other hindrances of like kind were attempted, which need not be related particularly.

Among adventures of knight errantry, which may be referred to an early state of the story, is Gawain's delivery of the country from "enchantments",—the pallel of the killing of the witches by Peredur; but most interesting among these scraps of older versions is the possibly original ending of the vendetta form of the story. In the existing *Peredur*, the *malaise* of the old king is attributed to the machinations of the Sorceresses of Gloucester, with the intention probably of making the extinction of witchcraft in Britain

<sup>1</sup> vv. 22,365 *et seq.*

<sup>2</sup> vv. 40,564 *et seq.*

<sup>3</sup> vv. 40,473 *et seq.*

symbolise the triumph of Christianity. Whether any good came to king or people by the slaughter of the witches, we are left to imagine, no word suggests the cure of the king, who sits placidly by the fire, tended by Gwalchmai. Maessier, in his ending of the *Conte*, gives what is probably the right version :—

The brother of the old king had been slain feloniously by Partinal. Perceval challenges the slayer and kills him, he cuts off his head and rides with it at his saddle bow into the Castle. As soon as the king learns the news, he springs from his bed *cured*.”

vv. 44,605, *et seq.*

There can be no doubt of the antiquity of this *dénouement*; it is thoroughly pagan, and it implies a state of civilisation far removed from that of the Courts of Flanders and Normandy in the twelfth century. Now, this ending, preserved for us by Maessier, belongs to a *Peredur* where was no “asking”, and no loathly damsel therefore, and no quest; to a downright tale of revenge for the death of father or kinsman. For this revenge the hero was chosen after a terrible ordeal, as Sinfiotli by Sigmund; and when the proper time came the cousin was sent, who told him of the murder, and the vengeance was swift.

Such, according to the indications, might have been the original *Peredur*, between which and the *Conte* more than one transitional version may have existed, though but one has survived. The transformation from Pagan to Christian was effected by lifting into primary importance the scene of the exposition of the lance, and by discovering for the lance itself a religious significance. That established, other holy relics connected with the Passion were added, and then the old story died away—the blood feud, the love of the Princess and even that first beautiful but Pagan opening; nothing remained of the original *Peredur*

but the one fruitful passage in which Christians had discovered the spear of Longinus.

It has been suggested that the scene of the spear is not original, that it is an interpolation of Christian date—that, in short, the spear was always the Holy Lance and nothing else. In support of this view the Thornton *Sir Percyvelle* is quoted—it has no such scene. *Peredur*, however, may be as reasonably derived from an archaic original as *Sir Percyvelle*. We have shown that tests, such as this remarkable scene would imply, are found in other mythical stories, and were part of the ordeal of candidates for the degree of “champion”, and we may add that the “watching of his arms” by the mediaeval aspirant for knighthood is a relic of the same system of probation. The postulant expected to be assailed during his vigil by the powers of evil, eager to prevent the enrolment of another champion of the right. It is every way probable that the scene in question belongs to a real *Peredur*. We may further assert that it is *not* Christian. Though the sight of the streaming spear would irresistibly bring to a Christian’s mind the thought of Calvary, it is unlikely that any Christian would have conceived that symbol as it appears in the tale; for the spear cannot be the lance of Longinus unless the blood is that of Christ. Now, no Christian could bear to see that blood running unheeded to the ground; the whole spirit of the story forbids that this precious blood should run to waste, and in the earliest Christian version we have, a cup is provided into which the blood dripped.

“ Et puis si vit, en l’hanstier  
 Une lance forment sainier  
 Dedens une cope d’argent.”

vv. 21,052-4.

Christians of Britain, moreover, had the account of Arculf, which describes the spear as “shining like the sun”.

It is not likely then, though they might have accepted that very mystical image of the Saviour's mortal wound, that they would have invented it.

It is fair to ask—"Why any other origin should have been sought for this mysterious spear than the traditions of the country afforded?" Marvellous spears abound in the legendary stories of the Celts. There was the spear of Cormac mac Airt, which was called the "blood spotted". From Cormac it passed to Aengus, son of Corb, who killed with it one of the sons of Cormac, and since then it was known as "the Venomed". It belonged also to Cuchullin and, in his hands, would "draw blood from the wind". It was the same apparently with that the sons of Bicerenn won from the King of Persia or Pirris[?],<sup>1</sup> which flamed when in action and set fire to whatever it touched, it was called "the slaughterer", and in time of peace was kept in a butt of water. There seems to be no need to go outside Celtic story for "streaming spears", bleeding or flaming.

At the end then of this analysis of the story of Peredur, it seems as if we might safely refer the beginnings of the story to the Quest to the remarkable scene in *Peredur*, where this spear is exhibited among other wonders. The presentation before Christian audiences of a spear exuding blood which ran down in "streams" could not but have excited strong emotions of wonder and of reverence; for it would certainly appear to all that one spear only could be intended, namely, that which on the first Good Friday opened the fountain of eternal pardon for the world. With this idea established, the conversion of the story would follow inevitably—the mystery would be made the means of propaganda. That may be conceded, but how give a religious bias to a story of fightings and

<sup>1</sup> Hell, see ballad of *The Courteous Knight*.—Buchan.

love adventure? What shall be the new motive? There was a great marvel, which became by conversion a mystery of the Faith; the hero could be taught to enquire concerning it, for "faith cometh by hearing", and occasion was thus given for the introduction of abstracts of the "Early History", which duly occur. This was material for a story, but was it enough? Could the interest be maintained by quotations, by the exposition of a symbol? Any devout Christian would have gladly made the journey to Palestine to see the very places where Christ's blessed feet had trod, the Sepulchre where He had lain; he would have gone far if he might be allowed to kiss but a fragment of the True Cross; but the bleeding spear was nothing, a figment in a story, an emblem—not the Precious Blood itself, but an image of it. The *reality* of the *sains sans précieux* was needed to give sufficient motive and actuality to the story, and the vessel which Joseph of Arimathea brought to Britain thus became a necessary part of it. It was this vessel, containing the reality of the thing signified, which supplanted in our story the original Grail, which Gawaine saw; it was more wonderful than the old, and was never presented except veiled. It sanctified the new table of Arthur, by taking to itself all the virtues of earlier talismans, and surpassing all by the ineffable awe of its Presence, and by the devotion which it inspired.

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## PART IV.—THE MATERIAL OF THE STORY.

The certainty that the story of the Quest was suggested by an incident in *Peredur*, and that the form of the story was also borrowed from the same Romance, is not proof of a Celtic origin of the Grail itself. In order to establish that, we should have to find in Celtic literature a vessel of blood, of great magical power, the dying legacy of some famous chief, or demi-god, to his people. This precisely does not exist, but the advocates of a purely Celtic origin of the Grail allege several not very obvious analogues of the great Christian relic, which, they say, by process of development under Christian influences, might have become what the Grail is in the romances, and they say very truly that many of the leading personages of the story belong to British history and mythology. Admitting that the material of the story is largely Celtic, there still remains the devotion of Christians to the Precious Blood, which was supposed to be contained in the Vessel. This central belief undoubtedly controlled all the development of the story and gave it that supremely mystical and religious tone which distinguishes it among romances. If the pagan material of the story sometimes re-acted, it never weakened the profound Christian sentiment, which first inspired the adaptors of a pagan symbol, and which made for them the fable of the Precious Blood a reality.

We propose in this paper to examine all the principal elements of the story of the Grail, to determine, if we may, their nationality, and which of them is really primitive and essential to the story, and which adventitious and ornamental only; and we take first the Grail itself. The attributes of the Grail were three:—1, the power of distributing food to many or few at any time; 2, the

power of healing ; 3, the grace of spiritual consolation and freedom from temptation. Nourishment was its earliest attribution ; Gawain was seated near the King in hall with other guests in great number,

“ Lors vit parmi la sale aler  
 Le rice Gréal ki servoit  
 Et mist le pain à grant exploit  
 Partout devant les chevaliers.”

*Conte*, vv. 20,114-7.

“ Bien orent des mès plus de dis ;  
 En grans escuïeles d'argent  
 Moulz furent servi ricement,  
 Saciés que moulz s'emervilla  
 Messire Gauwains, esgarda  
 Le Graal ki si le servoit ;  
 Nul autre senescal n'i voit  
 Ne nul varlet ne nul serjant.”

vv. 20,124-31.

This was the ordinary entertainment at the Castle, there was nothing sacramental in it. In respect of this function, therefore, the Grail may be compared to the *Mwys* of Gwyddno and the Caldron of the Dagda, both famous in Celtic mythology. The Caldron had been brought to Ireland by the godlike race (Tuatha) De Danann ; it supplied food without stint to all, but while it gave enough it never gave more. The *Mwys* had the power of multiplying a hundredfold whatever food was placed in it. Neither of these can be regarded as primitive types of the Grail (if this was but a literary figment) because Christian tradition already possessed the story of the feeding of the multitude with five loaves and two small fishes, and that of the feeding of the Israelites in the Desert, besides other examples : that of the widow's cruse, and the sustenance of the Prophet for forty days (I Kings, xix, 8). Another famous caldron was that of Annwfn ; used for the feasts of heroes, “it boils not a coward's food”. Arthur made



an expedition to Annwn—Valhalla or Hades—to get possession of this Caldron.

The healing virtue of the Grail has been compared with that of the Caldron of Brân, in which, if a dead man were boiled he would come forth “as good a champion as before.” The Celts believed much in the revivifying power of baths and balsams:—Cuchullin, grievously wounded in his fight with Ferdia, was carried to the streams of Conaille-Muirthemne, supposed to have been medicated by the Tuatha De Danann, who threw into them “balsamic plants and herbs of health”: and there he was cured. Crimthan, King of Leinster, made a bath of the milk of one hundred and twenty white cows, in which he dipped the warriors slain during the day, and they were able to return to battle on the morrow. The hag, who brought to life again the enemies of Gornumant, used a potion or balsam,—“whereof Christ made use in the sepulchre”, says the curiously naïf adapter of an old story. This may be compared again with the story of Conal Gulban in Campbell’s *Tales of the West Highlands*, vol. iii, and again, with the almost modern practice in remote parts of Ireland, where, says Wood-Martin,<sup>1</sup> cures are supposed to be made by anointing the patient with blood, or by bringing in contact with him something which has been smeared with blood. The healing of Fionn in the story of Maghach Colgar, and the tempering of Fionn’s sword,<sup>2</sup> are examples of similar uses of blood by the same people in ancient times. The Maimed King was cured by the blood of the Lance, not by the Grail, as if to show us in what atmosphere this part of the Grail story grew up. The Grail revived the dying Hector and Perceval *by its*

<sup>1</sup> *Elder Faiths of Ireland*, vol. ii, p. 190.

<sup>2</sup> *Waifs and Strays of Celtic Tradition*, by the Rev. J. G. Campbell, of Tiree. Argyllshire series, No. iv.

presence merely, in which it acted, as always, by its Divine nature.

The spiritual influence of the Grail has only one example in Celtic literature: the Head of Brân. The story of this Head is part of the *Mabinogi of Branwen*.<sup>1</sup>

This tells how Brân made an expedition to Ireland (Hades) to rescue his sister—how he made a bridge of his own body across the river which always separates this world from the world of spirits, and so enabled his army to pass—how, his wars ended, he enjoined the remnant of that expedition to carry with them on their return his head, which, so long as it was present at their feasts, would supply them with all they needed. It would moreover keep them in good heart, and be a cheerful companion, “of as pleasant company as ever it had been when body and head were united.” The head was preserved for many years, and while it presided at their feasts, the companions were merry and united, taking no thought of the course of time. By the usual act of disobedience, or negligence, the charm was broken and desolation and misery followed.

Here is something that may be compared with the Grail and the Round Table: valiant comrades feasting, the table supplied with all that could be desired of food and drink; a happy, peaceful country, governed without fear, until a fool’s act reverses everything; “then were they ware of the loss of their King and their companions and of the misery that had befallen them.” It would be difficult to deduce the Precious Blood worshipped by Christians from the “Noble Head” which the followers of Brân carried about, but there is an intimate spiritual connexion, and we may at least say that the Grail would be

<sup>1</sup> Where Brân is called “Bran the Blessed” (Bendegeid)—an example of the many mixtures of pagan and Christian mythologies in these stories. Brân, the hero of the expedition to Ireland, was an ancient Celtic divinity; Bran the Blessed was the reputed father of Caradawc (Caratacus), sent prisoner with his son to Rome and “the first to bring Christianity to Britain.”

the more readily accepted, with its manifold properties of healing, refreshment and solace, in a country where the Head, the *Muys* and the various caldrons were part of the popular creed. With Grail and Lance were associated the Holy Dish or, in some versions, the Sword. Other trophies were sometimes added; in the *High History* the Crown of Thorns is guarded by King Fisherman, and in the *Conte*, Gawain asks about the Bier he had seen in hall, a dead knight stretched on it. The Dish was carried in the ostensions of the relics, but nothing seems to have required its presence, nor is anything said about it; it works no miracle, nor is anyone expected to ask "whereof it served". It may have been the Dish of the Last Supper, or the Paten of the Eucharist, which, in memory of what Joseph had done, was regarded as the emblem of the stone or lid of the sepulchre.<sup>1</sup>

" La platine ki ens (the chalice) girra  
Iert la pierre senefiée  
Qui fu deseur moi seelée  
Quant on sepuehre m'és mis."

*De Borron*, vv. 910-13.

The sword is an intrusion among the trophies of Joseph of Arimathea; these were properly, Lance, Grail, and Holy Dish, all connected with the Passion. The sword belongs to the heroic story—to Perceval, to Galahad. When the Grail annexed *Peredur* a sword had to be found for the hero, *Peredur* himself being famous for his lance. It is, perhaps, an index of the time when the conversion was made that the sword was borrowed from Scandinavian romance; some famous swords there were in Celtic story, but that of Sigurd was preferred by the first shapers of the Grail romance. Arthur and Galahad were both

<sup>1</sup>The belief regarding the sepulchre was that it was a sarcophagus with a lid.

recognised as the predestined hero by their ability to take the sword from the Branstock, just as was Sigmund in the Norse tale. When Sigmund's sword broke in his last fight, the shards were religiously preserved for his son, and were welded again by Regin, the Scandinavian Hephaistos. This welding of the father's sword for the son, is reproduced in the *Conte* and other versions of the Quest, but in a very corrupt and foolish fashion. Strange stories are invented to account for the breaking:—it is broken knocking against the door of Paradise;—Goon Desert having been killed treacherously with his own sword, which broke at the instant, a knight was foretold who should rejoin the pieces and avenge the blow;—it was the sword which wounded Joseph of Arimathea in the thighs;—these and such-like inventions show that there was no clear understanding of the mystery. The breaking of the hero's sword when he dies is one of the accepted figures of ancient mythology:—

“Now whereas the battle had dured a while, there came a man into the fight clad in a blue cloak (Odin), and with a slonched hat on his head, one-eyed he was, and bare a bill in his hand; and he came against Sigmund the King, and have up his bill against him, and as Sigmund smote fiercely with his sword it fell upon the bill and burst asunder in the midst: thenceforth the slaughter and dismay turned to his side, for the good-hap of King Sigmund had departed from him, and his men fell fast about him; . . . and in this fight fell Sigmund the King.”<sup>1</sup>

The Frenchmen knew nothing of this; they had heard something of a hero, whose heritage was a broken sword, but did not know the story rightly. Sigmund's sword, which Odin himself had set in the branstock for him, was

<sup>1</sup> William Morris, *The Story of the Volsungs and Niblungs*, 1870, p. 37. Compare the breaking of the sword of Balin, *also against a bill* (Malory, I, xi); further proof that the Scandinavian story was the original of this branch of the Grail legend.

preserved for Sigurd, his son, for "never bare any man better sword in hand"; though broken, it had not failed against human weapon or armour, but against fate, "nor will I suffer myself to be healed, *nor wills Odin that I should ever draw sword again*, since this my sword *and his* is broken". The shards of it therefore were more precious than a perfect weapon of human smithying, they would be reunited when the young hero was of age to handle it. The manner of reuniting the parts of the sword is meaningless in the Grail stories.

When Peredur was at the house of the second uncle, he was told to strike an iron staple with a sword given him, he did so and cut through the staple, but the sword broke. "Place the parts together", said the uncle, and they became one again, both sword and staple. A second time he struck and cut through the iron and broke the sword; and a third, but this time neither sword nor staple would reunite.

When Regni forged a sword for Sigurd, the lad smote it on to an anvil and the sword brake;

"so he cast down the brand, and bid Regni forge a better" and again it happened, and Sigurd said—"Art thou, may happen, a traitor and a liar like to those former kin of thine?" Therewith he went to his mother and asked if the two halves of the good sword Gram were not in her keeping, and she gave them, and Sigurd took them to Regni, and he made a sword with them, and Sigurd struck with it on the anvil, "and cleft it down to the stock thereof, and neither burst the sword nor brake it."

This is what the continuators of the Peredur story did not rightly know, howbeit some tale of a noble sword which had broken in two and been made whole again had come to them. The piecing of the sword by bringing together the two broken edges was made a test by which candidates were deemed worthy or not to achieve the Grail. The halves are offered to Gawain, to Sir Bors, to Perceval, and Galahad in turn. Perceval succeeds, before Galahad is

brought into the story, then, Galahad only can reunite the pieces, and Perceval is allowed to have *nearly* done it. What rubbish! Some traces of the older and rational version there are, however; Perceval, after breaking the sword against the gate of Paradise, meets with the smith who had forged it, and he makes it whole again (Gerbert); the name of the smith is Ttibuet (Manessier), Trebucet (Chrestien). The sword presented to Gawain to be mended is that of the Red Knight, and, fittingly, the death of the Knight, symbolised by the useless weapon, was the cause of great disaster—

“Li roiaumes de Logres<sup>1</sup> fu  
 Destrius est toute la contrée  
 Par le cop (coup) que fist coste epée.”

*Conte*, vv. 20,288-90.

where the sword is supposed to have been used against its master, as was the sword of Fionn.

“Fionn died, and the whole Fian race suffered loss.”

This is the “dolourous stroke” which exercises the writers so strongly; it is not always given by a sword, nor is it the same person who suffers, nor is it, in short, better understood than the other parts of the same myth. The brother of the Grail King is slain by Partinal treacherously; Lambar is slain by Urlain with the sword of Solomon, “and that was the first blow struck with the sword in the kingdom of Logres, and there came from it such pestilence and destruction in the land of the two kingdoms that it was afterwards called the *Waste Land*”; King Pellem is wounded by Balin with the Lance of Longinus, which he found in the chamber where Joseph of Arimathea lay dead. As Balin rode away after giving that stroke he

<sup>1</sup> The Kingdom of Logres must be Britain before the coming of the Romans: the stroke is probably that given to Nennius by Cæsar. —*Geoff. of Monmouth*, iv, 3, 4.

saw that people lay dead on every side, and those who were yet alive cried, "O, Balin, thou hast caused great damage in these countries; for the dolourous stroke that thou gavest King Pellam three countries are destroyed". An echo this, perhaps, of the misfortune which befel Britain after the death of Nennius, killed by the sword of Cæsar—though it expresses the universal sense of desolation on the death of a hero.

The Grail Keeper, or Grail King, appears to have been called King after the annexation of the Arthurian Legend. The first keeper was Joseph of Arimathea, and from him the Grail passed to Brons—who married Joseph's sister. All succeeding Keepers had to show kinship with Joseph. Arthur is not named in the official list of keepers, ending with Galahad; which may be explained, perhaps, by distinguishing between keepers of the Grail = Precious Blood (Joseph's Grail), and the earlier pagan keepers. There was a Grail at Arthur's Court before Joseph landed; this was absorbed into the greater mystery of the Holy Grail, but Arthur's Grail was remembered, and when he became Christian Hero the Grail still visited his Court and, under a new sanction, fed the companions of the table.

The succession of Grail Kings was maintained by keeping up the original stock of Joseph, and the descent was through a daughter or sister of the last incumbent to grandson or nephew; just as the succession of abbots in a Celtic monastery was always from Founder's kin. De Borron did not understand this, and he was perhaps scandalised by the marriage of the Grail Keeper; he invented, therefore, for Brons, twelve sons, of whom one—Alain—refused to marry, and to him he decreed the succession. He could not maintain this, however, in face of the story itself and, very soon, Alain disappears and Brons, whom he prefers to call Hebron, as being biblical

we may suppose, is solemnly confirmed in the office, Alain's son [?] being named to the next vacancy. Alain! who "would be flayed alive rather than marry"!

The Fisher King, of whom so much is made, is an enigmatical person. Properly, the Grail has no need of a fisherman; a king or high priest having charge of the sacred relic is all the story requires. How the Grail Keeper became a fisherman it is difficult to say, unless a conjecture may be allowed. Nothing is certain in the Grail texts: they all appear to be repeating a phrase without meaning. Certainly the allusion is not intelligible when applied to the Grail Keeper as he is presented to us, nor does it grow legitimately out of the *Peredur*. The uncle of *Peredur* is not a fisherman. You cannot so call an old gentleman who sits on a satin cushion and watches his men "draw the water" to while away an afternoon; neither can Brons be called a fisherman because he cast a line into the water at the bidding of Joseph and drew out one fish. Absurd also to call him "rich" fisher because of that take. As the Grail story became more mystical, some belief that the Grail Keeper was the Pope might have been pretended, but it could not have been maintained in face of the genealogies—the Grail Keeper was necessarily married. It is possible that Gwydno, who owned a valuable salmon weir "between Dyvi and Aberystwyth", may have been identified with Gwiddno of the *Mwys*, and he again with the owner of the Grail.<sup>1</sup> None of these

<sup>1</sup> Compare, as to this supposition, Rhys, *The Arthurian Legend*. The true original of Brons, who catches a fish and is by that recognised as the appointed leader, is probably found in the story of Fionn:—A prophet had foretold that Fionn Mac Chumhail would come, and the sign would be that no trout should be caught in a certain river of Eirinn till Fionn should come. He came, and the trout was caught, and Black Arean said, "Thou art the man!"—*Tales of the West Highlands*, vol. iii, "How the Eén was set up."



derivations can be called convincing. There is another, not yet offered, it is believed, which does at least give us a genuine fisherman for prototype. All stories were pillaged for marvellous or romantic incidents to make up the story of the Grail. One very popular story in the Middle Ages was that of *Œdipus*, which, duly christianised, was known as that of "Pope Gregory the Great". The foster-father of the young hero in this version was a fisherman; the boy leaves him in due course to seek his fortune, he is carried in a boat to another country, where he undertakes to defend the castle of a lady, who is harassed by a neighbouring baron, just as in *Peredur*. The castle is also by the sea, in both stories. Here, then, we have a real fisherman as guardian of the hero, and, if we allow that this part of *Peredur* may have been adapted from the Gregory story—and there is nothing unlikely or unusual in such an adaptation—we have all the explanation we want. Is Gwydno, who owned the weir, ever called "fisherman" in Welsh literature?

The Maimed King is as unaccountable a personage as the Fisher-King, with whom he is sometimes confounded. He belongs properly to the Feud-Quest, not to the Grail at all, and was perhaps brought in by transfer from the vendetta solution of the *Peredur* saga. As a necessary personage in the vendetta story he should be not a "maimed" king, but a disabled—morally and socially disabled.<sup>1</sup> The king whose brother (*Conte*), son (*Peredur*), has been treacherously slain and is unable to avenge himself, is a very ancient story. It is not worked out to its proper ending in *Peredur*, but Manessier supplies the very dramatic solution: the old king, bereaved and

<sup>1</sup> A very curious instance of the social disability incurred by a man who failed to avenge the death of a kinsman, may be read in Le Grand d'Aussy, *La vie privée des Français*, vol. iii, p. 140, ed. 1782.

insulted, who has not dared to show his face to the world, learns that Perceval is riding to the castle with a man's head at his saddle-bow; he jumps to his feet and rushes out to embrace the avenger. There is nothing magical in the case, unless a strong revulsion of feeling may be likened in its effects to magic, and probably no magic was implied. The story, without suspicion of supernaturalism, may be found in a very early form in the Saga of Howard the Halt.<sup>1</sup> The *Conte* describes the return from grief to joy of the old king, in terms that apply very well to the dejection of Howard—lying for three years in his bed, ashamed to meet his neighbours in field or market—and his delight when the reproach was removed.

“Sire, à moult grant aise  
 Et est grand repos mis m'avés,  
 De çou que vous vengié m'avés  
 De celui k'ert mes anemis,  
 Qui m'avoit en grant dolor mis,  
 Mais or est tote ma tristesse  
 Et mes dious (deuil) torrés à léeece.”

*Conte*, vv. 44,642-8.

As time went on, however, and the story became more marvellous, the grief of the old chieftain turned to a bodily hurt, to be cured only by supernatural means:—

The uncle who is called a fisherman was lame; the lameness was attributed to a wound in the ankle received in battle:

*Grand St. Grail.*

—to a spear thrust through both thighs; *Chrestien.*

—to a wound given by the broken sword which the Fisher King had incantiously handled; *Maessier.*

—to a spear thrust by invisible hands, because, having found the sword, King Pellès rashly drew it; *Queste.*

In the story of Balin le sauvage, King Pellam was wounded by the lance of Longinus; *Malory.*

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<sup>1</sup> *The Saga Library*, Morris and Magnusson, vol. i.

And there are other surmises. The story of a king wounded through both thighs is that of Fionn:—

Fionn had an encounter with an Ogre called "the Face", and in the end Fionn was set on a hot griddle until his legs were burnt to the hips, *a flesh stake was then thrust through both hams* and he was thrown aside. He managed, in this condition, to wind his horn, which Diarmid hears; he is freed, and then Diarmid *heals him with a balsam* found in possession of the Face.

There is also the wounding which cannot be healed:—

Garry, a sly traitor, is allowed to chose the death he would die; he asks that he may have his head taken off on Fionn's knee with the famous sword Mac-a-Luin. Fionn cannot refuse, but seven greyhides, seven faggots, and seven feet of peaty soil were laid on his thighs before the traitor's head bent over them; then Oscar wielded the terrible sword,

"And quicker than dew upon a daisy  
Were heads of arteries cut in Fionn's knee."<sup>1</sup>

The hero died, though magic bath and balsam were at his command; like Sigmund he recognised the fatal stroke and refused all medicament. A later version, however, sends Fionn to Rome to be healed. A strong argument for believing that Fionn may have been the model of the Roi Mehaigné in later versions of the Quest, is found in the otherwise inexplicable fact that this maimed king lay for months and years helpless and sick in presence of the Grail. The Grail healed all who came within its influence; Perceval and Hector after their fight, Lancelot when he had lost his wits, and the wounded knight whom Lancelot saw borne on a horse litter to the chapel of the Grail. To rotaries of the Grail in especial its protection was in all ways assured—

<sup>1</sup> *Waifs and Strays of Celtic Tradition.* The Rev. T. G. Campbell of Tiree, Argyllshire Series, No. iv, p. 168.

“ Leur heritages garderei  
 En toutes courz leur oïlerei  
 Ne pourront estre forjngié  
 Ne de leur membres mehaignié.”

*De Borron, v. 3052.*

The absurdity of the Grail Keeper himself lying sick when both Grail and Lance were in his keeping can only be explained by the tyranny of the tradition, and the blunder which made Grail King and Maimed King the same person. What was the proper ending of the Maimed King's disability we have seen; he should embrace his deliverer and be restored to the enjoyment of his honour and his health. The Grail King, on the other hand, was bound to make way for his successor; and must necessarily die when the hero is found who will take his place.

Manessier kills him, and the Berne MS. also, “on third day”; the *Queste* sends him, very inconsiderately, into a convent of White Monks, a degradation in those days for a Roi Fainéant; only the *Petit St. Graal* knows what is becoming:—As Arthur was carried away by Queens to Faëry, so the Grail King could only be carried to Heaven by Angels; there was no other possible ending. The Grail King at the time of his translation was old, his successor being his grandson, son of his daughter, or sister's son; in either case following the Celtic or possibly Pictish rule of succession. Before dying he communicates to his successor the “secret words”.

There is a scene which suggests that the awkward combination of Maimed King with Grail Keeper was not at one time intended, or that having so befallen a way out it was being made. The *Queste* tells how Perceval coming to the Minster of Glays, at time of high Mass, sees a bed placed near the altar and on it an old man crowned, his body full of wounds. This was Evelach, the first convert,

who desired, like Simeon, to see "the good Knight"<sup>1</sup> before singing his *Nunc Dimittis*. He was much comforted when he heard that Perceval was in the abbey. (The *Queste* is a Galahad romance, and Perceval must be content with a *succès d'estime*.) Galahad then comes and embraces the aged King, and lo—"his flesh which was of dead oldness became young again", and so his soul departed from his body and Galahad buried him; a very beautiful and legitimate fancy, and a more becoming version of the rôle of Maimed King than those others, which are but unintelligent revivals of a pagan story, utterly at variance with the religious motive of the Grail legend.

A more consistent and important personage in the story than either Roi Mehaignié or Fisher King is the Red Knight,<sup>2</sup> who, in comparison with them, has wonderfully escaped comment. The first appearance of the Red Knight is in *Peredur*. After killing the Adauc of the Lake, Peredur is joined by a knight in red armour, riding on a red horse, who calls himself Etlym of the red sword (*Gledyr Coch*) and "an earl of the East Country". Peredur and Etlym ride together, and Peredur obtained for Etlym the hand of the Countess of the Achievements, which by right should have fallen to himself. He thus plays the part of paranymph for his comrade,<sup>3</sup> and we have the

<sup>1</sup> Evelach looked as if he might be three hundred winters old, according to Malory, four hundred according to the *Queste*.

<sup>2</sup> The adventures of the Red Knight are found repeated in endless variety through the story and under many metamorphoses of the actors.

<sup>3</sup> In the Irish story Cuchullin gave the daughter of the King of the Isles (Hades?) to his friend Lugaid of the Red Stripes, to be his wife, though he had won her for himself by delivering her from the Fomori; and Conall Gulban gave the daughter of the King of Lochlann to the Avas Ormanach, with whom he had just made a treaty of peace.

ordinary opening of a sun myth. The ending is found in the story of Gawain:—

It is evening, and the Red Knight is pressing to his journey's end, when he is treacherously slain in Gawain's company (*Conte*, 19,664). Gawain dons the knight's armour and rides on his horse, letting the steed take its own course; he finds the Red Knight laid on a bier in the hall of the Grail King, his broken sword by his side (there had been no fighting, but the sword of the sun-god is shattered at his death)—Gawain enquires what it may mean, but does not learn. The last scene is at Caerleon—Arthur cannot sleep, he goes down to the shore and sees a boat approaching, it carries a light and is drawn by a swan,<sup>1</sup> in it is the Red Knight on his bier; there is a letter on the bier addressed to Arthur, who, after reading it has the bier carried to the hall, where it remained until vengeance had been done, then the boat returned, and the Knight was carried to the *Illes de la mer*.

The murderer is killed by a wound in the eye, as the Red Knight had been, but who he was or how discovered we are not told. The scenes at Caerleon—in the hall of the Grail King and on the sea shore—are entangled and imperfect; the story may however be understood by referring to the naked myth: the perpetual death and resurrection of the sun-god. As he is feloniously slain at even, so the slayer must be killed at morn.<sup>2</sup> The new hero, the "identical successor" of the old, then assumes his father's arms and armour, and a new career is begun, which is just the old one repeated. Hence the frequent repetitions in the story and the apparent confusions; we

<sup>1</sup> The bird which had its home no one knew where, in the country beyond man's habitation.

<sup>2</sup> Sir Percyvelle kills the false Red Knight with a dart, a mere splinter of wood hardened in the fire, it entered by the eye; this is mythologically right, cf. the story of Balor. Another form of poetical justice is that of killing the traitor with the very weapon he used. Balin strikes him down first with his sword and then transfixes him with the truncheon of the spear wherewith the Red Knight had been slain. *Malory*, I, xxxix.

have father and son of same name, and also a *parhelion*, the otherself of the hero. This last is very often a brother in the stories, and is killed by his brother.<sup>1</sup> The treacherous slayings, the impersonation (so fruitful an incident in the story of Gawain), the vengeance, all have their origin in the daily life of the sun-god.

The Grail Castle. The hiding-place of the precious relic was very properly imagined as standing in a waste country, a forest or a foreign land—in the country no longer occupied by Britons. It was so securely hidden that you might pass it closely without seeing it, and it comes into view suddenly; like the monastery of Blanchland, near the Scottish border, which was sought through a whole summer's day by raiders and would never have been found had they not been led to it at last by the music of its bells sounding a peal of joy for its deliverance. A sort of will-o'-the-wisp light floated over the castle which shone with equal power whether near or far, so that no one could be quite certain whether he was approaching it or not. The castle was built by Joseph of Arimathea (*Conte*, 35,131) as a perpetual abiding-place for the Grail. As a *castle*, it could not have been earlier in date than the towers of London or Rochester, but this is the romantic form given by the twelfth century writers; a religious house enclosed by a rath or circular fort, such as the missionaries were often permitted to occupy, would have been more in accordance with the antiquity of the legend. The first appearance of the castle in the romance of the Quest is probably found in the story of Balin; it appears there to have been an enclosed manor

<sup>1</sup> Duplication of the same person also comes about in another way: the stories having been told everywhere, when they were collected were seen to be the same and not the same, and were repeated in each form, hence we have two Iseults, two Elaines, two Merlinus, etc.

house, having hall and detached residences, bowers, offices, etc. Balin ran from one to another of these until he came to the chamber where Joseph was lying dead on a marvellous rich bed, near to which, on an altar, was the Holy Lance. Balin attacked the Castellan, King Pellam, with this, and smote him with it passing sore (*Roi Mehaigné*). The castle was rent by the horror of this blow, even as the veil of the temple, from top to bottom. This form of "castle", if rightly described, belongs to the class of fortified "cashels" of Ireland, and to the "steadings" of Scandinavia. The practice also of depriving champions of their arms on entering the banquetting room, on which the whole of the scene in Malory turns (I, xxxix and xl) is one common to Irish stories and Scandinavian, and is mentioned by Giraldus as still in use in Wales in his time. As he remarks it, we may conclude the practice was not then English or Norman, and that it was considered antiquated in Wales. When Gawain arrived at the castle, he found a handsome building—

"Dont tout li mur et li querel  
Erent ouvré moult ricement."

*Conte*, v. 33,485.

and was received by a noble knight wearing a crown of fine gold, enamelled,

"N'avoit en la crestianté  
Si bel home ne si cortois."

The Grail served them (no word of it in the Balin story) and the spear was carried through the hall. As the story developed so did the reverence to the sacred relics increase. The lance (head) was set in a chalice; the Grail is covered with a red or white samite, Angels guard it, and the chamber where it lodges is as light "as if all the torches of the world had been there". The gradual change from the rudeness of the life shown plainly in the



story of Balin, to the refinement and courtesy of the later scenes, when Perceval and Galahad appear, speaks of a long period during which the story had existed.

We may now leave the romantic side of the story and return to the "Early History". The sources for this would have been chiefly the faint traditions of the coming of Christianity to Britain, and the canonical and apocryphal scriptures; there were also certain contributory traditions of the Rhone valley, of Alsace and of De Borron's own country, which have already been noted. It is possible, also, that before De Borron wrote, the story of the Grail had already been popularised by Passion Plays and travelling "songmen". The latter, with their "pleasing rhymes", are mentioned as telling the story, in the *Petit St. Graul*, and the tradition of their minstrelsy reached even to Malory, who tells how a harper came into the hall and sang "an old song of how Joseph of Arimathea came to this land"; he is perhaps quoting from an old book or current story. Suggestions of dramatic representations of the Descent into Hell are frequent. Hell is represented compendiously in the *Grand St. Grail* by a burning tomb—a very expressive figure and almost certainly a stage device. From another scene of *The Harrowing of Hell*, as the play was called, is no doubt taken that of Gawain at the Castle of the Black Hermit, in the *High History* (Branch ii, chap. 3). The Hermit is Death, he had killed many good knights, and notoriously the Red Knight, foully; also he holds many knights in prison, who cry continually, "Ha, God! what hath become of the Good Knight, and when will he come?" The rest of the drama is given in Branch xvij, when Perceval goes to attack Castle Mortal. He had "burst the sepulchre", and the rumour of this had reached the castle, making the warders to quake (cf. *The Gospel of Nicodemus*). He

quickly won the outer wards, which were ill defended, then he discards his carnal weapons and with the banner of the resurrection in his hand advances to the attack of the citadel, mounted on a white mule. He is accompanied by a lion, himself the Lion of the Tribe of Judah; the warders make no defence,—he enters the castle (the church, for we must suppose this is a Holy Week ceremonial), twelve hermits, his apostles, accompanying him, St. Peter carrying the banner,—the king of Castle Mortal drowns himself in the moat (Styx). Being come into the castle (we may suppose the procession has advanced to the chancel gates), there is heard “right sweet praising of our Lord”. There cannot be any doubt that the authors of the *Grand St. Graal* and of the *High History*, both followed dramatised versions in these descriptions.<sup>1</sup> Apocryphal gospels, supplementing the canonical books, were abundant, though they may not have had all the authority in De Borron’s time they had once possessed, he would at least have found confirmation in them of the stories he had acquired elsewhere. They were the only authorities for the events of the three days, when Christ descended into Hell. The killing of the felon knight (the triumph over death) is therefore a symbolising of the christian story: the tomb, the descent into Hell, the liberation, and the death of the tyrant, are represented by the dead knight lying on his bier, while his double, his very self, seeks out the murderer and kills him. That this was intended we see from the story, for Gawain, by his question, delivers from long waiting and suffering those which were dead and those which live.<sup>2</sup> Finally, there was

<sup>1</sup> The form “Joseph Barimachie” is alone suggestive of this: it is also proof of a previous Latin version.

<sup>2</sup> *Studies, etc.* Mr. Nutt’s abstract of the Gawain episode of *Diu Crône*, p. 27.

the "great book" of the Grail to which De Borron refers, and some writings or perhaps a "Life" of Bishop Blaise of Troyes, who accompanied Germanus on his first mission.<sup>1</sup> Mr. F. Lot has demonstrated (*Romania*, vols. xxiv, xxv, 1895-6), that the transmission of the Grail stories *must*, in some cases, have been by writing, and if so, perhaps De Borron was not absolutely lying when he referred, like so many of his contemporaries, to a manuscript original as his authority.

Very valuable, also, are the traces of Welsh tradition. The beginnings of Christianity in Britain were unknown; the mission of Germanus would be all the Britons could remember of any avowed preaching of the Gospel, and if a formal opinion existed of the manner of the conversion of Britain, it would have been founded upon such memories of Germanus' preaching as may have been preserved. The *Vita Germani* of Constantius tells how the Saint proceeded:—There was the wicked tyrant to be overcome,—the long vigil outside the gates of the Llys,—the miracle which either converted him or annihilated,—the occupation of the fort, which then became a "Castle of the Faith".<sup>2</sup> The story of Columba gives us precisely similar incidents, and they answer very nearly to the story in the *Grand St. Graul*: the coming of Joseph—the conversion of Ganort—the treachery of kings Crudel and Agrestes,<sup>3</sup>—the building of Castle Corbenic. The correspondence is the more remarkable because, at the time we may suppose the story to have become literary, a very different mode of conversion was the rule. Alfred gave

<sup>1</sup> See prologue to the Didot *Perceval*. Nutt, *Studies*, p. 28.

