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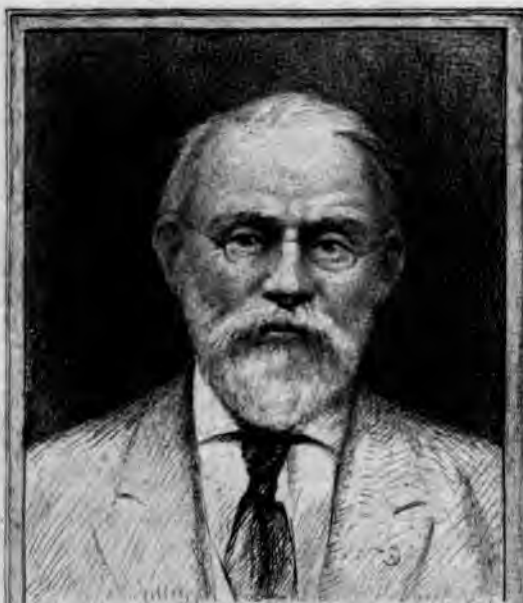
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THE
Transactions
of the Honourable
Society of Cymmrodorion

SESSION 1892-93.

PRINTED FOR THE SOCIETY
BY
GILBERT & RIVINGTON
Printers
ST. JOHN'S HOUSE, CLERKENWELL, LONDON, E.C.
1893

THE Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion.

President.

The Most Hon. The MARQUESS OF BUTE, K.T.

Council.

<p>STEPHEN EVANS, J.P. (<i>Chairman</i>). E. VINCENT EVANS. WILLIAM EVANS. ELLIS GRIFFITH, M.A., LL.B. J. MILO GRIFFITH. R. HENRY JENKINS. Rev. G. HARTWELL JONES, M.A. Major-Gen. R. OWEN JONES, R.E., C.B. JUDGE LEWIS. OWEN LEWIS (<i>Owain Dyfed</i>). HOWEL W. LLOYD, M.A. (<i>deceased</i>). ALFRED NUTT. EDWARD OWEN. HENRY OWEN, B.C.L.(Oxon.), F.S.A. ISAMBARO OWEN, M.D., M.A.</p>	<p>EGERTON PHILLIMORE, M.A. Professor JOHN RHYA, M.A. Professor T. W. RHYA-DAVIDS, LL.D. Professor FREDERICK T. ROBERTS, M.D., B.Sc. H. LLOYD-ROBERTS (<i>Treasurer</i>). R. ARTHUR ROBERTS. RICHARD ROBERTS, B.A. D. LLEUYER THOMAS, B.A. HOWEL THOMAS. JOHN THOMAS (<i>Pencerdd Gwalia</i>). W. CAVE THOMAS, F.S.S. Professor JOHN WILLIAMS, M.D. T. HOWELL WILLIAMS IBBIS, F.C.S. T. MERCHANT WILLIAMS, B.A., J.P. J. W. WILLIS-BUND, F.S.A.</p>
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Secretary.

E. VINCENT EVANS.

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LIST OF PUBLICATIONS.

D Cymmrodor.

Vol. I.—Contents: *An Elegiac Poem in Memory of Gwynn Owen*, by Lewis Morris; *Welsh Particles*, by Professor Peter; *Natural History Museums*, by F. W. Rudler, F.G.S.; *The Harp*, by Brinley Richards; *William Salesbury and his Dictionary*, by the Rev. Robert Jones, B.A.; *The Prospects of Education in Wales*, by the Rev. Mark Pattison; *The Potter's Art*, by the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone, M.P.; Letters from Lewis Morris (*Llewelddu Ddu o Fân*) to Edward Richard of Ystrad-Meurig; Reviews, Notices of Books, Reports, &c.

Vol. II.—Contents: *The National Music of Wales*, by John Thomas (*Pencerdd Gwalia*); *Private Devotions of the Welsh in days gone by*, by the Rev. Elias Owen; *Archaeological Notes*, by Professor Rhya; *The Eisteddfod of the Future*, by Mrs. A. W. Thomas; *Dialogue between the Bard and the Cuckoo* (from the Welsh of Owain Gruffydd), by the Right Hon. Lord Aberdare; *Datgudd a' Gwilym*, by Professor E. B. Cowell; Eisteddfod Addresses, Reviews of Books, &c.

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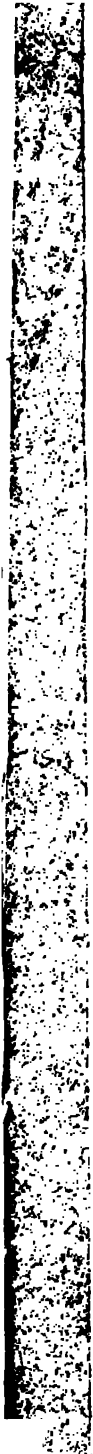
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REPORT
OF
THE COUNCIL OF THE
Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion,

For the Year ending November 9th, 1892.

PRESENTED TO THE ANNUAL MEETING OF THE MEMBERS
HELD ON THURSDAY, DECEMBER 15TH, 1892.

THE Council have much pleasure in reporting that an addition of sixty-five members has been made to the ranks of the Society during the last year, though they regret to add that many losses by death have been sustained, amongst whom must be mentioned with reverential sorrow, the Poet Laureate of England, one of its Honorary Vice-Presidents.

During the year the following meetings were held:—

(1) In London—

December 7th, 1891.—Annual meeting of the Members. Inaugural address on "The Work of the Society," by Dr. Isambard Owen, M.A.

December 16th.—Annual dinner of the Society: President, the Lord Mayor (the Right Hon. David Evans), Vice-President of the Society.

January 20th, 1892.—Paper on "The Early History of the Welsh Church," by Mr. J. W. Willis-Bund. Chairman, Mr. Stephen Evans, J.P.

February 10th.—Paper on "The Sin-Eater," by Mr. E. Sidney Hartland, author of "The Science of Folk Tales." (Joint meeting of the Cymmrodorion and Folk-Lore Societies.) Chairman, Mr. Edward Clodd.

March 30th.—Paper on “Celtic Poetry, and some Questions concerning it,” by Mr. F. York Powell, M.A., Christ Church, Oxford. Chairman, Mr. T. Marchant Williams, B.A.

May 4th.—Paper on “Eastern Legends in Welsh Dress,” by Professor G. Hartwell-Jones, M.A., University College of South Wales and Monmouthshire. Chairman, Mr. Alfred Nutt.

June 2nd.—Paper on “The Liber Landavensis,” by Mr. J. Gwenogvryn Evans, M.A., Oxford, editor of “The Welsh Texts Series.” Chairman, Mr. Henry Owen, F.S.A.

June 21st.—Annual Conversazione of the Society. Held at the Mansion House, by invitation of the Right Hon. the Lord Mayor and the Lady Mayoress.

(2) At Rhyl in connection with the National Eisteddfod of Wales, 1892, Cymmrodorion Section :—

Monday, September 5th, 1892, at 9 p.m.—Reception by the Rhyl Town Commissioners and the Eisteddfod Committee.

Wednesday, September 7th, 1892, at 9 a.m., President, Isambard Owen, Esq., M.A., M.D.—Papers on “Some Aspects of Technical Education,” by Alfred Daniell, Esq., M.A., LL.D. Edinburgh; and “Medical Education in its Relation to Wales,” by Alfred W. Hughes, Esq., M.B. (Lecturer to the School of Anatomy, Edinburgh).

Thursday, September 8th, 1892, at 9 a.m., President, J. Herbert Lewis, Esq., M.P.—Address by David Lewis, Esq. (the Recorder of Swansea), on “The Publication of Welsh Historical Records.” A discussion on “The Publication of Welsh Historical Records.”

Friday, September 9th, 1892, at 9 a.m., President, the Very Rev. the Dean of St. Asaph.—Paper on “Eisteddfodaeth.” by the Rev. H. Elvet Lewis, Llanelly.

It affords the Council the greatest satisfaction to announce to the Society, that during the past year one of the leading objects which it proposed to itself at the time of its resuscitation in 1873, has been placed in a fair way of being accomplished. It has always been the wish of the Society and of its Council, to make a large addition to the body of Ancient Welsh Literature and Historical Record already published. Some contributions to this purpose had been made by the Society in its ordinary publications, but the

work is one which, to be done properly, must be done on a large scale, and this the Society's income, pledged as it was to other lines of work, did not suffice for. Thanks, however, to the persevering efforts of individual members of the Council, and to the personal example of Mr. Henry Owen, Dr. John Williams, and others, public feeling has been awakened to the urgent need of so truly national a work being undertaken, and the Council has been placed in the position of Trustees of a Special Fund (apart from the General Fund of the Society), and already of an encouraging amount, for the purpose of carrying out the object which the Society has so long had at heart. In particular the Society will be most gratified to learn that its noble President, the Marquess of Bute, has generously subscribed his name for the sum of 500*l.* to the Record Fund. Including the sum already expended at the charge of Mr. Henry Owen on the first number of the Record Series, the Fund up to the present date has reached the amount of 1300*l.* As the Council contemplate the accumulation of a Permanent Fund of some 4000*l.* or 5000*l.*, so as to ensure a continuity of publication, they trust that the example of the generous donors already referred to, will be largely followed. With the view of bringing the matter prominently before the public, the following Appeal has been issued:—

"Cared doeth yr Encilion."

The Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion.

FOUNDED A.D. 1751.

President—THE MOST HON. THE MARQUESS OF BUTE, K.T.

THE CYMMRODORION RECORD SERIES.

THE idea of the publication of Welsh Records, which had for some time occupied the thoughts of leading Welsh Scholars, took a

definite and practical shape at the meeting of the Cymmrodorion Section of the National Eisteddfod held at Brecon in 1889. In the papers which were read at that meeting it was shown that a vast quantity of material necessary for understanding the history of Wales still remained buried in public and private Libraries, and also that such of the Welsh Chronicles as had been given to the world had been edited in a manner which had not fulfilled the requirements of modern scholarship.

As it appeared that the Government declined to undertake any further publication of purely Welsh Records, it was suggested by Dr. John Williams that the Council of the Cymmrodorion Society should take the work in hand, and establish a separate fund for that purpose.

The Council are of opinion that a work of this magnitude cannot be left to private enterprise, although they thankfully acknowledge the indebtedness of all Welshmen to such men as Mr. G. T. Clark, of Talygarn, the Rev. Canon Silvan Evans, Mr. J. Gwenogfryn Evans, Mr. Owen Edwards, Mr. Egerton Phillimore, and Professor John Rhŷs, and they fully appreciate the valuable work done by members of the various Antiquarian Societies.

Private enterprise has also enabled the Council to issue, without cost to the Society, the first number of the Series which they have undertaken. The edition of *Owen's Pembrokeshire*, the first part of which has already been issued, is the result to Mr. Henry Owen—a member of the Society's Council—of long and arduous labour, and of an expenditure of a sum of money which would enable any patriotic Welshman who follows that example to present two numbers of the proposed Series to his countrymen.

For the second number of the Series the Council have themselves provided. It will consist of Records from the Ruthin Court Rolls (A.D. 1294-5), and will be entrusted to the scholarly editorship of Mr. R. Arthur Roberts, of the Public Record Office.

In the future numbers of the Series will be published, from public or private MSS., with Introductions and Notes by competent scholars, such Records as will throw light on some period of Welsh History. These publications will, the Council trust, go far to remove from the Principality the dishonour of being the only nation in Europe which is without anything approaching to a scientific history.

It is hoped to issue annually one number of the series. The cost of each number will, it is anticipated, be about 250*l.* To en-

sure a continuity of publication, it is necessary to form a Permanent Capital Fund, and this the Society of Cymmrodorion have now resolved to do. This Fund, when formed, will be under the control of the Council, but will be kept separate from the General Fund of the Society. It will be applicable solely to the purpose herein designated, and an account of receipts and payments will be submitted to each contributor.

Towards the expenses of publication for the current year the Council have found themselves in a position to set aside from the Society's General Fund the sum of 50*l.*, a contribution which they trust a large accession of members to the ranks of the Society will speedily enable them to augment.

The Council confidently appeal to all Welshmen for sympathy and help in this really national enterprise. Welshmen are proverbially proud of the antiquities of their land. To place the records of these antiquities within the reach of every Welsh student in an accurate and intelligible form, and to enable him to understand the growth of the national and individual life, is a work which should unite all Welshmen for the benefit of their countrymen, and for the honour of Wales.

BUTE, *President.*

E. VINCENT EVANS, *Secretary.*

Cymmrodorion Library,
27, Chancery Lane, London, W.C.

The Records Committee appointed by the Council having had under their consideration specimens of various classes of documents bearing upon the history of Wales, now preserved in the Public Record Office (such as the Patent Rolls of Henry III. relating to Wales, Rolls of the Justices in Eyre, Indictment Rolls, Recognizance Rolls, County Court Hundred and Town Rolls, Plea Rolls, Court Rolls and others), which it would be desirable to publish in the *Cymmrodorion Record Series*, unanimously recommended that the earliest two of the Series, known as the Ruthin Court Rolls, belonging in date to the reign of Edward I., should first be taken in hand. Their recommendation was adopted, and the Council have been fortunate in securing for their production the scholarly editorship of Mr. R. Arthur Roberts, of the Public Record Office. It is esti-

mated that the Rolls referred to will afford sufficient material for the second number of the Series. It has been decided that the volume shall consist of an exact transcript of their contents, accompanied by a translation and such notes in elucidation of the text as may appear necessary to the Editor.

The following publications were issued to members during the past year :—

Part 1 of No. 1 of the CYMMRODORION RECORD SERIES (*Owen's Pembrokehire*), presented free by Mr. Henry Owen, F.S.A.

Part 2 of Vol. XI. of Y CYMMRODOR.

The following are in the press—

Part 2 of OWEN'S PEMBROKESHIRE.

Parts 1 and 2 of Vol. XII. of Y CYMMRODOR.

The following presents have been received and duly acknowledged by the Council on behalf of the Society :—

Four Biographical Sketches, by the Rev. John Morgan. Presented by Mr. HENRY OWEN, F.S.A.

The Calendar of the University College of North Wales. Presented by the REGISTRAR.

Bye-Gones Relating to Wales, etc. Presented by Messrs. WOODALL MINSHALL & Co.

The Wrexham Advertiser, The Carnarvon and Denbigh Herald, The Welshman, The North Wales Observer, and The Cambrian (Utica, N.Y.). Presented by their respective Publishers.

The Council is pleased to announce that Papers have been promised for the ensuing Session by :—

Professor JOHN RHŷs.

Mr. W. H. PREECE, F.R.S.

Mr. ERNEST RHŷs.

Mr. W. LEWIS-JONES, M.A.

Professor ROBERT WILLIAMS, M.A.

Mr. PETER EDWARDS (*Pedr Alaw*).

Mr. ISAAC FOULKES (*Llyfbrgyf*).

Under the Society's Rules the terms of the following officers expire, viz. :—

The PRESIDENT.
The VICE-PRESIDENT.
The AUDITORS.

And ten members of the Council retire, but are eligible for re-election, viz. :—

Mr. HOWEL LLOYD.
Mr. LEWIS MORRIS.
Mr. ALFRED NUTT.
Mr. EDWARD OWEN.
Mr. HENRY OWEN.
Dr. ISAMBAARD OWEN.
Mr. EGERTON PHILLIMORE.
Professor RHYS.
Professor RHYS-DAVIDS.
Dr. FREDERICK ROBERTS.

A vacancy also occurs through the resignation of Hugh Edwards.

A Financial Statement for the past year is appended to this Report.

THE HONOURABLE SOCIETY OF CYMMRODORION.

Statement of Receipts and Payments

FROM 9TH NOVEMBER, 1891, TO 9TH NOVEMBER, 1892.

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.	
To Balance in hand, Nov. 9th, 1892		230	4	8		71	10	0
„ Subscriptions (including arrears)		390	10	2		78	1	2
„ Hire of Room		8	8	0		68	1	6
„ Sale of Publications		8	1	0		23	0	0
						31	19	6
By Rent, Insurance, &c.						15	0	0
„ Printing CYMMRODOR, Vol. XI. Part 2						15	12	9
„ Printing, General						34	4	2
„ Editorial Expenses						35	2	6
„ Lectures and Meetings						50	0	0
„ Eisteddfod Section Expenses (2 years)						422	11	7
„ Postage of Publications								
„ Stationery, General Postage, and Petty Expenses								
„ Secretary's Remuneration (1891). (1892).								
„ „ „								
„ Balance in hand (subject to payment of sundry liabilities for 1892 amounting to £154 9s. 4d.)						209	7	8
						681	18	10

JOHN BURRELL, }
ELLIS W. DAVIES, } *Auditors*

H. LLOYD ROBERTS, *Treasurer.*
E. VINCENT EVANS, *Secretary.*

JOHN BURRELL, } *Auditors*
ELLIS W. DAVIES, }

H. LLOYD ROBERTS, *Treasurer.*
E. VINCENT EVANS, *Secretary.*

LECTURE SESSION, 1896



PROGRAMME OF THE SESSION

1892-93.

1892.

DEC. 6th.—Annual Dinner of the Society, at the Hôtel Métropole: President, Sir John H. Puleston.

DEC. 15th.—Annual Meeting of the Members. Inaugural Address on "The Work of the Society," by Mr. Stephen Evans (Chairman of the Council).

1893.

JAN. 11th.—Joint Meeting of the Cymmrodorion and Folk-Lore Societies. Address by Professor John Rhŷs, on "Sacred Wells in Wales." Chairman, Mr. D. Brynmôr Jones, Q.C., M.P.

MAR. 8th.—Paper on "Welsh Bards and English Reviewers," by Mr. Ernest Rhŷs. Chairman, the Rev. G. Hartwell Jones, M.A.

APRIL 12th.—Paper on "The Celt and the Poetry of Nature," by Mr. W. Lewis-Jones, M.A. (University College of North Wales). Chairman, Mr. Ellis Jones Griffith, M.A., Ll.M.

APRIL 26th.—Address on "Science as a Relaxation," by Mr. W. H. Preece, F.R.S. Chairman, Sir Owen Roberts, F.S.A.

MAY 17th.—Paper on "Welsh Secular Music," (with Musical Illustrations), by Mr. Peter Edwards (Pedr Alaw). Chairman, Dr. Isambard Owen, M.A.

N.B.—As the interest of this paper depended very largely on the Musical Illustrations given by a selected choir, it has not been found practicable to include it in the Transactions.

JUNE 13th.—Paper on "The Legends and Tales of the Vale of Clwyd," by Mr. Isaac Foulkes. Chairman, Mr. T. Marchant Williams.

JUNE 28th.—Annual Conversazione of the Society, held (by special permission) in the Hall of the Worshipful Company of Clothworkers, Mincing Lane.

The Council desire it to be known that they do not accept any responsibility in respect of the statements or the opinions expressed by the writers of the papers read before the Society.

TRANSACTIONS
OF THE
Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion,
SESSION, 1892—93.

SACRED WELLS IN WALES.¹

BY JOHN RHYS, M.A., LL.D.

WHEN I suggested, some time ago, that I did not know that the habit of tying rags and bits of clothing to the branches of a tree growing near a holy well existed in Wales, I was, as I have discovered since, talking in an ignorance for which I can now find no adequate excuse. For I have since then obtained information to the contrary ; the first item being a communication received last June from Mr. J. H. Davies of Lincoln College, Oxford, relating to a Glamorganshire holy well, situated near the pathway leading from Coychurch to Bridgend. It is the custom there, he states, for people suffering from any malady to dip a rag in the water, and to bathe the affected part of the body, the rag being then placed on a tree close to the well. When Mr. Davies passed that way, some three years previously, there were, he adds, hundreds of such shreds on the tree, some of which distinctly presented the appear-

¹ Read before a joint meeting of the Cymmrodorion and Folklore Societies, held in the Cymmrodorion Library, Lonsdale Chambers, Chancery Lane, W.C., on Wednesday, January 11th, 1893.

ance of having been placed there very recently. The well is called *Ffynnon Cae Moch*; and a later communication from Mr. Davies embodies his notes of a conversation which he had about the well, on the 16th of December, 1892, with Mr. J. T. Howell of Pencoed, near Bridgend, which notes run thus:—" *Ffynnon Cae Moch*, between Coychurch and Bridgend, is one mile from Coychurch, $1\frac{1}{4}$ from Bridgend, near Tremains. It is within twelve or fifteen yards of the high road, just where the pathway begins. People suffering from rheumatism go there. They bathe the part affected with water, and afterwards tie a piece of rag to the tree which overhangs the well. The rag is not put in the water at all, but is only put on the tree for luck. It is a stunted, but very old tree, and is simply *covered* with rags."

My next informant is Mr. D. J. Jones of Jesus College, Oxford, a native of the Rhondda Valley, in the same county of Glamorgan. His information is to the effect that he knows of three interesting wells in the county. The first is situated within two miles of his home, and is known as *Ffynnon Pen Rhys*, or the Well of Pen Rhys. The custom there is that the person who wishes his health to be benefited should wash in the water of the well, and throw a pin into it afterwards. He next mentions a well at Llancarvan, some five or six miles from Cowbridge, where the custom prevails of tying rags to the branches of a tree growing close at hand. Lastly, he calls my attention to a passage in *Hanes Morganwg*, 'The History of Glamorgan,' written by Mr. D. W. Jones, known in Wales as Dafydd Morganwg. In that work the author speaks of *Ffynnon Marcros*, 'the Well of Marcros,' to the following effect:—"It is the custom for those who are healed in it to tie a shred of linen or cotton to the branches of a tree that stands close by; and there the shreds are, almost as

numerous as the leaves." Marcros is, I may say, near Nash Point, and looks on the map as if it were about eight miles distant from Bridgend ; and let me here make it clear that I have been speaking of four different wells, three of which are severally distinguished by the presence of a tree adorned with rags left on it by those who seek health in the waters close by ; but they are all three, as you will have doubtless noticed, in the same district, namely, that part of Glamorganshire near to—north or south of—the G.W.R. as you travel towards Milford Haven.¹

There is no reason, however, to think that the custom of tying rags to a well-tree was peculiar to that part of the Principality. I came lately, in looking through some old notes of mine, across an entry bearing the date of the 7th day of August, 1887, when I was spending a few days with my friend Canon Silvan Evans, at Llanwrin Rectory, near Machynlleth. Mrs. Evans was then alive and well, and took a keen interest in Welsh antiquities and folk-lore. Among other things, she related to me how she had, some twenty years before, visited a well in the parish of Llandrillo yn Rhos, namely, *Ffynnon Eilian*, or Elian's Well, near Abergele in Denbighshire, when her attention was directed to some bushes near the well, which had once been covered with bits of rags left by those who frequented the well. This was told Mrs. Evans by an old woman of seventy, who, on being questioned by Mrs. Evans concerning the history of the well, informed her that the rags used to be tied to the bushes by means of wool. She was explicit on the point that wool had to be used for the purpose, and that even woollen yarn would not do : it had to be wool in its natural state. The old woman remembered this to have been the rule ever since she was a child. Mrs. Evans noticed corks with pins stuck in them, floating in the well,

¹ On these four wells cf. "Folk-Lore," iii., 380-1.

and her informant remembered many more in years gone by ; for Elian's Well was once in great repute as a *ffynnon reibio*, or a well to which people resorted for the kindly purpose of bewitching those whom they hated. I infer, however, from what Mrs. Evans was told of the rags, that Elian's Well was visited, not only by the malicious, but also by the sick and suffering. My note is not clear on the point whether there were any rags on the bushes by the well when Mrs. Evans visited the spot, or whether she was only told of them by her informant. Even in the latter case it seems evident that this habit of tying rags on trees or bushes near sacred wells, has only ceased in that part of Denbighshire within this century. It is very possible that it continued in North Wales more recently than this instance would lead one to suppose ; indeed, I should not be in the least surprised to learn that it is still practised in out-of-the-way places in Gwynedd, just as it is in Glamorgan. We want more facts.

I cannot say whether it was customary in any of the cases to which I have called your attention, not only to tie rags to the well-tree, but also to throw pins or other small objects into the well ; but I cannot help adhering to my view that the distinction was probably an ancient one between two orders of things. In other words, I am still inclined to believe that the rag was regarded as the vehicle of the disease of which the ailing visitor to the well wished to be rid, and that the bead, button, or coin deposited by him in the well, or in a receptacle near the well, alone formed the offering. When I suggested this in connection with certain wells in the Isle of Man, the President of the Folklore Society remarked 'as follows (FOLK-LORE, iii. 89) :—
“There is some evidence against that, from the fact that in the case of some wells, especially in Scotland at one time, the whole garment was put down as an offering. Gradually

these offerings of clothes became less and less, till they came down to rags. Also, in other parts, the geographical distribution of rag-offerings coincides with the existence of monoliths and dolmens." As to the monoliths and dolmens, I am too little conversant with the facts to feel sure that I understand the President's reference; so perhaps he would not mind amplifying this remark at some opportune moment. But as to his suggestion that the rag originally meant the whole garment, that will suit my hypothesis admirably; in other words, the whole garment was, as I take it, the vehicle of the disease: the whole garment was accursed, and not merely a part of it. The President has returned to the question in his excellent address; and I must at once admit that he has succeeded in proving that a certain amount of confusion is made between things which I regard as belonging originally to distinct categories: witness the inimitable Irish instance which he quoted:—"To St. Columbkil I offer up this button, a bit o' the waistband o' my own breeches, an' a taste o' my wife's petticoat, in remembrance of us havin' made this holy station; an may they rise up in glory to prove it for us in the last day." Here not only the button is treated as an offering, but also the bits of clothing; but the confusion of ideas I should explain as being, at least in part, one of the natural results of substituting a portion of a garment for the entire garment; for thereby a button or a pin becomes a part of the dress, and capable of being interpreted in two senses. After all, however, the ordinary practices have not, I believe, resulted in effacing the distinction altogether: the rag is not left in the well; nor is the bead, button, or pin suspended to a branch of the tree. So, on the whole, it seems to me easier to explain the facts, taken all together, on the supposition that originally the rag was regarded as the vehicle of the disease, and the bead, button,

or coin as the offering. But on this point I wish to ask whether the disease is ever regarded as attaching to a bead, button, or coin, as it is to the rag on the tree? I ask this for my own information; and I may make the same remark with regard to the whole question: I raise it chiefly with a view to promote its further discussion. Some of our journalistic friends seem to imagine, that, when once one makes a suggestion, one feels bound to fight for it tooth and nail; but this is entirely to misunderstand, I take it, the whole spirit of modern research: at any rate, I should be very sorry to have to maintain all the positions I have taken. But, on the other hand, the conjectures of some men who are seldom quite right have perhaps done more to advance science than the facts of some other men who have never grievously blundered in their lives.

The great majority of the Welsh wells of which I have heard seem simply to have pins thrown into them, mostly in order to get rid of warts from the patients' hands. So I will only mention one or two of them as being, to some extent, relevant to the question to which your attention has just been called. *Ffynnon Gwynwy*, or the Well of Gwynwy, near Llangelynin, on the river Conwy, appears to be of this sort; for it formerly used to be well stocked with crooked pins, which nobody would touch lest he might get from them the warts supposed to attach to them. There was a well of some repute at Cae Garw, in the parish of Pistyll, near the foot of Carnguwch, in Lley or West Carnarvonshire. The water possessed virtues to cure one of rheumatism and warts; but, in order to be rid of the latter, it was requisite to throw a pin into the well for each individual wart. For these two items of information, and several more to be mentioned presently, I have to thank Mr. John Jones, better known in Wales by his bardic name of Myrddin Fardd, and as an enthusiastic collector of Welsh antiqui-

ties, whether MSS. or unwritten folk-lore. On the second day of this year I paid him a visit at Chwilog, on the Carnarvon and Avon Wen Railway, and asked him many questions, which he not only answered with the utmost willingness, but also showed me the unpublished materials that he had collected. To leave him for a moment, I come to the competition on the folk-lore of North Wales at the London Eisteddfod in 1887, in which, as one of the adjudicators, I observed that several of the writers in that competition mentioned the prevalent belief that every well with healing properties must have its outlet towards the south. According to one of the writers, if you wished to get rid of warts, you should, on your way to the well, look for wool which the sheep had lost. When you had found enough wool you should prick each wart with a pin, and then rub the wart well with the wool. The next thing was to bend the pin and throw it into the well. Then you should place the wool on the first whitethorn you could find, and as the wind scattered the wool, the warts would disappear. There was a well of the kind, the writer goes on to say, near his home; and he, with three or four other boys, went from school one day to the well to charm their warts away. For he had twenty-three on one of his hands; so that he always tried to hide it, as it was the belief that if one counted the warts they would double their number. He forgets what became of the other boys' warts, but his own disappeared soon afterwards; and his grandfather used to maintain that it was owing to the virtue of the well. Such were the words of this writer, whose name is unknown to me; but I guess him to have been a native of Carnarvonshire, or else of one of the neighbouring districts of Denbighshire or Merionethshire. To return to Myrddin Fardd, he mentioned *Efynnon Cefn Lleithfan*, or the Well of the Lleithfan Ridge, on the eastern slope of Mynydd y Rhiw, in the

parish of Bryn croes, in the west of Lleyrn. In the case of this well it is necessary, when going to it and coming from it, to be careful not to utter a word to anybody, or to turn to look back. What one has to do at the well is to bathe the warts with a rag or clout which has grease on it. When that is done, the clout with the grease has to be carefully concealed beneath the stone at the mouth of the well. This brings to my mind the fact that I have, more than once, years ago, noticed rags underneath stones in the water flowing from wells in Wales, and sometimes thrust into holes in the walls of wells, but I had no notion how they came there.

In the cliffs at the west end of Lleyrn is a wishing-well called *Ffynnon Fair*, or *St. Mary's Well*; where, to obtain your wish, you have to descend the steps to the well and walk up again to the top with your mouth full of the water. Viewing the position of the well from the sea, I should be disposed to think that the realization of one's wish at that price could not be regarded as altogether cheap. Myrddin Fardd also told me that there used to be a well near Criccieth Church, in Eifionydd, West Carnarvonshire. It was known as *Ffynnon y Saint*, or the *Saints' Well*, and it was the custom to throw keys or pins into it on the morning of Easter Sunday, in order to propitiate St. Catherine, who was the patron of the well. I should be glad to know what this exactly means. Lastly, a few of the wells in that part of Gwynedd may be grouped together and described as oracular. One of these, the big well in the parish of Llanbedrog in Lleyrn, as I learn from Myrddin Fardd, required the devotee to kneel by it and avow his faith in it. After this was duly done, he might proceed in this wise: to ascertain the name of the thief who had stolen from him, he had to throw a bit of bread into the well and name the person whom he suspected. At the name of the thief the bread

would sink ; so the inquirer went on naming all the persons he could think of until the bit of bread sank : then the thief was identified. Another well of the same kind was *Ffynnon Saethon*, in Llanfihangel Bachellaeth parish, also in Lleyn. Here it was customary, as he had it in writing, for lovers to throw pins (*pinnau*) into the well ; but these pins appear to have been the points of the blackthorn. At any rate, they cannot well have been of any kind of metal, as we are told that, if they sank in the water, one concluded that one's lover was not sincere in his or her love. *Ffynnon Gybi*, or St. Cybi's Well, in the parish of Llanygybi, was the scene of a somewhat similar practice ; for there the girls who wished to know their lovers' intentions would spread their pocket-handkerchiefs on the water of the well, and, if the water pushed the handkerchiefs to the south—in Welsh, *i'r dé*—they knew that everything was right—in Welsh, *o ddé*—and that their lovers were honest and honourable in their intentions ; but, if the water shifted the handkerchiefs northwards, they concluded the contrary. A reference to this is made in severe terms by a modern Welsh poet, as follows :—

Ambell ddyn, gwaelddyn, a gyrch
 I bant goris Moel Bentyrch,
 Mewn gobaith mai hen Gybi
 Glodfawr sydd yn llwyddaw'r lli.

Some folks, worthless folks, visit
 A hollow below Moel Bentyrch,
 In hopes that ancient Kybi
 Of noble fame blesses the flood.

The spot is not far from where Myrddin Fardd lives ; and he mentioned that adjoining the well is a building which was probably intended for the person in charge of the well. However that may be, it has been tenanted within his memory. A well, bearing the remarkable name of *Ffynnon*

Gwynedd, or the Well of Gwynedd, is situated near Mynydd Mawr, in the parish of Abererch, and it used to be consulted in the same way for a different purpose. When it was desired to discover whether an ailing person would recover, a garment of his would be thrown into the well, and according to the side on which it sunk it was known whether he would live or die. All these items are based on Myrddin Fardd's answers to my questions, or on the notes which he gave me to peruse.

The next class of wells to claim our attention consists of what I may call magic wells, of which few are mentioned in connection with Wales; but the legends about them are very curious. One of them is in Myrddin Fardd's neighbourhood, and I questioned him a good deal on the subject: it is called *Ffynnon Grassi*, or Grace's Well, and it occupies, according to him, a few square feet—he has measured it himself—of the south-east corner of the Lake of Glasfryn Uchaf, in the parish of Llangybi. It appears that it was walled in, and that the stone forming its eastern side has several holes in it, which were intended to let water enter the well, and not issue from it. It had a door or cover on its surface; and it was necessary to keep the door always shut, except when water was being drawn. Through somebody's negligence, however, it was once on a time left open: the consequence was that the water of the well flowed out and formed the Glasfryn pool, which is so considerable as to be navigable for small boats. Grassi is supposed in the locality to have been the name of the owner of the well, or at any rate of a woman who had something to do with it. *Grassi*, or Grace, however, can only be a name which a modern version of the legend has introduced. It probably stands for an older name given to the person in charge of the well, the one, in fact, who neglected to shut the door; but though this name must be comparatively modern, the

story, as a whole, does not appear to be at all modern, but very decidedly the contrary.

For the next legend of this kind I have to thank the Rev. J. Fisher, Curate of Llanllwchaiarn, Newtown, Mont., who, in spite of his name, is a genuine Welshman, and—what is more—a Welsh scholar. The following are his words:—"Llyn Llech Owen (the last word is locally sounded *w-en*, like *oo-en* in English, as is also the personal name Owen) is on Mynydd Mawr, in the ecclesiastical parish of Gors Lâs, and the civil parish of Llanarthney, Carmarthenshire. It is a small lake, forming the source of the Gwendraeth Fawr. I have heard the tradition about its origin told by several persons, and by all, until quite recently, pretty much in the same form. In 1884 I took it down from my grandfather, Mr. Rees Thomas (*b.* 1809, *d.* 1892), of Cil Coll, Llandebie—a very intelligent man, with a good fund of old-world Welsh lore—who had lived all his life in the neighbouring parishes of Llandeilo Fawr and Llandebie.

"The following is the version of the story (translated) as I had it from him:—There was once a man of the name of Owen living on Mynydd Mawr, and he had a well ('ffynnon'). Over this well he kept a large flag ('fflagen *neu* lech fawr': 'fflagen' is the word in common use now in these parts for a large flat stone), which he was always careful to replace over its mouth after he had satisfied himself or his beast with water. It happened, however, that one day he went on horseback to the well to water his horse, and forgot to put the flag back in its place. He rode off leisurely in the direction of his home; but, after he had gone some distance, he casually looked back, and, to his great astonishment, saw that the well had burst out and was overflowing the whole place. He suddenly bethought him that he should ride back and encompass the overflow of the water as fast as he could; and it was the horse's track in galloping round the

water that put a stop to its further overflowing. It is fully believed that, had he not galloped round the flood in the way he did, the well would have been sure to inundate the whole district and drown all. Hence the lake was called the Lake of Owen's Flag ('Llyn Llech Owen').

"I have always felt interested in this story, as it resembled that about the formation of Lough Neagh, etc.; and, happening to meet the Rev. D. Harwood Hughes, B.A., the Vicar of Gors Lâs (St. Lleian's), last August (1892), I asked him to tell me the legend as he had heard it in his parish. He said that he had been told it, but in a form different from mine, where the 'Owen' was said to have been Owen Glyndwr. This is the substance of the legend as he had heard it:—Owen Glyndwr, when once passing through these parts, arrived here of an evening. He came across a well, and having watered his horse, placed a stone over it in order to find it again next morning. He then went to lodge for the night at Dyllgoed Farm, close by. In the morning, before proceeding on his journey, he took his horse to the well to give him water, but found to his surprise that the well had become a lake."

Mr. Fisher goes on to mention the later history of the lake: how, some eighty years ago, its banks were the resort on Sunday afternoons of the young people of the neighbourhood, and how a Baptist preacher put an end to their amusements and various kinds of games by preaching at them. However, the lake-side appears to be still a favourite spot for picnics and Sunday-school gatherings.

Mr. Fisher was quite right in appending to his own version that of his friend; but, from the point of view of folklore, I must confess that I can make nothing of the latter: it differs from the genuine one as much as chalk does from

cheese. It would be naturally gratifying to the pride of local topography to be able to connect with the pool the name of the greatest Owen known to Welsh history; but it is worthy of note that the highly respectable attempt to rationalize the legend wholly fails, as it does not explain why there is now a lake where there was once but a well. In other words, the euhemerized version is itself evidence corroborative of Mr. Fisher's older version. This, in the form in which he got it from his grandfather, provokes comparison, as he suggests, with the Irish legend of the formation of Loch Ree and Lough Neagh in the story of the Death of Eochaid McMairda.¹ In that story also there is a horse, but it is a magic horse, who forms the well which eventually overflows and becomes the large body of water known as Lough Neagh. For the magic well was placed in the charge of a woman called Liban; she one day left the cover of the well open, and the catastrophe took place—the water issuing forth and overflowing the country. Liban herself, however, was not drowned, but only changed into a salmon—a form which she retained for three centuries. In my *Arthurian Legend*, p. 361, I have attempted to show that the name *Liban* may have its Welsh equivalent in that of *Llion*, occurring in the name of *Llyn Llion*, or Llion's Lake, the bursting of which is described in the latest series of Triads (iii. 13, 97) as causing a sort of deluge. I am not certain as to the nature of the relationship between those names, but it seems evident that the stories have a common substratum, though it is to be

¹ The story may now be consulted in O'Grady's *Silva Gadelica*, i. 233-7; translated in ii. 265-9. On turning over the leaves of this splendid collection of Irish lore, I chanced on an allusion to a well which, when uncovered, was about to drown the whole locality, but for a miracle performed by St. Patrick to arrest the flow of its waters. See *op. cit.*, i. 174; ii. 196.

noticed that no well, magic or otherwise, figures in the Llyn Llion legend, which makes the presence of the monster called the *Avanc* the cause of the waters bursting forth. So Hu the Mighty, with his team of famous oxen, is made to drag the monster out of the lake. There is, however, another Welsh legend concerning a great overflow in which a well does figure: I allude to that of *Cantre'r Gwaelod*, or the bottom Hundred, a fine spacious country supposed to be submerged in Cardigan Bay. Modern euhemerism treats it as defended by embankments and sluices, which, we are told, were in the charge of the prince of the country, named Seithennin, who, being one day in his cups, forgot to shut the sluices, and thus brought about the inundation, which was the end of his fertile realm. This, however, is not the old legend; which speaks of a well, and lays the blame on a woman—a pretty sure sign of antiquity, as you may judge from other old stories which will readily occur to you. The Welsh legend to which I allude is a short poem in the *Black Book of Carmarthen*,¹ consisting of eight triplets, to which is added a triplet from the Englynion of the Graves (also found on fo. 33a of the *B. B.*).

The following is a tentative translation of it :—

Seithennin sawde allan.

ac edrychuirde varanres mor.

maes guitnev rytoes.

Seithennin, stand thou forth

And see the vanguard of the main—

Gwyðno's plain has it covered.

Boed emendiceid y morvin

aehellygaut guydi cvin.

finaun wenestir mor terruin.

Accursed be the maiden

Who after supping let it loose—

The well-servant of the high sea.

¹ See Evans's autotype edition of the *Black Book*, fos. 53b, 54a.

Boed emendiceid y vachteith.
 ae. golligaut guydi gueith.
 finaun wenestir mor diffeith.

Accursed be the spinster
 Who after battle let it loose—
 The well-servant of the main.

Diaspad vererid y ar vann caer.
 hid ar duu y dodir.
 gnaud guydi traha trango hir.

Mererid's cry from a city's height
 Even to God is it sent aloft :
 After pride comes long death.

Diaspad mererid . y ar van kaer hetiv.
 hid ar duu y dadoluch.
 gnaud guydi traha attreguch.

Mererid's cry from a city's height to-day
 Even to God her expiation :
 After pride comes reflection.

Diaspad mererid am gorchuit heno.
 ac nimbaut gorlluit.
 gnaud guydi traha tramguit.

Mererid's cry fills me to-night,
 Nor can I readily prosper :
 After pride comes a downfall.

Diaspad mererid y ar gwinev kadir
 kedaul duv ae gorev.
 gnaud guydi gormot eissev.

Mererid's cry over generous wines:
 The bountiful man is God's creation :
 After excess comes privation.

Diaspad mererid . am kymhell heno
 y urth uyistaueil.
 gnaud guydi traha trango pell.

Mererid's cry forces me to-night
 Away from my chamber :
 After insolence comes long death.

Bet seithenhin synhuir vann
 Rug kaer kenedir a glan.
 mor manrhidic a kinran.

The grave of Seithennin of the feeble understanding
 (Is) between Kenedyr's Fort and the shore,
 (With that of) Môr the Grand and Kynran.

The names in these lines present great difficulties: first comes that of *Mererid*, which is no other word than *Margarita*, 'a pearl,' borrowed; but what does it here mean? *Margarita*, besides meaning a pearl, was used in Welsh, e.g., under the form *Marereda*,¹ as the proper name written in English *Margaret*. That is probably how it is to be taken here, namely, as the name given to the negligent guardian of the magic well. It cannot very well be, however, the name occurring in the original form of the legend; but we have the parallel case of *Ffynnon Grassi* or *Grace's Well*. The woman in question plays the rôle of *Liban* in the Irish story, and one of *Liban's* names was *Muirgen*, which would in Welsh be *Morien*, the earliest known form of which is *Morgen*, 'sea-born.' I conjecture accordingly that the respectable Christian name *Margarita* was substituted for an original *Morgen*, partly because perhaps *Morgen* was used as the name of a man, namely, of the person known to ecclesiastical history as *Pelagius*, which makes an appropriate translation of *Morgen* or *Morien*. I may point out that the modern name *Morgan*, standing as it does for an older *Morcant*, is an utterly different name, although Article IX. in the Welsh version of the English Book of Common Prayer gives its sanction to the ignorance which makes the *Pelagians* of the original into *Morganiaid*. This accounts probably for what I used to hear when I was

¹ See *Y Cymmrodor*, viii. 88, No. XXIX. where a *Marereda* is mentioned as a daughter of *Madog ap Meredydd ap Rhys Gryg*.

a boy, namely, that families bearing the name of *Morgan* were of a mysteriously uncanny descent. What was laid to their charge I could never discover ; but it was probably the sin of heresy of the ancient *Morgen* or *Morien*—the name, as some of you know, selected as his *ffugenu* by the *Archdderwydd*, or the *soi-disant* chief of the Druids of Wales, at the present day, whose proper surname is Morgan. But to return to the Bottom Hundred, nobody has been able to identify *Caer Kenedyr*, and I have nothing to say as to *Mor Maurhidic*, except that a person of that name is mentioned in another of the Englynion of the Graves. It runs thus (*B. B.*, fo. 33a) :

Bet mor maurhidic diessic unben.
 post kinhen kinteic.
 mab peredur penwetic.

The Grave of Mor the Grand, the Déisi's prince,
 Pillar of the foremost (?) conflict,
 The son of Peredur of Penweddig.

It is a mere conjecture of mine that *diessic* is an adjective referring to the people called in Irish *Déisi*, who invaded Dyfed, and founded there a dynasty represented by King Triphun and his Sons at the time of St. David's birth ; later, we find Elen, wife of Howel Dda, to be one of that family. The mention of Peredur of Penweddig raises other questions ; but let it suffice here to say that Penweddig was a Cantred consisting of North Cardiganshire, which brings us to the vicinity of Cantre'r Gwaelod. The last name in the final triplet of the poem which I have attempted to translate is *Kinran*, which is quite inexplicable as a Welsh name ; but I am inclined to identify it with that of one of the three who escaped the catastrophe in the Irish legend. The name there is *Curnan*, which was borne by the idiot of the family, who, like many later idiots, was at the same

time a prophet. For he is represented as always prophesying that the waters were going to burst forth, and advising his friends to prepare boats. So he may be set, after a fashion, over against our *Seithenhin synwyr wan*, 'S. of the feeble mind.' But you will perhaps ask why I do not point out an equivalent in Irish for the Welsh *Seithennin*. The fact is that no such equivalent occurs in the Irish story in question, nor, so far as I know, in any other.

That is what I wrote when penning these notes; but it has occurred to me since then that there is an Irish name, an important Irish name, which is possibly related to *Seithenhin*, and that is *Setanta*, the first name of the Irish hero *Cúchulainn*. If we put this name back into what may be surmised to have been its early form, we arrive at *Setntias* or *Setntios*, while *Seithennin* or *Seithenhin*—both spellings occur in the *Black Book*—admits of being restored to *Seithntinos*. The *nt* in *Setanta*, on the other hand, makes one suspect that it is a name of Brythonic origin in Irish; and I have been in the habit of associating it with that of the people of the *Setantii*,¹ placed by Ptolemy on the coast-land of Lancashire. The two theories are possibly compatible; but in that case one would have to consider both *Setanta* and *Setantii* as Brythonic names, handed down in forms more or less Goidelicized. Whether any legend has ever been current about a country submerged on the coast of Lancashire I cannot say, but I should be very glad to be informed of it if any such is known. I remember, however, reading somewhere as to the Plain of *Muirthemhne*, of which *Cúchulainn*, our *Setanta*, had special charge, that it was so called because it had once been covered by the sea: but that is just the converse of *Seithennin*'s country being continuously sub-

¹ There is another reading which would make them into *Segantii*, and render it irrelevant to mention them here.

merged. The latter is beneath Cardigan Bay, while the other fringed the opposite side of the Irish Sea, consisting as it did of the level portion of county Louth. And on the whole I am not altogether indisposed to believe that we have in these names traces of an ancient legend of a wider scope than is represented by the *Black Book* triplets which I have essayed to translate. I think that I am right in recognizing that legend in the *Mabinogi* of Branwen, daughter of Llyr. There we read that, when Brân and his men crossed from Wales to Ireland, the intervening sea consisted merely of two navigable rivers called Lli and Archan. The story-teller adds words, grievously mistranslated by Lady Charlotte Guest in her *Mabinogion*, iii. 117, to the effect that it is only since then that the sea has multiplied his realms between Ireland and the Isle of the Mighty, as he calls this country.

These are not all the questions which such stories suggest to me ; for Seithennin is represented in later Welsh literature as the son of one *Seithyn Saidi*, King of Dyfed. *Saidi* is obscure : a *Mab Saidi*, 'Saidi's Son,' is mentioned in the Story of Kulhwch and Olwen : see the *Red Book Mabinogion*, pp. 106, 110 ; and as to Seithyn, or Seithin, a person so called is alluded to in an obscure passage in the *Book of Taliessin* : see Skene's *Four Ancient Books of Wales*, ii. 210. I now shift to the coast of Brittany, as to which I learn from a short paper by the late M. Le Men, in the *Revue Archéologique*, xxiii. 52, that the Ile de Sein is called in Breton *Enez-Sun*, in which *Sun* is a dialectic shortening of *Sizun*, which is also met with as *Seidhun*. That being so, one can have but little hesitation in regarding *Sizun* as nearly related to our *Seithyn*. That is not all : the tradition reminds one of the Welsh legend : M. Le Men not only referred to the *Vie du P. Maunoir* by Boschet (Paris, 1697), but added that, in his own time, the road

ending on the Pointe du Raz opposite the Isle of Sein "passe pour être l'ancien chemin qui conduisait à la ville d'Is (*Kaer-a-Is*, la ville de la partie basse)." It is my own experience that nobody can go about much in Brittany without hearing over and over again about the submerged city of Is. When pondering over the collective significance of these stories, I had my attention directed to quite another order of facts by a naturalist who informed me that a well-known botanist ranks as Iberian a certain percentage—a very considerable percentage, I understood him to say—of the flora of our south-western peninsulas, such as Cornwall and Kerry. The question suggests itself at once: Can our British and Breton legends of submergence have come down to us from so remote a past as the time when the land extended unbroken from the north of Spain to the south of Ireland? I cannot say that such a view seems to me admissible, but the question may prove worth putting.

To return to magic wells, I have to confess that I cannot decide what may be precisely the meaning of the notion of a well with a woman set carefully to see that the door of the well is kept shut. It will occur, however, to everybody to compare the well which Undine wished to have kept shut, on account of its affording a ready access from her subterranean country to the castle of her refractory knight. And in the case of the Glasfryn Lake, the walling and cover that were to keep the spring from overflowing were, according to the story, not water-tight, seeing that there were holes in one of the stones. This suggests the idea that the cover was to prevent the passage of some such full-grown fairies as those with which legend seems to have once peopled all the pools and tarns of Wales. But, in the next place, is the maiden in charge of the well to be regarded as priestess of the well? This idea of a priest-

hood is not wholly unknown in connection with wells in Wales.

In another context (p. 3, above) I have alluded to Ffynnon Eilian, or St. Eilian's Well; and I wish now briefly to show the bearing of its history on this question. We read as follows, *s. v. Llandrillo*, in Lewis's *Topographical Dictionary of Wales*, edition 1833: "Fynnon Eilian, which, even in the present age, is annually visited by hundreds of people, for the reprehensible purpose of invoking curses upon the heads of those who have grievously offended them. The ceremony is performed by the applicant standing upon a certain spot near the well, whilst the owner of it reads a few passages of the sacred scriptures, and then, taking a small quantity of water, gives it to the former to drink, and throws the residue over his head, which is repeated three times, the party continuing to mutter imprecations in whatever terms his vengeance may dictate." Rice Rees, in his *Essay on Welsh Saints* (London, 1836), p. 267, speaks of St. Eilian as follows: "Miraculous cures were lately supposed to be performed at his shrine at Llanelian, Anglesey; and near the church of Llanelian, Denbighshire, is a well called Ffynnon Eilian, which is thought by the peasantry of the neighbourhood to be endued with miraculous powers even at present."

Foulkes, *s. v. Eilian*, in his *Enwogion Cymru*, published in 1870, expresses the opinion that the visits of the superstitious to the well had ceased for some time. The last man supposed to have had charge of the well was a certain John Evans; but some of the most amusing stories of the shrewdness of the person looking after the well refer to a woman who had charge of it before Evans' time. A series of articles on Ffynnon Eilian appeared in 1861 in a Welsh periodical called *Y Nofelydd*, printed by Aubrey at Llanerch y Medd in Anglesey. The articles in question were after-

wards published, I believe, as a shilling book, which I have not seen, and they dealt with the superstition, with the history of John Evans, and his confession and conversion. I have searched in vain for any account in Welsh of the ritual followed at the well.

Lewis calls the person who took the charge of the well the owner; and I have always understood that, whether owner or not, the person in question received gifts of money, not only for placing in the well the names of men who were to be cursed, but also from those men for taking their names out again, so as to relieve them from the malediction. In fact, the trade in curses seems to have been a very thriving one: its influence was powerful and widespread.

Here there is, I think, very little doubt that the owner or guardian of the well was, so to say, the representative of an ancient priesthood of the well. His function as a pagan—for such we must reckon him, in spite of his employing in his ritual some verses from the Bible—was analogous to that of a parson or preacher who lets for rent the sittings in his church. We have, however, no sufficient data in this case to show how the right to the priesthood of a sacred well was acquired, whether by inheritance or otherwise; but we know that a woman might have charge of St. Elian's Well.

Let me cite another instance, which I suddenly discovered last summer in the course of a ramble in quest of old inscriptions. Among other places which I visited was Llandeilo Llwydarth, near Maen Clochog, in the northern part of Pembrokeshire. This is one of the many churches bearing the name of St. Teilo in South Wales; the building is in ruins, but the churchyard is still used, and contains two of the most ancient non-Roman inscriptions in the Principality. If you ask now for "Llandeilo" in this

district, you will be understood to be inquiring after the farm-house of that name, close to the old church ; and I learnt from the landlady that her family has been there for many generations, though they have not very long been the proprietors of the land. She also told me of St. Teilo's Well, a little above the house ; adding that it was considered to have the property of curing the whooping-cough. I asked if there was any rite or ceremony necessary to be performed in order to derive benefit from the water. Certainly, I was told ; the water must be lifted out of the well and given to the patient to drink by some member of the family ; to be more accurate, I ought to say that this must be done by somebody born in the house. One of her sons, however, had told me previously, when I was busy with the inscriptions, that the water must be given to the patient by the heir, not by anybody else. Then came my question how the water was lifted, or out of what the patient had to drink, to which I was answered that it was out of the skull. "What skull?" said I. "St. Teilo's skull," was the answer. "Where do you get the saint's skull?" I asked. "Here it is," was the answer, and I was given it to handle and examine. I know next to nothing about skulls ; but it struck me that it was a thick, strong skull, and it called to my mind the story of the three churches which contended for the saint's corpse. You all know it, probably ; the contest became so keen that it had to be settled by prayer and fasting. So, in the morning, lo and behold ! there were three corpses of St. Teilo—not simply one—and so like were they in features and stature that nobody could tell which were the corpses made to order and which the old one. I should have guessed that the skull which I saw belonged to the former description, as not having been very much worn by its owner ; but this I am forbidden to do by the fact that, according to the

legend, this particular Llandeilo was not one of the three contending churches which bore away in triumph a dead Teilo each. Another view, however, is possible; namely, that the story has been edited in such a way as to reduce a larger number of Teilos into three, in order to gratify the Welsh fondness for triads.

Since my visit to the neighbourhood I have been favoured with an account of the well as it is now current there. My informant is Mr. Benjamin Gibby of Llangolman Mill, who writes (in Welsh) mentioning, among other things, that the people around call the well *Ffynnon yr Ychen*, or the Oxen's Well, and that the family owning and occupying the farm-house of Llandeilo have been there for centuries. Their name, which is Melchior (pronounced Melshor), is by no means a common one in the Principality, so far as I know; but, whatever may be its history in Wales, the bearers of it are excellent Kymry. Mr. Gibby informs me that the current story solves the difficulty as to the saint's skull as follows:—The saint had a favourite maid-servant from the Pembrokeshire Llandeilo; she was a beautiful woman, and had the privilege of attending on the saint when he was on his death-bed. As his death was approaching, he gave his maid a strict and solemn command that at the end of a year's time from the day of his burial at Llandeilo Fawr she was to take his skull to the other Llandeilo, and to leave it there to be a blessing to coming generations of men, who, when ailing, would have their health restored by drinking water out of it. So the belief has been that to drink out of the skull some of the water of Teilo's well insures health, especially against the whooping-cough. The faith of some of those who used to visit the well was so great in its efficacy that they were wont to leave it, as he says, with their health wonderfully improved; and he mentions a story related to him by an old neigh-

bour, Stephen Ifan, who has been dead for some years, to the effect that a carriage, drawn by four horses, came once, more than half a century ago, to Llandeilo. It was full of invalids coming from Pen Clawdd, in Gower, Glamorgan-shire, to try the water of the well. They returned, however, no better than they came, for though they had drunk of the well, they had neglected to do so out of the skull. This was afterwards pointed out to them by somebody, and they resolved to make the long journey to the well again. This time, as we are told, they did the right thing, and departed in excellent health.

Such are the contents of Mr. Gibby's letter; and I would now only point out that we have here an instance of a well which was probably sacred before the time of St. Teilo: in fact, one would possibly be right in supposing that the sanctity of the well and its immediate surroundings was one of the causes of the site being chosen by a Christian missionary. But consider for a moment what has happened: the well-paganism has annexed the saint, and established a belief ascribing to him the skull used in the well-ritual. The landlady and her family, it is true, do not believe in the efficacy of the well, or take gifts from those who visit the well; but they continue, out of kindness, to hand the skull full of water to those who persevere in their belief in it. In other words, the faith in the well continues in a measure intact, when the walls of the church have fallen into utter decay. Such is the great persistence of some ancient beliefs; and in this particular instance we have a succession which seems to point unmistakably to an ancient priesthood of this spring of water.

JOHN RHYS.

In the discussion which followed this paper, interesting particulars were mentioned by Mr. T. E. Morris, of Port-

madoc; and in response to an appeal by the author of the paper, Mr. Morris has been good enough to write out his remarks, as follows :—

“ Professor Rhys has referred in his interesting paper to three sacred wells which have come within my knowledge.

“ I remember being at Llanancarvan in July, 1887, seeing the church, and visiting two old farmhouses with ecclesiastical traditions, Llanveithin and Garn Lwyd. I was then told that there was a *Ffynnon Ddyfrig* (St. Dubricius' Well), or a well with a similar name, about a mile off, if I remember rightly, the waters of which possessed healing properties. Unfortunately, my time was limited, and so I was unable to go and see it.

“ I have seen *Ffynnon Fair* (St. Mary's Well), on Uwch Fynydd, near Aberdaron. It occupies a hollow in the cliff, a little to the left of the site of *Eglwys Fair*, facing Bardsey Island. It lies a short distance down the cliff, and is easily approached. The person who could drink a mouthful of its waters, then ascend the hill, and go round the ruins of the chapel once or thrice (I am not sure on this point), without swallowing or parting with it, would have his fondest wish gratified. I recollect remarking at the time to a friend who was with me, that the feat would be a somewhat difficult one to perform; and I fear we felt no desire, under the circumstances, to wish.

“ I was also at Llangybi, in Carnarvonshire, about two years ago, and saw *Ffynnon Gybi* (St. Cybi's Well), which lies in a small dale near the parish church, and had been walled in and flagged. It is a large square well, and was formerly very much resorted to by persons suffering from rheumatism and other complaints. To effect a cure it was necessary to bathe in the well; and the building adjoining, the ruins of which remain, was possibly used by the sufferers.

“Reference was made to the custom of dropping pins into sacred wells in Wales as offerings. I have also heard that it was customary to drop coins; but cannot speak definitely of any well where the custom prevailed. I think I have been told that copper coins were thrown into the well known as *Ffynnon Faglan* (St. Baglan’s Well), in the parish of Llanfaglan, Carnarvonshire; but such does not appear to have been the case. The well is situated in an open field to the right of the road leading towards the church, and close to it. The church and churchyard form an enclosure in the middle of the same field. Mrs. Roberts, of Cefn-y-coed, near Carnarvon, has kindly supplied me with the following information:—

“The old people who would be likely to know anything about *Ffynnon Faglan* have all died. The two oldest inhabitants, who have always lived in this parish (Llanfaglan), remember the well being used for healing purposes. One told me his mother used to take him to it, when he was a child, for sore eyes, bathe them with the water, and then drop in a pin. The other man, when he was young, bathed in it for rheumatism; and until quite lately people used to fetch away the water for medicinal purposes. The latter, who lives near the well, at Tan-y-graig, said that he remembered it being cleaned out about fifty years ago, when two basins-full of pins were taken out, but no coin of any kind. The pins were all bent, and I conclude the intention was to exorcise the evil spirit supposed to afflict the person who dropped them in, or, as the Welsh say, *dadwitsio*. No doubt some ominous words were also used. The well is at present nearly dry, the field where it lies having been drained some years ago, and the water in consequence withdrawn from it. It was much used for the cure of warts. The wart was washed, then pricked with a pin, which, after being bent, was thrown into the well.

“ ‘ There is a very large and well known well of the kind at Clynnog, *Ffynnon Beuno*¹ (St. Beuno’s Well), which was considered to have miraculous healing powers; and even yet, I believe, some people have faith in it. *Ffynnon Faglan* is in its construction an imitation, on a smaller scale, of St. Beuno’s Well at Clynnog.’ ”

T. E. MORRIS.

¹ This is the local pronunciation; but we should expect to find *Ffynnon Feuno*. So *Ffynnon Gwynwy* (p. 59, above) might mean either “ Gwynwy’s ” or “ Cwynwy’s Well.”

WELSH BARDS AND ENGLISH REVIEWERS.¹

BY ERNEST RHYS.

“It is amusing to observe,” says a typical English reviewer, “with what perseverance and success the Celts are proceeding in their endeavours to deserve that character which has been so liberally bestowed upon them by the most contemptuous of their opponents. Every one must remember the emphatic epithets with which Pinkerton in particular has branded this ill-fated race. According to him, a Celtic understanding is *sui generis*; it readily embraces and believes whatever is rejected and laughed at by the rest of mankind.” Much more in the same vein might be quoted from other familiar sources. The spirit, the urbanity, of this and other similar passages in old *Quarterly* and *Edinburgh Reviews*, though dating back many years, is indeed admirably characteristic of the common attitude of English critics towards Celtic literature.

It may be said, that attitude has been long changed for the better. Partly, no doubt; but not altogether. It would be beneath the high seriousness of the present discussion to descend from literary to political instances. But one instance, from a recent memorable debate in the House of Commons, may fairly be permitted, as showing how far the old leaven still works. “Only a Welsh intellect,” said Lord Randolph Churchill the other evening in the House, “could reconcile”—what, in effect, he implied, was to the

¹ Read before the Society, Wednesday, March 8th, 1893.

profound Saxon intelligence, irreconcilable. From which we may conclude (leaving all political bias out of the question) that it is possible for critics in 1893 to be, after three generations of strenuous education,—well, precisely as intelligent as were the Pinkertons and the other reviewers of 1804. It is well, I think, to insist upon the temperamental incapacity of a certain order of Saxon mind, for understanding their fellow subjects of Celtic race. Take Pinkerton himself, who is a good, if extreme, instance.

In his *Inquiry into the History of Scotland* he is to be found at his best. He protests, for example, “our positive knowledge here in Britain that the Celts are mere radical savages, not yet advanced even to a state of barbarism; and if any foreigner doubts this, he has only to step into the Celtic part of Wales, Ireland, or Scotland, and look at them, for they are just as they were, incapable of industry or civilization, even after half their blood is Gothic, and remain, as marked by the ancients, fond of lies, the enemies of truth.” Take this, again, which may be commended to Professor Rhys, “the Celtic, I will venture to say, is of all savage languages the most confused, as the Celts are of all savages the most deficient in understanding. Wisdom and ingenuity may be traced among the Samoieds, Laplanders, Negroes, etc., but among the Celts none of native growth. All etymology of names is folly; but Celtic etymology is sheer frenzy. Enough of Celtic etymology! Let us leave it to candidates for Bedlam!”