<sup>2</sup> The name actually given to the Hill of Scone, after the conversion of Nectan.

<sup>3</sup> Who may represent the old paganism which revolted and drove Nectan into exile.

Guthrum peace on condition of baptism, and the Danes were converted by the same argument—Christianity or the Sword—down to the time of Canute. There is no other method in *Peredur* and the other chivalric stories. Two epochs are therefore evident, and that of the *Grand St. Graal* is the earlier.<sup>1</sup> This is also seen by the character of the mission prepared in the *Estoire*, and described more fully in the *Grand St. Graal*. If these had been inventions of the twelfth century, or from a Catholic source, we should have had the mission fully equipped, as was that of Bonifacius for the conversion of the Pictish king,<sup>2</sup> with a bishop, priest, deacon, subdeacon, acolyte, etc., etc., for each church founded. In the *Early History* we have the Bishop only,—an argument for the antiquity of the legend and for its British origin.

Among the very heterogeneous materials of these stories, the most difficult to apportion rightly are perhaps the scraps of classic lore; the difficulty being in the determination whether these are “popular”, coming into the story as fragments of ancient fable still existing in Britain, or whether they were introduced by the French writers as literary ornaments. The lion, for example, who attends the hero and fights for him, may perhaps be regarded as one of these additions, but the eternal contest between light and darkness had been represented by the image of a lion overcoming a serpent, for a very long time, and this may have been intended; or it may be the fable of Androclus, bequeathed with like stories to the Britons by the Romanized population of the fourth century. Of Romano-British origin is almost certainly that image of the anvil guarded by two serpents. It can only be the

<sup>1</sup> We cannot refer to the *Estoire* for the conversion; De Borron promises to bring the Grail to Britain, but breaks off before doing so.

<sup>2</sup> See the account of this in Skene, *Celtic Scotland*, vol. ii, p. 229.

altar of Esculapius, painted on the walls of Roman houses. Some of the villas of Britain may have stood for long years after their desertion, preserved from depredation by the awe surrounding these relics of a mighty race. The painted altars, with the symbols of the god, might have been supposed to represent the anvils on which the terrible Roman swords were forged.

The magic sword of Perceval was found by him on such an anvil (Gerbert). It would be very difficult to see in this image of an anvil guarded by serpents an invention of the twelfth century. Solomon's crown is placed on a "rich bed" in a ship; did the writers know anything of a *lecti-sternium*? Evelach's shield, which killed when the cover was removed, may be a loan from the story of Perseus, but there is another from the same source which makes it probable the borrowing was not from the literary version of the story, and not to be credited therefore to the reading of the Trouvères: Peredur killed the Adanc of the Lake by hiding behind a great stone until his enemy was within striking distance, though he had in his possession the ring which made him invisible;—the story was lately told by an Albanian woman *in the same way*.<sup>1</sup> The relation of the hero to Achilles in all the Grail stories is another fact of uncertain derivation, because the *Iliad* was well known, in a certain form, and with its other parts of the Achilles Saga probably, in the twelfth century. The hero, as Peredur, kills stags without nets while still a boy,—he refuses to take part in the fight with the witches until certain of his companions have been slain, Perceval fights Hector until both lie for dead on the ground.

<sup>1</sup> Constans, *La Légende d'Édipe*, p. 105 (1881). Thus we have in the *Peredur* version, two interpretations of "the stone which rendered invisible": another proof of the wealth of the traditions from which the Grail stories are derived.

When Galahad is looked for to undertake the Quest he is found in a nunnery by Merlin=Ulysses,—a finding surely traditional, because Lancelot had been to the nunnery only the day before to knight his son. Who more fit to introduce the boy to Arthur than Lancelot? Since he refrained we must suppose that the tradition required that it should happen as it did. It would be consistent with this derivation of the story if the name of his grandfather, Pelles, could be read Peleus; it does seem more like this than the Welsh *Pwyll*, from which Professor Rhys derives it. The Theseus myth was also known to the makers of these stories: the instance of the black sail in *Tristram* is familiar, and it is easy to see how much nearer is the childhood of Peredur to that of Theseus than is that of Conla in the story of Fionn, though there is relationship in all. Without going further with these examples, it may be said that they are best explained by supposing a filtration of classic story into the folklore of Britain. One more very remarkable example may, however, be permitted. When Sir Bors, and on another occasion Gawain, passed a night of probation at the Castle of the Grail, Sir Bors was assailed by a shower of arrows, by a flaming spear, by an armed man, and then by a lion, a leopard, a dragon in succession. The arrows may have been fairy bolts, but cf. the Life of Columba, when he was attacked by a “black host of demons who showered on him iron darts”; the flaming spear has been already discussed; but the man, lion, leopard and dragon are all metamorphoses of Zagreus, and these could not have been known except by tradition of his worship probably remaining in Britain. There is nothing incredible in this idea—the wreckage of classic myth and custom may have been preserved by the few minstrels and story tellers who survived the great dispersal of the sixth century, and

transmitted from them to the ninth and tenth. For the Romans *must* have left some stories behind them and some beliefs; the crowds of servants attached to the Villas, some native, some imported, *must* have exchanged stories, and they would do that the more freely when they found that one was the fellow of another. The story of Helen would lead to that of Deirdre, or of Grainne, and these would bring up the story of Adonis; and so on for ever. It is not fanciful surely to recognise in the *plasma* of the Grail stories fragments of classic workmanship, or to assume something as to the antiquity of the legend because of them.

This review of the details of the Grail story might be extended far beyond the bounds which *Y Cymmrodor* could permit, but the examples will suffice to show that the material of the stories had been long years in preparation, that it is of great variety, and that much of it had become the kind of *breccia* of ancient myth we call folklore, before it was re-shaped for the service of the Grail; also, it must be allowed, after consideration of the parts, that no pagan element is of such predominating, attractive force as to form of itself the nucleus of our new story. The legend of the Precious Blood had such power, and it prevailed by assimilating all ancient beliefs which competed with it for popular favour, and by adapting such stories as would help its own development.

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## PART V.—CONCLUSIONS.

Various stories were brought together to make what has become the "Story of the Grail":—there is the story of the preservation of the Holy Blood; the story of the conversion of Britain, in which the relic was of chiefest efficacy; and the story of the Grail which ministered to the guests of Arthur. The first of these stories might have been told anywhere, and was told variously, according as Joseph of Arimathea or Longinus was allowed the honour of securing the precious relic for the Church. The second and third stories are both British, but drawn from opposite sources; that which tells of the mythic Arthur being derived wholly from Celtic traditions; the other, which is the legendary history of the coming of Christianity to this Island, is compiled from some traditions of the Church and from the sacred books. The two Christian stories were united to form the *Early History*; the third, or pagan source of the legend, gave the popular forms called the *Conte del Graal* and the various "Percivals" of France and Germany. In the two fundamentally Christian parts of the composite story Arthur is unknown, and, conversely, the Arthurian side of the story knew nothing of the *Early History*, but when the miraculous Grail became one with the Holy Relic brought by Joseph to Britain there followed a fusion of the stories; the later version of the *Estoire*, called the *Grand St. Graal*, contains a prophecy of the coming of Arthur, and fragments of the *Joseph* are introduced into the *Queste* to give a Christian meaning to the phenomena of the Grail Castle. These cross references are manifest interpolations.

Belief in the existence of some portion of the Precious Blood was general; it was part of the legend of St. Longinus in Italy, it may have been known in Gaul as



part of the story of Joseph. The *Vita Germani* makes it possible that the Saint was under the influence of the story when it shows him taking the earth soaked with the blood of St. Alban, which he found at Verulam, and carrying it to Gaul. A like veneration was shown by the followers of Oswald for the earth saturated with his blood at Maserfield. The piety of Germanus may have been a tradition in Britain after his visit, but it is not less likely that the example which inspired him may also have been known, and had become part of the settled belief of the Church. Oswald was an Angle and the people about him English, but he had been educated at Iona, and his Christianity and that of his people was Celtic; the story of Joseph and the Precious Blood, if known to the Britons, would thus have passed to those Angles who were under the teaching of the British Church. A very remarkable incident in the life of St. David is strong presumption that the story of the Precious Blood was known in Britain. David is said to have gone to Jerusalem, together with Teilo and Padarn, to get their consecration, and to each saint was given a memorial of the visit by the Patriarch. To David was given *the very tomb in which the Body of the Lord had lain*.<sup>1</sup> The tomb, it must be noted, is not that of the Gospels, but a sarcophagus with a lid, and St. David used it as an altar—as was the custom, after the handsome pagan sarcophagi began to be appropriated for the burial of saints. Here, then, is a vessel which had contained the Lord's body, and, having become miraculous, was given to a great personage. This is the story of the Grail with only slight variation, and it makes certain that the Precious Blood had been already attributed to Arthur

<sup>1</sup> "Life of St. David", Rees, *Cambro-British Saints*; cf. the "Life of St. Padarn" in same collection, and the "Life of St. Teilo" in the *Book of Llandaff*.

before this replica of the Grail was awarded to his kinsman.

The conditions for the development of the story appear to have been more favourable in Wales and the Celtic parts of Britain than elsewhere. On the continent popular piety was fully engaged in the commemoration of local Saints, in England the memories and the miracles of Cuthbert, and Edmund, and Etheldreda, and an infinite number of Saints and Martyrs, occupied the minds and the time of the faithful; there was also here, as well as abroad, the moderating influence of a dignified clergy, always disinclined to extravagant and unauthorized beliefs. A certain naïveté or provincialism was needed for the acceptance of a legend which never got beyond the nebulous state of "pious opinion" in Gaul or Italy. The isolation of Wales at the time when the story of the Grail was forming, is very noticeable in the story of the Tomb. Only among a people cut off from the thinking and active world, could the opinion have been held that this precious relic—hardly less sacred than the Grail itself—had been reserved, during five hundred years at least, for the peculiar gratification of their own Bishop.<sup>1</sup> The Precious Blood might have been partly possessed in Britain, but this tomb, in any rational imagination, could only have been supposed at Constantinople, where all the great relics of the Passion were kept. No impossibility however presented itself to our authors or their readers, and the same unreasoning patriotism would easily accept the gift of the Precious Blood as a mark of Divine favour

<sup>1</sup> This is perhaps taking the matter too much *au pied de la lettre*; certainly the authors of these Welsh legends had not the historical sense, and they may have imagined this journey of the three Saints as made in the first century. The tomb is found in a corner, where it had been covered by a pile of skins, and forgotten!

to the Cymry. There was no moderating influence. The opinion of Theodosius (*Y Cymmrodor*, vol. xvi, part I, p. 111) was probably unknown; a contemporary opinion seems to have been disregarded. In 804 there was great excitement in Mantua, because of the finding of a sponge, supposed to be imbued with the Holy Blood, in the tomb of St. Longinus, and the "rumour" reached the ears of Charles the Great. The Emperor thereupon enquired of Pope Leo III what ought to be thought of a discovery which, he said, seemed to contradict the teaching of the Scholastic Theology.<sup>1</sup> The answer of the Pope, who made inquisition on the spot, is not recorded, but must have been adverse to the Mantuan claim, or we should have had an Italian "Grail", with Longinus and the great Charles himself as keepers.

Another proof of the provincialism we have noticed, is the sending of David and his companions to Jerusalem for consecration. It is as if nothing had happened since Wales first received the Faith; the ideas of ecclesiastical order are those of the Acts of the Apostles. Jerusalem and Britain—there is nothing else: just as in the *Estoire* and the *Grand St. Graal*, Britain is the Promised Land, and the bringing of the Vessel is a mark of God's favour to the chosen people. Ignorance of Rome and of Roman claims is also a significant feature, equally noticeable in the *Early History*. The pilgrims do not visit Rome, either going or returning, while in the possibly contemporary legends of St. Boniface and St. Serf, reputed missionaries to the Picts, both Saints are brought to Rome, after seeing various Eastern countries, and there they are made Pope. In this way Catholic legend exalted Catholic missionaries above the Columban clergy of

<sup>1</sup> Muratori, anno 804; or Equicola, *Chronica de Mantua*, c. iv.

Scotland; the Welsh hagiographers distinguished David and Teilo and Padarn by making them independent of Rome.

This irreconcilable temper of the Welsh legends—of the early ones, we are not referring to the complete “Lives”, which were compiled after the Norman Conquest of Wales—may be good evidence of antiquity. Wales was brought into conformity as regards Easter and the Tonsure in the latter part of the eighth century; if this was a true conformity, then the ignorance we are speaking of—real or affected—would have to be dated before 777, when the last adhesion was received, that of South Wales;<sup>1</sup> but it is possible that this seeming reconciliation, so far from denoting a genuine acceptance of Roman authority, may have been but the beginning of greater resentments—like a more celebrated “Act of Union”, and we are permitted to assume a probably later date than 777 for the pilgrimage, and for the beginnings of the *Estoire*. At the end of the eighth century Arthur was not yet Christian champion, and the Grail was not therefore in his keeping, and the story of the Tomb would have lacked its original. The earliest mention of Christian Arthur is that in the *Annales Cambrie*, where he is said to have carried on his shoulders “for three days and three nights”, at the battle of Badon Hill, *crucem domini nostri Jesu Christi*. The Annals appear to have been compiled in the years 954-5, though Skene prefers the date 977. In the earliest edition of the *Historia Britonum* nothing is said of bearing the Cross, though the battle is recorded; we have thus all the time between the eighth century and the middle of the tenth in which to place the “conversion” of Arthur

<sup>1</sup> Celtic uses were not abolished in Brittany until the ninth century, when Louis le Débonnaire forbade them. Warren, *Liturgy and Ritual of the Celtic Church*.

and the beginning of the Christian legend of Arthur. When the Precious Blood had been given to Arthur to keep, then the story of the Tomb given to his chief bishop and relative, might have been imagined. With the legend of the altar and the consecration at Jerusalem, we bracket the beginnings of the *Estoire*, since they both exhibit the same ideas of ecclesiastical polity—which, however, may not have died out in Wales until the Norman occupation.

The mention of Arthur by the first “Nennius” may have been the virtual beginning of the legend which has become famous. Some of the Welsh poems refer vaguely to an Arthur as Emperor, “sovereign elder,” conductor of the toil (of war), but the poems themselves are devoted to the deeds of Owen, Geraint, Kai, Bedwyr and others. Of the hundred and seventeen printed by Skene<sup>1</sup> there are but five, as he remarks, which mention Arthur at all. Whoever the true Arthur may have been, whether partisan leader or commander of the cavalry of a legion, he had become mythical before these poems were made. The number of victories ascribed to him by Nennius—twelve—betrays a myth. Commentators are not yet agreed whether these battles were fought wholly in the north or, some there, some in the south of the Island. If they were real engagements which had been favourable to the Britons, they were perhaps the only victories in many campaigns, and not all won by one commander. It may be that the attribution of all the victories to one national hero is evidence of a returning patriotism, disposing Britons to reunion ; but it may also imply that the names of the real commanders had been forgotten.

The Arthur of the “Lives of the Saints” corresponds

<sup>1</sup> *Four Ancient Books of Wales*, vol. i.

in no way to the majestic figure which looms dimly in the poems. He is a petty tyrant, one of the curses of the country, possibly, when these "Lives" were first shaped:—He snatches a cloak from St. Padarn, the one given him by the Patriarch of Jerusalem; he contends with St. Cadoc and is made ridiculous; he is reprov'd by Kai and Bedwyr for a disgraceful use of his prerogative.<sup>1</sup> Such was the Arthur of the clergy before he had been promoted to the office of Champion of the Church; he is neither the liberal dispenser of food, imagined by the people, nor the wielder of the forces of Britain. His portrait is doubtless that of the prevailing type of local tyrant, in all times obnoxious to the clergy. It shows plainly that there was a time when Arthur was not popular, and barely Christian—little more than a name to which everyone could attach his own conception. We shall not be dating the Christian legend of Arthur too late if we assume that it had its beginnings about the time when the tenth-century Nennius attributed the victory of Badon Hill to the Cross which Arthur bore through that fight.

The story of Peredur is doubtless much older than some of the incidents attached to it. The hero is said to have been one of the sons of Evrawc, who belongs to the class of mythical kings of Britain,<sup>2</sup> from whom great personages were proud to trace descent. Twenty sons and thirty daughters are named by Geoffrey, who attributes also to Evrawc the building of York, of Dunbarton, and Edinburgh. As two of these were Pictish fortresses the legend of Evrawc may have been Pictish. He is "owner of the Earldom of the North" in the story, which would

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the lives of SS. Cadoc, Caramog, and Padarn in Rees, *Lives of the Cambro-British Saints*.

<sup>2</sup> Geoffrey of Monmouth, Bk. II, chap. 6. He calls Evrawc "the famous youth".

date one version of *Peredur* within the time when Northumbria was ruled by Danish Jarls, or English Earls; and the latter of these periods might bring us to the Conquest. The name Evrawe identifies the father with York more particularly than with either of the other forts, and his legend therefore, if Pictish, may have been built upon the adventures of some *Dux Britanniae* whose headquarters were there. The *Peredur* of Geoffrey is not found among the sons of Evrawe, but his father, Morvid, and his great grandfather, Sisillius, are—the latter as third son and the former as fifth. Nothing remarkable is said of *Peredur* by Geoffrey; it is possible there was another tradition in which *Peredur* took the place of his father—or perhaps father and son had one name, for York was not called after Evrawe, whatever Geoffrey may have intended. If the title “Earl of the North” belongs to the Christian period of the *Peredur* story it would coincide nearly with the time of the conversion of Arthur. Eric Bloodaxe was made Earl of York in 935, and Northumberland became an English earldom in 954, Guthrum’s treaty with Alfred was in 878 c.

The adaptation of the story of *Peredur* was a mighty aid to the growth of the Grail legend: as the story of the Grail it became the official register, as it were, of the wonders of Arthur’s court—for to Arthur’s court it was necessarily attracted; the Precious Blood was there, and this striking exposition of the Bleeding Spear was its proper emblem. As the supreme marvel attracted to itself, not the spear only, but all things mystical and strange, the story of the Grail became a collection of miraculous incidents, on which it depended for its interest. Story it is not properly; there is no plot or construction, but there is an atmosphere of mystery which unites everything—one reads as under enchantment; nevertheless, the

story of the Grail cannot be classed among the great stories of the world, though its popularity has been greater than some. It belongs rather to the class of legends of the Saints—collections of anecdotes brought together to magnify the miraculous powers, or the sanctity of the hero, in each case. The *Grail* excels all these by the sense of superhuman sanctity it produces.

While this mystic legend was growing round the belief in the existence of the Precious Blood, the story of its coming to Britain would certainly be asked for. Something of the story of Joseph might have been gleaned from the traditions scattered on the pilgrims' way to Marseilles and Jerusalem, and from various apocryphal books; the faint remembrances of the mission of Germanus, or the *Vita* itself, would supply the material for an imaginary landing in Britain. A story so constructed could only have had its origin in the monasteries, and, as it would claim a certain authority, it could not have varied much from the first. The story of the hero who achieved the Grail being wholly popular, would be adapted to many tastes in turn, and the hero would not always be the same. Signs of change and development are not wanting in the hieratic story also; proof that it travelled and was in existence for some time before it took ultimate shape in France. Joseph becomes Josephes (Joseph's son) in the *Grand St. Graal*, because a high priest was wanted who was unmarried—a condition not thought of so long as the story was Welsh only. It became more mystical also under new influences, and, as a consequence of the migration to Brittany, a second leader had to be invented—Alain, who occupied the same position in the ecclesiastical and mythical history of Brittany which Brons, or Brân, held in that of Wales.

It may be remembered that De Borron called his un-



finished poem *Li romans de l'estoire dou Graal*; we have always called it the "Estoire", or "Joseph", to distinguish it from the *Conte*; story of the Grail, romance of the Grail, being practically one title. It is worth noting, as a last remark on a point which is important in the history of the legend, that the identity of name is itself sufficient evidence that, the Grail about which Chrestien and De Borron wrote (and many others), could not have been the invention of either writer. Both had audiences eager to learn of this wonder, and they each gave what information they had; or perhaps the information most acceptable to their hearers—Chrestien translating the heroic story and De Borron the ecclesiastical. Both are equally stories of the Grail—the one of its coming to Britain, the other of its sojourn at Arthur's court.<sup>1</sup>

We now return to the question which was left unanswered at the opening of this enquiry: why was the Holy Vessel in which the Precious Blood was reserved called Grail?

The vessel could only have been a cup or basin; De Borron calls it "caalice" and vessel, "veissel", and his story shows it could not have been a dish, yet *graal*, *gréal*, *graus*, etc., can only have meant *dish* at the time of De Borron's writing. All the writers agree as to the name, and at the same time let us see they are puzzled, and would gladly have explained away the meaning by a mystical interpretation. We perceive, then, that they were

<sup>1</sup> In respect of the story of Arthur and his Knights the Quest of the Grail is but an episode. The cycle of the Table-Round includes many adventures and histories which do not belong to the Quest—the deeds of Owen, Geraint, Lancelot, Gawain, Balin and of many Celtic heroes, whose separate stories are held together by references to Camelot and Arthur. The *Morte D'Arthur* of Malory is a collection of some of these, to which the Death of Arthur gives the title;—five books only out of the twenty-one deal with the "Saugreal".

telling a story of which they did not know the beginnings, and it is to the beginnings we must look if we would understand how dish became cup without losing the name of dish.

The Grail and the "Table" were inseparable:—at the Table the guests were fed by the Grail only; Arthur was Grail King, because keeper or owner for the time; when the Grail disappeared the companions of the Table went out to seek it. All the great Celtic divinities were served at table magically: Manmanan mac Lir by a cloth which always brought the food asked for, the Dagda by a cauldron, Gwyddno by a *mwys* or basket; Arthur likewise had his "horn of abundance" in some form, we do not yet know what. In the *Early History* we have a miraculous Vessel, veiled and placed in the midst of the faithful, feeding all with inexhaustible refreshment; it fed Joseph in prison, and again Joseph and the little band which followed him to Britain. This sustaining property of the Christian relic may have been derived from the history of the wanderings of Israel, which was the model for the story of Joseph's journey to Britain; or it may have been derived from the mystical language freely used by Christians in respect of the Blessed Sacrament, "Bread from Heaven, having in itself every delight"—"Angels' food"—and many others, which need not be repeated here. Between the "round table" of the king and the Eucharistic feast there was at first, and perhaps until very late in some parts of Britain, a strong outward resemblance;<sup>1</sup> there were the

<sup>1</sup> As late as 1069 the biographer of Queen Margaret of Scotland affirms that "there were certain of the Scots, who, in different parts of the country, were wont to celebrate masses in *I know not what barbarous rite*, contrary to the custom of the whole Church", as the custom then held. (*Cf.* Skene, *Celtic Scotland*, vol. ii, p. 348, who, however, thinks that the "barbarous rite" was but the common rite in a barbarous tongue. The biographer would hardly have said "rite"

same number of participants—the King and his twelve champions—the Bishop with his elders, representing Christ and the Apostles, and the resemblance would be closer when the King's table and the King himself had become mythical, because of the mysterious Vessel, or whatever the thing might be, which was called the Grail. Between these came the Table established by Joseph "in imitation of the first" and scarcely separable from it. Whatever language was used of the elder of these would be applicable to the other, and would undoubtedly have been used. Equally, this table of Joseph's ordination would be identified with that of Arthur as soon as the Vessel containing the Precious Blood had been entrusted to his keeping.

When Peredur was sent back to the Castle of Wonders, he was told to ask about the spear; whether he arrived or not, Gawain did, and asked; it was then the chief "wonder", and had become the lance "dont li fins Diu fu

had he meant "speech". Another quotation, p. 357, helps us to see that the variation was in *form*, and that it must have differed conspicuously from the ordinary rite. Speaking of St. Andrew's, Dr. Skene tells us, in the language of "the larger legend of St. Andrew", how the establishment had diminished and there were none left (of those who had brought Catholic customs to St. Andrew's) to serve at the altar of the blessed Apostle, but that the *Kēledei* "were wont to say their office *after their own fashion* in a corner of a church, which was very small." These *Kēledei* lived in communities of thirteen—the *cenn*, or president, and twelve brethren—and observed a manner of life shaped (according to the legend) "more in accordance with their own fancy and *human tradition* than with the precepts of the holy fathers": that is, they were obstinate recusants, maintaining the "tradition" of their fathers against the innovations of the living Church. It was another of their "traditions" to keep Saturday as the day of rest, as did all Christendom at one time. The observance of this very ancient rule of the Church is a proof of long and pure tradition and it makes almost certain that the "barbarous rite" was that of the first centuries. We can picture these belated *Kēledei* sitting round the primitive *mensa* "in a corner of the church", and the astonishment of the Catholic clergy at the sight.

voirement férus très parmi le costé"; the grail served the tables. When Perceval arrived at the same Castle, the Vessel brought by Joseph of Arimathea, closely veiled and guarded with lights, was one of the "ostensions" and was called the "Holy Grail." Between the two visits, therefore, the Vessel containing the Precious Blood had been brought to Arthur's court, it had taken first place among the marvels, and the original grail had been deposed, giving up name and function to the new comer.

What became of the first "grail"—did it drop out of sight and memory like the bleeding head, or was it allowed to remain—a *roi tondu*? There was a third object in the processions, the dish, *platiau, doblier, tailleour*, of uncertain name, and of no apparent use; nothing is said about it, though it appears in the processions. It is possible that this may be the deposed grail, but also it may be the Dish of the Last Supper, which was one of the three trophies brought to Britain by Joseph—Grail, Lance and Dish. The titular Grail of the Romances took over the miraculous properties of the pagan grail—whatever it was—which had served Arthur and his Court so long. The bardic name for this was *callawr*, sometimes *peir*, the latter, according to Howell's laws, being a similar but larger vessel. The *callawr* was the principal cooking utensil of the family, and was adjudged to the husband in a separation of goods. There were "three indispensables of an innate boneddig, a plaid, a harp and a boiler (*callawr*)";<sup>1</sup> but the Dimetian code II, xviii, 26, says that "the husband is to have the boiler *and the baking girdle*", as if this was also a necessary property of the housekeeper, or mark of his status. In the Anglo-Saxon half of the

<sup>1</sup> Triad, No. 239, in the collection of *Ancient Welsh Laws*, translated by Aneurin Owen, 1841, and *cf.* the Venedotian code, Book I, xliii, 2, in same collection.

country at the same time the head of a family was called *hláford* (lord, breadgiver). To the wife, in Wales, was attributed the pan (*padell, badell*), also used for baking, but of lesser value. To Arthur then the *callawr* and girdle, to Gwennivere the pan. This brings us back to the familiar Arthur, as he was conceived by the people, who themselves lived the life described by Giraldus; to the Arthur of the Lives of the Saints, cattle breeder or raider as it might be, who rode the country with a troop of horse, quarrelsome and eager for booty, or for war in hope of booty. If we turn to the stories of Border raiders, and of the army which followed Bruce, we shall get a probable picture of such a chieftain, and we may perhaps see the real Arthur, who kept the country between the two walls. The equipment of the troopers was of the simplest—their commissariat a bag of meal thrown across the horse, and the girdle (a thin plate of iron), which served to cook it, hanging at their backs. The importance of the girdle to the warrior is thus evident, it was his camp oven abroad, and at home the symbol of hospitality. Britain had also her Amazons (virgin warriors): three are recorded in the Triads,<sup>1</sup> of whom one was remarkable for the size of her cooking pan, Mederei Badell-vawr. Our picture then is not too fanciful, we are getting a glimpse into the real time when the Arthurian legend was forming—the darkest time in Welsh history. Fortunately these dark periods are usually stagnant: when Giraldus illumines for us the Wales of his day we may be sure it had not changed much since Cunedda settled there with his family—a fire to bake the girdle cakes, the guests seated on bundles of rush or hay, served by host and hostess with milk and plank bread (the girdle cakes)—such simple elements were

<sup>1</sup> No. 23 of Loth's edition, *Cours de Littérature Celtique*, vol. iv.

the materials out of which Welshmen of the tenth century would construct their Arthur and his "table". The Arthur of the romances comes mainly out of the imagination of the literary class, when literature was reviving under the patronage of a splendid Court; he keeps the three great festivals at Caerleon or Camelot, kings visit him and own themselves his vassals, the great Merlin is his minister. It is to the earlier legend we must look if we would understand the significance of words the romances were not able to explain. Whether philologists will allow old-Welsh *gradell*, *greydell*, to become French *graal*, *gréal*; Latin *gradale*, is for them to say. The derivation would seem to be at the least as good as that of *gradale*=*cratella*, and it is more to the purpose, for we want an equivalent for "dish". As a translation, *discus* would answer exactly to *gradell*. The course of this story's wanderings would have been, if originating in Wales, across the Channel to Brittany and the marches of France; would *gradell*, glossed *discus*, have become *graal* in that case? Where the word appears in the French versions of the story it has the meaning of dish; is the word with this meaning native? It has been a difficulty that this Welsh story centres round an object which is apparently French by name. There is no "old-Welsh" version existing, to which we may appeal, but we know that the proper names in the story returned to Britain phonetically changed and almost unrecognisable; if so, why not the name of the story itself?

Arthur's grail was the symbol of his hospitality. Poets might attribute to him all the successes of the Cymry in their struggle with the Saxon, and endow him with all the talismans of the race; the people could only picture him as better than what they knew, his hearth never cold, the cakes always hot for the guest. The

glimpse we get of the Grail in the second stage of its development, when it has been assimilated to the traditional food-producing agencies of the Celts, shows it passing through the hall and distributing food, à *grand exploit*, to five hundred guests, without help of *varlet ni serjant*; but it supplies bodily food only. When the sacred Vessel of Joseph is brought to Arthur's court it supersedes all wonder-workers of pagan origin and absorbs their functions. Henceforward all miracles of healing or of sustenance will be worked by the Christian Vessel, and to them it will add the graces of immunity from sin, and protection from the powers of darkness. The ancient symbol of Welsh hospitality is thus displaced, but the credit of Arthur did not suffer, his table is as well supplied as of old, and the Grail did not cease to be talked of—it was still the marvel of his court. It is always so, a name persists so long as the function remains; the Christian altar is still *mensa*, though it has no likeness to anything in a Roman *cenaculum*.

Whether the dish, which always appears last in the processions, was the ancient *gradell*, withdrawn from service, or the Dish of the Last Supper, is doubtful. In the earliest versions no heed seems to be taken of this dish, nothing is asked or said about it. The chief purpose of the ostension of relics, as of the exhibition of pictures in churches, was that something should be asked about them, and so the Gospel story might be continually retold. Gawain's enquiry concerning the spear gave the occasion for the story of the Crucifixion; had he gone on to ask about the Dish we might have had the story of the Institution of the Blessed Sacrament likewise. The opportunity was not given, and the writers may be supposed to have had their reasons for this; later, however, when the mystical and Christian character of the story

became more fully developed, the writers remembered what De Borron sets out by saying, viz., that Joseph caught the blood in a dish which Christ had used "when he made His sacrament." A solemn celebration marks the end of the Quest;—after the consecration, Christ himself, bleeding from all his wounds, communicates the twelve knights with "ubblies" taken from the "Holy Vessel", which he afterwards explains is the Dish of the Last Supper:—

"Then said he to Galahad: Son, wottest thou what I hold betwixt my hands? Nay, said he, but if ye will tell me. This is, said he, the holy dish wherein I ate the lamb on Sher-Thursday. And now hast thou seen that thou most desired to see, but yet hast thou not seen it so openly as thou shalt see it in the city of Sarras, in the spiritual place."<sup>1</sup>

Galahad, Perceval and Bors set out for the City of Sarras; they find a ship waiting for them on which was the Grail, veiled with red samite and placed on a table of silver. By table must be understood here *toblier*, or *mensa* without feet, for it is set *on a bed*; this setting is remarkable, it may be understood as a mark of honour, according to classic precedent, or, it may be an intentional bringing together of the primitive elements of the Eucharistic feast—Grail, *mensa* and *triclinium*—at the moment of the departure of the ancient order from Britain. The withdrawal of the Grail, no longer "sacred or honoured in the way it ought to have been" in this Island, may there signify the extinction of the ancient Celtic rite, brought to Britain by refugees from Lyons in the second century, or by servants of the great Roman officials, or by simple merchantmen—no one knows by whom—but certainly

<sup>1</sup> Malory, Book xvii, chap. 21; and *cf.* *Y Seint Graal*, translated by the Rev. Robert Williams, part I, § lxviii; and Furnivall's *Queste del St. Graal*, printed for the Roxburghe Club.



long existing, and not suppressed everywhere until the Norman conquest made the Catholic party supreme.

The ship, as soon as the three knights came on board, moved away and was driven by a favouring wind to the City of Sarras. It is the same ship in which all heroes of western romance were wafted to the Islands of the Blest, but the City of Sarras was probably in the East, being of Christian origin. Galahad is made king of the City, and, a year after, dies, and a great multitude of angels bare his soul up to heaven. Thus Christian romance does not replace, but appears side by side with pagan in this story, which is a grafting of Christian beliefs on to ancient traditions. After Galahad the Grail also is taken up; Percival and Bors

“Saw come from heaven an hand, but they saw not the body.  
And then it came right to the Vessel, and took it and the  
spear, and so bare it up to heaven. Sithen was there never  
man so hardy to say that he had seen the Sangreal.”

Nothing is said of the dish here, though it had been promised that it would be present in the City of Sarras, and be there more plainly manifest. We can only suppose that Dish and Grail and Vessel were one. It was the Grail that was taken to Sarras, and it was the Grail which was taken thence by the mysterious hand; but this same Grail was called “Vessel” in the last communion of the knights, and it was then authoritatively declared to be the Dish of the Last Supper. Grail had always been the name at Arthur’s court. When the Precious Blood was added to the treasures of Arthur, and was chief “wonder” in place of the Grail, then the meaning of Vessel would be adopted, and used always in reference to that supreme relic or to the Eucharistic feast. When the Last Supper was referred to, Dish became the more suitable meaning, and this agreed with the well-understood and established meaning of Grail.

The alternation of dish and vessel as names for the same thing will not be strange if we consider that the dish of the eleventh and twelfth centuries was usually a bowl; neither will the exchange of vessel, in this sense, for chalice, when used with reference to the Blessed Sacrament, seem arbitrary if we refer to ancient examples. In the treasury of St. Mark's, and in the ancient mosaics there, are chalices of the precise shape given by the painter of the Mons MS. of the *Conte* to the Grail. The same shape precisely is given by the illustrator of the eleventh century MS. of Raban Maur's treatise on *Things Sacred and Profane*, to the dish or bowl which he puts on the table when presenting a feast; and the Rossano MS. shows a dish of exactly the same form on the table of the Last Supper. There is no difference in all these but that of size. Given, then, the word Grail=dish or pan, a meaning it may have borne in the strictest sense, we see how, in France, it might have been explained by reference to the bowls in which choice morsels were served, for the Grail supplied every one with the food he most desired; and equally, how that same form, once accepted as a Grail, would be called by this name when found in the service of the Altar.

GEORGE Y. WARDLE.

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ERRATUM.

The writer apologises for a very stupid blunder at the foot of page 127 of the last volume of *Y Cymmrodor*. The "companions" of the King were not what the English word means, but his retinue, his companions by the way. *Comes* is not, of course, a barbaric form, as it was assumed to be. The whole of the sentence after "state" ought to be deleted.

## The Life of S. Germanus by Constantius.

BY THE REV. S. BARING GOULD, M.A.

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THE author of the Life of S. Germanus of Auxerre was Constantius, apparently of Lyons. To the Life are prefixed two letters dedicatory, one to S. Patiens, Bishop of Lyons (451-491), another to Censurius, third bishop in succession to Germanus in the See of Auxerre. There is also a prologue.

Constantius professes in the second letter to have revised and amplified the Life which he had written at the desire of S. Patiens. "The authority of the holy bishop, Patiens, your brother, has required me to retrace in part, at least, the life and acts of the blessed Germanus. If I did not do this as well as I ought, I did what I could. My obedience being known to your beatitude, you ordered me to plunge once more into an excess of temerity, in desiring that I should enlarge the little page, which still remained almost in obscurity, and that I should myself come forward in some sort as my own accuser and betrayer." Censurius, to whom this letter dedicatory was written, was bishop of Auxerre from 472 to 502.

Schoell, in his *De Ecclesiasticæ Britonum Scotorumque Historiæ Fontibus* (Berlin, 1851), has treated this Life with corrosive criticism; and he argues that it was not the composition of Constantius some thirty-five years after

the death of Germanus, but was a forgery of the sixth century.

His main arguments are these:—Constantius of Lyons was the friend of Apollinaris Sidonius. Now Sidonius (*Ep.* 111) speaks of Constantius in 470-3, as one “*ætate gravem, infirmitate fragilem*”. Is it credible, Schoell asks, that a man who was old and frail in 470-3, should have written this memoir some few years later?

The first edition was dedicated to S. Patiens, at any time between 451 and 472. How long the little page remained unnoticed, we have no means of judging. The second edition, issued whilst Patiens was, as we may judge, still alive, but at the request of Censurius, appeared any time between 472 and 491. It may well have been published earlier than Schoell supposes, the first tract in 460 and the second in 474 or thereabouts. Although Constantius was old and infirm in 470-3, he may have been quite capable of writing. He was not so old and feeble but that, when the Goths were besieging the capital of Auvergne, which made a gallant resistance, but was distracted by internal feuds, he was able to make his journey thither, slip between the lines of the investing barbarians, enter the city, and assist Apollinaris Sidonius in composing the quarrels. A man who could do that could surely write a little memoir. It is a pure assumption that the *Life of Germanus* came out some thirty years later.

Another objection raised by Schoell is this. Constantius, or he who figures under his name, says of the life of Germanus, in his epistle to Patiens, that it was “*obumbratam silentio*”; and so also in the Prologue, “*Nec vereor persuasorem me hujusce ministerii judicandum tanta enim jam temporum fluxere curricula ut obscurata per silentium*

vix collegatur agnito". In thirty or thirty-five years, argues Schoell, the memory of the acts of a great prelate could not have become obscured. But Schoell left out of consideration that the period was one peculiarly stormy. The Huns, the Suevi, the Visigoths and the Alans had ravaged Gaul. Attila had burst in, in 451, sacking and burning cities, and massacring the population. Roman Gaul was invaded and was crumbling to pieces on all sides. The Gallic party with the Visigoths had set up Avitus to be emperor. He was dethroned, and Majorian severely chastised Lyons for the favour it had accorded to Avitus. The roads were broken up, intercommunication between the cities was interrupted. In the desolation and confusion of the times men thought of their own safety, and the rebuilding of their ruined homes, rather than preserving reminiscences of past saintly acts of bishops.

Moreover, Constantius wrote at Lyons, some one hundred and sixty miles as the crow flies from Auxerre, so that what with distance, and inability to come in contact with those who could recall any facts in the life of the great prelate, his first biography would necessarily be *jejune*.

It is most improbable that a fabricator of the sixth century should prefix to his composition two apocryphal dedications, one of which gives out that the former Life written by him had been meagre, and that at a later period he had amplified it. What is far more likely is, that this is a statement of fact, that the "paginula" Constantius had written at Lyons at the instance of Patiens, reached Auxerre, and was brought to the notice of the bishop there, who could furnish him with fresh material, which he sent to Constantius, with the request that he would recompose the biography with the aid of what was now

furnished. Schoell has noted that in no place does Apollinaris Sidonius speak of the Life of S. Germanus in his letters to Constantius. But if the first edition was a mere "paginula", the author may not have deemed it worthy of being brought under the eye of Sidonius. Schoell further remarks on the number of miraculous stories introduced into the Life, some very absurd, so many as hardly to comport with a biography written so short a time after the death of the subject.

But the age was one that craved for miracles, and imagined them. Moreover, Schoell was unaware that there is extant a text of Constantius that is comparatively free from this padding of marvel.

This is a MS. from Silos in Spain, recently acquired by the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris. It is a MS. of the twelfth century, but it is a copy made from a text so early that it precedes the adulteration of the Life that took place late in the sixth century. That the Life of Germanus by Constantius was "farced" in that century, of that there can now remain no doubt; and we also know some of the sources from whence the additions were made. The additions, in the main, are these:—

1. The whole story of S. Amator cutting down the pear tree, on which Germanus hung offerings of the spoil of the chase, as also of Amator consecrating Germanus priest, of the death of Amator, and a subsequent miracle—all this is derived from a Life of S. Amator by Stephanus Africanus, written at the request of Aunarius, Bishop of Auxerre (573-603).

2. The very absurd story of the conversion of Mamertinus at the tomb of Corcodemus. Whence this long interpolation came, is not known.

3. The narrative of S. Germanus' encounter with S. Geneveva at Nauterre, on his way to Britain. This is taken from the life of that saint, written by a priest who had known her; anyhow, written in the reign of Childebert (511-558).

4. The account of Germanus seeking and exhuming the body of S. Alban at Verulam.

5. The narrative of the intervention of Germanus in favour of S. Geneveva on his way to revisit Britain the second time. This is from the same source as 3.

As the MS. from Silos (Nouvelles Acquisitions, Lat. 2178) has never been published, and is of great importance, we shall give in the sequel a collation with the Life as amplified, which was published in the *Acta SS. Boll.*, Jul. vii, pp. 200-221.

A fragmentary copy of Constantius, of the eighth century, has been assumed by the Abbé Narbey (Bibl. Nat., Paris, Nouvelles Acq., Lat. 12,598; printed in *Etude critique sur la vie de S. Germain*, Paris, 1884), to be the original Constantius. But it is obviously made up of Breviary lessons for some church unknown. Such lections were mere scraps taken out of a biography, by the aid of a pair of scissors. The compiler of the office selected just those portions which he regarded as most conducive to edification, without attempting to compile an historical summary. Accordingly he chose details about the saint's self-denial, his scanty food, poor raiment, and bed of cinders, with a specimen miracle, and that sufficed.

There is a Gallican missal of the sixth century that was published by Mabillon in 1685; this contains the feast of S. Germanus, and has a proper preface summing up the principal events of his life, but giving no details. These details, however, we obtain from the lections for

the feast of the saint, in the Breviaries of S. Germain des Près, and S. Corneille de Compiègne, printed by Narbey. There are eight in the office of the former, twelve in that of the latter, and in them are none of the interpolations. All these snippets are fragmentary. In Lection V of the office in the Breviary of S. Corneille, after detailing the charity and sanctity of Germanus, it goes on to say :—"In the meantime these apostolic priests had filled the isle of the Britons with their renown, that isle of the Britons which is the first or greatest of the isles. An immense crowd pressed daily on them," etc. Not a word about who these "apostolici sacerdotes" were, not a word about their having been commissioned to combat Pelagianism in Britain.

Narbey, who has criticised the Life of Germanus by Constantius, as well as has Schoell, contends that the second epistle dedicatory is a forgery prefixed to the adulterated Life. But there is no real basis for such an opinion, as we shall see; the Silos MS. possesses both, though in inverted order, and this is without the interpolations.

Both epistles are apparently by the same hand, both bear the same character of mock humility, and are couched in the same obsequious tone.

In the book *De Vitis Illustrum Virorum*, attributed to S. Isidore (d. 636) we have: "Constantius episcopus Germani vitam contexit". The writer was mistaken in making Constantius a bishop, or else the transcriber has written episcopus in lieu of episcopi.

Bede, in his *Ecclesiastical History* (I, xvii-xxii), quotes from the amplified and adulterated Constantius.

The annexed collation was made for me, at my request, by M. Michel Prevost of Paris, who I have reason to know may be thoroughly trusted.



Life of S. Germanus of Auxerre by Constantius, as in the Solos MS., Bibl. Nat., Paris. Nouvelles Acquis., Lat. 2178. Life of S. Germanus by Constantius, as printed in the *Acta Sanctorum, Boll.*, Jul. vii, 200.

[Exclusively orthographic differences are not noticed, as where an *h* is omitted, or where a *p* is omitted, as in *redemptio*, or where *e* takes the place of *æ*. The passages in italics in each column are such as are wanting in the other version.]

<p>Fol. 6. In the MS. the Epistola ad Sanctum Patientem follows the Epistola ad Sanctum Censurium. In the Epistle to S. Patiens, after the word "intimetur" is added <i>Valete longinquum meique semper memores preces Christo fundite.</i></p>	<p>1. Epistola ad Sanctum Patientem. 2. Epistola ad Sanctum Censurium.</p>
<p>Fol. 7. . . . . caritati peccavimus  actu demum  preminentiae profecto occulto divini fati judicio . . .</p>	<p>p. 201, col. 1. A caritati operam damus " " " 2. E . . . uberiore § 1 In quo actu dum . . . . preminentem . . . . divinitatis occulto</p>
<p>cum postulabat  initium tantæ dies  panes hordeaceas sumit</p>	<p>pp. 202-3, § 2-8 are wanting in N.A.L. 2178 p. 201, § 9 tum postulat § 10 civile vero exordium tanta die ita panem hordeaceum sumpsit</p>
<p>Fol. 8. adericione summitate marginis continentem</p>	<p>§ 11 attritione marginem continentes</p>

Life of S. Germanus of Auxerre by Constantius, as in the Solos MS., Bibl. Nat., Paris. Nouvelles Acquis., Lat. 2178.

Life of S. Germanus by Constantius, as printed in the *Acta Sanctorum*, Boll., Jul. VII, 200.

Fol. 8. damnaverat membra  
 cassulla  
 continentem  
 toth  
 pedes manibusque suis  
 populis et congrega-  
 tionibus monachorum  
 ecclesiastica gratia re-  
 pleretur.  
 visendi episcopum causa  
 et tunc  
 postero die  
 ex malitia quod com-  
 miterat denegavit . . .  
 tuncvero pia commotio  
 sacerdotis premissaque  
 in plebe addutione  
 solemnī in oratione tota  
 corporis strage pro-  
 sternitur, produci in-  
 ficiantem precipit in  
 populo. Nec mora,  
 missam celebraturus  
 egreditur statimque . .  
 infestatio  
 scidium  
 pervios  
 Fol. 9. inmisso  
 contexisset.

quum  
 inspiratam  
 abba  
 spiritus

p. 204, § 11 membra damna-  
 verat  
 capsula  
 continente  
 tot  
 § 12 *et convivium je-  
 junus pastor ex-  
 hibuit*  
 pedes omnibus .  
 . . . . .  
 . . . . .  
 raperentur

§ 13 causa visendi  
 eum  
 et tum  
 post triduum

p. 205, § 14 crimen et mali-  
 tiam

. . . . statim  
 § 15 infestatione  
 excidium  
 pervios  
 admissam  
 contigisse

§ 16 *autem*  
 cum  
 insperatam  
 abbas  
 spiritum

Life of S. Germanus of Auxerre by Constantius, as in the Solos MS., Bibl. Nat., Paris. Nouvelles Acquis., Lat. 2178.

Fol. 9. tota per inanem aërem  
quam non ut  
dignus erat

quum  
hæc die tota  
succederet

semirutis  
algore  
quum  
orrentes  
expetit  
ad mediam jam noctem  
effligiem terribilem im-  
aginem

id  
rogare  
est reditus  
ortatur  
domicilio frequentatu

tempus jam  
premineret  
legatio directa  
promptior auctores

oceanus  
conscenditur  
reddit  
in altum navis  
projecta

Fol. 10. procellas, pericula  
*ut*

Life of S. Germanus by Constantius, as printed in the *Acta Sanctorum*, Boll., Jul. vii, 200.

p. 205, § 16. per inane aeris  
quam ut  
erat dignus

pp. 205-10, § 17-37 are not in the MS.

p. 211, § 38 *enim*  
eum  
ac diem totam  
secederet

*absque*  
semirutum  
rigore

cum  
horrentes  
expectiit  
alta jam nocte

§ 39 effligiem terribilis

hoc  
rogat  
redditus est  
hortatur  
domicilium fre-  
quentato

§ 40 *noctis*  
jam tempus  
preminebat

§ 41 directa legatio  
promptius heroes

pp. 211-12, § 42-44 are not in the MS.

p. 212, § 45 *Ili*  
Oceanum  
conscendunt

reddidit  
navis in altum  
provecta

pericula, procella

Life of S. Germanus of Auxerre  
by Constantius, as in the Solos  
MS., Bibl. Nat., Paris. Nouvelles  
Acquis., Lat. 2178.

Fol. 10. ferebatur  
causa legionis opponitur

collegat  
e contra  
revertuntur

*dum*

Britannarum insula

quum  
divinitus  
fundebatur  
fides catholica firmaretur

fulget preterea

abditæ  
precedunt

excitata  
expectator futurus

primore  
nuditate verborum

eloquiorum  
set cum  
deterri

sanctorum reliquis con-  
tinentem

dies  
declarata  
nt eis prestaretur orabant  
martyrem *petierunt*  
gratiam referentes

Life of S. Germanus by Con-  
stantius, as printed in the *Acta*  
*Sanctorum, Boll.*, Jul. vii, 200.

p. 212, § 45 mergebatur  
§ 46 causam . . . . .  
opponit  
collegam  
contrarii  
vertuntur  
ibi *que*

p. 213, § 47 Britanniarum in-  
sulum

cum  
divinus  
diffundebatur  
fide catholici fir-  
marentur

accedebat pre-  
terea

abditæ  
procedunt  
*multitudinis* . . .  
*etiam*

*suis* . . . excita  
spectator  
*adstabant* . . . .  
*dissimiles*

primo  
verborum nudi-  
tate

eloquii  
§ 48 sed illi  
deteriti  
*sanctam*

cum sanctorum . .

diem  
deleta  
sectarentur

§ 49 martyrem auctori  
gratias acturi *pet-*  
*ierunt*

Life of S. Germanus of Auxerre by Constantius, as in the Solos MS., Bibl. Nat., Paris. Nouvelles Acquis. Lat. 2178.

Life of S. Germanus by Constantius, as printed in the *Acta Sanctorum, Boll.*, Jul. vii, 200.

		p. 213, § 49	<i>ubi . . . est</i> the whole of this paragraph does not occur in the MS.
Fol. 10.	propugumanda vertebantur et infirmus jacens flagrantis curare videt Saxon adversum maximum . . . exemplum	pp. 213-4, § 50	propugnandam tegebantur jacens et infirmus flammanis curari vidit
	baptismi gratiam  devotio exercitus unda tenture pararent	p. 214, § 51	Saxones adversum maximum . . . exercitus gratiam baptis- matis maxima exercitus undam pararet tentaret <i>Germanus . . .</i> <i>profitetur</i>
	agminis insidi superaturas	§ 52	agminis insidiis imperatas
Fol. 11.	contremiscit <i>admirat bellator populus,</i> spolia prae celestis triumphant <i>victores</i> fugassent merore intercessione demonia depresserat quesituras de territorio erat quia tempestibus claudebatur		contremescunt <i>spectator efficitur</i>  praedam celestis  vicissent numero intercessio § 53 daemones depresserant quaesituras § 54 territorium eratque pluvius

Life of S. Germanus of Auxerre by Constantius, as in the Solos MS., Bibl. Nat., Paris. Nouvelles Acquis., Lat. 2178.

Fol. 11.	cuculla	p. 214, § 54	cucullo
	mansiones		mansione
	fur		praedo
	pediti		peditem
	inquiens		inquit
	commoremur		remoremur
			<i>se</i>
	crimimum		criminis
	objectationem	pp. 214-5, § 55	objectationem
	probabatur		probatur
	<i>suorum</i> solatia		
	in <i>ejus</i>		
	et		ac
	quantas virtutes		quantum virtutis
	deductaque		deductoque
	illustratam		illustrato
	agrestios		
	quum neil		cum nihil
Fol. 12.	conligatur	p. 215, § 56	colligatur
			<i>Sanctus Germanus</i>
	cura		Arari
	exultans se cum vidisse		releuat vel . . . .
	itinere		itinera
	adveniente		advenientem
	in suo tempore		sui temporis
			<i>enim</i>
	ingredienti		<i>pontificem</i>
	minore		ingreditur
	cognoscerent		minorem
	ambiturque		cognosceret
	tradebat		ambitque
	<i>etiam</i> confitetur		quaerebat
	quia		qta
Fol. 13.		§ 58	<i>quievit</i> , this paragraph deficient in the MS.
	Britanniis	p. 216,	Britanniis
	sustentatur		delectatur

Life of S. Germanus of Auxerre  
by Constantius, as in the Solos  
MS., Bibl. Nat., Paris. Nouvelles  
Acquis., Lat. 2178.

Fol. 13. *navis* Christo auctore  
conscendit

preparaberit  
quum  
admiratione  
*cumulata* formatur  
absolutionem  
redierunt  
*vix dum*  
remeaberant  
Etius  
iniaberat  
et mons sacerdas nostras  
accedere occurrit  
fudit  
inerepavit  
veniam  
petierat  
presteretur  
virtute  
preteriens  
presbyterum *iterum*  
afferri  
potionem, benedictionem

deinde husus  
amico  
salutatur

aspectum  
solitario  
occurrentium  
constipato  
inlustratos  
preteriret

Life of S. Germanus by Con-  
stantius, as printed in the *Acta*  
*Sanctorum. Boll.*, Jul. VII, 200.

p. 216, § 60 *viro* — *inceptum*,  
*mare* not in the  
MS.

§ 61 properavit  
eum  
stupore  
firmabatur  
absolutione  
reversisunt

pp. 216-7, § 62

remeaverat  
Actius  
*inhiaverat*  
tamen . . .  
accederet  
fundit  
inerepat  
venia  
praestiterat  
peteretur

p. 217, § 63

virtutem  
dum praeterit  
  
offerri  
petitionem bene-  
dictionis  
deinceps usus  
amicum  
salutatam reli-  
quit  
*in aeternum* . . .  
*vale*

§ 64 solitarium  
occurrentibus  
constipatum  
inlustratis  
preterit  
*qui dum* . . . . .  
*responderet*, all  
this not in the  
MS.

Life of S. Germanus of Auxerre by Constantius, as in the Solos MS., Bibl. Nat., Paris. Nouvelles Acquis., Lat. 2178.

Fol. 14. introrsus  
 toth  
 incipient vulnera esse  
 prestitissent  
 adprehendam  
 adjurgitur  
 Italia  
 artifices  
 redeuntes  
 sociantur  
 dum  
 patiuntur  
 viatoribus  
*iterato transitu* subjecta

celari  
 altare  
 quur  
 Gallias

negavit se esse Episco-  
 pum  
 motum  
 celeri

operatus est

sanitatis

erogare  
 agitur iter  
 intuetur  
 concitus  
 obvoluti  
 domicilium fovet  
 dicitis

Life of S. Germanus by Constantius, as printed in the *Acta Sanctorum, Boll.*, Jul. VII, 200.

p. 217, § 65 introrsum  
 tot  
 incipient . . . .  
 restitissent  
 comprehendam  
 adjungit  
 pp. 217-8, § 66 Italianam  
 artificibus  
 redeuntibus  
 sociatur  
 cum  
 potitur  
 viator

Libet . . . *collocaverat*, all this lacking in the MS.

p. 218 § 67 celare  
 altari  
 cur  
 Galliis  
*sufficiat*  
*fit*

negavit, *Episcopi omnes*  
 remotum  
 celebri  
*incolumem*  
 operari dignatus est  
 sanctitatis

pp. 218-9, § 68 erogari  
 iter agitur  
 intuentur  
 concitatas  
 provoluti  
 domicilio fruitor  
 ducitis



Life of S. Germanus of Auxerre by Constantius, as in the Solos MS., Bibl. Nat., Paris. Nouvelles Acquis., Lat. 2178.      Life of S. Germanus by Constantius, as printed in the *Acta Saactorum, Boll.*, Jul. VII, 200.

Fol. 14.	orationem vestre	pp. 218-9, § 68	orationem
	comparavat		praeparabat
	nihil		nihil
	ille		illi
	Deinde <i>ipse</i>		
	dixeram		dedi
	<i>solidas</i> trecentas		
	tugurie circuit	p. 219, § 69	tuguria circumet
	exiens		exigens
	Ravientium	§ 70	Ravennatum
	per hujus		praevious
	Tun		tandem
			<i>silentio</i>
	Placida		Placidia
	juniore		jam juvene
	pro divino		provido
Fol. 15.	complectitur		amplectitur
	argenteum		argenti
	daret		traderet
	Ordiaeiun		hordeaceum
	transisset		transmisisset
	abjecto		abjecti
	cum	§ 71	dum
	preteriebut		pieteribat
	quo		qui
	nocte		noctes
	confugit		recurrit
	deposcitur		<i>Dei</i> poscitur
	gressus		gressum
	curbus		cernuus
	tunc		tum
	elasure		clausura
			<i>humane</i>
	pietate		pietatis
	occurrebat		occurrebant
	interpollatione		interpollatione
	succensus igne	§ 72	succensus igne
			febrium
	suscitavit		nuntiauit

Life of S. Germanus of Auxerre by Constantius, as in the Solos MS., Bibl. Nat., Paris. Nouvelles Acquis., Lat. 2178.

Life of S. Germanus by Constantius, as printed in the *Acta Sanctorum, Boll.*, Jul. vii, 200.

Fol. 15.	causa	p. 219,	§ 72	causam
	depulso			repulso
	fideique			
	concutiens <i>pectus</i>			<i>Uter consurgit</i>
	<i>Interea mobetur exanimis</i>			extollitur
	adtollitur			Christus virtutes
	virtutes Christus		§ 73	Achollii
	Accule			tum
	tunc			menstruum
	monstruum			
	<i>Hic intervenientu</i>			<i>ergo</i>
	Tunc vero latebris mani-			tum . . . erupit
	festus erupit			
	inlabeunte			ab ineunte
	obtinuisse			obtinisset
	battonis			titubationis
	effectum non habuit			evanuit
	iterata revelionis intentio			circumscriptione
	sermo	pp. 219-20,	§ 74	<i>Germanus igitur</i>
	confertur			sermonem
	tristissimam			conferret
				moestissimam
				<i>Ubi</i>
Fol. 16.	aliquos			aliquot
	contremuit			turbatur
	postulavit	p. 220,	§ 75	<i>Placidia</i>
	petit			postulat
				petiit
	heredes			<i>aut amisit</i>
	fugum			heres
	adparatum			fagulum
	ferbens		§ 76	apparatu
	conferentu <i>et invicem</i>			fervent
	quor			conferentium
	adivetur			cur
	Accolius			deberetur
	imperium			Acholius
				imperator

Life of S. Germanus of Auxerre by Constantius, as in the Solos MS., Bibl. Nat., Paris. Nouvelles Acquis., Lat. 2178.

Fol. 16. ministerium  
 sacerdotis *impudent*  
 in presenti ordine in-  
 stituto se ipsi premi-  
 tunt  
 Dum preterit placentiam  
 ibbi dum in ecclesia  
 corpus conlocatum  
 fuisse et vigiliis sancte  
 devotionis excolerent  
 illius  
 paralysis  
 detenta  
  
 mirantibusque  
 famulatum  
 reverentia  
 repercussus  
 Dum publicem  
 ad te  
 solecismum  
*ad eorum exemplum*  
 conscius futurorum  
  
 eui se  
 suppressendum

Life of S. Germanus by Con-  
 stantius, as printed in the *Acta*  
*Sanctorum, Boll.*, Jul. vii. 200.

p. 220, § 76 ministros  
  
 presenti . . . . .  
 premittunt  
  
 Placentiam . . .  
 praeterit quod  
 . . . . .  
 . . . . . excolitur  
  
 ejus  
 paralysis  
 extenta  
*et mulier et*  
  
 famulatu  
 reverentiae  
 repercusso  
 § 77 duplicem  
 a te  
 solecismis  
 exemplo  
 conscium secre-  
 torum  
 tacuisse  
 suppressendo  
*sedit . . . gloria,*  
 all this lacking  
 in the MS.  
*Epitaphium . . .*  
*panunt,* also  
 lacking in the  
 MS.

*Sanctus Germanus episcopus pridie  
 Kalendas augustas de hoc corpore  
 migravit ad Dominum quem vener-  
 abilem diem omnes ecclesiae provin-  
 ciae Gallicanis predicabili devo-  
 tione suscipiunt et venerantur ut  
 per suffragia illius misericordiam  
 Domini consequantur.*

# The Silver Plate of Jesus College, Oxford.

By E. ALFRED JONES.

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## INTRODUCTION.

JESUS College, from its foundation in 1571, and throughout its history, to our own day, has had so close and uninterrupted a connection with Wales, that some account of the Silver Plate, with copies of the original inscriptions, and particulars of the Coats-of-Arms engraved on the gifts, especially as the great majority of the donors were Welshmen, may be of some interest to Welsh antiquaries, genealogists, heraldists, and, possibly, to Welshmen generally.

From the earliest times it was a custom for the wealthier scholars of the University to present a piece of silver to their respective Colleges, but, apparently, it was not until the introduction, early in the seventeenth century, of a new order of members, the Fellow-Commoners, or Gentlemen-Commoners, who were socially to be on an equality with the Fellows, at their "table, garden, and other public places", that the practice of presenting plate bearing the donor's name and his arms, was looked upon as almost a condition of admission. At some Colleges, the actual amount to be expended in silver was fixed—at Lincoln it was to be at least £4, "and as much more as they liked"; at Merton, £3; at Corpus Christi, £10. To this custom of gifts is due the large number of silver cups and tankards now belonging to the different Colleges. These were

for the exclusive use of the donors during their residence at, and at their departure became the property of, the College.

Wales, generally, was so enthusiastic in its support of Charles the First that no surprise is occasioned at the ready response of the College, under so loyal a head as its then Principal, Dr. Francis Mansell, himself a member of an old Carmarthenshire family, and whose kinsman, Sir John Aubrey, was imprisoned for adherence to the King, to the King's appeal for the "loan" of its plate, to be transferred into coin at the Mint, which had been removed from Shrewsbury to Oxford, and set up in the New Inn Hall, in the charge of Thomas Bushell. The King's letter, of which the following is a copy, is interesting as shewing the value he placed upon silver and silver-gilt, 5*s.* per oz. for the former, and 5*s.* 6*d.* for the latter.

" Charles R. Trusty and wel beloved we greeete you well. We are soe well satisfied with your readyness and Affection to Our Service that We cannot doubt but you will take all occasions to expresse the same. And as We are ready to sell or engage any of Our Land so Wee have melted down Our Plate for the payment of Our Army rayseed for Our defense and the preservacon of the Kingdom. And having received severall quantities of Plate from diverse of Our loving Subjts, We have removed our Mint hither to Our City of Oxford for the coyning thereof.

" And We doe hereby desire that you will lend unto Us all such Plate of what kinde soever we<sup>ch</sup> belongs to your Colledge promising to see the same justly repayed unto you after the rate of 5*s.* the ounce for white and 5*s.* 6*d.* for guilt Plate as soon as God shall enable us, for assure yourselves We shall never lett Persons of whom we have soe great a Care to suffer for their Affection to Us but shall take speciall Order for the repaym<sup>t</sup> of what you have already lent to Us according to Our promise, and allsoe of this you now lend in Plate, well knowing it to be the Goods of your Colledge that you ought not to alien, though noe man will doubt but in such a case you may lawfully assist your King in such visible

necessity. And Wee have entrusted our trusty and well-beloved Sr William Parkhurst K<sup>nt</sup> and Thomas Bushell Esq. Officers of our Mint or either of them to receive the said Plate from you, who upon weighing thereof shall give you a Receipt under their or one of their hands for the same. And we assure Ourselfe of your very great willingnesse to gratify Us herein since besides the more publique consideracons you cannot but knowe how much yourselves are concerned in Our sufferings.

“ And We shall ever remember this particular service to your Advantage.

“ Given at Our Court at Oxford this 6<sup>th</sup> day of January 1612 ” [1643].

The Thomas Bushell here referred to was in charge of the Mint at Aberystwyth, prior to its removal to Shrewsbury.

According to Bishop Tanner, the weight of the plate sent in by Jesus College amounted to 86 lbs. 11 ozs. 5 dwts., representing a considerable sum of money at that time.

Unfortunately, however, no list has been preserved, as at Queen's College, of the silver handed over to the King, nor do any records exist of the donors' names.

The College not only readily sacrificed its plate, but also subscribed liberally in money towards the “maintenance of his Majesties' Foote Souldiers for one monthe after fower pounds by the weeke”. Bread and Beer were supplied to the King's soldiers, and the sum of £3 14s. was spent in the purchase of “Musquets, Pikes, and the like”, while the College itself was dismantled into part of a garrison.

The mind pictures the splendid examples of the Elizabethan and early Jacobean silversmiths' work, given to Jesus College, and the earlier and still more magnificent silver of the older Colleges, then consigned to the melting-pot. The treasure would include those wonderful pro-

ductions, with their marvellous proportions and wealth of decorative detail, of the English Goldsmiths-Artists of the fifteenth, and early part of the sixteenth, century, when the decoration of plate in this country may be said to have reached its zenith.

While loyalty to the cause of the King may be urged in defence of this destruction of silver plate, no good reason can be offered in extenuation of the unfortunate transformation and melting of the numerous silver gifts, which were made to Jesus College immediately after the Civil War, presumably by order of the College authorities. No doubt, here, as elsewhere in the history of the Goldsmith's and Silversmith's Art in this country, the continuous changes of fashion have led to the mutilation and destruction of many rare and costly specimens of silver work.

Evidence of the conversion of numerous pieces is forthcoming from my appended list, from which it will be seen that several Bowls, "Potts" and Tankards, were turned into Salvers, Cruets, Candlesticks, Entrée Dishes, Mugs, Spoons, and Forks, for about a century, from the year 1717. It is a pity that the things were held in so little regard as to be converted in this way from their former condition, especially as many of the transformed articles are now seldom used in the College. The original arms and inscriptions appear to have been reproduced in almost every instance, though errors in the engraving of the arms can be detected.

Every Welsh county, with the possible exception of Radnorshire, is represented by important gifts, and the names of many of the most notable families—families which have played an important part in the history of Wales—will be found amongst the donors, *e.g.*, from North Wales: Sir Watkin Williams Wynn, third Baronet, the donor of

the enormous Punch Bowl, which is believed to be the largest of its kind in England; Thomas James Warren, seventh Viscount Bulkeley; Thomas Madryn of Madryn; Colonel Hugh Nanney of Nauney, M.P., Vice-Admiral of North Wales in the last year of William III, last of the male line of Nanney of Nanney; Sir Griffith Jeffreys, Knight, of Acton, nephew of Judge Jeffreys; Sir William Glynne, Baronet, M.P. for county Carnarvon 1659-60; John Pugh, of Mathafarn, Montgomeryshire, who was M.P. for county Cardigan 1705-8, and for county of Montgomery in five Parliaments, 1708-27; John Wynne, of Melai, Denbighshire, M.P. for Denbigh 1713; William Price, of Rhiwlas; Robert Coytmore, of Coytmore, Carnarvonshire; William Wynne, of Wern, in the same county, grandfather of the present Mr. W. R. M. Wynne, of Peniarth; John Williams, younger son of Sir William Williams, first Bart. of Glascoed, who was Speaker of the House of Commons, 1679-81; Hugh Williams, eldest son of the above-mentioned John Williams, who was M.P. for Anglesey 1725-34; Robert Sontley, of Sontley, an ancient Denbighshire family; William Robinson, a descendant of the distinguished Royalist, Colonel Robinson, of Gwersyllt; Ellis Yonge, of Bryn Yorkyn, a "descendant of the fertile stock of Tudor Trevor"; The Salesburys of Rûg; William Mostyn, of Rhyd, Flintshire, a younger son of the house of Mostyn, and one of the children of Sir Roger Mostyn; and Henry Foulkes, Principal of the College, 1817-1858.

South Wales is represented by a larger number of gifts by several notable families, among them being, Sir Thomas Mansell, fourth Baronet, created Baron Mansell of Margam in 1712; Sir John Aubrey, third Baronet, of Llantrythydd, M.P. for Cardiff, 1706-10; Lewis Wogan, of Boulston, Pembrokeshire, "great grandson of the last Sir John Wogan", who sat for the Pembroke borough in the Par-



liaments of 1710<sup>1</sup> and 1713; Sir Edward Stradling, of St. Donat's Castle, several members of whose family had been at Jesus College; Richard Stedman, of Strada Florida, a name which has long disappeared from Cardiganshire; Lewis Pryse, of Gogerddan; Morgan Herbert, of Havod-yeh-dryd, Cardiganshire; Edmund Jones, of Buckland, Brecon; Thomas Button, of Cottrell; Charles Walbieoffe, of Llanhamlech; Sir Roger Lort, of Stackpoole; Sir George Kemeys; John Games, of Newton, Brecon, descendant of Sir David Gam; Oliver St. John, of Hylight, Glamorganshire; Griffith Rice, of Newton, Carmarthenshire, Member of Parliament for the county of Carmarthen 1701-10, an ancestor of Lord Dynevor; Charles Matthews, the last male owner of Castell-y-mynach, who, with the present Viscount Llandaff, descended from Robert Mathew, *temp.* Henry IV, who, by his wife, Alice, acquired Castell-y-mynach, and founded the line of Mathew of Castell-y-mynach; George Howell, of Bovill, Glamorganshire; Robert Jones, of Fommon Castle, Glamorgan, a grandson of Colonel Philip Jones, who is said to have purchased this estate by the large wealth accumulated through the liberality of the Protector; James Philipps, of Pentipark, Pembrokeshire; Sir John Stepney; Roger Oates, of Keventilly; and John Bruce Bruce, grandfather of the present Lord Aberdare. It will be seen that amongst the English donors are Sir Edward Sebright, who was murdered near Calais on the 20th September 1723, and a monument there erected; Sir Thomas Sanders Sebright, fifth Baronet, M.P. for Herefordshire in four Parliaments, 1715-1736; Sir

<sup>1</sup> In 1710 Lewis Wogan succeeded on petition in proving that the Mayor and Burgesses of the ancient borough of Wiston had a right to vote in the Borough election. He married Katherine, daughter of James Phillips, of Cardigan Priory, and of the famous "Orinda". (*Owen's Old Pembroke Families.*)

Edward Nevil; Sir Atwill Lake, Baronet; and John Robinson Lytton, of Knebworth, Hertfordshire.

I make no claim to accuracy in my description of the arms engraved on the various pieces of silver; the absence of tinctures in many cases, and partial obliteration of others, render such a task impossible.

Special mention should be made of the large Bowls with covers, the two silver-gilt gallon Tankards, and the enormous Punch Bowl,<sup>1</sup> as being very fine examples of their kind.

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#### THE CHAPEL COMMUNION PLATE, AND CANDLESTICKS.

The Chapel, nearing completion under Principal Griffith Powell (1613-20), was finished during the Principalship of Sir Eubule Thelwall (1621-30), and was consecrated by the Bishop of Oxford on the 28th May 1621. No records are extant in proof of the existence of Sacramental Plate at the time of the consecration, though vessels of some kind were probably in use shortly afterwards, for, under a rent-charge, left in 1622 by Sir Thomas Canon, a native of Haverfordwest, the sum of ten shillings was to be paid to "one of the Divines of the Colledge for a sermon to be preached at the annual distribution of the increased diett, and the Communion of the Body and Blood of our blessed Saviour shall be then and there celebrated by the Principall and Vice-Principall, and all the Fellowes, Schollars, and Students".

<sup>1</sup> There is a tradition in the College that whoever can fairly span the Bowl at its widest part with his arms acquires the right of having it filled with punch, and then if he can perform the second feat of draining the bowl, he may walk away with it, presumably if he can walk at all. (*History of Jesus College*, by E. G. Hardy.) The Bowl doubtless occupied a prominent position in the days when the feast of St. David was celebrated in the College.

Whether the silver Communion Plate, if such existed, went with the secular plate to replenish the coffers of Charles the First, it is impossible to say, though the King appears to have had sufficient reverence for the sanctity of such vessels, as is to some extent proved by the existence to-day, at other Colleges at Oxford, of practically all their pre-Civil War Communion Plate.

The general form of the Chalice, and especially its peculiarly Elizabethan strapwork decoration, suggest that the older Chalice had probably been damaged beyond repair, and therefore the silversmith of 1661, either by instructions or on his own initiative, followed the lines of the original as closely as possible. The Chalice is the oldest piece of plate, ecclesiastical or secular, in the possession of the College. The shape and style of the Flagon are also of an earlier date than its marks denote.

The history of the "Altar Candlesticks" is explained by the following extract from the *Book of Benefactions* :—

"The Right Honourable Benjamin Parry, Privy Counsellor, and Register of Deeds in Ireland, bequeath'd the sum of Forty pounds to purchase a piece of Plate for the Altar, mentioning in his Will that this Legacy is in Gratitude for the kind Reception and Treatment his Uncles (both of whom were afterwards Bishops in Ireland), met with in this College during the Troubles in Ireland, with which Money and eighteen Pon<sup>ds</sup> given by the Rev<sup>d</sup>. Thomas Pardo, D.D., the Worthy Principal of this College, a Large Pair of Silver Candlesticks were purchas'd for the Altar, A.D. 1736."

One of the two uncles referred to was John Parry, incorporated from Trinity College, Dublin, in 1650, and elected a Fellow of Jesus about the same time. In 1662 he became Canon of York, and Chaplain to Ormonde, the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. Appointed Dean of Christ Church, Dublin, in 1661, he was made Bishop of Ossory in 1672. "He was a learned man, and the author of several books and published sermons."

The other was Benjamin Parry, a younger brother, who also migrated to Oxford from Dublin, and entered Jesus College, graduating B.A. from it in 1651. In 1660 he became a Fellow of Corpus, and Greek reader there. Like his brother, however, he sought and gained preferment in his own country, becoming Chaplain to the Earl of Essex, the Viceroy, in 1672, and subsequently succeeding his brother in the Bishopric of Ossory.

The other part-donor of the Candlesticks was the Rev. Thomas Pardo, D.D., a native of Kidwelly, Carmarthenshire, and Principal of the College from 1727 till his death in 1763.

Apparently these candlesticks, which are copies of late seventeenth century Italian candlesticks, were made up from other things, for the upper part of the stem bears a mutilated hall mark for the year 1709, and the lower part for 1736, while the tripod base is lacking in marks of any description.

The discrepancy between the date of the gift of the Silver Paten and that of the hall mark is explained by the transformation of the original gift, a Salver, into this Paten. The donor, Hugh Williams, was M.P. for Anglesey, 1725-34.

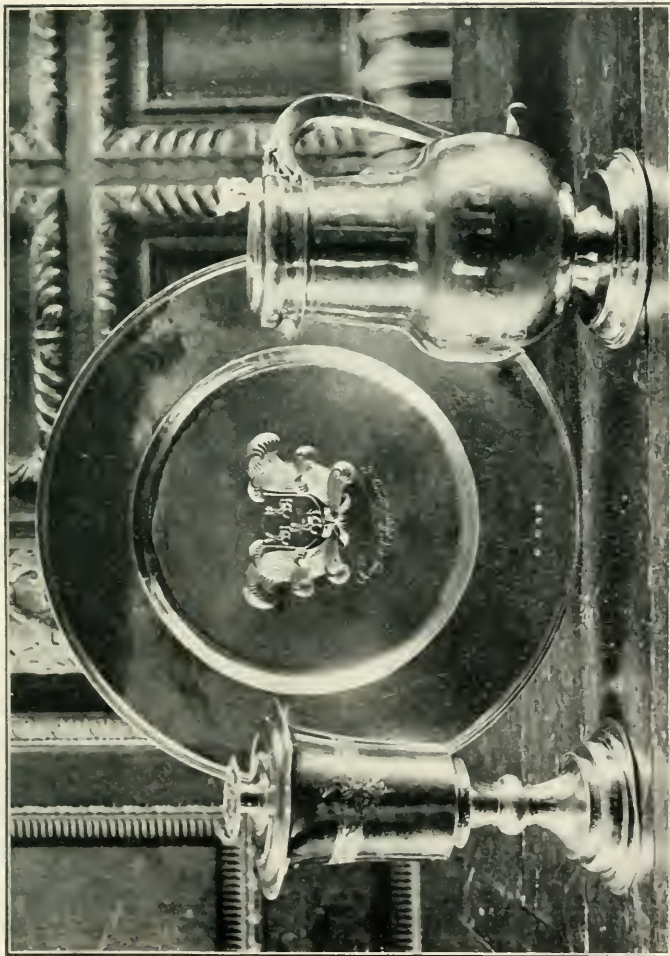
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#### DESCRIPTION OF PLATE.

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##### THE CHAPEL COMMUNION PLATE AND CANDLESTICKS.

(1.) Silver-gilt Chalice, with Paten cover. The body of Chalice is engraved with a band of interlaced strap work. Its stem is divided by a knop. On the foot of Chalice, as well as on foot of the Paten cover, is engraved a circle of laurel leaves. Its decoration also consists of



*To J. & C. Co.*

CHAPEL COMMUNION PLATE.

Chalice, with Paten Cover.  
1001.

Alms Dish.  
1007.

Flagon.  
1070.



an ovolo moulding. The Chalice is inscribed underneath the foot: NOMINI ET COLLEGIO JESU S. 1662. The foot of Paten is engraved with the College arms in scroll mantling, and COLL. JESU. OXON.