Pinkerton, no doubt, is too crude to be a typical reviewer; and it may be objected that he was Scotch, and not English. Here, however, all who in the issue between Welsh and English speak or write from the Saxon side, must be counted with the English reviewers. As we know, there are men who take that side among our own

countrymen, politer Esaus who have sold their birthright, ineffective traitors, very well nick-named in Wales, "Dickshondavyths," that is to say, "Dick-John-Davids," or as we might say in English, "Tom-Dick-Harrys." Goronwy Owen, in one of his letters, gives an account of a meeting with a capital representative of the type, in the person of a Welsh curate, who was evidently a "Dickshondavyth" of the first water. This curate was a neighbour and a namesake of Goronwy Owen, whom that hapless and delightful poet met when he was suffering exile at Walton, because of his too much love for his native Welsh tongue, its church and its poetry. "Like an honest Welshman," says Goronwy of this gentleman, "he owned that he was a native of Montgomeryshire, which pleased me well enough; but being asked by my patron whether he could speak or read Welsh, I found the young urchin was shy to own either, though I was afterwards, that same day, convinced of the contrary. Then, when they alleged it was a dying language, not worth cultivating, etc., which I stiffly denied, the wicked imp, with an air of complacency and satisfaction, said there was nothing in it worth reading, and that to his certain knowledge the English daily got ground of it, and he doubted not but in a hundred years it would be quite lost. This was a matter of triumph to my antagonists; but to me it was such a confounded overthrowing blow as would certainly have utterly ruined and destroyed me out of the way, but that I have a queer turn of mind that disposes me to laugh heartily at an absurdity, and to despise ignorance and conceitedness." This extract, I may add, is from a letter dated Walton, August 10th, 1753; so that the century which this young gentleman gave the Welsh language to die, is long past; and it lives more vigorously than ever.

Now, out of such materials, one is able to glean at once

something of the difficulties that beset the rational study of Welsh in particular, and of Celtic literature in general, and discount even to this day any effective interpretation of the bards, who, capably and modernly treated, have so remarkable a contribution to offer to our international literary wealth. When we find a Welsh curate, like him of Goronwy Owen's acquaintance, willing to forego, as far as possible, his Welsh tongue, his national literary inheritance, out of deference to a superior English attitude, we may conclude from it, that there must have been an abiding sense of a common English disaffection towards things Welsh. And this feeling still lingers; for the Welsh are, unluckily, a highly sensitive race, and forget and forgive with difficulty old wounds to their national and other susceptibilities. Nor, indeed, do they need century-long memories to remember such English amenities. More than a century after Goronwy Owen's letter above quoted, as late as 1867, Matthew Arnold, who is quite the most sympathetic English reviewer who has ever dealt with Welsh literature, gathered together some delightful instances of English urbanity. These make not the least entertaining part of his lectures on the *Study of Celtic Literature*, to whose moral effect we owe (and let us never forget it) the founding of the Celtic Chair at Oxford. In his Introduction to these lectures, he retorts effectively upon that old and solid maintainer of English rights and prejudices, the *Times*, whose critical deliverances about Wales might make matter indeed for many a long tale. "*Cease to do evil, learn to do good,*" he says, "was the upshot of its exhortations to the Welsh; by *evil* the *Times* understanding all things Celtic, and by *good* all things English. "The Welsh language is the curse of Wales. Its prevalence and the ignorance of English have excluded, and even now exclude,

the Welsh people from the civilization of their English neighbours. An Eisteddfod is one of the most mischievous and selfish pieces of sentimentalism which could possibly be perpetrated. It is simply a foolish interference with the natural progress of civilization and prosperity. If it is desirable that the Welsh should talk English, it is monstrous folly to encourage them in a loving fondness for their old language. Not only the energy and power but the intelligence and music of Europe have come mainly from Teutonic sources, and this glorification of everything Celtic, if it were not pedantry, would be sheer ignorance. The sooner all Welsh specialities disappear from the face of the earth, the better."

"I myself," continues Matthew Arnold, following up this quotation, "was cruelly judged by the *Times* and most severely treated. What I said about the spread of the English language in Wales being quite compatible with preserving and honouring the Welsh language and literature, was tersely set down as 'arrant nonsense,' and I was characterized as 'a sentimentalist who talks nonsense about the children of Taliesin and Ossian, and whose dainty taste requires something more flimsy than the strong sense and sturdy morality of his fellow Englishmen.' As I said before, I am unhappily inured to having these harsh interpretations put by my fellow Englishmen upon what I write, and I no longer cry out about it. And then, too, I have made a study of the Corinthian or leading article style, and know its exigencies, and that they are no more to be quarrelled with than the law of gravitation. So, for my part, when I read these asperities of the *Times*, my mind did not dwell very much on my own concern in them; but what I said to myself, as I put the newspaper down, was this:—Behold England's difficulty in governing Ireland!"

I perceive that, quite innocently, we have here again been led into what may seem suspiciously like political innuendo ; but for this Matthew Arnold must be blamed. To hasten at once from debateable ground, let us turn from Matthew Arnold to another friendly English reviewer of a very different calibre, Sharon Turner, who may throw further light on the curious international disadvantage of Welsh in the modern race betwixt languages and literatures. "The Welsh language is peculiar and original," says Sharon Turner ; "men who have enjoyed a classical education, pass with ease and pleasantness to French, Italian, or Spanish. But the Welsh is so unlike the other languages of Europe, and its mutations present so many difficulties, or at least the appearance of them, to a learner, that even antiquaries have been, and are, deterred from acquiring it. Welshmen, on the other hand, have been too proud and too recluse. They did not forgive the seizure of their country, and they despised too much the warriors who acquired and kept it. Hence what Englishmen would not learn Welsh to know, the natives of the Principality would not translate."

This shrewd conclusion of Turner's may serve us with some light at last upon the old debate betwixt Welsh poetry and English criticism. For one of the commonest retorts of the cultured Englishman to any preference of the claims of Welsh poetry is, How is it, if that poetry has the rare and fine quality of the great poetry of other tongues, that it does not bear translation into English? How, indeed? How is it—to say nothing of the earlier, more difficult bards—how is it that Dafydd ap Gwilym has never been really translated, while in English you may have all kinds of translations from comparatively second-rate German poets—poets like Chamisso and Platen? Dafydd, who, I will venture to say, is no second-

rate poet, but *qua* poet, the equal of Heine and Burns, remains untranslated. What a satire upon the contemporary study of Celtic! What a conclusion to the literary amenities of a century of national Eisteddfodau!

I am glad to seize the pretext of Dafydd ap Gwilym's name, to turn from the English reviewers to what is to me the more entertaining part of my subject—the Welsh bards and poets. But lest my own unaided praise of Dafydd, as implied in comparing him to Heine and Burns, seem to smack of Celtic extravagance, let me turn to yet another English reviewer, George Borrow, to introduce him:

“Ab Gwilym has been fairly styled the Welsh Ovid; but he was something more, and wrote light, agreeable, sportive pieces, equal to any things of the kind composed by Horace in his best moods. But he was something more: he was the Welsh Martial, and wrote pieces equal in pungency to those of the great Roman epigrammatist, perhaps more than equal, for we never heard that any of Martial's epigrams killed anybody, whereas Ab Gwilym's piece of vituperation on Rhys Meigan—pity that poets should be so virulent—caused the Welshman to fall down dead. But he was yet something more: he could if he pleased be a Tyrtæus; he was no fighter—where was there ever a poet that was?—but he wrote an ode on a sword, the only warlike piece that he ever wrote, the best poem on the subject ever written in any language.”

Here, again, if English readers, weighing not unsympathetically this rather unmeasured praise of Borrow's, should seek for some further proof in his *Wild Wales* of Dafydd's superlative qualities, they are likely to be disappointed. Borrow proffers, it is true, two or three translations, but not one of them gives the slightest idea of the finer arts and parts of Dafydd. For example,

take a few lines of Dafydd's "Ode to the Mist" in Borrow's version :

"O ho! thou villain mist, O ho!
 What plea hast thou to plague me so?
 I scarcely know a scurril name,
 But dearly thou deserv'st the same;
 Thou exhalation from the deep
 Unknown, where ugly spirits keep!
 Thou smoke from hellish stews uphurled
 To mock and mortify the world!
 Thou spider-web of giant race,
 Spun out and spread through airy space!
 Avaunt, thou filthy, clammy thing,
 Of sorry rain the source and spring!"

These lines, I will venture to say, are about as really like Dafydd ap Gwilym as the Scottish rhymed psalter is like the Psalms of his great Hebrew namesake in poetry. They may have a merit of their own, but it is not the merit of Dafydd. And yet George Borrow, if a Saxon, was a Saxon of genius, and of a very rare and unusual sympathy with Wales and the Welsh. It proves again, no doubt, the difficulty of the desired approximation betwixt Welsh and English. However, if one is content to be not too ambitious, and if one does not unwisely attempt to adapt Dafydd's free and magical rhythms to pedestrian measures in English verse, he may yet be translated. Here is a less ambitious translation of his "Birch Grove":

"Ah, the pleasant grove of birches,
 A pleasant place to tarry all the day;
 Swift green path to holiness,
 Place of leaves on branches deftly strung;
 Tapestry meet for proudest princess;
 Place of the thrush's voice, the king of song,
 Place of the fair breasted hill, green place of treetops,
 Place set apart for two, far from jealous strife;
 Veil that hides the maiden at the wooing,
 Full of delight is then the green birch grove.

Lo, I possess the whole extent of the birches,
 Each corner of the greenwood is my throne;
 I have loved as my Saviour's this building of Nature's,
 Tapestried in tenfold royalty by the leaves of the grove.
 The sweet-voiced nightingale beneath the green boughs,
 Is the herald inhabitant of the wood.
 Endlessly pouring his song from the forest,
 From the jutting hill and the glistening green treetop;
 Wherefore this praise of my green enclosure,
 My greenest chamber framed of leaves.

There is a chamber for us within the grove
 Made all of young vines;
 A gleanings of the birch boughs, fair in colour,
 Makes in this chamber a fitting bed!
 A place for the gentle gift of love
 Is the house of leaves made by God the Father.

Fair chapel, sacred from strife,
 Of boughs and leaves, in the green and airy May;
 Be ye, O trees, my fitting consolation,
 In that I am left houseless to-day.
 O nightingale, with the grey wings trailing low,
 That art from the beginning the love messenger in May,
 Be a strong voice from the steep hillside,
 Let the day bring the meeting between Morfydd and me."

In this unrhymed translation little enough of what is Dafydd's distinctive note and quality is preserved. But, when in addition to the delightful ideas thus reflected in the English rendering, you have in the original the most exquisite metrical effects, the most haunting assonance and rhyme, in which word and thought are wedded in the most inevitable way, you may conceive something of the entire beauty of Dafydd's writings.

So far as my small knowledge of poetry goes, there is nothing quite like it in any other poet of any other tongue; though here and there Rhys Goch ap Rhicert,—Rhys the Red, son of Rhicert, achieves effects not dissimilar. Dafydd thus comes as a genuine addition to our store of

poetry. He has a contribution to bring to international literature; and it is mortifying to a lover of poetry and a humble follower after the fortunes of Celtic literature to find a genius so rare practically locked up from the outer modern world, and only known in the most narrowly national way in Wales itself. And this is due, to return to the charge, not only to the ineptitudes of English reviewers, but to the somewhat exclusive spirit of Welsh culture, and to the want of any really modern treatment in Wales of the particular art and craft of Dafydd.

The same applies largely to other Welsh bards and poets—his predecessors, contemporaries, and immediate followers. Take Taliesin or Llywarch Hên, to dive back far into the very first beginnings of Welsh poetry, when the much debated Cynveirdd of the fifth and sixth centuries were founding amid the remote mists of Celtic tradition the royal line of the bards of Wales. As you know, there are two Taliesins; there is the fifth century Taliesin, and there is the pseudo-Taliesin of the twelfth. Both are wonderful in their way, and I know not which to admire most—him who wrote the "Battle of Gwenystrad," which is undoubtedly a primitive war-song, or the mediæval poet who chose to take the disguise of Taliesin, and taking too, probably, some of the traditional fragments of his early poetry, worked them up afresh with curious mediæval art and mystic imagination. For comparison, perhaps I may cite, without unduly lengthening my paper, an early and a late poem, commonly gathered, as in the Myvyrian Archæology, under one head.

Take, first, one of the later poems, the mystical and wonderful "Song to the Wind," which even in its English dress won Emerson's admiration, and which, allowing for all differences between mediæval and modern imagination, is in its way as impressive as Shelley's "Ode to the West Wind."

Unluckily, in the rendering into English, as always happens, most of the charm of the Welsh original is lost :

“ Discover thou what is
The strong creature from before the flood,
Without flesh, without bone,
Without vein, without blood,
Without head, without feet.
And never older nor younger
Than at the beginning.

Great God ! how the sea whitens
When first it comes !
Great are its gusts
When it comes from the south ;
Great its evaporations
When it strikes on the coast.
In the field, in the wood,
Without hand, without foot ;
Without signs of old age,
Though it be coeval
With the five ages or periods !”

Now, Stephens assigns this “Ode to the Wind” to the twelfth or thirteenth century. But here again it is more than likely that the writer of that time worked up with additions an older Song to the Wind by Taliesin. In the case of this particular poem it is curious to find that Dafydd ap Gwilym in turn appropriated some of its best lines for his own “Cywydd i’r Gwynt.” Probably he only did what the twelfth century man did before him, save indeed that the latter preferred, like Chatterton, to give an archaic disguise to his work. Unlike Chatterton, however, the Welsh poet who wrote pseudo-Taliesin poems in the twelfth century really would seem to have had some earlier poet’s materials ready to his hand.

And now for a genuine Taliesin, or what, at any rate, many acute critics think to be genuine. This you may have in the famous “Gwaith Gwenystrad” (Battle of

Gwenystrad), one of the most spirited war poems in existence, which I came upon again the other day in the MS. collection of "William Morris o Gaergybi yn Mon," who flourished about 1758. Here are four lines of Morris's copy *literatim*, which will give a better idea than any criticism of mine of the mingled realism and imagination of the poem :

"Yn nrws rhyd gwelais i wyr lledruddion,
Eirf ddillwng y rhag blawr gofedon,
Unynt tanc gan aethant golludion,
Llaw ynghroes gryd ygro granwynion."

And here is a rough, vigorous translation of these lines from the same volume :

"In the pass of the fort have I seen men, dyed with red, who hurtled their arms. . . . They fell to the ground together when the day was lost; their hands on the crucifix. And horror was in the pale face of the dead warriors."

A succeeding line,

"A gwyar a uaglei ar ddillad,"

adds a last touch of imaginative dreadfulness to the description. It is like a touch of Homer in its terrible simplicity. In many of the other primitive Taliesin poems there are effects as simply and finely expressed, which, once read, stick in the memory as only great poetry can.

Taliesin, in his dual identity, his varying chronology and other critical embarrassments, has always been a rallying point for the reviewers. So we have Mr. Nash, on the one hand, dealing out very forcibly his destructive criticism, and Edward Davies on the other, reading into Taliesin all kinds of mysterious meanings of the Helio-Arkite and Druidic order. A very happy adjudication on the special pleading of these two orders of critics

is to be had in Matthew Arnold's *Study of Celtic Literature* before referred to. Here I think we need not concern ourselves greatly whether the poems of Taliesin, and other poets to be found in the rich treasury of the *Black Book of Carmarthen*, be permeated with Druidic mysteries or be utterly without them. It seems high time to protest against the rich treasures of old Welsh poetry being only used for secondary purposes of philology, history, and the like. Their uses in these things are great, and we need not quarrel with their being so used. But over and above their historical and scientific significance, and their exact academic purport, which the great Celtic scholars of our day have done so much to bring to light, one would like to say a passing word for the study of Welsh poetry and romance for their own sake; for they will well repay it. With the exception of Stephens in his *Literature of the Kymry*, and Arnold in his *Celtic Literature*, no reviewers, Welsh or English, that I know, have treated at all efficiently the Welsh poets solely for their own sake, for their literary qualities, their literary and poetic and human interest. It is as if we always wrote of Chaucer and Spenser purely from the point of view of philology and what not, and treated "King Lear" purely as an educative document.

This is very unfortunate for Welsh literature. The Welsh poets have so much to bring to the common store of the world's literature, and yet, by the perversity of fates and races, this all remains securely under lock and key. I have spoken already of Taliesin and Dafydd ap Gwilym, but these are only two out of a great and remarkable array of witnesses—Aneurin, Llywarch Hên, Gwalchmai, the princely Owain Kyveiliog, and the still more memorable prince and poet, Hywel ab Owain, son of Owain Gwynedd, whose brilliant and hapless career

and early death, no less than his fresh and delightful poems, mark him for ever. These carry us on from the time of the actual Taliesin through some five or six centuries—all within a period when English poetry did not yet exist. But Taliesin, by the curious accidents of time and the force of natural selection, is alone a popular proverbial name to-day in the poetry of world-wide repute. And yet Taliesin, though we count to him all the remarkable poems that have ever been collected under his name in various centuries, is not so essentially finer than the other Welsh bards, that Welsh poetry would fail of its highest without him. Take Llywarch Hên alone of those above cited: Matthew Arnold, in his suggestive volume before referred to, quotes Llywarch Hên's famous "Ode to his Crutch," which he singled out as a supreme expression of Celtic melancholy—struggling, fierce, passionate—uttered by an old bard and warrior, who finds his old age lingering sorrowfully in great misery, loneliness, and disaster:

"O, my crutch! Is it not the first day of May? The furrows, are they not shining? The young corn, is it not springing? Ah, the sight of thy handle makes me wroth?"

"The four things I have all my life hated most fall upon me together—coughing and old age, sickness and sorrow.

"I am old, I am alone; shapeliness and warmth are gone from me; the couch of honour shall be no more mine; I am miserable, I am bent on my crutch.

"How evil was the lot allotted to Llywarch the night when he was brought forth! Sorrows without end, and no deliverance from his burden."

From the melancholy of old age, one turns to the poet's melancholy of youth, as you may have it in Hywel ab Owain. Hywel died when he was only twenty-seven, slain treacherously, so the tradition goes, by his half-brother, David, as a modern Welsh rhymer has narrated:

"Hawk of war—Howel the Tall,
 Prince of men !
 Dead is Howel, David slew him :
 He will not lead to war again !
 Periv, son of old Kedivor,
 Sang him so,—
 Sang his poet's death and passion
 Now nine centuries ago."

Shortly before his death, Hywel wrote the poem known as "Hywel's Delight," in which his great love for the beauty of Wales is mixed with a soft melancholy, and a foreboding of the tragic end soon to overtake the hot Celtic spirit that burnt so fatefully in him :

"A white foam-crowned wave flows o'er the grave
 Of Rhuvawn Bevyr, chief of rulers.
 I love the hated of Lloegr, land of the north,
 I love its people, with their hearts of wisdom :
 I love the land where I often drank the mead,
 Whose shores stretch out in conflict with the sea.
 I love its sea-coast, and its mountains,
 Its cities bordering on its forests, its fair landscapes,
 Its dales, its waters, and its valleys,
 Its white sea-mews, and its fair women.
 I love its warriors and their well-trained steeds,
 Its woods, its strongholds and its generous hearths.
 I love its meadows clothed in tender trefoils,
 Its wilds, where oft I led the chase,
 And if I am pale in the rush of the conflict,
 'Tis that I know I soon must leave it now.
 Ah ! surely I cannot hold out until my party comes ;
 A dream has revealed it and God says 'tis true.
 A white foam-crowned wave flows o'er the grave,
 A bright wave, foaming, cries out against the towns,
 A bright, silvery wave, like the glittering hoar-frost.
 I love the marches of Merioneth,
 Where my head was pillowed on a snow-white arm ;
 I love the nightingale in the privet wood,
 In the famous vale of Cwm Deuddwr."

It is as well, perhaps, to turn with this impulsive tribute of Hywel ab Owain to the poet's delights of Wales, rather

than with any English reviewer's note of disparagement, to the natural conclusion of our subject. This, without being very profound, is yet, perhaps, in a way revolutionary—revolutionary, that is, from the point of view of conservative English literary culture. It points, in fact, to the need of a new and contemporary approach to the whole subject of Celtic literature, and of the discovery, surely not impossible, of a *modus vivendi*, so to speak, between Welsh poetry and English criticism. For the present is peculiarly, as we may conclude, the breaking-up time of old racial prejudices, and of old bounds between the literatures of nations. English literature has learnt at other times to be plastic to the classical languages, and to French, German, and Italian, and has gained greatly by these international influences. Surely, then, it is absurd that it should still (in spite of the eloquence of Matthew Arnold, and in spite of the Oxford Chair which Professor Rhys has made of European repute)—still, to all general intents and purposes be blind to the delights and the palpable uses of that Celtic literature for which it ought to have the nearest and most intimate feeling of all.

The Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion has laboured notably for many years now in this cause, and there is no need of a new beginner to enlarge upon the great services which such a society of Welshmen of culture and of letters, alive to all modern opportunities, is able to perform. And as the Cymmrodorion condescend so far, and concede so much to the weakness of their Saxon brethren, as to accept on occasion an English vehicle for Welsh ideas, they will agree, I am sure, that Wales itself, if it would win its full modern recognition at last, must be not only national, but international. That is to say, since English reviewers will not master Welsh as Welshmen master English, we must see to it that we adopt modern methods, and secure our full

hearing, not in England only, but in Europe. For this, we want not only men of scholarship and erudition, but men of the lighter build appropriate to the more popular uses of *belles lettres*. So while we look to it that the race of great Celtic scholars has every chance of multiplying, and while we determine not to forget for a moment our dear and familiar Welsh tongue and its ancient literature (as, indeed, what with Oxford Texts and Welsh National Presses, we seem in no danger of doing), let us look to it, too, that we take our modern opportunity, and gain our modern hearing. Is it too much to think that if the false appearance of only half an Ossian in the eighteenth century could have so great an effect on European literature, that the real presentation of Taliesin and his fellow Cynveirdd on the eve of the twentieth might have its effect too. I must not seem to end in too much of an Eracles vein of prophecy about Welsh poetry, as modernly interpreted, and the Welsh Renaissance, which I believe is at hand. But in hoping for the new poets of Wales, writing in their native tongue, who shall continue to give expression to its mountainous and remoter spirit, we may be permitted to hope, too, for the Welsh Sir Walter Scott, who shall do for Wales what the author of *Marmion* and *Old Mortality* did for his country, and who shall give her superb national traditions and old poetic imaginations a vogue not only English, but European,—nay, worldwide!

THE CELT AND THE POETRY OF NATURE.¹

BY W. LEWIS-JONES, M.A.

"EXPLANATION," Lord Beaconsfield once observed, "is the most dismal of the duties of life." Such a duty, depressing though it may be, is laid upon me at the outset by the words I have chosen for the title of this paper. In the first place, ethnologists have played sad havoc of late with some of our long-cherished notions about "the Celt," and one is scarcely privileged now to use the name without an apology. But whatever may be its exact present value as a term in ethnology, the word "Celtic" is still to the literary student a convenient and intelligible, if not a strictly accurate, designation of certain well-defined origins, tendencies and results in literature. The Celt has been, and is, a potent factor in the literature of Europe, and is known to us by notes and characteristics which we have no difficulty in distinguishing. It is with some of these characteristics, as manifested chiefly in Welsh literature and its influence, that I propose to deal in the present paper. The hypothesis that the Welshman may have been originally an Iberian does not prevent our regarding the literary achievement and influence of the Welsh people as part of what we generically style Celtic literature. The Welshman, regarded as a force in literature, is an undoubted Celt; and in this sense there should be no ambiguity in my use of the term.

¹ Read before the Society, Wednesday, 12th April, 1893.

Again, the phrase "Poetry of Nature" has the disadvantage of being variously and often loosely used. First, the term is and may be applied to poetry which confines itself to simple description of natural phenomena. Mark Pattison, indeed, somewhere maintains that "descriptive poetry is a contradiction in terms." But the phrase must stand, and is intelligible as denoting all poetry in which we have descriptions of Nature that are not subordinated to the dominant mood or passion of the poet at the time. The poet, "with his eye on the object," to use Wordsworth's phrase, sets himself to draw an accurate and a vivid picture of any actual scene before him. This kind of poetry is as old as the Greeks. Homer has it—as evidence of which we need not go beyond those pregnant adjectives which describe the sea, or the many similes which betray so careful an observation of the phenomena of wood and stream and field, and of the habits of bird and beast. There is nothing here beyond observation—beyond a quick and thoroughly artistic perception of form and beauty translated into language which is an accurate reflection of the thing seen. In a word, it is the art of describing nature free from the influence of what Mr. Ruskin aptly calls "the pathetic fallacy."¹ Homer and the Greeks did, indeed,

¹ It is worth while to refer at this point, by way of still further illustrating the usage of the term "Poetry of Nature," to the distinction which Mr. Ruskin draws between the Greek and the modern manner in natural description :—"Keats, describing a wave breaking out at sea, says of it—

'Down whose green bank the short-lived foam, all hoar,
Bursts gradual with a wayward indolence.'

That is quite perfect, as an example of the modern manner. The idea of the peculiar action with which foam rolls down a long, large wave could not have been given by any other words so well as by this 'wayward indolence.' But Homer would never have written, never thought of such words. He could not by any possibility have

people the earth and sea and sky with divinities, but never in such a way as to come between them and the objects of nature. Of modern poets Scott, in Mr. Ruskin's opinion, approaches nearest to the Greek way of looking at Nature. Scott "conquers all tendencies to the pathetic fallacy, and instead of making Nature anywise subservient to himself, he makes himself subservient to *her*—follows her lead simply—does not venture to bring his own cares and thoughts into her pure and quiet presence—paints her in her simple and universal truth, adding no result of momentary passion or fancy, and appears, therefore, at first shallower than other poets, being in reality wider and healthier." (*Modern Painters*, Pt. iv. chap. xvi.). Whether we agree with this estimate of Scott or no, we have in the words applied to him a good definition of one aspect of the "Poetry of Nature"—fidelity to Nature's "simple and universal truth" unqualified by any "momentary passion or fancy." At the other extreme we have the philosophical Poetry of Nature—the poetry which seeks to interpret Nature in terms of mind and spirit, the attempt to divine its inner meaning and its relation to the mind and soul of man. The history of the Poetry of Nature in the world's literature is the history of the development of the poetry of pure natural description, as we find it in Homer, into the reflective, the emotional, the philosophical treatment of Nature of which Wordsworth and his disciples are the recognized modern exponents. It is not my business to inquire whether this development has been in a healthy

lost sight of the fact that the wave, from the beginning to the end of it, was nothing else than salt water; and that salt water could not be either wayward or indolent." . . . "He never says the waves rage, or the waves are idle. But he says there is somewhat in, and greater than the waves which rages, and is idle, and *that* he calls a god."—*Modern Painters*, pt. iv. ch. xiii.

direction, whether the introspective poetry of Wordsworth and Shelley and their imitators is preferable to the simple and thoughtless art of the descriptive poets. Mr. Ruskin and others will have it that the philosophical bent of modern poets has not helped them. "Thousands can think," Mr. Ruskin epigrammatically tells us, "for one who can see. To see clearly is poetry, prophecy, and religion—all in one." It may be, indeed, that our modern Poetry of Nature is unduly "sicklied o'er with the pale cast of thought," that there has been with the march of mind in our time a loss of the joyous and careless glance of the poets of an earlier day, and that we cannot now look upon the face of Nature without feeling the burden of that *Weltschmerz* which seems to brood so heavily over the modern mind.

But I must not be tempted that way ; it is time for me to define what I mean by the term "Poetry of Nature" in this paper. By the Poetry of Nature I do not mean this or that particular method of regarding or interpreting Nature, but rather all poetry which has Nature primarily or exclusively for its subject. It has by this time become a commonplace of literary history to say that the habit of regarding Nature as a subject in itself fit and adequate for poetry, is of comparatively recent growth. The history of its rise is, indeed, very similar to that of the growth of landscape painting. The passages already quoted from Mr. Ruskin occur in that portion of *Modern Painters* where he traces the history of landscape, classical, mediæval and modern ; and nothing could well be more suggestive to the student of literature than the eloquent exposition given in those pages of the changes which have taken place in artistic perception of Nature. As bearing upon my present subject, the portions which deal with the differences between mediæval and modern landscape are the more immediately interesting.

The main conclusion which Mr. Ruskin draws from the study of mediæval landscape is, that it is almost entirely subordinated to human interest. The result was inaccuracy and formality in natural observation. "The workman who first was led to think *lightly* of natural beauty as being subservient to human, was next led to think *inaccurately* of natural beauty because he had continually to alter and simplify it for his practical purposes."¹ I am not competent, even had I the time, to contrast even within the briefest compass the characteristics of mediæval with those of modern landscape ; but even a tyro in art who has seen specimens of both types will appreciate the vast difference in the treatment of Nature. The mediæval landscape, mainly introduced as a background to some stirring picture of human life, is conventional. The features of Nature are almost the same in every picture ; the mountains are all at a distance, and in the same shade of blue ; the trees, the hedges, the fields, the rivers are all of a type.² Landscape in the true sense—Nature being regarded as in herself a proper subject for the artist—is a modern thing ; it is as much the result of the so-called "Return to Nature" of the eighteenth century as our modern Poetry of Nature.

¹ *Modern Painters*, pt. iv. ch. xiv. § 14.

² I cannot do better at this point than quote Mr. Ruskin again :— "These central fifteenth century landscapes are almost invariably composed of a grove or two of tall trees, a winding river, and a castle, or a garden, the peculiar feature of the last being *trimness*, the artist always dwelling especially on the fences ; wreathing the espaliers indeed prettily with sweet-briar, and putting pots of orange-trees on the tops of the walls, but taking great care that there shall be no loose bricks in the one nor broken stakes in the other, the trouble and ceaseless warfare of the times having rendered security one of the first elements of pleasantness, and making it impossible for any artist to conceive Paradise but as surrounded by a moat, or to distinguish the road to it better than by its narrow wicket-gate and watchful porter."—*Modern Painters*, pt. iv. ch. xiv.

I have dwelt at some length on this point because by keeping in mind the relation of mediæval art to Nature we shall the more readily appreciate the significance of the treatment of Nature in early Welsh poetry. Its significance will become still more apparent if we glance for a moment at the history of the Poetry of Nature in English literature. This will also bear upon what I shall have subsequently to say about the supposed influence of the Celt upon the English poetry of Nature. Looking at English poetry generally, it may be said that the poetry which deals with Nature for her own sake does not exist until the eighteenth century. Exception should perhaps be made in favour of the remarkable group of Scottish poets who fill up the interval between Chaucer and Spenser. But these men had in them a strong vein of Celtic blood, and they only serve to emphasize my point. Curiously enough, also, the one or two English poets of the seventeenth century who give evidence of a love of Nature unusual at their time, were of Celtic extraction. A brief glance at the work of the four greatest English poets before the eighteenth century will at once show how recent a thing is that absorption in Nature and her life which we find in such a poet as Wordsworth. Not that Chaucer and Spenser, Shakespeare and Milton do not give us pictures of Nature in words so beautiful and happy that they are fresh in every mind. But in no one of them do we find that love of Nature for her own sake—that simple delight in and quick sympathy with her varied life, unqualified by human interest or uncoloured by human passion, which constitute a poet's claim to the title of "Poet of Nature" in our sense of the term. Chaucer is essentially a poet of Manners. His landscape is invariably after the conventional mediæval pattern—it is formal, betrays little or no original observation, and fades into insignificance the moment the poet's inimitable human

characters move across the scene. Nature speaks to Chaucer only on an April or a May morning—the sweet showers, the glad sunshine, the fresh verdure, the merry songs of birds, well-nigh exhaust all he saw or heard. “The colour of his descriptions,” writes the author of the most admirable book of its kind we have on Chaucer, Mr. Pollard, “has all the brightness of a mediæval manuscript”; yes, but the natural descriptions have, for the most part, the formality of the manuscript as well. Again, in Spenser, Nature is but the background to his splendid pictures of romantic life and action. The environment of the “Faërie Queene” is that of fairyland—the atmosphere vague, dreamy, ethereal, fading away into the verdurous gloom of forests or into the blue mists of pleasant glades and shadowy valleys. We may well shrink from applying our test to Shakespeare; it would seem to be as rash to attempt to exclude him from as it is to include him in any class of poets. Shakespeare utterly defies the “pigeon-holing” mind. He is as much the despair of the categorical as he is the wonder of the psychological critic. Incidental pictures of Nature, indeed, we have in Shakespeare unsurpassed by any poet; and there is throughout his work a healthy open-air feeling which acts upon us like the breath of Nature herself. But Nature for her own sake has no abiding charm even for him. “Nature in Shakespeare” writes Professor Dowden, “itself joyous and free, ministers to what is beautiful, simple or heroic in man, while Nature alone is never anywhere conceived as sufficient to satisfy the heart or the imagination of a human being.” This is still more true of Milton, who indeed in the faculty of natural observation is immeasurably below Shakespeare. Milton, in this particular, is subject in a great degree to the intellectual bias of the seventeenth century. Wherever Milton deals with natural phenomena, he excels more by

the suggestiveness than by the exactness or the vividness of his poetry—by the power of conveying through an occasional epithet of quite Homeric potency the impression of far more than meets the eye or ear.

Such is Nature as we find it in the greater English poets until we come to the eighteenth century, to the movement of which Thomson was the first harbinger, and Wordsworth the full product. Now, let us look at the history of early Welsh poetry, in which we shall find what is perhaps on the whole the best expression of the peculiar characteristics of the Celt. My aim will now be to show that at a time when, as evidenced by the art and literature of Europe, outward Nature scarcely appealed at all to the emotions and the imagination of men, when there was hardly any sympathy with, or insight into, the free and wild life of Nature, when feudalism and priestcraft and asceticism had, between them, made men either afraid or incapable of hearing and seeing what Nature had to reveal,—at this time the Celt lived a life of strange sensibility to and sympathy with Nature; and we have left us from that time the work of one Welsh poet at least, which, in respect of this particular quality of natural observation and intuition, is quite unlike anything else in mediæval literature.

“*Sentiment*,” writes Matthew Arnold in his *Celtic Literature*, “is the word which marks where the Celtic races touch and are one; an organization quick to feel impressions and to feel them strongly.” Then, with regard to the Celt’s observation of Nature, he says that the effect of this “sentiment,” or rather “sensibility,” is “the gift of rendering with wonderful felicity the magical charm of Nature.” “Magic is just the word for it—the magic of Nature; not merely the beauty of Nature—that the Greeks and Latins had; not merely an honest smack of the soil, a

faithful realism,—that the Germans had ; but the intimate life of Nature, her weird power and her fairy charm." Above everything, I should say, what we detect in the literature of the Celt is "the intimate life of Nature," a subtle and almost indefinable sympathy with the ever-varying moods of Nature and her creatures. Aspects of Nature which to us moderns are

"An appetite, a feeling and a love,"

inspired only terror in the mediæval mind. Mr. Ruskin has a striking passage on the dread of mountains which seemed to prevail in the Middle Ages. It is only necessary to glance at the *Mabinogion* to see that this fear of mountains did not belong to the Celt. The men of the *Mabinogion* exult in the freedom and the wildness of the mountains ; for do we not read of Kay and Bedivere sitting on a mound of stones on the top of Plymlimmon "on the greatest wind in the world,"—"Cai a Bedwyr yn eistedd ar ben Pamlumon, ar garn gwylathr, ar wynt mwyaŷ yn y byt?" Peredur pursues his adventurous course along endless ranges of hills, through valleys and forest reaches, in which he appears to be as much at home as in any moated castle. Again, Renan, in his essay on the *Poetry of the Celtic Races*, dwells upon the presence in the *Mabinogion* not only of this intimacy with Nature, but also of a touch of melancholy which accompanies it, "the melancholy," as he puts it, "which a man feels when, face to face with Nature, he fancies that he listens to her voice speaking to him of his origin and his destiny."¹ Then he goes on to show what

¹ The entire passage in which these words occur is worth quoting : "Cette touchante sympathie tenait elle-même à la vivacité toute particulière que les races celtiques ont portée dans le sentiment de la nature. Leur mythologie n'est qu'un naturalisme transparent non pas ce naturalisme anthropomorphique de la Grèce et de l'Inde, où les forces de l'univers, érigées en êtres vivants et doués de con-

attraction forests, streams, and stones had for the Celt—an attraction which is abundantly illustrated in every story of the *Mabinogion*—and how the Celtic imagination transformed birds and beasts into intelligent creatures and the friends of man. In illustration he quotes the well-known passage from the story of Culhwch and Olwen, where Gwrhŷr Gwalstawt Ieithoedd and his companions question the stag, the thrush, the owl, the eagle, and the salmon, whether they knew anything of Mabon the son of Modron. The story of Culhwch and Olwen may indeed possess a special significance as reflecting the Celtic imagination in its dealings with Nature. It is maintained by some that it represents the attempt of the bard, in the person of Culhwch, to understand the mind of Nature, to penetrate her mystery and to win a knowledge of her secret, in the guise of his courtship of Olwen. The problem may perhaps be worth solving, but it is one for a better interpreter of allegory than I can pretend to be. Matthew Arnold finds in this story the best examples of what he calls the Celtic “Magic of Nature,” and they are so familiar that it would be tedious to repeat them. One striking instance, however, of the peculiar “intimacy with Nature” to which I have just referred occurs in a passage which may not be so well known, and is worth quoting in full :

“Ac fal yr oedd Gwythyr, mab Greidawl, ddyddgwaith, yn cerdded dros fynydd, ef a glywai lefain a gruddfan enbyd, a morgrug oedd yn gwneud y swm. Achub a wnaeth yntau tuag yno, ac fel y daeth yno tynnu ei gleddyf a

science, tendent de plus en plus à se détacher des phénomènes physiques et à devenir des êtres moraux, mais un naturalisme réaliste en quelque sorte, l’amour de la nature pour elle-même, l’impression vive de sa magie, accompagnée du mouvement de tristesse que l’homme éprouve quand, face à face avec elle, il croit l’entendre lui parler de son origin et de sa destinée.”—*Renan, La Poésie des Races Celtiques.*

wnaeth a lladd y twmpath wrth y ddaear, ac a'u gwaredodd hwy felly rhag y tan. A'r morgrug a ddywedasant wrtho, 'Derbyn fendith Duw a'n bendith ni, a'r hyn ni all dyn fyth ei roddi, ni a roddwn i ti.' Hwynthwy wedi hynny a ddaethant a'r naw llestriad o hâd llin a nodes Yspaddaden Pen Cawr i Culhwch yn fesuredig oll heb ddim yn eisieu ohonynt oddi eithr un llinhedyn; a'r morgrugyn cloff a ddaeth a hwnnw cyn y nos."¹

[“And as Gwythyr, the son of Greidawl, was one day walking over a mountain, he heard the sound of wailing and sore lamentation; and they were ants that made the noise. And straightway he hied him to the place, and drew out his sword and cut the long grass by the earth; and so he saved them from the fire. And the ants said unto him, ‘Receive from us the blessing of God, and what man can never give, that shall we give unto thee.’ And they afterwards brought the nine vessels full of linseed which Yspaddaden Pen Cawr had enjoined upon Culhwch, all of full measure save that one seed was lacking; and that the lame ant brought up ere nightfall.”]

But the *Mabinogion*, attractive though they are, must not detain us. I have yet to come to the singer who stands out as the most signal representative of the Celtic poetry of Nature, the poet who above all others exhibits that peculiar *intimacy* with Nature with which we have just been dealing. Dafydd ab Gwilym stands alone and unapproachable among Welsh poets as a bard of Nature. At a time when much indiscriminate eulogy is lavished upon Dafydd, it is well at once to recognize that he has his limitations. His range is not very great. Living in Chaucer's age, he had nothing like Chaucer's eye for character, as was but natural in one who had not Chaucer's opportunities of studying

¹ For the benefit of the Welsh reader who finds difficulty with the old Welsh of the MS., I give the passage in modern Welsh.

The Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion.

LONSDALE CHAMBERS,

27, CHANCERY LANE, LONDON, W.C.,

27th January, 1894.

DEAR SIR,

PUBLICATIONS.

I am directed by the Council to forward to you the first number of **The Transactions** of the Society, containing the Papers read in the course of the Lecture Session of 1892-93. In future, it is intended that the Papers of each Session shall be published annually in this form.

The **Cymmrodor** will be published as heretofore under the Editorship of Mr. Phillimore. It is also hoped that a regular issue can be made of the Record Series Publications.

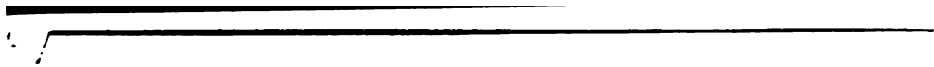
With this number of **The Transactions** the Council are happy to be able to forward a copy of the Historical Address delivered by the Marquess of Bute, President of the Society, at the Rhyl Eisteddfod.

I am, Dear Sir,

Yours faithfully,

E. VINCENT EVANS,

Secretary.



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character and of seeing the world. But in his descriptions of Nature, and in his quick sympathy with Nature's moods and changes, Dafydd ab Gwilym not only stands supreme among Welsh poets, but occupies a unique place in mediæval literature. He was one who saw and felt, who could penetrate into the heart of Nature, at a time when men were almost without exception deaf to her voices and blind to the fairness of her face.

Dafydd ab Gwilym more than any other poet of his time regards Nature as in herself a fit subject for poetry. We find in him an approach to the modern "feeling for Nature," a mind to which Nature is a passion and a love. Dafydd not only presses Nature into the service of his love for Morfudd and Dyddgu, but he sings of her at times as in herself sufficient to afford him solace and delight. He is not indeed quite free from mediæval conventionalism. To him also April and May are the most desirable months, and he tells us that the sun shines, and the breezes blow, and the birds sing in much the same language as the other poets of his time. But there is a great deal in Dafydd which is of a much higher order than this. Pictures of Nature, which betray the touch of the true artist, of the man who observes for himself and who is kindled into inspiration by what he sees, flash again and again across his pages. Many of his subjects—such as "The Mist," "The Snow," "The Swallow"—are dealt with because they either help or interfere with his loves, and these poems are replete with passages which show the fidelity and the vividness of his descriptions. To find him at his best, however, we must go to those poems which are expressions of pure and simple delight in Nature alone, where he exults with her in the joy and abundance of her life, or lapses into melancholy over her darker and more sombre aspects. The following are some of the subjects of poems of this class—"The Thrush,"

“The Fox,” “The Beech Tree,” “The Holly Grove,” “The Bard’s Gardening,” “The May,” and two or three songs on “Summer.”

Let us, by examining a few pages and lines from these poems, endeavour to find the characteristic notes of Dafydd ab Gwilym’s treatment of Nature. First of all, as the foundation of all his poetry, should be noticed his *healthy* delight in Nature, his utter freedom from all morbid sentiment and superstition in his attitude towards her. His love of Nature is, indeed, the inevitable corollary of his intellectual revolt against the priests; and what can only be termed his frank animalism is but this defiant naturalism run wild. Dafydd’s creed at its best has a healthy and rational basis. As he says in reply to one of the Grey Friars,

“Ni chyll Duw enaid gwr mwyn
Er caru gwraig na morwyn;
Tri pheth a gerir trwy’r byd,
Gwraig, a hinon ac iechyd.
Merch fydd deccaf blodeuyn
Yn y nef ond Duw ei hun.”

[“God will never damn a good man’s soul for love of wife or maid; there be three things loved the world over, women, sunshine, and health. Even in heaven woman will be the fairest flower next to God Himself.”]

This is certainly not the creed of the ascetic, but no well-constituted saint can fairly quarrel with it. Strong in the belief that Nature—

“Never yet betrayed
The heart that loved her,”

Dafydd proceeds to invoke the aid of her creatures and forces in his courtship of Morfudd; and nowhere do we find better illustration than in these poems of what Renan says about the familiar intimacy of the Celt with birds and beasts. Dafydd’s “Llatterion”—his messengers of love—

range from the thrush and the nightingale to the eagle, the sea-gull and the swan, and even to the salmon and the trout. One of his finest songs is a call upon the salmon :

“ Hwylia ar fôr heli ar frys,
 Nofia ddwfr, na fydd afrys ;
 N'ad d'adnabod bysgodyn
 Dos heb ymddangos i ddyn.”

[“ Sail thou speedily over the salt sea, cleave the water, be no laggard : let no fish recognize thee, let no man be ware of thee.”]

Peculiarly characteristic of Dafydd is this subtle injunction that the fish should go, unperceived by any finny friend or man, to the place where Morfudd lies :

“ Lle mae'r dyn a'r lliw mor deg
 A'r wennol ar y waneg ? ”

[“ Where lies the maid of hue so fair as the swallow against the foam ? ”]

Most striking of all perhaps among this class of poems is his invocation to the wind to convey his greeting :

“ Gwr oerias wyd, garw ei sain,
 Drud byd, heb droed, heb adain.”
 “ Noethud twyn cyd nithud dail ;
 Ni'th dditia neb, ni'th atail,
 Na llu rhugl, na llaw rhaglaw,
 Na llafn glas, na llif, na glaw.”

“ Nid rhaid march buan danad,
 Neu bont ar aber, na bad.”

[“ Chill is thy touch and hoarse thy voice : thou art the proud one of the world, without foot, without wing. Thou makest bare the bush, thou winnowest the leaves : no one dictates unto thee, neither can ordered host, nor hand of warrior, nor blue blade, nor flood, nor rain check thee

'Thou needest no fleet steed under thee, nor bridge, nor boat to cross the wave."]

In this poem we find some of his most powerful touches of description, as when he calls the wind :

“ Saer drycin ym min y môr,
Drythyllfab ar draethellfor.”

[“Thou framer of tempests down by the sea, thou wanton of the strand of the sea.”]

So full indeed are Dafydd's poems of passages of a like felicity of phrase and vividness of imagination in describing Nature, that the difficulty is to make a judicious selection from among them. I will, first of all, instance a passage or two, showing the *accuracy* of his observation. Nowhere in Welsh poetry do we find two lines so expressive—the strength and beauty of which, be it said, cannot be even remotely suggested in a translation—as the following characterization of the nightingale and the thrush :¹

¹ I am indebted to Mr. Marchant Williams for permission to quote the following spirited free-translation of a song on, “The Thrush and the Nightingale,” which will give the English reader a very fair idea of the general characteristics of Dafydd ab Gwilym's poetry when dealing with such subjects—much of the verbal charm of the original is of course lost, owing to the impossibility of reproducing the alliterative effects in English :

“ At early dawn to-day I heard
The singing of a joyous bird,
The singing of the bird of love—
The motley-breasted thrush. Above
My head was thrown a mantle rare
Of hazel leaves, all fresh and fair.
A messenger of Love was he
From her who dwells beyond the Dee.
A maiden sweet with locks of gold
Had sent to me that minstrel bold.

“Eos gefnllwyd ysgafnllef
A'r fronfraith ddirgrifaith gref.”

[“The grey-coated light-voiced nightingale, and the throistle with its strong and mirthful song.”]

The thrush is sung of in many a poem of Dafydd's in a way that has never been surpassed :

“Pell y clywir uwch tiroedd
Ei lef o'i lwyn, a'i loyw floedd.”
“Ba ryw ddim a fu berach
Blehiad ei chwibaniad bach?”

[“From afar is his cry, and his clear call from the grove, heard along the land . . . Was there ever aught more tuneful than the linked sweetness of his carol?”]

It was a sacred spot I trod,
For there an altar to my God—
An altar roofed with gold—was raised,
And there my God by bird was praised.
The song that rings throughout the dell
Is but the sound of the chapel bell.
This little minstrel of the bowers,
Is but a priest of God, whom she
Who dwells beyond the river Dee
Hath sent.

This fosterson of May
First reads the lessons for the day.
Then lifts the wafer—a leaflet green,
When lo! quite close at hand is seen
The comely form of another bird;
And now the Nightingale is heard.
This favourite songster of the dell
His comrade joins; the tinkling bell
Of Mass is rung; the Host is raised
As far as Heaven, and God is praised
By both. Their chalices with love
Are full to Him who reigns above.
The nursling of the birchen grove
Is thy sweet song, thou bird of love;
But yonder bush, where lurks the rose
The fulness of its glory shows.”

But of all his descriptions of birds, the most remarkable in their truth and vividness appear to me to be the following on the skylark, of which it is hopeless to try to reproduce the effect in a translation :

“A'r ehedydd aflonydd ei lais,
Cwcell-lwyd edn, cu, call-lais,
Yn myned mewn lludded llwyr
A chywydd i entrych awyr.”

[“And the lark, with restless voice—sweet grey-hooded bird, of cunning song—soars nigh breathless with an ode into the blue.”]

Again, what can be more true to Nature than the description of the bard on the farm :

“Dal a wna rhwng dôl a nant
Y bore aradr beiriant;
Hyd y nos nid achos dig
Yr ydym yn aredig
Wrth gywydd beunydd i ben,
Er achub gwaith yr ychen.”

“A thynnu 'n hŷ fry ar fron
C'wysau cydweddaidd cysson;
A'm bryd innau i hau had
A geiriau mwyn o gariad.”

[“In the morn 'twixt mead and stream he holds the plough, and until evening come we contentedly plough on, singing ever as we work to lighten the oxen's toil. And with strong hand we turn up the even, measured furrows along the braes, while my delight is to sow the seed and sweet words of love.”]

So much for the accuracy of his descriptions. Now let us look at one or two passages where the peculiar Celtic fancy and playfulness come in—where, in a word, the magic, which Matthew Arnold mentions, is found at its best. The stars in one place are “Canwyllau'r Gwr biau'r byd,”—“The candles of Him who owns the world”; in

another, "Meillion ar wynebion wybr,"—"Clover-flowers along the face of heaven." What, again, could be prettier than the description of the moon, as it sets, sleeping in the shadow of the northern heavens?

"I'r gogledd o'i gorsedd gu
I gysgod wybr â i gysgu."¹

["To the north she departs from her high seat to sleep in the shadow of the heavens."]

In the opinion of Professor Cowell, one of the very few competent English critics who have made a study of Welsh poetry, it is as a poet of fancy that Dafydd ab Gwilym deserves pre-eminence. "If I were asked to describe in a few words," says Mr. Cowell, "Ab Gwilym's position among the renowned poets of the world, I should characterize him especially as the poet of the fancy." But this fancy, running riot as we find it in Dafydd's poems, is informed throughout by a subtle insight into the inner life of Nature. Dafydd knows intimately the ways of the creatures he sings of, and even in the most fantastic of his flights he never roams away from the truth. The seagull is now "a fragment of sunlight," at another time "the lily of the sea"; the mist is "the devil's breath"; briars are "the entrails of hedges"; the stars are "the unstrung beads of God's rosary." In each one of these fanciful word-pictures there is an underlying element of truth, which, indeed, is the secret of their abiding charm. How true also is it to describe the blackbird as "proud and wary," "man must needs be inspired to catch him, and even God hardly knows how to cheat him!" In this last freak we have a touch of the

¹ The text of this passage is somewhat corrupt. In one edition we read, "â'n gosedd," but no such word as "gosedd" seems to exist. Professor J. Morris Jones, to whom I am much indebted for information as to Dafydd ab Gwilym's text, suggests "o'i gorsedd."

playfulness of the Celt, which runs exultant and unchecked in such lines as the following on the swan :

“Gorwyn wyd uwch geirw y nant
Mewn crys o liw maen crisiant,
Dwbled fal mil o lili,
Wasgod teg, a wisgud ti ;
Siacedd o rôs gwyn it' sydd
A gŵn o foden'r gwinwydd.”¹

[“Above the falls of the brook art thou exceeding white in coat of the colour of crystal ; thy doublet is as of a thousand lilies ; thou wearest a beauteous vest ; thou hast a jerkin of white roses, and a tunic of the blossoms of the vine.”]

Still more characteristic of Dafydd is the grim humour of the following account of his losing his way on one of his amatory excursions at night :

“Llawer cefn-faes gwlyb cefn-hir
A gerddais i, gorddwys hir ;²
Cerddais ar draws naw cardden
Ac ar hyd moel gaeau hen,
Ac oddi yno i ddinas
Ellyllon, cyfeillion cas.”

[“Along many a damp and dreary upland of weary length have I walked ; through many a thicket and along bare old fields have I trudged, even to the city of the fiends, un-canny comrades for a lover !”]

As against this playfulness passages might be quoted illustrative of the Celtic melancholy, to which Dafydd ab Gwilym, like nearly every other Welsh poet, was subject at times. Dafydd's nature was on the whole essentially a sunny one, and his optimism did not fail him until quite

¹ “Uwch” in the Welsh text has probably a double meaning, which is kept by rendering it “above.”

² I have here again adopted Mr. Morris Jones's suggestion for the hopeless reading “gorddwy sir.”

near the end of his days. Occasionally, however, Dafydd could hear and himself give expression to what Nature uttered in the minor key, and in one or two passages we even get a suggestion of that poetry which hears in the voices of Nature the utterance of God Himself.¹

It would not be difficult, were it not that a paper of this kind must have its limits, to quote many instances of a similar love of nature from early Welsh poets both before and after Ab Gwilym's time—passages which are as different from the mass of mediæval poetry as those just quoted from Dafydd himself. The most remarkable examples are those afforded by Gwalchmai's song, and the poems of Rhys Goch ab Rhiccert, who was probably Dafydd ab Gwilym's model and exemplar.² Rhys Goch's poems

¹ Many readers are doubtless aware—though I have never seen it pointed out in print—that Dafydd ab Gwilym seems to have anticipated Shakespeare in one of the great dramatist's best known and most beautiful passages of natural description,—I refer to the famous dialogue between the two lovers in *Romeo and Juliet*, Act iii. sc. 5. Romeo sees the day breaking, and prepares to leave, whereupon Juliet says:

“Yon light is not daylight, I know it, I;
It is some meteor that the sun exhales.”

and Romeo rejoins:

“I am content if thou wilt have it so:
I'll say yon gray is not the morning's eye,
'Tis but the pale reflex of Cynthia's brow.”

The passage in Dafydd reads:

DAFYDD. “Gwen euraid liw gwawn oror,
Gwelaf ddydd trwy gil y ddor.
MORFUDD. Lleuad newydd sydd, a sér
A'u pelydr drwy bob piler.
DAFYDD. Nage' Ngwen, haul ysblennydd—
Yn wir Dduw, mae'n awr o ddydd.
MORFUDD. Od wyd anwadal dy daith,
Dewis amod—dos ymaith.”

² Some difference of opinion exists as to the date and authenticity of the poems which appear under Rhys Goch's name. Some

bear a striking resemblance to those of Dafydd both in subject and style. His love of birds was as great as Dafydd's, and by him also are they invoked as messengers to his lady-love :

“Tithau'r hedydd,
Bardd boreuddydd,
Dangos i hon
Fy nhörr calon.”

[“ And thou, skylark, bard of the dawn, go, tell her of my broken heart.”]

His song to the Thrush is a most remarkable little poem :

“ Yn gwrandaw iaith
Ceiliog bronfraith,
O goed y glyn
Prydai englyn.”

“ Brith oedd ei fron
Mewn dail gleision
Mal o gangau
Mil o flodau.”

have placed him as early as the twelfth century, while others doubt whether such a poet ever existed, and assert that the poems ascribed to him were in reality composed by Dafydd ab Gwilym. There seems to be but the flimsiest evidence for either of these suppositions. Professor Morris Jones, who in his admirable article on the Welsh language and literature in the new edition of the *Gwyddoniadur* calls Rhys Goch the bright star of the dawn of the bardic revival of the fourteenth century, informs me that the most probable date of his flourishing is about 1310 or 1320. There is, it is true, much similarity between the words and thoughts of Rhys Goch and those of Dafydd ab Gwilym, and the first two lines of the “cywydd” by Rhys Goch in the Iolo MSS. are found also in a poem of Dafydd's; but this is about all the “internal evidence” which those who identify him with Dafydd have to go upon. As against this, it should be said that Rhys Goch's poems are earlier in point of metre and language than those of Dafydd, so much so that they could not be even regarded as early and tentative efforts of Dafydd himself. Dafydd ab Gwilym was almost certainly indebted to Rhys Goch, but there is no valid reason to doubt that Rhys Goch, of whom we hear a good deal in the literature of the time, did at the beginning of the fourteenth century write the poems which bear his name.

“O gangau cyll
 Gwyrddion defyll
 Y cŵn gywydd
 I Ddaw ddofydd.”

He has a song to the Wind, and another to Summer with its verses ending with the strange refrain :

“Taro tant alaw nant ael y naw twyni,
 Til dy rwm tal dy rwm canu twm teini.”

Now, all that I have said has been an attempt to show that the Poetry of Nature, in the strict sense of the term, existed in Welsh literature long before it appeared in England. It is, it seems to me, that which gives Welsh poetry its chief distinction—it is the element in it which is most characteristic of the Celtic genius. This love of Nature and the power of describing Nature in language coloured by so much vivid fancy and picturesque imagination belong mostly to early Welsh poetry. Our modern poetry is not conspicuously rich in this quality. Ceiriog and Islwyn of recent Welsh poets are alone entitled to any pre-eminence as poets of Nature. Perhaps, indeed, the recent history of the Welsh people accounts for the loss of the careless delight in Nature which characterized our early singers. The taste for theological controversy and the religious bent of the modern Welsh mind have banished much of the old buoyancy and—to use the word in its best sense—the naturalism of the Celt from amongst us. Not the least pleasing feature of the present national awakening in Wales to those of us who are interested in the literary advancement of our country is that the younger mind of Wales is eager to regain something of the spirit which has been lost, and is seeking once more to play on that lighter lyre which the finger of the Celt can touch as no other can.

I cannot here do much beyond suggesting very briefly

the lines of what I may call the second part of my subject, viz., To what extent can the so-called poetry of Nature in England be traced to Celtic sources? As has been said, nearly all the poetry of Nature worthy the name to be found in English literature before the eighteenth century is that of the Scottish poets of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, of whom Gavin Douglas and William Dunbar stand out as the two chief representatives. In Dunbar, and especially in Douglas, we have a series of pictures of characteristic Scotch scenery drawn at first hand and full of a strange vigour and charm. Of these Scottish poets Mr. Stopford Brooke writes: "In the absence of any real cause that I can absolutely point to, I am forced to conjecture that this love of Nature was a legacy left by the Celtic blood among the English of the Lowlands. The old kingdom of Strathclyde ran up from our present Wales to the Clyde, taking in the half of the Lowlands and the more western parts of Northern England. The Celtic poets had this intimate desire to look at Nature, this passion for colour, this wish to glorify woods and streams which is so remarkable in Douglas and the rest."¹ "My conjecture is," he continues, "that this Celtic element of natural love of the beauty of the world, this special power of seeing Nature and delight in observing her—which came so early to Scotland and so late to England—crept in from Strathclyde, mingled in the blood of the English of the Lowlands, and left behind it, when the Celtic race died away, its peculiar note in the Lowland mind."²

¹ *Theology in the English Poets*, Chap. xv.

² Some time after this paper was read, Mr. Stopford Brooke delivered before the Irish Literary Society of London, and subsequently published, an address on *The Need and Use of getting Irish Literature into the English Tongue*, in which he once more emphasized the influence of this early Scottish literature, Celtic in its origin and

As bearing upon Mr. Brooke's conjecture, the history of the eighteenth century poetry of Nature betrays some remarkable facts. Of the poets whose names are linked to the "Return to Nature" in English poetry in the eighteenth century, the following six stand out conspicuously—James Thomson, Allan Ramsay, John Dyer, William Cowper, Robert Burns, and William Wordsworth. Of these six, four—Thomson, Ramsay, Burns, and Wordsworth—were born in the district embraced by the kingdom of Strathclyde. One of the remaining two—Dyer—was a Welshman born and bred. All this affords the strongest presumptive evidence that the revolt against the conventionalism and false classicism of the eighteenth century to

spirit, upon the poetry of England. Among the qualities which he describes as "differentiating English poetry in Scotland from English poetry in England from the time of Chaucer to the time of George the First," and which are "directly derived from the Irish blood in the Scotch Lowlands," one is "the minute observance and the almost personal love of Nature for her own sake and in her solitudes." "This," Mr. Brooke continues, "was handed down from the fifteenth century to one poet after another till the spiritual descent of it was represented in James Thomson, who brought it down to England at a time when love of Nature had almost wholly disappeared from English poetry. He is the ancestor and the impulse of that English poetry of Nature which, in this century, has grown into so great, so manifold, and so impassioned a choir, which has described and rendered lovelier every county in England, and which has filled all her scenery with the passions of humanity. That new poetry had its far-off source in the love of the Irish poets for their native land, and in their profound delight in the beauty of its scenery. England added to it, out of her copious life, wider interests. Her mightier literature contributed to it a multitude of elements, of which Ireland was not the source; but nevertheless that makes it differ from the previous poetry of natural description in England—the love of Nature for its own sake—had its far-off fountain in Irish poetry." My endeavour has been to show that the same quality is to be found in Welsh poetry, which is as distinctively Celtic as the poetry of Ireland.

a healthy delight in Nature was due to the Celtic blood in these men. It might also be pointed out that the two seventeenth century poets who give evidence of the most delicate sensibility and fancy in their treatment of Nature were Welshmen—Henry Vaughan and George Herbert. Mr. Palgrave some time ago read a paper on Vaughan before this Society, in which he clearly established Vaughan's pre-eminence among the poets of his time in insight into and sympathy with Nature. "It is safe to affirm," he says, "that of all our poets until we reach Wordsworth, including here Chaucer, Spenser, and Milton, Vaughan affords decidedly the most varied and the most delicate pictures from Nature; that he looked upon the landscape both in its fine details and in its larger, and as they might be called, its cosmic aspects, with an insight and imaginative penetration not rivalled till we reach our own century." There are few things upon which it is easier to make generalizations, and more difficult to substantiate them by quoting specific facts, than upon such a matter as racial influences in literature; but if any proposition of this kind can be advanced as to English literature with greater confidence than another it is this—that the real poetry of Nature which we find in it owed its inspiration to Celtic sources.