London date-letter for year 1661. Maker's mark, R.A., above a rose and two pellets, in heart-shape shield. Chalice, 10½ ins. high. Diameter of mouth, 5 ins. Paten-cover, 1¼ ins. high.

(2.) Large, plain, silver-gilt Alms Dish, inscribed: NOMINI ET COLLEGIO JESU S. The College arms are engraved thereon.

London date-letter for 1667. Maker's mark, I.G., with star between, and a crescent underneath, in heart-shape shield. Diameter, 18¾ in.

(3.) A large, plain, silver-gilt Flagon, the body globular, with narrowing neck, a flat domed lid; the thumb-piece is a winged cupid mask. The College arms are engraved on the body and the lid. The foot is inscribed: NOMINI ET COLLEGIO JESU S.

London date-letter for 1670. Maker's mark, W.D., above a rose between two pellets, in square-shape shield, 12 ins. high. Weight, 59 ozs. 5 dwts.

(4.) Plain, silver Paten, on truncated stem (not gilt), inscribed: DONO DEDIT HUGO WILLIAMS ARMIGER JOHANNIS WILLIAMS DE CIVITATE CESTRIENSI ARMIGERI FILIUS NATU MAXIMUS, ET HUIUS COLLEGII SOCIO-COMMENSALIS 1715. The arms engraved are: *Two faces counter salient in saltire.* Crest: *A demi for.* The College arms are also engraved.

London date-letter for 1727. Maker's mark, R.G., in a heart-shape shield. Diameter, 10 ins. Height, 3½ ins.

(5.) A Soup Plate, silver-gilt, gadroon edge, used as a Paten.

London date-letter for 1770. Maker's mark,  $\begin{matrix} R \\ DS \\ S \end{matrix}$  in quatrefoil. Weight, 18 ozs. 5 dwts.

(6.) A silver-gilt Chalice, of the "Tudor" type, with six-lobed and flowing feet, plain conical bowl, decorated knob in centre of stem, inscribed on foot: NOMINI ET COLLEGIO JESU S. 1868. The sacred monogram is also engraved.

Height, 9½ ins. Diameter of bowl, 5 ins. Made in 1868.

(7.) One pair of tall silver pricket Altar Candlesticks, on tripod bases, with cherubs issuing from the three corners. The stems are decorated with acanthus and palm leaves, raised flowers, and flutings; 25 in. high.

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## DOMESTIC PLATE.

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### BOWLS WITH COVERS.

(1.) A large one, of Porringer form, with two scroll handles, inscribed: D.D. THOMAS MANSELL DN<sup>i</sup> EDWARDI MANSELL DE MARGAM IN COMITATU GLAMORGAN BARONETTI FILIUS NATU MAXIMUS ET BUJUS COLL. ARCHI-COMENSALIS.

The Mansell arms are engraved with feather mantling: *Arg., a chevron between three manches sa., over all the badge of Ulster . . a sinister hand, coupé at the wrist and upaunée* . . Crest: *A fulcon rising.* The College arms, and COLL. JESU. OXON., and the date, 1685, are also engraved thereon.

The style of decoration is acanthus and water leaves with flat matted surfaces on the lower and upper parts, also along the rim of the cover. The acanthus leaf knob on the low domed cover rises from a leafed-star. The body rests on a low moulded foot.

London date-letter for 1684. Maker's mark, R C, with three pellets above and below, within a dotted and lined circle.





*To face p. 92.*

BOWL, OF PORRINGER FORM, WITH COVER.

(THOMAS MANSELL OF MARGAM.)

1684.





*To face p. 93.*

**BOWLS, OF PORRINGER FORM, WITH COVERS.**

Donor:

**CHARLES MATTHEW OF CASTLEMEENY.**

1685.

Donor:

**LEWIS PRYSE OF GOGERTIAN.**

1799.



Height, with cover, and including knob,  $12\frac{1}{2}$  ins.; height, without cover,  $7\frac{3}{4}$  ins.; diameter,  $10\frac{1}{2}$  ins.; weight, 111 ozs. 14 dwts.

(2.) Another similar, but not quite so large, the handles scrolled, with female terms. Inscribed: EX DONO LUDOVICI PRYSE DE GOGERTHAN IN COMITATU CARDIGAN ARM. HUIUS COLLEGIJ SOCIO-COMENSALIS.

The arms, engraved in an oval shield with scroll mantling, are: *A lion rampant regardant*. The crest, on lid, is: *A lion*, as in the arms, *holding in its dexter paw a fleur-de-lys*.

The College arms and COLL. JESU are engraved on reverse side of the bowl.

London date-letter for 1709. Maker's mark, Pa, with vase above and pellet below (Humphrey Payne).

Height, with cover, and including knob, 10 ins.; height, without cover, 6 ins.; diameter,  $6\frac{1}{2}$  ins.

(3.) Another, still smaller, the lower and upper part of body decorated with alternate acanthus and water leaves, in slight relief, on low moulded foot; scrolled female term handles; the domed cover is decorated with acanthus and palm leaves in slight relief, the knob is formed as a fruit in a calyx. Inscribed: D.D. CAROLUS MATTHEW DE CASTLEMENYCH IN COM. GLAMORGAN ARMIGER ET HUIUS COLL. SOCIO-COMENSALIS.

On the obverse are the arms, with feather mantling: . . . *A lion rampant guardant* . . . On reverse, the College arms, and COLL. JESU OXON. 1685.

The crest, on the lid, is a *moor cock*.

London date-letter for 1685. Maker's mark, same as No. 1.

Height, with cover and knob,  $7\frac{3}{4}$  ins.; height, without cover, 6 ins.; diameter,  $6\frac{3}{4}$  in.

## PUNCH BOWLS.

(1.) An enormous, plain, silver-gilt Punch Bowl, with moulded edge, inscribed, in one line, in bold roman capitals: D.D. WATKIN WILLIAMS WYNN DE WYNNSTAY IN COM. DENBIGH, LL.D. OLIM HUIJUS COLLEGH SOCIO-COMMENSALIS 1732.

The arms engraved are: 1 and 4, . . . *Three eagles displayed in fess* . . . (for Owen Gwynedd); 2 and 3, *Two feres counter-salient in saltire* . . . *the dexter surmounted of the sinister* (for Williams) *with an escutcheon en surtout, a chevron between three boars' heads couped impaling* . . . *a buck* . . . The College arms, and COLL. JESU. OXON. are engraved opposite.

Maker's mark, Wh. above star, and below a pellet, in a shield (John White). London date-letter for 1726.

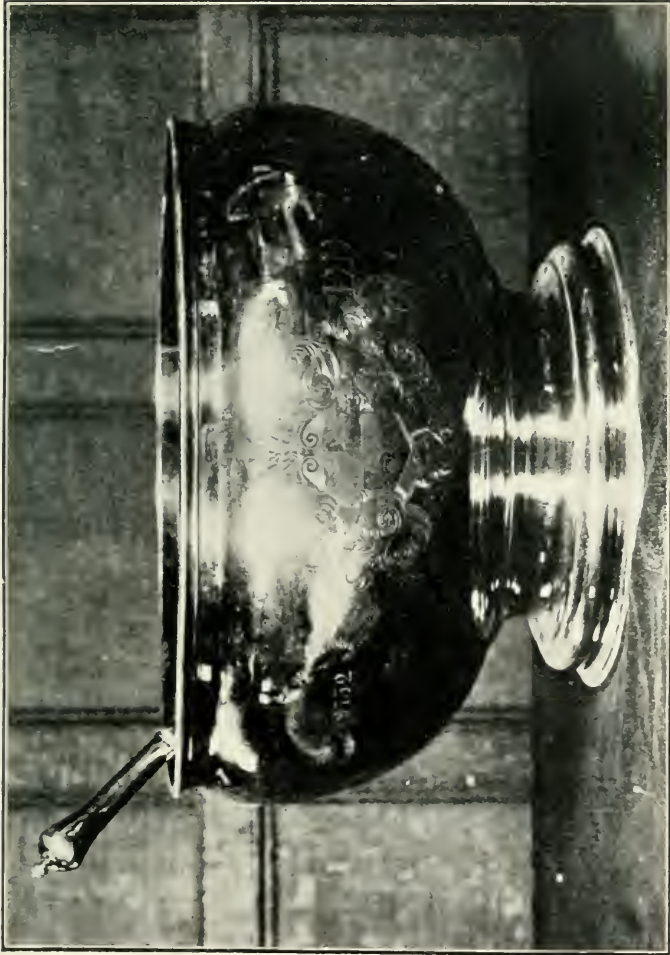
Height, 12½ ins.; diameter, 19½ ins.; weight, 278 ozs. 17 dwts.

The silver-gilt punch ladle, which bears a similar inscription, has an oval bowl, with two mouldings, equidistant, on the tapered handle. The Wynn crest, *An eagle displayed*, is engraved on the handle.

Extract from *Book of Benefactions*:

"Watkin Williams Wynn, of Wynnstay, in the county of Denbigh, Esq., knight of the said shire, eldest son of Sir William Williams, of Llanvorda, in the county of Salop, Baronet, sometime Gentleman-Commoner of this College, and afterw<sup>d</sup> created LL.D., gave a large double gilt Bowl, wg<sup>t</sup> 278 ounces and 17 dwt., and a ladle, wg<sup>t</sup> 13 ou. 9 dwt. A.D. 1732."

(2.) A small, plain, Punch Bowl, narrowing towards the mouth. Inscribed in script lettering: D.D. GULIELMUS ROBINSON DE GWERSYLT IN COM. DENBIGH ARMIGER HUIJUS COLLEGH SOCIO-COMMENSALIS, 1733, IN USUM SALE COMMUNIS.



*To face p. 94.*

PUNCH BOWL AND LADLE.

(SIR WATKIN WILLIAMS WYNN.)

1726.





The arms engraved are: *Quarterly, arg. and gu., in the second and third quarters. A fret or, over all a fesse az.* Motto: FORS NON MUTAT GENUS. The College arms are also engraved.

Diameter, 10 ins. Made in the reign of George I. Maker's mark, I.E., with rose above (John Edwards). Weight 77 ozs. 8 dwts.

### JUGS.

(1.) A plain quart jug, with globular body, and narrow neck, and with scroll handle, inscribed: D.D. CAWLEY HUMBERSTON CAWLEY DE GWERSYLT IN COM. DENBIGH ARMIGER HUIUS COLL. PRIMO COMMENSALIS DEINDE SOCIO-COMMENSALIS 1733 IN FESTA COMMENSALIIUM.

The arms engraved are: *Arg., three bars sa, in chief as many pellets,* for Humberston. Crest: *A griffin's head erased.* The College arms are also engraved.

London date-letter for 1732. Maker's mark, E.P., with lion rampant above.

Weight, 26 ozs. 2 dwts.

(2.) Another similar jug, inscribed: E. DONIS ET IN USUM COMMENSALIIUM IN REFECTORIO, 1749.

London date letter for 1749. Maker's mark, J.S., in Old English capitals in an oval shield (John Swift).

Weight, 39 ozs. 8 dwts.

(3.) Another similar jug, inscribed: D.D. RICHARDUS LLOYD EDWARDI LLOYD DE ABERBECHAN IN COM. MONTGOM. ARMIGERI FILIUS NATU MAXIMUS ET HUIUS COLL. SOCIO-COMMENSALIS 1732 IN USUM SALE COMMUNIS.

The arms engraved are: *Quarterly, 1, . . . three cocks, . . . ; 2, . . . , a raven, . . . ; 3, . . . , a lion rampant, . . . ; 4, . . . , a lion sejant, . . .* Crest: *probably a raven.* The College arms also engraved.

London date-letter for 1732. Maker's mark, J.S., in Old English capitals in an oval shield (John Swift).

Weight, 29 ozs. 2 dwts.

(4.) Another similar jug, but with a domed lid, on which is a depressed knob, the handle terminating in a "whistle". Inscribed in two lines, in script: D.D. THOMAS BUTTON DE COTTRELL, IN COMITATU GLAMORG. ARMIGER NEC NON HUIUS COLL. SOCIO COMMENSALIS, A.D. 1717.

The arms, engraved in an oval shield with scroll mantling, are: 1, *Ermine, a fesse gu.*; 2, *arg., a lion rampant sa. dually crowned, with a bordure az. bezantée*; 3 . . *three castles . .*; 4, . . *a chevron between three fleurs-de-lys . .*. Crest: *A chapeau gu. turned up ermine (?)*.

London date-letter for 1717.

(5.) Another jug, plain, barrel-shape, inscribed: EX DONO NICOLAI ARNOLD IOANNIS ARNOLD DE LLANVIHANGEL-CRUCORNEL IN COMITATU MONMOUTH ARM. FILII UNICI ET HUIUS COLLEGII SOCIO-COMMENSALIS.

The arms engraved are: *Gu., a chevron between three pheons . . , impaling arg. a chevron sa. between two roses.* Crest: *A demi-tiger, or demi-lion, holding in its paws a . . . (?)*. The College arms, and JESU COLL. OXON., are also engraved.

London date-letter for 1796. Maker's mark, H.C., in oval shield.

#### SALVERS.

One pair of plain, circular salvers, with shaped shell edges, inscribed: EX DONO LUDOVICI WOGAN DE BOULSTON IN COMIT. PEMBROCKIENS ARMIGERI ET SOCIO-COMENSALIS, A.D. 1662.

The arms engraved are: *Quarterly, 1 and 4, . . on a chief sa. three martlets of the field*; 2, . . , *a chevron between three escallops . .*; 3, . . , *three tuns, . .*; together with the College arms, and COLL. JESU. OXON.

Diameter, 10 ins. London date-letter for 1760. Maker's mark, R.R., in oblong shield.

(2.) Large square salver, with shaped corners, moulded rim, standing on four feet, inscribed, in script, in five lines :  
D.D JOHANNES AUBREY ARMIGER, HUIUS COLLEGII ARCHI-  
COMMENSALIS, FILIUS NATU MAXIMUS JOHANNIS AUBREY DE  
LLANTRYTHYD IN COMITAT GLAMORGAN ET BEARSTALE IN  
COM. BUCKS, BARONETTI, ANNO DOMINI 1727.

The arms engraved are: . . . *A chevron between three eagles' heads erased* . . . Also the College arms.

London date-letter for 1728. Maker's mark, T.F., with star above and below, in quatrefoil (Thomas Ffarrar). 12¼ inches square. Weight, 51½ ozs.

(3.) One pair of small circular Salvers, with embossed floral border, on shell feet, inscribed, in script, in two lines :  
D.D. LUD. MORGAN DE NEWPORT IN COM. MONUM. ARM. ET  
HUIUS COLL. SOC. COMMENSALIS.

The donor's arms, *A chevron between three pheons*, and his crest, *A griffin rampant*, together with the College arms, are engraved on each salver.

London date-letter for 1784. Maker's mark, I.H., in oblong shield (probably John Harris). 7 ins. in diameter.

(4, 5.) Two large circular Salvers, with shaped beaded borders, the centre elaborately engraved with scrolls, etc. Inscribed :

COLLEGIUM JESU  
OXON  
D.D. CAROLUS WILLIAMS, S.T.P.  
PRINCIPALIS  
A.D. 1861.  
IN USUM SOCIORUM.

The College arms are also engraved.

Diameters, 23 and 20 inches. London date-letter for 1858. Maker's mark, W.M., in oblong shield.

## ENTREE DISHES.

A set of four Entrée Dishes and covers, shaped square, gadroon edges, engraved with donors' names, dates, and weights.

Owen Salisbury of Rûg, 1683 (78 ozs.).

William Glynne (34 ozs.).

Oliver St. John of Hylight, 1678 (30 ozs.).

Hugh Nanney of Nanney, 1660 (30 ozs.).

Griffith Jeffreys, Esq., of Acton, Denbighshire, 1678, (30 ozs.).

London date-letter for 1800. Maker's mark, I.P., with pellet between, in oval shield.

## SAUCE BOATS.

(1.) Oval in shape, with two scrolled handles, and two spouts, moulded scalloped border, on foot. Inscribed, in four lines, in script: D.D GULIELMUS BRIGSTOCKE DE BLAEN Y PANT IN COMITATU CARDIGAN ARM: OLIM HUIUS COLLEGH COMMENSALIS 1750.

On one side the Brigstocke arms are engraved: *Quarterly*, 1 and 4, *or*; 2, *sable*; 3, *argent*; *over all three escallops*. . Crest: *A demi-bird, holding in its sinister claw an escallop*. Motto: ΩΣ ΟΦΙΣ ΚΑΙ ΠΕΡΙΣΤΕΡΑ.

On opposite side, the College arms.

London date-letter for 1749. Maker's mark, J.S., in Old English capitals in oval shield.

(2.) Another Sauce Boat, exactly similar, inscribed, in four lines, in script: D.D. ATWILL LAKE D<sup>N</sup>I BIBYE LAKE DE MEDIO TEMPLE LONDINENSIS BAR<sup>TTI</sup> FIL. NAT. MAX. ET HUIUS COLLEGH SOCIO COMMENSALIS 1734.

On one side the Lake arms are engraved: *Quarterly*, 1st (for augmentation), *Gu.*, a dexter arm embowed in armour issuing from the sinister side of the shield, holding in the hand a sword all *ppr.*, thereto affixed a banner *arg.*

bearing on a cross between sixteen escutcheons (the number of Sir Edward Lake's wounds at Naseby), of the first a lion passant-guardant or; 2nd, Sa., on a bend between six cross crosslets fitchée arg., a mullet of the field for difference; 3rd, Arg., a chevron between three boars' heads coupéd sa.; 4th, Quarterly, arg. and sa., on a bend of the last, three fleurs-de-lys of the first.

Crests: A cavalier in complete armour on a horse courant arg., in his dexter hand a sword embrued, holding the bridle in his mouth, the sinister arm hanging down useless, round his body a scarf in bend gu. 2nd, A horse's head arg., charged with a fesse cottised gu.

Motto.—UN DIEU UN ROY UN COEUR.

(3.) One pair of plain Sauce Boats, with three "shell" feet, inscribed: EX DONO JOH GRIFFITH GUL GRIFFITH DE LLYNE IN COM. CARNARV. ARM. FILII UNICI ET HUIUS COLL. SOC. COMMENSALIS.

The arms engraved on one side are: Quarterly, 1 and 4, . . on an escutcheon . . a lion rampant . . ; 2 and 3, . . a chevron between three dolphins.

On opposite side, the College arms.

London date-letter for 1757. Maker's mark, H.B., in script, in oblong shield (probably Hester Bateman).

(4.) Another pair, of similar shape, but smaller, with same inscription and arms. London date-letter for 1784.

(5.) One pair of Sauce Boats, beaded edge, on foot, inscribed: EX DON. GEO. HOWELLS, FIL. G. HOWELLS DI BOVILL COM. GLAM. ARM. SOC. COM. 1700.

London date-letter for 1785. Maker's mark, H.B., in script in oblong shield (probably Hester Bateman).

#### SOUP TUREENS.

(1.) Oval in form, with gadroon edge, floral claw feet, with two shaped and beaded handles. A pine-apple knob

on lid, the edge of lid fluted. Inscribed: D.D. HONORATISSIMUS DOMINUS DOMINUS THOMAS JACOBUS BULKELEY VICECOMES BULKELEY, A.M. & HUIUS COLLEGII ARCHI COMMENSALIS 1777.

Arms: . . *A chevron between three bulls' heads cabossed arg. (for Bulkeley); impaling, quarterly, 1 and 4, chequy or and az. On a canton gules a lion rampant arg. (for Warren); 2 and 3, . . on a chevron . . between three cross crosslets of the field a bordure . . (for Revel). Supporters, two bulls . . armed and unguled . . collared dancette . . a Viscount's coronet. Motto: NEC TEMERE NEC TIMIDE.*

London date-letter for 1776. Maker's mark, J.L., with pellet between, in oblong shield.

Weight, 118 ozs. 9 dwts.

In the Principal's Lodgings is a portrait of Viscount Bulkeley, on the frame of which is inscribed: QUI VIR EGREGIUS VAS ARGENTEUM PRETIOSUM DONAVIT, CAPELLAM PULCHERRIMA TABULA ORNAVIT ET BIBLIOTHECAM LIBRIS LOCUPLETAVIT.

(2.) Oval in form, with shaped shell and gadroon edge, and shaped scrolled and shelled handles, springing from an applied decoration of scrolls and shells. The feet similarly decorated. The knob on the lid is a large fruit with applied spreading leaves. Engraved on body and lid: COLL JESU OXON. London date-letter for 1763. Maker's mark, W.C., in oblong shield (probably William Caldecott).

This tureen appears to have been purchased by the College authorities.

#### TABLE CANDLESTICKS AND CANDELABRUM, etc.

(1.) One pair tall Candlesticks, with baluster stems, on hexagonal bases, gadroon edges, and six applied shells on the bases. Inscribed in roman capitals, along bottom edge:

D.D. CAROLUS LLOYD DE MAES-Y-FELIN IN COM. CARDIGAN ARMIGER HUIUS COLL. SOCIO-COMENSALIS, A<sup>no</sup> D<sup>ni</sup> 1681.

The arms engraved are : *Sa.*, a spear head between three scaling ladders arg., on a chief gu., a tower triple-towered of the second.

10 $\frac{1}{4}$  ins. high. Weight, 49 ozs. 19 dwts.

London date-letter for 1784. Maker's mark, J.A., in script in oblong shield (Jonathan Alleine).

(2.) Another similar pair, inscribed : D.D. GUL. WYNNE DE WERN IN COM. ARVONÆ ARM. A.M. ET HUIUS COLL. SOCIO COMMENSALIS IN USUM SALE COMMUNIS COLL. JESU OXON. 1767.

The arms are almost wholly obliterated, but the crest is a boar.

London date-letter for 1766. Maker's mark, W.C., in Old English capitals, with rose above (probably William Cafe).

(3.) One pair, with baluster stems, inscribed : D.D. JOH. PUGH, FIL. NAT. MAX. GUL' PUGH DE MATHAFARN IN COM. MONTG. 1699.

Arms : *Gu.*, a lion passant between three fleurs-de-lys.

London date-letter for 1784. Maker's mark, I.A., in script in oblong shield (Jonathan Alleine). Height, 8 ins. Weight, 38 ozs. 17 dwts.

(4.) Another pair, exactly similar, inscribed : D.D. JACOBUS PHILIPPS, S.T.P., DE CARMARTHEN OLIM HUIUS COLLEGII COMMENSALIS, 1743.

Arms : . . a lion rampant . . ducally gorged . .

London date-letter for 1741. Maker's mark, W.G., in Old English capitals in oblong shield (Wm. Garrard). Weight, 36 ozs. 5 dwts.

(5.) Set of four Candlesticks, Ionic pillars, inscribed : COLL. JESU OXON. D.D. JACOBUS R. THURSFIELD, SOC. PROC. IUN, ANNO 1875-6.

London date-letter for 1778. Maker's mark, W.C., in oblong shield. Height, 12 ins.

(6.) Set of four Candlesticks, circular bases and baluster stems, inscribed: JOHN WYNNE ESQ., OF MELAY, DENBIGHS. 1704, and COLL. JESU OXON.

Sheffield date-letter for 1817.

#### CANDELABRUM.

A Candelabrum of three lights, standing on a shaped circular base, with six panels of formal flowers in repoussé; baluster stem, similarly decorated; the sockets and nozzles decorated with leaves and flowers. Inscribed, on rim of base, COLL. JESU. OXON. IN USUM SOCIORUM, D.D. CAROLUS WILSON HEATON, S.T.B. SOCIUS NECNON ACADEMIÆ PROCURATOR 1859.

Sheffield date-letter for 1852. Makers' marks, <sup>TJ</sup>NC in square shield. 19 ins. high.

#### FRUIT STAND AND CANDELABRUM COMBINED.

With four branches, standing on a square base, with four feet; the centre circular in form; highly decorated with fruits, leaves, flowers, etc., in repoussé; gadroon edges. No inscription.

Modern Birmingham mark.

#### CRUET FRAMES.

(1.) Containing three silver castors and two glass bottles. One of the castors bears this inscription: DONO DEDIT JOHANNES LLOYD GUALTERI LLOYD DE PATERNELL IN COM. CARDIGAN ARMIGERI FILIUS NATU MAXIMUS ET COLLEGI SOCIO COMMENSALIS 1738. The arms engraved are: *A lion rampant regardant*, and the College arms.

London date-letter for 1777. Maker's mark, S.W., in oval shield (probably Samuel Wintle). Total weight, 51 ozs. 2 dwts.



(2.) Containing two silver castors and one glass bottle. The frame inscribed: D.D. EDV. STRADLING DE CASTRO S<sup>TI</sup> DONATI IN COM. GLAMORGAN BAR<sup>T</sup>, 1660.

The arms engraved are: *Paly of eight arg. and az. on a bend gu., three cinquefoils . . .* The College arms, and COLL. JES. OXON., are also engraved.

London date-letter for 1770. Maker's mark, R.P., in oblong shield.

(3.) Another, with two silver castors and one glass bottle. The frame inscribed: EX DONO THOMAS GLYNNE DE GLYNNE-NANTLEY IN COMITATU CARNARVON ARM. ET SOCIO COMMENS. HUIUS COLLEGII 1658.

The arms engraved on frame are: 1 and 4, . . . *A double eagle displayed . . .*; 2 and 3, . . . *three bands rayuly . . . ficed ppr.*

The two silver castors in this frame are engraved with this inscription: E. DONIS IOHANNIS WYNNE, A.M. HUIUS COLLEGII SOCII IN USUM SOCIORUM 1726; and with these arms: *Arg., six bees volant, three, two, and one, sa.*

London date-letter for 1762. Maker's mark, R.P., in oblong shield. Total weight, 37 ozs. 16 dwts.

#### CASTORS.

(1.) A set of three, one large and two smaller, vase shape, a moulded band surrounding lower part of body, standing on low spreading moulded feet. Each inscribed in three lines in Roman capitals: D.D. THO. ELLIS DE WERN IN COMITAT CARNARVON ARMIG<sup>R</sup> ET HUIUS COLLEGII SOCIO COMENSALIS ANNO DOM 1708.

The Ellis arms are also engraved: *Quarterly, 1, sa., a chevron between three fleurs-de-lys; 2, gu., a chevron between three bucks' heads erased; 3, gu., a chevron ermine between three Saxons' heads coupéd at the neck ppr.; 4, or, a lion rampant regardant sa.*

The College arms, and COLL. JESU OXON, are engraved above the inscription.

London date-letter for 1708. Maker's mark, B.O., with fleur-de-lys in trefoil shield (probably John Bodington).

#### SNUFF BOX.

Oblong Snuff Box, ornamentally engraved, inscribed: CAM. COM. COLLEGII JESU OXON. D.D. CAROLUS MILLS SKOTTOWE, A.M. HUIJUSCE COLL. SOCIUS. MDCCCLI.

The Skottowe arms: *Per fess or and az., a mullet of eight points counterchanged*; and the College arms, are engraved.

Of Victorian date.

#### CAKE BASKET.

Oval shape, pierced, the border decorated with chased satyrs' masks, flowers, scrolls, shells, etc. The body inside similarly decorated. Inscribed: D.D. ELLIS YONGE ARM. DE ACTON COM. DENB. OLIM HUIJUS COLLEGII SOCIO COMMENSALIS, 1762.

The arms are: (?) *Per bend sinister . . a lion rampant . .* The College arms, and COLL. JESU. OXON., are also engraved on the basket.

London date-letter for 1740. Maker's mark, L.D., in script, with crown above. Weight, 59 ozs. 15 dwts.

#### DECANTER STANDS.

A set of four, repoussé with formal flowers and scrolls; wooden bottoms. Inscribed: "D.D. IN USUM SOCIORUM HENRICUS FOULKES, D.D. PRINCIPALIS 1818. Sheffield mark. Makers, I. and T.S.

#### COFFEE POT.

A plain, cylindrical, Coffee Pot, sloping gradually from the top to the foot, on a low moulded foot, the spout with shell-like decoration.

Below the spout is inscribed: D.D. ROBERTUS WYNNE FILIUS UNICUS ROBERTI WYNNE DE GARTHMEILIO IN COMITATU DENBIGH ARMIGIERI ET HUIUS COLLEGII SOCIO-COMMENSALIS. Above the spout, COLL. JESU OXON 1744.

On obverse is engraved the Wynne arms: *Arg., six bees volant, three, two, and one, sa.*; on reverse, the College arms.

London date-letter for 1744. Maker's mark, J.S., in old English capitals in oval shield.

#### DISH ON A STAND.

A large, flat silver Dish, of circular form, moulded edge, on a stand. Inscription engraved in script in one line: D.D. JOHANNES STEPNEY ARM. FILIUS UNICUS D. THO. STEPNEY BAR<sup>TI</sup> DE LLANELLY IN COM. MANDUNENSI HUIUS COLL. SOCIO COMMENSALIS, A.D. 1714.

Engraved in the centre are the arms: *Quarterly, 1 and 4, gu., a fess chequy or and az., between three owls arg., in the first quarter, the Ulster hand, the badge of the Baronets, in pretence (for Stepney); 2 and 3, arg., a chevron sa. between three ravens ppr. on an escutcheon of pretence or, a lion rampant. . . Crest: A talbot's head erased gu., eared or, gorged with a collar chequy, or and az., in his mouth a buck's horn of the second.* And the College arms, and COLL. JESU. OXON.

London date-letter for 1713. Maker, probably Simon Pantin. Diameter, 12½ inches. Height, 3 inches; weight, 44 ozs. 16 dwts.

#### SMALL OBLONG TRAY.

An oblong Tray, beaded edge, with two beaded handles, with flat under-trays. Inscribed: D.D. TURNER EDWARDS, B.C.L. DE TALGARTH, COM. MERIONETH. E. COLL. JESU SOCIO COMMENSALIS, 1787.

The arms engraved are: *Quarterly, or and gu., in each quarter a lion passant guardant counterchanged. Crest: A lion passant guardant.*

London date-letter for 1787. Maker's mark, C.A., in oblong shield. Length 15 ins. with handles, 11½ ins. without; 7¼ ins. wide.

#### SNUFFER TRAYS.

(1.) A Snuffer-Tray, boat shape, beaded edge, inscribed: D.D. JOH. AUBREY ARM. 1669.

The arms engraved are: *Quarterly 1 and 4, . . a chevron between three eagles' heads erased . . (for Aubrey); 2 and 3, . . a chevron between three maunches (for Mansell); in pretence, the Ulster badge, a sinister hand, coupé at the wrist and appaumée; over all, a label of three points. .* The College arms, and COLL. JES. are also engraved. With this tray is a pair of Snuffers.

London date-letter for 1783. Maker's mark, C.H., in oblong shield. Weight of both, 8 ozs. 17 dwts.

(2.) Another Snuffer Tray, shaped edge, with shell corners, engraved with College arms, and COLL. JESU; also date, 1770, on handle.

London date-letter for 1753; made by John Cape. The Snuffers have disappeared.

#### GALLON TANKARDS.

(1.) Silver-gilt gallon Tankard, of cylindrical form, with flat lid and pierced thumb-piece; "rat-tail" on handle, which terminates in a whistle. Inscribed in a scroll: EX DONO D<sup>NI</sup> EDVARDI SEBRIGHT DE BESFORD IN COMITATU WIGORNIENSI BARO<sup>TI</sup> ATQ. HUIUS COLL. ARCHI. COM. Engraved on the body are the Sebright arms with feather mantling . . *Three cinquefoils, . . over all the badge of Ulster . . a sinister hand coupé at the wrist and appaumée.*



*To face p. 100.*

SILVER-GILT GALLON TANKARDS.

Donor :  
EDWARD SEBRIGHT OF BESFORD.  
1685.

Donor :  
THOMAS SANDERS-SEBRIGHT OF BESFORD.  
1710.



Crest: *An heraldic tiger sejant . . maned and crowned . .*  
On the lid are engraved the College arms, and J.C.

Maker's mark, I.C., above star, in cinquefoil shield;  
London date-letter for 1685 (first year of James II).  
Weight, 80 ozs. 12 dwts.

(2.) Another Tankard, exactly similar, inscribed: EX  
DONO HONORATIS<sup>MI</sup> D<sup>NI</sup> THOMÆ-SANDERS SEBRIGIT DE BES-  
FORD IN COM. WIGORN. BARO. HUIUS COLLEGII ARCHI.  
COMMENSALIS ET ARTIUM MAGISTRI, A.D. 1710.

The Sebright arms are engraved in a circular scrolled  
shield on the body. The College arms, and COLL. JESU  
OXON, are engraved on the lid.

Maker's marks and date-letter indistinct. This Tankard  
was, however, made about 1709. Weight, 81 ozs. 4 dwts.

(3.) A gallon Tankard, cylindrical and tapering, with a  
moulded rim surrounding lower part of body, and with  
a short, slightly-spreading, moulded base. The handle,  
which is attached to the body by a flat, open-work  
decoration, is scrolled, and terminates in a shield-whistle,  
on which is a lion's mask. The thumb-piece is a lion  
couchant, on the handle is a "rat-tail". The cover is flat,  
slightly domed. In centre of the body is the arms: . . .  
*Two bars between, in chief two, and in base one, annulet . . ?*  
*field ermine and bars azure.* Crest: *A demi-bird (? falcon),*  
and this inscription: LEGATUM CAROLI HARRIS GEN. HUIUS  
COLL SENESCHALLI, A.D. 1713.

The College arms, and COLL. JESU, are engraved on lid.  
London date-letter for 1713.

(4.) Another Tankard, exactly similar, inscribed on  
body: DONO DEDIT D<sup>NUS</sup> JOHANNES AUBREY DE LANTRYTHYD  
IM COMIT. GLAMORGAN BAR<sup>TUS</sup> HUIUS COLLEGII ARCHICO-  
MENSALIS. ANNO D<sup>NI</sup> 1701.

The arms engraved above the inscription are: *Az., a*  
*chevron between three eagles' heads erased or; over all, the*

badge of Ulster. The College arms, and COLL. JESU, are engraved on cover.

London date-letter for 1701. Maker's mark, W.A., with anchor between (for Joseph Ward).

#### QUART TANKARDS, WITH LIDS.

(1.) Cylindrical in form, with sloping straight sides, and with domed lid; a moulding surrounding the lower part of body. Scrolled handle, with whistle end. Inscribed, in four lines: D.D. GEORGIUS DALE DE FLAGG IN COM. DERBIENSI ARMIGER ET HUIUS COLL. SOCIO-COMENSALIS 1680.

On obverse are engraved the Dale arms, *A swan or goose*; on reverse, the College arms; on lid, COLL. JESU.

London date-letter for 1728. Maker's mark, E.P., with lion rampant above (for Edward Pocock).

(2.) A similar Tankard, inscribed: HOC MUNUSCULUM QUAECUNQUE IN GRATI ANIMI TESTIMONIUM; SOCIIS. DE COLL. JESU OPTIME MERENTIBUS. D.D. JOHN BRUCE BRUCE DE DYFFRYN, COM. GLAMORGAN. JUNII 10, 1834. WELLINGTON INAUGURATO.

The arms engraved are: *Per pale or and arg., a saltire and a chief gu. on a canton ermine a spur . . . Crest: A lion passant . . . charged with four mullets . . . holding in its mouth a spur.* Motto, FUIVUS. Also the College arms.

London date-letter for 1763. Maker's mark, W.C., in oblong shield.

(3.) Another similar Tankard, inscribed: D.D. RIC. GODDEN, DE CIVITATE LONDON ARM. ET HUIUS COLL. SOC. COM. 1675.

The Godden arms are also engraved: *Gu., two bars or, over all a bend arg. charged with three talbots' heads, erased, sa.* Crest: *On a garb, lying fesseways, a bird close,*



*in his beak an ear of wheat, all or.* The College arms are engraved on lid.

London date-letter for 1742. Maker's mark, R.J., in script, in shaped shield.

(4.) Another, similar, inscribed: D.D. GEORGIUS WILLIAMS, JOHANNIS WILLIAMS DE ABERCOTHY IN COM. CARMARTHEN. ARM: FILIUS NATU MAXIMUS COLLEGII COMMENSALIS 1685.

The arms engraved are: *Quarterly, 1 and 4, ermine, a fesse gu., in chief a lion passant; 2 and 3, on a fesse . . between three birds . . a chevronel.* The College arms are engraved on body, and COLL. JES. OXON on lid.

London date-letter for 1762. Maker's mark, J.S., in black letter capitals, in an oval shield (for John Swift).

(5.) Another, inscribed: D.D. IO. LLOYD DE RHYWEDOG IN COM. MERIONETH ARM. HJUS COLL. SOC. COMMENSAL. Arms: *An eagle displayed . . Crest: the same.*

The College Arms, and COLL. JESU OXON, are engraved on the lid.

London date-letter for 1717. Maker's mark, W.A., with anchor between, in shield (for Joseph Ward).

(6.) Another, cylindrical, with straight slightly sloping sides, and fluted slightly-domed cover, inscribed: D.D. ROBERTUS JONES DE FUNMUN CASTLE IN COMITAT GLAMORG. ARMIGER ET COLLEGII JESU OXON ARCHI COMMENSALIS ANNO DOM 1702. Arms on body: *A chevron between three spear heads ppr., the points embrued.* Crest: *A dexter cubit arm in armour grasping a spear.* The College arms are engraved on lid.

London date-letter for 1705. Maker, Seth Lofthouse.

(7.) Another quart Tankard, similar to No. 1, inscribed: D.D. JOHANNES WALTERS DE BRECON ARM. HJUS COLLEGII SOCIS COMMENSALIS, 1701.

(8.) Another, inscribed: EX DONO ROBT<sup>TI</sup> COYTMOR FILII

NATU MAXIMI GEORGII COYTMORDE COYTMOR IN COM CARNARVON ARM. HUIUS COLL. SOCIO COMMENSALIS 1713.

(9.) Another, inscribed: E. DONIS ET IN USUM BATELARIORUM, 1763, and with College arms engraved. On lid is engraved COLL. JESU OXON.

London date-letter for 1763. Maker's mark, J.S., in black letter capitals in oval shield (for John Swift).

(10.) Another, with College arms engraved on body, and the lid inscribed: E. DONIS ET IN USUM COMMENSALIUM, 1777.

London date-letter for 1777. Maker's mark, J.L., in oblong shield (John Lavis).

(11.) Another, similar, and by same maker, inscribed: E. DONIS ET IN USUM BATELARIORUM.

(12.) Another, with College arms on body, and COLL. JESU OXON engraved on lid.

London date-letter for 1743. Maker's mark, R.B., in script, in shaped shield (Richard Bayley).

(13.) Another, similarly engraved, but the inscription reading: E. DONIS ET IN USUM BACCALAUORUM, 1777.

Marks as No. 10.

(14.) Another, but the body is "bellied". Inscribed: E. DONIS ET IN USUM ARTIUM BACCALAUORUM 1765. College arms on body; COLL. JESU OXON. on lid.