ON SCIENCE AS A RELAXATION.¹

BY WILLIAM HENRY PREECE, F.R.S., ETC.

AT a dinner given lately at the Mansion House by the Lord Mayor of London, to bid farewell to the retiring French Ambassador, Monsieur Waddington made some remarks respecting the different pursuits in the life of a politician, which at the time impressed me very much. He said,—

“In this assembly, which includes so many political men, I would point to the enormous advantage which is derived in the hazards and ups and downs of political life from classical study in some form or other, whether it take the form of archæology, numismatics, ancient geography, or the diligent reading of classical literature. It has been my fate three times to be suddenly turned out of a ministry and to find myself cut off from active work, great responsibilities, and very absorbing pursuits, and when one experiences suddenly a change of that kind it is very difficult to avoid feeling a certain discontent, a certain angry feeling, almost a feeling of revenge against those who have deposed you. But if he but has a real absorbing classical pursuit, what a source of contentment and peace of mind it is to the politician at such times! The pursuit, however, must not be a mere plaything, but one which is near to your heart and by which you can be absorbed. In days of disappointment there is, in my opinion, no consolation equal to that of a dearly-loved study.”

Not many days afterwards the great German physiologist

¹ Read before the Society, Wednesday, April 26th, 1893.

Virchow, in delivering the Croonian lecture before the Royal Society, said,—

“ How often have I found myself in a state of despondency, with a feeling of depression ! What has saved me is the habit of work, which has not forsaken me even in the days of outward misfortune—that habit of scientific work which has always appeared to me as a recreation, even after wearying and useless efforts in political, social, and religious matters.”

I have so frequently found a solace and a comfort in the habit of regarding matters from a purely scientific point of view that when I was honoured by an invitation to deliver an address before this Society, the pertinent remarks of M. Waddington and Professor Virchow induced me to select as my subject the relaxation which the scientific consideration of things supplies, not only in moments of trouble, but in moments of leisure, and especially in the daily associations of busy and active every-day life.

It is impossible to prevent the active operation of the mind during our periods of wakefulness. We may be occupied in the pursuits of our professions, of our businesses, of our daily domestic and social concerns. We may be mentally disturbed by troubles or elated by successes. We may be enjoying a well-earned holiday in the bracing hills of Wales. We may restlessly toss about in hours of darkness in our beds, or peacefully wait for the coming morn. We may comfortably rush through the country in the luxurious saloon of a modern first-class coach ; or we may be taking that exercise in the open air which is so essential for health and happiness, either on foot or on horseback. We may loll in our comfortable arm-chairs by our own quiet fire-sides, or we may wander in the active streets of great cities amidst the busy hum of men. We may contemplate the deep and dark ocean from the deck of a swift and well-

equipped steamer, or we may be driven over the hills and dales of some foreign land that vies in beauty with our own dear native land. Wherever we may be or whatever we may do the mind is actively at work building castles in the air, picturing events that never occur, contemplating the vanities of the earth, or conceiving schemes that melt

“ Into thin air
And, like this insubstantial pageant, faded,
Leave not a rack behind.”

Now, instead of allowing the thoughts to wander at will, fancy free, we may direct them into some channel clear of all disturbing elements, and obtain in some other pursuit temporary oblivion of the world, its pleasures and its woes. After buffeting, about in the angry seas of political, social, or professional life, we may desire to steer to some haven of rest, where we may calm our excited brains by exercising them in more peaceful pursuits and more soothing mental recreation. Waddington advocates the return to the classics, Virchow to work ; some fly to literature, others resort to art, and while conversation is the panacea of many, silent contemplation is the property of all. Scientific investigation, scientific observation, scientific thought, are the accomplishments I advocate. They are habits which we can all acquire, and the means to exercise them are ever around and about us.

How many of my audience have asked themselves the simple questions, Why do we remain so comfortably warm in bed when the window-panes are covered with beautiful ice pictures? Why is soap so effective in cleansing the skin? Why do our boots shine when they are fiercely rubbed with blacking? Why do we require our food cooked, when the birds of the air and the beasts of the field flourish better than we on Nature's unaided pro-

ducts? What is the value and composition of that strange concoction, a cup of tea? Why do we burn coal and whence is derived the heat that warms our homes? the light that illumines our rooms? the sounds that captivate or violate our ears? the perfumes that gratify or offend our noses? What is paper? What is ink? And how is it that on every breakfast table in every town in the United Kingdom where a daily paper is published, a full verbatim report can be read of some exciting political speech made the previous evening in some retired corner in the mountains of Cymru or in the wilds of Scotland?

By scientific investigation, I mean finding the reason why. By scientific observation, I mean using the senses that God has given us to watch and examine the processes of nature, and to perceive what is going on around and about us wherever we may be. By scientific thought, I mean that regular and systematic method of tracing, step by step, the connection that exists between effect and cause, and that process by which we can pass from the study of the known to comprehend the unknown.

The word *science* has to some a repulsive sound; while the word *knowledge* impresses every one with respect. Yet their meaning is identical, and they vary only from being derived from different roots. Science has been defined to be organized common sense, and it is applied specially to the description and explanation of the facts and laws of Nature.

People once used to look upon a scientific man as a learned pedant, and associate him with their doctor or some aged and white-chokered pundit who wrote his prescriptions in hieroglyphics, or who spoke a language not "understood of the people." Science was regarded as something dry and prosaic. Now, thanks to Intermediate Education, High Schools, and Technical Institutes, our

sons and our daughters are much more learned scientifically than our fathers and mothers were, and, I suspect, in many cases, than our humble selves. The material constitution of the earth upon which we walk ; the chemical character of the air we breathe ; the physical nature of heat ; and the constitution and behaviour of water can form the subject of conversation at many breakfast tables. My contention is that they should form the subject of our daily thoughts, and that thus Science should become a pleasure and be made a relaxation, introducing to us a new world. Science is not dry, it can be as bright as a day-dream ; it is not prosaic, it can be as cheerful as an old song. Moreover, while the pursuit of literature or of art generally involves sedentary or inactive occupation in rooms, the works of Nature are ever open to the scientific observer, so that he may "run who readeth." The reader of the classics is confined to dusty tomes. His books are found on shelves or purchased from bookstalls. The naturalist's library is the face of Nature. The ground upon which we tread in the country, even the paving-stones in the City of London ; the changing scene that flits past our carriage window ; the face of the mighty ocean ; the blue sky and the starry firmament, are all open pages of that great scientific work which is every one's inheritance, and which is written in one universal language very easily acquired. The cutting along a railway is a leaf in an open treatise of geology ; the moon's phases form a paragraph in a simple text-book of astronomy ; a noisy and brilliant thunderstorm becomes an exposition of some physical atmospheric disturbance ; a storm at sea is a simple, though sometimes unpleasant, experience ; plants, birds, fish, beasts, hills, dales, rivers, tides, waterfalls, clouds, rain, ice, snow are Nature's works, always appealing to the understanding and conveying impressions of a pleasurable character. The flowers of the

field, the garlands of the wood, the giants of the forest are welcome and intimate friends full of story, always cheerful, never reticent. Shakespeare summarized Nature's library. The natural observer found

"Tongues in trees, books in the running brooks, Sermons in stones, and good in everything."

The tools of the artist are confined to the pencil, the brush, and the chisel; but the scientific observer finds Nature's tools in heat and cold, light and darkness, rain and ice, solution and evaporation, wind and tide, expansion and contraction, attraction and repulsion, motion, vibration, friction, and resistance. The work done by these tools is ever present, and their activity is ever being directed so that we have only to look out of our window to see priceless treasures and ever-varying pictures. Moreover, the operations that are going on now have been going on since the beginning, and will continue to go on until the end; and hence, by the observation of present actions, we can mentally picture the past or foreshadow and anticipate the future.

Nature's library and her gallery of art have another advantage over the shelves of the bookworm, the gilded frames of the painter, or the curtained recesses of the sculptor: they do not demand leisure, solitude, or time for study or admiration. They are ever open to the busy man of the world, even in his daily avocation.

Let me briefly recount to you, as an illustration of what I mean, a line of thought and study that I indulged in during my annual holiday last year in my Welsh home.

The whole of that part of our beautiful native country which lies between the Snowdonian Range and the sea level is covered with loose, worn stones, which differ in character and structure from the rocks on which they rest. At the mouth of each river debouching on the sea or on

the Menai Straits—the Seiont and the Ogwen—are found hillocks of mixed, loose, broken, deposited material known as “moraines.” Penrhyn Castle is built on such made ground. Here and there along the valleys are found rocks *in situ* bearing distinct traces of scratching and engraving in well-defined lines. Up the passes are rocks that have been ground and smoothed into shapes like the backs of sheep, and hence have been named by the French “Roches moutonnes.” High up on the hills are seen great masses of stone perched aloft like some lost wild beast; or, as Wordsworth says :

“ Seems a thing endued with sense :
Like a sea-beast crawled forth, that on a shelf
Of rock or sand reposes, there to sun itself.”

Such erratic blocks are found strewed over a great part of the north of Great Britain ; one was found beneath a street in Manchester.

There is no mystery as to the cause, for the same forces are found in the present day at work in different parts of the world. Ice was the moving agent. In the snow glaciers of Switzerland, Norway and Greenland the same thing is going on now. Icebergs float away bearing blocks of stone and depositing them at the bottom of the ocean. Solid rivers, called glaciers, very slowly flow down the upper valleys bearing on their surface the detritus of the hills, which is deposited in moraines as the ice melts in the lower and warmer valleys. A great ice sheet moves over the solid ground, scooping and scraping, scoring and crushing the face of the hardest rock.

Rounded and smooth hillocks, polished surfaces, fluted marks, scratches, erratic blocks and all the evidence of an ice age are found not only in Wales, but all over the north of England, and especially on the west side. How much

more beautiful and poetic is this scientific explanation of erratic blocks than the superstitious imagining which attributed the wandering porphyritic blocks in Cornwall to stones thrown by St. Kevern after the escaping thief who stole his chalice, or to rocks bitten off some mountain top and hurled in rage by the devil at some holy saint, or by the blinded Cyclops at the deceitful Ulysses.

Wales must once have been covered with a great, thick sheet of ice as Greenland is now, presumably nourished by the falling snow and throwing out into the ocean ice-bergs which floated away with pieces of our native land, some day to appear as erratic blocks in some new country when the present ocean bed is upheaved into dry land.

This great sheet must have ploughed its way down the slopes with irresistible force—a force not difficult to calculate. Rocks must have been torn from their beds, ground into powder or reduced to mud. The turbid streams that issue from Alpine glaciers give evidence of this pulverizing action going on to-day. Boulder clay is now being formed in the ice-bound land that encircles either pole, full of engraved stones which when interpreted in future ages will convey a story as clear as the engraved rocks of the Pass of Llanberis or the Rosetta stone of modern Egypt.

What must have been the changes of climate in Wales that have produced such a transformation and what has been the period of this mighty revolution?

Here we have a page of the comparative recent history of the world open to every observant eye to read, and clear to every thoughtful mind to expound,—mental food for reflection and scientific thought for relaxation.

The geologists' hammer and chisel have opened to us page upon page of the history of this globe equally interesting. Britain has passed through tropical periods as well as arctic ones, and the astronomer teaches us why

this should have been so and why it must be so again. The path of the earth around the sun undergoes a periodic "wobble." Nova Zembla was once as green as Ireland, and the banks of the St. Lawrence were as lifeless and as chilly as the North Pole. To-day we are in an intermediate stage, our climate is temperate. We are imperceptibly approaching a more genial period when animal and vegetable organisms that cold has chased away will return to their native habitats in that altered garb which evolution has wrought during the ages of their enforced exile.

The mountains of North Wales were probably once the rocky archipelago of some ocean. The top of Moel Tryfan even now is full of marine fossils and seaside shells. Snowdon was a volcano. The Menai Straits are but a comparatively recent acquisition, said to have been scooped out by the mighty erosion of the great glacier that flowed down from Westmoreland.

Let me briefly glance at another story told in Nature's book in clear, bold, unmistakable characters of actions going on now that enable us to interpret the puzzle of the past and to unravel the mystery of the future. Wandering by some distant seashore or crossing even a London bridge we can watch and note the ebb and flow and the rise and fall of the tide. The moon and the sun exert a pull on the material of our earth, which in the case of the mobile and impressionable liquid of the ocean causes it to be heaped up and to form great waves, the so-called tidal waves. At new and full moon the sun and moon act together at the same spot, and we have the highest and the lowest or *spring* tides. At the intermediate periods they act in opposition to each other: we have a smaller range or *neap* tides. There are two high tides every day, and the action is so regular and the period so true that at full and change, when the sun and moon simultaneously cross

the meridian, high water at the same place is exactly at the same hour. Thus at London Bridge it is 1.30 p.m., at Falmouth 4.30 a.m., at Carnarvon 9.52 a.m. High water and the currents vary, however, in different places, and are modified by geographical configuration, by the varying depth of the channels, and by bottom friction and geometrical direction. But they are so regular at the same place that the periods of rise and fall are now calculated by a machine.

The variations due to the configuration, direction of the land, and to the momentum of the tidal wave, are exemplified by the respective heights of high water at the following places: Malta, practically none; Venice, 2 feet; St. Helena, 4 feet; Scilly, 16 feet; Liverpool, 27 feet; Bristol, 42 feet; Fundy (North America), 100 feet.

The daily circulation of two great tidal waves over the rough bottom of our oceans and seas means that friction must exist, work must be done and energy must be transformed. In fact, the spin of the globe on its axis which gives us our morning and our evening must be retarded, for the tidal waves act as a break or skid. An ancient Chaldean record of an eclipse 3600 years ago has been discovered which, according to modern calculation, appeared an hour before its time. This was wrong of it, but it shows that the day must be lengthening and as a necessary consequence the moon must be receding. Don't be alarmed. The increase has not been measurable during the period that man has had at his command instruments of precision. The day may increase half an hour in one million years. One million years in Nature's pulse may be but one beat. Whatever the swing of Nature's pendulum may be, it is certain that once the day was less than of four hours duration, and the moon was perhaps a ring encircling the earth as we see Saturn now encompassed. The month and

the day were then of the same duration, and it is equally certain that in the dim and distant future the month and the day will again be of the same duration, but this time the period of earth's rotation and moon's revolution will consist of 1400 of our present hours. However, we shall not be there to see, and I only mention the fact to show how scientific thought, from studying the present can predicate the future, from observing the known can foresee the unknown. It can teach us that not alone

"The poet's eye, in a fine frenzy rolling
Doth glance from heaven to earth, from earth to heaven,"

but the scientific thinker can soar in mental freedom through the corridors of time, from the infinite past to the illimitable future. He learns there was a beginning, and he finds there will be an end. He

"Looks through Nature, up to Nature's God,"

and he can sing with the Psalmist,

"The heavens declare the glory of God, and the firmament showeth
His handy-work."

Scientific knowledge has one disadvantage—it makes us conscious of the glaring errors of our heroes of the pen and brush. Frank Buckland and Professor Norman Lockyer used annually to expose the scientific blunders on the walls of the Royal Academy. Charles Dickens, by a strange *lapsus pennæ*, not only made a star a fixture to the earth, but made the day to be the result of the revolution of the earth around the sun, instead of its rotation on its own axis. In "Hard Times," when poor Stephen Blackwood fell down Ord Hill Shaft, and remained there helpless for days, he was cheered by a star which perpetually shone down the pit: "Often as I coom to myseln, and found it shinin' on me down there on my trouble, I thowt 'twere

the star as guided to our Saviour's Home. I awmust think it be the very star."

One of our most eminent special correspondents described the dew as falling like rain, and being licked up by the dust. Byron made the same mistake :

" Words are things, and a small drop of ink,
Falling like dew upon a thought, produces
That which makes thousands, perhaps millions think."

Another poet describes a molehill as being made by the ant !

Keats uses the simile

" Soft as a dove's nest,"

little thinking of the hard, dry sticks composing it.

On the other hand, facts observed and collected by ourselves make us appreciate with great pleasure the references by writers to the same facts. Poets have been most earnest students of Nature. Shakespeare's plays abound with references to the lessons of our fields, woodlands, and mossy banks :

" I can suck melancholy out of a song, as a weazel sucks eggs."

" A vagabond flag upon the stream goes to and back, lacqueying the varying tide, to rot itself into motion."

" Out on you Owls, nothing but songs of death."

" The hedgehog whines at night."

" The glowworm 'gins to pale its ineffectual fire."

" Pray you tread softly that the blind mole may not Hear a footfall."

" . . . you demi-puppets that
By moonshine do the green sour ringlets make
Whereof the ewe not bites."

" I know a bank whereon the wild thyme blows,
Where oxlips and the nodding violet grows."

There is a charming book by Harding, " On the Birds of Shakespeare." His animals and his plants, wherever the

scene may be laid, in the chilly North or in the sunny South, are our wayside weeds and our field pests, companions of his wild young days, rosemary and pansies in Denmark, sedges, mallow docks, and nettles in the Mediterranean.

But even Shakespeare was not immaculate. The scene of "*As you like it*" was laid in the Forest of Arden, in the north-east of France, on the borders of Belgium. He makes Oliver say, "Where in the purlieus of the forest stands a sheep-cote fenced about with olive-trees," and further on, "Under which bushes' shade a lioness, with udders all drawn dry, lay crouching."

The olive is indigenous to Italy, and the lion did not roam in Europe in historic times.

The Hindoo philosopher said to his son, "Bring me a fruit of that tree, and break it open. What is there?" The son said, "Some small seeds." Break one of them, and what do you see?" "Nothing, my lord." "My child," said the sage, "where you see nothing, there dwells a mighty tree."

A loose pebble picked up on the shore can, if properly interpreted, tell the story of a continent and the history of a million years.

We poor busy city men are not altogether deprived of some of the scientific charms of the country and the sea-side. During the severe weather in February last, the river between Blackfriars Bridge and Westminster abounded with gulls, and the Embankment was thronged with East-End naturalists and interested watchers. In Russell Square, the sacred figure of Francis, Duke of Bedford, is desecrated by the impertinent and irrepressible British sparrow building its nest. A lapwing was recently seen in Belsize Avenue, and a magpie in the Regent's Park. Dabchicks, wild and free, appear every spring in St. James's Park. Rooks have returned to Kensington Gardens. For years and years a

bird built its nest in a tree in Wood Street, Cheapside, and for aught I know does so still, while a few years ago a pair of hawks made their home on the cross of St. Paul's, feeding sumptuously daily on the ecclesiastical pigeons that abound there. We have but to ride to Wimbledon to listen to the lark trilling at heaven's gate, to admire the brilliant song of the nightingale, and to see swans flying majestically with long, straight-outstretched necks across the welkin. In Richmond Park we can see the heron and hear the cuckoo. The lovely Surrey Hills are within a walking distance, and with a field glass and patient observation many facts can be acquired, food for thought and mental recreation can be stored up. It was but yesterday that I saw a cock pheasant sporting his brilliant plumage, and strutting about with self-satisfied air to captivate the admiration of his spouse. In animal life, it is the male who shows off his colours and flaunts his magnificence. In humanity, it is the female!

Those who handle the rod or shoulder the gun in the pursuit of their favourite sport have grand opportunities to observe and study nature. But the glory of their success often throws into oblivion the means by which they attain their ends. The fisherman exercises deceit, and the shooter commits murder. It is true that food is the original aim of all sport, but those who whip the Seiont or the Dee rarely think of their dinner, and rather prefer to exercise their ingenuity in cajoling the unsuspecting trout or circumventing the wary salmon. The lot of the wild creature is not a happy one. Life lives on life. It is not man alone that covets the hare or the rabbit. They are surrounded by enemies ready to pounce upon them and devour them, not for "sport," but for food. They carry their lives in their eyes, and their existence depends on their watchfulness, courage, and agility. The ruling spirit of the wild

beast is appetite. They attack by cunning, they defend by manœuvring. They live in fear. The strong and the wise alone survive. It is much the same with nations. Why were not all creatures vegetarians? and why are not we all contented with that which we have?

The scientific spirit has a vast field for observation, contemplation, and relaxation, in watching the vagaries of animal life.

The way in which ships are watched and followed by sea-birds is a never-ceasing wonder to the deck observer. The refuse thrown over becomes the wild birds' perquisites. Let the ship but anchor within sight of a rock-bound shore, and down swoops upon it at once a large tribe of gulls, who squeak and scream and wail in most discordant music, but whose playful antics and dainty ways afford much amusement to the patient watcher. They never seem to quarrel or to fight, but the strong asserts his power to be fed first, and the old displays his selfishness in securing the biggest piece, even from the beak of the brown-backed yearling.

The motions of the kittiwake in seizing its food offer a pretty scientific lesson. Its displacement of the water on which it rests shows that its weight is very slight. Its motion is quick, but any check to that motion, even in picking up a fish, must seriously retard its progress and endanger its life. Hence, as it swoops over the water to pounce upon some food, it lowers its webbed feet, and the instant it secures its prey, its feet, dipping in the water, act like paddles, give it an impetus forward which maintains its energy, and secures its flight into safety.

The same birds leave the coast of Ireland to follow a Cunarder for hundreds of miles, and return by a home-bound boat, "feeding sumptuously every day."

Let but a shoal of fish—pilchard or sardine—pass by, then there is a turmoil in the sea and a turmoil in the air. The

edges of the shoal swarm with voracious bigger fish. The porpoise gambols on the surface. The cannibals of the sea are having a high time of it in gorging on their tiny compatriots. Every kind of bird appears, swooping over the surface like the gull, or striking hawk-like as does the gannet, and often and often before the shoal can reach the land, to become the prey and the food of man, it has disappeared in the stomachs of its foes.

Says Shakespeare :

“ Master, I marvel how the fishes live in the sea ? ”

“ Why as men do a land—the great ones eat up the little ones.”

Pericles, ii. 1.

I think I have said enough to show how scientific investigation, observation, and thought can become a true relaxation, and how subjects for this mental recreation can be found around and about us at all times and seasons. A watchful eye, a pocket lens, and a smattering of book-lore place the whole vegetable kingdom open to the botanist. A hammer and a chisel and the open country fulfil all the wants of the geologist. The cooking of our food, the warming of our hearths, the illumination of our rooms, satisfy the chemist. The astronomer needs only a clear sky and good eyesight. The physicist sees experiments proceeding in every gleam of sunshine, in the changeful sky, in the brilliant rainbow, in the awful storm, in the melting icicle, and in the graceful dewdrop.

Science is thus knowledge based on facts obtained by observation and experiment. With books at home and eyes abroad the scientific thinker knows neither solitude nor ennui. Culture is knowledge, resulting from reading, study, and memory. Reflection is the relaxation of each, but the one deals with crude objective matter, its changes and its uses, while the other deals with mental subjective

thought and its results. Each has its own sphere and each its value. I do not advocate the pursuit of the one to the exclusion of the other ; but I assert that mental occupation without effort, contemplation with pleasurable sensations, cessation of mental restraint, oblivion of worldly affairs, is always within the reach of him whose eye can read the open works of God, and whose mind can assimilate the simple facts of Nature.

DYFFRYN CLWYD : EI RAMANTAU A'I LAFAR GWLAD.¹

GAN ISAAC FOULKES (*Llyfrbryf*).

ARWYDDAIR yr oes hon ydyw nid gwybod ychydig am bobpeth bron, ond gwybod pobpeth bron am ychydig. Dichon mai y prif achos imi gael yr anrhydedd o ddarllen y Papyr yma heno ydyw'r ffaith fy mod yn frodor o Ddyffryn clodfawr Clwyd; a chan fy mod hefyd yn ymweled yn fynych âg ef, dylwn wybod cymaint am dano a'r nifer luosocaf o'r rhai a anwyd yn ei gyffiniau. Y mae ei safle ddaearyddol, ei ddaearog, ei hanes, a thlydni gogoneddus ei olygfeydd yn hysbys i'r rhan fwyaf ohonoch; a phrin y buasai angen gwahodd neb i son wrthy ch am yr agweddau yna arno. Ond hyd y gwn, nid oes sylw arbenig wedi ei dalu eto i'w draddodiadau a'i chwedlau gwlad; a rhaid i chwi faddeu i mi, os na linywir hwy yn nghyd yn y Papyr hwn mor drefnus ag y byddai ddymunol genyf. Heb fawr wastraff ar amser gallaf ddweyd mai hyd y Dyffryn ydyw tuag ugain milldir o Rhyl i Lanfair, a'i led yr amrywio o dair i bum milldir. Erchwynion ei wely ydyw cadwen-fynyddoedd y Fama ar du'r dwyrain, a Mynydd Hiraethog ar du'r gorllewin. Ar un o lechweddau y mynydd olaf y tardda yr afon fechan ddiog sydd yn rhoddi i'r Dyffryn ei enw. Bronbannog y gelwir tarddle yr afon, a cherllaw Bronbannog, medd traddodiad, yr oedd porfeydd BUWCH FRECH HIRAETHOG.

Buwch ryfedd oedd hon—garedig i'r eithaf. Deuai

¹ Darllenwyd yn nghyfarfod y Gymdeithas, Mehefin 13^o 1893.

pobl dlodion yr holl wlad yno i'w godro, a rhoddai hithau i bob un ohonynt lon'd ei lestr o'r llaeth brasaf a blasusaf. Yr oedd hyn yn hendwr mawr i boblach ar eu goreu, ac nid oedd greadur ar wyneb daear uwch yn eu golwg na Buwch Frech Hiraethog. Ond fel mae gwaetha'r modd, daeth rhyw hen wrach eiddigus, genfigenus, a melldigedig, o rywle; a beth a wnaeth yr un ddrwg ond cymeryd gogor neu ridyll i odro'r Fuwch Frech, a'r llaeth yn rhedeg trwy hwnw i'r llawr heb obaith ei lanw byth. Digiodd y Fuwch Frech o'rherwydd, ac aeth i ffwrdd o'r fangre na wyr neb i b'le hyd y dydd hwn. Rhai a dybiant iddi fyned yn syth gyda'i theulu i Lyn y Ddau Ychain gerllaw. Modd bynag, er dirfawr gollod i'r tlodion ni welwyd mohoni mwy; ond y mae enwau ar leoedd yn yr ardal yn dal i gadarnhau yr hen draddodiad am dani. Mewn llythyr a dderbyniais ychydig wythnosau yn ol oddiwrth Mr. Robert Roberts, trethgasglydd, Clocaenog, efe a ddywed fod yn y llanerch ffynon a elwir Ffynon y Fuwch Frech; a thua chanllath oddiwrth y ffynon ceir olion gwaith maen a elwir yn Breseb y Fuwch Frech; yna yn arwain oddiwrth hwn ar hyd lethr y mynydd y mae hen ffordd sydd yn cael ei galw fyth yn Llwybr y Fuwch Frech. Yr wyf yn gwybod fod gan fanau eraill eu traddodiad am Fuwch Frech neu ei thebyg. Er engraifft, "Audhumla," gwyr Llychlyn.

Wedi gadael Bronbannog, a diodi Llyn Petryal, cerdda y Glwyd yn hamddenol a sidellog heibio Felin y Wignes y daw i'r glyn a elwir am rai milldiroedd yn Nantclwyd, y lle cyn mwyaf dyddorol ar yr hwn ydyw pentref bychan a elwir Bryn Saith Marchog. Y mae blas henaint ar yr enw, a thybia yr Archddiacon Newcome iddo gael ei alw felly am i Owen Glyndwr ddal Arglwydd Grey a saith o'i farchogion yu y fan. Gwyddis i Glyndwr ddal Arglwydd Grey, ai garcharu, a'i orfodi, medd rhai, i briodi ei ferch Sian; ond nid oes fawr o sicrwydd mai yn y lle hwn y syrthiodd ef i'r ddalfa, na bod cysylltiad yn y byd rhwng yr enw âg Owen Glyndwr. Y

tebygolrwydd yw fod yr enw yn llawer hŷn nag amser y ddau. Yr oedd yr hen Gymry yn nodedig am roddi enwau cymhwys ar eu haneddau a'u meusydd a'u hardaloedd, gan eu cysylltu naill ai gyda rhyw ddigwyddiad hanesyddol, neu eu hamgylchoedd. Cawn engraifft neillduol o hyn yn enw tref-ddegwm sydd gerllaw y fan y daw'r afon Glwyd o'i Nant i'w Dyffryn, sef Cilgroeslwyd. Math o gafell haner crwn yn nghesail Mynydd Efenectyd ydyw'r llanerch brydferth hon, un o'r rhai harddaf yn y Dyffryn. Mae rhyw olwg dawelfwyn ddefosiynol ar y lle; a phan oedd Cymru mor Babyddol ag yw rhanau o Lydaw a'r Iwerddon yn bresenol, a chroesau yn bethau mor gyffredin ar hyd-ddi ag yw ceryg milltiroedd yn awr, mae'n ddiâu fod yn y llecyn hwn lun croes lle y gallai'r pererin ymblygu ger ei bron. Yna pa enw cymhwysach ar y dref-ddegwm? Cil—a *nook*, y groes lwyd—the *holy cross*, canys yr hen air Cymraeg am *holy* ydyw *lwyd*. Duw lwyd, Curig lwyd, a welir yn fynych yn ngwaith y Beirdd, ac yr oedd ganddynt fath o chwareu crefyddol yn Ngwent a Morganwg hyd yn ddiweddar a alwent yn 'Mari Lwyd' neu "*Holy Mary*."

Os edrychir yn nghyfeiriad codiad haul o Gilgroeslwyd, gwelir y Foel Fenlli y nesaf o ran safle ac o ran taldra i'r Foel Fama. Credir iddi gael ei henw oddiwrth Benlli Gawr, ac mai braddug creulon a gorthrymus oedd Benlli, un or Coraniaid drygnaws; ond yn ol cywydd sydd yn y gyfrol gyntaf o'r *Cambrian Journal*, yn yr hwn y mae ei awdwr, Gruffydd ap Ieuan ap Llywelyn Fychan o'r Llanerch, yn atolygu ar Gynhafal Sant iachau ei gryd cymalau, dywed y bardd mai Cynhafal a roes y cryd cymalau ar Benlli fel barnedigaeth am ei greulonderau—"rhoi gwayw yn ei gorph a thân gwyllt" nes "y fföai'r diawl i ffrwd Alun," i ymoeri, tra yr ymguddia'r afon hono rhag lliniaru ei boenau:—

Aeth deirgwaith wedi argoedd
Yn dir sych—un dyrras oedd;

Ac yr oedd ei boethder mor fawr, fel y dywed y bardd yn mhellach :—

Ar lan a chwyr yr Alun chwyrn
Y llosges ei holl esgyrn.

Hwyrach mai felly y bu, neu hwyrach mai yn alegoriaidd y dylid cymeryd geiriau'r bardd, neu hwyrach hefyd mai nid, fel y tybiai Dr. Owen Pughe ac eraill, esgyrn Benlli Gawr oedd y rhai a gafwyd tua thriugain mlynedd yn ol mewn hen garnedd gerllaw y Wyddgrug, ac o'u dentu werth tua thriugain punt o aur dilin. Barn Ab Ithel, yn ol yr erthygl, ydoedd i'r Coraniaid ddyfod i'r wlad hono oes neu ddwy o flaen Dyfnwal Moelmud, ac yr oedd Dyfnwal Moelmud yma 500 mlynedd cyn Crist. Gadewch ini ddyfod yn nes gartref.

O ben Foel Benlli, wrth edrych tros ben tref Rhuthin ar y llechwedd cyferbyniol i'r Dyffryn, gellir gweled ffermdy lled fawr, yn sefyll wrtho ei hun. Tua haner can mlynedd yn ol, gwneid teulu y ty acw i fynu o wr gweddw, ei fachgen tuag wyth oed, a morwyn yn gweini arnynt—merch ieuanc nodedig am ei geirwiredd, a'i huniondeb mewn gair a gweithred. Arferai y tad a'r mab fyned i addoli i Ruthin, tra yr oedd y forwyn yn aelod o eglwys yn mhellach yn y wlad ac mewn cyfeiriad gwahanol. Un nos Sul yn mis Ebrill, aethant yn ol eu harfer i'w gwahanol addoldai; yr olaf yn gadael allwedd y ty mewn man penodedig fel y gallai'r cyntaf adref ei gael. Y cyntaf y nos Sul hon oedd y forwyn; ac wedi iddi agor drws y ffrynt, gwelai ddrws y cefn yn llydan agored. Deallodd yn union fod y ty wedi ei dori; ac fel y gellid meddwl, dychrynodd yn fawr iawn. Yn mhen yspaid, dychwelodd hefyd y meist'r a'r bachgen; a'r forwyn yn y drws yn eu cyfarfod â golwg gyffrous arni, ac yn dweyd beth oedd wedi digwydd. Nid oedd amheuaeth yn nghylch fod y ty wedi ei dori; yr oedd hanerhob o gig moch wedi ei gymeryd o ben y llawr, a chafwyd allan wedi hyny

fod ychydig bunodd wedi eu symud o gist yn y parlwr. Yr oedd hi erbyn hyn yn dechreu tywyllu, ac aed gyda chanwyll i chwilio am ôl traed y lleidr. Gan fod ganddo ardd i'w chroesi yn nghefn y tŷ, ni chafwyd fawr drafferth i weled ol ei draed, a chanfod eu ffurf a pha fath hoelion oedd yn ngwadnau ei esgidian. Dilynwyd ei lwybr bore dranoeth yn fanylach ar draws y gwrych o'r ardd i'r cae nesaf, ac oddiyno i ffordd oedd yn mhen draw y cae ac yn arwain i'r dref, lle wrth gwrs y collwyd y trywydd. Trwy y dydd Llun, yr oedd pryder y forwyn yn annyoddefol—ofnai, gan mai hi oedd yr olaf yn gadael y ty y noson cynt, a'r gyntaf yn dychwelyd, y buasai hyny yn peri amheuaeth yn meddwl ei meist'r oedd beidio fod rhywbeth a wnelai hi â'r lladrad; er, y rhaid dweyd, fod yr ofn hwnw yn gwbl ddisail. Pa fodd bynag, nos Lun penderfynodd fyned a gosyn i ferch ieuanc yn yr ardal os deuai hi gyda hi fore ddydd Mawrth at Miss Lloyd, y ddewines, i Ddinbych. Wedi cryn berswadio, addawodd y ferch fyned. Y mae hono yn awr yn fyw—yn byw yn yr un ty ag yr oedd y pryd hwnw—ac ar hyd ei hoes yn ddynes barchus iawn yn mysg ei chydabod, yn enwedig am ei geirwiredd. Felly yn hollol ddiarwybod i'r meist'r, aeth y ddwy fore ddydd Mawrth yn ddystaw bach i Ddinbych. Cawsant hyd i Miss Lloyd yn pendwmpian yn nghanol ei hadar o bob rhywiogaeth. Ni chym'rai hi, ebynt hwy wrth ddweyd yr hanes, fawr o sylw ohonynt am rai mynyddau; a'r ymadrodd cyntaf a ddaeth o'i phen ydoedd dweyd wrthynt ei bod hi yn gwybod eu neges. Yna rhoddodd ddesgrifiad manwl a chywir o'r tŷ a dorwyd; nifer y teulu oedd ynddo; gwaith y meist'r; soniodd am yr ardd oedd tu cefn i'r tŷ, a'r cae wed'yn, gan nodi yn y fan yma ffaith na wyddai'r un o'r ddwy o'r blaen, sef fod yno bren yn ngwrych uchaf y cae, ac o tan y pren hwnw yr oedd y lleidr yn gwylio'r teulu yn myned i'w gwahanol addoldai; ac os aent yno y gwelent ôl ei draed. Dywedodd

wrthynt hefyd yn gwbl gywir pa fodd y gwnaeth yr adyn ei fynedfa i'r ty ; pa beth a ddygodd oddiyno ; fod yr haner-hob wedi ei bwyta, a'r arian wedi eu gwario. Yna des-grifiodd y lleidr, beth oedd ei waith, fod ôl y frech wen ar ei wyneb, mai dyn nwydwyllt, creulon, ydoedd ; ac er yn hen a mynych droseddwr, na fu erioed yn y ddalfa. " Yr oedd yn dda i chi, ngeneth i," ebe'r ddewines, " na ddaethoch chi ddim adre' ddeng munyd yn nghynt—cyn iddo orphen ei neges, onide buasai yn sicr o'ch lladd rhag i chwi achwyn arno." Yn ben ar yr oll, dywedodd na fyddai efe byw ond ychydig fisoedd. Cynygiodd y ddewines yn nesaf roddi rhyw farc ar y lleidr, " fel y gallo eich meist'r wybod pwy ydi o ; " ond ni fynai'r forwyn glywed am hyny. " Yna," meddai, " mi a wna'f iddo gyfarfod eich meist'r mewn pedair croesffordd dridiau yn olynol, er mai anaml y bydd y ddau yn gweled eu gilydd." Wedi talu'r gydnabyddiaeth arferol, dychwelodd y ddwy ferch yn syn a dychrynedig, a dywedasant yr holl haneswrth y meist'r. Brawychodd hwnwrdrwyddo, a cheryddodd y ddwy am eu hynfydrwydd a'u hofergoledd. Modd bynag, cyfarfu ef a'r lleidr eu gilydd, mewn pedair croesffordd dri diwrnod yn olynol, a bu y lleidr farw cyn pen tri mis, yn ol gair y ddewines, wedi cystudd byr—a phan yr ydoedd yn ol pob golwg yn debyg o fyw am lawer o flynyddau.

Nid wyf fi am geisio esbonio dirgelwch rhyfedd fel hyn ; y cwbl allaf wneud yn ddibetrus a diofn ydyw tystiolaethu i ddilysrwydd yr holl hanes fel y rhoddais ef i chwi. Clywais yr holl hanes fel y digwyddai, ac yr wyf yn cofio'n dda am farwolaeth y lleidr. Ei hynodrwydd anesboniadwy ydyw fy esgusawd tros dreulio cymaint amser gyda'r hyn nas gellir ond prin hwyrach ei alw yn draddodiad.

Bu Dewinesau Dyffryn Clwyd yn adnabyddus trwy Gymru am oesau. Dinbych yn benaf oedd eu trigfa. A barnu oddiwrth un o interliwdiau T. Edwards o'r Nant, eu cymydog, yr oedd amryw ohonynt yn byw yn y dref hono yn ei oes

ef. Yn "Pleser a Gofid," dywed Rondol y Cybydd wrth gyfeirio at ddewines o'r enw Sal o'r Sowth, yr hon a addawsai iddo weddw gyfoethog yn wraig :—

Son a wnawn ni am rhyw ofer sitrach,
Sian a Sioned a Rebela o Ddinbach ;
They are not fit to open their mouth,—
Nid ynt wrth rai'r South ond sothach.

Y mae gan Pughe, yn ei *Cambria Depicta* ddarlun da o Rebela ; aeth ef i'w gweled ; ond siarad yn bur anystyriol y mae am ei doniau dewinol. Y Sioned, y ddewines arall a nodir gan Twm a adwaenid yn well fel Sioned Gorn, am y byddai'n gwisgo corn gafr wrth linyr am ei gwddf. Ond fel llawer crefft enillfawr arall yn mân drefydd Cymru, rhaid rhestru dewiniaeth hefyd bellach yn mysg eu "lapsed industries."

Yr oedd y ddwy ferch y soniais am danynt, ar eu ffordd at Miss Lloyd, yn myned heibio'n lled agos i ffermdy mawr yn bresenol, ond palas hyd yn mhell yn mlaen i'r ganrif bresenol, sef Bryn Lluarth, yn mhlwyf Llanrhaiadr. Yn y palas hwnw am lawer oes, preswyliai teulu ucheldras o'r enw Lloyd neu Llwyd. Ceir achau'r teulu yn Powys Fadog, cyf iv. t.d. 163. Nid oes sicrwydd pa un o'r Llwydiaid hyn oedd Llwyd y Cap ; ac y mae'r un mor ansicr paham y galwyd ef yn Llwyd y Cap—pa un ai gwisgo cap yr ydoedd ynte talfyriad ydyw'r gair o *capten*. Yn ol llafar gwlad, yr oedd llawer o anian filwraidd yn y teulu, a chrybwyllir am Arglwydd Bryn-Lluarth yn arfogi catrawd ac yn ymosod ar dref Rhuthin, gan wneud cryn ddinystr.¹ Ni waeth mo'r llawer pr'un ohonynt ydoedd—gallem feddwl ei fod yn ei rwysg rywbyrd yn y ganrif ddiweddaf. Llwyd y Cap ydyw prif yspryd Dyffryn Clwyd, a chymerai oriau i mi ddweyd yn agos yr hyn oll a glywais o hanes ei ystranciau. Yn ol llafar gwlad, adyn cribddeilgar, gormesol a chreulawn oedd

¹ Newcome's Ruthin, p. 39.

Llwyd y Cap, pan yn y enawd. Rhoddai fenthyg arian i ryddeiliaid yn yr ardal am lôg da, a gweithredoedd y tir yn wystl; ac os na ddychwelid yr arian i'r diwrnod, ie i'r awr, yn ol y cytundeb, gwae hwy—gwaith anobeithiol a fuasai cael na thir na gweithred yn ol unwaith yr elent i fachau trachwantus Llwyd y Cap. Pan dorai defaid rhyw gymydog i un o'i feusydd, gyrai yr adyn ysgeler hwy i'r odyngrasu ceirch oedd mewn cysylltiad â'i felin—Melin Bryn Lluarth,—lle y rhostient yn fyw. Yr oedd yn dda gan bawb glywed am ei farw, a marwolaeth galed a gafodd medd llafar gwlad. Ond os drwg yn fyw, gwaeth yn farw, chwedl yr hen air, oedd hi hefo Llwyd y Cap. Dechreuodd ei yspryd drwblo yn union deg. Ymrithiai weithiau gefn dydd goleu, ar y ffridd draw, ar gefn ei geffyl, a haid o gŵn hela yn ei ganlyn. Bryd arall, clywid ei lais gefn trymedd y nos yn ysgrechian yn ddychrynlyd yn yr awyr uwchben, "Ow! Ow! Ow! Y defaid yn yr ody!" Weithiau gwelid ef yn hamddenol ddiodi ei farch yn yr afon gerllaw, a phryd arall byddai yn ei gynddaredd yn tori'r llestri yn y llæthdy yn gyrbibion, ac yn malu pobpeth yn siwrwd. Dyna ychydig o'r traddodiadau sydd am dano yn yr ardal hyd y dydd hwn; yr oedd ei ofn a'i arswyd mor fawr yn yr ardal, fel nad elai un dyn na dynes allan wedi bod nos. O'r diwedd, penderfynodd Huw Jones, Brynlluarth bach, prydydd gwlad go lew yn ei ddydd, y mynai ymwared âg ef trwy ei roi i lawr. Yr oedd gair go uchel i Huw Jones am y gallu i roi ysprydion i lawr, a bu yn dra llwyddianus gydag yspryd Ffrith y Ceubren ac amryw eraill. Ond cafodd galetach gwaith gyda Llwyd na'r oll gyda'u gilydd. Yn ol y traddodiad, cafodd fenthyg caseg wineu at y gorchwyl—y mae caseg at hyn yn well na cheffyl, gan nas gall weled y ddrychiolaeth, ac felly ddychryn cymaint rhagddo. Parhaodd yr ymdrech rhwng yr yspryd a Huw Jones yn ddibaid am dridiau a theirnos. Bu mewn

enbydrwydd am ei einioes droion, ond daliodd i ddarllen y llyfr oedd ganddo i'r perwyl nes ydoedd bron wedi dyrysu, a'r gaseg wineu tano wedi troi yn wen gan ddychryn. Ar y cyntaf ymrithiai yr yspryd ar ffurf llew anferth rhuadwy, yna yn rhyw fwystfil llai, llai o hyd. Bu yn hir iawn yn sarph golynog am y lliardiard âg ef, ac yn ceisio ymwithio trwyddi—yntau gyda'i ffon—math o swynlath—yn ei gadw draw. Pa fodd bynag, yn mhen yr hir a'r hwyr, cafwyd ef i faint gwybedyn go fawr, yna agorodd Jones ei flwch dybaco a hudodd y gwybedyn iddo, a thaflodd y blwch a'i gynwys i gors sydd oddiallan i ardd Llewesog, gan ei ddiofrydu i aros yno tra rhedo dwfr. Dangosir yn awr y gors lle y bwriwyd yspryd Llwyd y Cap iddi; a myn y werin gredu fod yno bwll diwaelod yn y fan. Dywedant pe rhoddech ralsen hir ar ei phen yno fin nos, y byddai wedi llwyr suddo o'r golwg erbyn y bore. Y mae corph Llwyd y Cap, ebe'r Parch. W. P. Owen, curad Llanrhaiadr, wrthyf ychydig ddyddian yn ol, ac i'r hwn yr wyf yn ddyledus am lawer o'r traddodiad, yn gorwedd yn agos i ffenestr ddwyreiniol eglwys y plwyf, ond y darlleniad ar y gareg wedi treulio nes yw yn annichonadwy ei ddarllen. Ychydig yn ol, cafwyd hyd i gareg fedd Huw Jones yn yr un fynwent.

Yn yr un fynwent hefyd y mae bedd ac yn gerfiedig ar ei gareg y geiriau canlynol, "Yma hefyd y gorwedd Ann, gwraig Edward Parry o Fryn Mulan, yr hon a gladdwyd y 5ed o Dachwedd, 1787, ei hoed 60." Yn 1830, sef 43ain blynedd ar ol ei chladdu hi, yr agorwyd y bedd hwnw gyntaf wed'yn, ac i dderbyn corph ei mab, James Parry. Pan ddaeth y torwr bedd at arch Ann Parry, gwelai y coed yn ymddangos mor newydd yn y pridd a phe dodasid hwy yno ond yr wythnos o'r blaen; a phan gododd gauad yr arch, yr oedd y corph heb edwino dim, a'r gwyneb heb lygru. Yr oedd y llyisiau a'r blodau a ddodesid gyda hi yn yr arch i'w gwled yn hollol ffres. Daeth lluwys i'r lle i wel'd yr

olygfa ryfedd, a bu y mater yn destyn syndod a siarad y wlad oddiamgylch am hir amser. Yr oedd yr hen bobl yn cofio Ann Parry yn dda, ac yn cofio mai cymaint oedd ei rhinweddau fel y gelwid hi "Y Wraig Dduwiol." Hi oedd mam crefydd yn y plwyf; byddai yn cadw moddion yn ei thŷ ac nid anfynych y clybuwyd hi yn gweddio am i Dduw gadw ei chorph cystal a'i henaid. Y tro nesaf, a'r olaf am y gwyddom, i'r bedd hwnw gael ei agor, a hyny i gladdu gwraig mab Ann Parry, ydoedd bum mlynedd yn ddiwedd-arach, sef yn 1835. Tynodd y son am hyny ganoedd os nad miloedd o bobl yno o'r ardaloedd amgylchynol, ac y mae beth bynag un hen wr yn awr yn fyw a welodd agor y bedd yr eildro, sef Mr. Hesketh, Llanrhaiadr. Gan belled ag y gellid casglu, nid ymddangosai arch na chorph y "Wraig Dduwiol," yn waeth eu diwyg nag yn 1830, tra yr oedd arch y mab wedi malurio yn y dull arferol. Ceir hanes manwl am yr amgylchiad hynod hwn yn y *Drysorfa* am Awst, 1835, wedi ei arwyddo gan dri o wyr cyfrifol a swyddogion eglwysig oeddynt yn llygaid dystion ohono; ac am ychwaneg o hanes Ann Parry, gweler *Methodistiaeth Cymru*. Er i wyddoniaeth wneud llawer cais at esbonio y dirgelwch hwn, dirgelwch ydyw eto, a dyna fy rheswm tros gyfeirio ato. Y mae'n llawn mor anesboniadwy i feddwl meidrol paham na lygrai corph y da yn y bedd, a phaham na chadwai yspryd y drygionus yn ei hades, ar ol gadael y corph. Amlach mae'n wir y clywir am yr olaf na'r blaenaf, ond nid yw hyny ond prawf mai amlach y drwg na'r da yn yr hen fyd yma, neu o leiaf, felly yr oedd hi er's talm. Nid oes odid i hen balas na ffermdy o ddim maint yn yr holl Ddyffryn na fu yspryd yn trwblo ynddo rhyw oes neu gilydd. Yn y palasau, byddai ganddo yn gyffredin ystafell at ei wasanaeth ei hun, ac ni chymerasai undyn yr holl Ddyffryn yn ei grynswth am dreulio noswaith yn yr ystafell hono—cai yr yspryd hono ei hunan. A dyna lle byddai, o haner nos

hyd ganiad y ceiliog, yn gruddfan ac yn oernadu yn ddychrynlyd, neu yn gwibio hyd y palas i fynu ac i lawr y grisian a chletsian y drysau nes oedd yn syndod na fuasant yn ysgyrion. Yn y ffermdai drachefn, y llaethdy yn gyffredin fyddai maes ei gyflafan, a gwnai ddifrod arswydus yno weithiau gefn dydd goleu. Nid oes lawer o amser er pan glywais hen weinidog duwiol, a diallu i ddychymygu celwydd, yn dweyd iddo ef mewn ffermdy gerllaw Abergele rai blynyddau yn ol weled â'i lygaid y pot llaeth yn rhuthro ohono ei hun o'r llaethdy ar draws y gegin, ac heb ddim gallu gweledig yn ei yru. Bryd arall, elai yr un drwg i'r buarth, gan atal llaeth y gwartheg amser godro, neu dafn'r gynog a'i gwyneb yn isaf newydd ei godro yn llawn llonaid; neu tynai y rhawn o fwng a chynffonau y cyffylau o'r gwraidd, neu witshiai'r moch—a chreadur ofnadwy ydyw mochyn wedi ei witsio.

Yn ol barn gyffredin y werin bobl, prif achos ymddangosiad ysprydion ydoedd eu bod wedi cuddio arian pan yn y cnawd—weithiau mewn rhyw gloer ddirgel, ac nid anfynych tan gareg yr aelwyd—ac yn methu'n lân a gorphwys heb gael datguddio eu lloches. Ac wedi i rywun digon dewr siarad âg yspryd, a gofyn iddo beth oedd yn ei drwblo, fel rheol datguddiai ei gyfrinach, dangosai iddo y lloches, dywedai wrtho am gymeryd haner yr arian ei hun a rhoi yr haner arall i bobl y tŷ ar gyfer y drafferth a roisai ef (yr yspryd) iddynt, neu i'w berthynasau os byddent yn eu teilyngu. Wed'yn gorchymynai i'r dewrddyn orwedd ar ei wyneb ar lawr, ac os codai ei olwg y gwnai efe ef cyn faned fel yr elai trwy ogr rhawn; yna elai y cythryblwr annosparthus ymaith ar lun olwyn o dân, a cheid llonydd ganddo byth o hyny allan. Fel prawf pellach mai cuddio arian oedd prif achos Ysprydion, gallem ddifynu penill eto o waith Bardd y Nant, yr hwn oedd yn cael y gair o feddu y ddawn a'r llyfrau anghenrheidiol at eu rhoi

hwy i lawr, a phob ellyllon o'u bath. Yn yr interliwd, "Tri chryfion byd," dywed Rinallt Arianog y cybydd am ei fam, yr hon oedd newydd farw :—

Nid oes genyf ddim ond ofni weithian
Bydd ei hysbryd hi'n hyllig yn codi allan ;
Ran, roedd ei dichell ar bob tro
Yn gynddeiriog am guddio arian.

Ni chaniata amser i mi ond enwi ysprydion Pontygod, Caerddinen, Garthgynan (ladi wen oedd hwnw â'i sidanau yn suo tros yr holl dŷ), Ysgeibion (adeg cynhanaf ŷd yn unig yr ymddangosai hwn gan beri annhrefn mawr yn y meusydd), Lleweni (cnaŷ corniog yn rhuo tros yr holl ddyffryn yn rhywle yn y awyr yn nghanol y nos), Plas Ashpool, (ellyll ofnadwy iawn yn cipio dynion o'r naill fan i'r llall fel corwynt), a lluaws eraill. Ond efallai mai yr hynotaf oedd un Bachegraig—y Gwr Drwg oedd hwnw. Cyfeiria Pennant at y gred oedd am dano ar lafar gwlad. Pan oedd Syr Richard Clough yn adeiladu Bachegraig, dywedid mai'r diafol oedd yn ei gyflenwi a defnyddiau—ceryg a phriddfeini,—at y gwaith. Yr oedd ei fawrhydi uffernol yn gwneud hyn ar y telerau y cai ef ystafell iddo ei hun yn mhen uchaf y palas, ac hefyd y cai gorph cystal ag enaid Syr Richard os digwyddai i rywun weled y ddau yn siarad â'u gilydd yn yr ystafell pan darawai y cloc haner nos. Gan nad oedd ffenestr ar yr ystafell, ond yr hyn a elwir *skylight*, tybiai y barwing ei hun yn gwbl ddyogel oddwrth y diofryd. Ond yn anffodus, ei briod yn methu dirnad beth a wnai ei harglwydd beunos yn yr oruwch-ystafell, a lechiodd, i fynu yn ddystaw bach un noson pan oedd y cloc yn taro deuddeg, a chan edrych trwy dwll y clo gwelai yr yspryd drwg a'i gwr yn ymddyddan â'u gilydd. Rhedodd mewn mawr ddychryn i lawr y grisiau tan ysgrechian tros yr holl balas, deallodd yr Hen Fachgen ei fod wedi enill ei fargen, a chipiodd Syr Richard tan ei

gesail a fwrdd ag ef trwy y mur, nes yr ofnid fod yr hol balas yn dyfod i lawr. Dyna'r rhamant oedd ar lafar gwlad yn y gymydogæth lai na deugain mlynedd yn ol, fel y clywais y diweddar Edward Roberts, clochydd Llangynhafal yn ei adrodd ddengwaith. Ond dywed hanes fod corph Syr Richard Clough wedi ei gladdu yn Hamburg; ac i'w galon (a'i ddeheulaw medd rhai) gael eu dwyn trosodd i'r wlad hon mewn cist arian a'u claddu yn yr Eglwys Wen, ger Dinbych. Am yr oruwch-ystafell, dywedir mai arsyllfa seryddol ydoedd—yr oedd Syr Richard yn wr tra dysgedig ac yn gyfaill â phrif ddysgedigion ei oes. Hwyrach y byddai ambell uchelwr yn y dyddiau gynt, yn llunio chwedl fod yspryd yn trwblu yn ei balas, oblegyd yr oedd yspryd yn rhoi math o urddasoldeb i'r palas, ac yn amddiffyn rhagorol rhag lladron, canys mi fuasai yn well gan bob lleidr wynebu cant o gŵn gwaedlyd, nag un yspryd mileinig, dibris, o hen frid Dyffryn Clwyd.

Byddai'r hen bobl yn Nyffryn Clwyd yn arfer son llawer am eu cewri. Un o'r cyfryw oedd Edward Shon Dafydd, o Bont y Ddol. Cawrfil aruthrol oedd Edward, yn cario echel trol tan ei law yn lle ffon, a chafodd Olifer Cromwel ei frawychu yn ddirfawr wrth iddo droi ei ffon oddeutu ei ben, ond yr unig niwed a wnaeth y cawr Cymreig i'r Diffynydd clodfawr, oedd cymeryd ei gwpan arian rhwng ei fys a'i fawd, a'i gwasgu yn deisen. Ond yr oedd Syr Sion y Bodiau yn gryfach nag Edward o lawer medd llafar gwlad, canys cododd Sion ef yn ei gadair ar ei ysgwydd a chariodd ef o'r naill ben i'r llall i dref Dinbych. Sion y Bodiau neu Syr John Salusbury o Leweni, canys yr un un oedd y ddau, a laddodd y Bych, rhyw anghenfil ofnadwy oedd yn lladd a llarpio pawb ddeuai i'w grafangau; ond ymladdodd Sion âg ef, a chyda'i dđyrnau moelion lladdodd ef yn farw gorn gelain gegoer. Yna llefodd tros yr holl wlad "Dim Bych," ac o hyny allan y dref a adwaenid fel Caledfryn-yn-

Rhôs, a alwyd yn “*Dimbych.*” Tua’r un pryd y newid-
iwyd enw y dref nesaf i Ddinbych o Castell Coch yn Ngwern-
for i Ruthin, am fod hen wraig dda o’r enw Ruth yn cadw
Inn yno! Syr John a laddodd y llewes wen ysglyfgar yn
y Tŵr, Llundain, ac am hyn y galwodd ei dŷ yn Lleweni.

Un o Ddyffryn Clwyd medd traddodiad oedd Robin Ddu
Hiraddug neu Ddewin, brawd i Ddafydd Ddu Hiraddug,
offeiriad Tremeirchion. Yr oedd Robin wedi tyngu y lladdai
pwy bynag a’i hysbysai gyntaf fod ei fam wedi marw.
Dafydd yn gwybod hyn a ddywedodd wrtho, “Torodd y
ganghen a’n dygodd ein dau.” “Mae mam wedi marw!”
ebe Robin. “Tydi a’i dywedaist,” ebe Dafydd.

Un srall o hen gymeriadau y Dyffryn oedd Rhys Grythor,
hen ffidler dirieidus a digrif tuhwnt oedd Rhys, am yr hwn
y dywedai Sion Tudur ei fod “Yn neuben ei fyd yn ebol,” &c.
Gwalch ysmala iawn oedd Sion Tudur ei hun. Yr oedd
yn cadw tipyn o dyddyn gerllaw Llanelwy, ac yn fath o
swyddog yn yr eglwys gadeiriol. Arferai rhyw hen faeden
ddwyn pys o’i gae yn barhaus. Gwylltiodd Sion gymaint
wrthi un diwrnod fel y cymerodd bolgae o’r gwrych ac
a’i curodd yn annhrugarog. Aeth yr hen wraig i achwyn
wrth yr esgob ac aeth yr esgob i geryddu y Sion. “Wnes
i ddim ond ei churo hi am bys,” ebe ef. “O wel os na
churaist ti â rhywbeth trymach na dy fys mi wnest yn
burion â’r slebog ladronllyd.”

Yr ydych oll wedi clywed y stori am Catrin o’r Berain,
a’i phedwar gwr, ac fel y dywedodd hi ar y ffordd adre o
gladdu’r gwr cynta wrth ei thrydydd, ei bod hi wedi addaw
ei llaw i’r un ddaeth yn ail wr iddi; ond y cai ef (y trydydd)
y siawns cyntaf wedyn; ac felly fu.

Y mae llunaws o hen ddefodau ac arferion gwlad yn
Nyffryn Clwyd fel manau eraill wedi darfod yn ystod yr
haner canrif diweddaf. Yr wyf fi yn ddigon hen i gofio
hel *yd y gloch*—y clochydd, neu yn hytrach yr hwn fyddai’n

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canu cloch yr eglwys yn myned o'r naill fferm i'r llall ar ol y cynhaaf i gynull ei dâl, sef rhôdd mewn yd; y *Sul Coffa*, pan elai perthynasau y marw ar ol y gwasanaeth yn Eglwys y Plwyf, oddeutu'r bedd ac y penlinient gan ymddangos ar ffurf rhai yn gweddio—ai tros y marw? Yr wyf hefyd yn cofio y cwrw brwd yn y tŷ, a'r offwrn yn yr eglwys i'r person, ac wrth y bedd i'r clochydd.

Y mae genym ein coelion gwlad fel manau eraill am glywed y gog y tro cyntaf yn y tymhor, gweled ebol ac oen am y tro cyntaf, clywed y ceiliog yn canu ganol nos, &c. Nid oes fawr wahaniaeth am y gwn rhwng y rhai hyn a'r eiddo rhanau eraill o Gymru. Ond dyma un argoel a greidir yn ddiffuant gan deulu ffermdy yn mhlwyf Llanbedr ag sydd hwyrach yn werth ei grybwyll ar gyfrif ei arbenigrwydd. Pan ddelo'r prif geiliog i ganu ar gareg y drws yn union ar ol ciniaw, y mae rhyw un dyeithr yn sier o alw yno yn ystod y prydawn. Ac yn mhlwyf Llanfwrog, clywais pan yn hogyn lawer o hen bobl yn dweyd fod dwy fran a elwir yn Frain Tyddyn yn perthyn i bob fferm yn y plwyf, a'u bod yn nythu mewn rhyw bren ar y fferm hono, ac yn ymlid yr holl frain eraill i ffwrdd.

Wrth derfynu, dylwn ddweyd nad yw'r cerddorion wedi ein llwyr aunghofio. Un o'r hen alawon Cymreig mwyaf swynol ydyw'r un a elwir *Dyffryn Clwyd* ac y mae Ceiriog wedi canu un o'i delynegion prydfert haf arni. Ac nis gallaf ddiweddgloi hyn o Bapyr brysiog yn well na thrwy ei dyfynu:—

Yn Nyffryn Clwyd nid oes
Dim ond darn bach o'r groes
Oedd gynt yn golofn ar ei fedd;
Y bugail gan i'w braidd,
Tra Einion Ririd Flaidd
Yn gorwedd dan ei droed, gan afael yn ei gledd.

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Ond cedwir ei goffhad,
Er mewn pridd, mewn parhad ;
Glân yw ei gleddyf fel ei glod.
Os caru cofio 'rwyd
Am ddolydd Dyffryn Clwyd,
O! cofia gofio'r dewr sydd yno dan dy droed.

Mewn annghof ni chânt fod,
Wŷr y cledd, hir eu clod,
Tra'r awel tros eu beddau chwŷth ;
Y mae yn Nghymru fyrdd
O feddau ar y ffyrdd,
Yn balmant hyd ba un, y rhodia Rhyddid byth !

PUBLICATIONS—**10** Cymmrodor—continued.