London date-letter for 1763. Maker's mark, I.M., with star between, in oblong shield (Jacob Marshe).

(15.) Another, plain, with straight sloping sides, and a flat domed lid. Inscribed: EX DONO ET IN USUM COMMENSALIUM. The College arms are engraved on the body.

London date-letter for 1709; the lid added in 1759.

#### QUART TANKARDS, WITHOUT LIDS.

(1.) Plain, cylindrical, inscribed: EX DONO CAROLI WALBEIF FILII UNICI CAROLI WALBEIF DE LLANHAMLECH

IN COM. BRECON ARMIG. ET HUIUS COLL. SOCIO COMMENSALIS, 1661. Arms: *Three bulls statant*; Crest: *A bull statant*. The College arms, and COLL. JESU OXON., are engraved.

Maker's mark, G.S., in oblong shield (probably George Smith). London date-letter for 1726.

(2.) Another, similar, with same marks, inscribed: EX DONO ET IN USUM COMMENSALIIUM, 1707. The College arms, and COLL. JESU, are engraved.

(3.) Another, inscribed: E. DONIS ET IN USUM COMMENSALIIUM IN REPECTORIO, 1749. College arms, and COLL. JESU OXON., are engraved.

London date-letter for 1735. Maker's mark, E.P., with lion rampant above (Edward Pocock).

(4.) Another, inscribed: E. DONO THOME JACKSON FILII UNICI STEPHANI JACKSON DE COULING IN AGRO EBORACENSIS ARMIGERI, A.D. 1654.

The arms engraved are: . . *On a chevron . . between three hawks' heads erased . . as many cinquefoils*. . Crest: *A horse courant*. Motto: VIRTUTI QUASI AD SALVAN ANCHORAM. The College arms, with COLL. JESU, are also engraved.

London date-letter for 1726. Maker's mark, G.S., with a vase below, in shaped shield (for Gabriel Sleath).

#### CUPS WITH COVERS.

(1.) A tall cup and cover, with two scrolled handles, the centre of body surrounded by a moulded rim and repoussé with flowers, scrolls, grapes, etc.; the domed lid similarly decorated, with a vine-decorated knob; the foot chased. Inscribed on the foot: D.D. JOANNES ROBINSON LYTTON DE KNEBWORTH IN COMITATU HERTFORDIENSI LL.D. IN USUM SOCIORUM 1746.

The arms engraved are: *Quarterly, 1 and 4, a fret or,*

over all a fesse az. ; 2 and 3, ermine on a chief indented, az. three ducal coronets, or (for Lytton) ; over all, arg., two bars sa. (for Brereton). Motto: FORS NON MUTAT GENUS : Crest: A falcon rising (?). The College arms, and COLLEGIUM JESU OXON are also engraved.

London date-letter for 1749. Marker's mark, R.B., in script, with crown above. Height, including cover and knob, 13½ ins.; height, without cover, 9 ins.; diameter, 7 ins. Weight, 95 ozs. 8 dwts.

(2.) Tall Cup with cover, chased and embossed with classical subjects: (1) A young female figure, perhaps sacrificing at an altar, two doves below her; (2) the toilet of Venus; (3) a Seilenos riding an Ass, a Bacchante holding a cornucopia and crowning the Seilenos, who has his left arm encircled round another Bacchante, walking; (4) two Bacchic genii with branches of vines, a basket, etc.; (5) the scrolled handles with female terms are connected by vines with lower part of body; (6) standing on the circular base are two animals, perhaps a bull and a goat; (7) on the domed lid sits young Bacchus. In the two compartments (divided by scrolls) on the lid are (1) Pan, (2) a Bacchus. Inscribed along rim of foot: D.D. JOHANNES SYMONS DE LANGENNACH IN AGRO MARIDUM ARMIGER, A.M. R.SS. A.S.S. OLIM COLLEGII JESU OXON, SOCIO COMMENSALIS, MDCCCII. The College arms are engraved.

Made in 1763 by Wakelin and Garrard, London, 11½ in. high, without cover; the cover, including the figure, is 5¾ ins. high; diameter 6¾ ins.

The donor was Sheriff of Carmarthenshire in 1804.

#### CUPS.

(1.) One of cylindrical form, with scrolled handles and domed cover; height 6¾ ins.; with cover, 10½ ins.; diameter 5¾ ins.; on short low foot. A moulded rim surrounds the



Four Candlesticks.

Donor:  
J. R. THURSFIELD,  
1778.

Tankard.

1743.

Symons Cup.

1763.

Fox-head Cup.

1774.

Jug with cover.

1717.

THOMAS BUTTON.



centre of body. Inscribed in script, in three lines: *DOXO DEDIT MORGAN DEANE, ARM. FILIUS LONDINENSIS HUIUS COLL. SOCIO COMMENSALIS 1714.*

On the obverse are engraved the Deane arms, in an oval shield, with scroll mantling: *Argent, on a chevron gu. between three birds sa., as many crosses coupé or, impaling . . a griffin segreant sa.* On the reverse are engraved the College arms, and *COLL. JESU.* Maker's mark, Pa, with vase above, pellet below, in shaped shield (for Humphrey Payne). London date-letter for 1713.

(2.) Small silver-gilt cup in the form of a fox's head, inscribed: *D.D. R. HOARE JENKINS DE PANTYNAUEL IN COM. GLAMORGAN. ARM. SOC. COM. IN USUM BACCALAUROCORUM MAY 13TH, 1799.*

The arms engraved are: . . *Three game cocks . . Crest: A game cock . .* Also the College arms.

London date-letter for 1774.

A similar cup is at Trinity College.

#### BEAKERS.

(1.) Two small Beakers, "bellied" shaped, on low moulded feet, inscribed: *D.D. R. OTES DE KEVENTILLY IN COM. MONMOUTH. ARM. SOC. COM. 1658.*

The arms, engraved on both, are: . . *A chevron gu. between three garbs . . impaling . . on a chevron . . between three pheons.* The College arms, with *COLL. JESU OXON.*, are also engraved.

London date-letter for 1773. Maker's mark, I.D., with pellet between, in oblong shield (probably John Darwall).

(2.) Another Beaker, exactly similar, same date and maker, inscribed: *D.D. R. SONTLEY DE SONTLEY IN COM. DENBIGH ARM. SOC. COM. 1666.*

The arms engraved are: *Ermine a lion rampant . .* The College arms are also engraved.

## TANKARDS.

*Holding about One-and-a-half Pints.*

(1.) Cylindrical in form, with domed lid, inscribed: D.D. EDMUNDUS EVANS LL.D. DE GRAIGIN COM. MONTGOMERY. HJUS COLL. SOC. COMENSAL. The College arms engraved on lid.

London date-letter for 1717. Maker's mark, W.A., with anchor between (Joseph Ward).

(2.) Another, slightly smaller, inscribed: D.D. DANIEL WILLIAMS DE PENPONT IN COM. BRECON ARM. HJUS COLL. SOC. COMENSAL. The College arms on lid. Arms: . . *A chevron between three bulls' heads* . .

Same date-letter and maker's marks.

## PINT MUGS.

Three plain pint Mugs, cylindrical, with straight sloping sides, inscribed: E. DONIS IACOBI PHILIPPS DE PENTIPARCK IN COMITATU PEMBROKIE ARMIGERI ET HJUS COLL. SOCIO COMMENSALIS IN USUM SALÆ COMMUNIS.

The arms engraved are: *A lion rampant, . . ducally gorged and chained* . . , together with the arms of Jesus College.

London date-letter for 1731, made by Thomas Ffarrer of "Swithing" Lane.

(2.) Two, similar, inscribed: EX DONO EVANI LLOYD FILII NATU MAXIMI BEAVOSII LLOYD DE CARREG-Y-PENNILL IN COMITATU DENBIGH ARMIGERI HJUS COLLEGH SOCIO COM. 1666.

The arms engraved are: *Arg., four pellets vert* (? a version of the arms of Lloyd of Bodidris-yn-Yale, Baronet, extinct 1700). The College arms, and COLL. JESU, are also engraved.

London date-letter for 1725. Makers' mark,  $\frac{A}{ME}$  in P in quatrefoil (M. Arnett and E. Pocock).



(3.) Another, similar, inscribed: EX DONO IOHANNIS GAMES DE NEWTON IN COM. BRECON ARMIG. ET SOCIO COMMENSALIS HUIUS COLLEGII 1668.

The arms engraved are: *Sa.*, a chevron between three pheons. The College arms, and COLL. JESU, are also engraved.

Same date-letter and makers' marks.

(4.) Another, inscribed: D.D. JACOBUS STEDMAN IOH. STEDMAN DE STRATA FLORIDA IN COM. CARDIGAN FILIUS HUIUS COLL. SOCIO. COMMENSALIS 1656.

The arms engraved are: *Quarterly*, 1 and 4, a cross crosslet; 2 and 3. . . a chevron between three fleurs-de-lys. . . The College arms, and COLL. JESU OXON., are also engraved.

(5.) Another, inscribed: D.D. JOHANNES SALESBURY AUDEONI SALESBURY DE RÛG IN COM. MERION ARMIG. FILIUS NATU 2<sup>DVS</sup> HUIUS COLL. SOCIO. COMMENSALIS 1657.

The arms engraved are: *Gu.*, a lion rampant between three crescents; also the College arms.

London date-letter for 1727. Makers' marks, G.S., with vase below, and T.T., with rose above, in two different shields.

(6.) Another, inscribed: D.D. HENRICUS JONES, FILIUS NATU MAX: EDMUNDI JONES DE BRECON, ARMIG. ET HUIUS COLL. SOCIO-COMENSALIS 1658.

The arms engraved are: *A chevron between three wolves' heads*. . . The College arms, and COLL. JESU OXON., are also engraved.

London date-letter for 1727. Maker's mark, G.S., with vase below (Gabriel Sleath).

(7.) Another, "bellicd" shape, inscribed: D.D. R. STEDMAN DE STRATA FLORIDA IN COM. CARDIGAN ARM. SOC. COM. 1656.

Same arms as No. 4. The College arms, and COLL. JESU OXON., are also engraved.

London date-letter for 1773. Maker's mark, I.D., in oblong shield.

(8.) Two, similar, each inscribed: E.D. MORGAN HERBERT DE HAVODYCHDRYD IN COM. CARDIGAN GUL. HERBERT OLIM ARM. FILII NATU MAXIMI 1652.

E.D. THO. TANAT FILII NATU MAXIMI RICEI TANAT DE ABERTANAT IN COM. SALOP ARM. ET SOCIO-COMENSALIS HUIUS COLL. 1650.

E.D. ROBERTI SONTLEY DE SONTLEY IN COM. DENBIGH ARM. HUIUS COLL. SOCIO-COMENSALIS 1666.

The College arms, and COLL. JESU OXON., are engraved.

London date-letter for 1762. Maker, John Swift.

(9.) Another, similar, inscribed: D.D. PRICEUS DEVEREUX GEORGII DEVEREUX DE SHELDON IN COM. WARWIC. ARMIGERI FILIUS NATU MAXIMUS 1654.

The arms engraved are: *Quarterly*, 1 and 4, *Arg.*, a fesse gu., in chief three torteaux; 2, *gu.*, a lion rampant regardant or; 3, *arg.*, three boars' heads couped ppr. Crest: *Out of a ducal coronet . . . a talbot's head . . .* The College arms, and COLL. JESU OXON., are also engraved.

Same date-letter and marks.

(10.) Another, inscribed: COLL. JES. OXON. E. DONIS GABRIELIS SALESBURY FIL TERTII OWENI SALESBURY DE RUG IN COM. MERION. ARM. ET SOCIO-COMENSA. HUIUS COLLEGII A.D. 1657. London date-letter for 1867.

(11.) Another, engraved with the College arms, and inscribed: COLL. JESU E. DONIS, and IN USUM COMMENSALIIUM 1727.

London date-letter for 1726. Maker, Gabriel Sleath.

#### HALF-PINT MUGS.

(1.) Cylindrical, with bellied shape body, inscribed: COLL. JESU OXON, D.D. JACOBUS R. THURSFIELD, A.M., SOCIUS, MDCCCLXIX.

The College arms are engraved on it.

London date-letter.

There are 26 other half-pint Mugs, of various dates, and by different makers, from 1714 to 1787, for the use of "Artium Baccalaurorum", "Battelariorum", and "Commensalium".

#### SALT CELLARS.

(1.) Four circular Salts, standing on three shelled feet, inscribed: EX D. R. SEBRIGHT HON. DOM. EDW. SEBRIGHT DE BESFORD COM. WIGORN, BAR. FIL. NAT. MIN. SOC. COMM.

The arms engraved are: *Arg.*, *three cinquefoils*. The College arms, and COLL. JES. OXON., are also engraved.

London date-letter for 1785. Maker's mark, C.C., within an oblong shield (Charles Chesterman).

(2.) Two more, exactly similar, inscribed: E. DONIS EDWARDI NEVILLE IN COM. NOTT. MILIT.

The arms engraved are: *Ga.*, *a saltire arg.* The College arms, and COLL. JESU, are also engraved.

London date-letter for 1760.

There are two other Salt Cellars, of similar form, given by THOMAS LEWIS DE LLANISSEN IN COM. GLAMORGAN ARM. ET HJUS COLL. SOCIO COMENSALIS; by WILLIAM SALESBURY OF RUG, and SAM<sup>l</sup>. DAVIES, LL.D., ARM. IN COUNTY OF SALOP; and by R<sup>l</sup>. A. ROBERTS OF BRYNMORWYDD, DENBIGHSHIRE, 1819.

Also 14 similar Salt Cellars, of the dates 1770 and 1775, inscribed: IN USUM BACCALAUROCORUM, and IN USUM COMENSALIS.

#### MUSTARD POTS.

These are of the dates 1732, 1758, 1780, and they are of plain, upright form, with scroll handles; no lids; for the use of "Baccalaurorum", "Battelariorum", and "Commensalium".

## PEPPER POTS.

Four in number, of the dates 1730, 1732, and 1758; cylindrical in form, plain, upright, with domed covers, scroll handles, inscribed: E. DONTIS ET IN USUM BATTELARIORUM, and IN USUM COMMENSALIIUM.

## SPOONS AND FORKS.

There is a large number of Spoons and Forks, principally forks, of early nineteenth century manufacture.

The following, which are all with "ribbed edges", are principally "conversions", as will be seen from the dates:—

Ten dessert forks—Thos. Madrin, 1657.

Six table spoons—Edv. Kinaston et Gul. Mostyn.

Six table spoons—Joh. Lloyd de Keyswyn com. Merion. Arm. 1663.

Seventeen tea spoons—Roger Lort of Stackpool, Pembrokes.

Fourteen forks—Griffiths Rice, Esq., 1682.

Twelve dessert spoons—Joh. Williams, Glascoed, Denbigh, 1688.

Three forks—Joh. Williams, Glascoed, Denbigh, 1688.

Twelve forks—Thos. Fanshawe, Esq., 1717.

Eleven tea spoons—Johannes Watkins, A.B. 1817.

The following forks (fiddle pattern) are inscribed:—

D.D. C. H. Watling, A.B., Soc. de Leominster, in Com. Heref. In usum Commensalium ...	1818
D.D. Gwal. Powell, A.B., de Brecon (3 forks) ...	1818
A.B. Clough, A.B., Soc. de Bathavern in Com. Denb. (6 forks) ... ..	1818
D.D. T. W. Edwards, Arm. A.B., de Nathglyn in Com. Denb. (6 forks) ... ..	1818
D.D. C. H. Watling, M.A., Soc. de Leominster, in Com. Heref. (6 forks) ...	1818 and 1820

D.D. Joannes Williams, A.B., de Beaumaris (5 forks)	1822
D.D. Thomas Vere Bayne, A.B. (4 forks)	1824
D.D. O. Jenkins, A.B., Soc. (donor of 1 fork)	1824
D.D. Jenkin Hughes	1827
D.D. Edward Evans	1827
D.D. Joannes Griffiths, A.B.	1827
D.D. H. Bayley Williams	1827
D.D. Gul. Gilberton	1827
D.D. Joannes Thomas	1827
D.D. Morgan Davies	1827
D.D. Carolus Williams, A.B.	1827
D.D. Henry Rogers	1827
D.D. Nathaniel Levett	1827
D.D. Wm. Trumper	1827
D.D. James Jones	1827
D.D. Joannes Roberts	1827
D.D. Rees Jones	1827
D.D. Briscoe Owen	1827
D.D. Thomas Thomas, A.B.	1827
D.D. Gilbert Price	1827
D.D. Wm. Williams	1827
D.D. Wm. Hughes	1827
D.D. Wm. Jones	1827
D.D. Wm. North	1827
D.D. J. Jenkins	1827
D.D. Wm. Dyer	1827
D.D. Hugh Jones	1827
D.D. Thomas Jones	1827
D.D. R. M. Richards	1827
D.D. John Evans	1827
D.D. Wm. Harris	1827
D.D. Richard Briscoe	1827
D.D. Evan Pughe	1827
D.D. John Hamer	1827

D.D. David Jones (donor of 1 fork) ..	...	1827
Rhodd. Henri Gruffydd, A.C., at wasanaeth yr ysgoleigion (donor of 1 fork) ...	...	1827
D.D. Joannes Llewelin ..	..	1828
D.D. J. Vaughan Lloyd, A.B. ..	..	1828
D.D. Samuel Lilley, A.B. ..	..	1828
D.D. Gulielmus Lloyd ..	..	1828
D.D. Morgan Jones ..	..	1828
D.D. Joannes Roberts ..	..	1828
D.D. Thomas B. Ll. Browne ..	..	1828
D.D. Gulielmus Evans ..	..	1828
D.D. Robertus Prichard ..	..	1828
D.D. Hugh R. Thomas, A.B. ..	..	1828
D.D. Henricus Jones ..	..	1828
D.D. Revd. Thomas Hughes ..	..	1828
D.D. Thomas Jones, Junr. ..	..	1828
D.D. Joannes Edwards ..	..	1828
D.D. Thomas Davies ..	..	1828
D.D. Gulmus Bowen Harris ..	..	1828
D.D. Gul. Williams, Junr. ..	..	1828
D.D. Henricus Reynolds, A.B. ..	..	1828
D.D. Jacobus F. S. Gabb ..	..	1828
D.D. D. J. George ..	..	1828
D.D. Edwardus E. Evans ..	..	1828
D.D. Thomas Lewis ..	..	1828
D.D. Evanus O. Hughes ..	..	1828
D.D. Richardus Morgan ..	..	1828
D.D. Richardus Pughe ..	..	1828
D.D. Hugo Prichard ..	..	1828
D.D. Joannes Davies ..	..	1828
D.D. Richard Griffiths ..	..	1828
D.D. T. Cæsar Owen ..	..	1828
D.D. Gulielmus Holland ..	..	1828
D.D. Richardus Prichard ..	..	1828

D.D. Joannes Samuel	(donor of 1 fork)	...	1828
D.D. Thomas Longworth	..	..	1828
D.D. Henricus Trevor Wheeler	..	...	1828
D.D. Thomas Humphreys	..	..	1828
D.D. Gul. Lloyd Williams	..	..	1828
D.D. Joannes Williams	..	..	1828
D.D. Edwardus Pugh	..	..	1828
D.D. Evans Williams	..	..	1828
D.D. Guls. Steward Richards	..	..	1828
D.D. Essex Holecombe	..	..	1828
D.D. Lloyd Joannes Price	..	..	1829
D.D. Gulmus Henricus Twynning	..	..	1829
D.D. Jacobus Lewis	..	..	1829
D.D. Edwardus Jones	..	..	1829
D.D. Joannes Morgan	..	..	1829
D.D. Joannes Williams	..	..	1829
D.D. Joannes Thomas	..	..	1829
D.D. Josephus Martin	..	..	1829
D.D. Joannes Lloyd	..	..	1829
D.D. R. Prys Roberts	..	..	1829
D.D. Hugo Roberts	..	..	1829
D.D. Thomas Williams	..	..	1829
D.D. Jacobus Phillips	..	..	1829
D.D. Joannes Dawson	..	..	1829
D.D. Gul. Griffiths, A.B.	..	..	1829
D.D. Griffiths Williams	..	..	1829
D.D. Maurice Hughes	..	..	1829
D.D. Joannes P. Bishop	..	..	1829
D.D. Eugenius Williams	..	..	1829
D.D. Arturus D. Gardner	..	..	1829
D.D. Ricardus Evans	..	..	1829
D.D. Thomas French	..	..	1829
D.D. David Williams	..	..	1830
D.D. Johannes Davies	..	..	1830

D.D. Gulielmus Roberts	(donor of 1 fork)	...	1830
D.D. Georgius Williamson	„	„	1830
D.D. Jacobus Ricardus Owen	„	„	1830
D.D. Fredk. Pilkington	„	„	1830
D.D. William Williams	„	„	1830
D.D. Minshull Thomas	„	„	1830
D.D. Robert Jones Hughes	„	„	1830
D.D. Johannes Rawlin Frye	„	„	1830
D.D. J. B. Summers	„	„	1830
D.D. Benjaminus Rees	„	„	1830
D.D. Thomas Briscoe	„	„	1830
D.D. Henricus Peake	„	„	1831
D.D. Johannes Morris	„	„	1831
D.D. R. Henricus Jackson	„	„	1831
D.D. W. Williams, Frondeg	„	„	1831
D.D. Ricardus Lloyd	„	„	1831
D.D. Jacobus Parrey	„	„	1831
D.D. Edwardus Titley	„	„	1831

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**LIST OF PLATE TRANSFORMED INTO OTHER  
ARTICLES; OR LOST.**

A "halfe-penny Pott", weighing 14 ozs., given in 1650 by "Thomas Tanat, eldest son of Rice Tanat of Aber-Tanat, in the county of Salop".

A "halfe-penny Pott", 12 ozs., given in 1652 by "Morgan Herbert, eldest son of William Herbert of Havod-ych-dryd, Cardiganshire".

"Two halfe-penny Potts", 18 ozs., given in 1666 by "Robert Sontley, of Sontley, Denbighshire".

The foregoing three gifts were converted into two pint mugs in 1762, and part of Robert Sontley's gift into a beaker in 1773.



“One little Tankard”, 18 ozs. 5 dwts., given in 1654 by “Stephen Jackson, only son of Stephen Jackson of Couling, Yorkshire”—converted in 1726 into a Mug of same weight.

“One little Tankard”, 16 ozs. 5 dwts., the gift in 1654 of “Price Devoreux, eldest son of George Devoreux of Sheldon, Warwickshire”—converted in 1762 into a Pint Mug, weighing 15 oz. 8 dwts.

“Two halfe-penny Potts”, 14 ozs.  $\frac{1}{2}$  dwt., and 14 ozs. 4 dwts., given in 1656 by “James and Richard Stedman of Strata Florida, Cardiganshire”—transformed into Pint Mugs in 1725 and 1773, weighing 13 ozs. 15 dwts., and 15 ozs. 13 dwts. respectively.

One small Tankard, 21 ozs., given in 1657, by “Thomas Madrin, the eldest son of Thomas Madrin of Madrin, Carnarvonshire”—converted into Dessert Forks early in the nineteenth century.

“One halfe-penny Pott”, weight 13 ozs. 8 dwts., given in 1657 by “John Salesbury, second son of Owen Salesbury of Rûg, Merioneth”—transformed into a Pint Mug in 1727.

Silver of the weight of 8 ozs. 8 dwts., given in 1657 by “Gabriel Salesbury, third son of Owen Salesbury, of Rûg”—converted into a Pint Mug in 1867.

“Three small Farthing Potts and three spoones”, 27 ozs., given in 1658 by “Roger Oates, only son of Roger Oates of Keventilly, Monmouthshire”—converted in 1773 into two small Beakers.

“Two halfe-penny Potts, 23 oz. 8 dwts.”, given in 1658 by “Edmund Jones of Buckland, in the county of Brecon”. These have disappeared.

“One halfe-penny Pott”, given in 1658 by “Henry Jones, eldest son of Edmund Jones of Buckland, in the county of Brecon”—converted in 1727 into a Pint Mug.

Two large Salts, 34 ozs., given by “William Salesbury and Gabriel Salesbury, of Rûg, and Edward Kinaston of

Hordley, in the county of Salop, and Samuel Davies of the county of Salop DLL<sup>s</sup>". No record of conversion of this gift into other articles.

"One halfe-penny Pott and Spooones", 15 ozs. 8 dwts., given in 1659 by "Roger Matthews of Blodwell, in the county of Salop". Not now in existence, either in original or converted form.

One Tankard, weight 33 ozs., given in 1660 by "Hugh Nanney of Nanney, in the county of Merioneth".

One large Tankard, 38 ozs., the gift of "William Glim, eldest son of Sir John Glim, Knight, Ser. at Law".

One Tankard, 33 ozs. 4 dwts., given in 1678 by "Oliver St. John of Hylight, in the county of Glamorgan".

One Tankard, 34 ozs., given in 1678 by "Griffith Jeffereys, son of John Jeffereys of Acton, in the county of Denbigh".

One large Tankard, 83 ozs. 16 dwts., given in 1683 by "Owen Salesbury, eldest son of William Salesbury of Rûg, in the county of Merioneth".

The four preceding Tankards were melted down and the silver re-made in 1800 into the set of four Entrée Dishes.

"One large Bowl", 69 ozs., given in 1660 by "Sir Edward Stradling, Baronet, of St. Donat's Castle, in the county of Glamorgan". Part of the silver converted in 1770 into a Cruet Stand. This piece was probably one of the beautiful Bowls and Covers, of Porringer form, fashionable in the reign of Charles II.

One Tankard, 28 ozs., given in 1661 by "Charles Walbieoffe, only son of Charles Walbieoffe of Llanhamlech, in the county of Brecon"—converted in 1726 into a Quart Mug.

"One large Pott", 38 ozs., given in 1662 by "Lewis Wogan of Boulston, in the county of Pembroke"—converted in 1760 into a pair of small Salvers.

One large Salt, 49 ozs. 12 dwts., the joint gift of "Edward Kinaston of Hordly, in the county of Salop, and of William Mostyn of Rhyd, in the county of Flint, who respectively contributed five pounds and ten pounds for its purchase". Only six Table Spoons appear to have been transformed from this.

One large Tankard, 36 ozs., given in 1675 by "Richard Godden of the City of London"—converted in 1742 into another form of quart Tankard with lid.

One Tankard, 31 ozs., given by "Roger Lort, only son of Sir Roger Lort of Stackpoole, in the county of Pembroke"—converted into Tea Spoons in the early part of nineteenth century.

One Tankard, 33 ozs., given in 1663 by "John Lloyd, eldest son of John Lloyd of Keyswyn, in the county of Merioneth"—converted into Table Spoons.

One small Tankard, 14 ozs. 16 dwts., given in 1663 by "Dan<sup>l</sup>. Williams of Penpont, in the county of Brecon"—converted in 1717 into another form of Tankard.

Eleven Spoons, 23 ozs., given in 1663 by "John Lloyd of Llangenneck, in the county of Carmarthen"—converted into other forms of Spoons.

Weight 23 ozs. 15 dwts. (no record of the form of article), given in 1666 by "George Kemmys, eldest son of Sir Nicholas Kemmys of Llanvaire-is-y-coed, in the county of Monmouth". Disappeared.

Twelve forks, 18 ozs. 5 dwts., and six small Salts, 9 ozs., given in 1684 by "Sir Edward Nevil, Knight, of the county of Nottingham"—transformed in 1760 into one pair of Salt Cellars.

Two "halfe-penny Potts", 28 ozs. 8 dwts., given in 1666 by "Evan Lloyd, eldest son of Bevis Lloyd of Carregy-pennil, in the county of Denbigh"—converted in 1725 into two Pint Mugs, 27 ozs. 5 dwts.

Two "halfe-penny Potts", 26 ozs. 13 dwts., given in 1668 by "John Games of Newton, in the county of Brecon"—converted in 1725 into one Pint Mug, 13 ozs. 18 dwts. (no record of remaining ounces).

"One large two-handled Pott", 70 ozs., given by "John Awbery, the only son of Sr John Awbery of Llantrithyd, in the county of Glamorgan, K<sup>t</sup> and Bar<sup>t</sup>"—part of the silver was re-made in 1783 into a Snuffer Tray and Snuffers, and in 1784 into Dessert Spoons and Salt Spoons.

One Tankard, 33 ozs., given in 1680 by "George Dale of Flagg, in the county of Derby"—converted in 1728 into another style of Tankard.

One large Tankard, 60 ozs. 15 dwts., given by "John Griffith, the only son of William Griffith, of Llyne in the county of Carnarvon"—converted into a pair of Sauce Boats in 1757, and another smaller pair in 1784.

One large Tankard, 71 ozs., given in 1682 by "Griffith Rice of Newton, in the county of Carmarthen"—converted into Forks.

One large Tankard, 36 ozs. 8 dwts., given in 1684 by "Thomas Button of Cottrell, in the county of Glamorgan"—converted in 1717 into a Jug with lid.

One large two-handled Cup, 34 ozs. 4 dwts., given in 1685 by "Nicholas Arnold, only son of John Arnold of Llanvihangel Crucornel, in the County of Monmouth"—converted in 1796 into a Jug.

One large Tankard, 35 ozs. 15 dwts., given in 1685 by "George Williams, the eldest son of John Williams of Aber Cothy, in the county of Carmarthen"—transformed in 1762 into another Tankard, 35 ozs. 4 dwts.

One large Tankard, 69 ozs. 5 dwts., given in 1688 by "John Williams, younger son of Sir William Williams, Baronet, of Glascoed, Denbighshire"—converted into Spoons and Forks.

One large Tankard, 36 ozs., given by "Richard Sebright, brother of Sir Edward Sebright, Bar<sup>t</sup>, of Besford, Worcestershire"—converted into four Salt Cellars in 1785.

One Tankard, 20 ozs., given in 1658 by "Thomas Glynne of 'Glynne-Nanley', in the county of Carnarvon"—converted in 1762 into a Cruet Frame.

One large Tankard, of the value of £11 10s., given in 1698 by "John Lloyd of Llangeneth, in the county of Carmarthen". Disappeared.

One Tankard, of the value of £10, weight 31 ozs., given in 1698 by "John Walters of the town of Brecon"—converted in 1701 into another form of Tankard, holding a quart.

One Tankard, of the value of £12, weight 38 ozs., given in 1698 by "John Pugh, eldest son of William Pugh of Mathafarn in the county of Montgomery"—converted in 1784 into a pair of Table Candlesticks.

One Tankard, of the value of £10, given in 1699 by "John Lloyd of Rhuwedog, Merioneth"—converted in 1717 into another Tankard.

One Tankard, of the value of £12, weight 35½ ozs., given in 1699 by "Nicholas Jeffreys, second son of Jeffrey Jeffreys of Roehampton, Surrey". Disappeared.

One Tankard, of the value of £10, weight 61 ozs., given in 1699 by "Lewis Price of Llanfread, in the county of Cardigan". Disappeared.

Six Spoons, of the value of £3 2s. 6d., given in 1699 by Dr. Griffith Davis, Fellow of the College. Disappeared.

One Tankard, 32 ozs., given in 1699 by "John Lloyd of Buwchlaethwen, in the county of Carmarthen". Disappeared.

One Tankard, 41 ozs., given in 1700 by "George Howell, eldest son of George Howell of Bovill, county Glamorgan"—converted in 1785 into a pair of Sauce Boats.

One Tankard, 17 ozs., given in 1685 by "Edmund Evans

of 'Gragge', in the county of Montgomery"—converted in 1717 into another Tankard.

One Tankard, 27 ozs., given in 1704 by "Lewis Morgan of the town of Newport, Monmouthshire"—converted in 1784 into a pair of small Waiters.

One large Monteith, 64 ozs., given in 1707 by "William Herbert of the 'Fryers', in the County of Glamorgan". Disappeared.

A Decanter, 28 ozs., given in 1708 by "Henry Morgan of Peullwyn, in the county of Monmouth". Disappeared.

A Decanter, 46 ozs. 14 dwts., given in 1711 by "William Price of Rhiwlas, Merioneth". Disappeared.

Five Silver Spoons, given in 1717 by "Luke Williams, B.D., and Fellow of the College". Disappeared.

A Tankard, 29 ozs., given in 1717 by "Thomas Fanshaw of Parslows, Essex"—converted into Forks.

A Salver, 28 ozs. 4 dwts., given in 1715 by "Hugh Williams, eldest son of John Williams of the city of Chester"—converted in 1727 into a Paten for the Chapel.

## Peniarth MS. 37.

FOL. 61A—FOL. 76B.

EDITED BY A. W. WADE-EVANS.

THIS MS. of the late thirteenth century<sup>1</sup> belongs to the so-called "Gwentian Code", and forms the basis of the amalgam compiled by Aneurin Owen and printed in the *Ancient Laws and Institutes of Wales* under that name. It is denominated U, and differs from its three fellows<sup>2</sup> in the British Museum by adding sixteen folios of matter, which are found more or less alike in some of the oldest North Welsh law books, including A, that is Peniarth MS. 29, better known as the *Black Book of Chirk*;<sup>3</sup> E (a faithful transcript of the last);<sup>4</sup> G;<sup>5</sup> and Pen. MS. 30.<sup>6</sup> It is also found in later MSS. like the North Welsh D and F,<sup>7</sup> and the South Welsh Q (c. 1401), "burnt in 1858",<sup>8</sup> and K (c. 1469).<sup>9</sup> Dr. Gwenogfryn Evans says that these sixteen folios of Pen. 37 are "in such close agreement with the corresponding part in Pen. MS. 35 [*i.e.* G],<sup>10</sup> that both must be from the same archetype, or the one is a copy of the other. Both MSS. belong to the same school of writing,

<sup>1</sup> See Historical MSS. Commission: *Report on MSS. in the Welsh Language*, vol. i, part 2, p. 371.

<sup>2</sup> Harleian 4353 (V); Cleopatra A xiv (W); Cleopatra B v (X).

<sup>3</sup> *Report on Welsh MSS.*, vol. i, part 2, p. 359.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, vii.      <sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 367.      <sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 361.      <sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, 363, 367.

<sup>8</sup> *I Cymmrodor*, ix, 298.

<sup>9</sup> *Report on Welsh MSS.*, 374.

<sup>10</sup> MS. G, fo. 112—fo. 119b. This last page ends with the words corresponding to *caffel o honi ueichogi* of U 74a, the remainder of G being lost (see *Anc. Laws*, vol. ii, 93, n. 65).

and may be the work of the same scribe."<sup>1</sup> In E<sup>2</sup> the folio where they should begin is missing, between fo. 46 and 47 in the Brit. Mus. pagination in pencil, and between p. 94 (not marked) and p. 97 of a pagination in ink. The number 97 is followed by a finger warning and q ?, to signify that it is doubtful whether one or more leaves are missing. P. 94 ends with this line, "boꝝ ny chyll y ureynt yr gwneuthur gwell noꝝ yaun. Puýbyn" \* (*see* Aneurin Owen, vol. i, p. 330, § 35), whilst p. 97 begins, "dýwuyŋ canýf yaun yu" etc., (vol. ii, p. 6, § 15, and U, fo. 62b 1). E apparently ended once at fo. 52a, l. 2, with the words, "lle ny bo." (vol. ii, p. 36, § 34; U, fo. 75b), and it is significant that here E and U, begin to diverge entirely. Indeed, what follows in E appears to have been written by two different hands, viz., fo. 52a, 3-11, and 52a, 12-18, where the MS. terminates (vol. ii, 37, n. 45). The present text is the oldest South Welsh version, and is now printed for the first time. The oldest North Welsh version will be reproduced "in due time" from A and E, by Dr. Gwenogfryn Evans,<sup>3</sup> so that the two may be compared with profit. It will also be found useful to compare them with Aneurin Owen (vol. ii, pp. 2-46) in order to see his methods of editing these texts—methods which it is suggested he was constrained to adopt<sup>4</sup>—and how far their results may be relied upon.

This MS. was very kindly placed at my disposal last summer by Mr. Wynne of Peniarth. I then carefully transcribed these sixteen folios page for page, line for line, error for error, and it is from this transcript of mine, *without further reference to the original*, that the

<sup>1</sup> *Report on Welsh MSS.*, vol. i, part 2, p. 371.

<sup>2</sup> British Museum Additional MS. 14,931.

<sup>3</sup> *Report on Welsh MSS.*, vol. i, part 2, p. vii, note.

<sup>4</sup> Rhys and Brynmor-Jones, *The Welsh People*, p. 25, n. 2.



accompanying text is now copied. I have more than once in foot-notes warned the reader where I thought the mistake might possibly be my own, for perhaps it is more than one can hope, even in so short a transcript as this, that it should be errorless.

It is proposed to publish shortly a reproduction of Harleian MS. 4353, with the leading variations of its fellows, together with an Introduction and a tentative English translation. The reason for the present text in *Y Cymmrodor* rises from its anomalous character in an early leading South Welsh book of this class. The title "Gwentian Code", which Aneurin Owen applied to them, is a misnomer, as there is nothing to indicate that they pertain to Gwent more than, say, to Ystrad Tywi, or Bualt, or some other particular South Welsh *patria*. They represent in reality a compilation or a redaction of *Cyfnerth ab Morgeneu*, as the so-called "Dimetian Code" represents that of *Blegywryd*, who apparently was a later "jurist".

It is with some unwillingness that I offer an English translation, in spite of Aneurin Owen's invaluable aid. The pitfalls are many, the meaning often obscure, and I myself a victim of that educational folly which deprived the youth of Wales of any training whatsoever in their own tongue. This translation, therefore, is not only tentative but highly so.

*Ty Rhôs, Fishguard.*

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## PENIARTH MS. 37. FOL. 61A—76B.

Hyt hyn y traeth \*<sup>1</sup> affam k<sup>2</sup>eu ffys a chyfreithen yr gwlat. O hyn affan. o: damweineu.

**Ob**<sup>2</sup> kyulauan awnel dyn oe anuod diwyget oe uod. O deruyd y dnyon ynuyt ffad dnyon ereiff! Talher galanaf droftunt mal dnyon p<sup>3</sup>oyffa<sup>6</sup>c. Canys kenedyl a dyly eil ead<sup>6</sup> rac gwneuthur cam o honunt. Pa dyn p<sup>3</sup>oyffa<sup>6</sup>c bynhac a lado ynuyt. Talet galanas mal galanas dyn p<sup>3</sup>oyffa<sup>6</sup>c. Ny diwygir farhaet agaffer gair ynuyt. ae ny diwygir farhaet agaffo ynteu. Nyt g<sup>3</sup>oneuthuredic<sup>3</sup>dim o: a wnel dyn med<sup>6</sup> Na mach arodho yny uedda<sup>6</sup>t Na fyd araff a ada<sup>6</sup>ho. O deruyd bot dyn yn gyndeira<sup>6</sup>c. abraithu dyn araff o hona<sup>6</sup> ae danhed ae o: brath h<sup>6</sup>onn<sup>6</sup> fo. 61b. dy \* uot agheu yr dyn Nys di<sup>6</sup>c kenedyl yr ynuyt ef. Canys o ann<sup>6</sup>yt yr heint y colles y ffaff y eneit. Dyn mut Ny thelir farhaet Nac at<sup>6</sup>eb o dyn<sup>1</sup> araff idda<sup>6</sup> Cany dyweit ehun y dylu o hona<sup>6</sup>. Onyt argl<sup>6</sup>yd atrugarhaa<sup>6</sup> b<sup>3</sup>tha<sup>6</sup> aroddi dyn adywetto drofta<sup>6</sup>. Byddeir adeiffon Ny m<sup>6</sup>bynheir dim o: a dywettont yn dadleu Cany welas y neiff ae na chly<sup>6</sup> y ffaff o honunt. b<sup>3</sup>th hynny Ny m<sup>6</sup>bynheir dim<sup>7</sup> o: a dywett<sup>6</sup>ynt. Pob anaf araff o:auo iach

<sup>1</sup> The first part of this rubric, to the asterisk, is the last half of l. 18 of fol. 60b. An asterisk signifies the end of a page, which generally in U contains 18 lines.