Vol. III.—Contents: *The Celtic Languages in Relation to other Aryan Tongues*, by the Rev. John Davies, M.A.; *The Welsh Triads as they are given in the Red Book of Hergest*, by Professor Rhys; *Scientific Education in Wales and its Bearing on the Industrial Development of the Country*, by F. W. Rudler, F.G.S.; *Some Forms and Uses of the Substantive Verb in Welsh*, by Professor Powel, M.A.; *Cywydd i'r Saxon*, a Poem by Sion Mawddwy, circa 1590; *The Welsh as Pictured in Old English Jest-Books*; *Some Unpublished Remains of Iolo Morganwg*; *Reviews of Books, Notices, &c.*

Vol. IV.—Contents: *Observations on the Pronunciation of the Sassarese Dialect of Sardinia, &c.*, by H.H. Prince Louis-Lucien Bonaparte; *Welsh Books Printed Abroad in the 16th and 17th Centuries, and their Authors*, by Howel W. Lloyd, M.A.; *Welsh Anthropology*, by F. W. Rudler, F.G.S.; *The Present and Future of Wales*, by Lewis Morris, M.A.; *Merched y Ty Talwyn*, by the Rev. W. Watkins, M.A.; *A Description of the Day of Judgment* (from the Cotton MS. Titus D. xxii. in the British Museum); *Welsh Fairy Tales*, by Professor Rhys; *A Celto-Slaconic Suffix*, by Professor Henri Gaidoz; *A Cywydd to Sir Edward Stradling and Dr. John David Rhys* (Mairig Davydd ai kant); *A Historical Poem by Iolo Goch*; *Welsh Folk-Lore, Reviews of Books, &c.*

Vol. V.—Contents: *The Necessity of Teaching English through the Medium of Welsh*, by the Rev. D. Jones-Davies, M.A.; *What Government is doing for the Teaching of Irish*, by Professor Powel, M.A.; *The late Sir Hugh Owen*, by Lewis Morris, M.A.; *Welsh Fairy Tales*, by Professor Rhys; *Morcyinion Glin Meirionydd* (translated by H. W. Lloyd); *Professor Rhys on Welsh Antiquities and Fairy Tales*; *Dinas Penmaen or Penmaenmawr, a Druidical Temple before being a British Fortress*, by Clara P.; *Names of Printers and Publishers of Welsh Books*, by Bernard Quaritch; *The Legend of the Oldest Animals*, by Professor E. B. Cowell; *The Derivation of the English and Welsh Languages*, by Alex. J. Ellis, F.R.S.; *The Ancient Ethnology of Wales*, by Professor W. Boyd Dawkins; *The Welshman of English Literature*, by David Lewis; *The Eisteddfod and Popular Music in Wales*, by J. Spencer Curwen; *Reviews of Books, Notes and Queries.*

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Vcl. X.—Contents: *Comparative Notes to the Mabinogion*, by Professor Henri Gaidoz; *Notes on The Early History of Bangor Is Y Coed, and Welsh Settlements East of Offa's Dyke during the 11th Century*, by Alfred Neobard Palmer; *Some Minor Welsh Poets of the Georgian Era (1714-1830)*, by Richard Williams, F.R.H.S.; *Professor Hoffmann and Sir William Jones*, by the Rev. John Davies, M.A.; *Welsh Pedigrees*, by Henry F. J. Vaughan, B.A.; *The Public Records Relating to Wales*, by Richard Arthur Roberts; *The Legend of King Bladud*, by the Rev. Professor Sayce, M.A., LL.D.; *Selection of Welsh Poetry*, by Iago ab Dewi (concluded).

Vol. XI.—Contents: *The Preservation of Ancient Monuments in Wales*, by J. Romilly Allen, F.S.A. (Scot.); *Welsh Place Names*, by J. E. Lloyd, M.A. (with Notes by the Editor); *The Settlements of Brittany*, by Wm. Edwards, M.A. (with Notes by the Editor); *The True Objects of Welsh Archaeology*, by J. W. Willis-Bund, F.S.A. (with Notes by the Editor); *The Publication of Welsh Historical Records*, by the Editor; *The Crofter System of the Western Isles of Scotland, and the Callinish Stones of Lewis*, by Alfred N. Palmer; *Henry Vaughan of Scotland*, by Professor Palgrave; *The Proposed University for Wales*, by Principal T. F. Roberts; *Errata*.

TRANSACTIONS OF THE HONOURABLE SOCIETY OF CYMMRODORION (Session 1892-93.—*Sacred Wells in Wales*, by John Rhys, M.A., LL.D.; *Welsh Bards and English Reviewers*, by Ernest Rhys; *The Cell and the Poetry of Nature*, by W. Lewis Jones, M.A.; *On Science as a Religion*, by W. H. Preece, F.R.S.; *Daffyn Cled: ei Kawantau o'i Lafar gwâl*, gan Isaac Foulkes (*Llyfrgylf*); Report. 1891-92.

A DICTIONARY IN ENGLYSHE AND WELSHE. by WYLLIAM SALESBURY (Imprinted at London, in Foster Lane, by John Waley [1517]). Facsimile reprint. 4 parts.

THE GODODIN OF ANEURIN GWAWDRYDD: An English translation, with copious explanatory notes; a Life of Aneurin; and several lengthy dissertations illustrative of the *Gododin* and the Battle of Catraeth. By the late THOMAS STEPHENS (Author of *The Literature of the Khyber*). Edited by Professor Powel, M.A. 1888.

ATHRAVAETH GRISTNOGAVL. Le cair uedi cynnuys yn grynno r hol brifbynciau syd i gyfaruydo dyn ar y phord i baraduy. Originally printed at Milan, A.D. 1568. Reproduced in facsimile from the unique copy in the possession of H.H. Prince Louis-Lucien Bonaparte. 1880.

YSTORYA DE CAROLO MAGNO. Transcribed by Mrs. John Rhy—from the *Red Book of Hainaut*. Edited by Professor Powel, M.A. 1883.

THE BLESSEDNES OF BRYTAINNE, or A Celebration of the Queenes Holyday, by MAURICE KYFFIN. Originally published A.D. 1587. Reprinted 1885.

AN ESSAY ON PENNILLION SINGING. Hanes ac Henafiaeth Canu gyda'r Tannau, gan John Jones (*Llyfr I ychydig*). 1885.

GERALD THE WELSHMAN, by HENRY OWEN, B.C.L., of Corpus Christi College, Oxford. 1889.

THE DESCRIPTION OF PENBROKSHIRE (1663), by GEORGE OWEN of Henllys, Lord of Kemeo. Edited, with Notes and an Appendix, by Henry Owen, B.C.L. (Oxon.), F.S.A. 1892. Being No. I. of the Society's RECORD SERIES. Part I. issued; Part II. in the press.

THE COURT ROLLS OF THE LORDSHIP OF RUTHIN (1294-5), Edited, with Notes and Translation, by R. Arthur Roberts, of Her Majesty's Public Record Office; being No. II. of the Society's Record Series.

The
Transactions
of the Honourable
Society of Oymmrodorion.

SESSION 1893-94.

PRINTED FOR THE SOCIETY
BY
CHAS. J. CLARK, 4, LINCOLN'S INN FIELDS, W.C.
1895.

THE HONOURABLE SOCIETY OF CYMMRODORION.

President:—The Most Hon. the Marquess of Bute, K.T.

THE HONOURABLE SOCIETY OF CYMMRODORION, originally founded under Royal patronage in 1751, was revived in 1873, with the object of bringing into closer contact Welshmen, particularly those resident out of Wales, who are anxious to advance the welfare of their country; and of enabling them to unite their efforts for that purpose. Its especial aims are the improvement of Education, and the promotion of intellectual culture by the encouragement of Literature, Science, and Art, as connected with Wales.

Meetings of the Society are held in London during the Spring and Summer months, for the Reading of Papers on Literary, Scientific, and Artistic subjects, and for the discussion of practical questions within the scope of the Society's aims. A Series of Meetings is annually held in Wales in connection with the National Eisteddfod, under the name of "THE CYMMRODORION SECTION", to promote the consideration of Educational, Literary, and Social Questions affecting the Principality. It was from these meetings that the "NATIONAL EISTEDDFOD ASSOCIATION", the "SOCIETY OF WELSH MUSICIANS", and the "SOCIETY FOR UTILISING THE WELSH LANGUAGE" sprang; the latter being the outcome of the inquiries instituted by the Society of Cymmrodorion in 1884 and 1885.

The Society's collection of books, formed by the bequests of the late Joseph Edwards and the late Henry Davies, and by subsequent donations and purchases, is open to the use of Members as a Lending Library.

Subscription to the Society, entitling to copies of all its publications, and admission to all meetings:—One Guinea per annum.

Application for membership should be addressed to the Secretary, E. Vincent Evans, Lonsdale Chambers, 27, Chancery Lane, London, W.C.

LIST OF THE SOCIETY'S PUBLICATIONS.

- Y Cymmrodor**, Vols. ii, iv, v, vi, vii, viii, ix, x, xi, 10s. 6d. per volume. [Vols. i and iii, out of print.]
- The History of the Cymmrodorion.** Out of print.
- A Dictionary in Englyshe and Welshe**, by Wyllyam Salesbury (1547). Facsimile, black letter. 4 parts, 2s. 6d. each.
- The Gododin of Aneurin Gwawdrydd**, by Thomas Stephens, Author of *The Literature of the Kymry*. 6 parts, 2s. 6d. each.
- An Essay on Pennillion Singing** (Hanes ac Henafiaeth Canu Gyda'r, Tannau), by J. Jones (*Idris Vychan*). 1 part, 2s. 6d.
- Ystoria de Carolo Magno** (from the "Red Book of Hergest"). 1 part, 2s. 6d.
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- Gerald the Welshman**, by Henry Owen, B.C.L.Oxon., F.S.A. Demy 8vo., vellum cloth, gilt, 10s.
- The Description of Pembrokeshire**, by George Owen of Henllys. Edited by Henry Owen, B.C.L.Oxon., F.S.A. Being No. 1 of the *Cymmrodorion Record Series*. 2 parts, 21s. Issued free to Members of the Society by the Editor.
- The Court Rolls of the Lordship of Ruthin or Dyffryn-Clwyd**, of the Reign of King Edward the First, preserved in the Public Record Office. Edited, with Translation, Notes, etc., by R. Arthur Roberts, of H.M. Public Record Office. Being No. 2 of the *Cymmrodorion Record Series*. Price 21s. Issued free to Members of the Society.
- The Transactions of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion** (Session, 1892-93).
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THE
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REPORT
OF
THE COUNCIL OF THE
Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion,
For the Year ending November 9th, 1893.

PRESENTED TO THE ANNUAL MEETING, HELD ON WEDNESDAY,
20TH OF DECEMBER 1893.

THE Council, whilst recording with satisfaction the addition during the past year of thirty-three new members to the Society, regret to report that death and other causes have made serious gaps in the ranks. Amongst those removed by death, the Council have to deplore the loss of a valuable and faithful colleague. For many years Mr. Howel W. Lloyd, M.A., was one of the most consistent and unwearied members of the Society and of its Council. The removal of Mr. Owen Lewis (*Owain Dyfed*), another tried friend of the Society, from London to the country, necessarily vacates his seat on the Council. The two vacancies, according to the Rules, should be filled up at the present Annual Meeting.

During the year the following meetings were held:—

In London:—

1892.

On December 6.—ANNUAL DINNER OF THE SOCIETY, at the Hôtel Métropole: President, Sir John H. Puleston.

On December 15.—ANNUAL MEETING OF THE MEMBERS. INAUGURAL ADDRESS on “The Work of the Society”, by Mr. Stephen Evans (Chairman of the Council).

1893.

January 11th.—Joint Meeting of the Cymmrodorion and Folk-Lore Societies. Paper by Professor John Rhys, M.A., on “Sacred Wells in Wales”.

- March 8th.—Paper on “Welsh Bards and English Reviewers”, by Mr. Ernest Rhys.
- April 12th.—Paper on “The Celt and the Poetry of Nature”, by Mr. W. Lewis-Jones (University College of North Wales).
- April 26th.—Address on “Science as a Relaxation”, by Mr. W. H. Preece, F.R.S.
- May 17th.—Paper on “Welsh Music”, by Mr. Peter Edwards (*Pedr Alaw*).
- June 13th.—Paper on “The Legends and Tales of the Vale of Clwyd”, by Mr. Isaac Foulkes.
- ANNUAL CONVERSAZIONE OF THE SOCIETY, at the Hall of the Worshipful Company of Clothworkers.

At the Town Hall, Pontypridd, in connection with the National Eisteddfod of Wales, 1893 (Cymmrodorion Section):—

- On Monday, July 31st, at 8 P.M.—Mr. J. Ignatius Williams (Vice-President of the Society) in the chair, an Inaugural Address was delivered by Mr. D. Brynmôr Jones, Q.C., M.P., on “A National Museum for Wales”.
- On Wednesday, August 2nd, at 9 A.M.—(In conjunction with the Society for Utilising the Welsh Language), Mr. Wm. Edwards, H.M.I. Schools, in the chair. Papers were read on “The Claims of the Welsh Language”, by Mr. W. Llewelyn Williams, B.A., Swansea, and on “Welsh Arms and English Heraldry”, by Mr. T. H. Thomas, R.C.A., Cardiff.
- On Thursday, August 3rd, at 9 A.M. (in conjunction with the Welsh Students' Union).—Mr. Alderman Walter H. Morgan, Pontypridd, in the chair. Papers were read by Mr. H. Ll. Parry, B.A., Mold, and the Rev. W. H. Williams (*Walcyn Wyn*) on “Home Classes for the Study of Welsh Literature”.

With reference to the Inaugural Address of the Cymmrodorion Section of the Eisteddfod, it may be interesting to note that one of the Welsh Representatives in Parliament has placed a Motion on the notice paper of the House of Commons claiming for Wales a share of the National Grant in aid of Public Museums.

The Council are much gratified in being able to announce that the Record Series Fund is making satisfactory progress. Trustees have been appointed, and the following gentlemen

have consented to act in that capacity, viz., Sir W. Thomas Lewis, John Williams, Esq., M.D., and Henry Owen, Esq., F.S.A. The Trustees have been requested to invest the funds collected in their joint names in any Trust Securities, and to pay the Capital and Interest from time to time as the Council shall direct. It is a matter of very great gratification to the Trustees to be able to announce that, subject to the sanction of H.R.H. the Duke of York, the Committee of the Welsh National Presentation Fund have decided that the surplus balance of the Presentation to their Royal Highnesses, the Duke and Duchess of York, shall be handed over to the fund for publishing Welsh Records.¹

The Council is happy to state that the second number of the Cymmrodorion Record Series, announced in last year's Report, viz. :—

THE COURT ROLLS OF THE LORDSHIP OF RUTHIN OR DYFFRYN
CLWYD OF THE REIGN OF KING EDWARD THE FIRST ;

Edited by Mr. Richard Arthur Roberts, of the Public Record Office, a member of the Society's Council, is now ready, and in accordance with a Resolution to that effect, will in a few days be distributed free to all members of the Society.

On the recommendation of the Editorial Committee, the Council have adopted for publication as the third number of the Series, a MS. now in the British Museum, called "The Black Book of St. David's." The MS. is a copy made in 1516 of an "Extent" or detailed list and valuation of the possessions of the See of St. David's in the year 1326. Nothing is known of the existence of the original survey, or of any older copy thereof than the MS. referred to. The "possessions" dealt with range over the whole diocese, but mostly in Pembrokeshire, chiefly in Pebidiog or Dewisland,

¹ The cordial sanction of His Royal Highness was subsequently graciously granted.—[Ed.]

and the Lordships of Llawhaden and Llamphey. The interest of the MS. consists in the place-names; the Welsh personal names, many curious and rare, abounding throughout the book, and being of high historical value as showing the relative proportions of English and Welsh in South Wales in 1326; and the lists of field-names, Welsh and English mixed, in some of the parishes of Pembrokeshire.

Having regard to the difficulty of publishing, in the ordinary issues of *Y Cymmrodor*, the papers of each Lecture Session as they occur, the Council have decided to issue a separate publication under the title of THE TRANSACTIONS OF THE HONOURABLE SOCIETY OF CYMMRODORION, to contain all the papers of the Session, subject to the editorial control of the Council. The first volume of the *Transactions* is nearly ready, and will be distributed to the members before the close of the present year. The ordinary issue of *Y Cymmrodor* will be carried on as heretofore under the Editorship of Mr. Phillimore.

Part II of *Owen's Pembrokeshire* is approaching completion, and Part I of vol. xii of *Y Cymmrodor* is in the press.

The following presents have been received and duly acknowledged:—

- Cartæ et Munimenta de Glamorgan*, presented by Mr. G. T. Clark.
- A Pamphlet on *Recent Celtic Researches*, by Alfred Nutt, presented by Mr. Nutt.
- The Calendar of the University College of Wales*, presented by the Registrar.
- Bye-Gones relating to Wales, etc.*, and *Wrexham Toun*, by Alfred N. Palmer, presented by Messrs. Woodall, Minshall and Co.
- The Wrexham Advertiser*, the *Carnarvon and Denbigh Herald*, the *Welshman*, the *North Wales Observer*, and the *Cambrian* (Utica, N. Y.), presented by their respective publishers.

The Council is pleased to announce that the following arrangements have been made for the ensuing Session:—

1893.

On December 13.—ANNUAL DINNER OF THE SOCIETY, at the Hôtel Métropole: President, Professor John Rhys, M.A., LL.D.

On December 20.—ANNUAL MEETING OF THE MEMBERS. Discussion on "The Work of the Society".

1894.

In January—INAUGURAL ADDRESS by Sir Roland L. Vaughan-Williams, one of Her Majesty's Judges.

February.—Paper on "The Oldest British Historian", by Mr. Alfred Nutt, Author of "Studies on the Legend of the Holy Grail".

March.—Paper on "Welsh Saints", by Mr. J. W. Willis-Bund, F.S.A.

April. Paper on "The Quaker Movement in Wales" (historically considered), by Mr. W. Jenkyn Thomas, M.A., University College, Bangor.

May.—Paper on "The Distinctively Welsh Church of the Vith Century", by Professor Hugh Williams, M.A., Bala.

June.—ANNUAL CONVERSAZIONE OF THE SOCIETY.

Under the Society's Rules the terms of office of the following Officers expire, viz. :—

THE PRESIDENT,
THE VICE-PRESIDENT,
THE AUDITORS,

and ten Members of the Council retire, but are eligible for re-election, viz. :—

MR. R. ARTHUR ROBERTS.
„ H. LLOYD ROBERTS.
„ RICHARD ROBERTS.
„ D. LLEUFER THOMAS.
„ HOWEL THOMAS.
„ JOHN THOMAS (*Pencerdd Gwalia*).
„ W. CAVE THOMAS.
DR. JOHN WILLIAMS.
MR. T. HOWELL W. IDRIS.
„ T. MARCHANT WILLIAMS.

A Financial Statement for the past year is appended to this Report.

THE HONOURABLE SOCIETY OF CYMMRODORION

Statement of Receipts and Payments,

FROM 9TH NOVEMBER 1892 TO 9TH NOVEMBER 1893.

<i>Dr.</i>	<i>£</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>		<i>£</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
To Balance in hand, November 9th, 1892				£209	7	3	
„ Subscriptions (including arrears)				334	16	8	
„ Sale of Publications				1	2	0	
				545	5	11	
By Rent, etc.				£70	0	0	
„ Printing, on account of <i>Y Cymmrodor</i>				37	4	11	
„ Ditto (General) and Stationery				54	11	2	
„ Editorial Expenses				15	0	0	
„ Lectures and Meetings				48	6	0	
„ Fisteddion Section Meetings				7	10	0	
„ Donation to Cymmrodorion Record Series Fund				50	0	0	
„ Library Expenses				2	12	6	
„ General Postage and Petty Expenses				31	19	9	
„ Secretary's Remuneration and Commission				65	12	6	
				382	16	10	
„ Balance in hand (subject to payment of sundry liabilities for 1898)				162	9	1	
				545	5	11	

JOHN BURRELL, }
ELLIS W. DAVIES, } *Auditors.*

H. LLOYD ROBERTS, } *Treasurer.*
E. VINCENT EVANS, } *Secretary.*

REPORT
OF
THE COUNCIL OF THE
Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion,

For the Year ending November 9th, 1894.

PRESENTED TO THE ANNUAL MEETING, HELD ON THURSDAY,
13TH OF DECEMBER 1894.

THE Council, in presenting their Annual Report for the past year, have to record the addition of thirty-six new Members to the Society. They regret, however, to add that, owing to death and other causes, some severe gaps have been made in the Society's ranks. Amongst those removed by death the Council have recently had to deplore the loss of one of the most faithful members of the Society, the venerable Clwydfardd, who as Archdderwydd and a Cymmrodor for many years upheld the work and the traditions of the Cymmrodorion in connection with the National Eisteddfod. Still more recently the Society has missed from its ranks one of its Vice-Presidents. The late Lord Swansea was a generous contributor, and took a sympathetic interest in all matters relating to the progress of Welsh Education.

It has been a matter of special gratification to the Council, as it has been to all Welshmen, that Her Majesty the Queen, since the last Annual Meeting, has been pleased to confer the honour of a Baronetcy upon one of the Members of the Society and an active worker upon its Council. In the name of the Society, the Council, at its Meeting in October, had the pleasure of congratulating Sir John Williams, Baronet, upon the honour thus conferred upon him.

During the year the following Meetings were held :—

1893.

- On December 13.—ANNUAL DINNER OF THE SOCIETY, at the Hôtel Métropole: President, Professor John Rhys, M.A., LL.D.
 ,, December 20.—ANNUAL MEETING OF THE MEMBERS.—Discussion on “The Work of the Society.”

1894.

- On January 10.—INAUGURAL ADDRESS on “The Ancient Church in Wales”, by Sir Roland L. Vaughan-Williams, one of Her Majesty's Judges. Chairman, The Right Hon. Sir George Osborne Morgan, Bart., M.P.
 ,, March 14.—Paper on “The Oldest British Historian”, by Mr. Alfred Nutt, author of “Studies on the Legend of the Holy Grail.” Chairman, Mr. Henry Owen, F.S.A.
 ,, April 4.—Paper on “The Quaker Movement in Wales” (historically considered), by Mr. W. Jenkyn Thomas, M.A., University College, Bangor. Chairman, Mr. Alfred Thomas, M.P.
 ,, May 2.—Paper on “Welsh Saints”, by Mr. J. W. Willis-Bund, F.S.A. Chairman, Mr. Stephen Evans.
 ,, June 15.—Paper on “The Christian Church in Wales during the Fifth and Sixth Centuries”, by Professor Hugh Williams, M.A., Bala. Chairman, Mr. W. Prydderch Williams.
 ,, June 20.—ANNUAL CONVERSAZIONE OF THE SOCIETY, held at St. John's Lodge by invitation of The Most Hon. The Marquess of Bute, K.T. (President of the Society).

At the Guildhall, Carnarvon, in connection with the National Eisteddfod of Wales, 1894 (Cymmrodorion Section):—

- On July 9th.—J. Ernest Greaves, Esq. (Lord Lieutenant of Carnarvonshire) in the chair, an Inaugural Address was delivered by W. H. Preece, Esq., C.B., F.R.S., on “The Development of the Industrial Resources of Wales.”
 On July 12th.—A Paper was read by C. Francis Lloyd, Esq., Mus. Bac., on “Musical Reform in connection with the Eisteddfod”, and was followed by a Discussion. Chairman, Mr. Lewis Morris.

The Council regret that they are not in a position to report more favourably on the work of publication during the past year. Mr. Egerton Phillimore, owing to various difficulties, has not yet been able to bring out Vol. xii of *Y*

Cymmrodor. The publications issued to the Members in the course of the last twelve months were :—

THE TRANSACTIONS OF THE HONOURABLE SOCIETY OF CYMMRODORION for the Session of 1892-93, and

THE COURT ROLLS OF THE LORDSHIP OF RUTHIN, being the second number of the Cymmrodorion Record Series. Edited by Mr. Richard Arthur Roberts.

The *Transactions* were supplemented by the interesting historical Address delivered by the President of the Cymmrodorion, at the Rhyl Eisteddfod, published separately. With regard to the future, the Council hope to place the question of publication on a different footing. The following publications are now in the press or in course of preparation, viz. :—

The Transactions of the Society for the last Session, containing Papers by Mr. Justice Vaughan-Williams, Mr. J. W. Willis-Bund, and Professor Hugh Williams, which will be ready for issue shortly.

Part II of *Owen's Pembrokeshire*, being the first number of the Record Series. Edited by Mr. Henry Owen, F.S.A.

The Black Book of St. David's. Edited by Mr. J. W. Willis-Bund, F.S.A.

A Catalogue of the Welsh MSS. at the British Museum. Compiled by Mr. Edward Owen, and a

New Edition of Nennius, under the Editorship of Mr. Alfred Nutt.

With respect to some of these publications the Editors have prepared special Statements, which are appended to this Report.

The following books, etc., have been presented to the Society and duly acknowledged, viz. :—

A further volume of the *Charters and Muniments of Glamorganshire*. Edited and presented by Mr. G. T. Clark.

The Calendars of the University College of North Wales and the University College of Wales, presented by the Registrars.

Bye-Gones relating to Wales, etc., presented by Messrs. Woodall, Minshall and Co.

Labour Commission (Wales). Minutes of Evidence and Report by Mr. D. Lleufer Thomas. Presented by Mr. Thomas.

The *Wrexham Advertiser*, the *Carnarvon and Denbigh Herald*, the *Welshman*, the *North Wales Observer*, and the *Cambrian* (Utica), presented by their respective publishers.

The Council is pleased to announce that the Annual Dinner will be held on the 24th of January next, and that the following arrangements have been made for the ensuing Lecture Session, viz. :—

February.—Professor Rhys, M.A., for a Joint Meeting of the Cymmrodorion and Folk-Lore Societies, a Paper on the “Story of *Twrch Trwyth*.”

March.—Miss E. P. Hughes, The Training College, Cambridge, a Paper on “The Future of Welsh Education”, and a Paper by Watcyn Wyn on the “Welsh Poetical Metres.”

April.—Mr. Stephen Williams, F.S.A., on “The Cistercian Abbey of Cwm-Hir in Radnorshire.”

May.—The Rev. John Fisher, B.D., Ruthin, on “The Welsh Calendar.”

June.—Professor Kuno Meyer, of University College, Liverpool, on “Early Relations between Brython and Gael.”

The Session will wind up with the usual *Conversazione*.

Under the Society’s Rules the terms of Office of the following Officers expire, viz. :—

THE PRESIDENT,
THE VICE-PRESIDENT,
THE AUDITORS,

and ten Members of the Council retire, viz. :—

MR. STEPHEN EVANS.
,, E. VINCENT EVANS.
,, WILLIAM EVANS.
,, ELLIS J. GRIFFITH.
,, J. MILO GRIFFITH.
REV. G. HARTWELL JONES.
GENERAL R. OWEN JONES.
HIS HONOUR JUDGE LEWIS.
MR. ALFRED NUTT.
,, EDWARD OWEN.

Two of these gentlemen, General R. Owen Jones, who has resigned owing to his temporary absence from England, and Mr. Milo Griffith, who has settled in the United States, do not again come forward for re-election; the remaining eight are eligible for nomination.

A Financial Statement for the past year is appended to this Report.

REPORT ON
 “OWEN’S PEMBROKESHIRE”:

By HENRY OWEN, F.S.A.

At the request of the Secretary I have much pleasure in reporting to the Society the progress which has been made in the second volume of the first number of the Record Series. So far as relates to the portion already completed, the progress has been slow, owing to the large number of Records which have been consulted in order to obtain the fullest information as to the various records, persons, and places mentioned by the author.

The book begins with George Owen’s “*Collections for Pembrokeshire*”, which (with a trifling exception) have not before been published. The first three numbers are ecclesiastical. They include a complete list of the Pembrokeshire parishes arranged under the hundreds, and of the impropriations within the county arranged under deaneries, and particulars of the patronage of every church (also arranged under deaneries), stating whether it was a rectory, vicarage, or curacy,—who the patron was, and whence he derived his title.

Then follow a valuable historical paper on the “Tallage for the redemption of the Great Sessions”; an account of the knights’ fees of Sir John Carew (lord deputy of Ireland, who died in

1362), who also held lands in Devon ; instances of the tenants in chief of the Lords Marcher ; a list of the lands in Wales given to the Preceptory of Slebech ; two papers on the Pembrokeshire ploughland and North Pembrokeshire land measures, and two on the old county Palatine of Pembroke. George Owen's account of his searches among the Records in London will be read with interest. Even *his* perseverance was tried, for he found some things "strange and hard for any man to rede", and it was costly withal, for "the serche is vis. viiid. whether you finde or not". The only other item to be noticed is a List of the lordships and places which made up the shires of Pembroke and Carmarthen, which the unique knowledge on the subject of Mr. Phillimore (whose valuable assistance I have again to acknowledge) has made of especial value to the future historian of Wales.

Other works mentioned in my preface are already in type. To them I propose to make some additions, (among others) the Treatise on Marl and a Dialogue on the Government of Wales in 1594, between a Doctor of the Civil Law and a Pembrokeshire man. This latter is in MS. at the British Museum, and gives full descriptions of the Court of the Marches, the Courts of Westminster, the Great Sessions, and the county hundred and baronial Courts, and contains much valuable incidental information about the manners and customs of the people. This dialogue seems to have been written after the treatise on the "Government of Wales" published in Clive's *History of Ludlow*, and summarized in Pennant's *Tour in Wales*. That treatise was also published in an early (1828) number of the Transactions of this Society and in Lloyd's *History of Powys Fadog*, but none of the editors seem to have been aware that it was due to the indefatigable diligence of the old Pembrokeshire historian.

Having regard to the labour which is involved in making an index to a work of this class, I shall probably issue a third volume before the completion of the whole book. I have spared no outlay of time or money in endeavouring to make it worthy of this Society, of George Owen, and of the County of Pembroke.

“*THE BLACK BOOK OF ST. DAVID’S*.”

REPORT BY J. W. WILLIS-BUND, F.S.A.

The Black Book of St. David’s is an extent or detailed survey of the possessions of the Bishop of St. David in 1326. Its title is :

“An extent of the Lands and Rents of the Lord Bishop of St. David’s made by Master David Fraunceys, Chancellor of St. David’s in the time of the Venerable Father, the Lord David Martyn, by the Grace of God, Bishop of the See in the year of our Lord 1326.”

The extent was taken in the regular Norman way ; in each place a jury was sworn, who stated on their oaths what were the possessions of the Bishop, who were the tenants, what was the yearly value of each holding, and also what services the tenants had to render to the Lord. So that the record gives the following important information.

1. The place-names of the 14th century.
2. Some idea of the size and population of the different places.
3. The names of the different tenants, thus showing how far the Norman had supplanted the Welsh inhabitants.
4. The tenure on which the properties were held, thus showing how far Norman tenures had supplanted the old Welsh.
5. The services which give some traces of the old Welsh tenures and tribal customs.
6. In addition to this the number of place and personal names is important to Welsh students.

The most interesting part are the services, as they show (1) how far the Norman Bishops had succeeded in introducing Norman ideas among the tenants; (2) how far the Welsh customs remained; (3) and a number of customs that may be Norman or Welsh. For instance, (1) in certain places a relief was payable to

the Lord ; this would be a Norman custom, and the fact that it was only payable in certain places would point to this, that the Norman had not been able to introduce it universally. (2) In some places *leyrwyd*, that is, a payment by the locality for the unchastity of its females, was payable. The *Black Book* defines it as "emenda pro corruptione native". The curious part of this is that the payments varied in different localities, the usual sum is 2s. in the case of a maid, 1s. in other cases, but in some places it is less. (3) The service of working in the Lord's field, making his hay, reaping his corn, may or may not be Welsh. Another incident is curious from the phraseology ; the tenants of certain places were bound to follow the Shrine of St. David wherever it was taken, some only so far that they could return the same night, others without restriction. The most noticeable point is that David is never called Saint, "*Sanctus*", the term used by Latin ecclesiastics for a person regularly canonized, but always "*Beatus*", Blessed, the term used for a reputed, not a canonized, Saint.

The Shrine and Relics are constantly spoken of, so that the usually received idea that the Shrine and Relics were part of the plunder of the Danes does not seem to have been received as a fact in the 14th century.

The record shows that a great deal of land was held by tenants in common, obviously a trace of the old tribal ownership. The entries that some one, usually a Welshman, with his co-owner "*compocionaris*", holds certain land, are very numerous, thus showing that the Normans treated the old tribal joint ownership as what the Norman lawyer called a tenancy in common.

Food rents seem to have been very common, another instance of tribal survivorship.

The record contains numerous points of interest, especially as throwing light on Welsh customs and the way the Norman tenures were introduced, not so much by direct change, as by applying Norman law to the existing state of things ; and reading the customs in the light of Norman rules thus, joint owners

would be joint tenants, contributions for the support of the tribe would be rents payable to the Lord.

It would be occupying too much space to quote other matters, but it seems to me that the record will be a very important contribution to Welsh history, for the reasons above stated. There had just been time enough for Edward the First's legislation to make itself felt, and this record shows the results of such laws as the Statute of Wales.

Another curious point is worth notice ; so far as I have gone there is no mention of tithes as part of the property of the Bishop ; it is, perhaps, not right to draw any inference until the whole MS. is before me, but so far it forms a very remarkable feature. A comparison of the MS. with the *Valor* of Pope Nicholas also brings out some interesting results as to the property of Welsh ecclesiastical bodies.

About a quarter of the book is now translated, the whole is transcribed, and I hope to get it all translated shortly ; there will then be the collation with the different MSS. and various other matters to be done. The work is much heavier than I was led to expect at the beginning, and it seems to me it would be a pity not to have it done as well as possible. I do not, therefore, think it will be possible, at the earliest, to get it published before the end of next year, if then. But I am sure of this, that when it is published the Society will find it is a most important contribution to Welsh historical literature.

December 13th, 1894.

TRANSACTIONS
OF THE
Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion.

SESSION 1893-94.

THE ANCIENT CHURCH IN WALES.¹

By SIR ROLAND LOMAX VAUGHAN-WILLIAMS,
One of Her Majesty's Judges.

THE subject upon which I propose to address you this evening is, "The Ancient Church in Wales." It is not without some doubt and hesitation that I have selected this subject. It is a subject upon which I felt that one might easily be tempted to give one's observations a political tone, which would not be suitable in an address to a learned society, such as your Society. I will, however, try and avoid this danger, and take care that my observations exhibit no political bias.

The choice of a subject was, I assure you, not easy. I could not suppose, when you did me the honour to invite me to address you, that you expected me by my address to add anything to the stores of learning of this Society. I am, I regret to say, no antiquary or archæologist. I cannot offer to you the fruits of years spent in the study of the memorials of the past. I wish to approach you in the spirit in which the dedication by Mr. Probert, of his Translation of the Ancient Laws of Cambria, is written. The

¹ The Inaugural Address of the Session, delivered 10th January 1894, at No. 20, Hanover Square. Chairman, the Right Hon. Sir Geo. Osborne Morgan, Bart., M.P.

terms of it are a little more overstrained than you would meet now-a-days; but the spirit is right enough, and I should like to quote it to you. It runs thus:—

“Gentlemen,—A descendant of the old Silurians presents himself before you with becoming deference, and very respectfully dedicates his Translation of *The Welsh Laws* to your patronage. You, gentlemen, have set a noble example of patriotism and true greatness. The efforts you are making to recover the precious literary productions of our beloved country from decay and oblivion demand the thanks of every Welshman, and I hope that the praiseworthy example you have exhibited will rouse the dormant spirit of the great and affluent in the Principality, and induce them so to co-operate with you that the genius of Cambria may awake from the slumber of ages, and shake off that darkness and false taste which Gothic barbarity and tyranny imposed upon her, and re-assume her ancient splendour and greatness.”

I, unfortunately, have no such valuable work to offer to you; but I have been most anxious, I assure you, to make the best offering to you which the means at my command allow, and this is the motive which has actuated me in the choice of a subject. What I did was this. From the moment I got your flattering invitation I have spent all my spare time in looking up Welsh subjects, with a view of choosing a suitable subject for my address. I thought of Welsh Laws at first. I looked at Probert's *Laws of Ancient Cambria* and at Lewis's *Ancient Laws of Wales*, and came to the conclusion that the subject was so difficult that I could not hope to say anything worth hearing about it after the study of a few weeks; besides, I found that Mr. Brynmôr Jones, who is far more competent to deal with the subject than I am, has recently addressed you upon it. Wherever I turned, whatever subject I looked up, I found, owing, no doubt, largely to the action of your Society, that every subject had been well and exhaustively written upon by able and learned men within the last few years. It occurred to me, therefore, that the best thing I could do was to select some popular historical subject and point out

its bearings on some matter of interest at the present time. In doing this I should, of course, have to draw my materials entirely from the works of other men, as I had neither time nor opportunity to search out materials from original sources ; so I chose as my subject the story of the Ancient Church in Wales, and then set myself to see what light that story throws upon the situation of the Christian Churches in Wales at the present day.

The story is a most interesting story. There can be no doubt but that Christianity arrived in Britain very early in the Christian era. It seems uncertain who first brought Christianity to Britain. The story of the conversion of the Britons by Joseph of Arimathæa, and the foundation by him of the monastery of Glastonbury, I suppose we all reject. The tradition of St. Paul having converted the Britons, although it has the support of Stillingfleet in his *Origines Britannicæ*, and of Archbishops Parker and Usher, and of Camden, Gibson, Cave, Nelson, Burgess, as mentioned in Hore's *Eighteen Centuries of the Church of England*, hardly seems to be of the substance of history. We must be content, apparently, in our present state of knowledge, to say that it is uncertain who first brought Christianity to Britain ; but it seems to be a historical fact resting on unusually substantial evidence, connecting the date of the events and the place of them, that by the third century Christianity had obtained a firm footing in Britain. It also seems reasonably clear that the mission to Britain was of Eastern and not of Western origin, and came, not from Rome, but from the churches of Asia Minor and Syria. The conclusion as to the date depends on evidence of historical facts. The conclusion as to the source of conversion depends rather on inferences to be drawn from the customs and uses of the British Church, such as its liturgy, the Judaic mode of computing Easter, the form of tonsure,

the appellation of churches, the simple immersion at baptism—all of which seem to point to an Oriental origin of the British Church. The facts as to the date of the introduction of Christianity into Britain are, as I have said, singularly well established. I do not propose to go through them in detail. It is enough to say that the testimony of Tertullian and Origen, coupled with the evidence of the presence of British bishops at the councils of Arles (A.D. 314), Nice (A.D. 325), Sardica (A.D. 347), and Ariminum (A.D. 360), form a strong chain of evidence. If any one wishes to satisfy himself on the point let him read the *Origines Britannicæ* of Stillingfleet and the first two chapters of *Eighteen Centuries of the Church of England*, by the Rev. A. H. Hore, of Trinity College, Oxford, and I do not think he will have any further doubt in the matter.

The fact is, that the difficulties with regard to the history of the early Welsh Church are not, as is so often the case with regard to ancient history of nations themselves possessing but little civilisation, difficulties arising from a want of credible authorities, writing about or soon after the event which they narrate, or arising from the absence of well-established historic facts. The difficulties arise rather from the authorities and established facts being overlaid and choked by a mass of stories told by monkish historians, most of them of later date. The narratives of these historians consist largely of stories of the Lives of Saints and of the miracles performed by them. They were written, for the most part, after Papal supremacy had been claimed by the Bishop of Rome, with the object of supporting that claim; and although archæological research may tend to show that local saints really did exist, having the names of the subjects of some of these stories, yet the historical value of such narratives is almost entirely marred by the obvious desire of the writers to establish either the

Roman origin of the British Church, or the antiquity and glory of the particular monastic foundation to which the writer was attached. One may take as an example of a monkish story, told for the purpose of giving Rome the credit of the conversion of the Britons, the story told by Bede, "that during the reign of the Emperor Aurelius, and while Eleutherius was Bishop of Rome, *i.e.*, between the years A.D. 177 and A.D. 181, a British king of the name of Lucius sent messengers to Rome with a request that he might be admitted within the pale of Christianity, and that the request was joyfully received, and missionaries ordained and sent to Britain, and that Lucius was baptized, and that the new worship was propagated without impediment among the natives." This is Bede's story, as quoted by Dr. Lingard. The story seems also to appear in the *Book of Llandâf*, as quoted by Stillingfleet, who, however, gives no credence to it. This story seems now, for reasons with which I will not trouble you, to be thoroughly discredited. For my own part, I confess that I should have wished to disbelieve such a story, quite apart from its inherent difficulties, and the great probability of its being an invention of those who wished to attribute a Roman origin to the British Church. I should be unwilling to believe it, because I would much rather believe of our Welsh forefathers that Christianity was established by missionaries preaching to the people, as St. Paul and the Apostles did, rather than by the conversion of a king, whom the people followed like a flock of sheep, be he Ethelbert of Kent, Edwin of Northumbria, or Henry the Eighth. The story of Joseph of Arimathea coming to Britain and founding the monastery at Glastonbury, is an instance, probably, of a story being invented to glorify and give antiquity to the monastery.

The reason why I have dwelt on these two points—

I mean the early date of the establishment of Christianity in Wales, and the Eastern source of the conversion—is because I wish to establish the early independence of the Welsh Church, and that it had its own ecclesiastical customs and uses. If it is said, what does it matter whether or not the church was an independent church in those early times, I answer that it is of great importance to trace the early sentiments of a nation, whether you are dealing with its political or with its ecclesiastical history. Who would say, in dealing with the political history of England, that it is a matter of no importance to trace back the English love of independence and representative government to those early Anglo-Saxon institutions which survived and have ultimately superseded the feudal institutions of their Norman conquerors. Just so I think it important to trace back to the very foundation of the Welsh Church its independence, and its domestic local character.

The policy of the Roman Catholic Church has always been to establish unity at the expense of Nationality, and to efface local customs and uses as far as possible; whereas the genius of the Eastern Church, from which I claim that the Welsh Church derives its origin, and, indeed, I may say the genius of St. Paul, seems to have been to recognise local Christian churches, and favour their peculiar customs and uses.

In these matters of national sentiment, and I would suggest to you, above all, in matters of national religious sentiment, we should remember that the direction given to the tree in its early growth is a hard matter to alter.

The next point I would make is, that whatever was the origin of the Christian Church in Britain, the whole history of the British Church, from the arrival of St. Augustine in Kent in A.D. 597, down to the twelfth century, was one continued struggle of the local church, first, against the supremacy of Rome, and later on against the jurisdiction

of Canterbury. The struggle against the supremacy of Rome was not confined to Wales, nor even to Britain. It was common to all the Celtic Churches, which all sprung from an Eastern source. You find it in the Gallican Church, said to have had its origin in the conversion of the Celts of Gaul by St. John. You find it in Ireland, which owed its Christian Church to missionaries from the Celtic Church in Britain. This struggle for independence must have made a lasting impression on the Celtic race; and if you would fathom religious sentiment in Wales in the nineteenth century, you must not forget this struggle for independence, this struggle to maintain the local character of the Welsh Church against the universality set up by Rome as an essential characteristic of the Church of Christ.

But to return to the story of the Welsh Church. It must be remembered that from its origin down to the arrival of Augustine, Christianity in Britain was exclusively Celtic. There is, I believe, no historic evidence whatever of any jurisdiction being exercised or even claimed during that period by the Bishop of Rome. The British Church was local. I do not, of course, mean that the British Church was not living in communion with the other Christian Churches, or that the British Church held itself aloof from the councils of the Early Church. On the contrary, as we have seen, British bishops attended the councils of Arles, Nice, Sardica, and Ariminum. Nay, more, the British Church, along with other Christian Churches, was affected by the great heresies which arose from time to time. The Arian heresy and the Pelagian heresy, each for a time, took deep root in the British Church, the latter heresy being in its origin a Welsh heresy, originated by Morgan, a Welshman, whose name in its Greek form was Pelagius. It is worthy of note that the heresy of Pelagius in Britain was successfully counteracted from within the Celtic Churches

by the mission to Britain of St. Germanus, himself a Celt and a Gallican Bishop. The date of the rise of the Pelagian heresy is usually given as A.D. 420, and that of St. Germanus' mission as A.D. 430.

The period of the Christian Church in Britain being exclusively Celtic having come to an end with the arrival of St. Augustine and the conversion of Ethelbert, the Saxon king of Kent, there followed immediately an attempt on the part of Rome to merge the local church in the Roman church. We are all familiar with the story of the meeting, on the banks of the Severn, of Augustine and the Welsh bishops and the learned men of the Kymry, under the lead of Dunawd, the Abbot of Bangor, and the failure of Augustine to win over the Welsh bishops, caused, it is said, by his want of courtesy in neglecting to rise to receive them, which I suppose is a picturesque realistic way of saying that Augustine failed by his arrogance and want of tact. The story, too, is familiar of the second interview, and the failure of that also, and the prophecy by Augustine that God's judgment would come on the Welsh for their contumacy, followed by the massacre of 1200 monks of the monastery of Bangor-Is-Coed by Ethelfrith, the pagan king of Mercia. The monkish historian, although he was no less a man than Bede himself, could not forbear to connect the massacre and the prophecy.

In the earlier part of this struggle it seemed as if it would go in favour of the Celtic Churches. The Northumbrian Saxons were Celtic converts; the Celtic Church was self-contained, consecrated its own bishops elected by the clergy of each diocese, and ordained its own priests; had its own rites, liturgies, and customs, and computed Easter according to the old cycle in force amongst the Jews. It was so with all the Celtic Churches. They all resisted Rome. The missionary Celtic Church from Iona, led by St.

Columba, was the Christian Church, first of Northumbria, later on of Mercia. The success of Augustine in Kent did little to forward the cause of Rome in the British Isles, but Augustine was succeeded by abler men. Theodore, of Tarsus, became Archbishop of Canterbury, and organized the Roman Church in Britain with wonderful success; and Wilfrid, of York, the Roman bishop, gained a complete victory over Colman, the British bishop, at the conference of Whitby. The three points discussed at the conference were, the computation of the date of Easter, the rites of baptism (whether there should be three immersions or one only), and the form of tonsure. The decision of the Northumbrian king was wholly in favour of Wilfrid's contention.

At first this decision only affected the Celtic Church in that part of England ruled by Saxon kings; but in A.D. 755 North Wales accepted the Roman computation of Easter, and in A.D. 777 South Wales also conformed. Thus by the end of the eighth century Roman supremacy, which had for some time been acknowledged throughout England, except, perhaps, in Cornwall and the Strathclyde country, began to be virtually admitted in Wales.

The struggle against the supremacy of Rome being thus ended in favour of Rome, we now come to the struggle against the jurisdiction of Canterbury. The Welsh Church after, and notwithstanding the success of Rome, continued to appoint and consecrate her own bishops down to the ninth century, when an Archbishop of Canterbury first consecrated a Welsh bishop; the first instance being the consecration of Hubert the Saxon, as Bishop of St. David's, by Ethelred, Archbishop of Canterbury, about the year A.D. 874. The successful invasion of England by the Normans had a most prejudicial effect upon the independence of the Celtic Church in Wales; the policy alike of Rome and of the Nor-

man kings, required the subjection of the Welsh Church. This the united efforts of an alien church and an alien crown, soon accomplished ; and, in 1115, Henry the First of England appointed Bishop Bernard, a Norman, to the See of St. David. Bernard, who, at his consecration, professed subjection to the See of Canterbury, afterwards repudiated this submission, and appealed to Rome to maintain the independence of the Welsh See against the jurisdiction claimed by Canterbury, but it was of no avail. The Papal Court decided against Bishop Bernard, and from that time forward the Welsh Sees have formed a part of the province of Canterbury. The Archbishops of Canterbury immediately began to exercise Metropolitan jurisdiction in the Welsh dioceses. In the year 1188 Archbishop Baldwin made an archæpiscopal visitation of Wales, which is the subject of *The Itinerary* of Giraldus Cambrensis ; and during this visitation celebrated Holy Communion at the high altar of each of the four Welsh cathedrals. The Archbishop does not, however, appear to have felt very secure as to his jurisdiction, for he justified his presence in Wales partly on the ground of preaching a crusade. Rome, however, was in favour of the jurisdiction of Canterbury, and the complete subjection of Wales was therefore a mere question of time ; for the very fact of the appeal of Baldwin, the Bishop of a Welsh See, to Rome, shows that although the local independence of the Welsh Church might not, by that time, have been completely destroyed, yet the supremacy of Rome was completely established.

A few years later Peckham, Archbishop of Canterbury, made another archæpiscopal visitation in Wales.

The appointment of Bishops to the Welsh Sees by the Plantagenet kings was the necessary complement of the jurisdiction in Wales successfully asserted by the Archbishops of Canterbury ; but the Welsh Cathedral clergy

were very unwilling to give up the right of themselves electing their bishops when vacancies occurred, and Giraldus, the author of *The Itinerary*, who was a Welshman of noble birth, was twice elected Bishop by the Chapter of St. David's, his name appearing each time as *dignissimus* in the list of three names presented to the Pope for selection and confirmation. The Pope, however, refused to confirm his election, although he personally made a journey to Rome to enforce his claim. It has been said that this failure may be attributed to the wealth of his opponents: "Erant tum enim omnia venalia Romæ." But the true reason of his failure, more probably, was a message sent to the Pope by the Archbishop of Canterbury, that the nomination of Giraldus, a Welshman, to the Bishopric of St. David's, would not be acceptable to King John, who was the King of England.

I have said that the right of appointment by the Crown to the Welsh bishoprics seemed the necessary consequence of the Welsh Sees becoming part of the Province of Canterbury. This is the way the matter is stated in Burns' *Ecclesiastical Law*. Lord Coke established the right of donation in the kings of this realm upon the principle of foundation and property, for that all the bishoprics in England were of the king's foundation, and thereupon accrued to him the right of patronage. So also the bishoprics in Wales were founded by the Prince of Wales, and the Principality of Wales was holden of the King of England, as of his Crown, and when the Principality of Wales for treason and rebellion was forfeited, the patronage of the bishoprics there became annexed to the Crown of England. I do not suppose that Lord Coke's statement of the law will be any more acceptable to Welshmen because of his untrue statement about Welsh bishoprics having been founded by the Prince of Wales. The fact seems clear

that, so far as the local Celtic Church is concerned, the nomination of bishops was always vested, in fact as well as in theory, in the Cathedral clergy.

The annexation of Wales by Edward I in 1284, completed the destruction of the independence of the Celtic Church in Wales.

In Ireland also the Celtic Church was reduced to complete submission to Rome by the invasion of that country by Henry I, in pursuance of a Bull in favour of Henry issued by Pope Adrian III, an Englishman, in the year 1156. By this Bull, Adrian, after premising that Henry had ever shown an anxious care to enlarge the church of God on earth, and increase the number of his saints and elect in heaven, represented the design of subduing Ireland as derived from the same pious motives. The Bull then declared that all Christian kingdoms belong to the patrimony of St. Peter, and asserted that the Papal duty was to sow among the Irish the seeds of the gospel which might in the last day fructify to their salvation. The Bull proceeded then to authorise and exhort the king to invade Ireland, in order to extirpate the vice and wickedness of the natives, and oblige them to pay yearly from every house a penny to the See of Rome. The Bull further gave the king entire right and authority over the island, and commanded all the inhabitants to obey him as their sovereign ; investing with full power all such godly instruments as he should think proper to employ in an enterprise thus calculated for the glory of God and the salvation of the souls of men.

The operations of Henry, armed with this authority, were completely successful, and thenceforward the Celtic Church has ceased to have any independent existence in Ireland ; but it can hardly be said that the Celtic love of local institutions has been entirely stamped out there, and

the gathering strength of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Ireland since the disestablishment of the State Church seems to show that this is true, not only in matters political, but also in things ecclesiastical.

The Church of Rome itself, which knows how to make concessions, when policy requires it, to local churches, as is evidenced by the concessions in favour of local customs which it has made in Poland, Galicia, and Hungary, and by the concession of the Ambrosian rite in Milan, seems to recognise the necessity of making concessions, at all events in matters of discipline, to local feeling in Ireland even in this nineteenth century.

I have finished the most interesting part of the history of the Ancient Church of Wales now that I have sketched the history of its origin, of its great struggle for local independence, and the final triumph of Rome. It is impossible to contemplate this triumph without some feeling of regret. The Celtic Church was, it is true, far from perfect. The clergy individually, both secular and monastic, indulged, many of them, if we believe the successive testimonies of Gildas, Bede, and Giraldus, in the coarsest vices; but on the other hand, the Celtic Churches, as corporate bodies, escaped much which by this time had made the Roman Catholic Church so unlike the Primitive Apostolic Church.

The insular position of the Celtic Churches preserved them, to a large extent, from political influences, and gave them in this respect an enormous advantage over the Church of Rome, which was the centre of the impure political atmosphere which surrounded the decline of the Roman Empire.

It is interesting to speculate, for a moment, what might have been the future of Christianity if the Celtic Churches had held their own. It may be that some such effect would

have been wrought upon the tone of religious institutions within the sphere of its influence as has been wrought upon the political institutions of Great Britain by her geographical position. It may be that the types of the Christian Churches in Great Britain would have been simpler, that our church hierarchy would have had more of a domestic, and less of a political, character. It may be that we should have had more religious unity.

Possibly, however, it is better for the cause of religion that we should not have attained unity. Competition and criticism, and even party strife, may improve the tone of churches as well as of other bodies.

This, however, is mere speculation. It is more useful than thus to speculate what might have been, to recognise that it is impossible that a Church should have existed as the Church of a nation for ten centuries and more, without leaving a lasting impression upon the religious character of the people. Remember that the Celtic Church, unadulterated by foreign influences, was, for nearly half the whole time which has elapsed since the birth of Christ, the dominant Church in Wales.

I must now say a few words as to the history of the Church in Wales since Welsh dioceses have become part and parcel of the province of Canterbury.

The influence of Rome soon led to a great change in the character of the monastic houses in Wales. There sprang up a large number of Cistercian monasteries, filled, to a great extent, with monks of foreign extraction. These monasteries absorbed, to a great extent, the tithes and emoluments of the secular clergy. This was the beginning of the parochial poverty of the Church.

Things remained much in the same condition down to the Reformation. The confiscation by Henry the Eighth of the property of the monastic houses led to little

or no improvement. The confiscated Church property did not come to the parochial churches. It was for the most part retained by the king, or assigned to his zealous servants among the laity. It may well be thought that one result of the Reformation ought to have been the restoration of the local character of the Church in Wales. This local character had been destroyed, as a matter of Roman Catholic policy, as being inconsistent with the unity of the Catholic Church and Papal supremacy. The effect of repudiation by the Crown of Papal supremacy necessarily was that Papal supremacy ceased to be a reason for the fusion of the Church in Wales with the Church in England. Wales had become a part of the province of Canterbury as a matter of Roman Catholic policy. This policy had been repudiated, and no longer stood, therefore, in the way of the restoration of the local Church.

No doubt the unity of the Church in England and Wales for nearly three centuries, naturally led to any change that there was by reason of the Reformation, applying to the whole kingdom, but one cannot help wishing that at this time Henry the Eighth had constituted Wales a separate province, independent of Canterbury, even though the political relation of England and Wales may have made it difficult, if not impossible, to do in Wales as was done in Ireland—that is, establish the supremacy of the Crown in the Church in Wales by statutes independent of those which established the supremacy of the Crown in the Church of England. But the policy of Henry the Eighth was to complete the union of England and Wales, both political and ecclesiastical. To carry out this policy there was passed in 1535 the statute 27 Henry VIII, c. 26, intituled an “Acte for Lawes and Justice to be Ministered in Wales in like forme as it is in this Realme.”

Thenceforward, Wales ceased to be a political unit. This

was followed in 1542 by the Statute 34 and 35 Henry VIII, c. 26, intituled "An Acte for certaine Ordinancies in the Kinge Majesties Domyinion and Principality of Wales."

This Statute finally abolished the local administrations in Wales, which were all of them more or less independent of the Crown, and substituted the Courts of Great Sessions, which Courts continued the means of administration of justice in Wales down to the reign of William IV, when by the Statute 11 Geo. IV, 1 William IV, c. 70, English writs and the English circuit system were extended to Wales.

The Church in Wales shared in the benefits of the Reformation even before the Act of Uniformity, 14 Car. II. It was ordered by Queen Elizabeth that the Bible and the reformed liturgy should be translated into the Welsh tongue. With regard to this translation, I wish to mention a fact which gives me a better title to be addressing you here to-day than I should otherwise have, that is, that through my mother, Jane Bagot, I am the lineal descendant of William Salesbury, who was chiefly concerned in making the first translation into Welsh of the New Testament and the Book of Common Prayer. The Preface to the Book of Common Prayer contains one interesting piece of evidence that some local colour remained even at this time to the Church in Wales. You remember the passage in the Preface which says: "and whereas heretofore there hath been great diversity in saying and singing in churches within this Realm, some following Salisbury use, some Hereford use, and some the use of Bangor, some of York and some of Lincoln; now from henceforth all the whole Realm shall have but one use." The Act of Uniformity required that each church in Wales should have two copies of the Book of Common Prayer, one in Welsh and one in English, and one object of the framers of the Act seems, from the terms

of it, to have been that Welsh-speaking natives should learn the English tongue.

The Church in Wales, from the Reformation down to the eighteenth century, does not call for much observation. It suffered, as all Churches did, during the Civil War; in fact it suffered more than any part of the country from the vagaries of the itinerant Independents, under the Parliamentary Commission, opened under the auspices of Cromwell.

The Church in Wales, between the Reformation and the middle of the eighteenth century, does not seem to have been a very living power in religion. The work of the Church was undoubtedly much hampered during these times, both by its poverty and by the bi-lingual difficulty. The best preferment in the Church seems frequently to have been bestowed on Englishmen as a reward for political services; but it is only fair to say that the great majority of the bishoprics were bestowed on Welshmen.

In the middle of the eighteenth century there next came the great religious revival in Wales. It was purely local. The revival seems to have commenced in 1736. The leader of it was Howell Harries. The revival was chiefly the work of Wesleyan Methodists, and had not, in the first instance, the marked characteristics of dissent which have since characterised the Calvinistic Methodists, and the other Nonconformist Churches of Wales. The Welsh revival does not seem to have been limited in its effect to the Nonconformist Churches. I think that any impartial historian would recognise the renewed strength of religious feeling in every corner in Wales, as well, if not more, in the Church of England as in the Nonconformist Churches.

Enthusiasm in religion is, I think you will agree with me, characteristic of the Welsh, nay more, characteristic of the Celtic race; and I trust you will further agree with me,

that another characteristic of the Celts is the ardent desire, amounting almost to a passion, that their institutions, whether civil or ecclesiastical, shall have a local character.

The inference which I would have you draw from the foregoing sketch of the history of the ancient Church in Wales is, that no church is likely to thrive in Wales unless it is local in its character and associations. This applies, it seems to me, equally to the Episcopalian and the Nonconformist Churches. At the present moment the Episcopalian Church has a great advantage in the continuity of its traditions. This, with a Celtic nature, I believe to be a great advantage. On the other hand, the Nonconformist Churches have what is also a great advantage in Wales; they are more democratic, more local, more in touch with the people than the Church of England in Wales can claim to be.

I do not know if it is at all likely that any steps will be taken for giving the State Church in Wales a more local character. The time seems favourable for localisation. The spirit of decentralisation has, at the end of the nineteenth century, sprung up throughout the civilised world. It is a factor which can no more be disregarded in matters ecclesiastical than it can in matters political. The national movement is not confined to Wales. It is to be seen in almost every country in Europe. Everywhere submerged and conquered nationalities are beginning to manifest increased national unity. Bohemia, Croatia, Flanders, Norway, all illustrate the spread of this feeling.

In the history of the world heretofore the concrete shape, which the manifestation of this feeling of nationality took, was generally a war of independence, having for its purpose the separation of the nation as a political unit amongst nations. National feeling in the nineteenth century seems to manifest itself in another form. It is now-a-days merely

an assertion of local patriotism, a claim by a province to a local right to administer its own local affairs. This claim, although it may be a convenient vehicle for the expression of national feeling, is not different in kind, though it may be in the wider definition of the local subjects, from the claim that is successfully insisted on by all our great provincial corporations.

It is in response to this feeling of local patriotism that County Councils have been created with the approval of the whole nation, and that Village Councils seem at the point of being established.

The tendency to decentralisation is the almost necessary sequel of democratic government. A despot may be in touch with all parts of his dominions. It is hardly possible that a great central representative assembly should be so. Such an assembly, as a body, has little sympathy for local wants and demands. It concerns itself rather with matters of general interest to the Empire.

This local patriotism is nowhere stronger than in Wales. It has borne fruits already. We have had a recognition of the local rights of Wales in Intermediate Education and in the Sunday Closing Act. We look for a Welsh National University in the immediate future.

Can the Church in Wales make no concession to this local feeling? Is it impossible to fall in with the spirit of decentralization by the separation of the Welsh Sees from the province of Canterbury? This would not of necessity involve the creation of a new Archbishopric. Notwithstanding what is said of the bishopric of Caerleon having been the Metropolitan of the Roman Welsh province, it seems to me that the better opinion is, that there was no primacy amongst the old Welsh Sees. Is it impossible to concede to the Welsh local and national feeling that the election of the bishop on a vacancy shall be vested in the

members of the Church ? The Church of Ireland affords a practical example of how these things may be settled. The choice of bishops, church government, church ritual and liturgy, are all determined by dioceses and general synods at which clergy and laity are represented. There seems nothing in this inconsistent with the supremacy of the Crown. It is a mere delegation of its power. In theory, a *congé d'élire* left the election of a bishop to fill a vacant See to the Chapter. There is nothing in this inconsistent with the supremacy of the Crown if the confirmation of the election is really left with the Crown.

It may be a mere dream, but I cannot but think that a Church thus in touch with the Welsh people, with a Welsh liturgy, a Welsh ritual, and a Welsh Episcopate, would revive and appeal to the best traditions of the Celtic Church in Wales, and would not find the gulf between itself and Nonconformity impassable, and would soon rise to the rank of a National Church including within its fold all Welsh Christianity.

WELSH SAINTS.

BY J. W. WILLIS-BUND, F.S.A.¹

A MODERN French writer in his lectures on "The History of Civilisation in France" points out the danger to historical accuracy from using words which for centuries remain unchanged in connection with facts that are constantly changing. "Nothing", says M. Guizot²—"nothing perhaps has caused more confusion, more fallacy, in history, than the immobility of names amidst variety of facts. It is impossible to utter too strong a warning never to lose sight of this quicksand." As an instance he cites the use of the term "Republic" as describing the governments of Rome and the United States—the same name being applied to describe systems which in everything but name differ so completely—so entirely—so utterly.

Had M. Guizot desired to draw an example from ecclesiastical as well as from civil history, nothing better could have been found than the past and present use of the word "Saint" in the Latin and Celtic Churches; here the difference is as great, if not greater, than the use of the term "Republic" in describing the governments of Rome and the United States. We are so accustomed to the meaning the Latin Church ascribes to certain terms, that it is difficult, if not impossible, for us to regard them as capable of being used with any other signification. With us the term "Saint" has become so connected with personal holiness that we

¹ Paper read before the Cymmrodorion Society at No. 20, Hanover Square, on May 2, 1894. Chairman, Mr. Stephen Evans, J.P.

² Bohn's edition, iii, 326.

cannot believe it was ever used in any other sense. Yet it is clear that this was not the original meaning of the word. Both among Latins and Celts the word has lost its primitive signification; the sense it now bears in both Churches is different from its original meaning. It may be said for the Celts, however far they have wandered from the primitive signification of the word, yet their interpretation comes far nearer its ancient significance than its modern rendering by the Latin Church.

Originally the term "Saint" did not imply anything more than that the person was a Christian. This is the apostolic use of the word. St. Paul writes "To the Saints that are at Ephesus"; "the Saints and faithful brethren in Christ which are at Colosse", using the term "Saint" as synonymous with the word "Church" as describing all Christian converts. This was the sense in which the Celts used the term. Patrick, in his letter to Caroticus, says of the Irish Christians, "Which of the *Saints* would not shrink from partaking of the sports and banquets of such men",¹ clearly meaning by "Saints" all the Christian converts as opposed to the heathen. This use of the word "Saint" as equivalent to Christian, long continued in Ireland, and explains to some extent the enormous number of Saints in that country.

Gradually the term began to have a narrower meaning, and meant the members of a Class, and this meaning in a more or less restricted sense continued. A Celtic Saint was always the member of a class, and the use of the term "Saint" by the Celts meant no more than expressing the fact of such membership. It did not necessarily imply, and was not understood as implying, any special individual merit or personal holiness, although these qualities might be possessed by a Saint. It meant neither more nor less than the term "Reverend" does at the present day. Who

¹ Haddan and Stubbs, ii, 317.

the members were who formed the class to which the term "Saint" was applied; what were the characteristics belonging to that class, are the subject of this paper.

Before considering these points it will be well to mention the meaning the Latin Church attached and still attaches to the term. As in the Celtic Church the word soon lost its original meaning of all Christians, and came to have not a general but a personal designation, marking out the person to whom it was applied as entitled to special honour and reverence; so ultimately it became an ecclesiastical title of honour bestowed by the Pope, as the head of the Church, in precisely the same way a temporal sovereign bestows titles and honours, but, with this difference, that a temporal sovereign always confers a title on a living person, the Pope always confers this title on one who is dead.

It would be difficult better to represent the Latin idea of a Saint—the existing idea of most of us—than by the following story which was often told during the time the late M. Grévy was President of the French Republic. "One of the numerous mediocrities who during the last twenty years have been prime ministers of France was somewhat to his surprise appointed to the office; feeling the length of his tenure to be very uncertain he determined to lose no time in providing for his relations. He therefore at once sought for an interview with the President and stated his desire to remember his family. M. Grévy, who above all things loved a job, at once assented and asked what he could do. The minister, with some apologies, said he desired something for each of his four brothers. 'What', said the President, 'is the eldest?' and on being informed he was a member of the Civil Service promised to promote him to be prefect of one of the Departments. The next, the holder of some small judicial office, was to be made a member of the Cour de Cassation; a vacant bishopric was to be given

to the third—a priest. ‘And the fourth’, said the President, ‘what do you want for him?’ ‘Ah! sir,’ replied the minister, ‘he died in Tonquin, sacrificing his life in preaching the faith; he was a real saint; you must write to the Pope and get him canonised.’ M. Grévy is said not to have used the ideal language of a saint, and flatly refused to do anything of the kind, mainly on the ground that a dead man had no political influence.”

Whether the story is or is not founded on fact, whether it is *vero*, or only *ben trovato*, it brings out very clearly the light in which members of the Latin Church regard a Saint. It is a mere title of honour, to be schemed for and obtained in precisely the same way as any other title or honour. The broad difference therefore between the Latin and Celtic ideas of Saints is that the Celts are so called because they are members of a class—the Latins because they are presumed to possess some claim to personal merit or distinction.

This difference is further illustrated by the way the term Saint is used by writers belonging to the two Churches. A Latin writer invariably uses the prefix Saint when speaking of a person who has, or is supposed to possess, that title—a Celtic writer never does so. He speaks of Patrick or David—never of St. Patrick or St. David. If the genuineness or date of any Celtic MS. is in question, one of the tests is to note if to the names of Patrick or David the term Saint is prefixed. If it is, it is almost certain that the document, if not a forgery, is either of a date posterior to the subjugation of the Celtic by the Latin Church, or of a date during the time that subjugation was taking place. The result of the distinction already stated between members of a family and ownership of a title will account for this. The Celt had no title to use, so that his admirers could not possibly use it; the Latin had a title and when speaking of

him his admirers invariably used it. This Latin habit led to the term "Saint" being used when speaking of persons who were or who claimed to be Saints, although for reasons entirely different.

In dealing with Celtic Saints the first thing that is noticeable is their enormous numbers. When the editors of the *Lives of the Saints* came to consider the Celtic Saints they at once felt this difficulty. If they admitted all into their list their labours would have been worse than the labours of Sisyphus. For instance—in that remarkable document, the Litany of Ængus the Culdee, in speaking of St. Finn Barr, in his monastery of Loch Irchi,¹ it says:—

"As many as the leaves of the trees
Are the saints who are therein."

The Bollandists shrank from such wholesale biography. So to avoid it they hit on the very ingenious expedient of not admitting the Celtic Saints into their list, as they did not come within the definition they laid down of a Saint. "Those are", they say, "those are to be separately enrolled in the number of Saints who are entitled to be invoked, either in obedience to a Pontifical decree or by the public consent of a Christian people convinced of the sanctity of anyone by open and repeated miracles."² It follows that in the opinion of the Bollandists the title to Saintship depends on one of two things—canonisation or miracles—to the Welsh Saints the first of these tests is inapplicable.

Wales had ceased to produce Saints as such before canonisation, as it is now understood, came into use. One, and one only, of the Welsh Saints—David—is said to have had the benefit of this process. With the exception of some five all the Welsh Saints date from before A.D. 700. The earliest record of canonisation is said to be St. Ulric of

¹ *Book of Leinster*, 373b.

² *Act. SS.* (Bolland.), March 10th, vol. ii, p. 293a.

Augsberg, in A.D. 993,¹ although, without citing any authority for it, Mackenzie Walcott gave an earlier instance—St. Swibert of Verda, in A.D. 804.

The present rules of the Latin Church as to canonisation date from the pontificate of Benedict XIV. Consequently, in so far as the Latin Church was concerned, the right of Welsh Saints to that title depended on their power to work miracles. So the eleventh and twelfth century writers, mostly Latin monks, whose versions of the lives of the Welsh Saints are our great authorities on the subject, pile up the miracles that they say the Welsh Saints wrought. As far as we can tell the Welsh records do not appear to have attached the same importance to miracles the Latin writers did; and it is to the Latins that we owe most of the childish and grotesque stories we find making up the lives of Welsh Saints. But it must not be supposed that the Welsh did not attach great importance to the power of dealing with the supernatural—as will be shown; the power to deal in signs and wonders was a necessary qualification for a Saint in the Celtic as well as in the Latin Church.

The later Welsh position may be stated in the words of a well-known antiquary:—"No formal process—certainly no reference to Rome—was required to put a Departed Worthy on the roll of the Saints; the proofs of holiness, in the technical sense, in addition to piety and blamelessness of life were *miracles*; and these proofs were estimated apparently by the voice of the people. A good man died—signs were believed to be wrought at his tomb or by his intercession—the multitude flocked to the place and the claim to sanctity was carried by acclamation."² The Celts were most liberal in granting the title of Saint; the Latins were very chary,

¹ *Proc. Soc. Ant.*, 2nd ser., xiii, 233.

² Mr. Peacock, *Proc. Soc. Ant.*, 2nd ser., xiii, 234.

and required something more than reputed holiness, usually the reputation for working miracles, before doing so.

The Celtic liberality arose mainly from an adherence to the original meaning of the term Saint as denoting all Christians—that is all the members of the tribe of the Saint. A missionary often, either in fact or in name a relation of the chief of the tribe, appeared. The chief desired to secure the support of so powerful an ally—so mighty a Druid; to induce him to remain, he gave him a grant of land on which a monastery was built. This monastery and its possessions were considered as the property of the missionary and his followers—the Saint and his tribe. So an ecclesiastical tribe was formed, all the members of which were called Saints. From this starting-point the tribe developed and the Saints increased. Hard as it is for us to realise that tribes of Saints existed, it is the fact; and this tribal idea furnishes the key to the history of the Saints and many other matters connected with the organization of the Celtic Church. Once the tribe was established the rules as to its chieftainship had to be laid down. This was done by an adaptation of the rules in force among the lay tribes. As was to be expected, there were modifications of those rules; but, in the main, the same regulations were applicable to the tribe of the land and to the tribe of the Saint. As converts increased the term Saint ceased to be applied to all Christians, as nominally all the lay tribe were such, and so would be nominally Saints.

The term then became limited to those belonging to the monastery or religious establishment of the tribe; it is difficult to say when this limitation arose. It had not been made in the time of Patrick, as is shewn from his letter to Caroticus; it is traceable in the *Senchus Mor*, and was in full force in the tenth century, as appears from the Litany of *Ængus the Culdee*, for in it various settlements of Saints

are spoken of. Whenever it took place it was probably at a comparatively early period in Celtic Church history.

The result of establishing a tribe, or a family of Saints in connection with the different tribes, had a most important influence on subsequent Church history. The earliest and one of the most important results was importing into ecclesiastical relationships the connection between the tribesmen and the rules of legal relationship in force in the lay tribe. Thus, both in ecclesiastical and lay organisations, the family became the basis of the whole system. The different families belonging to each tribe had, as a part of their hereditary possessions, the exclusive knowledge of some trade or custom. "In societies of an archaic type", says Sir Henry Maine, "a particular craft or kind of knowledge becomes in time an hereditary possession of families almost as a matter of course."¹

The family attached to the monastery, the tribe or family of the Saint, became or professed to become the exclusive hereditary possessors of the religious knowledge and customs of the tribe—that is, they became poets, or Brehons, or Druids, and afterwards Saints; the term Saint, as used in the Celtic Church, merely designating the priestly family attached to the tribe. From the *Senchus Mor*, we learn how the conversion of Ireland to Christianity was brought about. Patrick and a Brehon went through the then existing Irish Law and accepted all that did not clash with "the word of God in the written law and in the New Testament and with the conscience of believers, was confirmed in the laws of the Brehons by Patrick and by the ecclesiastics and chieftains of Erin".²

From this it is clear that many of the old Celtic Pagan customs, part of the hereditary knowledge that had been the property of the families of the Brehons,

¹ *Early Institutions*, 245. ² *Ancient Laws of Ireland*, Rolls ed., i, 17.

became the property of the families of the Saints. This must have tended to modify and mould the Christianity of the Celts, and a knowledge of these customs must give us important light on the Celtic Church. The solution of many of its peculiarities is most likely to be found in the lives of the Saints—the history of the chiefs of those families. Viewed from this point, those lives at once become of the highest importance as being, in a sense, the sacred books of Wales. From the life of each individual Saint something may be learnt of the customs and usages of his time, which customs and usages may be either those of the early Celtic Church or of some Pagan survival not contrary, in the opinion of the early Celtic Christians, “to the word of God and the conscience of believers”.

Unfortunately for us the lives of the Welsh Saints as we have them are not in the condition to give us all the information they might. They have been edited, if not rewritten, by Latin ecclesiastics, in order to edify monks at their meals or the devout at their devotions. Those portions that would have been of the greatest interest, and which might have given us some light on either early Celtic Christianity or on Celtic Pagan superstitions and observances, are the parts a Latin ecclesiastic would deem it his duty to omit or to modify.

The Latin writers of the eleventh and twelfth centuries considered it incumbent on them to keep two great principles in mind when engaged on the biographies of Saints. (1) To make out a sufficient supply of miracles to entitle the subject of their biography to a place on the Roll of Saints; (2) To represent all the incidents of the life as proving he was a loyal and dutiful follower of the Latin Church and derived all his authority from Rome. In this they were not worse than most modern editors or historians who write history from one point of view. But in some cases there was

another and a meaner motive. The shrine of its Saint was one of the great sources of income of a church or monastery. The greater the Saint's reputation could be made the greater the number of pilgrims, the greater the offerings, and so the greater the revenue of the church. The writers who recorded the virtues of David or Teilo would have been more than human if they did not represent their Saints in such a way as to draw pilgrims to their churches and so increase their incomes. Advertising, as we know it, had not yet come into existence, but the mediæval writer's account of his special Saint is drawn on the lines of the modern hotel keeper's account of the charms of the locality.

So much did this way of writing up special Saints become the fashion that restraints had to be placed upon the practice. Archbishop Anselm wrote two letters restraining the cult of unauthorised Saints—that is, Saints who did not possess episcopal sanction. At a Council in London, in 1102, a canon was made expressly forbidding the worship or invocation of unauthorised Saints.

Viewing the lives of the Welsh Saints from this point, not as records of personal holiness, not as subjects for devotional study, not as historical narratives, but as the early records of the sacerdotal families of the Welsh tribes, it is not of so much importance whether the incidents recorded in those lives are true or untrue, or if the dates are or are not reliable. The statement of some local incident, the allusion to some legend, become from this standpoint matters of much greater importance than whether the Saint went to Jerusalem, or founded a particular church, so that more weight can be given than it is now the fashion to do to the Triads. Admitting fully their comparatively recent dates, that much that is contained in them is historically inaccurate, it may yet be that the legends and stories they contain are survivals of much earlier legends

and stories. Historically speaking, the existence of many of the Welsh Saints is most doubtful—that is, there is nothing that resembles real evidence to prove it. Of the lives of twenty-three Welsh Saints which have come down to us, Haddan and Stubbs remark: “None of these lives can claim to approach to history . . . they are simply unhistorical legends, but of persons who for the most part really existed, although there is but faint evidence of the existence of six out of the twenty-three”,¹ and as to an additional six whose legendary lives we possess, they add that almost certainly these last never existed at all.

In spite of all this these lives have a value when looked at from the standpoint of regarding the Welsh Saints as the representatives of the Welsh sacerdotal families, for though in no sense historical, they embody traditions and ideas which are most valuable in throwing light on early Welsh Church customs. Just as the novels of the eighteenth century give us some idea—it may be an exaggerated one—of the habits and lives of the gentry and clergy of those days, so the lives of the Welsh Saints may give us some idea as to the habits and customs of the early Celtic Christians. They cannot therefore be entirely neglected, as has been and is too much the fashion of modern writers.

There are certain points relating to the Welsh Saints that occur in most of their lives, and which go to prove the peculiarity of their position as Saints. Some of them are thus given by Jones and Freeman, in their *History of St. David's*:—“The Saint is the son of a local prince or chieftain. His origin is rather scandalous; his birth is accompanied by signs and wonders; he is placed under the immediate instruction of a noted Saint, and connected through him with Germanus and Lupus. Several of the most celebrated centres of

¹ I, 161, n.

Christianity are the work of his hand; several of the most celebrated propagators of the faith are his own scholars. From his birth to his death he is associated with great names, a worldly antagonist, a moral antithesis, is raised up for him to chastise and to destroy, and the divine vengeance is made manifest. He is made the centre and mainspring of his age, the great and holy man, round whom great and holy men are to be clustered.”¹

Many of these points are not peculiar to Welsh Saints, but some of them are, and those, with others not stated here, deserve notice in detail. But to fully appreciate the bearing of these points it will be necessary to say a word on the position the priestly families occupied in the Celtic tribes at or soon after their conversion to Christianity.

At some period of tribal history the chief—by whatever name he might be called—combined in himself the three great functions of leader of the host, of priest, and of judge. The history of the tribe is the history of the separation of these offices. The king was supposed to be descended from some divinity or hero, who had given him his authority; and, as exercising the same authority, the priest and the judges claimed descent from the same divinity or hero, and to be related to the chief.

Probably the separation took place at different times among different tribes. When we first see the Celts the king was the leader of the host—the chosen general of the people—but had lost his priestly power, which had devolved upon a family or tribe, that were its hereditary priests; while the power of judging, if it had not completely, was fast passing away from the king into the hands of another family—the lawyers. This last transfer was not complete at the time of the Brehon Laws, for it is stated in one of the Tracts, “that it is lawful for the king to have a judge

¹ P. 250.

though he be himself a judge".¹ It also seems that at first the priestly and judicial families were one and the same.

Probably in theory the king retained some priestly and judicial power; but, in fact, the real power under both these heads had passed from him and become the possession of a particular family whose name differed in different countries. Of this separation of the sacerotal and judicial functions there are traces to be found in the Irish Laws. At first, says the *Senchus Mor*, the right of judging belonged to the poets alone, until the time of the contention between the two sages for the sage's power which Adhna, the son of Uither, had possessed. "Obscure was the language that the poets spoke in that disputation, and it was not plain to the chieftains what judgment they had passed. 'These men', said the chieftains, 'have their judgments and their knowledge to themselves. We do not, in the first place, understand what they say.' 'It is evidently the case', said Conchobar, 'all shall partake in it from this day forth; but the part of it which is fit for these poets shall not be taken from them; each shall have his share of it.' The poets were thus deprived of their right of judging except their proper share of it."²

This passage records the separation between the priestly and judicial functions; the poets retained the former, the Brehons took the latter. There seems to have been a further subdivision—the *Senchus Mor* says that "until Patrick came, only three classes of persons were permitted to speak in public in Erin, a chronicler to relate events and tell stories, a poet to eulogise and satirise, a Brehon to pass sentence from precedents and commentaries".³ Public utterances had been confined to the lawyers and the priests, the Brehons and the poets or Druids; but the conversion of the country to Christianity brought about a change, for the *Senchus Mor* adds, "Since Patrick arrived each utterance

¹ *Ancient Laws of Ireland*, Rolls' ed., iv, 341. ² *Ibid.*, i, 19. ³ *Ibid.*

of these professions is subject to the man of the white language, that is, of the gospel".¹

The subdivision of the powers originally vested in the chief was therefore complete. He retained the leadership of the tribe, but his judicial powers were delegated to one family, the Brehons, his priestly duties to another, the poets, or the Druids. The conversion of the country to Christianity led to the transfer of the powers of the priestly family to the ministers of the new religion, the rights and belongings of the Druids passed over to the family or tribe of the Saint. Unfortunately we have no account of Wales at a date sufficiently early to show the division of the power of the chief among the different families of the tribe. All we have is the much later statement of the Welsh Laws of the necessary officers of the king. Of these the priest and the judge form a part. What the king used to do himself he now does by deputy; but when the majesty of the tribe has to be represented, the full court assembled, the leader of the host, the head of the priests, and the head of the law, all appear, but by three persons instead of by one as formerly. By the time of Hywel Dda there had been a yet further subdivision, the duties of the poet had been divided, the priestly duties had become the property of one family, the poetic of another. The priest and the bard, as representing these two branches of the sacerdotal family, are necessary ingredients of the king's court.

It is important to bear the exact position of the sacerdotal families of the Celts in mind, so as to rightly appreciate what the tribe of the Saint was and what it represented. It took over the rights and liabilities of the Pagan families that preceded it with their duties and responsibilities. It was not merely a collection of converts; it was a body that carried on the old religious

¹ *Ancient Laws of Ireland*, Rolls' ed., i, 19.

ideas—the sentiments and the duties of the old Pagan priests, modified to some extent by Christianity, but in the main based upon the old opinions and old beliefs of the tribe. There still existed the religious family of the tribe, but under a new name and based upon a new system. They had been Druids, they were now Saints; they had worked by magic, they now worked by direct supernatural power.

It is most important to understand the position of the religious teachers in the Celtic Church as compared with those in the Latin. The Latins could never make terms with the Pagan priests who preceded them, and had to substitute their own for the previously existing ideas. They had both to pull down and to build up. Not so the Celts. They reformed the existing religion. Their Christian teaching took over everything that was not contrary to the law of the letter and the conscience of believers. The Celtic Church more resembled the position of the Anglican at the Reformation than that of a converted country. Its religion was a reformed Paganism, and its teachers carried on, as far as they consistently could, the ideas and beliefs of those who had preceded them. Hence the great importance of the tribe of the Saint and of the Saints in Ireland and Wales. Until this principle of the continuity of religious ideas is grasped it is difficult to realise the true meaning of the tribe of the Saint and the true position of the Welsh Saints. The more Christian principles were understood the more heathen survivals would tend to disappear, and the more the Welsh Christians learnt the more would they seek to conform to what was daily becoming the more powerful body.

Such being the position of the tribe of the Saint, the priestly family, it is not a matter of great difficulty to understand the first of the peculiarities of the Welsh Saints,

that they are usually said to be related to the king or chief of the tribe of the land. The same theory is met with in all the genealogies of the Welsh Saints, that the Saint, the subject of the biography, is of noble if not of royal descent. There is no question of "poor but honest parents", or of a person of humble birth attaining to sanctity. Such an idea does not seem to have entered the Celtic mind. The ruler of the lay tribe, the temporal prince, was of royal descent; the heads of the different lay families were all presumed to be the descendants from the same common ancestor, and so naturally or otherwise were all his relations. The same rule existed in spiritual relationship. The head of the tribe of the Saint was related to the head of the tribe of the land by descent from one common ancestor. The different members of the tribe of the Saint were all, in fact or theory, related to the spiritual head of the tribe of the Saint. Here we get the Celtic idea that lies at the root of all Celtic society—"All men not united by blood are enemies or slaves."¹

As the profits of Saintship belonged to the family or tribe, they were naturally careful to know who the members were, and, unless descent could be made out—that is, membership of the family—the person was not allowed to exercise the privileges of the family nor to share in the profits arising from the exercise of those privileges. What is stated in the Pentateuch of the tribe of Levi, the hereditary family of the Jewish priests, was true of every other sacerdotal family of an Aryan tribe. The fate which befell Korah was but an example of the fate that would befall persons not members of the priestly family who tried to usurp its functions. Among the Jews, both priests and lawyers were descendants of Abraham; but the priesthood became hereditary in the one tribe, and only those who

¹ *Early Institutions*, 228.

belonged to it could exercise its privileges; if others ventured to do so, the fate of Korah was held before them as a warning.

The idea of different families having as their patrimony certain trades or businesses is one that is met with in most early societies, and it seems to be the rule that such businesses should become hereditary in certain families, who should be exclusively entitled to carry on such trades or businesses, thus shewing that any person who did so was a member of that tribe or family. The family traditions were at first probably oral, but were subsequently committed to writing, and in later times it became necessary to connect the family with some legendary or heroic ancestor. When the story of Bran was invented it was obviously in the interests of the Latin Church that he should become the founder of a family of Saints. So he is placed at the head of the pedigrees of the Saints. The pedigrees of the Saints are mostly unreliable documents, compiled at late dates and of little historical value, but in the sense now spoken of they are of importance as shewing the hereditary ideas, the notions of family and of kinship which prevailed among the Celts to a comparatively recent date.

Hereditary Saintship was only a form of hereditary priesthood, or, in other words, of proving who the person was who carried on the business of the tribal religion. The Saint or priest was a member of a particular family or tribe, and the records of that family or tribe would, if examined, prove this, and thereby shew his title to act. Unless he could shew them he could not act. The tribeless man, or the man of another tribe or family, could never become a Saint or priest; he would not be entitled to act; he was outside the family circle.

The fact that Saintship is confined to a particular family

or tribe is the first step in the history of the Welsh Saints, and it gives us the explanation of a number of matters, which, regarded from a Latin point of view, are almost unintelligible. Haddan and Stubbs state that out of the twenty-nine Saints whose lives have come down to us, certainly all but two, and probably all, come from, or are connected with, South Wales.¹ At first sight it is difficult to give any reason why South Wales should be so much more productive of Saints than North Wales. If the term Saint was used in the Latin sense it would be inexplicable, but when the Saint is regarded merely as a member of the priestly family or tribe the reason is clear: we have some account of the South Wales tribes, their settlements and their families; the territories of these tribes were confined to South Wales, hence the account of the Saints—of the priests—of these tribes is confined to that district.

A passage in the *Achau y Saint*² states that “there were three stocks of Saints (*gwelygorth Sant*) of the Island of Britain, the children of Brychan, the children of Cunedda Wledig, the children of Caw of Britain.” Of these, the families or tribes of Cunedda and Brychan belong to South Wales. The churches in South Wales that retain the names of Welsh Saints are mostly called after Saints who belonged to one or other of these two tribes. Rees, who deserves the greatest credit as being the first modern writer who endeavoured to treat the Welsh Saints systematically, to shew that their lives were something more than a mere collection of idle legends, puts forward the idea that a church being called by the name of a Welsh Saint implies that such Saint founded it.³ His theory, though ingenious, is open to the objection that it implies that the Welsh Saints, like the Latin, acted not as members of a tribe, but

¹ I, 161.

² *Cambro-British Saints*, 271, 601.

³ Rees' *Welsh Saints*, p. 54.

individually; that they founded churches on their own account, not as members of the tribe of the Saints, on land belonging to or obtained for the tribe.

For instance, the various grants enumerated in the *Book of Llandaff*, show that the Teilo churches represent churches built on land that had become the property of the Monastery of Teilo, not churches founded by Teilo himself. Very ingenious as this theory is its great defect in that there is nothing to shew that the Welsh Saints, as such, ever went about founding churches. Such evidence as there is points the other way, and shews that the great efforts of the Saints were more monastic than missionary. It also seems to have been the case that patron Saints, the invocation of Saints, and the dedication of churches to Saints, were not part of the ritual of the Celtic Church, and did not become the practice in Wales until the arrival of the Latin Church, when some of the churches, notably the two cathedrals of Llandaff and St. David's, were named and dedicated to Latin Saints.

It is also by no means a necessary consequence from what we know that the name of the Saint became connected with the church because the Saint was the founder. If the view that Welsh Saints were members of a class is correct, it would at least be improbable that a church should be called after a man because he was a member of a particular body; but if the members of that body either built the church or took possession of it as part of the property of that body, and thus gave it the name of their tribe, it would be most natural that the church should be called after its owners. This view of the matter explains a circumstance, considered by Rees as remarkable, that there is not in North Wales a single church or chapel dedicated to David,¹ that practically all the churches that bear his name are

¹ Rees' *Welsh Saints*, p. 45.

found in South Wales. Whether there are any churches *dedicated* to him at all, in the modern sense of the word, may be doubtful, but there are a number bearing his name.

If the view already stated is right, that they bear David's name as being built on part of the territory of the tribe of the great Menevian monastery, the reason is plain. No one has ever yet claimed that that house extended its territories into North Wales, hence no church or no part of that territory, nor of the patrimony of David, is to be found there. This view is further borne out by the fact that outside the limits of South Wales and its borders, churches bearing David's name are practically unknown, while in that district more churches are so called than those of any other Saint except the Virgin and St. Michael, both of which belong to another period, and dedication to them depends on other reasons. It is difficult, except on the theory of ownership, to give any reason for the localisation of the David churches—this view at least gives a reasonable explanation of a remarkable fact.

It is also well to remember that if this view is right all idea of the dedication of churches to individual Saints in Celtic times must be given up. If the Welsh did not recognise individuals as Saints they could not dedicate churches to them. Until the ideas of the Latin Church penetrated into Wales the notion of Saints who should be invoked, and should be asked to take under their patronage certain localities, would not arise. This goes to shew that in the establishment of the Latin Church in Wales there was a stamping out of the Celtic religion; the churches were dedicated, the religious ideas changed, the notion of Saints altered from that of membership of a class to that of personal holiness.

This view may lead to the result that some of the dates ascribed to Welsh ecclesiastical antiquities are too early,

and that as we now have them Welsh ecclesiastical matters belong more to the tenth and eleventh centuries than to the sixth and seventh; but the loss is somewhat compensated for by the fact that we get a most important guide to early Welsh history and geography in the names of the churches. They furnish some clue to the locality of the possessions of the tribe of the Saint, and hence of the tribe of the land. Not only do they help us to plot out the properties of the monasteries of Teilo and Menevia, but also of the territories of Brychan and Cunedda. The Lives of the Saints in the *Book of Llandaff* furnish a very valuable key to the extent of the dominions of the petty Welsh princes of Glamorgan. The dedication to Latin Saints also gives a guide to the track of the Norman conquerors, and in this light, working out the system Rees started, and guided by the names of the churches, a most important clue is obtained to early Welsh history, both civil and ecclesiastical.

The fact that the Welsh Saints formed the members of the priestly family or tribe helps to some extent to explain what has always been a puzzle to Welsh antiquaries, how it is that the Welsh Saints are generally most carefully represented to be the result of some illicit intrigue. In that most Bulwerian of all his novels, *The Last Days of Pompeii*, Lord Lytton begins: "In the morning of life the beautiful met with the ideal—the result was love." A very slight adaptation of the passage exactly expresses the normal narrative of the birth of a Welsh Saint: "In the morning of life a Welsh prince met with a maiden—the result was a Saint." Such difficulty arises from not sufficiently considering the Welsh laws.

However strange it may appear to us, there is no doubt that the early Celts ignored the question of marriage, and regarded the fact of paternity as conferring all rights as to

children that among us only follow from marriage. The sons of a tribesman, if legitimate or illegitimate, had all equal rights of succession. "The nexus of the family was not marriage, but acknowledged actual descent from a common ancestor and participation in the common duties and property of the family."¹ If the father admitted the fact of paternity the question of legitimacy or illegitimacy was quite immaterial. The right of succession and the tribal right depended on the fact of a man being the son of a tribesman, not on the fact of his being a legitimate son; and thus the stain, as we should regard it, of illegitimacy which would attach to a person who was the result of such an intercourse as described was not regarded among the Welsh.

The object of the statement as to the Saint's birth is by shewing who his father was, that the Saint was a member of a particular tribe or family; the mention of his mother is only an incident—who she was is only a detail. The fact that illegitimacy was no disgrace does not wholly explain why the Welsh chroniclers seem to do their best to make out, as if it were a mark of distinction, that the Saints were illegitimate. If the stories which go to make up the legend of the Holy Grail are of Welsh origin, then the same fact appears and is put forward in a prominent, almost in a brutal, way; indeed it may be said that the early Welsh gloried in illegitimacy. There seem to be several reasons for this—a simple one may be that it was done out of a spirit of opposition to the Latin Church. She, to her great glory, has always insisted so strongly on the necessity for, and the sanctity of, marriage, that the Celts, in their opposition to the Latin ecclesiastics, might be led to boast of and to glorify their custom that the status of legitimate and illegitimate children was practically the same.

Another and possibly a more correct explanation is drawn

¹ *Ancient Laws of Ireland*, Introduction, iii, cxvii.

from that most curious right of the Irish Celtic Church, the right of firstlings. The Church included in her claim the first-born of a woman if a son. In later times the right was confined to the first-born of a marriage, but probably in its earlier form the right included all children, whether born from a marriage or not. It was very extensively acted upon—it is said to have filled the early Celtic monasteries to overflowing, and so caused that rush of Celtic missionaries to the Continent. Be that as it may, the constant reference to the birth of a Saint being the first-born child (although illegitimate according to our idea) of a Celtic maiden, probably has some reference to this right.

It is obvious it cannot be accidental, it is made of too great importance, and placed too strongly in the front as the characteristic mark of a Saint, to permit any other idea than that this is done intentionally. There may be another explanation—that of conquest. A Welsh chieftain carried off a girl, and either in the shape of a thank-offering, as sacrificing the results of his expedition, or as an expiation and atonement for his deeds, he might offer “the fruit of his body for the sin of his soul”. Or it is possible that in some way—although now it is difficult to trace it—the questionable birth of the Welsh Saints may have had some connection with some religious—probably Pagan—idea.

It must be borne in mind that throughout the Welsh Laws any breach of the relations of the sexes is treated as a matter of payment. The question, on the violation of a woman, is always not whether the man is to be punished but is the woman entitled to be paid? The father also has always a right to his son, who became a member of his father's family or tribe when demanded by the father. Indeed, in Celtic society the question of birth in wedlock was of little importance, and it did not become so until

the country had been permeated by the ideas of the Latin Church.

The Celtic idea was that the important matter was the birth, the wedlock was a mere detail; the Latin Church affixed a stigma to birth out of wedlock. It is some evidence of the antiquity of certain of the Welsh legends of their Saints that the account of their illegitimate birth, as in the case of David, are given as they are. We may feel sure, or nearly so, that when in a legend this is the case, we are dealing with one that has at least a Celtic origin. But when all this has been allowed, and even if the Pagan origin of the idea is admitted, we have yet a good deal to learn on the point, how it is that, among the Welsh, illegitimacy was almost regarded as one of the qualifications for Saintship.

Although the supernatural powers the Saints were supposed to possess were mainly an idea of their Latin biographers, at least in the form in which we have them, even here there seem to be survivals of far older ideas; in one sense there is a further development of the idea already referred to that appears to be common to all Aryan nations, that the chief of the tribe originally possessed the functions of captain of the host, of priest, and of judge. When his priestly rights became the property of a particular family the right to deal with magic—that is, the supernatural—formed a part of the rights that he handed over, and therefore one of the rights or privileges of the priest was that of resorting to supernatural means to enforce his orders, as the priests were supposed to possess the power of invoking supernatural aid whenever it might be needed. In Pagan times they did this by magic, in Christian times by miracles. Something supernatural was supposed to belong both to the tribe of the judge and the tribe of the priest. If a

judge gave an unrighteous judgment, a supernatural power stepped in and punished him. In some cases blotches appeared on the cheeks of the judges if they gave false judgment, and passed away when they gave a true one; in others, the fruit on the trees of the tribe withered and fell off, and the cows refused their calves.¹ Indeed there is some evidence that each tribe or family had its own peculiar supernatural visitation. In the case of the poets, if they spoke falsehood, they ceased to be poets, the reason for their ceasing being also supernatural. They were unable to perform; they were supernaturally prevented from performing the magic incantations by which their minds were rendered prophetic.² Their title to exercise the supernatural right of the tribe was dependent on the question, did they possess the hereditary supernatural powers? It was this idea of a greater or a lesser supernatural power that furnished the reason for Patrick's conversion of Ireland. He could do more wonderful miracles than the Druids, therefore the Chief desired his protection. In later times, when the stories of the adventures of the Saint came to be written by Christian writers, the parallel of various persons named in Holy Scripture must have occurred to them. There still however remained the Pagan tribal idea, that a man who claimed to belong to a tribe or family must prove it by shewing his power to do what that family claimed the right to do, to deal with the supernatural. If he could not give this proof, his claims to belong to the tribe were spurious.

The same idea is found in chivalry. The candidate for knighthood had to do something that proved him worthy to be admitted into the brotherhood of knights. The neophyte claimed a right to be a member of that brotherhood. He had to prove his title before his right was

¹ *Ancient Laws of Ireland, Rolls' ed.*, i, 25.

² *Ibid.*, p. 25.

acknowledged. Turning to the lives of the Welsh Saints the same idea is found. At the outset of his career the Saint has to meet and to encounter some worldly antagonist who especially withstands him, and the triumph of the Saint over such antagonist is the admission of his claim to sanctity. In the case of David it was his encounter with Boia the magician; in that of Brynach, his contest with Maelgwn.¹ Instances might be cited from the lives of the other Saints.

It is true that the recorded instances of the exercise of supernatural powers are sometimes grotesque and sometimes borrowed from Scripture, but the fact still remains that it appears to be essential for a person claiming to belong to the tribe of the Saint to be able to invoke or deal with the supernatural, and this requisite of Saintship seems clearly to be a Pagan survival. As long as supernatural powers appeared to be exercised the people of that day cared little whence the power was derived, whether from a Pagan exercise of magic arts, or a Christian power of working miracles.

This view is thus stated by Sir Henry Maine: "The difference between the Druids and their successors the Brehons would be mainly this: the Brehons would be no longer priests. All sacerdotal or religious authority must have passed, on the conversion of the Irish Celts, to the 'tribes of the Saints', to the missionary monastic societies founded at all points of the island. . . . The consequence would be that the religious sanction of the ancient laws, the supernatural penalties threatened on their violator, would disappear."²

Assuming this view to be correct, it forms a very interesting point in the history of the Celts. First, the chief

¹ *Cambro-British Saints*, pp. 10, 296.

² *Early Institutions*, p. 38.

combines the office of king and priest ; he is the source of everything, therefore back to him all descent is traced ; then the supernatural power departs from him to the hereditary judges or priests ; then the judges lose their supernatural powers, which remain in the sacerdotal family and in that family alone, and the bond of membership in that family implies the existence in the members of supernatural powers.

If the priestly family or tribe was the most powerful of the families that made up the Celtic tribe, it is important to see how its numbers were kept up to the right standard, how its strength was maintained. As already mentioned, the tribe consisted of the descendants of the original founders, and that regardless of their legitimacy or illegitimacy, provided their father was admitted to be a member of the tribe and recognised them as his children. The natural children of a woman whose father did not recognise them seem not to have possessed any, or only very slight, rights.

But birth was only one of the ways by which the tribe was recruited, and another of these ways deserves some notice :— The Celtic system of fosterage—not that fosterage was peculiar to the Celts, but that the rights which under the Celts were admitted to arise from fosterage were greater and more elaborate than those under any other people, as far as is known. The relation of teacher and pupil produced the tie of literary fosterage, which gave rise to somewhat of the same rights as those of father and son. All the pupils became members of the teacher's tribe. He was bound to support them, but they in return brought with them their share in the tribal property of the common fund of the tribe to which they belonged.

So fosterage became a most valuable institution to the Celtic Church, as bringing to it both members and property. There must have been some limitation, though it is difficult

to say what, upon the exercise of this right in practice, otherwise in the golden days of the Welsh monastic schools they would have been overcrowded with pupils. It is not to be wondered at that they soon began to overflow. It is impossible to give any idea of the numbers that this process added to the Welsh monasteries, that is to the roll of Saints. It is enough to say it was one, if not the great, feature of the Celtic Church. It was regarded as one of the privileges or rights the people obtained from the Church, to offer their children to the Church for instruction, or in other words to be made Saints. But on the child being offered, the Church gained an interest in him and his property, so that if the father took him away the Church received not only payment for fostering the child, but also the honour price and body price—the same payment in fact that it would have received had the child died.

The curious part that shews the closeness of the relationship was the way the sum to be paid was fixed, not by any reference to the rank or position of the child, but by reference to the rank of the Church. Fosterage had made the child dead to its own family, it had become a member of the Saint's family; leaving that family caused a death in it, not in the child's own family. So the person who caused the death—the child's own father—was bound to pay the value, not of the child, but of the Saint. The value of the Saint varied according to the rank of the Church of which he was a member. Fosterage was therefore regarded as a complete separation, so complete as to wholly alter the status, that is, the value, of the person.

If he was placed as a pupil in a religious house, the act of the father in taking him away—in turning him from a Saint into a sinner—was regarded as of a most questionable character, even if it did not amount to a crime. The same rules of law applied to the case as were applicable when an

adulterer claimed his child from the husband of its mother. In Celtic societies the idea obtained that a child was an advantage, that the family of the mother's husband had a right to the child until the actual father asserted his claim, the higher right of paternity, to it, and when that was asserted it prevailed. But the assertion caused a death in the family from whence the child was taken, and had to be paid for by the person causing it.

So in the Church, the act of the father in fostering the child made it a member of the Church of the tribe of the Saint until the father asserted the paramount right of paternity—that assertion caused the loss to the Church of a member as death did, and had to be paid for by the person causing the loss as he would have paid if he had caused the death. This was probably one of the great sources of revenue of the Church. Every parent who desired his child to be educated, placed him in one of the monasteries for that purpose, paid not only for his education the fosterage fee, but also when the child left the monastery the same sum as if it had died. The value of the child varied with the rank of the monastery, the unit being the price or value of a female slave, a cumhal, equal to three cows, and the highest price being that of a bishop, or chief professor, seven cumhals, or twenty-one cows. If the figures we have as to the number of pupils in a Welsh monastery are anything approaching to accuracy, it follows that a large proportion of the pupils must have been reclaimed by the parents, so that the amount the monastery would receive would have been considerable.

Another instance of the same principle is found in the rule that if a tribesman is killed and his body is concealed, a fine is payable to the Church of his tribe. He was considered, even in death, as a member of the tribe in whom the Church had rights, namely, to bury him and

receive the fee for it, and if anyone deprived the Church of her right over her members by concealing the body, he was liable to make good to the Church the sum of which his act deprived her.

A further point connected with Welsh Saints is explained by the tribal theory, and by that alone—the absence of females from the list of Saints. It is true that in the lives of the Welsh Saints one or two female names occur, such as St. Winifred and St. Ursula ; it is also true that there is St. Bride. But Winifred and Ursula, if not pure creatures of imagination, are certainly not Welsh Saints. Bride has another history. She is St. Bridget in a Welsh dress, and Bridget was more a creation of necessity than of fact. When the Latin and Celtic Churches came into conflict the Celt found himself at a disadvantage in having no one who appealed to the people in the same way as the Virgin did under Latin teaching. They felt the want of something to excite and to appeal to “the romantic tenderness that loves to rely on female protection”, which furnishes so strong a feature in the teaching of the Latin Church ; and to enable them to deal with this feeling the Celt evolved St. Bridget or Bride.

It was absolutely necessary there should be such a person, and various incidents in her life go to prove this. But, with this exception, the female Saint that plays so important a part in the Latin Church—“the sculptured form that an intense piety half endows with life”—is conspicuous by its absence from the Celtic. The tribe furnishes the reason, and this of itself goes far to prove the tribal character of the Welsh Saints. Both in the Irish and Welsh cases it is abundantly clear that a woman could confer no rights on her child. If the family agreed, or rather did not disagree, to her having an illegitimate child by a stranger, that child became a member of the mother's

tribe subject to the father's right to reclaim it, while, if they did not agree, the child had no rights in its mother's family.

The rule was, a woman could not give a member to a family or tribe without its consent. She could not make a member of the tribe, or confer or transmit any rights. The position may be best stated by saying, there were females belonging to every tribe and every family, but females were not members of either the tribe or the family. Not being members they had not the rights of membership, one of which was, in the ecclesiastical families, of being called a Saint. Hence it is that the Celtic female Saints are so few.

A further peculiarity of the Welsh Saints is the small number that attained the crown of martyrdom. Cadoc did so, but he had settled in England, and had for all practical purposes ceased to be a Welsh Saint. So did Tydvil, and one or two others, but it could never be truly said of the Celtic, as it was of the Latin, Church, *Sanguis martyrum semen ecclesie*. This is also due to the influence of the tribe. The Welsh Saints were not individuals sustaining a conflict with the powers that existed, and occasionally being put to death in the strife. They were part of the body that made up the civil power, which had not arrived at the idea that the scaffold was the best way to settle differences of belief. It was only when a Welsh priest fell into the hands of pirates, or Danes, or heathen Saxons, that he had the opportunity of being martyred. The fact that the Saint was only a member of a family, that there were members of the family of the same opinion, who were willing and able to punish and to enforce payment of the fines due on the death of a member to the tribe, who had also under their control supernatural powers, to be used when required, restrained the Welsh from killing the members of

the tribe of the Saint, even if they had felt inclined to do so, hence it is hardly to be expected that Welsh members of the noble army of martyrs should be a numerous body.

Some of the distinctive features of the Welsh Saints that are recorded in their lives, as we have them, are the following:—

1. The royal or noble descent of the Saint.
2. The fact that most of the Saints belong to South Wales.
3. The birth of the Saint is the result of an illicit intrigue.
4. The ability of the Saint to exercise supernatural power as a qualification for Saintship.
5. The fact that almost without exception Saints are males.
6. The scarcity of martyrs among the Saints.

With the single exception of the possession of supernatural powers which the Latin, equally with the Celt, claimed to be part of the necessary qualifications of a Saint, all the above characteristics of the Welsh Saints not only do not exist in, but are distinctly opposed to, the idea of the Saints of the Latin Church. As the two ideas are so completely different it is almost a necessity that there must be a fundamental distinction between the ideas of a Latin and a Celtic Saint. That distinction is to be found in the fact that the Latin idea of a Saint is personal, so that for this dignity and title all sorts and conditions of men or women are eligible, while the Celtic idea is tribal, so for it the members of the tribe are alone eligible.

The distinction is important, as it marks out the limits of two very different systems of Christianity. Where the rules of the Latin Church prevailed the idea existed that the supreme source of all ecclesiastical matters—law, title, or authority—resided in and proceeded from Rome; that

Latin Christianity was the precursor of Latin organisation. Where the rules of the Celtic Church prevailed, the opinion existed that they were not subject to any external interference—the old tribal organisations, the old family theories, traditions, and prejudices were untouched, and Celtic organisation moulded Celtic Christianity into accord with its habits and customs. In nothing perhaps is the distinction more clearly shewn than in the ideas of the two Churches as to Saints.

It must not, however, be assumed that the Celtic system could not and did not produce men who were fitted to rank on an equality with any Saint of the Latin Church in personal holiness or in any Saintly virtues. Many might be mentioned—one will suffice. Cadoc would have been a glory to any Church, an honour to any system. He combined all the characteristics of the Celtic Saint—royal descent, questionable birth, exercise of supernatural power—with all the qualifications of the Latins. His piety was unbounded, his charity never failed. More of his teaching has come down to us than of any other Welsh Saint, and his principles are so democratic that it is difficult to believe any monastic scribe would have ever invented them.

For instance, speaking to a Welsh prince, Cadoc said: "Remember thou art but a man, there is no king like him who is king of himself." Cadoc the Wise, as he is termed, had one of the greatest reputations of any of the Celtic Saints, not only in Wales, but beyond her borders. In Brittany he remained the patron Saint of Breton chivalry as long as that chivalry lasted. It is said that at the alleged Battle of the Thirty—that most knightly feat of Breton knights—on their way to the combat those knights appealed to Cadoc for aid, and placed themselves under his protection. When they returned victorious from the

strife their first act was to offer thanks to Cadoc, the patron of Breton warriors. Some centuries later, as a British general was leading British troops to complete the conquest of Canada from France, quoting, in the form in which an English poet has preserved in one of the best known poems in our language, the saying of Cadoc, "The paths of glory lead but to the grave", he exclaimed, "I would rather have been the author of that idea than take Quebec".

Cadoc is but one of those men whom we know only in a sea of Celtic legend and anachronism, yet who stand forth as the representatives of a faith, the leaders of a people, the glories of a Church, who prove that even in the strictest Latin sense the early Welsh Saints were real Saints. Although they lacked the Papal sanction they have a better claim to the distinction, for they were Saints by an earlier title, the universal assent of their countrymen; they were holy by a ceremony mightier than canonisation—the common consent of Christian people.

SOME ASPECTS
OF
THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH IN WALES
DURING THE FIFTH AND SIXTH CENTURIES.¹

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“Prima lex historiæ, ne quid falsi dicere audeat, deinde ne
quid veri non audeat.”—CIC., *De Or.*, ii, 15.

A STRANGE charm seems to have been hidden in the difficult questions which range themselves around the first introduction of Christianity into Britain. That dim past has drawn mind after mind to itself in the bold endeavour to compel it to tell something of its story. Regretfully as we put aside this legend and that, which pious minds have woven, to show how an apostle or some “apostolic man” visited these shores, we feel that no one can in truth say who the first Christians of Britain were. The churches are here when we first find any distinct mention of “the faith of Christ”, and we need not now repeat the various conjectures advanced by historians respecting the way in which the Christian religion found, for the first time, a home in our land.

If I put aside all these questions, though feeling to the full the fascination that lurks in them, I do so, partly, because of the larger material we possess for a later period, though it is extremely scanty when compared with that

¹ Read before the Society of Cymmrodorion on the 15th of June 1894, at 20, Hanover Square. Chairman, Mr. W. Prydderch Williams.

available in the case of other countries, but chiefly because I believe I am drawn to a period which is in reality a beginning. I mean *the beginning of a Christian Welsh people*. Schultze, in the Preface to his *History of the Downfall of Græco-Roman Heathenism*, has a sentence which I should wish to keep in mind in all that I may say in this paper. "In truth", he says, "Church history is a History of the World and of Peoples; and the theological element therein is only an attribute of it, not its essence." There are places where theology propounds weighty questions arising from the history of the Church, and where it is meet that men should make an honest attempt to answer them. In this place, however, I feel that I should be committing a serious error were I to regard the history of the Church in any other light than as a part of the history of the Welsh people. I will not deny that the other questions are to me very real and living; but I have also felt for years that a dispassionate study of all that original ecclesiastical records present to us, by the same methods as we study other histories, should precede whatever conclusions we draw in answer to the theological questions that belong to the history of the Church. Difficult as it is for us to sever ourselves from prepossessions, I am myself profoundly impressed with the large amount of solid contributions lately made for workers in this subject, by men who claim very different kinships in the Christian world. We are all becoming better students, and a brisk interchange of mental produce is creating what might be called "a good state" of the intellectual market in the province of Church history. I could wish to treat the subject of my paper as a humble follower of the painstaking students of history in Germany, France, and our own two islands.

More particularly, I have tried to seek constantly the

light that may be afforded by the history, both of the Church on the continent, and of the Church in Ireland. I found this especially advantageous in the attempt to bridge chasms (too often the case!) by conjecture. For there can be no doubt that the difficulty is enhanced by the necessity for thus venturing. But I feel more and more convinced that a wide and familiar acquaintance with the history of the Church in Gaul or in the Frankish kingdom, and of its relation to the Roman Church, as well as with the history of the stirring events of the sixth and seventh centuries in the Irish Church, may supply us with valuable hints, and lead to a right understanding of the course of Christianity among the Welsh people. It may not be amiss to state that the special object of this paper is not to set forth accumulated facts or to describe events, but to arrive at conclusions based on such facts as to some general aspects of Welsh Christianity in the earliest centuries of its existence.

I have said that we are investigating a period that is a *beginning*. Christian churches there were in Britain, undoubtedly, from very early times; yet I have been driven to the conclusion that there was no really British Church, that is, a Church of the native Celtic inhabitants, before the fifth century. The Church, three of whose bishops attended the Council of Arles, was the Church of the resident Roman population, not of the people of Britain. When Hilary Pictavensis, in A.D. 358, writes from exile to his "brethren and co-bishops of Germania Prima and to the bishops of the Provinces of Britain", congratulating himself and them upon their firm orthodoxy in the Arian controversy, he writes to men that were Romans living among a native non-Christian population. Those British bishops (*κατὰ Βρετανίαν*) mentioned by Athanasius as adherents to the faith of Nicea; the three bishops, too poor to travel at their own expense

to the council of Ariminum in A.D. 350; the Christians in Britain referred to by Chrysostom, and the pilgrims to Jerusalem from this island, mentioned by Jerome,¹ were, if I am not mistaken, not men of British blood, but Romans in language and culture, probably also in race.

Warren, in his book on *Celtic Liturgies*—a work to be mentioned with high appreciation—comes to the conclusion “that both elements, the Latin and the Celtic, co-existed in the British Church of the third and fourth century” (p. 158).

From this view I am compelled to dissent. I venture, with diffidence, to bring before you a few of the reasons—for one cannot exhaust the subject in a single paper—that point to the opposite opinion, that a native or Cymric Christian Church is found for the first time not earlier than the fifth century.²

I.

CHRISTIANITY IN BRITAIN BEFORE THE FIFTH CENTURY— ROMAN NOT BRITISH.

1. Hübner, in the Preface to his *Corpus Inscr. Lat.* describes the hold which the Romans had upon the country as almost entirely military. This conclusion, he affirms, is warranted by the *tituli* which the inscriptions bear. Traces of active municipal life, as shown by titles of municipal offices or of collegia, are exceedingly rare. The number of *coloniæ* is small; such as are found are military stations. With a few exceptions, the condition of other towns, or rather

¹ All these references will be found in Haddan and Stubbs, i, 4-10.

² Mr. Haddan, in one of the papers printed in the “Remains”, seems to be inclined to this view.

camps, strongholds, and *mansiones*, situated near the public roads, is almost unknown.¹ Mr. Green, in *The Making of England*, expresses a similar opinion thus: "The result was that the provinces remained a mere military department of the Empire. The importance of its towns was determined by military considerations. . . . It is a significant fact that the bulk of the monuments which have been found in Britain relate to military life. Its inscriptions and tombs are mostly those of soldiers." Further on, he observes, "The cities of the province were indeed thoroughly Romanised. Within the walls of towns, such as Lincoln (Lindum) or York, towns governed by their own municipal officers, guarded by massive walls, and linked together by the network of roads, which reached from one end of the island to the other, law, language, political and social life, all were of Rome. . . . Over large tracts of country the rural Britons seemed to have remained apart from their conquerors, not only speaking their own language and owning some traditional allegiance to their native chiefs, but retaining their native system of law."² One would almost expect him to add, "and their native religion." Were we to confine ourselves to Wales, these statements might be made in still stronger terms. Putting aside the military posts of Isca Silurum, Viroconium, and Deva, we find in Hübner's seventh vol. only *seven* places named that furnish inscriptions, and those contain very meagre information. If to these we add some half-dozen inscriptions found on pieces of lead and copper, or on vessels, we almost complete the signs of the Roman occupation of Wales, given in Hübner's volume. The remark of Bunsen, that Roman civilisation in Britain was simply a *thin varnish* which disappeared quickly upon the departure of

¹ *Corpus Inscr. Lat.* (vol. vii), xviii.

² *The Making of England*, pp. 7, 12.

the Romans, appears to be strikingly true. A French Celtic scholar, M. Loth, says that, "in the fifth century as in the first, Britain is Celtic".¹ The life of the church in the fourth century we know to be chiefly what may be called a town life, and it is very unlikely, under circumstances so prejudicial, that the Roman Christianity spread itself among the Celtic inhabitants any more than the Roman civilisation did.

2. We may also examine the records of that council of Arles, where we have the names of bishops from Britain summoned to it by Constantine. (In passing, I may remark that these should not be called a deputation, or supposed, *as such to have represented* the Church in Britain.) From Germany there came, in answer to the same summons, Agrotius of Trier, and Maternus of Cologne. Now we know that the Germans at that time were heathens, and that the two prelates were Romans, Roman citizens of those great Roman cities in Germany. Is it not natural to conclude that from distant Britain the Roman towns of Londinium, Lindum, and Eboracum furnished, not three Britons, but three Romans, from the intensely Roman life of those places? The names Eborius of York, Restitutus of London, Adelfius of Lincoln, the presbyter, Sacerdos, and Arminius, the deacon, show no traces of British or Celtic origin, such as are common when we examine those found in Christian inscriptions later on. A parallel fact is made very evident in the history of the Christian Franks, as a few pages of Gregory of Tours will show.

3. If we look into the history of Gaul, confirmatory

¹ "D'après ce qui précède, on pourrait déjà conclure avec sécurité que la vie latine et sa plus haute manifestation, le latin, avait disparues de Bretagne avec les troupes romaines."—Loth, *Les Mots Latins dans les Langues Brittoniques*, p. 30.

evidence may be found. Even in the first century Gaul was looked upon as another Italy—"Italia verius quam provincia", says Pliny. On this account the old Celtic religion gave way in the cities before the influence of Roman culture, which introduced the deities of Rome, Greece, and even those of the far East, and erected costly temples everywhere. Massilia, it may be observed now, as it will hereafter concern us to remember, was a city in which Gallic nobles, and even Romans, found a centre of Greek culture and Greek learning. By all this change, which began so early, the path of the new religion was facilitated.

"Yet hardly", I quote from Hauck's *Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands*, "were the cities Romanised in the strict sense of the word, and certainly the surrounding country was not. It was in the nature of things that the Latin language should make itself felt; the Romans were the rulers, and Latin was in consequence the language of administration and law, of culture and society. . . . Under these circumstances Latin could not fail to make constant advances; yet it did not acquire its conquest very quickly, and supremacy it did not gain as long as Gaul was Roman." In the time of Sidonius Apollinarius, who died A.D. 487, the nobility had only lately ceased to speak Celtic; Ausonius, the Latin Rhetor, son of a Greek father, spoke the language; Gregory of Tours, in the 6th century, understood it, and his words imply that the Celtic speech was common in such cities as Clermont and Autun. The language, surviving many changes, was a bar to the spread of the new religion; dying hard, it for a long time formed the bulwark of the old Celtic religion. Of this the *Dialogues* of Sulpicius Severus and his *Vita Martini* give ample evidence, showing how the heathen religion of the Celts prevailed during the years A.D. 375-400 in the neigh-

bourhood of Tours,¹ and of the ways in which St. Martin strove to destroy it. This we find in those parts of Gaul that were nearest Britain. But in the case of Britain itself, and especially in the case of Wales, where there were no great Roman settlements, a far stronger statement seems justifiable than has been found necessary in the case of Gaul. A people so slightly influenced by Rome as the Celtic race here, who never adopted the Latin tongue, cannot but be regarded as holding aloof also from the religion which could come to them only in that language.

4. One other consideration may be touched upon, as it introduces peculiar points of interest. The Christianity of this period appears to have left no trace of a record in Welsh literature or Welsh tradition. The name of Bran is believed to cover some real Welsh tradition; but his connection with Welsh hagiology and, in older form, with the introduction of Christianity, is a fiction of very late date. We know something more about the story of Lucius and his message to Pope Eleutherius in A.D. 167, whereby Britain is said to have been made Christian—king, princes, and people—through the men ordained and appointed by the Pope. The earliest writer to relate the story, so precise in form, yet so impossible, was Bede, who undoubtedly copied it from the *Liber Pontificalis*. No such notice existed it is well known, in the older form of the *Liber Pontificalis*; but it is found in the larger, which is generally accepted as having been written about A.D. 530. Nevertheless, it may be questioned whether *this* paragraph was contained then even in that. We read:—

“Eleuther natione Graecus ex patre Abundio de oppido Nicopoli, sedit ann. XV, m. III, d. ii. Fuit temporibus Antonini et Commodi usque ad Paterno et Bradua. Hic accepit epistula a Lucio, Britannio rege, ut Christianus efficeretur per ejus mandatum.”

¹ *Dial.*, i, 13; ii, 6, 8, 9. *V. Mart.*, 15, 22.

Now the oldest MS. of the *Liber Pontificalis* dates from about the year A.D. 685,¹ and the fiction must be as old as that date. How much older? There are several reasons for differing from the view expressed or implied in vol. i of Haddan and Stubbs, that the interpolation belongs to the time of Prosper of Aquitaine, and that it is quite in character with the drift of his writings. It is hardly possible that Augustine would have left Lucius unnoticed in his conference with the British bishops, had the paragraph respecting him been introduced into the *Liber Pontificalis* at that time. Aldhelm was abbot of Malmesbury from A.D. 675 to A.D. 705; he had been a pupil of the learned Hadrian, and in close intercourse with Theodore of Canterbury, both of whom had been sent over to England from Rome; but to any one reading his letter addressed, at the request of the council of Hatfield, A.D. 680, for the purpose of bringing the British into conformity with Roman usage,² it would appear impossible that the story of Lucius had ever been heard of by him. His tone in that letter is elevated, but there is in the letter, also, clear evidence that he, as well as other men of his time, was enthralled by tradition: and the account given so definitely of the conversion of the British king and nation through Pope Eleutherius in A.D. 167 would certainly have been believed and alluded to by him, had he known of it.

Thus it seems safe to conclude that the story came into existence somewhere between A.D. 680 and A.D. 686 or A.D. 687. Its natural place of birth would be Wales, during the period of schism, though I find it difficult to follow

¹ Duchesne, *Lib. Pont.*, clxxvi. The Editor says:—"Il est impossible de dire jusqu'à quel pape s'étendait le *Liber Pontificalis* contenu dans ce manuscrit; au moins peut-on admettre, en tenant compte des limites du catalogue initial et de la haute antiquité de l'écriture, qu'il n'allait pas au delà du pape Conon." († 687.)

² *Mon. Hist. Germ.*, Epp. III, 231.

Zimmer in his attempts to construct the probable steps of suggestion and pure fiction by which this statement, with its bewildering precision, came into existence.¹ Nennius, in the eighth century, also drew his information from the same quarter, *i.e.*, from the *Liber Pontificalis*, independently of Bede, or from information supplied by his master Elfod, Bishop of Bangor, who was leader in the Welsh Church of the very movement which Wilfrid and Theodore had brought to a successful issue in England.

With Nennius, also, began the habit, which quickly spread, of amplifying this legend, by the addition that Lucius was called Lleufer Mawr. The very name *Lles* (*Lles ab Coel*), as the Welsh equivalent for Lucius, stamps the Welsh story as late. Had it been old, the "c" would have remained non-sibilant, and the name would have taken some such form as *Luc*, *Lig*, or *Lug*.²

There is curious evidence that the church at Llandaf possessed a copy of the *Liber Pontificalis*, because, on p. 26 of the last edition of *The Book of Llandaf*, we have an extract from it in the hand which the editor styles "D_a", and which has given us other extracts. But if the surmise of Mr. Gwenogfryn Evans, in his Preface, be true, the amplification of the simple story of Lucius is due, in the other part of the same book, to that master of romance, Geoffrey of Monmouth. Here the account takes a Welsh form; but the messengers who were ordained at Rome and sent back as missionaries are ELVANUS and MEDIVINUS, whilst in Geoffrey's *Historia Regum Brit.* (iv, 19), they are FAGANUS and DUVANUS.

In the Welsh *Brut* we read, "Sef y danvones attaw deu

¹ Cf. Zimmer, *Nennius Vindictus*, s. 143 ff.; also his remarks on Nennius' independence of Bede, s. 61.

² Cf. *Tegid* (*Tecit*) from *Tucitus*; on the other hand, *Neges* (*Laws of Hywel Dda*), from *negotium*: *Y Cymmrodor*, ix, 170; Zimmer, s. 146.

wr grefydus fydlawn dysgodron a seiledic yn ylan gatholic fydd y bregethu idaw ac y bobyl dyvodedigaeth yr arglwyd iessu grist yg cnawt dyn ac eu golchedigaeth wynteu drwy lan vedyd. Sef oedynt y gwyr hyny DWYWAN a FFAGAN” (*Brut*, p. 100). I need hardly mention how William of Malmesbury has located the whole at Glastonbury, and that even the letter itself, which Lucius wrote to Pope Eleutherius, may be seen in full in Ussher’s *Antiquities*, or in Migne *P. L.*, t. v, p. 1143! These stories can in no way affect opinions derived from other quarters as to the first beginning of Christianity among the Welsh during the fifth century. We may read them as poetry, not as history.