<sup>2</sup> The stem of the missal capital is made to run down the left margin to the foot of the page. Rubricated letters are not noticed in this reproduction, only rubrics and rubric capitals. Rubricated letters are very numerous. Italicised letters indicate contractions.

<sup>3</sup> Before dim at end of preceding line, there is a d. with stop crossed out.

<sup>4</sup> o dyn is divided between l. 4 and l. 5, the former ending od and the latter beginning dyn.

<sup>6</sup> Before dim at end of preceding line, there is a d crossed out.

y eluffeu. æ tanaðt æ lygat. kymeredic yð eu hymadraðd. Dynyon aghyuyeith Ny byper py dywettbynt æ ny bypout hbynteu py dywetter bythunt Nyt kymeredic eu hymadraðd Onyt arglbyd \* a trugarhaa bythunt. Tyffolfaeth a effir fo. 62a. ar eir æ ar weithret : æ ny effir ar uedðl.

Ny thal un anyueil<sup>1</sup> kyndeiraðe y gyflauan awnel. Ny thal un anyueil brbydryn<sup>2</sup> y gilyd. æ fef yð anyueil brbydryn yftalbyn oðad y ðaff Ny thal tarð y ðaff Na baed y gilyd Na hð:d Na cheilaðe Na cheilaðbyd. Na bðch. O ðadant hby anyueileit ereith: hby æ talant. O deruyd ydyn tannu rbyr ar uo: Neuar tir. a dyuot æ gbydeu æ anieileit ereith æ eu briwað o achos y rbyr abriwað y rbyr gan yr anieileit Ny diðe un onadunt y gilyd. Oder. mynet eidon Neu anyueil arað ymyðn rbyr abriwað y rbyr. a ðiane yr anyueil Jaðn yð y di \* uðyn Canys iaðn yð fo. 62b. tannu y rbyr. O deruyd dylu da y dyn æ am y da hðnnð roddi oet idað. achyn yr oet caffel o: kynogyn y da æ gynnid idað: kyureith adyweit na dylu y bythot Cany roddir oet Namyn yr keiffað y da.<sup>3</sup> Pbybynhac arodher oet idað Neut eidyað yr oet. agðnaet ynteu auynho æ arhos yr oet. æ talu kyn<sup>4</sup> yr oet. Py anyueil bynhac aladho dyn bonhedie. a cheiffað o: genedyl goffot galanas yndanað Nys dylant ket adefher. Sef achos yð hynny Cany dylu un dyn talu galanas. æ ny dylu kenedyl talu

<sup>1</sup> ellir ar nedðl . . . anyueil is l. 3, but a colored bracket divides uedðl. from Ny, facing the latter, which indicates that a new section begins at this point. This bracket, well known to all acquainted with these MSS., is also used to show that what follows it in the same line belongs to the line preceding.

<sup>2</sup> Before brbydryn the scribe wrote brðdrin, which he crossed out, expuncting each letter.

<sup>3</sup> da is followed by two full stops and a third stop, which is somewhat like an inverted comma, in order to fill up the line.

<sup>4</sup> Before kyn the scribe wrote yr oe, which he crossed out, expuncting each of the letters.

gweithret anyueil yn gar. ac 6<sup>th</sup> hynny h6n y6 yr un  
 lle yteler y ffouurud yn lle y weithret. P6ybynhac adylyho  
 fo. 63a. da y arall acheiffa6 talu<sup>1</sup> \* da aghyuodedic o hona6 am y  
 dilyet. Ny dilyir kynryt da aghyuodedic nae yn tal nae  
 yng g6yftyl ony byd<sup>2</sup> na bo da amgen ar y hel6 Sef y6 da  
 aghyuodedic: Da ny aller y d6yn fo:d y mynher. Oderuyd  
 y dyn mynet y hely adechreu eff6g ar 6yd l6d6n pa anyueil  
 bynhac uo a chyfaruot c6n fegur ac ef ae lad. y k6n kyntaf  
 ae kynhely6s bieiuyd onyt c6n yr argl6yd y<sup>3</sup> uydant yrei  
 fegur allhyna hyt y dily yr hel6: kyntaf uot yr anyueil  
 yny ardel6. yny ymchoelo y 6yneb parth ac adref ae  
 geuyn ar yr hely kyt bo y k6n ef yn hely ae ynteu g6edy  
 fo. 63b. fegur ef Namyn yneb bie<sup>4</sup> \* ffo y k6n dilfin O deruyd  
 y fo:da6l y ar y fo:d gwelet g6ydl6d6n ab6r6 ergyt ida6 a  
 maen Neu afaeth ae uedru: Ja6n y6 ida6 y erlit yny  
 godiwedho.<sup>5</sup> ac nyt ia6n ida6 y faethu Nae ymlit onyf  
 meder y ar y fo:d.<sup>6</sup> O deruyd y dyn hely pyfga6t ae  
 kyuodi o hona6 ae hynlit. ac ar y ymlit ef mynet y pyfc  
 yn r6yt arall. O k<sup>7</sup>. y kyntaf a kyuodef bieiuyd. O d<sup>9</sup>.  
 y dynyon wneuthur ammot am pyfga6t yn eu hely. heb  
 yneill y pyfc kyntaf<sup>6</sup> aladher y mi. Heb ylla6t y diwethaf  
 aladher y minheu ac naladher namyn un pyfc. k<sup>9</sup>.  
 adyweit yny<sup>7</sup> bo kyhyded dilyu rannu deuhammer. O d<sup>9</sup>.  
 ydynyon hely pyfga6t ac yny hely dyuot dynyon 6<sup>th</sup> eu

<sup>1</sup> At the foot of the page under talu is the catch word da in an oblong figure.

<sup>2</sup> byd is preceded by a b. with stop crossed out. This b. ends a line.

<sup>3</sup> This y is crossed out with black and red through lower stem.

<sup>4</sup> This word is divided between two lines thus: god diwedho.

<sup>5</sup> The stop is the kind of inverted comma referred to before.

<sup>6</sup> This word is preceded by a k expuncted at the end of the line preceding.

<sup>7</sup> This word is divided between two lines thus, y ny

ffad ac \* erchi ram o: pyfgaot. h6y ac dylyan ony fo. 64a.  
 deruyd eu dodi ar dyn Neu ar uacheu o deruyd hynny Ny  
 dylyant dim. Teir goffed brenhaol yffyd Goffed  
 argl6yd. agoffed efgob. agoffed abbat. Pob un o  
 nadunt adyly daly goffed tr6yda6 ehun. Od<sup>o</sup>. y6r yr  
 argl6yd g6nenthur cam yg goffed efgob Nae aet ohoni  
 heb wneuthur ia6n. ac y netty g6: yr efgob yg goffed  
 yr argl6yd. ac ynetty g6: yr abbat yny goffedeu ereill.  
 yr argl6yd pan uo mar6 yr efgob adyly yda. Eithyr  
 g6ife yr egl6yf. ac Hyfreu. ac tir. Sef achos ydyly Pob  
 da auo heb perchema6e diffeith brenhin y6. abbat hagen  
 Ny dyly<sup>1</sup> argl6yd Namyn y ebedi6 \* pan uo mar6 yr fo. 64b.  
 abbat. y clas ae canonwyr adyly yda ef. Pa dadyl  
 bynhac auo y rydunt ehun: yneit o: clas adyly barnu  
 udunt. Pa dadyl bynhac auo y abbat ac argl6yd: yneit  
 yr argl6yd adyly barnu ygyt ac wynt. Od<sup>o</sup>uyd bot  
 deu argl6yd allu gan bob un o nadunt yny<sup>2</sup> wlat. adyuot  
 dyn y geiffa6 eftyn ar tir Nyt rod eu rod ac nyt eftyn eu  
 heftyn yny 6yper pieiffo y wlat o honunt. Od<sup>o</sup>uyt y  
 uchel6: roddi yuab y eifft ar ueithrin o ganyat argl6yd  
 ae ryuot ef a<sup>3</sup> ablydyn ad6y atheir. pan uo mar6<sup>4</sup> y mab  
 eifft ony byd plant ida6. ydylyet adygg6yd yn ha6 y  
 mab maeth ac o<sup>5</sup> byd plant ida6 \* ram un o honunt fo. 65a.  
 adyly y mab maeth.<sup>6</sup> Od<sup>o</sup>uyd rodi kymraes y afftut. mab  
 honno adyly ram bra6t o tref tat. ac ny dyly h6nn6  
 ram o: tydyn arbenhic Nae of6yd hyt y trydyd dyn.

<sup>1</sup> dyly is above the line, with mark of omission.

<sup>2</sup> yny is divided between two lines thus, y ny

<sup>3</sup> a is above the line, with a mark of omission between ef and ef,  
 which last is crossed out and has each letter expuncted.

<sup>4</sup> mar6 is preceded on the line above by m expuncted.

<sup>5</sup> The scribe wrote ony and then crossed out the two last letters,  
 expuncting them.

<sup>6</sup> maeth begins a line. The preceding line ends with m crossed out  
 and expuncted.

Ef ae uab ae byr o hynny affan kymeret ia6n o: f6yd ae o: tydyn b:reinha6c Ony deruyd bot yr alltut yn gyholaeth g6ydel Neu feis. a h6nu6 adyly yn diannot a f6yd arann o: tydyn b:reinha6c. ae ohynny yteli: gwarthee dyuach. Sef y6 gwarthee dyuach Rann ytat alltut Canyt oes genedyl ida6 yn un wlat ae ef ae ny remir y gwarthee hynny hyt yfeithuet ach mal galanas araff  
fo. 65b. Namyn hyt gyuerder6. Od.<sup>21</sup> \* Od<sup>2</sup>uyd y dyn rodi p6yth ym p6yth ae naf gouynho d:anoeth Nyf dyly hyt yn oet un dyd abl6ydyn ae yna dyget byftyl mal ar dylyet araff<sup>2</sup>. .

Ebediwen.

**E**bedi6 maer kyghetta6: Punt. Ebedi6 maer. chweu-geint. Ebedi6 kyghetta6: chweugeint. Ebedi6 mabeiff: o: byd egl6ys ar ytir. chweugeint. Ony byd. Trugeint. Ebediw alltut pedeir arugeint. Nyt a ebedi6 yn ol tir kynif. Od'uyd gwanhanu dyn ae tir yny uywyt ae uar6 ef gwedy hynny. Nyt a yr ebedi6 yn ol ytir. Namyn yn ol yda. Ony byd dim<sup>3</sup> o: da: Bit diffodedic yr ebedi6 Neu uot ida6 da.<sup>4</sup> y mab a<sup>5</sup> dyly talu ebedi6  
fo. 66a. ytat. Pob f6yda \* 6c yny ffys: chweugeint y6 yebedi6 Eithyr pennaduryeit y ffys Nyt amgen y diftein. Pen-gwaftra6t Penhebogyd. Penkynyd. Gwaf yftaueff. Punt y6 ebedi6 pob un o honunt. Bonhedic canhb:yna6l a mab

<sup>1</sup> This is last word on l. 18 and *not* a catchword.

<sup>2</sup> l. 4 ends with ar dyly and l. 5 is Ebedi6 ma Ebediwen et arall. . the first letter being a rubric capital and Ebediwen a rubric.

<sup>3</sup> dim begins a new line. The line before ends with d crossed out and expuncted.

<sup>4</sup> a da athir. with first a and athir. crossed out, each letter being expuncted.

<sup>5</sup> a ends the line.

uchel6: a g6: kyuarfa6e Ebedi6 atelir kynny bo tir yny  
 la6. Sef ydyly y talu 6:th ureint ytir yd heny6 of  
 o hona6. Or byd g6: adu argl6yd ida6 athir ida6 y<sup>1</sup>  
 dan bob un o honunt Ef adyly talu ebedi6 obob un  
 o honunt. Or byd g6: deu tir ydan un argl6yd Ef adyly  
 talu ebedi6 o: m6yhaf y ureint. O d<sup>9</sup>uyd y gered6:  
 alltut cleuychu ar f6rd ae uar6 Pa tir bynhac y bo mar6  
 arna6 Ef adyly \* talu pedeir arugeint yny ebedi6 ae da fo. 66b.  
 y am hynny yr argl6yd Of g6reic uyd un ar pynthee.  
 amob:eu merchet y gwyr adywedyffam ni uehot. kymeint  
 y6 ac ebedi6 eu tadeu Ny thal g6reic uyth<sup>2</sup> namyn un  
 amobyrr. Sef y<sup>3</sup> tal h6nn6 o ureint ytir yd hany6 o hona6  
 ae ny dyly neb talu d:ofti Namyn hi ehun Onyf rodei  
 y that Neu y brodyr Neu y chenedyl ae na chymerynt  
 mach ary hamobyrr. y r6dyeit adylyant y talu Cany  
 chymerffant uach' arna6. Sef achos g6reic Namyn un  
 amobyrr 6:th ureint argl6yd ytir h6nn6 ybyd. ae nyt  
 6:th ureint y genedyl Namyn 6:th ureint y \* g6: ydel fo. 67a.  
 ida6. O tri achos y telir amobyrr. Un o honunt o rod ac  
 eftyn kynny bo kywelyogaeth. Eil y6 o kywelyogaeth  
 kyhoeda6e kynny bo rod ac eftyn. Trydyd y6 o ueichogi.  
 Teir merchet ny dylyir amobyrr udunt. Merch edlig. a  
 merch argl6yd. a merch penteulu. Sef achos nadylyir  
 udunt 6:th na dylyir ebedi6 eu tadeu Eithyr eu hemys. ae  
 eu milg6n ae eu hebogeu ae eu harneu. Merch argl6yd  
 Ny dylyir amobyrr idi Canyt oes ae gouynho Ny dyly ynteu  
 amobyrr y uerch ehun.

<sup>1</sup> y ends the line.

<sup>2</sup> uyth begins a line. The preceding line ends with u crossed out and expuncted.

<sup>3</sup> y ends line.

<sup>4</sup> uarch with the r expuncted.

Goholaeth<sup>1</sup>

**D**y dylyir y un goholaeth ebedið. Sef achos yn herwyd  
fo. 67b. bychan.<sup>2</sup> \* Onyt hyn a deruyd idað. kymryt tir o honað  
a mynet y ureint mab<sup>3</sup> uchelðr yr caethet hagen uo y tir  
ef : kynrydhet uyd athir mab uchelðr. æ o hynny aflau  
amobyr æ ebedið atal ynteu ual y tal mab uchelðr kyuno  
hynny Ny thalei Namyn atalei etling.

**A**mobyr merch penkenedyl . . Punt. Pob kyuryð dyn  
o: atallo<sup>4</sup> amobyr kymeint uyd amobyr y uerch  
æ ebedið ehun . . . . .

**A**mobyr merch penkerd æ ebedið ehun o: a eftynho  
fo. 68a. arglðyd penkeirdaeth idað. chweugeint. Pob  
kerdað: arafl ony ureintyffit y dylyet ehun Na thref<sup>5</sup>  
tadaðe uo Nae afftut y uetty y \* tal amobyr y uerch æ  
ebedið e<sup>6</sup> hun. Pob penkerdað: o: a eftynho arglðyd  
penkeirdyaeth yr arglðyd bieu keiffað offer idað Nyt amgen  
telyn y un. Crðth y arafl. Piben<sup>7</sup> yr trydyd. æ ynteu pan  
uðynt uarð adlyant eu hadað yr arglðyd. Pob penkerd  
telyn adly y gan y kerdozyon ieueme auo b:th kerd telyn  
a mynu ymadað athelyn raðu abot yn eirchat. y penkerd

<sup>1</sup> This rubric ends l. 15, which begins teu amobyr.

<sup>2</sup> dylyet bychan. is written just below the end of l. 18 preceded by a colored bracket (see fo. 62a and note).

<sup>3</sup> This word begins line. The preceding line ends with m crossed out and expuncted.

<sup>4</sup> The lh of this word are ligatured.

<sup>5</sup> thref ends a line.

<sup>6</sup> e ends a line.

<sup>7</sup> Aneurin Owen (vol. ii, 18) reads pyben from A and apparently the plural form here. It is often impossible to distinguish between n and u in these MSS.



adyly pedeir arugeint ida6. ac a' del o bob douot nae  
oerchi nae o gyuar6s neitha6: Rann deu 6: Nae ef  
auo nny He Nae ef ny bo ageiff os gouyn. Sef y6  
kyfar6s neitha6:, pedeir arugeint. \* o: neitha6: auo y fo. 68b.  
wreic. ahyunny yr beird. ar penkerd adyly y waffan-  
aeth ual g6: medanhus arnadunt. Rei adyweit pan y6 dyn  
amdiuenedic y6 kyuarch kiffitt. Ereiff adyweit pan y6  
Hhad derwen yn aghyuarch ar tref tada6c. Ereiff adyweit  
pan y6 h6n y6 kyuarch kiffil yn ia6n pan uo y gar yn  
negyd yr Hhourud oe rann o: alanas. ac yn gouyn mae y  
kyff y gwheheneis. i Athi. yna y mae reit yr Hhourud menegi  
idaw y kyff. ac mal ymae ygerenhyd ac ef. herwyd  
ydywedaffam uhot ac ygyt ahyunny bod ygyt garant  
a uo diga6n ycad6 bot yn wir adyweit y Hhourud Sef  
achos y byd ygyt garant yny He honno yn hen \* fo. 69a.  
euydyeit Cany dily yr eftronyon Na d6yn y gerenhyd Nae  
wahanu a hi.

tat=bza6t=kefynder6=kefeder6=keifyn=g6rcheifyn=g6rcha6

»Hha6frud

mam=bza6t=keuynder6=kyferder6=keifyn=g6rcheifyn=g6rcha6<sup>2</sup>


**O**deruyd y dyn Hhad arafl yg kynff6yn Neu tr6y  
uurd6rn. Galauas deu<sup>3</sup> dyblyc atal. Canyf fyrnic  
y6 ac ynteu yn encit uaden am yneiff alanas ar Hhafl ar y  
genedyl ac dihenyd ynteu yn ewyffis yr argl6yd Nae lad

<sup>1</sup> a is end of a line.

<sup>2</sup> Each of the above names is enclosed in a circle, connected with one another by double lines as printed. The whole figure is in black and red. In the circle which contains the word mam the scribe also wrote mam, which he crossed out and expuncted. The circumference of the circle containing Hha6frud touches that of those containing bza6t.

<sup>3</sup> This word ends a line.

Nae lofgi. Nae grogi anyuho. Os gwadu awna rodet  
 wat llad kelein yn deudyblyc. Sef y6 hynny. H6 [chue  
 fo. 69b. chant wr].<sup>1</sup> Od'uyd y dnyyon \* weimbyna6 ereill.  
 Dewiffet yr argl6yd ae eu dehol ae eu dihenydu. Of  
 gwadant rodent H6 ch(we) [chant wr].<sup>1</sup>

 d'uyd ydyn holi peth y araff achilya6 o hona6 o2  
 maes abot yu weff ganta6 tewi no holi. y k'. a at  
 ida6<sup>2</sup> tewi Canyf yny dewis ymae ae holi ae na holo. ket  
 galwo yr amdiffyn62 am ura6t. ae o achos yuot yn  
 kilya6<sup>3</sup> y diarnu o2 da. Eiffoes Ny wyl y k'. uot yn  
 ia6n y diarnu ef o2 cidya6 Nae oe ha6l. Namyn can  
 g6:thodes yr oet yuot heb un oet ida6 o2 maes. Os ef  
 aderyd ida6 rodi mach ar auarnho. k'. ae eifted yny pleit  
 adechreu holi agwaranda6 atdeb. ae gwedy hynny oet 6:th  
 fo. 70a. y bo:th adywedut y dylyu Canyf yny dewif \* yd 6yf.  
 ae yna dywedut o2 amdiffyn62. ket ryffo yth dewis  
 nyt ydi6. Cany chygein gwarthal gan dewif. ae neur  
 dewisseifi holi. ae 6:th hynny mi a dodaf ar. y k'. na  
 dyly y di gilya6. ae sef awyl y k'. yna. Nat oef ammot  
 ida6. Namyn g6neuthur. k'. dilufe. ae os yr ha6l62 ada6  
 yr maef doter croes racda6 nat el. ae o da: Galwet yr  
 amdiffyn62 am ura6t. ae yna sef awyl y k'. yuot ef  
 heb ha6l yu oes yr argl6yd h6nn6 a<sup>4</sup> their bu canl6:6  
 yr brenhin aherwyd ereill yn deudyblyc. Mo:6yn wreic  
 aelwir un arodher y 62. ahithen yn uo:6yn a heb gyfgu genti  
 o dadeuei d6yn treis arnei. Rei adyweit na dylycowyff.  
 fo. 70b. Ereill ady \* weit y dyly Canys y k'. adyweit P6ybynhac

<sup>1</sup> These words have been rubbed out. Letters in round brackets are still traceable.

<sup>2</sup> ida6 is repeated, but deleted and expuncted.

<sup>3</sup> Some words have been rubbed out after kilya6 perhaps a mym, cf. n. 49, in Au. Owen's *Anc. Laws*, vol. ii, p. 23.

<sup>4</sup> Ends line.

ato:ho mo:gynda6t dylu o hona6 talu idi y chowytt. P6ybynhac aueichoco g6reic o l6yn apherth. Namyn yny angho Ny o:uyd erni y ueithrin mis y caueu. Sef achos y6 Cany chauas hi gryn y g6: Ny wyl y k'. dylu o honi hitheu not yn eiffywedie oe achos ef . . . . .

**R**Ei adyweit nat mach mach<sup>1</sup> gwreic. k<sup>2</sup>. adyweit pan y6 mach mach arodho g6reic. kynny atter mach o wreic. Pan watto gwreic uach. Sef ae gwatta g6: ygyt ahi. Canys g6: awatta. Pa dyn bynhac y bo ha6l arna6 agomed o hona6 heb dyuot y wneuthur ia6n am y ha6l y bob dadleu \* y bo gomededic of o hona6. fo. 71a. caml6:6 atal. Od<sup>3</sup>uyd y dyuot ynteu yr dadleu. ac ada6 o hona6 yn aghyfreitha6l y dadleu. agal6 o: ha6l6: am<sup>2</sup> ura6t o k'. y gyllauan adoeth ha6l ymdeni y barnu awneir yr ha6l6:. achaml6:6 yr argl6yd. ar amdiffyn6:<sup>3</sup> am ada6 ymaes o hona6 yn aghyureitha6l yn oes yr argl6yd bieffo y maes y dyd h6nn6 na chaffo ia6n ymdana6. Oderuyd ida6 ynteu dyuot yr maes<sup>4</sup> y diodef ha6l ac atteb o hona6 a barnu o: k'. ida6 yuot yn cottedic. honno agyft yn dragywyda6l. **P**6ybynhac adel y dadylua yr argl6yd a ha6l arna6. a dechreu y holi. Os ygyngho: yd<sup>5</sup> a kyn roddi atteb cottedic<sup>6</sup> uyd. yr am \* diffyn6: adyly tyftu Na wad6ys ac am fo. 71b. hynny ydyweit y k'. adefredu. . .

<sup>1</sup> About two letters of another word, or part of a word, have been rubbed out at this point.

<sup>2</sup> Am is followed by u expuncted at end of line.

<sup>3</sup> This word is divided between two lines thus, amdiffy and n6:.

<sup>4</sup> The scribe first wrote meles and then crossed out el and wrote a just above.

<sup>5</sup> Yd commences a line.

<sup>6</sup> Colledic is above line with sign of omission.

**O**deruyd y dyn yn dydyeu dedon holi Na chotti na  
 chaffel ny byd yr hynny Ony byd o dodi cotti  
 caffel yndunt ac os hynny adodir yndunt C6byl a' coltir  
 ac yuetty am tir adayar ynyr amferoed ydylyir eu  
 cathau. . . . .

**V**al hyn yd eistedir yn dadylua yr argl6yd y dyd  
 y bo goffodedic. k'.<sup>2</sup> Eisted o: argl6yd ae genen  
 ar heul Neu ar gwynt nal na bo edrychyn oe 6yneb ae deu  
 heneuyd o bob tu ida6 ae wyrda yny gyleh. ar ygnat  
 tlys rac y deu lin. ae ygnat y kym6t o: neitt tu<sup>3</sup> ida6.  
 ar effeirat o: tu aratt ida6. a heol gyuar6yneb ae<sup>4</sup> ef.  
 yuynet yr ura6t le ac ydyuot. ad6y pleit o bob tu<sup>5</sup> yr  
 fo. 72a. fo:rd ar deu gyngha6s yn neffaf \* yr fo:rd o bob tu idi  
 a deu perchenna6c ha6l yny perued. ar d6y gantha6  
 yn neffaf udunt. Pleit yr amdifffyn6: ae eu tha6 deheu ar  
 y fo:rd. a phleit yr ha6l6: ae tha6 affeu ar y fo:rd. ar deu  
 righyll yn feuytt ger bron ydeu gygha6s. .

**A**C yna ymae yr ha6l6: gouyn p6y y gyngha6s. P6y  
 y gantha6. ae yna gouynher ida6 a dyt ef cotti  
 Neu caffel yn eu penn h6y. ae yna dywedet ynteu y dodi.  
 ae o dyna Gouynher yr amdifffyn6: adyt ynteu ym  
 penn y pleit auo y<sup>6</sup> gyt ae ef. ae yna ymae ia6n  
 ida6 ynteu adef y dodi. ae ymae ia6n kymryt bot yn  
 cotti caffel yr hyn dywedaffam ni uehot. a honno aelwir  
 yn tyttwed. ae o dyna kyngha6ffed ae o dyna kymeret

<sup>1</sup> a ends line.

<sup>2</sup> k'. ends line, but with additional stop, a kind of inverted comma.


<sup>3</sup> tu begins line.

<sup>4</sup> ae [*sic*] in my transcript.

<sup>5</sup> tu begins line.

<sup>6</sup> y ends line.

yr ygnat y dōy gynghaōffed ac eu dateanu ar gynhoed<sup>1</sup>  
 kyn kyehwynu oe le \* ac gwedy hynny aent yneu fo. 72b.  
 braōt le. yr ygneit ar effeirat y gyt ac wynt wrthwediaō.  
 a righyft ōth cadōy pl(af) a barnet y uraōt. ac gwedy  
 yf barnho dyuot y myōn. achyn y dateanu kymeret  
 dyffwed y mach ary ober. ac gwedy hynny dateanet  
 y uraōt. ac yr neb y barnher yr haōl Bit dilis idaō.

 d'uyd y dyn roddi aryant Neu yfgrybyl at araff.  
 ac o: da hōnnō kyfneityaō ac elwa o: neb y doeth  
 attaō. a<sup>2</sup> cheiffaō o: neb bieffo yda rann o: elō. Ny  
 dyweit y k'. y dylu o honaō Onyt ammot ac dōc idaō.  
 ac am hynny y dyweit y k'. Nae a fōftt gan diebryt  
 a honno aelwir yr haōl diuōyn E(ith)yr<sup>3</sup> hyn arodes at y  
 ffaff. O d'uyd y dyn dyuot yn trōydet y ty dyn (araff)<sup>4</sup>  
 \* ac yfgrybyl gantaō Neu da araff. panel<sup>5</sup> y ymdeith fo. 73a.  
 nydyly mynet gantaō Nae epil Na theil Na chludeir Na  
 neb dedef o dim Namyn kymeint ac adoeth gantaō  
 Onyt ammot ac dōc idaō. ac am hynny y dywedir  
 Trech ammot no gwir. O d'uyd dōyn hōch y gan dyn  
 yn llediat. a mēithrin epil o honi gan y dyn [hōn]

<sup>1</sup> Gynhoed [*sic*] in my transcript. Aneurin Owen, vol. ii, 40, reads kyhoed, apparently from MS. G. I notice, however, that he pays little attention to marks of contraction of this kind in his Welsh texts, cf. e.g., *supra* at end of fo. 71a, the words *gygughor* which he prints, quoting from this MS., *gygghor*, vol. ii, 26. The mark of contraction here, however, may only have been intended to represent a dotted y, which would be exceptional in this MS.

<sup>2</sup> a ends line.

<sup>3</sup> E(ith) ends line.

<sup>4</sup> In the right-hand corner of lower margin are the catch words ac yf in an oblong figure, slightly ornamented.

<sup>5</sup> el ends line.

(n6).<sup>1</sup> ac gŷbot oꝝ perchennaŷe (y ffe)<sup>2</sup> yd oed acheiffaŷ  
 a hi ae hepil. N(y dyly)<sup>2</sup> o k'. Namyn hi ehun o  
 byd ar gar(n). ac ony byd Bit heb dim. Can dywe(it  
 y k'.)<sup>2</sup> yna na uudra ffinwyn. P(ŷybynh)ac aŷ:thotto  
 iaŷn o achos tebyg(u y uot)<sup>2</sup> yn arglŷyd ary haŷl  
 adylyu (holi pan)<sup>2</sup> uynho. Gatter idaŷ. ac oꝝ b(yd)  
 un dyd a<sup>3</sup> blŷydyn heb y haŷl. a heb ymhaŷl ymdanei.  
 fo. 73b. Bit hitheu yn haŷl dra blŷydyn. \* O hymny attan Ny  
 dylyir iaŷn ymdanei. Od<sup>ŷ</sup>uyd y dyn dŷyn adauel yn  
 aghyureithaŷl. atueret yr adauel dracheuyn ar haŷl  
 ual yd oed gynt. yna y dywedir Na dyly k'. Nyf gŷnel.  
 am yrhyn y gŷnaeth aghyfreith ymdanaŷ ef a atueruir'  
 dracheuyn. ar haŷl ual yd oed gynt. Od<sup>ŷ</sup>uyd y dyn  
 mynet yn uach. achyn teruynu yr haŷl y uynet yn  
 glauŷ: Neu yn uanach Neu yn diwyl Neu yny tebyeo  
 ef Na dylyo attep. y k'. adyweit dylyu ohonaŷ kywiraŷ  
 a adaŷffei tra uo byŷ. ac un oꝝ ffeod yŷ hŷn Ny dyly  
 maŷ yn ffe y dat. Sef achos nas dyly Canyt edewif dim  
 oe da idaŷ Ny dyly ynteu feuyff droftaŷ namyn yr eglŷys.  
 Od<sup>ŷ</sup>uyd y dyn holi kyn oet. Na chotti Na chaffel Ny  
 fo. 74a. deruyd yr hynny hyt yr oet. Od<sup>ŷ</sup>uyd dywedut \* o  
 uoꝝŷyn dŷyn treis arnei. ar gŷ: yn gwadu. adywedut  
 ohoni hitheu' Ony dugoft ti treis arnaf i. Moꝝwyn ŷyf  
 i etwa. ac fef auarn y k'. y hedŷych ac fef ae hedrych  
 yr edling. Od<sup>ŷ</sup>uyd idaŷ y chaffel yn wreic Ny digaŷn  
 ef gwadu. ac yna<sup>ŷ</sup> Talet y gŷ: adywaŷt hi arnaŷ

<sup>1</sup> [hŷn] ends line and is unreadable, (n6) is traceable, cf. vol. ii, p. 30, n. 21 of *Ancient Laws* for Anenrin Owen's method in cases of this kind. Cf. also *Ibid.*, n. 24, for same purpose.

<sup>2</sup> End of line and traceable.

<sup>3</sup> a ends line.

<sup>4</sup> uir begins line.

<sup>5</sup> After hitheu the scribe wrote dŷ, which he crossed out and expuncted.

<sup>6</sup> y ends a line, and na begins another.

ythreiffaḅ y chowytt̃ ae hḅynebwerth idi ae hamobyr yr arglḅyd. Os keiff̃ ynteu hi yn uoḅyn. Bit hitheu ar ureint̃ moḅwyn. ae na choŃlet y bḅeint̃ yr y hedrych. Od<sup>2</sup>uyd dḅyn treis ar uoḅwyn ae yny treis honno caffel o honi ueichogi<sup>1</sup> ae na ḅypo hi pḅy ytat. yr arglḅyd yn mynu ammobyrr. ahithen yn dywedut Na dyl̃yir idi. Canyf treis aduepḅyt arnei. ae Na dyl̃yir y un wreic y dyker treis arnei talu amobyrr. Sef ady \* wit y k'. yna fo. 74b. diffodi yr amobyrr yr arglḅyd Cany attḅys y chadḅ rae treis. ae ef yn dyl̃yir y chadḅ rae aghyfreith. ae o damheuir am y threiffaḅ. kymeret<sup>2</sup> y ttḅ uot yn wir adyweit. ae ar hynny credadḅy yḅ. maḅ y kyuryḅ wreic honno. Sef y bernir ḅ:th ureint̃ kenedyl y uam yny ḅypo pḅy uo y dat. O deruyd y ḅ: dywedut uot gḅreic yn ueichaḅe o honaḅ. ar wreic yn gwadu ar gḅ: yn adef. ar arglḅyd yn mynu<sup>3</sup> amobyrr. Talet y gḅ: yffyd yn adef Canyt oes wat drof waffaf. Od<sup>2</sup>uyd y dyn damdḅng peth a gwerth. k'. arnaḅ. a bot yn uḅy y damdḅng noe werth k'. yr yneit̃ adyl̃yant edrych ae cam y damdḅng. ae os cam gḅneler arnaḅ. k'. anudon. Sef yḅ hynny Naḅ ugeint̃ camlḅḅ. ar eglḅys yny ol. Od<sup>2</sup>uyd y dyn gyrru peth ar aratt̃ y creireu. ae ynteu \* yn ymdiheuraḅ. Hḅnnḅ fo. 75a. aelwir yn gyfreith anudon Cany eit̃ Na bo anudon y t̃eit̃ lḅ o honunt. Od<sup>2</sup>uyd y dyn gyrru braḅ ar aratt̃. ae o: braḅ hḅnnḅ cotti y eneit̃ o: dyn. Edrycher pa herwyd y gyrrḅyt y braḅ. ae herwyd y dyn a coffes y eneit̃. ae herwyd y braḅ. ae os herwyd y braḅ ayrrḅyt arnaḅ. Taler y alanas. ae os herwyd peth aratt̃ ygyrḅys Ny diwygir. Pḅybynhac adycco creireu yr dadleu. ae eu keiffaḅ o: pleit̃ aratt̃ oed yn erbyn y creireu adoeth gantaḅ ef. y k'. adyweit Na dyl̃yir hḅnnḅ y creireu

<sup>1</sup> The remainder of G is lost after this point.

<sup>2</sup> Aneurin Owen (ii, 31, n. 8) reads kymerer.

<sup>3</sup> A y is crossed out at this point.

yny dar ffo ydadleu ef. O hynny attan. kyffredin uyd  
 y creireu y pa6b. Nyt reit y dadleu ag6ynher y mynwent  
 ac egl6ys keiffa6 creireu. Canys plas y creireu y6.  
 Od<sup>o</sup>nyd bot. k'. ydadleu. ac na bo creireu yny maes.  
 fo. 75b. Sef adywedir Na dylvir \* oet y geiffa6 y creireu  
 onyt hyt tra eatwo yr ygnat y ura6t le. a hynny ar  
 ewyffis yr ygnat. Od<sup>o</sup>nyd y ygnat barnu cam ac amheu  
 ymdanei. ac na chynikyker g6yftyl yny erbyn kyn kyuodi  
 oe ura6t le. Onyf myn Ny dily y gymryt gwedy  
 hynny. . . .

**T**Ri chadarn byt. argl6yd. adrut. a didim. Sef achos  
 y6. Mal maen dros iaen y6 argl6yd. Sef y6 drut.  
 dyn ynuyt. ac ynuyt ny effir kymheff dim arna6 Namyn  
 y ewyffis. Dyn didim. Sef y6 h6nn6 dyn heb da ida6.  
 ac 6rth hynny Ny effir kymheff da the ny bo. Od<sup>o</sup>nyd  
 y wreic dywedut ar 6r na atto bot<sup>1</sup> genti. ac o hynny  
 keiffa6 yfgar ac ef. Ja6n y6 proui aegwir adyweit.  
 Sef ual y prouir. Tanu ffenthein wem newyd olchi  
 adanunt. a mynet y g6r y uot genti ar warthaf honno.  
 fo. 76a. a \* phan del ewyffis y eff6ng ar y ffenthein. ac os geiff  
 diga6n y6 hynny Ony eiff ynteu hi adiga6n yfgar ac ef.  
 heb cotfi dim o: eida6.

**T**Ri argay gwaet. Gwaet hyt ran. Gwaet hyt k6ff.  
 Gwaet hyt la6r. Or deu ny dylvir dim. o: beuir<sup>2</sup>  
 diu6yn ymdanunt. Or trydyd ot entfibir Ef adylyir am  
 waet ledu tir yr argl6yd ohona6. ac o ch6ynir ef  
 adylyir ia6n am bob un ohonunt ac fef adylyir am bob un  
 dir6y yr argl6yd. adiu6yn y waet yr neb ry caffo. Neu

<sup>1</sup> bot repeated and crossed out and expuncted.

<sup>2</sup> The 2 was at first omitted and afterwards placed above the e  
 and n with mark of omission. MS. D reads, according to Aneurin  
 Owen (ii, 40), y bydir dig6yn



y diwat herwyd y kyfreith. Cad6 coet adylyir O byl ieuau yd<sup>1</sup> a y moch yr coet hyt ym penn chw(e)chuet dyd gwedy y kalan. ac yn hynny<sup>2</sup> o amfer y dylyir Had meffo<sup>3</sup>byr.<sup>23</sup> Ot ymda deu dyn tr6y coet<sup>2</sup> a mynet g6ryfgen gan yblaenhaf<sup>4</sup> ar yr ollhaf. achoffi ylygat<sup>2</sup> Ef a dyly talu y lygat ida6.<sup>5</sup> . . . . \*

fo. 76b.