II.

BRITISH OR WELSH CHURCH.

The account of the Council of Ariminum, with the three or more bishops from Britain present, who, on the ground of poverty, accepted the imperial help for the expenses of their journey, closes the history of any common action on the part of Britain with the continent. This stormy council was held in May, A.D. 359.

Hefele, in his *Conciliengeschichte*, mentions nearly a score of Councils held by the Latin Church, between the Council of Constantinople in A.D. 381 and that of Ephesus in A.D. 431; but in none of these, nor, in fact, in any, held up to and including the Fourth General Council (Chalcedon) do we find any mention of Britain, with the sole exception of the Gallic synod, supposed to be held at Troyes in A.D. 429, when it was decided that Germanus of Auxerre and Lupus of Troyes should be deputed to visit this island. Its isolation from the empire, and its troubled fortunes, may

account for this. There may, however, be another reason, and it is one of no small moment—the church was now beginning a new life—it was spreading among the native race.

Before the final withdrawal of the Romans, a few facts meet us indicating a spread of Christianity *among the Latin residents*. Maximus, as *tyrannus*, succeeded in violently securing the title of Augustus while in Britain, A.D. 383. But before his usurpation he considered it prudent to be baptised. We know how common it was to defer baptism in that age; how Ambrose of Milan was elected bishop before he had been baptised, and was consecrated immediately after; or, as Sozomen says, at the same time.¹ To become a bishop without the initiatory rite was impossible. But Constantine the Great had ruled the empire a quarter of a century, and presided over Councils though only a catechumen. When, therefore, we see Maximus shielding his revolt under cover of baptism, it appears probable that Christianity at that time had acquired a position of decided influence in this island; that it was a power which an unscrupulous man thought it best to conciliate. This is confirmed by the later conduct of Maximus, when he entered Italy. Because, with the express object of clearing himself of the imputation of being a tyrant, he declared for a strong conservative policy in the church.² Constantine, the other and more successful *tyrannus*, was also a Christian; his son, we know from Orosius, was a monk (whether in Gaul or in Britain is not said) when his father made him Cæsar³ (c. 407).

The final departure of the Romans, however, is placed

¹ Soz., *N. E.*, vi, 24.

² Soz., *H. E.*, vii, 13.

³ "Adversus nos Constantinus Constantem filium, pro dolor! ex monacho Cæsarem factum . . . in Hispanias misit" (vii, 40. 7).

about A.D. 410. Prefects and other officials were left behind, and we may take for granted that most of the bishops remained with the weakened churches. Now let us mark that in Britain, as on the continent, the Church is gradually compelled to recognize that the Empire is becoming powerless to help it. On the continent, the barbarians broke up the civic life which at that time covered Gaul. Then the Church chose its own way. Taking regard, it may be said, to its own interests, it parted with the Empire. But the interests of the Church were the interests of the human race, and by its care for them, it saved the whole world. The Church, with its superior culture and power of administration, was necessary to the new masters. It mingled with them, and succeeded finally in subduing them.

In Britain we find something similar. The new masters were not a swarm of barbarians from a distance. They were the British race, which hitherto had been the subject one, and had been kept at a distance by the military and oppressive rule of the dominant Latins. Harassed by the pirates on their coasts, the Britons combined in self-defence, but, as Zosimus informs us, ended by "expelling the Roman prefects, setting up a polity of their own according to their power" (Zosimus, vi, 6). The Church in Britain now finds itself placed exactly in the same position as the Church in Gaul. Abandoned by the Empire, face to face with a new power, it fraternised with the heathen Britons, and by its higher culture, by the force of long tradition, added to the influence of religion, taught them rule and gave them guidance. The new Church continued naturally, as in Gaul, the ecclesiastical order and doctrine of the old; but the old carried into the new another potent factor. While the people retained their own tongue in ordinary life, the Church saved the Latin language for worship and teaching. This was, perhaps, inevitable and beneficial on many

accounts. It has at least left an enduring impress upon our language, because most of the genuine Latin words that have embedded themselves in the Welsh tongue are ecclesiastical terms, or such as were introduced in the train of monasticism.

Christian communities begin to spring up in places untouched, or only very partially touched, by Roman civilization, away from camps, or the places where the *castra* had been, away from cities. This was especially the case in Wales. Of this fact we have evidence in the Christian inscriptions. Look at the map in Hübner's seventh vol. of *Roman Inscriptions in Britain*; Wales is almost a blank. Look at the other map which accompanies his *Christian Inscriptions*, and Wales is there dotted all over with marks indicating places where inscriptions—Christian ones—have been found.

We must keep in mind how inadequate this kind of evidence may be. The poor would die and leave no memorial, while the unsettled state of the country would also cause multitudes to disappear unrecorded on any stone. According to Hübner, these inscriptions begin to show themselves about the *middle* of the fifth century,¹ so that, as far as this evidence goes, it is difficult to believe that there were Christian Churches in Wales *before the beginning* of that century. Of 214 inscriptions described by Hübner, we find that Wales has 135, Cornwall with Devon 33, the Isle of Man 1, Caledonia 10, and different parts of England (Yorkshire chiefly) 40. To the above, I think, we may add about 14 additional ones, contained in Prof. Rhys' list, which brings the number of these silent memorials of the past up to 149 for Wales alone, though some are late.

We find on the stones formulæ common in Christian

¹ Hübner, *Inscr. Brit. Chr.*, xvi; Haddan and Stubbs, i, Appendix F. p. 162; Rhys, *Welsh Philology*, Appendix.

epigraphy of the fourth and following centuries: "Hic jacit", "Requiescat in pace", "In hoc tumultu jacit", etc., the monogram of Christ, or A et Ω. "But the absence of favourite symbols found on old Christian tombs, such as the dove and the palm, or of sepulchral formulæ, which in the fifth and sixth centuries had become fixed, and, finally, the form of the monuments, testify to a wide departure from the Mother Church."¹

During the fifth century, we may even at this stage gather, the Church began to spread among the Welsh, though leading a life more separated than heretofore. Yet the visit of Germanus in 429, at the request of a Gallic Synod and the Pope, points to renewed intercourse with the continent.

The second visit paid by him, in 447, more conclusively proves, not only that the "Pelagianism" he was called over to oppose had taken deep root, but also that the Church, in which a heresy calling for such intervention had grown, must have spread widely among the people. *The first thirty years of the fifth century appear to have comprised a period of rapid conversion.* An unmistakeable impression is made upon our minds by a perusal of the *Life of Germanus*, by Constantius, that the Christians were very numerous, and that those who were still heathen, or at least unbaptised, were not disinclined to embrace Christianity.

With the fifth century there came a new power which produced a marked transformation. This was monasticism. As a mighty current of religious fervour during a comparatively short time after the death of St. Martin of Tours, in A.D. 400, it began to win over the best men of the Church in Gaul, and must have entered the British Church some time before the visit of Germanus. Had

¹ Schultze, *Geschichte des Untergangs des Gr. Röm. Heidentums*, ii, 132.

Germanus not found monasticism here, that fact would certainly have been mentioned in the *Vita*, written by a man who had been his contemporary for years. The author of the *Life of St. Sampson*, in fact, mentions a monastery built by Germanus (*Analecta Bollandiana*, vi, 104).

Of the man or men who introduced it we have no knowledge, nor is it known where the first band who lived the common life of monastic discipline settled. It is almost certain that no monk had ever been seen in Britain before A.D. 400. By about 430 it may be taken for granted that the new discipline was rapidly instilling a new life into the Church, a new depth of earnestness, which may account for the apparently quick evangelisation of the country. When I think of this time, my mind turns for several reasons to the South of France, the neighbourhood of Massilia and Lerins, as the district whence the first monks came to Britain. The appearance of "Pelagianism" here confirms me in this opinion, because I am inclined to believe that the doctrine so called was not that of Pelagius himself, but the teaching of a set of men very different in character and attitude in the Church. This was the teaching with which the names of John Cassian at Marseilles and of Vincent and Faustus at Lerins are connected. It has been called Semi-Pelagianism; it might with equal propriety be called Semi-Augustinianism. Now, in the period between the departure of the Romans and the coming of the Saxons (A.D. 410-449) the two visits of Germanus suggest to us that new usages and new ideas are working in Britain, which one is inclined, I repeat, though feeling that I am anticipating somewhat, to connect with South Gaul. It is interesting to enquire whether we have any evidence respecting this time, but anterior to those new forces. I believe we have. There is one writer, who seems to me to be premonastic and non-Pelagian, and who must yet have lived here after the

departure of the Romans. For a while I put aside the question of the origin of British or Welsh monasticism and the character of the Pelagianism of which Prosper of Aquitaine and the biographer of Germanus have left a written record which has influenced the statements of subsequent historians. It may be a pleasing episode to observe the type of Christianity to be found in Britain in the pages of a man who was neither a monk nor a Pelagian.¹ This is Fastidius.

The date of Fastidius has been fixed about A.D. 420, chiefly on account of the place in which his name is found in the *De Viris Illustribus* of Gennadius. Gennadius wrote this book about A.D. 480, and may well be regarded as placing writers of the previous sixty years in correct chronological order. Following the order of his chapters we find this arrangement: In cap. 55, Pope Coelestine, 422-432; in c. 56, Theodorus, a Galatian bishop, who wrote against Nestorius; in c. 58, Cyril, Bishop of Alexandria, 412-444. It seems thus not improbable that Fastidius, named in c. 57, must have written early in the twenties of the fifth century, or about A.D. 420. "Fastidius, Britannorum episcopus, scripsit ad Fatalem quendam *de vita christiana* librum et alium *de viduitate servanda sana et Deo digna doctrina*." In these words Gennadius describes Fastidius as a British bishop, and as the author seemingly of two books, one to a certain Fatalis on *The Christian Life*, and another on *The Preservation of Widowhood*. In reality

¹ Vide Haddan and Stubbs (note B, p. 16): "That Fastidius was possibly not a bishop—wrote one book, not two, and to a widow Fatalis—and that he inclined to Semi-Pelagianism; see Tillemont, *Mon. Eccl.*, art. S. Germain, and the book itself of Fastidius." It is the "book itself" that has led me to entertain an opinion different from the last named.

only one work is known, which was at first printed anonymously with the works of Augustine. In the seventeenth century Holstenius edited the same from a MS. bearing the name of Fastidius without the title "episcopus", but simply "Brito".

It is written in a simple chaste style as an exhortation to an earnest Christian life, without anything of a polemic or dogmatic character. By many it has been declared, upon the strength of certain passages, to show a tendency towards Pelagianism, and to be strong evidence how widely these doctrines had spread in Britain. My reading of the book leads me very strongly to doubt the existence of such an influence, the belief in which is based almost solely upon two passages in chapters 11 and 13. If we place the passage from the 13th chapter, bare of context, side by side with a quotation made from Pelagius, such as the one quoted by the editor of Migne (T. 50), it must be confessed that Fastidius appears to teach a similar doctrine. The quotation from Pelagius runs: "On this account, Adam's sin was held to have injured his posterity, by example not by transmission" (*hinc Adue peccatum exemplo posteris asserebatur nocuisse non transitu*). But in Fastidius we find no syllable about Adam injuring his posterity, nor any denial of transmission of sin. The whole subject seems to me quite foreign to his purpose, and to be treated in a way that really *excludes* the assumption of any reference to the Augustinian doctrine. He means to say that Adam's sin was not unbelief but disobedience. "He *was* condemned (*damnatus est*) because he disobeyed in act, and all *are* condemned (*damnantur*) in the same manner." His object is simply to insist, in a practical way, on the necessity for obedience as well as faith in a good life; for which purpose he contrasts, not example and transmission as means of the propagation

of sin, but want of faith and lack of obedience as grounds of condemnation on the part of God.

In all this he has in view men who while extolling faith undervalue obedience. There is here no Pelagianism. Fastidius counsels the widow, to whom he writes as "a most beloved sister", to be a "holy widow, humble and quiet, to do without ceasing deeds of mercy and righteousness, so that, if possible, no one may ever find her occupied with anything but reading or prayer". Writing to a lady of this character he asks her, in chapter 11, whether she would consider him a Christian in whom are not found the deeds of a Christian life. If such a one come to the church for worship will his prayer be heard in heaven? Then the words of Isaiah, "Wash ye, make ye clean," etc., are quoted. A man must draw nigh to God with a good conscience and with assurance of his innocence. Hereupon follow the words of the prayer, found also, and commented upon as such by Jerome, in the writings of Pelagius.¹ By Fastidius it is simply used to illustrate the words of the apostle, "I will therefore that men pray everywhere, lifting up holy hands without wrath and doubting." This seems to me very far from implying that peculiar Pelagian doctrine which asserts that man can be perfect independently of divine grace.

I find it very interesting to think that in reading Fastidius we are reading a work written and read in ancient Britain, and which may be a picture of the life led there, or of the earnest-minded endeavour after such by many a bishop and in many a household. But he is the last of his kind, belonging as he does to the cultured Roman class or to those who had partaken of that culture. There is no such language as his to be read afterwards in the

¹ *Dial.*, c. *Pel.*, iii, 14; Migne, tom. ii, 611. Quoted by Aug. also as forming ground of objection to Pelagius at Diospolis, *De Gestis Pel.*, c. 6.

writings of the Church of this island. Men of his temper will soon begin to neglect the literature in which they have been trained, if not to despise it, and will seek the retirement of the cloister, in islands along the coasts of Wales, or amid its valleys. The Christian man of Fastidius lives among his fellow-men in kindness and justice to all, poor to the world, rich towards God, imitating Christ in all things. His description of the *tria viduarum genera*, shows Christian widows who would not be found in the retirement of the cloister. A great change is at hand. The rush of a strong movement will carry men of this type, will draw also the women of whom his correspondent was a noble example, to seek their ideal of a perfect life in the rigour, the discipline, and the obedience of a monastery. Fastidius, in this tractate, supplies a picture of the British Church as it was before the time of monasticism and "Pelagianism", or, we may say, a picture of British Christians untouched by either. I quote a good part of cap. 13, in order to show the connection of the first of the two passages commented upon. The whole chapter is a plea for the necessity of good works as well as faith. "Et hoc erroris genere sine metu crimina, nefanda committunt, dum credunt Deum non criminum sed perfidiæ tantum ultorem. . . . Respondeat mihi ille cujus talis est sensus: Adam a Deo factus est homo primus in primo statu mundi, perfidiæ an peccati causa damnatus est" (*Gen. III, 17*)? "In quo nihil fuisse incredulitatis inuenio præter solam inobedientiam, cujus causa ille damnatus est, et omnes suo damnanantur exemplo. Cain quoque non perfidiæ causa, sed quia fratrem interemerat, condemnatus est" (*Gen. IV, 11*). "Quid plura? Universus hic mundus ut diluvis interiret, non perfidiæ causam, sed criminum lego fuisse" (*Gen. VI, 13*).

I append, as a footnote,¹ a short chapter, almost too difficult to make selections from, as showing the idea entertained in Britain c. 420 of a Christian man, a chapter also that could not have been written when

¹ Caput xiv.—“*QUIS SIT VERE CHRISTIANUS*:—Nemo igitur alterum decipiat, nemo seducat. Nisi quis justus fuerit, vitam non habet; nisi quis in omnibus Christi mandata servaverit, partem non potest habere cum illo; nisi quis terrena despexerit, divina non capiet; nisi humana contempserit, non potest possidere coelestia. Nec quisquam se Christianum judicet, nisi qui Christi et doctrinam sequitur et imitatur exemplum. Sed tu illum Christianum putas, cujus nunquam pane ullus saturatur esuriens, cujus potu nullus reficitur sitiens, cujus mensam nemo cognoscit, sub cujus tecto nec advena nec peregrinus aliquando succedit, cujus nemo nudus tegitur vestimentis, cujus pauper nullus fovetur auxilio, cujus bonum nemo sentit, cujus misericordiam nemo cognoscit; qui in multo imitatur bonos, sed irridet potius et subsannat, et pauperes persequi non cessat? Absit hoc a mentibus Christianorum omnium, absit ut hujusmodi Christianus dicatur, absit ut Dei filius possit appellari qui talis est. Christianus ille est, qui Christi viam sequitur, qui Christum in omnibus imitatur, sicut scriptum est; ‘Qui dicit se in Christo manere, debet, sicut ille ambulavit, et ipse ambulare.’ (1 Joan. ii, 6.)”

“Christianus est, qui omnibus misericordiam facit, qui omnino non movetur injuria, qui opprimi pauperem se praesente non patitur, qui miseris subvenit, qui indigentibus succurrit, qui cum moerentibus moeret, qui dolorem alterius quasi proprium sentit, qui ad fletum fletibus provocatur alienis, cujus omnium communis est domus, cujus janua nemini clauditur, cujus mensam pauper nullus ignorat, cujus cibis cunctis offertur, cujus bonum omnes novunt, et nemo sentit praecepta indesinenter meditatur et cogitat; qui pauper mundo efficitur, ut Deo locuples fiat; qui inter homines habetur inglorius, ut coram Deo et angelis gloriosus appareat; qui in corde suo nihil videtur habere simulatum vel fictum; cujus simplex et immaculata est anima, cujus conscientia fidelis et pura est, cujus tota in Deo mens, cujus omnis spes in Christo est; qui coelestia potius quam terrena desiderat, qui humana spernit, ut possit habere divina. Nam his qui hoc saeculum diligunt, et qui in praesenti tempore gloriantur et complacent, audi quid dicitur? ‘Nascitis quia amicitia hujus mundi, inimica est Dei. Et quicumque voluerit esse amicus hujus saeculi, inimicus Dei constituitur.’ (Jac. iv, 4.)”

monasticism had secured the hearts and ears of men for a new call.

4. The next event of this period which claims notice is the visit, or the two visits, of Germanus to Britain, and probably to Wales. My purpose is not to describe either of these visits, but to discuss more general questions that gather round them. These are two in number. In the first place, I believe that some indications will be found here as to the quarter from which the strong tide of monasticism set to our land, and especially to Wales; in the second place, the "Pelagianism" which Germanus was deputed, probably upon a half-friendly visit, to oppose was not the Pelagianism of Pelagius himself, but that of John Cassian, of Vincent of Lerins, and of Faustus, the venerable Bishop of Riez (Reji). The two questions lead me strongly to look towards the celebrated monasteries that clustered around Massilia and Lerins as the cradle, not only of monasticism, but, with it, of other peculiarities of Welsh Christianity.

A brief account of these, for our present purpose, and because of references to be made further on, may not be out of place here.

I have already referred to Massilia as a place where Greek culture flourished. When John Cassian, very early in the fifth century, founded his monastery there, he had travelled much in Egypt and the East, in order to learn in those countries the true secret of the contemplative life. From his two works—*De Institutis Coenobiorum* and the *Conlationes Patrum*—is plain the high esteem in which he held the monastic life as he witnessed it in Egypt; and, owing to the wide-spread influence of the same two books, until the rule of Benedict began to be adopted, the discipline of Egypt came to be looked upon as the ideal form of the ascetic life. Not far off, on the island

of Lerins, Honoratus, smitten with the same love of Egyptian monastic and anchorite asceticism, built a church and cloister. A host of companions joined him, so that other islands were similarly occupied. Here, before long, many of the leading churchmen in Gaul spent some years of their lives, finding there an eminent school as well as a cloister. Vincent, the author of the *Commonitorium*, wherein he sets forth the celebrated canon of orthodoxy "quod semper quod ubique quod ab omnibus", was a monk of Lerins at an early period (c. 420). Lupus, of Toul, who afterwards became Bishop of Troyes, gave up all worldly honour, and his wife, in order to practice asceticism under the discipline of Lerins. Many others might be mentioned, but one, above all, should be named here, who was yet living when Gennadius, in A.D. 480, wrote about him.¹ This man was Faustus, who became Abbot of Lerins in A.D. 433, and afterwards (c. 462) Bishop of Riez. In that station he holds a place eminent for learning and piety, and he is in close intercourse with such men as Apollinaris Sidonius, Eucherius of Lyon, and other men of South Gaul. Engelbrecht may perhaps be said to bring forward good grounds for believing that Faustus was born about A.D. 410, though this makes him somewhat young, only twenty-three or twenty-four, when elected abbot. At any rate he entered the monastery at Lerins before Honoratus, the first founder, had left to be Bishop of Arles in A.D. 426. He comes there, thus, a mere youth, from sixteen to eighteen years of age *and comes from Britain*, as is proved by the evidence of Avitus and Apollinaris Sidonius, collected in Engelbrecht's edition of Faustus.²

After asking ourselves the question whence monasticism

¹ Gennadius, *De viris ill.*, 86.

² *Fausti Opera*, edited by Engelbrecht, Proleg. iv-xi.

was introduced into Britain, and in our answer looking to Gaul as the home, it may be well to remember that the writings of Sulpicius Severus lead strongly to the conclusion that the northern parts of Gaul were developing the system upon the model of St. Martin of Tours. St. Martin is by him contrasted with the monks of Egypt (*Vita Martini*, xvii). "I shall indeed, always, as long as I live and possess wisdom, speak the praise of Egyptian monks. I shall laud anchorites, shall admire eremites. Of Martin I shall ever make an exception. With no monk will I compare him, certainly with no one among the bishops." To Severus the best monk was a follower of St. Martin, and it was felt that under the shadow of his name and discipline there prevailed in North Gaul an ideal of monachism superior to that of Egypt. At Massilia and Lerins, on the other hand, the discipline is copied from the model of the Egyptian and Eastern monasteries. Now, when we read the lives of the Welsh and Irish saints, *the same* attempt to imitate the Egyptian as the ideal monastic life is very frequently mentioned. In this we meet with a trait that seems to have come from the neighbourhood of Massilia, and which we could not well connect with the northern parts of Gaul. "Egyptos Monachos imitatus, similem eis duxit vitam" (*Cambro-Br. Saints*, p. 129).

A study of the language of Gildas and other Celtic writers may also present us with reasons that carry us in the same way to connect the religious life of Wales with these southern monasteries. It is a remarkable fact that Gildas makes use of many Latinised Greek words, and, as was shewn first by Schoell, though now more fully in Appendix G of Haddan and Stubbs, p. 175 ff., corrected the old Latin version from the Greek of the LXX in many places. The life of the Irish saint, Brendan, preserves the tradition of acquaintance with Greek on the part of Gildas in a story which tells us

that the service book for the Eucharist used by Gildas was in Greek. Columbanus is known to be of that second order of Irish saints in whom the influence of Welshmen was at work, through the revival of the Irish monastic institutions in the sixth century. The so-called *Instructiones Columbani* contain short homilies addressed to monks and profess to be by a "disciple of Faustus". Seebass, in an exhaustive study of them, inclines to the belief that in their present form they are the work of a monk originally of Lerins, who added what he had learned from Faustus to genuine important fragments of Columbanus, giving to the whole their present arrangement.¹ In these *Instructiones*, called after the name of the great Irish missionary, but in their main bulk originating at Lerins, we find exactly the same peculiarity as in Gildas. The Welshman has such Greek words as "ampibalus", "barathrum", "epimonia", "zelus", "thesaurizo", "catasta", "organa", "plasma", "phantasia" (= superbia), etc., the *Instructiones*, "agon", "clibanus", "ergastulum", and several others.

Some Irish MSS. of the Latin New Testament shew singular evidence of emendation by comparison with the Greek of such texts as that of Codex B. This characteristic I have found also, in a very striking way, in two *Vitae*, one probably Welsh at first, though rewritten with additions in the ninth century in Brittany, the other the *Vita Cadoci* of our own collection of *Lives of Cambro-Br. Saints*. These seem to show an attempt to assimilate the Latin text of quotations to the original Greek, where words had been omitted in the Latin version. The *Life of St. David* again frequently styles him "David agios" (*ἅγιος*) for *sanctus*, though a few continental instances may be found of the same usage.² More matter bearing upon the knowledge and study of

¹ *Zeitschrift für Kirchengesch.*, xiii, 4, *Instructiones Columbani*.

² Ducange under *Agios*. Caspari (*Quellen*) mentions the use of the word in the Liturgy as peculiar to South Gaul.

Greek in Wales, and especially in Ireland, might be advanced, but I think that what has been stated leads us, in this respect also, to connect Wales in some way with those monasteries in the South of France where the Greek language and Greek theology pre-eminently flourished.

When Faustus, who was a British youth, and, judging from what Apollinaris Sidonius says, the son of a noble and saintly mother, was eager to enter a *schola monasterialis*, he was sent to Lerins. This occurred at the very time when monasticism was beginning to make a home in Britain, since Faustus was born sometime between A.D. 400 and 410. At such a time the monks would naturally recommend the very place with which they themselves were connected. From Apollinaris Sidonius¹ we learn that a fellow-countryman of Faustus, of the name of Riocatus, who was bishop and monk (*antistes ac monachus*) made two visits to that part of Gaul c. 450. Faustus sends with him to Britain two of his works, perhaps, as Zimmer thinks, the *De gratia Dei* and *De humanæ mentis libero arbitrio*. (These titles are significant.) One conclusion alone appears natural: this is, that the original cradle of that new life of the Church which completed the evangelization of Wales is to be sought on the south coast of Gaul. Such a conclusion leads to others also.

Besides the knowledge of Greek, the Church in this country might also derive forms of doctrine or of ritual from the same fresh centre of influence. Such seems to me to have been the doctrine named Pelagianism, which Germanus was sent over to contend against. Our information on this point we owe to Prosper of Aquitaine and to the author of the *Vita Germani*, from whom Bede has borrowed his marvels. Ussher refers to Col-

¹ Apollinaris Sidonius, *Mon. Germ. Hist.*, viii, 157.

latio xiii of John Cassian, "in which he followed the first artifices of Pelagius (*primas Pelagii artes*), not under his own name, but in the person of the abbot Chaeremon, and cunningly put forth an indefinite opinion concerning grace and free will". In these words Ussher speaks as Prosper felt and spoke when he attacked John Cassian and others as "Pelagians". The same views or similar ones were also held by Vincent of Lerins, and Faustus (of British birth), successively, as we have said, abbot of Lerins and bishop of Riez. These men were strong upholders of the discipline of the Church and its doctrines, ardent monks of saintly lives. More than this, they were themselves disciples of Augustine and, though named semi-Pelagian for the first time in the Middle Ages, might with equal justice be styled semi-Augustinians. On the question of Free Will and one part of the doctrine of Predestination they differ from the great African teacher. As men nurtured in the theology of the Greek fathers, the theology of Augustine appeared to them *new* and unsupported by tradition, of which we have an indication in the title of Vincent's work, *Commonitorium pro Catholicae Fidei Antiquitate*. Now Prosper regards the old Pelagianism as dead, yet he roundly styles Cassian, or the Collator as he calls him, *Pelagianus*, and his doctrine *pestifera*. The old Pelagianism was indeed dead since A.D. 418, even since A.D. 410 or 412. Pelagius, who first appeared at Rome about A.D. 400, and his friend Coelestius, are heard of chiefly in the far east. "The Pelagians", Harnack says, "nowhere succeeded in forming a sect or schismatic party."¹ Rome, Carthage, and the East were the scenes of the teaching that caused such commotion in the Church; we have no reason to believe that any attempt was made to spread it further West. "Quid cineres extincti dogmatis refovendo, deficientis fumi

¹ *Dogmengesch.*, iii, 169.

nidorem in redivivam flammam conaris colligere.”¹ So does Prosper expostulate with John Cassian for “rekindling the ashes” of a fire that had gone out; the doctrine of the real Pelagius was dead; why bring it to life again? Cassian had written the *Collatio xiii*, according to Ebert, c. A.D. 428 (and Ussher gives nearly the same date—A.D. 426), but would undoubtedly have caused his views to spread some years previously. There was, thus, time for those doctrines, which accepted the leading Augustinian teaching, while rejecting others regarded as extreme, to spread in Britain, supposing the British monks to be in constant intercourse with the monks of Massilia and Lerins. Ebert finds signs of three editions of Prosper’s *Chronicon*, the 1st, of events down to A.D. 433, the 2nd, of events to A.D. 445, the 3rd, of events to A.D. 455. If this be true, Prosper may have written the notice of Germanus’s visit before his own visit to Rome in A.D. 432. In the year A.D. 429, Agricola, a Pelagian, son of Severianus, a Pelagian bishop, is said by him to have corrupted the Churches of Britain “by the introduction of his own doctrine.”² Against

¹ *Contra Coll.*, ii.

² *Chron.*, A.D. 429, Migne, p. 595 :—“Agricola Pelagianus, Severiani Pelagiani episcopi filius, Ecclesias Britanniae dogmatis sui insinuatione corrumpit. Sed ad actionem Palladii Diaconi, papa Coelestinus Germanum Antiodorensem episcopum vice sua mittit, et deturbatis haereticis, Britannos ad catholicam fidem dirigit.”

“LIBER CONTRA COLLATOREM, Cap. xxi :—Nec vero sequiore cura ab hoc eodem morbo Britannias liberavit, quando quosdam inimicos gratiae solum suae originis occupantes, etiam ab illo secreto exclusit Oceani, et ordinato Scotis episcopo [scilicet Palladius], dum Romanam insulam studet servare catholicam, fecit etiam barbaram Christianam.”

Prosper’s idea of the way in which controversies of this kind were to be brought to an end may be seen from the following (*Contra Coll.*, xxi) :—“Igitur, hujusmodi hominum pravitati, non tam disputationum studio quam auctoritatum privilegio resistendum est; ut de prostrati dudum dogmatis corpore nullum membrum sinatur assurgere.”

this "heresy" Pope Coelestine and the Gallic Council send Germanus, bishop of Auxerre. With him went, as we know from other sources, Lupus bishop, of Troyes, who had himself been at Lerins, and was, before the separation (by mutual consent) between him and his wife, brother-in-law to Hilary, bishop of Arles, another of the semi-Pelagians. A Pelagian bishop, such as Severianus is said to have been, could hardly be found anywhere, when Prosper wrote, except in South Gaul, near the other men so called by him; and the son, Agricola, might be a monk, or, since the *Epistle* of Coelestine to the bishops of Gaul takes for granted that the "Pelagians" were presbyters, whom they ought to correct, he might be a monk-presbyter. As such, he was free to travel, and, if my conjecture be correct, carried the tenets of John Cassian and the others to the Celtic Churches. A MS. quoted by Ussher¹ has some startling notices. Germanus and Lupus received, it is there said, the "cursus Gallorum", that is, the mode of reciting the Psalms at the different hours, from John Cassian and the Fathers of the Monastery of Lerins.² These "courses" they followed, we are told, in their own churches and preached "in Britanniiis vel Scotiis". When we place before our minds this tradition of *some* connection between Germanus and the men of Massilia and Lerins, remembering also the close relation of Lupus to other disciples of Lerins, some of whom were leaders in the new Pelagianism, as well as the high reverence in which several of them were held in Gaul, it would not be rash to conclude that the mission of Germanus and his co-bishop was in part a friendly one. They were sent as out and out disciples of Augustine to win over others who were partly, though not fully, his disciples, men who,

¹ Vol. v, p. 394, or c. xi.

² *Cursus* in this sense is also found in Columbanus, "Regula Coen", cap. vii.

strictly speaking, were Pelagians only in the sense in which disciples of Faustus were so called at the council of Orange, a hundred years later (A.D. 529), on account of their views respecting "grace and freewill".

III.

END OF CENTURY V TO END OF CENTURY VI.

1. Without referring to those events which caused the withdrawal of the British to the most westerly parts of the island, I shall now endeavour to bring out some features of the Christianity which prevailed in Wales from the end of the fifth to the end of the sixth century. The name *Britannia* is found, after the encroachment of the English, to mean those parts where the Celtic race dwelt, but, in a more limited application, it is frequently used for Wales alone. For instance, Asser, in recounting his journey from the court of King Alfred to St. David's, says that he travelled "from Saxony to Britannia". The beginning of such an application of the term may be found, I think, in Gildas,¹ and henceforth, therefore, I shall use the words Wales and Welsh. One would gather from the pages of

¹ About A.D. 540, Gildas was born, as he himself says (§ 24), in the year of the battle of *Mons Badonicus*. Beda understood him further to say that this took place 44 years after the coming of the Saxons into Britain, though most English writers have followed Ussher in another interpretation of the clause, so as to bring down the birth of Gildas near the date given in the *Annales Cambriae*, i.e., A.D. 516. The latter view, however, is, on apparently very good grounds, regarded as untenable by several. Gildas wrote when Maelgwyn Gwynedd was alive, and Maelgwyn died about A.D. 547. Finian also, to whom Gildas wrote, as Columbanus relates, died in A.D. 549. The date of Gildas' work might thus be about A.D. 540. The new edition by Mommsen places his birth before 504—"certe ante a. 504"—(p. 5).

Gildas that all Wales was at his time Christian, and its Christianity old enough to be described by him as fallen into decay. Coroticus, to whose subjects St. Patrick wrote his *Epistola*, is frequently taken to be a Welsh prince, the chief of Ceredigion. Being evidently a Christian, he is regarded by Schoell and others as affording proof how far Wales had been Christianised early in the fifth century. But the *Epistola*, as I read it, places Coroticus *in the neighbourhood of the Picts*, and his subjects were fellow-citizens of St. Patrick himself, so that the saint was writing to North British Christians. This view is that taken by Sir Samuel Ferguson in *Trans. of R. I. Acad.*, Dec. 1885. Though the documents we possess for the most part lead us to regard South Wales as the land of saints pre-eminently, yet the scanty early references that have come down to us convincingly prove that North Wales was in the same way covered by the Church, by its monasteries, and, ere long, by the lonely cells of anchorites. Maelgwyn Gwynedd we know to have been a Christian of a kind, and at one time even a monk, whilst many ecclesiastical traditions found in writings of the age of the Welsh *Vitae* cluster around his name. Unfortunately nearly all that we could have to depend upon, such as the Life of Kentigern, the Lives of Cybi, the references to Bardsey island, to Beuno, to Daniel, in the *Book of Llandav*, etc., are late. Nevertheless, there can be no reason for rejecting the widely-spread and strongly attested tradition which is implied in these documents, together with such an account as that given by Beda of the great Bangor monastery in Denbighshire. North Wales, we may believe, was Christian, and its Christianity shows exactly the same features as are met with in South Wales.

2. No question as to the spiritual and intellectual life of this Church, which now covered the whole of Wales, can

precede that respecting the form in which the Scriptures came to them. Since knowledge is made more clear and interesting by facts indicating contrast or similarity, I shall try to point out briefly a few peculiarities in the Scriptures used, on the one hand, in Gaul, on the other, in Ireland. For this purpose I shall avail myself of the able assistance afforded by a very complete book that appeared last year at Paris from the pen of M. Berger.¹ In this work the author gives some particulars respecting the version used by St. Avitus of Vienne, who died A.D. 517, and by St. Gregory of Tours, bishop of that place from A.D. 573 to A.D. 594. Few churches, it seems, possessed what was then called a *Bibliotheca*, that is, as we should say, a "Bible", in a complete volume. It was used in separate parts, such as the Prophetæ, the Evangelium, the Apostolus, and these are found to show striking differences as to versions. St. Avitus seems to have employed in the Prophets, with a very few exceptions, the Vulgate text. In the books of Kings, on the contrary, and Job, as well as the Psalms, the Old Latin is used, whilst the Pentateuch and Proverbs are quoted alternately after both, with an approach to a constant use of a text absolutely Gallic in character. But in the New Testament not a single quotation is made from the Vulgate. M. Berger explains this by the evident superiority of Jerome's new translation of the Old Testament over the previous versions, while the New was simply a revision not differing materially from the ancient texts used in Gaul. Gregory of Tours shows almost the same peculiarities in his quotations as Avitus; and the conclusion is arrived at, that in Gaul certain books of the Old Testament were only used in the version of Jerome or the Vulgate, but that the

¹ Samuel Berger, *Histoire de la Vulgate*, Paris, 1893.

rest of the Bible, and particularly the whole of the New Testament, was ordinarily quoted from the ancient texts.

It is extremely unfortunate for us Welshmen, in such an enquiry as this, that not a single ancient MS. of any part of the Bible, Greek or Latin, has been preserved to us that is pronounced to be the work of a Welsh school of copyists. We often wish there were some intimation somewhere that Welshmen of the fifth, sixth, or seventh centuries possessed parts of the Bible in *their own* tongue; but what evil fate has brought it to pass that Irish MSS. of the *Greek* or *Latin* Scriptures may be found in the great libraries of Europe, but not a single ancient Welsh one? It is perhaps barely possible (?) that the *Book of St. Chad*, though classed with Irish MSS., may have been written in Wales. Startling discoveries have been made lately. It may be that the near future may make us acquainted with a Greek or Latin codex copied in some Welsh monastery, so as to furnish us with more direct evidence of the form in which the Bible was known among our countrymen before the beginning of the Middle Ages, or before the Church in Wales entered into the membership of the Mediæval (*i.e.* Roman) unity. This unity, which is so great a fact in the history of the Church in Western Europe, with its one centre of guidance and authority at Rome, tended to obliterate all peculiarities.

When M. Berger comes to treat of the Scriptures in the Irish Church, he notices the fact that nearly all the MSS. found are those of the four Gospels. Only one whole New Testament is known, and four MSS. of St. Paul's epistles; of the Old Testament only a few Græco-Latin fragments. In the way of quotations, those made by St. Patrick are all from the Old Latin text, but from the sixth century the Vulgate begins to show itself more and more, and the texts become what are called *mixed*. It is now regarded

as well-established that there was a peculiar form of the Old Latin which is named British or British-Irish. The codex of the Gospels used at Llandaf (now called the *Book of St. Chad*) at the end of the seventh century, or beginning of the eighth, has this type of text. The *Codex Usserianus*, edited by Dr. Abbot, and a fragment preserved at St. Gall are specimens also of the same. Two valuable MSS., now at Trinity College, Dublin, *The Book of Armagh* and *The Book of Mulling*, show a unique text with mixed and conflate readings. The second has, with respect to certain passages, been the subject of a somewhat keen difference of opinion. English scholars, especially Dr. Wordsworth and Dr. Sanday, think that in such passages as Luke x, 42, the MS. has been emended by comparison with the Greek of a very ancient and good text, such as that of B, but M. Berger dissents from this view. I shall return to this presently. Now, when we come to Britain, Fastidius and Gildas present unmistakeable instances of the ancient text called the British-Irish, but to both, with more than a century between them, the Vulgate is known. About the year A.D. 540 the Vulgate has so far penetrated as to replace the ancient version in several books, and in other books to cause many changes. In those least employed, such as Chronicles, Job, Proverbs, Ezekiel, and the Minor Prophets, the ancient version is preserved, but in those oftener read, both of the Old and New Testaments, the Vulgate has made good its position in the Bible of the Welsh people. The pages of Haddan and Stubbs, containing Appendix G, are full of interesting details with respect to Gildas. He appears in many places to have corrected or changed, in conformity with the Greek, the text of the passages quoted. It seems thus evident that the *Greek* Scriptures and probably other Greek books were studied in the Welsh monasteries.

Another interesting fact may be added in this connection. The passage referred to above in *The Book of Mulling* contains the words addressed by Jesus to Martha at Bethany, and here, as M. Berger says, we find a reading well-known in Greek *but which is quite unknown in Latin*: "Paucis vero opus est vel etiam uno."¹ This is the reading adopted in the Greek Testament of Westcott and Hort. However, in going through the *Vita Pauli Leonensis*, which is also founded on an earlier *Life*, that may well have been written by a Welshman, as it contains some Welsh names of places, I found this very reading, a reading, M. Berger asserts, not found in any Latin codex except the *Book of Mulling*. This *Vita* has been lately printed for the first time from two independent MSS. One cannot help feeling that in such a fact, together with the others mentioned, there is probable evidence of acquaintance with good Greek texts of the New Testament, not only in Ireland but also in Wales.

We regret that no evidence is found of a vernacular version of the Scriptures being used in the services of the Church in Wales,² yet the public teaching and preaching was carried on in Welsh. The old Roman

¹ "Few things are needed or even one." (Luke x, 42.)

² A passage in Bede's *Historia Eccles.*, i, 1, has some bearing on this point:—"This island at present, according to the number of the books in which the divine law has been written, *studies and confesses* (scrutatur et confitetur) *one and the same knowledge of the truth and of that which is really highest, in the languages of five peoples, that is the languages of the Angles, Britons, Scots, Picts, and that of the Latins, which by meditation in the scriptures has become common unto all the rest* (quae meditatione scripturarum caeteris omnibus facta est communis)."

The Welsh, according to this statement of Bede, used the Latin Bible, but employed their own language in teaching and preaching, with which the author of the *Vita Samsonis* agrees, so far as to represent the saint preaching to the people in their own language.

Church left for our forefathers as a legacy, and a rich one, no doubt, the Old Latin version, and this, before long, underwent many changes here and in Ireland, when, at a later period, as has been said, there came in, with steady conquering step, the version of Jerome from the new Roman Church.

3. One sees here an illustration of what occurred on a wider stage. The old Church bequeathed to the Welsh, also, its own form of Church life, its ministry, worship, sacraments, and doctrine. It seems to me impossible to doubt that there prevailed in Britain, and afterwards among the British in Wales, the same forms of usage, discipline, and doctrine as were to be found in the Gaul of the fourth and fifth centuries. Although with respect to these the Church passed through that strange stage in which slow change as well as strong conservatism are contemporary, yet the influence of Rome at last prevailed, and brought about a disappearance of certain aspects of Church life no less striking than the replacing of the old Latin version by the Vulgate. Nothing more need be said here than that the form in which the Church everywhere then existed, as to the organisation of its ministry, must have existed in Britain also; it had bishops, presbyters, deacons, also subdeacons, exorcists, lectores, etc. It was almost impossible for it to be otherwise. But let us examine the manner of life and work which the times imply for these. Under the Roman Empire the Church, for the most part, was a town institution. The bishop's *parochia* or charge was the *civitas*. Because a place was a town or city, there the bishop lived, surrounded by presbyters, deacons, subdeacons, etc. In this way, where cities were numerous, bishops also were numerous, so that Bingham counts between twenty and thirty bishoprics within an area of sixty modern miles in Latium, and 147

in "the realm of Naples".¹ Countries such as Gaul, and especially Germany, with few cities or towns, show a proportionately smaller number of bishops. Wales, however, in the fifth and sixth centuries was a country with only villages.

In those other countries we find a double development, exercising, perhaps, an influence equally productive of good, though existing in other parts at an earlier period. This system appears for the first time in Gaul not earlier than the fifth century, as may be learnt from the facts produced by Duchesne on p. 89 of his *Fastes Episcopaux de l'ancienne Gaule* (1894). On the one hand, the bishops of a province were united together under their metropolitan, and so made stronger for the maintenance of unity of discipline and doctrine. Yet, perhaps no step helped the work of the Church, in its service to all, more than the division of the country under presbyters having charge of separate and independent churches. The city or town character of episcopacy was in this way abandoned. Hitherto the bishop as chief pastor, the presbyters, the deacons, and others, had constituted one body, which lived in the neighbourhood of the church, and though there might be more than one church under his care, yet certain rites, such as baptism could only be performed in the church which had the bishop's chair or cathedra. But, with the change or development referred to, churches without bishops began to multiply, having a separate existence as new *parochiae* upon the model of the mother church, in charge of a presbyter assisted by other presbyters, by deacons, subdeacons, lectores, ostiarii, though subject to the jurisdiction of a bishop. These are generally met with during the sixth century, and, by the further splitting up of presbyterial *paro-*

¹ *Works*, vol. iii, p. 351; c. ix, 5.5; also c. ix, 8.

chiae into others, new means of preaching and instructing the people were multiplied, with the immense advantage, particularly as regards discipline, of the presence of the presbyter. Now, in Wales, the Church, I believe, had neither metropolitans, to unite its bishops, nor *independent* presbyters in charge of churches, for the further propagation of the work under the oversight of the bishop. Gregory carefully defines the relation of Augustine to a Church having metropolitans, such as that of Gaul, but he makes "all the bishops of the Britains" (*Britonum omnes episcopos*) subject to the new English metropolitan. Such a man as Gregory the Great would hardly have done this, had there been among the British even the semblance of the metropolitan system. Gildas, also, would certainly have found cause of complaint among such a clergy as he describes, had disobedience as to metropolitan authority been possible. But, moreover, Wales was a country without towns, or at least towns of any importance.¹ Of the almost complete absence of any mention of Dioceses, Provinces, Archbishops, in the Irish Canons, even in the seventh century, we are reminded by Wasserschleben.² When we read in early *Lives* that St. Patrick consecrated 365 bishops and 300 presbyters (whom the Tripartite *Life* sets down as 370 and 500 respectively), our conclusion is, and more definite it ought not to be, that the number of bishops in the rising Irish Church was exceedingly large. Look down to the twelfth century and we find St. Bernard, in the *Life of*

¹ Giraldus Cambrensis, *Camb. Descr.*, c. 17.

² "Auffallend ist es, dass die Sammlung nur sehr spärlich Bestimmungen aufgenommen hat, welche die kirchliche Verfassung und die Gliederung der Organe für die kirchliche Jurisdiktion regeln. Die Organisation der Kirche in Diözesen und Provinzen, das Verhältniss der Bischöfe, als Leiter der ersteren, zu den Erzbischöfen, als Häuptern der Provinzen, ist nur selten berührt."—Wasserschleben, *Die Irische Kanonensammlung*, xxxvi.

Malachias, stating that there were in Ireland almost as many bishops as there were churches (*ita ut singulae pene ecclesiae singulos haberent episcopos—De vita Mal.*, c. 10). Anselm, before 1119, writes to King Muirchertach, "it is also said that a bishop in your country is elected at random, and appointed without any specified locality for his office, and that a bishop is ordained by one bishop, just as any presbyter."¹

Of Wales we have no definite statements of this kind, but there is every probability that its Church order became in time one of like character, that is, bishops in it would be as numerous as the churches, or might even be without the oversight of any *fixed* charge, *i.e.*, without the *certa parochia et populus*. Gildas seems all along to imply this as to number, though in his work the bishops are in no way represented as occupying the position described afterwards by Beda as "ordo inusitatus". They have their *parochiae* (c. 67), some buying their preferment, others ordained by men who had similarly obtained their places, others going beyond sea when refused at home. He speaks in ch. 66 of "very many ministers" (*quam plurimi ministri*), of "many bishops" (*multi sacerdotes irruentes*); of whom some are unclean, usurping the see of Peter (*sedem Petri apostoli usurpantes*), and, after usurping the throne of the bishop or presbyter, never sitting in it (*nec ibidem usquam sederunt*). Nevertheless he will acknowledge that all the

¹ Usher, *Sylloge*, Ep. xxxvi.—"Item dicitur, episcopus in terra vestra passim eligi, et sine certo episcopatus loco constitui: atque et uno episcopo episcopum, sicut quemlibet presbyterum, ordinari. Quod nimirum sacris canonibus omnino contrarium est: qui eos, qui taliter institui sunt aut ordinati, cum suis ordinatoribus ab episcopatus officio deponi praecipiant. Episcopus namque nisi certam parochiam et populum, cui superintendat, habeat, constitui secundum Deum non potest: quia nec in saecularibus nomen vel officium pastoris habere valet, qui gregem, quem pascat, non habet."

bishops are not so (c. 69) and that even the good bishops are *many*. The whole tenour of the second part of Gildas leaves the impression upon our mind as we read it that in his time, which may be before A.D. 550, the *parochiae* and the bishops who had, or ought to have, oversight of them were exceedingly numerous. Varying well-known words of Ignatius, we might say of that time—"Wherever the people are, there the bishop is." This was the case, we should remember, at a time when the churches that have since become diocesan sees (*episcopi sedes*) had but recently, if at all, begun their first life as simple monasteries, of which the abbots were, or might be, bishops. When we read the lives of Welshmen who crossed to Armorica in the sixth century, we are struck at finding so many of them to be bishops. Sent by no one, invited by no authority, they traverse the new country as preachers, impelled simply by their missionary spirit. Most of them found monasteries, where they exercise episcopal functions, seemingly on their own personal initiative. These monasteries, in time, became centres of regular ecclesiastical life, but at first they were simply places where a wandering missionary bishop, along with a number, sometimes very large, of followers, chose to settle. Ninnoca arrives in Armorica accompanied by four bishops. Maclovius (St. Malo), after being the disciple of Brendan in the monastery and amid the traditions of Gildas himself, was bishop somewhere in Gwent before he crossed over to build the monastery of Lanaeth of which he was abbot, where, while abbot, he was reputed to have become the first bishop of St. Malo. This was somewhere between A.D. 575 and 580.¹

An illustration of the way in which the powers of the episcopal office were exercised, is given us in the case of Paul

¹ Cf. Loth, *L'Émigration Armoricaine*.

Leonensis. When he felt himself pressed by old age he appointed Iahoevius bishop in his stead (*ut pro se episcopatus officio fungeretur*). The new bishop died at the end of twelve months, when Paul chose another, Tigernomaglus, for the same office. He also, after serving a year and a day, departed to his rest, and a third time the aged bishop appointed a third disciple, Cetomerinus, to minister instead of himself (*ut pro se ministraret*). [*Vita in Anal. Boll.*, i p. 252]. This would have been a strange procedure anywhere else in Gaul, outside a Welsh monastery. With these emigrants it was the ordinary custom—it was, we gather, the custom of their native country.

Equally “uncanonical” is the procedure unconsciously described in the *Life of Teilo*, which represents him as of his own counsel consecrating Ishmael (Ismael), and sending him to have the care of the church of Menevia, “because Dewi had migrated to the Lord”. But “many other men of the same order he raised to the episcopacy, sending them throughout the country and distributing *parochiae* to them as was convenient for clergy and people.”¹ We notice in this account the one simple fact that somehow there were in the sixth century a great number of bishops in the neighbourhood of Llandaf. In the *Life of Dewi Sant* Patrick is pontifex in Wales, while Gwislianus is a bishop who lived with Dewi as a brother monk. Dubricius, in the *Vita Samsonis* and in the first part of the *Liber Llandavensis*, is a bishop, but no place is named as his see. It is only in the later portions, written, as the last editor thinks, by Geoffrey of Monmouth himself, that we find him bishop, even archbishop, of Llandaf, and consecrating, among others, Daniel, to be bishop of Bangor. Aldhelm, at the end of the seventh century, speaks in the same strain when he refers to bishops of Dyfed (*Demetarum sacerdotes*), and the

¹ *Book of Llandav*, Gwengfryn Evans, p. 115.

Dimetian code of Hywel Dda's laws (A.D. 928) mentions with details, seven bishop-houses in Dyfed (*Seith escobty y syd yn Dyvet*), styled also in the Latin *Leges Wallicæ, domus episcopales, sedes episcopales, sedes*, and in Welsh *eistedva-eu*.¹ Beuno (?), Trillo (Terillo), Tydecho, appear also, in that part of the laws, as if they were bishops enjoying exemption from trial upon the same conditions as the bishop of Menevia. No doubt the "seven score croziers" (*seith ugeint baclawc o archesgyp ac esgyp*)² said to have been present at the Ty Gwyn ar Daf (Whitland in Carmarthenshire) when Hywel Dda framed his laws, though appearing in two codes, is open to suspicion because of its very precision. It conflicts also with the equally precise statement that the three bishops of Menevia, Asaph, and Bangor accompanied Hywel to Rome for confirmation of the laws. But inconsistencies occur in the enumeration of *these* bishops: according to two of the codes, they are the bishops named above, but according to another, and in the *Bruts*, they are the bishops of Menevia, Bangor, and Teilaw, whilst Anastasius, the Pope they are said to have visited, had been already dead more than a dozen years, that is since A.D. 913!

The mere mention of a large number of "Archbishops and Bishops", or, as the Latin puts it, "omnes Episcopos et Archiepiscopos", coupled with the reference to several other bishops of Menevia besides the abbot-bishop referred to above, certainly leads us to the conclusion that even in the tenth century the idea of a multiplicity of bishops was not strange to the writers of these codes. If this multiplicity continued in Ireland, after Synods in that island had declared for compliance with Roman usages, until the tenth

¹ *Ancient Laws of Wales*, vol. i, 556; ii, 790, 879. Haddan and Stubbs, i, 280.

² *Ibid.*, i, 340; Haddan and Stubbs, i, 212, 216.

or eleventh century, so it might in Wales until these times of Hywel Dda.

4. The ecclesiastical terminology brought to our notice by a comparison of Welsh with Latin documents, yields some interesting results having a direct bearing upon the present discussion. With Gildas *sacerdos* or priest signifies a bishop, unless, as was the manner of the time, a qualifying phrase is added, such as *sacerdotes alii*. But in the Irish collection of canons we have the triad, *episcopus, sacerdos* (= presbyter), *diaconus*—bishop, priest, deacon. Nevertheless it seems strange that in our language neither *sacerdos* nor *presbyter* has left any derivative. The same is found also in the case of *parochia* and *diocesis*, while *sedes* in the Laws of Hywel Dda is simply *eisteddfu*. The Irish has a rare *sen* for *senex*, signifying an elder or presbyter, and it may be that the few *seni, sene, seno*, found in Welsh inscriptions, as also *senacus* with *prespiter*, record the same lost appellation. In the *Mabinogion* (Peredur) we meet with *bulawe*, signifying presbyter or priest, of which, when compared with the Armorican *baelec, belec* (= priest), the original form emerges as *bael-acos*, from *baculus*. This leads us to the monk-presbyter, known everywhere by the staff (*baculus*), which, as the pilgrim of Christ, he carried, which also became the symbol of his office as pastor of souls. This is implied in the phrase "*bagl ac efengyl*". Armorica and Wales have here a common name for the same office, and this fact probably carries us back to times anterior to the emigration into Brittany, furnishing also clear evidence how preponderant in the life of the Church was its monasticism. While "presbyter" is a common term in the *Latin* of the Welsh Church, as we see from Gildas and the *Lives of Saints*, the people were replacing this old and official term with another derived from a new order that had become more familiar to them.

In its turn *balawc* was replaced by a new term, bringing with it further proof of the overlapping of ideas in the growth of new conceptions. We see in the ordinary limitation of *sacerdos* to designate a presbyter, a mark of advance in the importance attached to this office, but the term has its chief significance in the gradual recognition of exclusive powers and privileges as appertaining to the *whole* life of the office. The presbyters have become priests, though in a lower degree, as well as the bishops, who alone bore the name for a time. But the Welsh "*offeiriad*" is derived from *one* priestly function only, marking plainly the prominence and diffusion of that idea, which in and through Gregory the Great, above all teachers, took a fixed place in Church doctrine. "Since Gregory, and, through him, the Eucharist has more and more advanced to the head of the whole worship of the Church, and become the culmination of all religious rites. The higher rose the idea of the sacrament, *particularly through the idea of sacrifice*, the higher became the dignity of the priest."¹ Now the Welsh and Cornish name *offeiriad* (= presbyter) is singular; in so far as it marks the recognition among the Welsh of this idea of sacrifice in the Eucharist, and especially as being derived exclusively from it. With "*offeiriad*" we mark also the word *offeren*, from *offerenda*, found as well in the other Celtic languages, and the name in all of these for the Mass in its character of a sacrificial ritual.² The two names, and their substitution for older designations, are noted here because they are landmarks in the history of ideas in Wales, just as the

¹ Lau., *Gregor I der Grosse*, s. 487.

² As to the use of the verb *offerre* in Wales, cf. Gildas, *De Penitentia*, xxiii: "Pro bonis regibus *sacra debemus offerre*, pro malis *nequaquam*" (For good kings we ought to make the sacrifice [in the Mass], but not for the bad); xxiv: "Presbyteri vero pro episcopis non prohibentur *offerre*." The forms *effeyriut*, *eferen* (*offerend*), are also found.

absence referred to of any old Welsh equivalents for terms so common in the Latin of mediæval writers, as *parochia* and *diocesis*, appear to be significant as to the form of Church life.

5. It seems to me a grave historical mistake to represent the Welsh Church as different from the other Churches of the West in its doctrine. Had Augustine any suspicion of this, he would not have asked the Welsh bishops to join him in the mission to the English.

If we take the writings of Gregory the Great as our standard—remembering also that he was, next to Augustine, most read of all authors during the early Middle Ages—we may form a near guess as to the religious belief which ruled the whole of Western Europe, Wales included, during the sixth and seventh centuries. Gregory is named in the *Annales Cambriae*; his name and that of Isidore of Seville, who reproduced the teaching of Gregory and Augustine, occur frequently in the Irish canons of the seventh century. Gregory was above all a great disciple of Augustine, but moreover he was one who not only represented the Augustinian form of orthodox doctrines of the first order, as fixed by the great Œcumenical Councils, but moved beyond him in new definiteness as to other teachings. These, some writers have designated, “Christianity of the second order”.¹ I use the term without stating any opinion as to its justice, merely to designate the kind and range of doctrine. Long before even the first of the great Councils, according to the theory implied in this phrase, beliefs had been forming among Christians, under the influence, it is said, of ideas that were non-Christian. They are represented as having been

¹ “Christentum zweiter ordnung”, Harnack, *Dogmengeschichte*, ii, 7; Loofs, *Leitfaden*, 157. The term is used also by Dr. Schaff in his *History of the Church*.

derived from the Jewish law, from Græco-Roman religions, or from the popular cults of heroes.

However it be explained, before the time of Gregory, but still more by his influence afterwards, the Church regarded its bishops as priests (*sacerdotes*), and its presbyters so in a second degree; as priests, to them is committed the power of the Keys conferred on the Apostles. The Eucharist was regarded as a sacrifice¹; the Lord's table as an altar. Prayers were offered for the dead, Saints were adored as intercessors for men, their relics prized above all treasures and believed to perform miracles. The belief in purgatory became fixed in the pious minds of men; so also was it firmly believed that souls in purgatory could be benefited by the prayers of the faithful, but especially by the sacrifice of the Eucharist offered on their behalf. Side by side with strong Augustinian teaching as to grace, there had grown, or was growing, also, the doctrine of *merit*, viz., that the best saints deserved something for themselves and others with God; and as a counterpart, the doctrine of penance was advanced by Gregory to a front rank in Christian practice and belief. If we call the Welsh Church orthodox in the sixth and the succeeding centuries, we must mean that *these* ideas, as well as the two great doctrines formulated by the four Councils, ruled its life. With respect to the sacrificial character of the Eucharist we have ample evidence in Gildas and in Columbanus, the Celtic writer who comes next as to date. Gildas expressly states that "sacrifice" ought to be made in the rite for good kings though not for bad, also that presbyters were not prohibited from "sacrificing" for their bishops. In

¹ *Segyrffyc* (=sacrificium) appears as a name for it in mediæval Welsh, e.g., in the enumeration of the seven sacraments: "Bedyd escob, a bedyd offeiraf yn gyntaf oll o honunt, a segyrffyc," etc., *Elucidarium*, p. 145; also in *Taliesyn*, Skene, ii, 153, 6.

the Welsh Church, just as in the Irish, the prayer of consecration was called *periculosa oratio*, and a stern penance is prescribed in Penitentials of both churches for any chance error committed in saying it.

The early appearance of Welsh and Irish Penitential books seems to show that Celtic monasticism had, contemporaneously with Gregory the Great, placed penance in the high position which he claimed for it, though in a different manner. Upon all these points of belief we have evidence in the older *Vitæ* and such fragments as those printed in Warren's *Liturgies of the Celtic Church*.

6. With respect to the ritual or mode of worship prevailing in Wales, the theory advanced by M. Duchesne, in his *Origènes du Culte Chrétien*, appears to have much in its favour.¹ The records we possess of the Churches of Wales and Ireland tend all to impress upon us the conviction that ecclesiastical usages were similar in the

¹ "La Ville impériale était admirablement posée pour offrir des modèles en fait de culte et de liturgie. Ce qui n'est pas admissible pour Lyon se comprend très bien de Milan. Du moment où l'on ne s'en tenait pas à Rome, du moment où l'on s'inspirait ailleurs, Milan ne pouvait manquer d'avoir la préférence sur toutes les autres églises. Et il est à remarquer que le temps où nous constatons ces relations entre Milan et les églises de l'Occident transalpin correspond à une période d'organisation intérieure, de grand développement de fondation même, pour un bon nombre d'entre elles. C'est le temps où les masses urbaines se convertissent, où les églises se reconstruisent sur des plans plus larges, où il faut multiplier les clercs, préciser les règles de la discipline et du culte.

"..... Ce n'est pas tout. Il est reconnu de tout le monde que la liturgie gallicane, en ce qui la distingue de l'usage romain offre tous les caractères des liturgies orientales. On verra bientôt que certaines de ses formules se retrouvent mot à mot dans les textes grecs usités, soit au quatrième siècle, soit depuis dans les églises du rit syro-byzantin. Cette ressemblance étroite, cette identité essentielle, suppose une importation. La liturgie gallicane est une liturgie orientale, introduite en Occident vers le milieu du quatrième siècle."— P. 86, etc.

two countries, but, according to the theory named, the similarity is part of a far wider identity of forms. M. Duchesne finds that the centre of this usage was Milan, whence it radiated over Gaul, Spain, Britain, and Ireland. Such a hypothesis implies the identity of the Spanish or Mozarabic liturgy with that which was followed in the Churches of Gaul before Charles the Great, and in the British Islands previous to the Roman mission under Augustine. Milan, towards the end of the fourth century and during the first years of the fifth, was a kind of metropolis towards which the whole West gravitated. It was frequently the imperial city, and would naturally be regarded as affording models for worship and the liturgy. Amid the great changes going on during this period, it was but natural that Milan, with its important political position, in ecclesiastical dignity rivalling even Rome itself, should be a centre whence rites *that bore a Byzantine impress* would spread to countries lying west. This ritual is called the Gallican. It is a well-known fact that such a ritual is not found in full in any Missal, though some five are named as showing, amid significant variations, a few main lines of similarity. To these five is now added the Stowe Missal. But local influence seems to have played no mean part in the way of producing differences of rites. We have an instance in Gildas, who gives intimations of an ordinal differing in some points from all others known. In the main, however, it may be, or let me say, it *is*, inferred that the rites of the Church had many points in common throughout Spain, Gaul, Britain, and Ireland, several of these rites showing definite marks of an Oriental origin. This Oriental character of certain British or Irish rites, has led several writers to the hypothesis of an Eastern origin of the British Church, but such Eastern character-

istics find in this way a full explanation. What might be lacking would also be explained by the Oriental colouring derived from Massilia through John Cassian.

Some Eastern peculiarities, detected in usages apparently prevailing in Wales and Ireland, will be found to have, in some points, affected the general history of these Churches. As an instance of this I may refer to the order of baptism found in the Irish Stowe Missal, which from its agreement with other Missals of the "Gallican" rite, we may gather to have prevailed in Wales.

Augustine, in his Conference with the British bishops, limited his demands at last to three. Of these one was, in the words of Bede, "that you *complete* the ministry of baptism by which we are born again to God according to the usage of the Holy Roman and Apostolic Church" ("ut ministerium baptisandi quo Deo renascimur, juxta morem sanctæ Romanæ et apostolicæ ecclesiæ *complete*is"). Without mentioning well-known surmises as to the meaning of this sentence I am strongly inclined to add another based upon the last word—*comple*re. This is a word Augustine would not have used for the simple administering of the rite :¹ it

¹ It may not be out of place to introduce here, for the better understanding of what has been said above, a short *resumé* of the history of the rite of baptism and of confirmation. In the earliest account that we possess—the Didache, c. A.D. 100—the rite of baptism consists simply of immersion or sprinkling thrice in the name of the Three Persons of the Trinity. But when we come to Tertullian (beginning of the third century) it had already assumed a more complicated form. Besides immersion the Church of North Africa called for the renunciation of the devil and the recital of the Creed. It anointed with oil, prescribed the presentation of milk and honey, the making the sign of the cross, and, lastly, imposition of hands. The whole, consisting of these various parts, was termed *baptiam*, and performed by the bishop. In course of time two acts became pre-eminently baptismal, or, more properly, three, viz., immersion or sprinkling, anointing, imposition of hands. As the number of those baptised increased, the last, viz., imposition of hands, came to be regarded as the peculiar function

seems rather equivalent to the more common *perficere*, to perfect. From the Stowe Missal we learn the usage of the

of the bishop, while the others could be performed by a presbyter, and the first of the three, in cases of necessity, by any layman. This separation led to the idea and practice of regarding what was reserved for the bishop as a distinct *sacramentum*, though still only a part of the one initial rite of baptism. But the separation continued to impart an increasingly new significance to imposition of hands as an episcopal function. In the Eastern Church, on the other hand, imposition of hands disappeared, while in its stead a chrism or anointing, following immediately upon immersion or sprinkling, became the universal practice and remains so to this day. That Church acknowledges no imposition of hands, except in ordination, which belongs to bishops, while the unction or confirmation following baptism is performed by presbyters. Thus far we find that the Latin Church has, immersion or sprinkling and *imposition of hands*; the Greek Church has, the baptismal act and *unction*, to the exclusion of all that tended to render confirmation a separate sacrament. But in the next place we mark an important change gradually taking place in the Latin Church. Not only is imposition of hands reserved for the bishop but unction also, yet as one anointing had, by long usage, been allowed to the presbyter, this unction by the bishop became a second one, with distinguishing features. It was to be made on the forehead (*in fronte*), not like that by the presbyter on the breast (*in pectore*). After the time of Augustine unction was regarded as a third sacrament, and was termed indifferently either chrism or imposition of hands, or confirmation. At the same time unction becomes a more and more prominent feature of the rite, while imposition of hands recedes into the background and finally disappears. We see an intermediate stage in the Gelasian Sacramentary, where the rite of baptism seems to consist of five acts: (1) Benediction of font, (2) Immersion or sprinkling thrice, (3) Anointing by presbyter on the head (*in cerebro*), (4) Imposition of hands, (5) Unction *in fronte de chrismate* (Wilson's edition, 1894, p. 86). The last two "complete" the baptism—to use Augustine's words referred to in the text. (In another connection, Ducange explains *complere* as indicating the *last act* of a religious service: "complere dicitur is qui officium quodvis ecclesiasticum collecta seu oratione concludit et complet.") There was now a *visible element* afforded, which still more fixed the idea of a *third sacrament* (*i.e.*, besides Baptism and the Eucharist), and also the name chrism or unction, *sacramentum chrisimalis, sacramentum unctionis*. For several centuries it followed immediately upon baptism in the narrower sense, being in fact an integral part of the whole rite.

Irish Church in the baptismal rite, which is found strikingly to agree with the usages prescribed in several Gallican liturgies, as published by Mabillon. Quotations from these will be found in Warren's *Celtic Liturgies* (p. 216) and in an article in the *Archæologia Cambrensis* of January 1871. Both quote a remarkable passage from the *Life of St. Brigid* in which we find a vision mentioned of two priests clothed in white, pouring oil upon the head of a girl, "completing the order of baptism in the usual way" ("ordinem baptismi complentes consento more"). Here *complere*—the very word used by Augustine—refers to the last act in the rite, *i.e.*, to "confirmation", the passage also implying that it was the custom for presbyters or priests to perform this act. The Stowe Missal describes an anointing with oil and chrism (*oleo et crismate*) of the breast and shoulders before the candidate is baptised. Then follows benediction and anointing of the water, after which the catechumen is thrice immersed or sprinkled. Then he is to be anointed *in cerebrum in fronte*—that is on the forehead—with the chrism, and clothed by the deacon in a white raiment. It is the presbyter that performs this last unction,

The prominent fact to be remembered here, however, is that from early times we find the Roman Church insisting that it be performed by a bishop, other Churches assigning it to a presbyter. For instance, "Presbyteris cum baptizant crismate baptizatos ungere licet, non tandem frontem eodem oleo signare quod solis debetur episcopis, cum tradunt spiritum Paraclatum."—Innoc. i, cap. 25, 3 (died 416). It might be added that the "washing of feet" was regarded, in conjunction with baptism, as a separate sacrament, but particularly in the church of Milan. It prevailed also where the Gallican ritual was in use; and the Stowe Missal adds the forms for it in the "Order of Baptism", thus showing clearly that it was practised in Ireland and, therefore, undoubtedly in Wales. The Roman Church, however, opposed the rite, and its final disappearance was probably due to the growing influence of that Church. I have intentionally confined this short account to very early times, as it is only intended to illustrate the points mentioned in the text.

saying: "I anoint thee with oil and with the chrism of salvation and sanctification" (*ungo te de oleo et de crismate salutis et sanctificationis*). The same part is assigned to the presbyter in other Sacramentaries. Now, remembering how St. Bernard mentions the absence of confirmation in Ireland and its restoration by St. Malachi¹ (which he would not have done if he had found the rite of unction performed by a bishop, and would, if performed by a presbyter), we may conclude that Augustine, finding the same usage in Britain, would demand that they should *complete* the rite of baptism after the manner of the Roman Church, because otherwise *it would not be confirmation*. Without quoting older authorities we have a clear ruling of Augustine's own master, Gregory, on this point—"Let the presbyters anoint on the breast, as the bishops afterwards are to anoint on the forehead" (*presbiteri baptisandos tangant in pectore ut episcopi postmodum tangere debeant in fronte*). This was the ancient custom of the Roman Church, and Augustine would naturally demand that unction or chrism or confirmation should be reserved for bishops. It seems to me right to conclude—considering the direction given in Gallican liturgies, as well as in the Stowe Missal, whereby the final act of baptism was performed by a presbyter—that the Welsh Church had no confirmation, after the manner of the Roman Church, or of its present representatives, the Roman and Anglican Churches. Gregory was, however, able to wink at an irregularity of this kind; where greater issues were to be secured; we learn from *Epp.* iv, 26, that he actually did so in the case of Chris-

¹ *Vita Mal.*, chap. iii :—"Sed et apostolicas sanctiones et decreta sanctorum patrum præcipueque consuetudines sanctæ Romanæ ecclesiae, in cunctis ecclesiis statuebat. . . . Deinde usum saluberrimum confessionis, sacramentum confirmationis, contractum conjugiorum quæ omnia aut ignorabant aut negligebant, Malachias de novo instituit." *Opera*, tom. i, 1473.

tians in the south, where Greek influence predominated. Augustine, however, with characteristic narrow-mindedness, refused to make any conciliatory concession, even for a time, in the hope that the Roman custom might eventually be adopted—but he was not Gregory the Great.

IV.

WELSH MONASTICISM.

When we come to look a little more closely at the peculiar form which Christianity took in this country through its monastic life, I believe we may find it to resolve itself into four stages. It is but little that can be gathered respecting the earliest introduction of such an institution as the monastery into this Island, but, from the terms in which Illtud is spoken of, I gather that previous to his time, the character of the life led under the monastic roof was almost solely one of seclusion, for the discipline of self-denial, for prayer and meditation, in a common life of obedience to a superior—the abbot. We find these objects described in those books of Cassian which undoubtedly depicted the type copied by the monastic institutions of Britain. These are the *De Institutis Coenobiorum* and *Conlationes Patrum*. In the retirement of the coenobite life the monk betook himself to a place where his days and nights were so ordered that his time might be one regular course of discipline, with the view of attaining a higher state of sanctity. It is very easy to view monachism as too exclusively consisting in a renunciation of marriage; but the ascetic idea of the Christian life, as we see it, for instance, in the writings of Cassian or of Columbanus, embraces the whole man, and, if looked upon as encircled

by its professed moral motive or inspired by it, such a life cannot but evoke deep respect. Christianity, through such connections during the fifth and sixth centuries, drank a new spirit of stern, severe, unworldly earnestness, which gave the Church a mighty advance at that period. Schultze, after referring to the description given by Salvian of the low morality of Gaul, where every heathen religion had ceased to exist, but where the worst usages of the past too strongly continued their sway, remarks as follows: "The Gallic Church was not in a position to break through these barriers. It lacked the right ideal of life and moral force." Then he describes, on the one hand, the Gallic clergy, and, on the other, the new men who practised ancient Christian asceticism, and whose contempt of the world, he says, might be described in the words of Eucherius: "True happiness consists in this—to contemn the happiness of the world, to cast away what is earthly from oneself, and to glow with desire for the heavenly."¹ "The ideal", Schultze continues, "lay not with the former but with the latter. In the Church it was realised, by way of compromise, in the monk-bishops, who found their ideal in Martin of Tours. The possibilities of life for the Gallic Church lay in these men. They drew their strength from monasticism, of which at one time many of them had been disciples, and which at the right moment in the fifth century secured diffusion and authority."² Such I conclude to be also the true account of the rapid spread of Christianity among the Celtic people in our country. The monks before long were called the "Elect of God", "electi Dei", or, as Salvian says, "monachi, id est, Sancti Dei", so that, in many, the idea of sanctity is realised, its high power

¹ Eucherius, *De Contemptu Mundi* (Migne, 50, 726).

² Schultze, *Gesch. d. Untergangs des Gr. Römischen, Heidentums.*, ii, 121-123.

acknowledged, quite apart from any ecclesiastical function. What was best of moral force and of spiritual tenacity, found its way into the monastery, whence it reacted upon the life of the Church in general. I do not forget the great irregularities from which monasticism suffered in some cases during these times—we find them duly recorded and deplored frequently—but it is quite legitimate to omit them in a record of the passionate convictions which ruled the most powerful minds of Christendom.

When we come to Illtud, another order seems to begin. With him the monastery becomes a school, the strict discipline and training of which is intended for youths of tender age as well as for those of more mature years. Henceforth the monastery has under its roof *discipuli* as well as *famuli*.

Illtud seems deserving of high honour and remembrance as the first great *teacher* of our nation, a teacher in the liberal arts as well as in theology. It must be of him that Gildas speaks, as “the elegant teacher of almost the whole of Britain”¹; wherefore we reverence this man and saint in particular as *the* “Magister Walliæ”. The Empire, in many cities, had founded and endowed chairs, and nearly throughout its whole extent had caused schools to be established at the cost of municipal authorities.² Its downfall brought with it the ruin of these public schools. Then education as well as learning found a home in the Church and its monasteries. “In order to judge of the merit of these schools”—I quote from the *Histoire Litt. de la France*—“and of the care which the monks took of literary culture in times most deplorable, it suffices to know that during this century (sixth) and the six following, they furnished

¹ “Cum habueris præceptorem pene totius Britanniae magistrum elegantem.”

² Boissier, *La fin du paganisme*, ii, p. 196.

for the Church of France in particular a large number of learned bishops and gave to the republic of letters a cloud of celebrated writers." Such a school-monastery pre-eminently was Lerins, where Faustus, whom we have known as a British youth, was trained in the early years of the fifth century.

The name of our first teacher is spelt in various ways. I have found Heldutus, Heltutus, Ildutus, Eltutus, and Eldutus, whilst in Welsh we have Ellytyd, Illytyd, or Illtud. The Life printed in the *Cambro-British Saints* is no earlier than the twelfth century and appears to have confused two men of this name, one an Armorican, the other a Welshman. On this account, for my purpose, I have thought it better to rely on the *Vita Samsonis*, printed by Father Plaine in the *Analecta Bollandiana*, tom. vi, 75-160. The *Histoire Litt. de la France*, while severe in its criticism of the *Lives* of Armorican saints, yet pronounces the *Vita Samsonis* published by Mabillon as almost a contemporary work, that is, one written about sixty or seventy years after the death of Samson. The Benedictine Father, however, believes that the *Vita* which he edits may be the original, of which Mabillon's is a more or less polished redaction. The Life in the *Liber Landavensis* he speaks of as "merum atque insufficiens compendium". With this *Vita* may be combined the lately discovered *Vita Pauli Leonensis*, and the *Vita Brioci*, also published by Father Plaine. The parents of Samson, not long after, perhaps before, A.D. 500—the father, a man of Dyfed, the mother, a woman of Gwent—bring their child to Heldutus, who had been a disciple of Germanus. The teacher is represented as learned in the scriptures of the Old and New¹ Testament,

¹ "Et ipse Heldutus discipulus erat sancti Germani episcopi, et ipse Germanus ordinavit eum in sua juventute, in gradum presbyteratus. Ille vero Heldutus de totis scripturis veteris ac novi testamenti,

in all philosophy, in poetry, rhetoric, and all the arts. When the young scholar was placed before Illtud, the latter kissed him and blessed him, thanking God that he had thought fit "to send this luminary to earth *from among our race*" (*nostra de gente*). It seems fair to conclude that the real Illtud was a Welshman, not an Armorican. His relation to Germanus is a question of great perplexity (as is also that of St. Patrick to him), and for the present I put it aside. The tradition fully warrants our concluding that the idea of founding a school-monastery, at any rate, came from Gaul. The monastery at Auxerre was celebrated for its school, even in the seventh century. Forty bishops of the Church had been either monks or abbots there. But, whether from Auxerre or further south, such an institution was brought over to this country by Illtud from Gaul. The subjects taught in this monastery-school must be understood to include Greek, which was a preparation for the reading of the scriptures, and of the "venerabiles patres", if not of philosophy, poetry, and rhetoric. The monastery over which Illtud presided as abbot, was placed, we learn from

et omnis philosophiæ generis, metricæ scilicet et rhetoriæ et omnium artium scripturæ peritissimus erat, genereque magnificus, et sagacissimus futurorum præscius."—"Vita Samsonis," *Analecta Bollandiana*, vi, 86.

"Erat autem quaedam insula Pyrus nomine. Demetiarum patriæ in finibus sita, in quâ et Ilutus quidam, vir genere nobilis, et sanctorum scientia litterarum satis clarus, secundum christianæ religionis veritatem quippe ab infantia inter alios, quos admodum ingeniosos ac lectioni cuderat deditos, fidei discipulos, sacræ disciplinæ Scripturæ adprime sapienterque eruditus, quasi quodam ejusdem fidei aurora aut etiam una ex stellarum magni partem mundi illuminare sufficientium numero, in Dei ministerio sapientiæ multa quotidie diabolo faciens detrimenta, et Deo innumera accommodans incrementa, diebus degebat ac noctibus. Interea cum per omnem Britannicæ insulæ locum felix fama de ejus loqueretur opinione."—"Vita Pauli Leonensis," *Analecta Bollandiana*, i, p. 213. Both these *Vitæ* are edited by Father Plaine.

the *Vita Pauli Leon.*, within the confines of Demetia (*Demetiarum patriae in finibus sita*). Will that agree with the present Lantwit Major? It is quite beside my object in this paper to give an account of his life, or that of any other saint and martyr. I need hardly mention the almost worthless character of what is given to us in that highly legendary account of Dubricius, which contains also the story of Lucius and the two ambassadors, Elfan and Medwy. My use of what may with some probability be gathered of him has been to show how monasticism in Wales now took, as a second stage, the culture and training of youths under its protection. The term *discipulus* thus acquires a new significance. From the *Life of St. Brendan*, or that of Finian, we know that Dewi and Gildas carried on the same idea or system. Other monastic houses also, which I need not refer to now, soon acquired fame as places of learning, in addition to the training they afforded in the discipline of the "perfect life".

The third stage of monasticism is that of the Eremites or Anchorites. We are able to fix the time approximately when this movement began. Columbanus, writing to Gregory the Great about A.D. 595, says that Finian had written to Gildas respecting the very point upon which he was asking the opinion of the great Pope.¹ Monks, he says, through a new zeal for a stricter life, take to seeking desert places in the wilderness. They are actuated by no motive that can be blamed, but impelled by the fervour peculiar to monks (*fervore monachorum cogente*), with the result that some find the desert a place for higher perfection, but others give way to laxity of discipline (*aut laxantur aut ad deserta fugiunt*). Finian, if he was Finian of Clonard, had been a disciple of Dewi at Kil-muine (= Cil-Mynwy = Ty

¹ "Vennianus auctor Gildam de his interrogavit et elegantissime illi rescripsit."

Ddewi), and of Gildas, so that the cells of the recluse may have begun to be numerous somewhere between A.D. 550 and A.D. 595.¹ The movement seems to have been common to Gaul, Wales, and Ireland about the end of the sixth century. This new course may be regarded as of high significance, because it brought about in Wales what was effected in other countries by the division of dioceses under presbyters. The period is probably that of which we have evidence in the widely diffused *Llanau* of Wales, and the probable equivalent, *Cil*, such as *Cil-cen*, *Cil-Gerain*, *Cil-coit*, *Cil-Catan* (*Lib. Land.*); it is also the period which, with the next, completed the evangelisation of the country. In Ireland Disert or Desert is common as a name of townlands and parishes.² Have we not the same in "Dyserth", always pronounced by the people "Diserth", thus indicating the home of a recluse?

I may here also mention a curious fact, that, both in the *Vita Pauli Leon.* and the *Vita Samsonis* a monastery is frequently called *insula=inis*, possibly from the fact that the earlier ones were founded on islands, but in the new connotation the name implies land detached from other lands. It seems to me to explain the name *ynys* in secular use, found now so frequently far inland, still designating what was once the site of a monastery or of a hermit's cell. Such instances as Ynysybwl, Ynyshir, Ynysowen in Glamorganshire, readily occur to our mind.

The fourth period opens before us the fact of a great change taking place in the conception of a monk's calling. It is one that has its parallel in the rise of the Mendicant Orders in the thirteenth century, and which had important consequences for Wales and Ireland—we may even say for

¹ The third order of Irish Saints (A.D. 599-665), "In locis desertis habitabant et oleariis et aqua et eleemosynis (fidelium) vivebant."

² Vide Stokes, *Ireland and the Celtic Church*, p. 178.

the continent of Europe. The change appears to have begun with the disciples of Illtud, and especially with *their* disciples in Wales and Ireland. As we read the *Life of Samson* or the *Life of Columbanus* we are struck with the idea which has fully possessed the one and the other that they must relinquish all that is dearest to them in order to become pilgrims on earth. After the recovery of his father, Samson persuades him and his mother to become monk and nun. The uncle, Umbraphel, and his wife, follow their example. On St. Samson's return from Ireland he addresses his uncle: "Thou, brother Umbraphel must become a pilgrim" (*peregrinus esse debes*), and sends him to Ireland. He himself wanders through the country, preaching in one place against the heathenism he finds there, working miracles and winning many converts; whilst the saint is absorbed in fasting and prayer, his *discipuli* scatter themselves over the country, preaching to the people. At last—impelled, it is said, by the same motive—he crosses over to Armorica, leaving country and parents for the love of God (*Patriam et parentes pro Dei amore relinquens*). This man is a monk, pre-eminent among his brethren, but to him to be a monk does not mean to remain in a place of restful contemplation. He must obey a call to wander from place to place—preaching to the people in their own British tongue, founding monasteries, healing the sick, listening to causes that are brought to him, giving his answers to each person with marked gentleness.¹ The monastery, for such a man, is not the quiet retreat that Gregory describes it, at the beginning of the *Magna Moralia*. The monk must labour for the people. He is an evangelist and a guide in the various concerns of life and of the Church. Even bishops, and clergy resort to Columbanus in Gaul, though he is only a presbyter monk, upon

¹ *Vita Sams.*, p. 121.

grave matters of conscience, as his own letter to Gregory shows. The ascetic in these men scorns the pleasures and ease of life, not directly to obtain personal holiness, as before, but to reclaim the waste places, to curb the passions that made life for men so desolate and sad. We ask, when did this change begin and how far did it spread? I shall here make a quotation from Loofs: "Unless all the traditions given in Lives of Saints are fictions", he says, "there can be no doubt that during the sixth century, the Irish Church was in a way built anew. So great a multitude of monasteries are said to have been founded then that there appears to have been no corner of Ireland without its monastery. Among the founders of these, some arrived at such a height of excellence that they had with them immense crowds of monks. Such were Finian, abbot of Clonard in Meath, whose disciple Columba himself is said to have been, and Congall, abbot of Bangor in Ulster, a contemporary of Columba."¹ These names, and those of others that had been disciples of Gildas and Dewi, are given in the list of the Second Order of Irish Saints.² The First Order

¹ Fr. Loofs, *Antiquae Britonum Scotorumque Ecclesiae quales fuerunt Mores*, p. 55.

² Anon. [c. A.D. 750], *Incipit Catalogus Sanctorum Hiberniae, secundum diversa tempora* :—

FIRST ORDER OF IRISH SAINTS, A.D. 440(?)–543.

"Primus ordo Catholicorum Sanctorum erat in tempore Patricii. Et tunc erant Episcopi omnes, clari et sancti et Spiritu Sancto pleni, CCCL. numero, Ecclesiarum fundatores. Unum Caput Christum, et unum ducem Patricium, habebant: unam missam, unam celebrationem, unam tonsuram ab aure usque ad aurem sufferebant. Unum Pascha, quarta decima luna post aequinoctium vernale, celebrent; et quod excommunicatum esset ab una Ecclesia, omnes excommunicabant. Mulierum administrationem et consortia non respuebant," etc.

SECOND ORDER OF IRISH SAINTS, A.D. 599–665.

"Secundus ordo Catholicorum presbyterorum. In hoc enim ordine pauci erant Episcopi et multi presbyteri, numero CCC. Unum

had "One Head, Christ, and one leader (*ducem*), Patrick". The Second had simply "One Head our Lord", which implies that of earthly inspirers, they had had, not one, but several. They received a "missa (though one of *diversae missae*) from David, bishop, and Gildas and Docus (*Cadoc*), Britons". It is well known that Gildas and Samson visited Ireland, and that the former was held in such high veneration by Finian as to be consulted by him on a momentous question, a fact regarded as worthy of most respectful mention by Columbanus. Is it unnatural then to connect the new life in Ireland in some way with Wales and with two of the famous Four who had lived under Illtud? Irish missionaries, such as Columba and Columbanus, soon appear as pilgrims for Christ's sake (*perigrinantes pro Christo*), and at the same time quite a host of Welsh monks and bishops, with the same alleged purpose, according to the *Vitae*, begin to move across the Channel in the direction of Armorica.

With this new phase of active monastic life I connect two more facts. The first is the simultaneous appearance of Penitential Books in Wales and Ireland, the second, the production of the *Querulus Liber* of Gildas, after ten years of brooding over his task. These Penitentials in the volume by Wasserschleben open before us a strange life, but the details of their discipline need not detain us. I do not forget that their assumed origin and date have been strongly denied, especially in the elaborate volume of Schmitz.¹ But Seebass, in an article which appeared in the

Caput Dominum nostrum habebant, *diversas missas celebrabant, et diversas regulas*; unum Pascha quartadecima luna post æquinocetium, unam tonsuram ab aure ad aurem. Abnegabant mulierem administrationem, separantes eas à monasteriis. . . . A Davide Episcopo et Gilla et a Doco (cadoco) Britonibus missam acceperunt," etc.

¹ *Die Bussbücher und die Bussdisciplin der Kirche*, 1883.

number of the *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* for November 1893, entitled "Das Paenitentiale Columbani", appears to bring forward very strong reasons in favour of the position taken by the original editor, though with some important modifications. In the same view Dr. Hauck also concurs. These books show a new concern *on the part of abbots* for the regulation of the life of the people at large, and even of that of bishops and clerics as well as monks. For such work to be performed by such men, *in the capacity* of abbots, there had been up to this time no place in the regular organization of the Church. Significant differences in the Penitential of Columbanus, as compared with those of Wales and Ireland, are pointed out by Seebass. They shew that in Gaul, Columbanus is surrounded by a more authoritative Church organization than that which was encountered by any abbot in Ireland or Wales. For instance, in Finian's *Penitential*, a cleric, after ten years of penance because of murder, may be reconciled if he be approved by the evidence of the abbot and priest (*si comprobatus fuerit testimonio abbatis sive sacerdotis*); but, instead of "abbot", Columbanus has "bishop" (*episcopi*). This proves the exclusive jurisdiction which a bishop exercised in Gaul over the clergy of his diocese, and implies also the looser order prevailing in Ireland, and we may presume, in Wales. That this should come to pass, implies that the clergy must at this time have been under monastic rule, and we find even Loofs acknowledging that "it is certain, if there were clerics who had not adopted the monastic life their number was an exceedingly small one".¹ But such an exercise of discipline over the life of laymen and all clerics, extending even to intended sins, pre-supposes a changed idea of the calling of a monk.

Taking up the work of Gildas I venture to say that too

¹ *Antiq. Brit., etc.*, p. 62.

hard measures of criticism have been dealt out to him. M. Loth,¹ for instance, speaks of him after the following manner, "There are heaps of contradictions, puerilities, ineptitudes of every kind in the work of this Jeremiah of the tenth rank, whose ignorance, outside the Scriptures, defies all comparison, and whose want of judgment betrays itself in incredible childishness." Schoell speaks in very different terms, though he himself was the first to point out the true historical weakness of Gildas. Ebert, the historian of the literature of the Middle Ages, comparing him with his contemporary Jordane, who wrote the *History of the Goths*, pronounces Gildas to be superior in genius, though of less value to the historian.² M. Loth, having gone to him for history, is sorely disappointed. But may we not find still another point of view from which to form a judgment of Gildas? Alcuin (Ep. 28) describes his book as one written to show how a country's ruin is brought about through the robbery and avarice of princes, the sloth and indolence in preaching of its bishops, the luxury and sins of the people. Written with such a purpose, his work, as a history, comes into the same class with those of Orosius and Salvian, though hardly even into theirs, because more deficient in material for contemporary history. But his purpose is not to write history. He does not even call his work a history, but an *epistola*. The work is really a sermon—a sermon of denunciation. We see in it how his country appeared to a burning enthusiast, eager with heaving desire to bring about an entire change in all around him. Frequently named as "The Preacher" and "The Wise", he was a man who exerted immense influence through his stirring appeals to his countrymen. We may call him a revivalist. Many of his pages, though they have caused him to be nicknamed

¹ *Les mots latins dans les langues brit.*, 1892.

² Vol. i, s. 562.

“Jeremiah” in a spirit that is not only unsympathetic but uncritical, might be matched with an equal number from St. Bernard or John Wesley.

Gildas, as I read him, was a revivalist, dissatisfied and indignant with a Church which was too quiet for a great change. In order, however, to see the real Gildas we must read, not his denunciation of the bad princes and bishops, but his manner of speaking of those whom he confesses to be good. He allows that there may be many bishops who have obtained the “*apostolica sedes*” in the right way, who also know well how to confer spiritual gifts (92); that there are monks who lead lives admired of men, beloved of God (26); he will grant that bishops and presbyters are to be found who are chaste and good (69). What then? His answer is, that they are not heroic. They should be made of sterner stuff: some are like Eli; there are no martyrs among them; they have not boldly excluded the wicked from the Church. Which of them was like Abraham, willing to offer his son, if need be, in the cause of Christ? Who, like Joseph, has rooted out of his heart the remembrance of an offered injury? I must say I am sometimes reminded, in reading this part, of the “fierceness” which Dr. Newman confesses to have possessed him for a time in the great struggle in what is called the Oxford Movement. The work of such a man as Gildas is not to be put aside with a sneer. Its history may be inadequate and faulty; but in it there glows the spirit of one whose great soul is pained at the life he sees about him. He writes his book after waiting ten years, and in the midst of his labours, hoping, before death comes, to share the tranquil life of those monks, the brethren of his own *ordo*, whom he honours above all men (c. 65). The two *Lives* depict the labours I refer to. He leaves his monastery—so says the Armorican *Life*—in order to preach to those

who dwelt in the northern parts of Britain (*i.e.*, Wales). He was a preacher eminent throughout the three kingdoms of Britain (Wales); we are told this by the Welsh *Life*. Kings were in fear of him and obeyed his preachings. Every Sunday he preached in a church in Pembrokeshire, near the sea, at a place known in the times of Giraldus as *Caer Morfa* (*Cair Morva*). Here is a monk whose occupation is changed or enlarged; who also changed his countrymen with the change worked in himself.

In conclusion, I shall quote a fragment of his, to be found in the Irish Canons, which shows him in a somewhat different and more agreeable light, perhaps, than any part of the *De Excidio*.

“Abstinence from flesh without love is useless. Better, therefore, are they who make no great work of fasting, nor beyond measure abstain from what is created by God, anxiously preserving within a clear heart before God, from which they know the issue of life, than those who do not eat flesh nor delight in worldly repast, nor are conveyed in carriages nor on horseback, and for those reasons regard themselves superior to others. To these people death comes in by the windows of pride.”¹

V.

We may now seek to arrive at a general idea of the Church in Wales as affected by monasticism and by the neighbouring English Church. From the very first it had been felt that there was in monasticism a disturbing force within the Church as an organization. The principal dangers were obviated by Athanasius in Egypt, and by

¹ *Irische Kanonensammlung*, xii, 5; printed also, with some variants, in Haddan and Stubbs, i, 108.

Basil in Asia Minor, with the result that the movement through them became ecclesiastical, and on many occasions a strong conservative force. In Gaul, we learn from Sulpicius Severus, that not only the cultured laity, but the bishops and clergy also, were at first hostile to the monastic discipline and life. "I shall not", he says, "mingle the people with that ill deed: it was the clergy alone—the priests alone—that ignored him (St. Martin) and, through envy, unworthily refused to acknowledge him."¹ As they were won over, the strong organisation of the Church in Gaul succeeded in keeping the new movement under control, though numerous canons of councils testify of frequent resistance to authority on the part of the monasteries. Wales, from its isolated position, and Ireland, for the same reason, would afford the "fervor monachorum" greater freedom. As men of power and character acquired ascendancy and influence in the capacity of monks, especially when they were abbots of institutions overwhelmingly large, considerations of ecclesiastical order would to some extent give way. It was natural that what is well known to have taken place in Ireland should also develop itself in Wales. I have not found any direct evidence of the presbyter-abbot with bishops under him as monks, still the conditions of their existence were to be found in Wales as well as in Ireland. This, after all, would be only one way in which the life of the Church was affected by a predominant monasticism. It would be well to consider it in connection with other features and to judge of all as bringing about acute opposition on the part of the Church of Rome, and of men and Churches that declared for communion with it.

We have traditions of several Councils held in Wales, but especially of two, as shown in the documents published

¹ *Dial.*, i, 26.

in Haddan and Stubbs (vol. i, p. 117), yet these, if genuine, show how the monastic discipline, with its peculiar form of penance, permeated the religious life of people and clerics. When we look back to an earlier part of the same century, in the pages of Gildas, a very different character is presented. In his *Epistola* Gildas nowhere addresses abbots or monks, but seeks a reformation in the whole Church by appeals to bishops with their clerics who have their own *parochiae* or *sedes*, where their influence would be felt. It seems, then, that at the time when Gildas wrote the *Epistola*, the Church in Wales still retained its old order, and that the monasteries had not, to any appreciable extent, invaded the regular authority of the prelates. If the change took place here as in Ireland it must have been in the next generation, or during the old age of Gildas and Dewi—in either case coming as a consequence of their reforming efforts. During the first half of the sixth century a Welsh churchman would probably have found himself quite at home in any of the churches of the Continent. The lot of Columbanus, however, at the end of the sixth and beginning of the seventh, was not happy in Gaul. He himself was a product of the change that had come over his country through the disciples of Welshmen. The force of old conceptions was nevertheless strong, and it preserved what is regarded by most Episcopalians as the essence of Episcopal functions. The bishop did not rule; discipline was no longer exercised by him. Nevertheless, to him still belonged such a rite as ordination, and even Columbanus sought a bishop to consecrate the altar in his church. The multiplicity of bishops might, as monasticism spread, bring several into one monastery, though the abbot were a presbyter; but the ripening of great movements—slow and unobserved in their early advance—has often been rapid. This seems to have been the case when, during the second half of the sixth century, the common

life of monks took the form of huge institutions where a great multitude of them lived together. Wherever these were found, though the abbot were a presbyter, and may have been a prince, the bishops and other clerics who had scarcely a fit abode outside a cloister, would be subject to him. This order prevailed, we know, in Ireland, and Bede has emphasised it, as a strange irregularity (*inusitatus ordo*) at Iona. With similar conditions and influences, there can be no reason for doubting its prevalence in Wales also. Its duration before long began to be shortened by the other movement mentioned above, which began a process of dissolution with respect to the power of abbots. I refer to asceticism of the eremite kind. The effect was not immediate, but in time eremite life would tend to weaken the great monasteries, and, as a consequence, the prestige of the abbot. It does not appear to be too bold to conclude that Church life among the Welsh, with such disintegrating forces at work, should be somewhat loosely organised. Nevertheless it was, still, essentially episcopal.

But before the end of the seventh century a far mightier power began a course of influence, that eventually gave the Welsh Church a form and direction which it faithfully maintained for ages. I refer to the doctrine that Catholicity could only be obtained by communion with the Church of Rome, which took complete possession of the English Church from the year 664. With this must be named the strong dogmatic weight, and the still stronger power of organisation, of the Roman Church during those centuries.

Among the Franks, the English, and the Picts, as well as among the Irish and Welsh, we see a tide advancing, which, though long retarded in some places, at last over-ran all the West. We wonder how widely the energy of Celtic Christianity had spread ideas and usages peculiar to itself.

Not only among the Celtic inhabitants of these islands, but in Gaul and far off places in Germany, there had been planted within the Christian Church modes of discipline, of observance and worship, and of Church order, bearing such a character that opposition on the part of the Roman Church was inevitable. That Church, in this opposition, was everywhere successful. It uprooted nearly everything that was different from itself, leading all Western peoples to pay the heavy price of conformity as the indispensable condition of communion. The loose Church order of the Welsh and other Celtic Churches was sure to arouse the opposition of a Church that had elaborated a system in many ways fundamentally different.

On the surface we seem to see controversies with respect to the celebration of Easter and the *tonsure*, "et aliæ res ecclesiasticæ"—as Bede is careful to add. But here the apparent is not the real. Owing to its isolation (as was the case also in Spain, where it led to the Adoptionist controversy), Wales had in its own way preserved, or in its own way developed, old forms of belief and usage. Such separate development would have given a distinctive colour to the whole life of the Church among the Welsh, and would have endeared itself to the minds of men by the very tradition which made it. The real struggle was between two developments—the one bearing the name of Peter, and resting upon his supposed authority; the other peculiar to these islands and resting upon the common tradition of the churches in Wales and Ireland. This was openly apparent in such divergent usages as ranged about the question of Easter, whether it should be kept on the Sunday which fell on the fourteenth day of the moon after the vernal equinox, or should be postponed to the following Sunday—or whether it could fall as late as the twenty-first day of the moon. Openly apparent were the different lines of development in

these and in the question of the tonsure, yet there was underneath a large mass of inclinations and predispositions moving powerfully towards difference, though not easy to formulate.

Columbanus was far from being comfortable in his new home on the Continent. His strongest virtues placed him in an attitude towards the episcopate there that led him to be less and less content with an arduous position. "I wished to write you", he says, A.D. 610, "a letter full of tears: but because I know your heart is so lacerated by necessities pressing hard, and in themselves difficult, I have used a different manner of expression, preferring to stop rather than to provoke tears. Externally, therefore, my speech is placid, but deep within it there is grief. Tears are moved, but it is better to stop their spring, because it is not the part of a brave soldier to weep in battle."¹ Notwithstanding the deep hold which the great Irish missionary, with strong Celtic ideas, had upon the mind of Gaul, we find in time the way of life introduced by him in Frankish monasteries passing away for ever. The struggle was long, but by the next century the Celtic influences, chiefly through the efforts of Boniface, have given way to Roman. "The wandering Britons, or false heretical priests",² find their teaching and rites rejected because they were regarded as outside the Catholic Church.

Coming to this island, we find the mission among the English, when it had almost died out, revived into new vigour from Lindisfarne in the North; "while Augustine was the apostle of Kent, Aidan was the apostle of England"—

¹ Ep. iv, *Mon. Germ. Hist. Epp.*, tom. iii, p. 167.

² "Et gentilitatis ritum, et doctrinam vel venientum Brittonum vel falsorum sacerdotum hereticorum sive adulteros, aut undecumque sint renuentes, ac prohibentes abiciatis."—Gregory III, *Mon. Moguntina*, Jaffé, iii, 103.

so writes the late Bishop Lightfoot: "He had all the virtues of his Celtic race without any of its faults. . . . He was tender, sympathetic, adventurous, self-sacrificing; but he was patient, steadfast, calm, appreciative, discreet before all things." "This grace of discretion", writes Bede, "marked him out for the Northumbrian mission; but when the time came he was found to be adorned with every other excellence."¹

But to the mind of Wilfrid of York the Church of England, in the form which it had taken through the efforts of Aidan and those who followed him, was not Catholic. The conference at Whitby, where Colman represented the Celtic view, Wilfrid, the Roman, brought about a radical and permanent change. England became Roman. The organisation of that Church was settled on a continental basis by the introduction of ancient canons in the Council of Hertford, A.D. 673. Its life now flows in a stream of ideas that *must* condemn the Christianity of the Welsh as non-Catholic.

There was present at the Council of Hatfield, A.D. 680, a man who, by the express desire of the Council, was to be brought into close relation with the Welsh. This was Aldhelm, who at the time of his writing held the post of Abbot in the monastery of Malmesbury. He was Abbot of Malmesbury from A.D. 675 to 705. At the command of the Council of Hatfield (*jubente synodo sue gentis*)² he wrote a letter to the king and bishops (*sacerdotes*) of Domnonia.³ As far as we know a similar letter may have been sent to some other parts, or other persons may have been commissioned to conduct similar negotiations elsewhere. A study of this letter will enable us to see not only that there was

¹ *Leaders of the Northern Church*, p. 44.

² Bede, *H. E.*, v, 18.

³ *Mon. Germ. Hist. Epp.*, tom. iii, p. 231-235.

schism between the English and Welsh Churches, but also to understand the ideas and convictions with which the former approached the latter. It is a formal and, in a way, official letter, so that from it we may gather not only the views of Aldhelm individually, but also of the whole Church in England, while making advances with respect to "the unity of the Catholic Church and the concord of the Christian religion". There can be no benefit of good works "outside the Catholic Church"—so we read—nor any profit of the strictest holy life in a monastery or a hermit's cell.¹

By "Catholic Church" he means the Roman and those in communion with it (*de nostris, id est, catholicis*), such as the English. It seems evident that if the British of Domnonia, or the Welsh (of whom he particularly mentions the bishops of Dyfed), persist in certain usages and in the attitude they had assumed towards the English Church, they must, in his opinion, be pronounced to be outside the Catholic Church. By abandoning this position as well as their own peculiar rites, and in this way only, can they become entitled to be regarded as orthodox and catholic. "The precepts of your bishops", he says, "are not in accord with catholic faith." First of all, he refers to the tonsure which prevailed in the Welsh or British Church. The one and

¹ "Nuper cum essem in concilio episcoporum, ubi ex tota pene Britannia innumerabilis Dei sacerdotum caterva confluit, ad hoc presertim congregata, ut pro ecclesiarum sollicitudine et animarum salute ab omnibus decreta canonum et patrum statuta tractarentur et in commune, Christo patrocinium praestante, conservarentur; his igitur rite peractis, omne sacerdotale concilium meam parvitatem pari precepto et simili sententia compulerunt, ut ad vestre pietatis presentiam epistulares litterarum apices diregerem et eorum paternam petitionem salubremque suggestionem per scriptae stilum intimarem, hoc est de ecclesiae catholicae unitate et christiani religionis concordia, sine quibus fides otiosa tarpescit et merces futura fatescit. Quid enim prosunt bonorum operum emolumenta, si extra catholicam gerantur ecclesiam."—*Ibid.*, p. 231.

sufficient condemnation is, that to retain it is to stiffly refuse the tonsure prescribed by St. Peter himself, the head of the apostles. The testimony of scripture is appealed to, as well as the Ten Books of Clement, in support of the Petrine origin of the Roman Tonsure.¹ In the second place, high ecclesiastical authorities are adduced in favour of the Roman computation of Easter, sufficient to fix at once upon those who followed another method the reproach of schism. The third point presented to us is the unfriendly conduct of the Welsh bishops of Dyfed on the other side of the Bristol Channel (*ultra Sabrinae fluminis fretum*). They contemptuously refuse to associate with the English. Unfortunately we have no means of testing how far the account given here is true. We do not know the circumstances, beyond what we learn from this letter of Aldhelm. According to him (in this also representing the English Church), the Welsh did not belong to the Catholic Church. Neither orthodoxy of faith nor sanctity of life as such could avail them. The harshness of manner, unhappily shown by the Welsh in the seventh century, may be the result of an indignant feeling, that the advances made by the English towards unity should have such a basis as this. With the question itself of Catholicity I have no concern here; my task is the very simple one of sketching the conditions under which it was presented to the Welsh by Aldhelm, representing the bishops who had met at Hatfield. The abbot further pictures a Welsh "reader of books and wise judge of the scriptures" shielding himself behind an irreproachable Catholic creed, by virtue of which he will number himself in the assembly of Catholics (*in catholicorum coetu*). Nevertheless such orthodoxy of faith can

¹ "Nos, inquam, secundum sacrosanctam scripturae auctoritatem de tonsura nostra veritatis testimonium perhibentes, diversas ob causas Petrum apostolum hunc ritum sumptis adserimus."—*Ibid.*, p. 232.

be of no avail; it is mere vain boasting, because "the foundation of the church and the foundation of the faith is laid first of all in Christ, and then in Peter."¹

Here is exactly the position that was held by Wilfrid at Whitby. The Welsh and Irish were schismatics,² their ordination and Eucharist were in consequence invalid. I have no intention of following the slow story of this bitter strife. We know for certain that when Bede wrote (c. 731), "the faith and religion of the English" were treated with contempt by the Welsh (*H. E.*, ii, 120), though it were not possible to prove that Taliesyn's words belong to the same period—

"Gwae ny cheidw ey deवाद
Rhac bleidie Rhufeiniaid
A'i ffon gnwppa."

By A.D. 768 the *catholica unitas* had found a strong champion within the Welsh Church itself. This was Elfod, or Elbodugus, as the name is given in Latin, who was then a monk, probably abbot, as the appellation "man of God" shows, and Bishop of Bangor. Elfod holds the same position in the Welsh Church as Wilfrid had held in the English, or Boniface in the Frankish Church. He

¹ "Quae cum ita se habeant, propter communem caelestis patriae sortem et angelicæ sodalitatæ collegium subnixis precibus et flexis poplitibus vestram fraternitatem adiurantes suppliciter efflagittamus ut ulterius doctrinam et decreta beati Petri contumaci cordis supercilio et protervo pectore non abhominemini et traditionem ecclesiae Romanae propter prisca priorum statuta vestrorum nequaquam, tyrannica freti pertinacia adroganter aspernemini. Petrus namque Dei filium beata voce confessus audire meruit: 'Tu es Petrus. . . .' Fundamentum quippe ecclesiae et firmamentum fidei principaliter in Christo et sequenter in Petro collocatum."—*Ibid.*, p. 234-235.

² "Paschalem rationem quam schismatici Britanniae et Hiberniae non cognoverunt."—*Vita Wilfr.*, 5; Bede, *H. E.*, v, 20, cf. 25; Bright's *Early English Church Hist.*, p. 199.

leads a movement, for Catholicity, through conformity with the Church of Rome, and through the recognition of the authority of the apostolic see. In North Wales the movement proved successful. We find such references as the following to this man of influence and the cause he represents—

“A. 768. Pasca commutatur apud Brittones, emendante Elbodugo homine dei.” (Easter is changed among the Britons by the correction of Elfod, man of God.)

“A. 809. Elbodg (Elbodgu?) Archiepiscopus Guenedote regionis migravit ad Dominum.” (Elfod Archbishop of Gwynedd passed away to the Lord.)—*Annules Cambriae, Cymmrodor*, ix.

“Deg mlyned a thrugein a seith cant (A.D. 770) oed oet Crist pan symudwyt pasc y brytanyeit druy orchymyn elbot gwr y Duw Wyth cant mlyned oed oet crist (A.D. 800-809) ac yna y bu varu rei vrenhin a chadell brenhin powys, ac elbot archescob gwyned.”—*Brut y Tywysogion*, Rhys and Evans, p. 258.

The account given in the *Myvyrian Archaeology* (printed also in Haddan and Stubbs, i, 204) differs in date and adds some interesting particulars. The change in North Wales is placed in A.D. 755, and is said to have been opposed by the other bishops; this opposition caused the English to attack the Welsh in South Wales.

“Ac achaws hyny y daethant y Saeson ar y Cymry yn Neheubarth, lle bu Cad Coed Marchan, a gorfuwyd ar y Saeson yn anrhydeddus.”¹

From this we gather that Elfod was in some way or other acting in conjunction with the English Church. Nevertheless, even at the time of his death (A.D. 809), there was great tumult among the ecclesiastics—“terfysg mawr ym mhlith y gwyr eglwysig”—because the Bishops

¹ Gee's edition, p. 686.

of Llandaf and Menevia regarded themselves as archbishops¹ of older privilege (“hŷn o fraint”) than Elfod “Archbishop of Gwynedd”.

Through the influence of Elfod and others, among whom Zimmer classes Nennius, the author of the *Historia Britonum*, the old order changes, and the “many things” which Bede notices as contrary to the unity of the Church disappear. Among these would be the peculiar episcopacy of the Welsh, paving the way for diocesan sees of the normal type, and for the stricter organization seen in the first five canons of the Council of Hertford. But particularly then began to disappear their ancient monastic establishments on the model found in the *Instituta* of John Cassian, a type to which the Celtic Churches seem to have devotedly clung. The high prestige of Rome will in time cause the rule of Benedict to be substituted for this, as, after Boniface, was the case among the Franks, where numerous monasteries that had lived under the Celtic type introduced by Columbanus embraced the new mode. Dr. Hauck, in describing this change in the Frankish kingdom, observes that the rule of Benedict “proves itself to be, throughout, the work of a sober-minded genius and organising talent. . . . Nowhere was the ideal of the ascetic life lost out of sight, but everywhere there is seen the clear insight of a man who aims at the attainable. In

¹ The title of archbishop need not cause us any difficulty. It was given to any bishop who held an exalted position among his brethren. That it did not, for some centuries, imply the powers of Metropolitan is proved by Hinschius, *Kirchenrecht*, ii, s. 6, 9, so that when we find Elfod called Archbishop of Gwynedd, the meaning is that Bangor in Gwynedd then corresponded to Menevia, which, according to the laws of Hywel Dda, was an “eisteddva arbennic”. It was, probably, the chief see among several in the North, as Ty Ddewi, among the seven of Dyfed. Bangor holding a pre-eminent position as an “eisteddva arbennic”, its bishop was on that account termed “archbishop”.

this way the rule of Benedict provided what was missing in that of Columbanus: a highly serviceable statute for every community of monks."¹

The *Lives* of several Welsh saints, while purporting to describe the sixth century, give plain though unconscious evidence of the prevalence of the new monastic life, that is, the Benedictine, at the time when their authors were writing. Who would say that all these changes were not for the better?²

But what is above all significant is the new position taken advisedly by the Welsh Church in the movement of which Elfod of Bangor had been a strong promoter. The tide that we see advancing over all the West, with Wilfrid in England, with Adannan in Ireland, with Ceolfrid among the Piets, with Boniface in Germany, now with Elfod, has covered Wales. In order to be orthodox or Catholic, the Welsh Church becomes Roman, believing, as Aldhelm had taught, that neither true faith nor good works could otherwise avail. Thus did Wales enter into the unity of the Middle Ages and begin its submission to the mediæva supremacy of the Roman Pontiff.

¹ *Kirchengesch. Deutschlands*, i, 283.

² The severe character of Welsh and Irish monastic life, too severe to last, will be evident from the *Life of David*, the *Life and writings of Columbanus*; its cumbrously long services are described in c. vii of *The Regula of Columbanus*. For instance, during three winter months, beginning with the first day of November, twenty-five "antiphones", or anthems, of three Psalms each, were sung during the services of the nights preceding Saturday and Sunday. The whole Psalter was thus directed to be sung on those two nights (*ita ut psalterium inter duas supradictas noctes numero content*). On the other nights, twelve antiphons, i.e., thirty-six Psalms, were sung each night. From the end of January there was a gradual decrease until midsummer; from that time a gradual increase until November. Seebass, *Ueber Colomba von Luxeuils Klosterregel und Bussbuch*, s. 16-19. Also Dr. Hauck's work, i, 240-257.

THE

Cymmrodorion Record Series.

THE idea of the publication of Welsh Records, which had for some time occupied the thoughts of leading Welsh Scholars, took a definite and practical shape at the meeting of the Cymmrodorion Section of the National Eisteddfod held at Brecon in 1889. In the papers which were read at that meeting it was shown that a vast quantity of material necessary for understanding the history of Wales still remained buried in public and private Libraries, and also that such of the Welsh Chronicles as had been given to the world had been edited in a manner which had not fulfilled the requirements of modern scholarship.

As it appeared that the Government declined to undertake any further publication of purely Welsh Records, it was suggested by Sir John Williams that the Council of the Cymmrodorion Society should take the work in hand, and establish a separate fund for that purpose.

The Council are of opinion that a work of this magnitude cannot be left to private enterprise, although they thankfully acknowledge the indebtedness of all Welshmen to such men as Mr. G. T. Clark of Talygarn, the Rev. Canon Silvan Evans, Mr. J. Gwenogfryn Evans, Mr. Owen Edwards, Mr. Egerton Phillimore, and Professor John Rhys, and they fully appreciate the valuable work done by members of the various Antiquarian Societies.

Private enterprise has enabled the Council to issue, without cost to the Society, the first number of the Series which they have undertaken. The edition of *Owen's Pembrokehire*, the first part of which has already been issued, is the result to Mr. Henry Owen—a member of the Society's Council—of long and arduous labour, and an expenditure of a sum of money which would enable any patriotic Welshman who follows that example to present two numbers of the proposed Series to his countrymen.

The second number of the Series consists of Records from the Ruthin Court Rolls (A.D. 1294-5), edited by Mr. R. Arthur Roberts, of the Public Record Office. *A Catalogue of the Welsh Manuscripts in the British Museum*, and a transcript of *The Black Book of St. David's*, are in course of preparation.

In the future numbers of the Series will be published, from public or private MSS., with Introductions and Notes by competent scholars, such Records as will throw light on some period of Welsh History. These publications will, the Council trust, go far to remove from the Principality the dishonour of being the only nation in Europe which is without anything approaching to a scientific history.

It is hoped to issue annually one number of the Series. The cost of each number will, it is anticipated, be about £250. To ensure a continuity of publication, it is necessary to form a Permanent Capital Fund, and this the Society of Cymmrodorion have resolved to do. This Fund, of which Sir John Williams, Bart., Sir W. Thomas Lewis, and Mr. Henry Owen, F.S.A., are the Trustees, will be under the control of the Council, but will be kept separate from the general fund of the Society. It will be applicable solely to the purposes herein designated, and an account of receipts and payments will be submitted to each contributor.

Towards the expenses of publication for the current year the Council have found themselves in a position to set aside from the Society's General Fund the sum of £50, a contribution which they trust a large accession of members to the ranks of the Society will speedily enable them to augment.

The Council confidently appeal to all Welshmen for sympathy and help in this really national enterprise. Welshmen are proverbially proud of the antiquities of their land. To place the record of these antiquities within the reach of every Welsh student in an accurate and intelligible form, and to enable him to understand the growth of the national and individual life, is a work which should unite all Welshmen for the benefit of their countrymen, and for the honour of Wales.

BUTE, *President.*

E. VINCENT EVANS, *Secretary.*

CYMMRODORION LIBRARY,
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. Cheques may be sent to E. VINCENT EVANS, Secretary to the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion, 27, Chancery Lane, W.C., crossed "London Joint Stock Bank, Limited, to the credit of the Cymmrodorion Record Series Fund."

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FOR THE ENCOURAGEMENT OF

Literature, Science and Art as connected with Wales.

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E. VINCENT EVANS

The
Transactions
of the Honourable
Society of Qymmrodorion.

SESSION 1894-95.

PRINTED FOR THE SOCIETY
BY
CHAS. J. CLARK, 4, LINCOLN'S INN FIELDS, W.C.
1896.

THE HONOURABLE SOCIETY OF CYMMRODORION.

President:—The Most Hon. the Marquess of Bute, K.T.

THE HONOURABLE SOCIETY OF CYMMRODORION, originally founded under Royal patronage in 1751, was revived in 1873, with the object of bringing into closer contact Welshmen, particularly those resident out of Wales, who are anxious to advance the welfare of their country; and of enabling them to unite their efforts for that purpose. Its especial aims are the improvement of Education, and the promotion of intellectual culture by the encouragement of Literature, Science, and Art, as connected with Wales.

Meetings of the Society are held in London during the Spring and Summer months, for the Reading of Papers on Literary, Scientific, and Artistic subjects, and for the discussion of practical questions within the scope of the Society's aims. A Series of Meetings is annually held in Wales in connection with the National Eisteddfod, under the name of "THE CYMMRODORION SECTION", to promote the consideration of Educational, Literary, and Social Questions affecting the Principality. It was from these meetings that the "NATIONAL EISTEDDFOD ASSOCIATION", the "SOCIETY OF WELSH MUSICIANS", and the "SOCIETY FOR UTILISING THE WELSH LANGUAGE" sprang; the latter being the outcome of the inquiries instituted by the Society of Cymmrodorion in 1884 and 1885.

The Society's collection of books, formed by the bequests of the late Joseph Edwards and the late Henry Davies, and by subsequent donations and purchases, is open to the use of Members as a Lending Library.

Subscription to the Society, entitling to copies of all its publications, and admission to all meetings:—One Guinea per annum.

Application for membership should be addressed to the Secretary, E. Vincent Evans, Lonsdale Chambers, 27, Chancery Lane, London, W.C.

LIST OF THE SOCIETY'S PUBLICATIONS.

- Y Cymmrodor**, Vols. ii, iv, v, vi, vii, viii, ix, x, xi, 10s. 6d. per volume. [Vols. i and iii, out of print.]
- The History of the Cymmrodorion.** Out of print.
- A Dictionary in Englyshe and Welshe**, by Wyllyam Salesbury (1547). Facsimile, black letter. 4 parts, 2s. 6d. each.
- The Gododin of Aneurin Gwawdrydd**, by Thomas Stephens, Author of *The Literature of the Kymry*. 6 parts, 2s. 6d. each.
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- The Transactions of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion** (Session, 1892-93).
- The Transactions of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion** (, 1893-94).

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REPORT
OF
THE COUNCIL OF THE
Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion,
For the Year ending November 9th, 1895.

PRESENTED TO THE ANNUAL MEETING, HELD ON THURSDAY, 19TH DECEMBER,
1895.

THIRTY-SEVEN new members were added to the Society during the past year. By the death of the late Lord Aberdare, the Society lost one of its most faithful and zealous supporters. A lifelong friend to the cause of Welsh Education, he was, at the time of his death, Chancellor of the University of Wales, in whose foundation this Society acted a not unimportant part. The Council have also to record the death of the late Charles W. Jones, who for many years did excellent work for the Society as its Secretary.

During the last year the following meetings were held:—

1894.

On December 13.—ANNUAL MEETING OF THE MEMBERS; and REPORTS ON PUBLICATIONS, by Mr. Henry Owen, F.S.A. (*Owen's Pembrokeshire*), Mr. Edward Owen (*Catalogue of Welsh MSS.*), and Mr. J. W. Willis-Bund, F.S.A. (*Black Book of St. David's*).

1895.

On January 30.—ANNUAL DINNER OF THE SOCIETY, at the Whitehall Rooms, Hôtel Métropole; President, Sir John Williams, Bart.

- On February 6.—Joint Meeting of the Cymmrodorion and Folk-Lore Societies. Chairman: Mr. D. Brynnôr Jones, Q.C., M.P. Paper on “The Hunting of Twrch Trwyth”, by Professor Rhys, LL.D., Oxford.
- On March 28.—Paper on “The Future of Welsh Education”, by Miss E. P. Hughes, Cambridge Teachers’ College, Cambridge. Chairman: Dr. Isambard Owen, M.A., Senior Deputy-Chancellor of the University of Wales.
- On May 15.—Paper on “The Cistercian Abbey of Cwm-Hir, Radnorshire”, by Mr. Stephen W. Williams, F.S.A., Rhayader. Chairman: The Marquess of Bute, K.T., President of the Society.
- On May 30.—Paper on “The Welsh Calendar”, by the Rev. John Fisher, B.D., Ruthin. Chairman: Dr. Alfred Daniell, M.A.
- July.—ANNUAL CONVERSAZIONE OF THE SOCIETY, held at the Galleries of the Royal Institute of Painters in Water Colours, Piccadilly. Reception of the Members, by Sir Lewis Morris, on behalf of the President.

At the Athenæum Hall, Llanelly, in connection with the National Eisteddfod of Wales, 1895 (Cymmrodorion Section):—

- On Monday, July 29th.—Mr. Gwilym Evans, C.C., in the chair, an Inaugural Address was delivered by Principal Viriamu Jones, Vice-Chancellor of the University, on “The Work of the University of Wales”.
- On Wednesday, July 31st.—Mr. David Randell, M.P., in the chair. Papers were read on “The Progress of Choral Singing in Wales”, by Mr. M. O. Jones, Treherbert, and on “Wales and the Tonic Sol-Fa System”, by Mr. W. T. Samuel, Swansea.
- On Thursday, August 1st.—Mr. T. Marchant Williams, J.P., in the chair. A paper was read on “Welsh Genius in the Literature and Art of the Day”, by Mr. William Edwards Tirebuck.

The arrangements for the current session, in addition to the Inaugural Address on “The Historical Importance of the Cymric Tribal System”, already delivered by Dr. Frederic Seebohm, include papers on “The Early Relations of the Brython and the Gael”, by Professor Kuno Meyer; on “Cymru Fu, some Contemporary Statements”, by Mr. R. Arthur Roberts, of Her Majesty’s Record Office; and on “The

Development of Welsh Agriculture”, by Professor Parry of the University College of Wales, Aberystwyth.

It is proposed to hold the Annual Dinner of the Society on the 17th day of February 1896, and the Council have the honour to announce that H.R.H. the Duke of York has consented to be the guest of the Society on the occasion. They trust to have the support of all the members in giving His Royal Highness a loyal and a hearty welcome.

The Session will wind up with the usual social gathering in the month of June.

During the year the only publication issued to the members was *The Transactions of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion* for the Session 1893-4, containing the following papers, viz :—“The Ancient Church in Wales”, by Sir Roland L. Vaughan Williams; “Welsh Saints”, by Mr. Willis-Bund, F.S.A.; and “The Christian Church in Wales during the Fifth and Sixth Centuries”, by Professor Hugh Williams, M.A., together with Reports and Statements of Account to the 9th of November, 1894.

Early in the year, Mr. Egerton Phillimore, whose contributions to Celtic literature have done so much to enhance the value of the Society’s publications, tendered his resignation as Editor of *Y Cymmrodor*, which the Council with much regret accepted. The Secretary was requested to see through the press and to issue vol. xii of *Y Cymmrodor*, the sheets of which have been for some time in type. The first number of the volume, containing Judge Lewis’s paper on “The Court of the Council of Wales and the Marches”, with several valuable appendices, and Mr. Alfred N. Palmer’s paper on “Offa’s and Wat’s Dykes”, as well as other contributions of interest, will be issued immediately.

The Transactions of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion for 1894-5 are now being printed. The volume

contains Professor Rhys' paper on "The Hunting of Twrch Trwyth"; Miss E. P. Hughes' paper on "The Future of Welsh Education"; the Rev. J. Fisher's paper on "The Welsh Calendar"; and Mr. Stephen W. Williams' paper on "The Cistercian Abbey of Cwm-Hir, Radnorshire", to which the Council have had the pleasure of adding a most interesting set of illustrations drawn by the well-known antiquarian artist Mr. Worthington G. Smith.

Arrangements have now been completed which the Council trust will ensure greater attention and regularity in the publication department of the Society's work. The care of *Y Cymmrodor* has been entrusted to a *Cymmrodor* Editorship Committee consisting of:—

Professor JOHN RHYS.

Mr. ALFRED NUTT.

„ HENRY OWEN.

„ EDWARD OWEN.

„ J. H. SILVAN EVANS.

„ J. W. WILLIS-BUND.

The Magazine will be devoted to the publication of the results of original research, but it is intended to retain the practice of publishing the Sessional Lectures in a separate volume, to be called the *Transactions of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion*.