Hyn Ny dylyir credu eu tyftolaeth.<sup>6</sup>

**K**aeth. Mut. Bydar. Ynuyt canh6yna6l. Neu rutbra6c. Neu a<sup>7</sup> uo ieu no phedeir bl6yd ardec. Hael<sup>8</sup> byr Houya6c a treulho<sup>9</sup> y hoſt da. a tygho anudon kyhoeda6c. a to:ho priodas yn gyhoeda6c. Brad6: . Neu alado y dat. a lyero Ja6n uath. Neu awnel cam uath. a dycco da egl6yffic. Neu da aratt o egl6ys. a gam uarnho gan y bybot. agytyo a g6: aratt Neu ac anyueil aratt. a dycco cam tyftoſtaeth gan y bybot. .

Yma y ter uynha coſff. k'. ar damweineu ygyt.  
Mal y ca6ffam ni o:eu<sup>10</sup> . . . . .

<sup>1</sup> yd ends line.

<sup>2</sup> A hole in MS. separates this word from the next.

<sup>3</sup> *Sic* in my transcript, Aneurin Owen says messoby, vol. ii, p. 41, n. 20. He certainly makes this mistake in vol. i, p. 142, § 13, where he reads by for the 6y of V 39a, 17.

<sup>4</sup> A hole in MS. divides this word into ybla and enhaf

<sup>5</sup> From dyly to ida6 is placed after colored bracket beneath l. 18, and the hole in MS. divides the first stop from those which follow.

<sup>6</sup> The eth of this word ends the first line.

<sup>7</sup> a ends line.

<sup>8</sup> Hael ends line.

<sup>9</sup> The lh are ligatured.

<sup>10</sup> This page, fo. 76b, contains 11 lines excluding the rubrics. The first rubric fills a line with the last three letters as the ending of l. 1. The second rubric is divided into three lines, the first being l. 12, and the other, really half-lines, being placed to the right of a large hole in the MS.

TENTATIVE ENGLISH TRANSLATION OF PENIARTH 37,  
FO. 61a-76b.

[*This translation is based on that of Aneurin Owen, vol. ii, pp. 2-46.*]

Hitherto we have treated of the laws of a court and the laws of the gwlad. Henceforth of casualties.

Every injury which a person does unwittingly, let him redress wittingly. If idiots kill other persons, let galanas be paid on their behalf like sane persons, because kindred ought to keep them from doing wrong. What sane person soever shall kill an idiot, let him pay galanas like the galanas of a sane person. No compensation is to be made for saraad which shall be received from an idiot, and no compensation is to be made for saraad which he shall receive. Nothing is binding which a drunken person does, neither a surety which he shall give in his drunkenness nor any other pledge (fyd) which he shall promise. If a person becomes rabid fo. 61b. and bites another person with his teeth and death ensues to the person from that bite, the madman's kindred does not compensate for him because from the nature of the disorder did the other lose his life. A dumb person—no saraad is to be paid nor answer given by another person to him because he himself does not speak respecting his claim; unless a lord shall have pity on him and appoint a person who shall speak on his behalf. Deaf and blind—nothing which they shall say in suits is to be received because of them the one saw not and the other heard not; therefore nothing which they shall say, is to be received. As for every other defect, if they be perfect as to their

ears and their tongues and their eyes, their deposition is to be received. Persons of an alien tongue who are not understood as to what they shall say and who themselves understand not what shall be said to them their deposition is not to be received, unless a lord shall have pity on them. fo. 62a. Testimony is possible as to a word and an act, and is not possible as to a thought.

No rabid animal compensates for the injury it does. No animal compensates for their mutual encounter; and the mutual encounter of animals is—a stallion which shall kill another; a bull does not compensate for another; nor a boar for his fellow; nor a ram; nor a cock; nor a gander; nor a buck. If they kill other animals, they are to be paid for. If a person spreads a net on sea or on land and there come either geese or other animals and they be injured because of the net and the net be injured by the animals, neither of them compensates the other. If an ox or another animal goes into a net and injures the net, and the animal escapes, it is right to make compensation. because it is fo. 62b. lawful to spread the net. If there be chattels owing to a person and there be a time granted him for those chattels, and before the time fixed the debtor obtain the chattels and offer them to him, the law states that they ought not to be refused because the time was not granted except for the purpose of obtaining the chattels. Whoever shall have a time allowed him, is owner of the time, and let him do as he shall will, either wait until the time or pay before the time. What animal soever shall kill a boneddig and the kindred seek to impose galanas on his account, they are not entitled although it be acknowledged; and the reason for this is because one person should not pay galanas and a kindred should not pay for the act of an animal of their kinsman; and therefore this is the one

case wherein the murderer is to be paid for instead of his act. Whoever shall owe chattels to another and shall seek  
 fo. 63a. to pay immoveable chattels for the debt, there is no obligation to accept immoveable chattels either in payment or as a pledge unless it happens that there are no other chattels in his possession. Immoveable chattels are chattels which cannot be removed in the way one wills. If a person goes to hunt and begins to loose his dogs on a wild animal, whatever animal it may be, and stray dogs come up and kill it; the dogs who first pursued it are to have it unless the stray dogs be those of the lord; and the extent to which the first huntsman has a claim on the animal is until he shall turn his face towards home with his back on the hunt; although his dogs continue the chase, he himself having quitted the dogs, he is to have nothing of it, although the stray dogs shall kill it; only the person  
 fo. 63b. who shall own the unwearied dogs. If a traveller from the road sees a wild animal and cast at it with a stone or an arrow and effectually, it is lawful for him to pursue it until he shall overtake it, and it is not lawful for him to shoot nor to pursue unless he is able to do so from the road. If a person hunt for fish and he start them and pursue, and as a result of his pursuit, the fish go into the net of another; by the law the first who started them is to have possession. If persons make an agreement concerning fish in hunting for them and one say, "The first fish which shall be killed are mine"; and the other say, "The last fish which shall be killed are mine"; and there shall be killed only one fish: law says that where there is no equality there must be a sharing of equal parts. If persons hunt for fish and whilst hunting persons come  
 fo. 64a. whilst they are being killed and demand a share of the fish, they are entitled unless they shall have been put on withes [dyn for huden of MS. A] or on hooks; if so, they

are to have nothing. There are three supreme seats of a kingly kind:<sup>1</sup> the supreme seat of a lord, and the supreme seat of a bishop and the supreme seat of an abbot; each of them is to hold his supreme seat independently of the others. If the man of a lord does wrong before the supreme seat of a bishop, let him not depart thence without making satisfaction; and likewise a bishop's man before the supreme seat of a lord; and in like manner, an abbot's man before other supreme seats. When the bishop shall die, his chattels belong to the lord, except the vestment of the church and its books and its land; the reason it should be so is that every chattel which shall be without an owner is a "king's waste"; as for an abbot however, a lord is to have nought save his ebediw; when the abbot fo. 64b. shall die, his chattels go to the community (clas) and its canons. Every dispute which shall be among themselves, is to be decided by judges from the community (clas). Every dispute which shall be between an abbot and a lord, is to be decided by the lord's judges together with them. If there be two lords and each has an army in the gwlad and a person come to solicit investiture of land, their grant is no grant and their investiture no investiture until it shall be known which of them is lord of the gwlad. If an uchelwr place his son with an aillt to be fostered with consent of lord and he remain there a year or two or three; when the aillt shall die, unless he has children, what he leaves behind is to come into the foster son's possession; and if he has children, the foster son is to have the share fo. 65a. of one of them. If a Cymric woman be given in marriage

<sup>1</sup> Aneurin Owen gives breynyauc as the reading of A and E; brenhina6l as that of D and Q; and breinha6l as that of F, G, K, U. The reading of U however is breninha6l, and as he generally disregards marks of contraction in the Welsh texts, one may surmise that this last is the reading of F, G, K as well.

to an alltud, a son of hers is to have a brother's share of the father's trev; and such is not entitled to a share of the principal homestead; nor is he entitled to office till the third descent, he and his son and his grandson; henceforward, let him receive his right of office and of the privileged homestead unless the alltud be an Irish or Saxon prince (*gyholaeth*)<sup>1</sup> who is immediately entitled to office and to a share of the privileged homestead: and therefrom is paid cattle without suretyship; cattle without suretyship signifies the share of the alltud father, because he has no kindred in the same gwlad as himself, and those cattle are not shared till the seventh descent like other galanas but fo. 65b. to the second cousin. If a person give a thing [*read peth for p6yth*] on loan to another and it be not demanded on the morrow, he is not to demand it until the end of a year and a day and then let him take a pledge as for other due.

#### Ebediws.

**E**bediw of a maer canghellor; a pound. Ebediw of a maer; six score pence. Ebediw of a canghellor; six score pence. Ebediw of an aillt, if there be a church on his land; six score pence: otherwise, three score pence. Ebediw of an alltud; twenty four pence. No ebediw is to be paid for increasing land (*tir kynnif*). If a person part with his land in his lifetime and he die after that, ebediw is not payable for his land but only for his chattels; if there be no chattels, the ebediw will be extinct; or if he has chat- fo. 66a. tels, the son is to pay his father's ebediw. Every officer in the court—six score pence is his ebediw except the chief ones of the court, to wit, the steward, chief groom, chief

<sup>1</sup> "A chief not an edling nor head of a family" (Owen, vol. ii, 1117). It apparently signifies one of the offspring of a *brenhin* or *teyrn*, excluding the edling; a prince as opposed to a crown-prince so to speak.

falconer, chief huntsman, page of the chamber; a pound is the ebediw of each of them. An innate boneddig and an uchelwr and a cyvarwys man (kyuarfa6c)<sup>1</sup> are to pay ebediw although they may have no land in their possession; they are to pay according to the privilege of the land whereon they were born. If a man has two lords and hold land under each of them, he is to pay ebediw for each of them. If a man holds two lands under one lord, he is to pay ebediw for the one of greater privilege. If an alltud traveller fall ill on a road and die, on whatever land he shall die, twenty four pence is to be paid for his ebediw; fo. 66b. and his chattels for that to the lord; if it be a female, sixteen pence. The amobrys of the daughters of the men whom we mentioned above, are of the same amount as the ebediws of their fathers. A woman never pays more than one amobyr, and that she pays according to the privilege of the land she was born on, and no one is to pay for her, only she herself; unless her father or her brothers or her kindred give her without taking surety for her amobyr, the givers are to pay since they took no surety for it. The reason a woman pays amobyr once only is because she continues according to the privilege of the lord of that land and not according to the privilege of her kindred but according to the privilege of the man to whom she goes. fo. 67a. For three causes is amobyr paid: one of them is for gift and investiture before there shall be connexion; the second is for notorious connexion before there be gift and investiture; the third is, for pregnancy. Three daughters who owe no amobyr: the daughter of an edling and the daughter of a lord and the daughter of a chief of household; the reason they owe not is because their fathers owe

<sup>1</sup> A reads kanarussaue (vol. ii, 14); Seebohm's *Tribal System in Wales*, p. 66, etc.

no ebediw except their steeds and their greyhounds and their hawks and their arms. The daughter of a lord owes no amobyр because there is no one to ask for it; and he is not entitled to the amobyр of his own daughter.

Of a Prince.

**N**o prince owes an ebediw; the reason is because of his large due whereby he is free from every small due, fo. 67b. unless it happens that he takes land and assumes the status of an uchelwr; however bond his land may be, it becomes as free as the land of an uchelwr; and thenceforward he also pays amobyр and ebediw like an uchelwr pays; previous to that he did not pay save as an edling pays.

**T**he amobyр of a chief of kindred's daughter; a pound. Every such person who shall pay amobyр, the amobyр of his daughter shall be of the same amount as his own ebediw.

**T**he amobyр of a chief minstrel's daughter and his own ebediw when a lord shall invest him with the office of a chief minstrel; six score pence. Every other minstrel unless he shall have been privileged [according to] his own due whether he be a proprietor (na thref tada6e) or an alltud; fo. 68a. in like manner he pays his daughter's amobyр and his own ebediw. Every chief minstrel whom a lord shall invest with the office of a chief minstrel—the lord is to procure for him an instrument, to wit, a harp for one, a croud for another, a pipe for the third; and when they shall die, they are to leave them to the lord. Every chief harper is entitled from the young minstrels learning to play the harp and who will to leave off the hair strung harp and to become competitors (yn circhat)—the chief harper is entitled to twenty four pence, and he receives if demanded the share of two men from what comes from every gratuity either



as a boon or a nuptial gift, whether he be present or not so. A nuptial gift is twenty four pence, if the woman be a bride fo. 68b. [for the first time] and that to the bards; and the chief minstrel is entitled to their service as one in authority over them. Some say that "inquiry as to a stock" relates to a person divested of everything; others say that it relates to an oak cut down without permission on a patrimony; others say that the right meaning of inquiry as to a stock is this, when the kinsmen shall refuse the murderer his share of the galanas and shall ask, "Whence the stock; I am related to thee?"; then it is necessary for the murderer to explain to him the stock and how he is kin to him, in the mode we mentioned above; and together with that, that he has co-relatives enough to maintain the truth of what the murderer states; the reason that his co-relatives in that case are elders is because strangers are not to connect a fo. 69a. person with his kindred nor to separate him therefrom.

Father=	Brother=	1 <sup>st</sup> cousin=	2 <sup>nd</sup> cousin=	3 <sup>rd</sup> cousin=	4 <sup>th</sup> cousin=	5 <sup>th</sup> cousin
»		Murderer				
Mother=	Brother=	1 <sup>st</sup> cousin=	2 <sup>nd</sup> cousin=	3 <sup>rd</sup> cousin=	4 <sup>th</sup> cousin=	5 <sup>th</sup> cousin

**I**f a person kill another by waylaying or by murderous assault, he pays a double galanas as it is a ferocious act; and he is put to death in lieu of one galanas and the other on the kindred; and he is to be executed according to the lord's will whether he shall will slaying or burning or hanging; if he deny let him give a twofold denial for murder, to wit, the oaths [of six hundred men]. If persons poison others, let the lord choose whether to banish them fo. 69b. or to put them to death. If they deny, let them give the oaths of six [hundred men].

**I**f a person claims a thing from another and draws back therefrom on the field [of trial] and prefers being

silent to making the claim, the law allows him to be silent because it is at his option whether to proceed with his claim or not to proceed; although the defendant may call for a decision and on the ground of his drawing back, a decision against him as to the chattels, yet the law does not deem it right to decide against him as to the possessions or his claim, but because he refused the time fixed, that he is without a fixed time on the field. If it happens that he gave surety to abide by what the law should determine, and sit with his party and commence pleading and hear a reply and after that [seek] time

fo. 70a. for aid and say, "I am entitled as I have my option", and then the defendant should say, "Although it might have been at thy option it is no longer so, since a settled thing accords not with choice; and hast thou not chosen to plead? and therefore I appeal to the law that thou shouldest not retract", the law there perceives that he has no resource but to have the law administered promptly; and if the plaintiff be quitting the field let a cross be set up before him that he does not go; and if he goes, let the defendant call for a decision and then the law provides that he is barred from proceeding with his claim during the time of that lord; and three kine camlwrw to the king and according to others, twice that. A virgin wife is the name given to one who is betrothed to a husband and she remaining a virgin and not slept with; if a rape be acknowledged on her, some say she is not entitled

fo. 70b. to cowyll. Others say she is entitled because the law says that whoever shall violate virginity should pay to her, her cowyll. Whoever shall cause the pregnancy of a woman of bush and brake, until she shall have given birth<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Prof. Rhŷs, in reply to my request as to this and another passage (see next note), kindly sent me the following translation of *namyn yny augho*—"until she shall have given birth, until she have been delivered".

it is not incumbent on her to nurse the offspring during [other MSS. read longer than] the swaddling month, because since she has not had the support of the man, the law does not consider that she should be in want on his account.

**S**ome say that the surety of a woman is no surety; the law says that the surety which a woman shall give is a surety although no woman can be a surety herself. When a woman shall deny a surety, a man denies it with her, for it is a man who denies. Any person against whom there is a claim and who refuses and fails to come to do right in regard to such a claim pays *camlwrw* to every fo. 71a. court which he shall have refused to come to. If he shall come to the court and withdraw from the court unlawfully, and the plaintiff call for the law's decision, the cause for which the claim arose is to be awarded to the plaintiff; and *camlwrw* to the lord; and the defendant for leaving the field unlawfully is to receive no redress therefor during the time of the lord who shall own the field on that day. If he come to the field to suffer pleading and reply and the law decide that he has lost, he loses that suit for ever. **W**hoever appears in the court of the lord in a cause and begins to be questioned; if he takes counsel before giving a reply, he is to be condemned; the defendant is to testify he did not deny and on that fo. 71b. account the law states it is acknowledged.

**I**f a person sue during the blank days, he does not on that account either lose or gain; unless the issue of loss or gain be so stipulated; and if it be so stipulated, the whole is lost; and in like manner as to land and soil in the times when the courts are to be shut.

**T**he following is the legal form of sitting in the lord's court on the day appointed for law: the lord is to sit with his back to the sun or to the wind so that the brunt of the weather may not be on his face, having his two elders one on each side of him and his nobles around him, and the judge of the court in front of his knees, and the judge of the commote on one side of him and the priest on the other side, and a passage fronting him for him to go and come to his judgment seat; and two parties on each side of the way with the two pleaders nearest to the way on either side thereof, and the two suitors in the cause in the middle and the two guiders next to them; the defendant's party with their right hand towards the way and the plaintiff's party with their left hand towards the way; and the two apparitors standing before (*gen bron*) the two pleaders.

fo. 72a.

**T**hen the plaintiff is to ask, "Who is thy pleader? who is thy guider?" and then let him be asked whether he will abide loss or gain at their hands, and then let him say he will; and then let the defendant be asked whether he also will abide [loss or gain] at the hands of the party which shall be with him, and then it is right for him to promise that he will; and it is right to take security that they abide loss or gain in respect to what we have mentioned above; and that is called a compact; and then the pleadings. And then let the judge take the two pleadings and recapitulate them publicly before moving from his place, and after that let them go to their judgment seat, the judges and the priest with them praying and an apparitor keeping his place, and let him adjudge the sentence; and after he shall adjudge it, he is to come in, and before pronouncing it, let him take the security of the surety for his fee; and after

fo. 72b.

that let him pronounce sentence ; and to the one in whose favour the case shall be decided it remains established.

**I**f a person give money or an animal to another and the receiver barter with such chattels and gain thereby and he who owns the chattels shall demand a share of the gain, the law does not say that he is entitled to it unless an agreement assign it to him ; and therefore the law says that money (i6ftt) is not to be stationary, and that is called the fruitless claim [for he receives] only what he gave to the other. If a person comes to stay a while at another's house, having an animal with him or other chattels: fo. 73a. when he departs, he is not to take with him the offspring or dung or crop nor [has he] any right as regards anything,<sup>1</sup> only what he brought with him, unless an agreement assign it to him ; and therefore it is said, An agreement is stronger than justice. If a sow is taken away stealthily by a person and she rear offspring with that person, and the owner know where she was and should demand both her and her offspring, he is not entitled by law save to her alone if she be in existence; and if she be not, he is to have nothing, for the law says then, A flood will not render muddy [in its course more than is taken by it]. Whoever shall refuse right from supposing that he is paramount in his claim and that he is entitled to claim when he will, let him be ; and if he neglects his claim for a day and a year and does not proceed with it, it becomes a claim beyond the year ; thenceforward there is fo. 73b. to be no justice as to it. If a person illegally take a distress, let the distress be returned and the cause remain

<sup>1</sup> Na neb dedef o dim. According to *Ancient Laws*, ii, 30, n. 9, dotrefnyn is the reading of D and F, dedyf of G and U, dyuot of K, and diod6f of Q. Prof. Rhÿs writes, "(?) 'nor any right as regards anything'. but I should think it more likely there was a mistake of some kind here ; but dodrefnyn does not look very probable either."

as before; in such a case it is said that he is not entitled to law who does not conform to it; that which he did illegally is made good and the cause is as it was before. If a person become a surety, and before the termination of the suit become a leper or a monk or blind or should suppose that he is not to answer, the law says that he is to make good what he promised while he lives; and this is one of the places where a son is not to stand in lieu of his father; the reason is because he has left none of his chattels to him, therefore he is not to stand for him except to [or it be] the church. If a person sue before the time appointed for loss or gain, it will not thereby avail him

fo. 74a. until the time. If a virgin declare that she has been raped and the man deny and she then say, "If thou didst not commit a rape upon me, I am still a virgin", the law then adjudges her to be examined and that by the edling. If he find her become a woman, the accused cannot deny, and then let the man whom she charges with having violated her pay her cowyll and her wynebwerth to her and her amobyrr to the lord. If he find her to be a virgin let her retain the status of a virgin and let her not lose her privilege, her examination notwithstanding. If a rape be committed on a virgin and she become pregnant in consequence and she know not who the father may be and the lord demand amobyrr and she say that she ought not to pay it because a rape was committed on her and no woman

fo. 74b. who is raped is to pay amobyrr; the law says in that case the amobyrr to the lord is extinguished since he was unable to preserve her against rape and he bound to preserve her against injustice; and although she be doubted as to her having been violated, let her make an oath that what she says is true and after that she is to be believed. The son of such a woman is adjudged to take the status of his mother's kindred until she shall know who his father may

be. If a man assert that a woman is pregnant by him and the woman deny it and the man confess it and the lord demand amobyr, let the man pay who confesses it, for there is no denial against a gwaesav. If a person appraise a thing which has a legal worth, and the appraisement be more than its legal worth, the judges are to ascertain whether the appraisement is wrong, and if wrong, let him submit to the law of perjury, that is, a canlwrw of nine score pence and the church to proceed against him. If a person make a charge against another upon the relics and he clear himself, that is called in law a perjury, for it fo. 75a. cannot be but that one of the oaths is false. If a person cause fright to another and from that fright the person lose his life, let it be ascertained for what purpose the fright was caused, whether to frighten the person who lost his life or for some other purpose [*reading* peth arall for y bra6]; if for the sake of the person [*reading* y dyn for y bra6] who was frightened, let his galanas be paid; and if for another purpose it was done, there is to be no redress. Whoever shall bring relics to the pleadings, and the other party opposed to him ask for the relics so brought by him, the law says that such a one is not entitled to the relics until his pleadings be over; thenceforward, the relics are common to all. There is no need to ask for relics in the pleadings which are brought forward in the churchyard and church, for it is the place of relics. If law be declared in the pleadings and there be no relics in the field, it is said that no time is to be granted to procure the relics fo. 75b. save as long as the judge remains in his judgment seat; and that at the option of the judge. If a judge deliver a wrong judgment and it be doubted and a pledge be not offered against him before he rises from his judgment seat; unless he will, he is not to accept it after that.

**T**hree strong ones of the world: a lord and a headstrong person and a pauper. The reason is: a lord is like a stone along the ice; a headstrong person is an idiot, and an idiot is not to be ruled in anything against his will; a pauper is a person who has no chattels, and therefore chattels cannot be exacted where there are none. If a woman assert against her husband *quod vir non potest copulare*, and for that reason seek to separate from him, it is right to prove whether what she says is true. Thus it is to be proved: [*lex requirit*] *linteamen album recens lotum sub illis expandi et virum in illud ire* fo. 76a. *pro re venerea et urgente libidine eam super linteamen projicere; et si fiat satis est; et si non possit, potest se sejungere ab eo* without losing aught of the property.

**T**hree stays of blood: blood to the brow (*hyt ran*), blood to the stomach, blood to the ground. For the two there is to be nothing owing if it be determined that they are not to be compensated; for the third, if matter of scandal, there is due for making the earth bloody, to the lord thereof; and if there be complaint, satisfaction is due for every one of them, and what is due for every one is a dirwy to the lord; and there is no compensation for his blood to the one who shall receive [the wound] or who says so, according to the law. Woods are to be preserved from the Festival of St. John, when the swine shall go into the woods, until the end of the sixth day after the Kalends [of January], and within that time the pannage ought to be completed. If two persons be walking through a wood, and a branch, by the passing of the one in front, should strike the one behind and his eye be lost, he is to pay him for his eye.



These are they whose testimony is not to be credited. fo. 76b.

**B**ondman, a mute, a deaf person, an innate idiot, or maniac, or one who shall be less than fourteen years old, a spendthrift who shall have exhausted all his chattels, one who shall swear notorious false oaths, one who shall publicly break his marriage vow, a traitor, or one who shall kill his father, one who shall debase true coin or who shall make false coin, one who shall purloin ecclesiastical chattels or other chattels from a church, one who shall wittingly give wrong judgment, one who shall have sexual intercourse with another man or with another animal, one who shall wittingly bear false witness.

Here terminates the body of the laws together with the casualties as we found them best.

*Brief Glossary of Welsh Words in the Translation.*

*aillt*—villein, or serf.

*alltud*—foreigner, person from another patria.

*amohyr*—fee payable to lord on marriage of a female.

*boneddig*—person of free innate lineage, the Cymro proper.

*camlwrw*—fine payable to the lord.

*canghellor*—territorial officer who determined disputes among king's villeins, etc.

*coryll*—gift of bridegroom to bride morning after nuptials.

*cyrarwys*—rights belonging to a free kinsman when he came of age.

*ebedir*—heriot, relief payable to lord on death of member of a free kindred.

*edling*—heir-apparent.

*galanas*—homicide and payment for homicide.

*gwaesr*—"pledge, or guarantee" (*Ancient Laws*, ii, 1117).

*gwlad*—patria, or country.

*gwynbwerth*—"face worth", a fine payable to a woman.

*maer*—territorial officer who regulated villeins, etc.

*saraad*—insult and payment for insult.

*uchelwr*—nobleman.

# The Correspondence

OF

DR. JOHN DAVIES OF MALLWYD WITH SIR  
SIMONDS D'EWES.

TRANSLATED BY THE REV. G. HARTWELL-JONES, M.A.

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IN the course of the compilation of the *Catalogue of the Manuscripts relating to Wales in the British Museum* by Mr. Edward Owen, the following letters of Dr. John Davies to the well-known collector and antiquary, Sir Simonds D'Ewes, were alighted upon in two volumes of the Harley collection. They were copied by Mr. Owen for the purpose of inclusion in his *Catalogue*, but it was afterwards thought that they were too long for insertion in their entirety. They, however, afford an interesting glimpse, and add a few particulars to what has hitherto been known of the Welsh lexicographer, and Mr. Owen having handed his transcripts over to me, I have revised them against the originals, and have appended a translation. The volumes in which they occur comprise a collection of historical extracts made by or for Sir Simonds D'Ewes, and include a number of original letters written to him by contemporary scholars, with drafts of his replies to his correspondents. It is much to be regretted that only two of Dr. Davies's letters have been preserved, for it is quite clear that several others must have passed between the two friends.

G. H.-J.

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[Harl., 378, f. 57.]

*Viro gravissimo JOHANNI DAVIES, S.T.D., SIMONDS D'EWES,  
E[ques] a[uratus], S.T.D.*

Ignosceas mihi vir doctissime quod rariores mei Te compellant codicilli; amissa enim quâ fruebar libertate privatus publici nec mei juris mancipium existo. In toto vix mihi menstruo hora literis exarandis vacat imo sæpius incenatus, sæpissime impransus incedo; in magnis scilicet regni Comitibus justitium plane exulat, unde in ipso domini Natali ultimum elapso tribus duntaxat lusimus diebus, atque nos interim totos fere integros, quatuor menseis vernacule assueti, cæterarum linguarum ne mireris si obliviscamur. Eruditissimos Tuos priores mihi tradidit codicillos Pughus, multis mihi nominibus charus, præcipue vero quod nostræ pararius extitit amicitiae; posteriores hac ipsâ nocte lato etiam amplexi sumus animo. Utrosque expectatissima proverbiorum Celticorum interpretatio excepit. Aliquot utinam superiorum seculorum de religione et fide Britonum erui possent monumenta; homilias et id genus alia receptam veterum Anglo-Saxonum theologiam testantia etiamnum offendimus; uti et nonnulla in Gildâ Albanio, Gildâ Badonico et Saxonico veteri ante Bedam ut pote qui Pendæ regis Merciorum tempore scripsit anonymo et Nennio de religionis inter Britones christianæ dogmatis sparsim eliciuntur: ex Thaliessini etiam poematis, ni fallor, theologica plurima colligere potis eris. Unicum tibi locupletis tuæ messis vice adagium omnium Gymnasiorum parietibus inscribendum Anglo-Saxonicum remitto plura σὺν Θεῷ collecturus.

Eala gif ic redde on geogode þonne eude nu ic  
O si ego legissē in inventute tunc cognovissē nunc ego  
sum god  
aliquid boni

Communis noster amicus Pughus quæ de vetustissimis Britannico idiomate exaratis chronicis in thesauro Cottoniano repertis cum versione Latinâ vel Anglicâ excudendis consulimus. Tibi referet, interim Vale, Vir doctissime, et Tuo me semper fruire. Londini iv id. Mart. MDCXL.

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[Harl., 378, f. 54.]

*Draft letter of* SIR SIMONDS D'EWES *to* DR. JOHN DAVIS,  
*Mallwyd.*

Viro eruditiss. Johanni Davis sacre theologie D. Simonds D'Ewes Eques auratus S.T.D. Feliciter mihi, vir gravissime, iv kalendas Septembreis nuper elapsas accidit, quod David Lhuidum Hospicii Graiensis alumnum in officina librariâ etiamsi mihi ignotum compellaverim familiaritatis inter nos paratio non opus erat, Britannicam originem gesta Britannica extemporaneo illi exposuimus alloquio. In illâ provincia et in vera asserendâ Anglo-Saxonum et Normanno-Anglorum Historiâ ex Archivis ipsis magnam partem vindicandâ totos jam duodeviginti annos desudavimus, verum vobis priscorum Cimbrorum reliquiis exhibebimus Brutonem Hesicionis filium ex Gomero oriundum, non larvatum illum Brutum Phrygianum ex Pryduidum commentis quo se et gentem suam Dominis Romanis insinuarent propinatum. Non hoc ex proprio quod absit cerebro sed ex vetustissimis quo Gulielmi Camdeni picta et ficta Britannici nominis deductio elimenetur, monumentis vindicabimus. Dum hæc et id genus alia animitus et amice relibamus ego sollicite de tua illum salute rogitō, ubi terrarum jam nunc degeres, quo vectore codicillis meis ob studiorū nostrorum necessitudinem te compellarem. Id in se officii ocyus humanissimè amplexus est Lhuidus et illum impresentiarum præstolor ut has a me tibi deferendas accipiat literas. Sis exoratus Proverbiorum Britannicorum ad illum mittere versionis exemplar quod ego describendum ita foliis curabo ut possim debitis suis in tuo Lexico eruditissimo locis compingere. Ego jam pene totus in Lexico Anglo-Saxo-Latino quo exeadatur limando occupatus sum. In Prolegomenis ex tuâ prefatione multa erunt nostris inserenda et amplianda. Nescio an cum mercatore illo sagacissimo nomine Williams colloqui tibi acciderit. Retulit ille v. cl. Roberto Cottono et mihi Britannicam cum Tartarorum in omnibus pene vocabulis conspirare linguâ. Facile etiam se ostensurum quibus regionibus emensis huc evenerunt ex ipsis a se locorum nominibus in transeundo latis spondit. Spero nos postliminio tandem Londini instanti decurso justitio posse convenire, et mutuis de his et aliis ad rem Britannicam spectantibus apicibus plenius transigere. Interim vale vir gravissime

meque semper frueri, Tibi addictissimo, SIMONDS D'EWES.  
Londini pridie Kalend. Sept. MDCXL.

[Harl., 378, f. 61.]

Theologo gravissimo amico suo colendissimo Johanni Davies S. T. Doctori, Malloydæ in agri Montegomerici confinio.

Nuper a te vir gravissime codicillos Anglico idiomate exaratos Malloydæ in agri Montegomerici confinio die xv Januarii 1641 datos accepi. Latiales sanè mihi gratiores quo tua magis elucesceret eruditio futuri. De Celticis quod innuis adagiis enucleatius a te latinitate donatis, et mihi et bono publico opus gratissimum feceris. Quæ ad me prius misisti remittam cum nova acceperim et ne omnino tibi ingratus viderer chronicorum ectypum vetustissimi vestri Historiographi Gildæ Albanii (qui annum circiter DCX inter vivos esse desiit) ex MS. pervetusto publici. Thesauri in Academia Cantabrigiensi librarii descriptum uti reor tibi heic inclusum offerimus. Verum est aliquem suos centones librarium ex Henrico Huntingdonensi maiorem partem excerptos assuisse: quod nos ad istius voluminis antiqui elenchum sub initio primum annotavimus. Hunc etiam authorem vetustissimum Anglo-Saxonicus quidam Anonymus pene totum descripsit atque quasdam sue gentis genealogias in fine chronicorum adiecit, vixit iste author circa annum Dñi DCXX et historiam suam contextuisse videtur annum circiter decimum Merciorum Regis Pende. Perantiquus hujus historiæ liber MS. in Bibliothecâ servatur Cottonianâ cui titulus vitiosissimus ipsius dum vixit Roberti Cottoni, ni fallor, auspiciis appositus, quasi Nennii esset historia, cum ipse Nennius ducentos sexaginta postea annos historiam suam ex ipso Anglo-Saxonico Anonymo descripsit et ingenuè Genealogias illas Anglo-Saxonicas ut-pote Magistro suo Beulano minus necessarias omisisse se fatetur. Ex hoc enatum est errore quod doctissimus ipse Jacobus Usserius Archiepiscopus Armachanus et alii tria ista de veteribus Britannis chronica uni Nennio contra omnem historia veritatem in summo ascribunt anachronismo. Lexicon nostrum Teutonicò-Latino-Anglicum brevi  $\sigma\upsilon\nu$  Θεῶν eum Prolegomenis imprimendum curabimus. Et quia illa apud nos invaluit opinio quod gens ipsa Teutonica Sacis, Persarum populo,

olim oriunda esset et rarissimos mihi aliquot libros MS. linguâ et elementis Persicis elegantissime exaratos comparavi et ope doctissimi juvenis cujusdam Germani cognomine Raniij egregiam illorum raritatem didici. Unus inter alios extat Liber qui *Lughat Shamil* appellatur id est lexicon Shamil in quo non duntaxat vocabula Persica eadem explicantur linguâ sed ad unumquamque pene vocem Historicorum et Poetarum Mahumetanorum autoritatis citantur: et multa illic identice scripta et cum veteri ista Anglorum vernaculâ significantia offenduntur, quorum aliquot edenda in prolegomenis specimina decrevimus. Aliquam de tuo peculio minui partem qui literis qui eleemosynis invigiles mæstissime tulerim, nisi te scirem tui privati rationem minimè habiturum modo Dei gloriæ et eulogiæ prosperitati consuleretur. Etsi enim tu fortassis binarum ecclesiarum pastor utriusque quantum fieri posset sategeris quot tamen heu quot inertes et scelesti bipedes decimarum cogendarum potius quam animarum pascendarum curam agunt. Inter multa negotia et curarum farragine hoc raptim ad te scripsi. Vale vir doctissime et amare pergas. Tui observantissimum Simonds D'Ewes. Visimonasterii xiv kalendas Martii Juliani MDCXLI.

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[Harl., 374, f. 168.]

DR. JOHN DAVIES, *Mallwyd, co. Merioneth*, to SIR  
SIMONDS D'EWES; 2 February 1640.

Splendidissimo multaque eruditione clarissimo Viro D' Simonds D'Ewes, Equiti aurato, omnem fœlicitatem. Unde hoc mihi quod jam senex annorum 73, a tanto tanta moliente viro ab oris tam longinquis ad Geticos hos usque scopulos, indignus et saluter, et de musis consular? Sed mirari desino, et hoc, Eques clarissime, nulli meo aut fato aut merito, sed beneficæ tuæ naturæ, et sum'æ humanitati defero. Nobilis ille Brito, M<sup>r</sup> Da. Lloyd, Graiensis, qui literas ad me tuas melle onustas fideliter misit, et quem tuo apud bibliopolam dignatus es alloquio, nondum mihi, vel de facie, vel de nomine immotuit; cui tamen, te potissimum suggerente innotescere valde cupio. Gratias tibi, Eques illustriss., quam plurimas me debere profiteor, et quantas possum maximas habeo, ago; tum proprio, tum proprio, tum Britonum meorum nomine. Horum, quod

in nostræ gentis veram asserendam originem tantum olei et opere impenderis. Proprio, quod de salute meâ quem quod sciam nunquam vidisti, tam fueris sollicitus, et ubi terrarum agerem, degerem, sciscitari dignatus; præcipue quod præfationi meæ impolite tantum tribuis. Ego, quæ est mea in Historiis insecitia, quis sit ille Bruto à Gomero oriundus, aut eius genitor Hesicio, nescire me ingenuè agnosco. Præter quam quod de his legi in vetusto illo Gildæ, ut putatur abbreviatore MS. quem à se in Walliâ dudum repertum ait Jo. Priseus miles in *Historiæ Brit. Defensione*, pag. 63, et quem Nennium, ait Leylandum existimare, pag. 25. Hunc tamen Hesicionem appellat MS. illud Hesichian et Hesichion, filiumque eius non Brutum ut Jo. Priseus, aut Brutonem sed Britonem et Brittonem (si hæc nominum differentia alicuius esse videatur momenti) hosque non à Gomero Japheti sed à Jauan deducit. Sed me in Historiis parum versatum intellige, et quem in hisce tuis studiis consulas planè indignum. Quæ in Præfatione Dictionarii de Bruto nostro dicta sunt, fecit tempore illo occurrens occasio, ut lectis Historicis nonnullis expiscarer. Versionem quam cupis *Proverbiorum Brit.* ego, cum tuas literas acciperem, nullam habui. Acceptis, me statim ad eorum interpretationem accingo, et folia nonnulla una cum his mitto, reliqua, favente Deo, brevi missurus. Tu, Eques clarissime, hilari, scio, accipies vultu; et si qua Adagiorum nostratium, frigidiuscula et parum elegantia videbuntur, illud hinc evenire non nescis, quod nullius linguæ scripta, præsertim Proverbia (maximè ad verbum, ut hic ferè reddita) in aliam linguam transfundi possunt, quin multum gratiæ et veneris, quam in propriâ habent linguâ, decedat. Et sunt in omnibus linguis multe voces ambiguae, quæ in aliâ linguâ non semper ambiguo reddi possunt. Et plura adagia ex vocum oriuntur ambiguitate. Hoc etiam habent peculiare, inquit Erasmus, pleraque proverbia, ut in ea linguâ sonare postulent, in qua nata sunt. Ut sunt vina quedam quæ exportari recusent, nec germanum obtineant saporem, nisi in quibus proveniunt locis. Et foueri ait Scaliger, de subtilitate ad Cardanum, in omni linguâ quasdam sententias, certis suæ linguæ quasi fulturis subnixas, quæ si in aliam quasi coloniam deducas, gratiam pristinae recomendationis non retinebunt. Has qui transfert, quasi frænum imponit bovi. Dabis etiam veniam, Eques Clariss., si, quod in Proverbiis fieri oportuit, non explicem quotupliciter

proverbium quodq. adhiberi, et à nobis accipi soleat; quem obtineat usum, et quæ eius usus ratio. Nec putabis omnia paræmia esse quæ sub hoc titulo veniunt. ut nec in aliarum gentium proverbiiis. Nam et inter eas plures sunt *γνώμαι*. Chriæ, apologi, similitudines Apoplithegmata plura; plura piè, scitè, docte acute arguteque dicta. Plura parænetica, monita, consilia. Quæ omnia significationis suæ ambitu complectitur Hebræa vox *maskal*, unde proverbialia Solomonis dicta sunt *mishlé*; et Arabica vox *mathsala*, unde Adagia sua dicunt *Amthsalo*, quod et manifestè satis docet ipse Solomon in titulo Proverbiorum, Prov. I, i. Parabole inquit, Solomonis ad sciendam sapientiam et disciplinam, ad intelligenda verba prudentiæ et suscipiendam eruditionem doctrinæ, iustitiam, et iudicium et æquitatem. Denique, Adagia nostra meve his attentum *φλυνρίας* non accusabis. Animum tibi obsequendi non defuturu[m] videbis. An aliquid simus præstituri tuum esto iudiciu[m]. Tuum erit vel atrum vel album calculum adijcere. Dabo operam ut nec te postulati, nec me obsequii præniteat. Tu, Vir Clarissime,

Σπάρτην ἦν ἔλαχες ταύτην κόσμει.

Partumque illum informem à me in Præfatione temerè enixum relambito. [Est et alia Præfatio Grammaticæ Brit. Billii typis 1621 editæ præfixa.] Venerem illam à me pictorum imperitissimo utcumque inchoatam, docto tuo penicillo, ad perfectionem debitam perducito. Fidem literis ad me tuis obstrinxisti. Hunc libera. Nec dubitabis conatibus tuis piis adfuturum Deum, præmiaque olim laborum cumulatissimè repensurum. Ego interim Deum O.M. supplex oro, vt annorum tuorum filium plures protendat in annos; tuisque studiis indies magis magisque benedicat Atque *Λίεν γηράσκω πολλά διδασκόμενος*.

Malloyd in M'ioneth shier, 2<sup>o</sup> Februarii 1640. Jo<sup>s</sup>. DAVIES.

[*Postscript.*]—M[agist]rum Williams, Londinensem, mercatorem non cognovi. Eius nominis aurarium nuper dictum Captaine Will<sup>ms</sup> cuius domiciliu[m] in Chepside probè noui etiam ab ipsâ iuventute. Et hic fortè is est quem mercatorem indigetis. Is mihi sæpius de linguâ et gente nostrâ talia fere narrauit qualia scribis; et libros se mihi ostensurum, et mutuo daturum pollicitus est, qui quæ affirmabat, radiis clarius solaribus demonstrarent; quos tamen, licet plurimu[m] à me desideratos, ut quos multum ad rem meam facturos credebam, nunquam mihi



ostendere, nedum mutuo dare voluit; quamvis sæpius importunè rogatus, dum per integrum plus minus annum Londini agebam, Dictionarium illud quaecumque Britannicum emissurus. Verba tantum, quæ mihi à die in diem dedit plurima, audiui: Librorum ne unum quidem vel vidi.

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[Harl., 376, f. 50.]

DR. JOHN DAVIES to SIR SIMONDS D'EWES.

Honoratissimo et multâ eruditione clarissimo viro D. Simonds D'Ewes, equiti aurato, omnem fœlicitatem.

Literas tuas eques clarissime, in æstu et fluctibus negotiorum Reip. exaratas, avidis sum amplexus ulnis, ut quæ μέγιστον tui in me amoris δείγμα sunt et τεκμήριον probantque posse te in mediis curis quasi per ludum, quantum alii ne cum sudore quidem in summâ otii abundantia. In his et in illis ad nobilem meum amicum et vicinum R.P.<sup>1</sup> magnum et grave, sed amicum mihi intendis iurgium, quòd Anglicano idiomate literas ad te dederim, ut quibus minus ais meam innotescere eruditionem. Sed me purgo. Toto sanè caelo, terrâ, marique errat, si quis in me thesauros ullos doctrinæ reconditos existimet, aut aliquod literarum penu. Et siquod esset, quod scio quàm sit exiguum valdè, hoc nulla lingua occultare potest. Et hujusmodi epistolis magis convenire existimo, sensu animi candidè et apertè enunciare, quàm eruditionem ostentare. Et mihi in Scythiâ hac et à literis remotâ, semper vel Anglicè vel Britanicè scribere consuetum, Latinè ferè nunquam. Genus iste Romanus in me una cum vasculo hoc figulino emareuit totus et elumbis factus est. Quid, quod et instinctu quodam arcano scribenti fortasse Anglicè suggerente, praesagiebat intus animus complures post hæc futuros Doctores, quos vocant. Anglicanos, si beneficii spoliari doctiores Deus voluerit. Credo verissimum esse quod scribis, et plurimis amplector gratiis. Te meum minui peculium molestè laturum, nisi me scires bonum Ecclesie publicum privato commodo prepositurum. Sed an omnes ita affectos existimas, Eques illustrissime? Vereor complures, prohi dolor, decimis nostris inhiare; tantumque abesse ut docentibus

<sup>1</sup> Sir Richard Price, son of Sir John Price, of Brecon.

communicent in omnibus bonis, aut effossos illis dent oculos, ut optarent potius gratis sibi predicari evangelium Dei. At si unico tantum beneficio curato quemque ecclesiasten, nullâ aut graduum aut meritorum habitâ ratione, honorare commodum videbitur. O'utinam supplicibus libellis petere liceret, ut suae cuique beneficio in integrum restituantur decimæ, quæ tot consuetudinibus, præscriptionibus, compositionibus, exemptionibus, detinentur; ut de impropriatis quæ in feudum laicum transiisse volunt nonnulli, et de quarum restitutione ferè desperatur, nihil dicam. O dignum tanto Honoratissimo Consessu consilium. Prodigiousa sanè res est quæ sine delectu fit beneficiorum cumulatio, nec monstrosa minus quàm in Fabulis Briareus et Geryon. Non minus tamen indecorum fuerit Davidis armis Saulum induere, quàm Sauli armis Davidem. Sed vela contraho, ne vel falcem in alienam messem mittere videar, vel dum scribendo me gratum tibi probare studeo, orationis inopiâ et paupertate infantiam meam prodam. Nulla in meis scriptis, quâ delecteris, medulla. Ignosce, eques illustrissime, siquid deliqui. Ignosce si literarum tuarum *ὑστέρους πρώτως* respondeam. Ignosce si *δευτέρας ἐμῆς* in Adagia *φροντίδας* quarum te non modico tangi desiderio novi, serius acceperis. Accepturum nullus dubita exemplar priore longè emendatius; quod volo non tam per epistolam tibi promissum, quam per sygrapham sponsum. Quoad describam expecta. Malo enim hoc à me ipso fieri quàm ab alio, quo et scriptis et scribendis attentior esse possim, et quæ prius obscura fuere facilius illustrare, quæ mendosa corrigere queam moram denique industriâ compensare. Si tibi grate sint futuræ, hoc mihi gratissimum: hoc est quod laboro. Gratissimus sane mihi Gildæ tui Albanii complexus, quem nunc vicinus amicus in historiis benè satis versatus, habet, cum suo exemplari conferendum. Illum nunc non restituo, quo, si tibi fuerit visum, amicus iste meus loca discrepantia in margine MS. tui connotet; quod te inconsulto fieri nolui. Felix faustaque sit Lexici tui evulgatio. Felicem Angliam istâ luce, quæ ad posteros etiam suos diffundet radios. Vereor ne tuis occupationibus nimis fuerim molestus. Deus omnia vestra consilia in suam gloriam, Ecclesiæ bonum, populi salutem dirigat, qui omnia suis in bonum, etiam præter hominum mentem, votum dirigit. Vale, Eques amplissime, vale diu, vale Deo, ecclesiæ Reip. Tuis; et virtutis, doctrinæ, nominis

tui cultoribus. Accense tui observantissimum Jo. DAVIS, Malloydæ in agro Merioneth, Pridie Kl. Maii 1642.

Diu te expectasse scribis, à me audire, siquid in vetustis scriptis Britannicis Telesini aliorum, de liturgiâ et theologiâ observaverim. Modicum sanè, quod ad rogatum Reverendi viri Jo. Barkham SS. Th. D. ante aliquot annos descripsi eique missum curavi, qui tecum, credo, lubens, illud communicabit. Ego exemplar quod apud me servavi, ne multorum quidem dierum scrutinio assiduo invenire potui. Si non inventum repertum fuerit aliquando, ad te mittere non negligam.

Placet tibi, eques ornatissime, ad unicam hanc questionuculam tuo me dignari responso; quibus coram iudicibus, enervatâ jam, ut creditur Ecclesiastici fori potestate, et avulso aculeo, Decimas non solventes postulare possimus? An parat, an paraturus est Honoratissimus ille Consessus, ullum nobis tempestivum hac in re remedium? Si beneficiorum altero exui, alterius decimis in incerto relictis, nobis contingat, miserrimi omnium sumus.

[*Enclosure.*]—Ne me tui memorem esse dubites, Eques clarissime, En tibi tractatum de ludis gymnasticis et certaminibus Britannorum, qui Adagiis Britannicis subnecti solet, Latinitate donatum: præfixo proemio de ludis et certaminibus Græcorum, et aliarum gentium.

Y pedair camp ar hugain  
Viginti quatuor certamina.

[*Enclosure.*]—Cum hasce jam jam obsignaturus essem literas, subito occurrit memoria poete cujusdam locus, quem postulante Reverendo D. Barkhamo prius notâram, de duobus defunctorum receptaculis, qui circa annum D'ni 1240 sic cecinit—

Dau edrydd, y sydd, a synhwyrriaw  
Dau, erbyn angan, anghychwiaw  
Doethwlad nef, addef. Addaf wychlawr, sail:  
Uffern yw yr ail, ddurail ddyrawr.

Latine ad verbum sic—

Duo reditus sunt qui sentiuntur (vel censentur i. ex doctorum  
sententiâ)  
Duo erga mortem inconsimilia  
Sapiens-regio, cæli, domicilium Adæ, elegantis foundationis;  
Infernus est secundus. chalybeæ vehementiæ.

Poeta est Llywarch brydydd y môch (Leachus poeta suum, vel potius Poeta celer, promptus) qui licet recentior sit, hic tamen videre est, etiam tunc temporis manere antiquorum Britonum theologiae reliquias, nec in mediis ignorantiae tenebris apud nos deesse veritatis assertores inter quos hic Poeta.

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TRANSLATION.

SIMONDS D'EWES, *Knight*,<sup>1</sup> D.D., to the Reverend JOHN DAVIES, D.D.

PRAY, pardon me, learned sir, for addressing you by letter rather seldom. But having lost the private liberty which I used to enjoy, I am a slave under public orders, and not my own master. For a whole term, of a month's duration, I have hardly had an hour for correspondence. Nay, rather, I often go without dinner, very often without lunch. While Parliament is sitting a vacation is absolutely out of the question. Hence, even last Christmas I had only three days holiday, and having since then been used to my native tongue, for nearly four whole months, do not be surprised if I forget others. Pugh handed me your erudite letter. He has endeared himself to me on many grounds, especially for having been the intermediary who brought us together. Your later communication arrived this very night, and I received it with a joyful heart. Both were followed by your long-looked-for Explanation of Celtic proverbs. I wish it were possible to dig up some records of earlier ages, dealing with the religion and faith of the Britons. I have already come across homilies and other documents of the sort, which bear evidence of the theology of the ancient Anglo-Saxons, as well as some which are drawn from Gildas Albanus, Gildas Badonicus,<sup>2</sup> and an old Saxon prior to Bede, as he wrote in the time of Penda King of the Mercians; and a few facts are drawn from Nennius on the tenets of the Christian religion among the Britons. Unless I am mistaken, you will be able to gather a great many theological maxims from the poems

<sup>1</sup> *Equus auratus*—"Knight of the gilt spur".

<sup>2</sup> *I.e.*, born in the year of the Battle of Mount Badon.

of Taliesin. In return for your rich harvest I am sending you a single Anglo-Saxon adage which ought to be inscribed on the walls of every school, but, *with God's help*, I hope to collect more:—*Would that I had read in my youth, then I should now have learnt some good.*

Our common friend Pugh will tell you about our proposals for editing, with a Latin and English translation, the very oldest chronicles written in the British dialect, which are found in the Cottonian collection.

Adieu, learned Sir, and ever make use of me. London, March 12th, MDCXI.

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*Draft letter from SIR SIMONDS D'EWES to Dr. JOHN DAVIES, Mallwyd.*

Simonds D'Ewes, Knight, D.D., to the venerable scholar John Davies, Doctor of Divinity. Grave and Reverend Sir, On the 29th of September just past, I had the good fortune to speak to David Llwyd, student of Gray's Inn, though a stranger to me, in a bookseller's shop. There was no need of an intermediary to introduce us. In the course of a casual conversation I explained to him the origin of the British and the deeds of the British. I have laboured for eighteen years now in that department and in expounding the true history of the Anglo-Saxons and Norman-English, and vindicating it largely from the actual archives; but we shall show you by relics of the ancient Cimbri Bruto, son of Hesicio, of the race of Gomer, not that shadowy personage Brutus, from Phrygia, out of the commentaries of the Prydhuides,<sup>1</sup> whence they would argue for the superiority of themselves and their race over their Roman lords. I shall prove this, not out of my own head (be it far from me), but from the most ancient records, in order to explode William Camden's fanciful and concocted origin of the British name. While returning with zest and appetite to these subjects and others of the same kind, I make repeated enquiries as to how you are, where you are,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Prise, *Hist. Brit. Defensio*, p. 11. "Et huiusmodi Poëtas sive Bardos (quos & alio nomine Prydhuides appellant, atque eosdem esse conijeio [*sic*] qui à veteribus Druydes dicebantur) inter se ea maximè de causa alunt & venerantur."

and who will carry letters, consequent upon our interest in those pursuits. Elwyd courteously took upon himself this office, and at present I am writing to give him letters to be forwarded to you. May I beg of you to send him a copy of the version of *British Proverbs*, which I will have copied on leaves,<sup>1</sup> for binding with your learned lexicon at the proper places. I myself am almost completely absorbed in giving the finishing touch to the Anglo-Saxon-Latin lexicon, with a view to publication. There are many things which must be inserted or amplified in my introduction by the aid of your preface. I don't know whether you have happened to have a talk with an intelligent merchant named Williams. He told Robert Cotton and myself that British agrees with the Tartar language in almost every word. He undertook to show easily, from the very place-names which were brought on the journey here, what countries they traversed. I hope that at the end of the vacation I may resume my liberty and privileges, and we may at last meet in London and discuss together more fully these and other points relating to the history of Britain. Meanwhile, adieu, Reverend Sir, and always make use of me.

Yours devotedly,

SIMONDS D'EWES.

London, August 31st, MDCXL.

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*To his estimable friend, the venerable Divine, JOHN DAVIES, D.D., of Mallwyd, on the borders of Montgomery.*

REVEREND SIR,—I recently received your letter, written in English at Mallwyd on the borders of Montgomery on the 20th of January, 1641. They would really have been more acceptable had they been written in Latin, in order that your learning might have shown to greater advantage. With regard to your hint about a plain rendering of Celtic proverbs in a Latin dress, you will have done work which the public as well as myself will highly appreciate. When I receive the new ones, I shall send you those that you sent me before, and, to avoid appearing utterly ungrateful, I beg to enclose a print of the Chronicles of your ancient

<sup>1</sup> Meaning, probably, "loose sheets."

historian Gildas Albanus, who departed from the land of the living about dxx. It is copied, I think, from a very ancient manuscript in the library at the University of Cambridge. It is true that some copyist has attached patches of his own, mostly extracted from Henry of Huntingdon,—a fact which I first noted in the commentary on that old volume, at the beginning. This very ancient author has also been copied almost entirely by a certain anonymous Anglo-Saxon, who has added some genealogies of his own race at the end of the Chronicles. The author in question lived about the year of our Lord dxx, and seems to have composed it about the tenth year of Penda King of the Mercians. A very old manuscript copy of this history is preserved in the Cotton Library. Its title is very faulty, and was prefixed (if I am not mistaken) by the direction of Robert Cotton himself during his lifetime, as if it were a history by Nennius, whereas Nennius himself copied his history from this very anonymous Anglo-Saxon writer two hundred and sixty years after, and frankly acknowledged that he left out those Anglo-Saxon genealogies as less necessary to his master Beulanus. This is the origin of the mistake which is made even by the learned James Usher, Archbishop of Armagh, and others, who by an anachronism ascribe those three chronicles, relating to the ancient Britons, in the main to Nennius alone, in the teeth of all historic truth. I shall soon, *with God's help*, be seeing through the press my Teuto-Latin-English Lexicon with prefatory remarks. And since the opinion has gained ground with us that the Teutonic race itself formerly sprang from the Sacae, a Persian tribe, I have secured several manuscripts which are very rare and very elegantly written in the Persian tongue and characters, and with the assistance of a learned German youth, named Ranij,<sup>1</sup> I learnt that they were remarkably rare. Among others one book is extant which is called (in Arabic) *Lughat Shamil*, namely a Shamil lexicon, in which not only Persian words are explained in the same language but also for almost every expression authorities are quoted from Mahommedan historians and poets. Many things are met with there which are written in precisely the same way and bear precisely the same meaning as in Old English. I have decided that

<sup>1</sup> The name has been altered and is not quite clear.

some of them must be published as specimens in the Introduction. I should be greatly grieved to hear of your income being curtailed, you who are actively engaged in literary or charitable works, did I not know that you would not consider in the least your private interest, provided the increase of God's glory and praise be studied. For although you perhaps, as the pastor in charge of a couple of churches, have your hands as full as they can be, yet, alas! how many idle, unprincipled bipeds there are who pay more heed to collecting tithes than to feeding souls! I have written this hurriedly amid much business and a whirl of anxieties. Adieu, learned sir, and continue to honour me with your esteem.

Yours most devotedly,

SIMONDS D'EWES.

Westminster, February 16th (according  
to the Julian Calendar), 1644.

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[Harl., 376, f. 50.]

DR. JOHN DAVIES of *Mallwyd in the county of Merioneth,*  
to SIR SIMONDS D'EWES.

To the illustrious and renowned scholar Dr. Simonds D'Ewes, knight, all happiness. To what do I, an old man of seventy-three, living so far off as these Getic<sup>1</sup> cliffs, owe the compliment of being greeted, unworthy as I am, and being asked my opinion about the Muses by a gentleman occupying so important a position and engaged in so important a task, from so distant a region? But I cease to wonder, and I attribute this fact, renowned knight, to no fortune nor merit of my own, but to your kindly nature and consummate courtesy. Our noble Briton, Master Da. Lloyd, of Gray's Inn, who faithfully transmitted to me your honey-laden letter, and whom you did the honour of addressing at the bookseller's, is not known to me by sight nor by name. But I am anxious to make his acquaintance, particularly as you suggest it. I acknowledge that I owe very many thanks to you, illustrious knight, and as much as I can I return them—both in my own name and that of my fellow countrymen. I thank

<sup>1</sup> Outlandish. The Getae were a wild tribe on the Danube. The writer may have been thinking of the poet Ovid's banishment there.



you in their name for having bestowed so much study and trouble on maintaining the true origin of our race; in my own name for your concern about my health, though, as far as I know, you have never seen me, for your gracious enquiries as to what part of the world I live in and spend my time, and especially for paying my rough preface such a high compliment. For myself, with my usual ignorance in historical matters, I frankly confess I do not know who is the Brutus, a descendant of Gomer, to whom you refer, nor his father Hesicio, except that I have read of them in the well-known old MS., which is generally supposed to be a compendium of Gildas, which Sir John Prise, in the *Defence of the History of Britain*, page 63, says he himself discovered sometime since in Wales, and which, he says, Leyland thought to be Nennius, p. 25. However, the MS. calls Hesicio Hesichius and Hesichios, and his son not Brutus (as does John Prise) or Bruto, but Bruto and Britto—if the difference of names may appear to be of any moment; and it traces them, not to Gomer, the son of Japhet, but to Javan. But please understand that I am little versed in historical studies, and utterly unworthy to be asked my opinion in these pursuits of yours. As to what is said in the preface to the Dictionary, at the time I wrote it an opportunity offered itself which led me to read some books on history and hunt up the facts. I had no translation of British proverbs in my possession when I received your letter. On receipt of it I addressed myself to the task of interpreting them, and am sending you some leaves herewith, and by God's help shall shortly send more. Your face, my distinguished knight, will, I know, beam with satisfaction, when you get them. If some of our native proverbs seem somewhat dull, uninteresting, pointless, and unpolished, you are fully aware that this is due to the circumstance that in no language are writings, particularly proverbs,—and above all when translated word for word, as is the case here—capable of being re-cast in another language without losing much of the charm and beauty of the original. And in all languages there are many expressions with a double meaning which cannot always be rendered in another language. And several adages take their origin from the double meaning of expressions. Moreover, says Erasmus, most proverbs have this peculiarity, that they must be pronounced in the native

language, just as there are some wines which will not be exported and do not retain their proper flavour except in the countries where they are grown. And Scaliger, in his *De Subtilitate ad Cardanum*,<sup>1</sup> says that there are preserved in every language certain favourite proverbs which depend upon definite structures peculiar to their own tongue, and if you transplant them to another colony, so to speak, they will not retain the charm to which they owed their former fascination. When one transfers them, it is like putting a bridle on an ox. You will also pardon me, renowned knight, if I fail to explain, as should be done in proverbs, the several applications of each proverb, the acceptations that they bear among us, the uses to which they are put, and the principle that governs the employment of them. You will not suppose that all are proverbs which come under this term, any more than is the case with the proverbs of other races. For among them also there are many *maxims*, texts, fables, similes and apophthegms, many sayings, pious, shrewd, pithy, and smart, many precepts, admonitions, and counsels. All of these come under the Hebrew expression *maskal*; whence Solomon's proverbs are called *mishlé*, and the Arabian expression, *mathsalo*; whence they call their adages *amthsalo*. This is taught pretty clearly by Solomon himself in the title of his Proverbs, chapter i, verse 1, where he says: "The Proverbs of Solomon: to know wisdom and instruction; to perceive the words of understanding; to receive the instruction of wisdom, justice and judgment, and equity." In fine, you will not charge our proverbs, or me, busied with them, with *nonsense*. You will see that the wish to oblige you will not be wanting on my part; whether I am likely to accomplish anything or not, you must judge. It will be your duty to add a black or white mark.<sup>2</sup> I shall see that you are not sorry for making the request, nor I for complying. You, renowned sir,

*Have received a Sparta, it is for you to adorn it;*

and please lick into shape the formless offspring to which I rashly gave birth in the Preface.<sup>3</sup> Please bring to due

<sup>1</sup> *I.e.*, Girolamo Cardano.

<sup>2</sup> *Calculus*, lit. pebble. A white pebble signified assent or acquittal, a black one denial or condemnation.

<sup>3</sup> The sentence in brackets reads: "There is another preface prefixed to the British Grammar published at the press of John Bill,

perfection with your skilled brush, the Venus which I, most inexperienced of artists, have begun—after a fashion. You pledged your word in your letter to me; redeem it. You will not doubt that God will favour and prosper your pious endeavours, and will one day reward your labours an hundred-fold. Meanwhile I pray God the Most Holy, Most Mighty, to extend the thread of your life for many a year to bless your studies daily more and more and [enable you to say]:—

*I grow in learning as I grow in years.*<sup>1</sup>

Mallwyd in Merionethshire,  
February 2d, 1640.

JO. DAVIES.

[*Postscript.*]—I have not made the acquaintance of Master Williams, a London merchant. I knew a goldsmith of that name, lately called Captaine Williams, who lives in Chepeside, ever since he was a young man, and perhaps this is he whom you designate a merchant. He has often given me an account of our language and race, almost similar to what you say in your letter, and he promised to show and lend me books which would prove his statements more clearly than the rays of the sun. But though I have been longing to see them, believing that they would be much to my purpose, he has not consented to show them me, much less lend them, and that in spite of my repeated requests made during my stay in London for a whole year, more or less, when about to publish my *British Dictionary*—such as it was. He gave me words, plenty of them, and that from day to day, but that was all; I have not set eyes on one of the books.

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DR. JOHN DAVIES to SIR SIMONDS D'EWES.

To the honoured and eminent scholar Doctor Simonds D'Ewes, Knight, all happiness. I have been poring with eager enthusiasm over your letter, which was written

1621." The reference is to John Bill, Stationer and Citizen, of London. John Bill and Bouham Norton continued the business of Christopher and Robert Barker, who were printers of the first rank, between 1556-1620.

<sup>1</sup> A line of Solon's.

amid the tide and surge of public business. It affords a *lively proof and token* of your regard for me, and shows that you are capable of doing more by way of recreation in the midst of your anxieties than others with much labour and with complete leisure. In your former letter, and the one that followed to my noble friend and neighbour R. P.,<sup>1</sup> you administer me a serious but friendly rebuke for sending you a letter in English, which, you say, affords less evidence of my erudition. But I acquit myself. If anyone thinks I contain any hoards of learning or any stores of literary lore, he is wide of the mark—as wide as sky, earth and sea. And if there were any, knowing, as I do, how meagre it is, no language could conceal it. And in letters of this kind I think it more appropriate to express one's feelings frankly and openly, than to make a display of learning. And living, as I do, in this veritable Scythia, far removed at once from books and literature, I have always been in the habit of writing in English or British, hardly ever in Latin. For this Roman spirit in me has all wasted away and become nerveless, together with this poor earthen vessel [of a body]. And then, too, as I write, by some secret intuition, perchance at the suggestion of an English woman, my mind divines that there will be hereafter many Anglican doctors, as they call them, if it be God's will that more learned men than they be despoiled of their benefices. I believe that what you say is quite true, and welcome with deep gratitude your hint that you would resent any diminution of my means of livelihood, did you not know that I would set the general good of the Church before my private profit. But, my illustrious knight, do you think that all are likeminded? I am afraid that many, alas! are waiting open-mouthed for our tithes, and are so far from giving those that teach a share of all good things, or from plucking out their eyes and giving them,<sup>3</sup> as to prefer hearing the Holy Gospel preached to them for nothing. But if it shall appear expedient to endow each ecclesiastic with the charge of one benefice only, no account being taken of his degrees or deserts, I would it might be allowable to petition that to each several benefice its tithes might be wholly restored, which are being withheld by so many "customs", "prescriptions", "com-

<sup>1</sup> Sir Richard Preece.<sup>2</sup> I Corinthians, ix.<sup>3</sup> Galatians, iv, 15.

positions", and "exemptions"—to say nothing of the impropriated tithes, which some maintain to have passed into the lay fee,<sup>1</sup> and the restoration of these is almost beyond hope! That would, indeed, be a measure worthy of such an honourable assembly. Truly it is a monstrous thing that beneficed livings should be piled together indiscriminately—no less of a monstrosity than Briareus and Geryon in the fables. However, it would be no less unbecoming to put David's armour on Saul than Saul's on David. But I furl my sails, lest I may seem to put my sickle into another man's harvest, or, while endeavouring to commend myself to you by writing, may, by poverty of diction or baldness of style, only succeed in betraying my childishness. My writings contain no marrow by way of a treat for you. Excuse my shortcomings, distinguished knight. Excuse me, if, in answering your letter, *I put the cart before the horse*. Excuse my delay in sending my *second thoughts*, which, as I know, you have been anxious to see. Doubt not but that you will receive a far more correct copy than the former one, which I wish you to regard as not merely promised by letter, but pledged by contract. Wait until I transcribe it. I prefer doing it myself to leaving it to anyone else, in order that I may pay more attention to the original and the copy, and more easily clear up the obscurities, correct the faults of the former copy and, in fine, make up for the delay by my diligence. If they are likely to afford you pleasure, I shall be delighted; that is my aim. It was a great joy to me to clasp your Gildas Albanus, which a neighbour, a friend of mine, who is very well versed in historical matters, has now, to compare with his own copy. I do not restore it now, in order that, if you think proper, my friend may mark the discrepancies on the margin of your MS., but I do not wish to do it without consulting you. Good luck to the publication of your Lexicon! England is to be congratulated on this light, which will send forth its rays even to her posterity. I am afraid of intruding on your occupations too far. May God direct all your consultations to His own glory, the good of the Church, and the welfare of His people. He brings everything, even beyond the thoughts or wishes of men, to good effect. Adieu, most

<sup>1</sup> *Feodum* (Mid. Lat.): originally the property in land distributed by the Conqueror to his companions in arms.

noble knight. May you prosper and long continue to prosper—prosper for the sake of God, your Church and State, and the admirers of your merits, learning and name. Count me as very much at your service. JO. DAVIES, of Mallwyd, in the County of Merioneth, April 30th, 1642.

You write that you have been long expecting to hear from me whether I have noticed in the old British writings of Taliesin and others, anything relating to the liturgy and theology. Very little, and this I copied out some years ago, at the request of the Reverend Jo. Barkham, D.D., and saw that he got a copy. He will, I believe, be glad to let you see it. I kept a copy by me, but, though I have hunted for it several days, I have not succeeded in laying my hand on it. If the missing document comes to light at any time, I will not omit to send it.

Will you, most accomplished knight, favour me with an answer to one small point? Since the power of the Ecclesiastical Court, as is generally believed, is now worn out, and has been robbed of its sting, before what judges can we sue those who refuse to pay tithes? Is the most honourable Assembly providing, or likely to provide, any timely remedy in the matter? If it be my fate to be stripped of one benefice while the tithes of the other are uncertain, I am of all men most miserable.

[*Enclosure.*]—That you may not think I have forgotten you, distinguished knight, here you have a dissertation, done into Latin, on the athletic sports and contests of the Britons, which is generally appended to British Proverbs. It is preceded by an introduction on the games and contests of the Greeks and other races.

*The Twenty-four Contests.*

[*Enclosure.*]—Just as I was on the point of sealing this letter there suddenly flashed across my mind a passage in a poet which I had before noted down at the request of the Reverend D. Barkham. It refers to two abodes of the dead. The writer sang (about the year 1243 A.D.) as follows<sup>1</sup>:—

<sup>1</sup> Latine ad verbum sic: “in Latin it runs thus word for word”.

Two returns there are, as it is thought or supposed (viz., according to the opinion of the learned);  
Two by (the hour of) death, quite unlike each other :  
A region of wisdom, of heaven, Adam's abode of fair foundation,  
Hell is the second, of the force of iron.

The poet is Llywarch Brydydd y Môch, Llywarch the swine's bard, or rather, the swift, ready bard. Although he is a comparatively late writer, it is possible to see here, that even at that time remains of the ancient theology of the Britons survived, and in the midst of the darkness of ignorance there were not wanting among us vindicators of the truth, of whom this poet was one.

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# Reviews.

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## SHORT NOTICES.

*Notes on a book under this heading do not preclude a subsequent review.*

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**THE LIFE AND WORK OF BISHOP DAVIES AND WILLIAM SALESBURY**, with an Account of some Early Translations into Welsh of the Holy Scriptures and the Prayer Book, together with a Transcript of the Bishop's Version of the Pastoral Epistles of St. Paul from the Autograph MS. at Gwysaney, now first published. With Illustrations and Facsimiles. By the Ven. D. R. Thomas, M.A., F.S.A., Archdeacon of Montgomery, etc. Oswestry: The Caxton Press, 1902.

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AT an Exhibition of Ecclesiastical Art held in connection with the Church Congress which met at Rhyl in October 1891, there appeared a manuscript lent by Mr. Davies-Cooke, of Gwysaney, which, upon investigation, Archdeacon Thomas found to be an autograph translation by Bishop Davies of the Pastoral Epistles of St. Paul, a translation not identical with the portion assigned to him in the New Testament, but most probably a revision with a view to a new edition. With the MS. are bound a Draft Petition, which "we shall not be far wrong in assigning to William Salesbury", and a Bond, providing part of the necessary funds for carrying out the object of the Petition, of which the translation in question appears to form a partial fulfilment. It was, at one time, proposed to publish a collotype facsimile of the original MS., and it is to



be regretted that the inadequacy of the response prevented Archdeacon Thomas from carrying out so desirable a project. The volume before us, however, gives the MS. for the first time in printed form, and by means of process illustrations some of its most interesting features are reproduced. Two chapters of the work are devoted to a sketch of the life and work of Bishop Davies and William Salesbury, whilst a third chapter deals with the story of the translation of the Holy Scriptures into Welsh. Copies of the title pages of some of the earliest printed Welsh books are reproduced from the *Transactions of the Hon. Society of Cymmrodorion* (Session 1897-98). Amongst the Appendices appear the Bishop of S. David's certificate of the State of his Diocese, Jan. 1569, published for the first time, *Owll Foliant Syr Robt. Myddton i Rich. Davies, Escop Meneu*, and a copy of the Will of Bishop Richard Davies.

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HISTORY OF THE THIRTEEN COUNTY TOWNSHIPS  
OF THE OLD PARISH OF WREXHAM, AND OF  
THE TOWNSHIPS OF BURRAS RIFFRI, ERLAS  
AND ERDDIG. By Alfred Neobard Palmer. Wrexham:  
(Printed for the Author by Hughes and Son), 1903.

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THIS volume is the fifth, and, as we are informed, the last of the series of books which Mr. Alfred N. Palmer has written and published relating to the "History of the Old Parish of Wrexham". Mr. Palmer's investigations in this, as in his previous writings, have been for the most part made at first hand, and from original sources. The results of his investigations are set forth with characteristic accuracy and minuteness of detail, and at all times

with the unassuming modesty of a thoroughly conscientious worker. The thirteen chapters of the volume before us deal with the story of the sixteen townships of Esclusham Below, and Esclusham Above Dyke, Minera, Bersham, Broughton, Brymbo, Abenbury Fawr and Abenbury Fechan, Bieston, Gourton, Burras Hovah and Burras Riffri, Acton, Stansty, Erlas and Erddig. Numerous pedigrees are inserted, including those of Myddelton of Plâs Cadwgan; Meredith of Pentrebychan; Trevor of Esclus; Power, Lloyd, and Fitzhugh of Plâs Power; Puleston of Upper Berse; Myddelton of Bodlith; Peter Ellice; Powell of Gyffynys (or Gyvynys); Jones, and Jones-Parry of Llwyn-on; Griffith of Cefn; Brereton of Burras; Jeffreys, and Cunliffe of Acton; Edwardses of Stansty; Davies of Erlas; Puleston of Llwyn y Cnottie; Erthig; Edisbury, and Yorke of Erddig, and the Yales of Plâs Grono. The illustrations, mostly from photographs, include two views of the tomb of Elihu Yale, Ex-Governor of Madras, and founder of Yale College (now Yale University), who was buried in the churchyard at Wrexham, on the 21st July 1721, and a facsimile of Elihu Yale's signature.

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**KELTIC RESEARCHES:** Studies in the History and Distribution of the Ancient Goidelic Language and Peoples. By Edward Williams Byron Nicholson, M.A., Bodley's Librarian in the University of Oxford, etc. London: Henry Frowde, Oxford University Press Warehouse, 1904.

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THE main historical result of this book, as stated by the Author in his preface, is the settlement of "The Pictish Question", or rather of the two Pictish questions. The first of these is, "What kind of language did the Picts speak?" The second is, "Were the Picts conquered by

the Scots?" "The first", he observes, "has been settled by linguistic and paleographical methods only: it has been shown that Pictish was a language virtually identical with Irish, differing from that far less than the dialects of some English counties differ from each other. The second has been settled, with very little help from language, by historical and textual methods." In the Author's opinion it has been made abundantly clear to any person of impartial and critical mind that the supposed conquest of the Picts by the Scots is an absurd myth.

Other important results of the Studies "are the demonstration of the great prominence of the Belgic element in the population of the British Isles, and the evidence that so many of the tribes known to us as inhabiting England and Wales in Roman times spoke not Old Welsh, as has hitherto been supposed, but Old Irish". Particularly notable for wide dispersion and maritime venture are the Menapians, to whom the author believes that he has traced "the origin of the Manx nation and language". As regards Continental history, Mr. Nicholson claims that "the great Goidelic element is now shown to have extended with more or less continuity from the Danube to the mouth of the Loire, and from the Tagus and the Po to the mouth of the Rhine".

"The chief linguistic result of the Studies (apart from the determination of the nature of Pictish, and of the parentage of Highland Gaelic)," is stated to be "the fact that the loss of original *p*, a loss supposed to be the distinguishing feature of the Keltic family of language, is of comparatively late date in the Goidelic branch—that, in fact, *p* was normally kept for centuries after the Christian Era, at Bordeaux, till the fifth century, in Pictish probably later still." *Keltic Researches* is published by Mr. Henry

Frowde, of the Oxford University Press, and is dedicated "to the memory of Henry Bradshaw, late Librarian to the University of Cambridge, whose discovery of the Book of Deer, and whose palaeographical and critical genius have permanently enriched Keltic studies".

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DWYFOL GÂN DANTE: Annwn, Purdan, Paradwys.  
Cyfieithiad gan Daniel Rees. Caerarfon: 1903.

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WE have pleasure in calling attention to a translation into Welsh of *La Divina Commedia di Dante Alighieri*. The translator, Mr. Daniel Rees, of Carnarvon, is already known by his effective rendering into Welsh of the *Alcestis*. His remarkable reproduction of the *Divine Comedy* in his mother tongue, has greatly advanced his reputation as a scholar and linguist. The volume, which contains an introduction on Dante, by Mr. T. Gwynn Jones, the chaired Bard of the National Eisteddfod of 1902 (Bangor), is illustrated, with some characteristic sketches, by Mr. J. Kelt Edwards, a young Welsh artist of great promise. Initial letters of considerable merit are reproduced from designs by Miss Louise Rolfe and Miss Phoebe Rees.

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GERALD THE WELSHMAN. By Henry Owen, D.C.L.  
(Oxon), F.S.A., Editor of "Owen's Pembrokeshire", etc.  
New and Enlarged Edition. London: David Nutt, 1904.

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THIS volume is a "New and Enlarged Edition" of Dr. Henry Owen's interesting story of the life and works of Giraldus Cambrensis, originally read by him before the

Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion on St. David's Eve, 1889, and subsequently (in an extended form) published by the author in a limited *Edition de luxe*. That edition became exhausted long ago. In its present form the book appeals to a wider circle of readers. The author has furnished it with numerous explanatory notes for the use of students, and has added a new Map of Wales, a Pedigree shewing Gerald's connection with the Royal House of Wales, and a List of the Place-names mentioned in Gerald's *Itinerarium Cambriae*, with their modern equivalents. At a price which brings it within everyone's reach, the Story of *Gerald the Welshman* should be studied in every school in Wales.

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