By an arrangement of purchase between this Society and the National Eisteddfod Association, the Council have secured the Association's Carnarvon Eisteddfod Prize Essay, consisting of a "Collection of the Poems of Iolo Goch, with Historical and Critical Notes", by Mr. Charles Ashton of Dinas Mawddwy, a well-known contributor to Welsh literature. This acquisition will enable the Council to carry out the plan projected and begun by the first editor of *Y Cymmrodor*—the late Rev. Robert Jones of

Rotherhithe (see vols. i and ii). This work, under the supervision of Mr. Ashton and the Society's Secretary, is now going through the press—over 200 pages have been printed off, and the remaining sheets will be cleared in the course of a few weeks.

The Council are further pleased to report that they have arranged to publish a transcript of the Harleian MS. of *Nennius*, with an Introduction by Mr. Alfred Nutt, and a Translation by Mr. Henry Owen, F.S.A.

It is in contemplation to publish a companion edition of *Gildas*, with Introduction, Translation, and Notes by Professor Hugh Williams of Bala, whose paper on "The Christian Church in Wales", in the last number of *The Transactions of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion*, has excited very considerable interest and discussion amongst Continental writers.

With regard to the publications of the Cymmrodorion Record Series, the Council have to state that the second and third numbers of *Owen's Pembrokeshire* are in the press, and that *The Black Book of St. David's*, and *The Catalogue of Welsh Manuscripts in the British Museum* are being proceeded with.

With the advent of spring the Council hope to obtain the consent of Mrs. Phillips, the owner of the Manor (to whom they are already greatly indebted), and the assistance of Mr. Stephen Williams of Rhayader, to make further investigations at Abbey Cwm-Hir, with the view of determining the facts as to the burial of Prince Llewelyn ap Gruffydd.

The Council have made several enquiries for new offices, but, up to the present, have not been able to secure suitable accommodation.

Under the Society's Rules the term of office of the following officers expires, viz. :—

THE PRESIDENT,
THE VICE-PRESIDENT,
THE AUDITORS,

and ten Members of the Council retire under Rule 4, viz.:—

Mr. R. H. JENKINS.
,, T. E. MORRIS, LL.M.
,, EGERTON PHILLIMORE, M.A.
,, ISAMBARD OWEN, M.D., M.A.
,, HENRY OWEN, B.C.L., F.S.A.
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,, RHYS-DAVIDS, M.A., LL.D.
,, FREDK. T. ROBERTS, M.P.
Mr. J. W. WILLIS-BUND, F.S.A.

A vacancy also arises through the removal of His Honour Judge Lewis from London.

A Financial Statement for the year is appended to this Report.

THE HONOURABLE SOCIETY OF CYMMRODORION.

Statement of Receipts and Payments,

FROM 9TH NOVEMBER 1894 TO 9TH NOVEMBER 1895.

<i>Dr.</i>	<i>£</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>	<i>Cr.</i>
To Balance in hand, November 9th, 1894 ...	170	11	1	
" Subscriptions ...	323	5	8	
" Sale of Publications ...	2	7	0	
By Rent, Hire of Lecture-room, Insurance, etc. ...	34	8	0	
" Printing and Posting <i>Cymmrodorion</i> Transactions ...	124	13	3	
" General Printing ...	24	16	10	
" Lectures, Meetings, and Conversations ...	44	7	6	
" Eisteddfod Section Expenses ...	7	10	0	
" Stationery, Postage, and Petty Expenses ...	28	13	7	
" Advertising ...	1	11	6	
" Library Subscription ...	1	1	0	
" Donation to Cymmrodorion Record Series Fund ...	50	0	0	
" Secretary's Remuneration and Commission ...	61	16	0	
" Balance in hand (subject to payment of sundry liabilities for 1895) ...	117	11	1	
				£496 3 9

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Examined and found correct,

JOHN BURRELL, }
ELLIS W. DAVIES, } *Auditors.*

H. LLOYD ROBERTS, *Treasurer.*
E. VINCENT EVANS, *Secretary.*

THE
Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion,

FOR THE ENCOURAGEMENT OF

Literature, Science, and Art as connected with Wales.

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(Corrected to 31st December, 1895.)

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TRANSACTIONS
OF THE
Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion.

SESSION 1894-95.

NOTES ON THE HUNTING OF TWRCH
TRWYTH.¹

BY PROFESSOR JOHN RHŶS, M.A., LL.D.

THE paper about to be read to you is devoted in part to an examination of the story called the Hunting of Twrch Trwyth, and my reasons for attempting the task will appear in due time. The story is one of those incorporated in the tale known as that of Kulhwch and Olwen, the hero and heroine concerned. Twrch Trwyth is pictured as a formidable boar at the head of his offspring, consisting of seven swine, and the Twrch himself is represented as carrying between his ears a comb, a razor, and a pair of shears. The plot of the Kulhwch renders it necessary that these precious articles should be procured; so Kulhwch prevails on his cousin Arthur to undertake the hunt. Arthur began by sending one of his men, to wit, Menw, son of Teirgwaed, to see whether the three precious things mentioned were really where they were said to be, namely, between Twrch Trwyth's ears. Menw was a great magician who usually formed one of any party of Arthur's men paying a visit to a pagan country; for it was his business to subject the

¹ Read before the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion on Wednesday the 6th of February 1895, at 20, Hanover Square. Chairman, Mr. D. Brynmôr Jones, Q.C., M.P.

inhabitants to magic and enchantment, so that they should not see Arthur's men, though the latter might see them. Menw found Twrch Trwyth and his offspring at a place in Ireland called Esgeir Oerfel, and in order to approach them he alighted in the form of a bird near where they were. He tried to snatch one of the three precious articles from Twrch Trwyth, but he only succeeded in securing one of his bristles, whereupon the Twrch stood up and shook himself so vigorously that a drop of venom from his bristles fell on Menw, who never enjoyed a day's health afterwards as long as he lived. Menw now returned and assured Arthur that the treasures were really about the Twrch's head as it was reported. Arthur then crossed to Ireland with a host, and did not stop until he found Twrch Trwyth and his swine at Esgeir Oerfel. The hunt began and was continued for several days, but it did not prevent the Twrch from laying waste a fifth part of Ireland. Arthur's men, however, succeeded in killing one of the Twrch's offspring, and they asked Arthur the history¹ of that swine. Arthur replied that it had been a king before being transformed by God into a swine on account of its sins. Here I should remark by the way, that the narrator of the story forgets the death of this young boar, and continues to reckon the Twrch's herd as seven.

Arthur's next move was to send one of his men, Gwrhyr, Interpreter of Tongues,² to parley with the boars. Gwrhyr,

¹ The word used in the text is *ystyr*, which now means 'meaning or signification'; but it is there used in the sense of 'history', or of the Latin '*histōria*', from which it is probably borrowed.

² In the original his designation is *Gwrhyr Gwalstaut Ieithoed*, and the man so-called is in the *Kulhwch* credited with the mastery of all languages, including those of certain birds and quadrupeds. *Gwalstaut*, also found written *gwalstot*, is the Anglo-Saxon word *wealhstōd*, 'an interpreter', borrowed. The name *Gwrhyr* is apparently identical with that of *Ferghoir*, borne by the Stentor of Fionn mac Cumhail's following:

in the form of a bird, alighted above where Twrch Trwyth and his swine lay, and addressed them as follows: "For the sake of Him who fashioned you in this shape, if you can speak, I ask one of you to come to converse with Arthur." Answer was made by one of the boars, called Grugyn Gwrych Ereint, that is, Grugyn Silver-bristle, for like feathers of silver, we are told, were his bristles wherever he went, and whether in woods or on plains, one saw the gleam of his bristles. The following, then, was Grugyn's answer:—"By Him who fashioned us in this shape, we shall not do so, and we shall not converse with Arthur. Enough evil has God done to us when He fashioned us in this shape, without your coming to fight with us." Gwrhyr replied: "I tell you that Arthur will fight for the comb, the razor, and the shears that are between the ears of Twrch Trwyth." "Until his life has first been taken," said Grugyn, "those trinkets shall not be obtained, and to-morrow morning we set out hence for Arthur's own country, and all the harm we can, shall we do there."

The boars accordingly set out for Wales, while Arthur with his host, his horses, and his hounds, on board his ship Prydwen, kept within sight of them. Twrch Trwyth came to land at Porth Clais, a small creek near St. David's Head, but Arthur went that night to Mynyw, which seems to have been Menevia or St. David's. The next day Arthur was told that the boars had gone past, and he overtook them killing the herds of Kynnwas Cwrvagyl, after they had destroyed all they could find in Deugledyf, whether

Ferghoir's every shout is said to have been audible over three cantreds. In any case one who was to approach to parley with a savage host had good reason to cultivate a loud voice, if he wished to be certain of returning to his friends. See the footnote at p. 489 of my Hibbert Lectures.

man or beast. Then the Twrch went as far as Presseleu, a name which survives in that of *Preseley* or *Precelly*, as in *Precelly Top* and *Preseley Mountains*, in North Pembrokeshire. Arthur and his men began the hunt again, while his warriors were ranged on both sides of the Nyver or the river Nevern. The Twrch then left the Vale of the Nevern and made his way to Cwm Kerwyn, the name of which survives in that of Moel Cwm Kerwyn, one of the Preseley heights. In the course of the hunt in that district the Twrch killed Arthur's four champions and many of the people of the country. He was next overtaken in a district called Peuliniauc,¹ in which I take a portion of the parish of Llandysilio to be situated, the church of which is a little to the north-west of the railway station of Clyn Derwen, on the Great Western line. We next find the Twrch at Aber Tywi, which would seem to mean some place near the mouth of the Towy, probably Ferryside, and thence he makes his way to Glynn Ystu, or the Vale of Ystu, which I have not identified, and there he is lost to the dogs and to me.

We next find the hunt resumed in the valley of the

¹ The original has *Pelumyauw*, p. 138, and the name occurs in the Red Book *Bruts*, p. 355, as *Pelumyauw*, and, p. 411, as *Pelmea[wc]* between the Commots of Amgoed and Velfrey. The identification here suggested comes from Mr. Phillimore, who has seen that *Peuliniauc* must be a derivative from the name of Paulinus, that is of the Paulinus, probably, who is mentioned in the ancient inscription at Llandysilio, CLVTORIGI FILI PAVLINI MARINILATIO. There are other churches called after Tysilio, so this one used to be distinguished as *Llandysilio yn Nylfed*, that is, Llandysilio-in-Dyved; but the pronunciation was much the same as if it had been written *Llandysilio yn Yfed*, meaning 'Llandysilio-a-drinking', "whereof arose a merrye jest", as George Owen tells us in his *Pembrokeshire*, p. 9. It is now sometimes called Llandysilio'r Gynffon, or 'Llandysilio of the Tail', from the situation of a part of the parish on a *tail* of Carmarthenshire land running into Pembrokeshire.

Llychwr or Loughor, when Grugyn and another young boar, called Llwydawc Govynnyat, committed terrible ravages among the huntsmen. This brought Arthur and his host to the rescue. Twrch Trwyth, on the other hand, came to help his boars; but as a tremendous attack was now made on him, he moved away, leaving the Llychwr, and making eastwards for Mynyđ Amanw, or 'the Mountain of Aman', for Amanw is plentifully preserved in that neighbourhood in the shortened form of Aman or Amman.¹ On Mynyđ Amanw one of his boars was killed, but he is not distinguished by any proper name: he is simply called a *banw*, 'boar'. The Twrch was again hard pressed, and lost another called Twrch Llawin. Then a third of the swine is killed called Gwys, whereupon Twrch Trwyth went to Dyffryn Amanw, or the Vale of Aman, where he lost a *banw* and a *benwic*, a 'boar' and a 'sow'. All this evidently takes place in the same district, and Mynyđ Amanw was, if not Bryn Aman, probably one of the mountains to the south or south-east of the river Aman, so that Dyffryn Amanw may have been what is still called Dyffryn Aman, or the Valley of the Aman from Bryn Aman to where the river Aman falls into the Llychwr. From the Aman the Twrch and the two remaining boars of his herd made their way to Lluch Ewin, 'the lake or pool of Ewin', which is now represented, possibly, by a peat swamp, believed to have once been a pool. It is drained by a stream now called Rhwin, which possibly means 'r Ewin',² 'the Ewin'. It falls into the Aman at a place called "Rhos Aman".

¹ Other instances of the like shortening occur in words like *cefnder*, 'a cousin', for *cefndern*, and *arddel*, 'to own', for *arddelw*. As to *Aman*, it enters, also, into a group of Glamorganshire place-names: witness *Aber Aman* and *Cwm Aman*, near Aberdare.

² This suggestion comes from Mr. W. H. Williams (*Watcyn Wyn*), of Ammanford, and has been communicated to me by Mr. Fisher, who

We find them next at Llwch Tawi, which probably means some lake or pool drained by a tributary of the river Tawè. At this point the boars separate, and Grugyn goes away to Din Tywi, which must have been a position somewhere on the Towy, and thence to a place in Cardiganshire, where he was killed, namely, Garth Grugyn. I have not been able to identify the spot, though it must have once had a castle, as we read of its being strengthened by Maelgwn Vychan in the year 1242. After Grugyn's death we read of Llwydawc being hunted to Ystrad Yw, a district draining into the Usk. The name means the 'Strath of the Yw', and the district contains a church called *Llanbedr Ystrad Yw*, 'Llanbedr in the Strath of Yw'. It seems to have embraced the Brecknock portion of the basin of the Grwyni and a part of Cwm Du, where there is a *Llygad Yw*,¹ 'the eye or source of Yw'. In Ystrad Yw the boar in question was killed, but this part of the story is made more obscure by careless copying on the part of the scribe.² We next find

gave me information about Llyn Llech Owen, discussed in a previous paper (*Cymmrodorion Transactions*, Session 1892-93, p. 11), and I have to thank both gentlemen for much valuable help; I am also indebted to Mr. Howel Walter of Ystrad Gynlais, and to several others who have given me local information with the utmost readiness. As to the dialect, I ought to have added that Mr. Fisher does not consider that the *h* is sounded in *Rhwin*; and with *y Rwin*, for *yr Ewin*, he compares *y rwenrew*, 'numbness of the fingers' (for *ewinrew*), *y rullis*, 'the will' (for *yr ewyllis*), *y rwirth*, 'the uncle' (for *yr ewythr*), as illustrating the pronunciation of the district.

¹ For this information, and a good deal more, I am indebted to Mr. J. Davies of Pandy, Abergavenny, who my friend Prof. Young Evans of Trevecca has been good enough to consult for me.

² I have re-examined the passage, and I have no doubt that we were wrong in printing Gregyn; the manuscript has *Grugyn* which comes in the last line of column 841. Besides that the line is in part somewhat faint, the scribe has evidently omitted something of the original story, and I guess that the lacuna occurs in the first line of the next column, after the words *y llas*, which seem to me to end the story of Grugyn.

Twrch Trwyth, now the sole survivor, making his way towards the Severn Sea, so Arthur summoned Cornwall and Devon to meet him at Aber Havren, or the Mouth of the Severn,¹ where a furious conflict with the Twrch took place in the very waters of that river. After much trouble Arthur's men succeeded in getting possession of two out of the three treasures of the boar, but he escaped with the third, namely, the comb, across the Severn into Cornwall, where the comb was at length snatched from him. Chased thence, he went straight into the sea with the hounds Anet and Aethlem after him, and nothing has ever been heard of any of the three from that day to this.

That is the story of Twrch Trwyth, except that the names and characteristics of the men and dogs engaged in the hunt have here been, for the most part, omitted. The question of the meaning of the whole I do not attempt to discuss, but I should be very glad to hear your opinions on that point at the close, for I must now ask you to follow me into a few further details with regard to the names mentioned. Let us begin with that of Twrch Trwyth: this we can practically equate with a name at the head of one of the articles in Cormac's *Irish Glossary*. The exact form there is *Orc tréith*, and the following is the first part of the article itself as given in O'Donovan's translation edited by Dr. Whitley Stokes: "Orc Tréith, *i.e.*, nomen for a king's son, *triath* enim rex vocatur, unde dixit poeta *Oínach*

¹ This, probably, means some spot on the Severn estuary above the points where the Usk and the Wye discharge their waters into it respectively; and it is worthy of note that the land on the other side seems to have, at the time to which the story of Twrch Trwyth refers, belonged to *Keruyw a Dyfueint*, 'Cornwall and Devon'. Compare another swine story, namely, that of Dallwyr Dallben's Sow, in the *Triads (Red Book Mab., p. 307)*, where Pennryn Hawstin, opposite Gwent, and meaning, probably, the place now called Aust in Gloucestershire, is said to be in *Keruyw*, 'Cornwall'.

n-wirc tréith, 'fair of a king's son', i.e., food and precious raiment, down and quilts, ale and flesh-meat, chessmen and chessboards, horses and chariots, greyhounds and playthings besides." In this extract the word *orc* occurs in the genitive as *wirc*, and it means a 'pig' or 'boar'; in fact it is, with the usual Celtic loss of the consonant *p*, the exact Goidelic equivalent of the Latin *porcus*, genitive *porci*. From another article in Cormac's *Glossary*, we learn that *Tréith* is the genitive of *Triath*, which has been explained to mean a king. Thus, *Orc Tréith*, means Triath's *Orc*, Triath's Boar, or the King's Boar; so we take 'Twrch Trwyth in the same way to mean 'Trwyth's Boar'. But we have here a discrepancy which you will have noticed, for *twrch* is not the same word as Irish *orc*, the nearest form to be expected in Welsh being *Wrch*, not *Twrch*; but such a word as *Wrch* does not, so far as I know, exist. Now did the Welsh render *Orc* by a different and unrelated word? I think not; for it is remarkable that Irish has besides *orc* a word *torc*, meaning a 'boar', and *torc* is exactly the Welsh *twrch*. So there seems to be no objection to our supposing that what Cormac calls *Orc Tréith* was known in the Goidelic of this country as *Torc Tréith*, which had the alliteration to recommend it to popular favour. In that case one could say that the Goidelic name *Torc Tréith* appears in Welsh with a minimum of change as *Twrch Trwyth*, and also with the stamp of the popular favour to which I have referred, to wit, in the retention of the Goidelic *th*, as in the case of an ancient mound or tumulus, on the Withy Bush estates in Pembrokeshire. It is called the *Rath*, which is identical with the Irish word *ráth*, 'a fortification or earthworks', and we seem to have it also in *Cilrhath fawr*, the name of a farm in the neighbourhood of Narberth. Now the Goidelic word *tréith*, appears to have come into Welsh as *tréth-i*, the long vowel of which must in Welsh have become *oi* or *ui*

by about the end of the sixth century; and if the *th* had been treated on etymological principles its proper equivalent in the Welsh of that time would have been *t*. The retention of the *th* is a proof, therefore, of oral transmission; that is to say the Goidelic word passed bodily into Brythonic, to submit afterwards to the phonological rules of that language.

A little scrutiny of the tale will, I think, convince you that one of the objects of the original story-teller was to account for certain place-names. Thus Grugyn was meant to account for the name of Garth Grugyn, where he was killed; Gwys, to account similarly for that of Gwys, a tributary of the Twrch, which gives its name to a station on the line of railway between Ystalyfera and Bryn Aman; and Twrch Llawin to account for the name of the river Twrch, which receives the Gwys, and falls into the Tawe some distance below Ystrad Gynlais, in Glamorganshire.

Besides Grugyn and Twrch Llawin, there was a third brother to whom the story gives a special name, to wit, Llwydawc Govynnyat, and this was, I take it, meant also to account for a place-name, which, however, I have not been able to find: it should be sought for in Ystrad Yw, in the county of Brecon. Still greater interest attaches to the swine that have not been favoured with names of their own, those referred to simply as *banw*, 'a young boar', and *benwig*, 'a young sow'. Now *banw* has its equivalent in Irish in the word *banbh*, which O'Reilly explains as meaning a 'sucking pig', and that is the meaning also of the Manx *bannoo*. But, formerly, the word had very possibly a wider meaning, as we find an Irish warrior named, or nicknamed, Banb Sinna, or the Boar of Sinna.¹ The Rev. Canon Silvan Evans identifies with the Welsh word the name of the river known as the *Banw*, an affluent

¹ Windisch's *Irische Grammatik*, p. 123.

of the Vyrnwy, in Montgomeryshire. The Welsh appellation is introduced twice into the story of Twrch Trwyth, once to account, as I take it, for the name Mynyđ Amanw, 'Aman Mountain', and once for Dyffryn Amanw, 'Aman Valley'. Both *Amanw's* were meant, as I think, to be accounted for by the *banw* killed at each of the places in question. But how, you will ask, does the word *banw* account for *Amanw*, or throw any light on it at all? Very simply, if you will only suppose the name to have been Goidelic; for then you have only to provide it with the definite article and it makes *in banbh* 'the pig or the boar', and that could not in Welsh yield anything but *ymmánw* or *ammánw*,¹ which, with the accent shifted forwards, became *Amman* or *Aman*.

Having premised these explanations let us, before we proceed further, see to what our evidence exactly amounts. Here, then, we have a mention of seven swine, but as two of them, a *banw* and a *benwic*, are killed at one and the same place, our figure is practically reduced to six. The question then is, in how many of these six cases the story of the hunt accounts for the names of the places of the deaths respectively, that is to say, accounts for them in the ordinary way with which one is familiar in other Welsh stories. They may be enumerated as follows: (1) a *banw* is killed at Mynyđ *Amanw*; (2) a *twrch* is killed in the same neighbourhood where there is a river Twrch; (3) a swine called *Gwys* is killed in the same neighbourhood still, where there is a river called Gwys, falling into the

¹ In some native Welsh words we have an option between a prefix *ym* and *am*, an option arising out of the fact that originally it was neither *ym* nor *am*, but *m̄*, for an earlier *m̄bi*, of the same origin as Latin *ambi* and Greek *ἀμφί*, 'around, about'. The article here would fall under the influence of the analogy of that prefix so far as regards pronunciation.

Twrch; (4) a *banw* and a *benwic* are killed in Dyffryn Amanw; (5) *Grugyn* is killed at a place called Garth *Grugyn*; and (6) a swine called Llwydawc is killed in Ystrad Yw, at a spot not named. Thus, in five cases out of the six, the story accounts for the place-name, and the question now is, can that be a mere accident? Just think what the probabilities of the case would be if you put them into numbers: South Wales, from St. David's to the Vale of the Usk, would supply hundreds of place-names as deserving of mention, to say the least, as those in this story; is it likely, then, that out of a given six among them no less than five should be accounted for or alluded to by any mere accident in the course of a story of the brevity of that of Twrch Trwyth? To my thinking such an accident is inconceivable, and I am forced, therefore, to suppose that the story was originally so designed as to account for them. I said "originally so designed", for the scribe of the *Red Book*, or the last editor, let us say, of the story, shows no signs of having detected any such a design. Had he detected the play on the names of the places introduced, he would probably have been more inclined to develop that feature of the story than to efface it. What I mean may best be illustrated by another swine story, namely, that which occurs in the Mabinogi of Math, son of Mathonwy. There we find Pryderi, King of Dyved, holding his court at Rhudlan on the Teivi, and he was the possessor of a new race of animals, given him as a present by his friend Arawn, King of Hades; but he had made a solemn agreement with his subjects, that he should give none of them away until they had doubled their number in Dyved. These animals were called *hobeu* or pigs. Now Gwydion, in Arvon, heard of them, and determined to procure some of the breed. So he visited Pryderi's court, and by magic and enchantment he deceived the King. Successful in his quest, he sets out

for Gwyned with his *hobeu*, and this is how his journey is described in the *Mabinogi*: "And that evening they journeyed as far as the upper end of Keredigion, to a place which is still called, for that reason, *Mochdref*, 'Swine-town'. On the morrow they went their way, and came across the Elenyd mountains, and that night they spent between Kerry and Arwystli, in the town which is also called for that reason, *Mochdref*. Thence they proceeded, and came the same evening as far as a commot in Powys, which is for that reason called *Mochnant*,¹ 'Swine-burn'. Thence they journeyed to the cantred of Rhos, and they spent that night within the town which is still called *Mochdref*."² "Ah, my men", said Gwydion, 'let us make for the fastness of Gwyned with these beasts: the country is being mustered in pursuit of us.' So this is what they did: they made for the highest town of Arllechwed, and there built a *creu*, 'sty', for the pigs; and for that reason the town was called *Creu-Wyrion*,³ 'Wyrion's Sty'."

That is how a portion of the *Math* story is made to account for a series of place-names, and had the editor of the *Kulhwch* understood the play on the names of places in question, in the story of *Twrch Trwyth*, it might be expected that he would have given it prominence, as already suggested. Then comes the question, why did he not understand it? The first thing to suggest itself as an answer is, that he may have been a stranger to the geography of the country concerned. That, however, is a very inadequate explanation; for his being a stranger, though it might

¹ The name is well known in that of *Llanrhaiadr yn Mochnant*, in the north of Montgomeryshire.

² Between Colwyn Bay and Llandudno Junction, on the Chester and Holyhead line of railway.

³ The spot is now called *Cyr-Wrion* or *Cr-Wrion*, and is on Lord Penrhyn's estate in the parish of *Llandegai*, in the neighbourhood of *Pangor*.

account for his making blunders as to the localities, would not be likely to deter him from risking incursions into geography which he had not mastered.

What was it, then, that hid from him a portion of the secret of the original in this instance? It was undoubtedly, at least in part, a difficulty of language. Let us take an illustration: *Gwys* has already been mentioned more than once as the name of one of *Twrch Trwyth's* offspring, and the words used are very brief, to the following effect: "And then another of his swine was killed: *Gwys* was its name." As a matter of fact, the scribe was labouring under a mistake, for he ought to have said, rather, "And then another of his pigs was killed: it was a sow", since *gwys* was a word meaning a sow, and not the name of any individual hog. The word has, doubtless, long been obsolete in Welsh, but it was known to the poet of the "Pigling's Lullaby", in the *Black Book of Carmarthen*, where one of the stanzas begins (fol. 29^a) with the line *Oian aparchellan. aparchell. gwin gwis*, which the late Dr. Pughe rendered: "Listen, little porkling! thou forward little white pig." I fear I should be obliged to render it less elegantly. "Lullaby little pigling, a white sow pigling." The word occurs, also, in Breton as *gwiz* or *gwéz*, "trouie, femelle du porc", and as *gwys* or *gwis* in Old Cornish, while in Irish it was *féis*. Nevertheless, the editor of the *Twrch Trwyth* story did not know it, but it would be in no way surprising that a Welshman, who knew his language fairly well, should be baffled by a word not in use in his own district or his own time. But this barely touches the fringe of the question of language. The range of the hunt, as already given, was well within the boundaries, so to say, of the portion of South Wales where we find Goidelic inscriptions in the Ogam character of the fifth or sixth century; and in a paper in the *Archæologia Cambrensis* last January, and in

another which is to follow it shortly, I have endeavoured to show that Goidelic must have lived down to the sixth or seventh century in the south and north of Wales, a tract of Mid-Wales being then, probably, the only district which was anything like completely Brythonic in point of speech. In this very story, probably, such a name as *Garth Grugyn* is but slightly modified from a Goidelic *Gort Gruccain*, 'the Enclosure of Gruccan or Grugan', genitive *Gruccain* or *Grugain*: compare *Cúcholainn*, made in Welsh into *Cocholyn*. But the capital instance in the story of *Twrch Trwyth* is, as has already been made sufficiently evident, that of *Amanw*, which I detect as *Ammann* (probably to be read as *Anmanu*), in the *Liber Landavensis*: it is there borne by a lay witness to a grant of land called *Tir Dimuner*, which would appear to have been in what is now Monmouthshire. Interpreted as standing for *in Banbh*, 'the boar', it would make a man's name of the same class as *Ibleid*, found elsewhere in the same manuscript, evidently *i Bleid*, now *y Blaidd*, 'the wolf'. But observe that the latter was Welsh and the former Goidelic, which makes all the difference for our story. The Goidel relating the story would say that a boar, *banbh*, was killed on the mountain or hill called 'the boar', *in banbh*, and his Goidelic hearer could not fail to associate the place-name with the appellation. But a Brython could hardly understand what the words *in banbh* meant, and certainly not after he had transformed them into *Amanw*, with the *nb* assimilated into *mm* or *m*, and the accent shifted to the first syllable. It is needless to say that my remarks have no meaning unless Goidelic was the original language of the tale. That I regard as the important lesson of this strange story of *Twrch Trwyth*, and at this point my paper might appropriately end. But it is worth while looking round to see how this conclusion harmonizes with other things.

Perhaps, however, I ought to explain to you that I do not feel easy as to the proper names which I have omitted, of the men who fell at the different spots where the Twrch is represented brought to bay. Why were their names inserted in the story at all? I suspect that they also were intended to explain place-names; but I must confess that I have had little success in identifying traces of them in the Ordnance Maps. Others, however, may fare better, who have a better acquaintance with the districts in point, and in that hope I append the names in their order in the story.

1. Arthur sends to the hunt on the banks of the Nevern, in Pembrokeshire, his men, Ely and Trachmyr, Gwarthegyð son of Kaw, and Bedwyr, also Tri meib Cledyv Divwlch, 'three sons of him of the gapless sword'. The dogs are also mentioned: Drudwyn, Greid son of Eri's whelp, led by Arthur himself, Glythmyr Ledewig's two dogs, led by Gwarthegyð son of Caw, and Arthur's dog Cavall, led by Bedwyr.

2. Twrch Trwyth makes for Cwm Kerwyn, in the Preseley Mountains, and turns to bay, when he kills the following men, who are called Arthur's four champions or *rhyswyr*:¹—Gwarthegyð son of Caw, Tarawg Allt Clwyd, Rheidwn son of Eli Atver, and Iscovan Hael.

3. He turns to bay a second time in Cwm Kerwyn, and kills Gwydre son of Arthur, Garselid Wyðel, Glew son of Yscawt, and Iscawyn son of Panon or Bannon.

4. Next day he is overtaken in the same neighbourhood, and he kills Glewlwyd Gavaelvawr's three men, Huandaw,

¹ The sort of question one would like to ask in this district is, whether there is a spot there called *Bedd y Rhyswyr*, or the like. I have a dim notion that I have heard some such a name as *Bedd y Rhyswyr*, or *Carn y Rhyswyr* somewhere.

Gogigwr, and Pen pingon, many of the men of the country also, and Gwlydŷn Saer, Arthur's chief architect.

5. Arthur overtakes the Twrch next in Pelunyawc (see p. 4), and the latter there kills Madawc son of Teithion, Gwyn son of Tringad son of Neved, and Eiriawn Penlloran.

6. Twrch Trwyth next turns to bay at Aber Tywi, 'the Mouth of the Towy', and kills Kynlas son of Kynan, and Gwilenhin, King of France.

7. The next occasion of his killing any men, whose names are given, is when he reaches Llwch Ewin (p. 5), near which he killed Echel Vordwyd-twill, Arwyli eil Gwydawg Gwyr, and many men and dogs besides.

8. Grugyn, one of the Twrch's offspring, goes to Garth Grugyn, in Keredigion, with Eli and Trachmyr pursuing him; but what happened to them we are not told in consequence of the omission mentioned above (p. 6).

9. Llwydawg Govyniad at bay in an uncertain locality kills Rhudvyw Rhys, and many others.

10. Llwydawg goes to Ystrad Yw (p. 6), where he meets the Men of Llydaw, and he kills Hir-beisawg King of Llydaw, also Llygatruð Emys and Gwrbothu, maternal uncles to Arthur.

The idea that the story of Twrch Trwyth was more or less topographical is not a new one. Lady Charlotte Guest, in her *Mabinogion*, ii, 363-5, traces the hunt through several places called after Arthur, such as *Buarth Arthur*, 'Arthur's

¹ What is one to make of these men of Llydaw? Were there any Bretons settled in Ystrad Yw as one of the results of the Norman Conquest? Prof. Zimmer does not suppose the Kulhwch, as we have it, to date before the last quarter of the 12th century (see the *Göttin-gesche Gelehrte Anzeige* for 1890, p. 827). If Llydaw does not refer here to Brittany, can it mean the banks of Llyn Savaddon, near Brecon—Llangorse Lake, as it is now called—in which there was once a crannog? Compare the name Llyn Llydaw borne by a lake on Snowdon.

Cattle-pen', and *Bwrdd Arthur*, 'Arthur's Table', besides others more miscellaneously named, such as *Twyn y Moch*, 'The Swine's Hill', near the source of the Aman, and *Llwyn y Moch*, 'The Swine's Grove', near the foot of the same eminence. But one of the most remarkable statements in her note is the following: "Another singular coincidence may be traced between the name of a brook in this neighbourhood, called Echel, and the Echel Vordwyd-twill who is recorded in the tale as having been slain at this period of the chase." I have been unable to discover any clue to a brook called Echel, but one called Egel occurs in the right place; so I take it that Lady Charlotte Guest's informants tacitly identified the name with that of Echel. Substantially they were probably correct, as *Egel* fits exactly as the Welsh form of Echel, supposing the latter to have been Goidelic. The Egel, called Ecel in the dialect of the district, rises near the Rhwin, with which I have (p. 5) associated the Llwh Ewin of the tale, and it flows into the Clydach, which, in its turn, falls into the Tawè, near Pont ar Dawè. As the next pool mentioned is Llwh Tawè, I presume it was some water or other which drained into the Tawè in this same neighbourhood. At any rate, one can hardly hesitate in equating *Egel* with the first part of the name of Echel Vordwyd-twill, who fell at a spot to be sought there, though in this case the Welsh form is the one which survives in connection with the brook. Probably the circumstances deciding which of the two forms of a name current in Welsh and in Goidelic should prevail, varied greatly in different localities, but to us, who are utterly ignorant of such circumstances, the result looks merely like a matter of chance. One may briefly say that the death of the hero Echel, was introduced to account for the name of the brook of Echel, which, taking a Welsh form, has come to be Ecel or Egel. Indications of something similar occur in the part of the narrative relating the

death of Grugyn, at Garth Grugyn, in Cardiganshire. This boar is pursued by two huntsmen called Eli and Trachmyr, the name of the former of whom reminds one of Garth-Eli, in the parish of Llandewi-Brevi. Possibly the original story located at Garth-Eli the death of Eli, or some other incident in which Grugyn was concerned; but the difficulty here is that the exact position of Garth Grugyn is still to be ascertained. (See Note on p. 34.)

Lastly, our information as to the hunting of Twrch Trwyth is not exclusively derived from the *Kulhwch*; for besides an extremely obscure poem about the Twrch in the Book of Aneurin, a manuscript of the 13th century, we have one item given in the *Mirabilia* associated with the *Historia Brittonum* of Nennius, and this carries us back to the 8th century. It reads as follows:—

Est aliud mirabile in regione quæ dicitur Buelt. Est ibi cumulus lapidum, et unus lapis superpositus super congestum, cum vestigio canis in eo. Quando venatus est porcum Troit, impressit Cabal, qui erat canis Arthuri militis, vestigium in lapide, et Arthur postea congregavit congestum lapidum sub lapide in quo erat vestigiū canis sui, et vocatur Carn Cabal. Et veniunt homines et tollunt lapidem in manibus suis per spaciū diei et noctis, et in crastino die invenitur super congestum suum.

Lady Charlotte Guest, who published a sketch of the stone (*Mab.*, ii, 360), prevailed on a friend of hers to visit Carn Cabal, the name of which makes in modern Welsh Carn Cafall, 'Cavall's Cairn', but according to his account it is corrupted into Corn Cavall: it is a mountain in the district of Builth, in Breconshire, and to be seen from the town of Rhayader on the Wye. On this incident recorded by Nennius one has to remark that it does not occur in the *Kulhwch*; nor, seeing the position of the mountain, can it have been visited by Arthur or his dog in the course of the

hunt as described by the editor of that story in its present form. This suggests the reflection not only that the Trwyth story is very old, but that it consisted of an indefinite number of incidents which, taken together, would probably have formed a network covering the whole of South Wales as far north as the boundary of the strip of Mid-Wales occupied by the Brythons before the Roman occupation. In other words, the story of the Twrch Trwyth in the Kulhwch consists of fragments which I take to have formed a long rambling topographical tale elaborated by the Goidels of this country, the near kindred of the Goidels who framed the topographic stories forming the Dinseanchus, with which the old literature of Ireland abounds. On what principle the narrator of the Kulhwch made his selection from the topographical repertoire of the Goidels I cannot say; and one cannot help seeing that he takes little interest in them when he has made them, and shows still less insight into the etymological motif of the incidents which he mentions.

Among the reasons which have been suggested for the mediæval scribe overlooking and effacing the play on the place-names, I have hinted that he did not always understand them, as they sometimes involved a language which was not his. This raises the question of translation: if the story was originally in Goidelic, what was the process by which it passed into Brythonic? Two answers suggest themselves, and the first comes to this: if the story was in writing, we may suppose a literary man to sit down to translate it word for word from Goidelic to Brythonic, or else to adapt it in a looser fashion. In any case, one should suppose him a master of both languages and capable of doing justice to the play on the place-names; but it is readily conceivable that the very fact of his understanding both languages might lead him to miscalculate what was exactly

necessary to enable a monoglot Brython to grasp his meaning clearly. Moreover, if the translator had ideas of his own as to style, he might object on principle to anything like an explanation of words being interpolated in the narrative. In short, one can see several loopholes through which a little confusion might force itself in, and prevent the monoglot reader or hearer of the translation from correctly grasping the story at all points as it was in the original. The other view, and the more natural one, as I think, is that we should postulate the interference of no special translator, but suppose the story to have been current among the natives of a certain part of South Wales, say the Loughor Valley, at a time when their language was still Goidelic, and that, as they gradually gave up Goidelic and adopted Brythonic, they retained their stories and translated them, while they did not always translate their place-names. Thus, for instance, the discrepancy would arise between *banw* and *Ammanw*, which, to be Welsh, should have been rendered *y Banw*, 'the Boar'. If this is approximately what took place, it is easy to conceive the possibility of many points of nicety being completely effaced in the course of such a rough process of transformation. In one small matter it happens that we can contrast the community as translator with the literary individual at work: I allude to the word *Trwyth*. That vocable was not translated or transmuted at all at the time: it passed, when it was still *Trēth-i*, from Goidelic into Brythonic, and continued in use without a break; for the changes whereby it has become *Trwyth* have been such as other words have undergone in the course of ages, as already stated. On the other hand, the literary man who knew something of the two languages may have reasoned, that where a Goidelic *th* occurred between vowels, the correct etymological equivalent in Brythonic was *t* (subject

to be mutated to *d*). So when he took the name over he changed *Trēthi* into *Trēti*, whence we have "Porcus *Troit*" in Nennius, and *Twrch Trwyd*¹ in Welsh poetry: these *Troit* and *Trwyd* were the literary forms as contrasted with the popular *Trwyth*. As a parallel to the kind of translation by the people, which is here conjectured, I may cite the case of the Arthurian romances, rendered into French, as Professor Zimmer thinks, by the people of the eastern tract of Brittany, at the time when they, after being subjugated by the Norman, adopted his French in place of their own Brythonic idiom.

What has happened in one of our stories may have happened in others, say in the four branches of the Mabinogi, namely, Pwyll, Prince of Dyved; Bronwen, daughter of Llyr; Math, son of Mathonwy; and Manawydan, son of Llyr. Some time ago I endeavoured to show that the principal characters in the Mabinogi of Math, namely, the sons and daughters of Dôn, are to be identified as a group with the Tuatha Dé Danann, 'Tribes of the Goddess Danu or Donu', of Irish legend. I called attention to the identity of our Welsh *Dôn* with the Irish *Donu*, genitive *Donann*, *Gofynion* or *Gofannon*, with *Goibniu*, genitive of *Goibnenn*, and of *Lleu* or *Llew* with *Lug*. Since then Prof. Zimmer has gone further, and suggested that the Mabinogion are of Irish origin; but that I cannot quite admit. They are of Goidelic origin, but they do not come from the Irish or the Goidels of Ireland: they come rather, as I think, from this country's Goidels, who never migrated to the Sister Island, but remained here, and eventually adopted Brythonic speech. Among other names, Prof. Zimmer fixes on that of Mathonwy as probably the Welsh adaptation of some such an Irish name as the genitive

¹ An instance or two will be found in a note of Canon Silvan Evans's in Skene's *Four Ancient Books of Wales*, ii, 393.

Mathgamnai,¹ now Anglicized *Mahony*. That I am also prepared to accept in the sense that the Welsh form is a loan from a Goidelic one current some time or other in this country, and represented in Irish by *Mathgamnai*. Another name which I am inclined to regard as brought in from Goidelic is *Gilvaethwy*, son of Dôn: it would seem to involve some such a word as the Irish *gille*, 'a youth, an attendant or servant'. Perhaps one would also be right in regarding as of similar origin the name of Gilbert,² son of Catgyffro, who is mentioned in the *Kulhwch* and in the *Triads*; so I am not convinced that the name is to be identified with the Gillebert of the Normans, unless that was derived from Celtic. To return to the *Mabinogion*: I am still inclined to identify Llwyl, son of Kilcoed, with the Irish Liath, son of Celtchar,³ of Cualand, in the present county of Wicklow. Liath, whose name means 'grey', is described as the comeliest youth of noble rank among the Fairies of Erin; and the Welsh Llwyl, whose name also means 'grey', the only time he appears in the *Mabinogion* is ascribed not the comeliest figure, it is true, or the greatest personal beauty, but the most imposing disguise of a bishop attended by his

¹ See the *Göttungische gelehrte Anzeigen* for 1890, p. 512.

² Here possibly might also be mentioned the name of *Gilmin Troetn* or *Troed-ddu*, the legendary ancestor of the Wynnes of Glyn Llifon; but I do not know how early a mention is to be found of him.

³ *Celtchar*, genitive *Celtchair*, would seem to have meant 'him who is fond of concealment'. The *Mabinogi* form of the Welsh name is *Llwyd nab kil coet*, which literally meant 'Ll., son of (him of) the Retreat of the Wood'. But in the *Twrch Trwyth* story, under a slightly different form of designation, we seem to have the same person as *Llwydeu mab kelcoet* and *Llwydeu mab kel coet*, which would seem to mean 'Ll., son (of him) of the hidden wood'. It looks as if the bilingual story-teller of the transition had not been able to give up the *cel* of *Celtchar* at the same time that he rendered *coet* by *coet*, 'wood or trees', as if identifying it with *caillt*. Witness the mediæval Irish *caill*, 'a wood or forest', dative [plural *cailltib*, derivative adjective *caillteamhuil* 'silvester']; see Windisch's *Irische Texte*, p. 410.

suite: he was a great magician. The name of his father, *Kil-coet*, seems to be an inexact and popular rendering of *Celtchar*, the name of Liath's father, and altogether we seem to trace here the same touch of the hand of the people as we have in the story of Twrch Trwyth, that is to say, one here detects the people translating their stories into Brythonic, as they acquired that language and forgot their Goidelic: at any rate, one fails to identify the touch of the skilled translator or literary man."

Llwyd, son of Kil-coet, figures in that branch of the Mabinogi which goes by the name of Manawydan. That same story, however, shows a different treatment dealt out to another name, to wit, that of Kicva, the Queen of Pryderi, King of Dyved. The name appears to me to be very un-Welsh, but it must have passed through the hands of the professional man. It is probably a shortened form of *Kicvan*, of the same origin as a masculine genitive *Ciccamini* [read *Ciccamini*], in an Ogam inscription found at Ballinrannig, in the county of Kerry, and, as a later genitive, *Cichmaine*, in the place-name *Inber Cichmaine*,¹ the mouth of an Ulster stream, called after a certain *Cichman*, who may have been possibly a river divinity. We have the name in the *Liber Landavensis* in *Nant Cichmann*, 'the brook of *Cichmann*', forming part of the boundary of the parish of Llan Ishen, in Monmouthshire. But notice the difference: *Cichmann* is the Goidelic name continued in use, while *Kicva*, which would now be written *Cigfa*, has passed through the hands of a literary man, and secured possibly the attention of a court genealogist.² It may be

¹ See Windisch's *Irische Texte*, p. 131.

² What is one to make of *Cichwain* in *Llwyth Cichwain*, 'the tribe of Cichwain', mentioned by Llywelyn Fardd, a poet who lived in the 13th century? The poem in which the name occurs is devoted to Owen, son of Gruffydd, son of Gwenwynwyn (see the *Myyrrian Archaeology*, i, 356).

here mentioned that several others of the chief characters in the Mabinogion have two forms to their names: thus, for instance, corresponding to *Lug*, genitive *Loga*, we have the two forms *Lleu* and *Llew*, of which the former alone matches the Irish. But it is to be observed that *Lleu* remains in some verses¹ in the story of Math, whereas in the prose he appears to be called *Llew*. It is not improbable that the editing which introduced *Llew* dates comparatively late, and that it was done by a man who was not familiar with the Venedotian place-names, of which *Lleu* formed part. Similarly the two brothers, Govannon and Amaethon, as they are called in the Mabinogi of Math and in the *Kulhwch* story, are found also called *Govynyon* and *Amathaon*. The former agrees with the Irish form *Goibniu*, genitive *Goibnenn*, whereas the contrary is the case with *Govannon*; but as to *Amaethon* or *Amathaon*, the Irish counterpart has, unfortunately, not been identified. *Govannon* and *Amaethon* have the appearance of being etymologically transparent in Welsh, and they have probably been remodelled by the hand of an etymologist. There were also two forms of the name of Manawydan in Welsh; for, by the side of that, there was another, namely, *Manawydan*, liable to be shortened to *Manawyd*, both of which occur in old Welsh poetry.² *Manawyddan* was probably the popular form from the first, but one cannot be certain, as the Irish of the present day is *Manannán*. *Manannán* means *Manannán*, but I am not certain that this was the old Goidelic form or the only one, as Manx has *Mánnanan*, which points to *Manannán*, as the Manx should otherwise be *Mananayn* or *Mananane*, with the accent on the long ultima. Whether

¹ See my *Hibbert Lectures*, pp. 398-401.

² See the "Black Book of Carmarthen" in Evans' *Facsimile*, p. 47_b; Thomas Stephens' *Gododin*, p. 146; Dent's *Malory*, Preface, p. xxvi; and Skene's *Four Ancient Books of Wales*, ii, 51, 63, 155.

the name is derived from that of the Isle of Man, which is, in the crude form (also the genitive), *Manann*, or else from the district perpetuating the same name on both sides of the Forth, namely, in *Clack-mannan* and *Sla-mannan Moor* (Rhys' *Celtic Britain*,² p. 154), it is not improbable that the Brythons learned the name from Goidels. Supposing that to prove well founded, the following conjectures would represent the phonological connection between *Manawyddan* and *Munannán*. If we strip these names of the common termination, we have *Manawydd* = *Manann*; and Welsh *Manaw*, 'the Isle of Man', may be a form inferred from *Manawydd*: compare Welsh *Meirion* and *Meirionydd*, both equally denoting Merioneth or Merionethshire, and *Eifion* and *Eifionydd*, both meaning approximately the southern portion of Carnarvonshire. Further, *Manawydd* may be the representative of a *Manaviu* for an older *Manaviu*, genitive *Manavion-os*. This last would become in Irish (with its strong stress-accent placed as early as possible in the word) the actual genitive *Manann*. There is no objection to supposing the original form to have had *mon* rather than *man*: the best readings of the manuscripts of Ptolemy seem to be *Μονάοιδα* and *Μοναπίνα*, while Pliny calls the Island *Monapia*, and Orosius, *Menavia*. Lastly, as to Welsh *ydd* for an older *ii*, one may compare *Iwerydd* = Irish *Eriu* (p. 30 below); and *elfydd*, 'the land, the earth, the world', is possibly of the same origin as *Albiu* or *Albio*, 'Britain'; Irish *Alba*, genitive *Alban*, 'Britain, eventually the north of Britain only'—compare the Greek Ἠπειρος, 'Epirus', which literally meant 'the land, continent, or inland parts.' *Manawyddan* is called *mab Llyr*, 'son of Llyr', in Welsh, just as he is called *Manannán mac Lir* in Irish, and his brother Brân has the same patronymic in Welsh, as has also their sister, Branwen. In Irish the genitive *Lir* is so common as in *mac Lir*, 'son of Lir', and the nominative

so rare, that *Lir* has come to be treated in later Irish as the nominative too; but a genitive of the form *Lir* in Irish suggests a nominative *Ler*, and, as a matter of fact, it occurs.

So it seems possible that the Welsh *Llyr*¹ is no other word than the Goidelic genitive *Lir* continued in use, and this, were it certain, would be excellent evidence that the stories about the Llyr family in Welsh were Goidelic before they put on a Brythonic garb. But whether the conjecture prove well founded or not, I have little doubt as to the Goidelic origin of those stories. The expedition of Brân to Ireland would seem to indicate as their era, the time when the Goidels were beginning their conquests in Ireland, and we have a possible link with Irish legend in the name of the man who, at the meeting in the Meal-bag Pavilion, uttered the words given in the Mabinogi of Branwen as *Gwern gwngwch uiwch uordwyt tyllyon*, the signal for the commencement of the slaughter. His name was Mordwyt Tyllyon, and as the words ascribed to him are not Welsh or Irish, I am inclined to think

¹ There has been a good deal of confusion as to the name *Llyr*: thus, for instance, the Welsh translations of Geoffrey of Monmouth make the *Leir* of his Latin into *Llyr*, and the personage intended is represented as the father of three daughters named Gonorilla, Regan, and Cordella or Cordelia. But Cordelia is probably the *Creurdilad* of the *Black Book* (p. 49b), and the *Creidylat* of the *Kulhwch* story (*Red Book Mab.*, pp. 113, 134) and her father was *Llŷd Llŷwercint* (= Irish *Nuda Airgetlamh*) and not *Llyr*. Then as to the 'Leir' of Geoffrey's Latin, his name seems to have been given that form on the strength of the *legr* of *Legraceaster*, the Anglo-Saxon name of the town now called Leicester. In the oldest manuscript of the *A.-Saxon Chronicle*, it is called *Ligeraceaster*, where *ligera* may be the genitive plural of *leger*, 'a camp or lair', as I learn from Dr. Sweet. In that case, *Ligeru-ceaster* meant the 'Town of Camps', and the compound merely rendered the ancient name, which Ptolemy gives as 'Párai and the Antoninus Itinerary as *Ratae*, which signifies 'ráths or fortifications'.

that they must have been Pictish, the language of the pre-Celtic inhabitants of the British Islands. His name Mordwyt admits of being regarded as representing an older form which reminds one of the recorded designation of the Pictish king, Nechton *Morbet*, who is supposed to have reigned on the banks of the Tay in the fifth century. But the other half of the name, *Tyllyon*, is more instructive, and we may construe it as a genitive. So Mordwyt Tyllyon would mean Mordwyt of Tyllyon, that is to say, Mordwyt, son of a parent named Tyllyon, or Mordwyt, native of a place called Tyllyon, or else Mordwyt hero of Tyllyon. But what, you will ask, is Tyllyon? I cannot answer, except that it admits of being equated, letter for letter, with an Irish genitive *Tailten*, nominative *Tailtiu*, Anglicised *Teltown*, now the name of a house situated near the Blackwater, between Navan and Kells, in Meath. Tailtiu is said to have been given its name by Lug, who established there a great fair in honour of his nurse, who was called Tailtiu. This refers, I need hardly say, to the Lughnasadh, or the great Celtic feast of Lug on the 1st of August, which, being also the Emperor Augustus' day, has come to be known in Wales as *Gwyl Awst*, 'Augustus' Feast'. Time would fail me to expatiate on this fair and feast of Tailtiu, and I will only add that Tailtiu was, according to Irish legend, the scene of the great battle in which the sons of Mil, otherwise known as the Milesians, from whom the present Irish people believe themselves descended, broke for ever the power of the Tuatha Dé Danann. Possibly it is on a legend relating to some such a battle as that from which Brán escaped fatally wounded, and from which Mordwyt Tyllyon escaped not at all, the romance of the carnage of the Meal-bag Pavilion was based. Or shall I rather put it somewhat as follows?—the story of that carnage was an ancient and well-known

one which had nothing to do with a particular war in Ireland, and this is the more probable as we have a version of it wound into the story of the battle of *Dúnbold* (in the present county of Wicklow), which is dated by the Four Masters A.D. 594:¹ and traces of another Meal-bag house are to be detected in *Blatobulgium*,² the name of a Roman station located by the Itinerary of Antoninus somewhere near Middleby Kirk, not very far from the river Annan. But some Goidelic story-teller or other, in whose mind the war of his countrymen against the Pictish natives of Ireland loomed as the greatest war in the world, took into his head to incorporate the Meal-bag story with that of a real battle, at which Mordwyt Tyllyon fell fighting at the head of a host opposed to the Goidelic invaders.³ In any case, some of the principal figures in the Branwen Mabinogi must date early, as they seem to be ancient divinities: such, I take it, was Brân, who is there called Brân the Blessed.

From what has already been said, you will have noticed

¹ For details, see O'Donovan's note to the *Four Masters* under the year 594.

² See my *Celtic Britain*², pp. 280-1. Since the above was written I have heard of a Blatobulgium north of the Forth.

³ The difficulty about Mordwyt Tyllyon is that there are no data known to me, whereby one could decide for certain whether he was one of Brân's own men or one of his antagonists. Besides the mention of him in the story of the Meal-bag Pavilion in the *Branwen*, I only know of a single reference to him in Welsh literature, and that occurs in Poem XIV in the *Book of Taliessin* (Skene, ii, 154), where the poet bragging about the memorable scenes which he pretended to have witnessed, speaks as follows:—

*Bum y gan Vran yn Iwerdon,
Gweleis pan laddwyt y Mordwyt Tyllon.*

'I was with Brân in Ireland,
I saw the Mordwyt Tyllyon slain.'

On the whole this seems to make for the view that he was opposed to Brân.

that the Mabinogion are devoted to the fortunes of three powerful families or groups. The Children of Dôn, the Children of Llyr, and Pwyll's Family. This last is brought into contact with the Llyr group, which takes the position of superiority. Pwyll's Family belonged chiefly to Dyved. The power and influence of the Sons of Llyr had a far wider range; we find them in Anglesey, at Harlech, in Gwales, or the Isle of Grasholm off Pembrokeshire, and at Aber Henvelen, somewhere south of the Severn Sea. But the expedition to Ireland under Brân proved so disastrous, that the Llyr Group, as a whole, disappears, making way for the Children of Dôn. These last came into collision with Pwyll's son, Pryderi, in whose country Manawydan, son of Llyr, had ended his days. Pryderi, in consequence of Gwydion's deceit, makes war on Math and the Children of Dôn; he falls in it, and his army gives hostages to Math. Thus after the disappearance of the Sons of Llyr, the Children of Dôn are found in power in their place in North Wales,¹ and that state of things corresponds closely enough to the relation between the Tuatha Dé Danann and the Lir Family in Irish legend. There Lir and his are reckoned in the number of the Tuatha Dé Danann, but within that community Lir was so powerful that it was considered natural that he should resent a rival candidate being elected king in preference to him. So the Tuatha Dé took pains to conciliate Lir, as did also their king, who gave his daughter to Lir to wife, and when she died he gave him

¹ The Dôn and Llyr groups are not brought into conflict or even placed in contact with one another; and the reason seems to be, that the story-teller wanted to introduce the Sons of Beli as supreme in Britain after the death of Brân. Beli and his Sons are also represented in *Maxen's Dream* as ruling over Britain when the Roman conqueror arrives. What is to be made of Beli may be learnt from Zimmer's *Nennius Vindicatus*, pp. 272-3.

another of his daughters,¹ and with the treatment of her stepchildren by that deceased wife's sister begins one of the three sorrowful tales of Erinn, known to English readers as the "Fate of the Children of Lir". But what I wish you to observe is the relative position: the Tuatha Dé remain in power, and the Children of Lir belong to the past, which is exactly the sequence also in the Mabinogion. For reasons on which I cannot now enter, I am inclined to regard the Danann-Dôn group as the more purely Goidelic, while the Lir-Llyr group may have originally belonged to the aborigines, whom the Celts found here. When the aborigines as a distinct nationality disappeared in the southern half of Britain, they would be all the more closely associated by the Celts with Ireland as long as that country belonged entirely to the Ivernians and other Pictish tribes. So I take it that the conjecture as to the non-Celtic origin of the Lir-Llyr family is considerably strengthened by the fact that Brân, usually called 'son of Llyr', is once called Brân, son of *Ywerit* (that is, *Iweridd*, later *Iwerydd*) in the *Black Book*, where we have the following couplet put into the mouth of Gwyn, son of Nûd, p. 500:

*Mi awum in lle llas bran.
Mab ywerit clod lydan.*

'I have been where Brân fell,
Iweryd's son, the far-famed.'

Iweryd is a female name equivalent to Eriu, the Irish name of Ireland, and of the goddess treated by Irish mythographers as eponymous of the country. Further, the Lir-Llyr group is strikingly elemental in its patronymic *Lir*, *Llyr*. The nominative, as already stated, was *ler*, 'sea',

¹ These things one learns about Lir from the story mentioned in the text as the "Fate of the Children of Lir", as to which it is right to say that no ancient MS. version is known. See M. D'Arbois de Jubainville's *Essai d'un Catalogue*, p. 8.

Welsh, *llyr*,¹ of similar meaning, and Cormac renders *mac Lir* by *filius maris*. How far we may venture to consider the sea to have been personified in this context, and how early, it is impossible to say. In any case it is deserving of notice that one group of Goidels to this day do not say *mac Lir*, 'son of Lir', *filium maris*, but always 'son of the *lir*': I allude to the Gaels of the Isle of Man, in whose language *Manannán* is always *Mannanan mac y Lir*, or, as they spell it, *Lear*, that is to say, 'M. son of the *lir*'. Manxmen have been used to consider *Manannán* their eponymous hero, and first king of their Island; they call him more familiarly *Mannanan beg mac y Lear*, 'Little Mannanan, son of the *lir*', which we may (though no Manxman of the present day attaches any meaning to the word *lir* or *lear*) interpret as 'Little Mannanan, son of the sea'. The wide sway of the Children of Lir before the era of the Danann-Dôn group, reminds one of the story of the labours of Hercules, where it relates that hero's adventures on his return from robbing Geryon of his cattle. Pomponius Mela makes Hercules on that journey fight in the neighbourhood of Arles with two sons of Poseidon or Neptune, whom he calls (in the accusative) Albiona and Bergyon. To us, with our more adequate knowledge of geography, the locality and the men cannot appear the most congruous, but there can hardly be any mistake as to

¹ For some further remarks on the name, see my *Arthurian Legend*, pp. 130-1. See also Nutt's *Legend of the Holy Grail*, p. 28, when, in giving an abstract of the *Petit Saint Graal*, he speaks of the Brân of that romance (in French *Bron*, nominative *Brons*) as having the keeping of the Grail and dwelling "in these Isles of Ireland".

² For *Mac Lir* "filius maris", see O'Donovan's Translation of Cormac's *Glossary*, edited by Stokes, p. 114. *Ler*, 'sea', occurs, written *lear*, in the *Book of Ballymote*, fol. 277^b, 40, whence it is copied into O'Donovan's edition of the *Book of Rights*, p. 196. For these references I have to thank Mr. Whitley Stokes, whose *Urkeltscher Sprachschatz* may be consulted s.v. *leros*, "Meer", p. 249.

the two personal names being echoes of those of Albion and Iverion, Britain and Ireland.

The whole cycle of the *Mabinogion* must have appeared strange to the story-teller and the poet of Mediæval Wales and far removed from the world in which they lived. We have, possibly, a trace of this feeling in the epithet *hen*, 'old, ancient', given to Math in a poem in the *Red Book of Hergest*, where we meet with the line¹:—

Gan math hen gan govannon.

'With Math the ancient, with Govannon.'

Similarly in the confused list of heroes which the story-teller of the *Kulhwch* was able to put together, we seem to have Govannon, Math's relative, referred to under the designation of *Gowynnyon Hen*, 'Govynion the Ancient'. So strange, probably, and so obscure did some of the contents of the stories themselves seem to the story-tellers, that they may be now and then suspected of having effaced some of the features which it would have interested us to find preserved. This state of things brings back to me words of Matthew Arnold's, which I had the pleasure of hearing more years ago than I care to remember. He was lecturing on Celtic literature at Oxford, and observing "how evidently the mediæval story-teller is pillaging an antiquity of which he does not fully possess the secret; he is like a peasant", Matthew Arnold went on to say, "building on the site of Halicarnassus or Ephesus; he builds, but what he builds is full of materials of which he knows not the history, or knows by a glimmering tradition merely—stones 'not of this building', but of an older architecture, greater, cunninger, more majestic. In the mediæval

¹ See Skene's *Four Ancient Books of Wales*, ii, 303; also ii, 108-9, where the fragment of the poem as given in the *Book of Taliessin* is printed.

stories of no Latin or Teutonic people does this strike one as in those of the Welsh."

When saying that the Mabinogion and some of the stories contained in the *Kulhwch*, such as the Hunting of *Twrch Trwyth*, were Goidelic before they became Brythonic, I wish to be understood to use the word Goidelic in a pregnant sense. For till the Brythons came, the Goidels were the ruling race, at least in most of the southern half of Britain, with the aborigines as their subjects, and we do not know how far they and the aborigines had been amalgamating together. In any case, the hostile advent of a third race, the Brythons, would probably tend to hasten the process of amalgamation. That being so, the stories which I have loosely called Goidelic may have been largely Pictish in point of origin, and by Pictish I mean native, pre-Celtic and non-Aryan.¹ It comes to this then: we cannot say for certain whose creation *Brân*, for instance, should be considered to have been, that of Goidels or of Picts: he sat, as some of you may remember reading, on the rock of *Harlech*, a figure too colossal for any house to contain. Now is that Celtic or Pictish? I cannot be certain, but it evidently challenges comparison with *Cernunnos*, the squatting god of ancient Gaul, around whom the other gods appear like children in point of stature, if we may trust the monumental representations of him. One might feel inclined to think that he, at any rate, was no Aryan conception, but rather an indigenous divinity whom the Celts found in possession, and whom they were pleased to allow to squat on in peace. That theory is seductive, but it has, I fear, its difficulties.

¹ I have no time left to discuss the Pictish question, so I cannot do better than refer those who are curious about it to the last thing on the subject, namely, a learned paper by Prof. Zimmer on the Pictish "*Mutterrecht* and its significance for the study of Aryan archæology", recently published in the *Zeitschrift für Rechtsgeschichte*.

NOTE.—As to Garth Grugyn in Keredigion, pp. 6, 16, 18, I overlooked Mr. Phillimore's note to Owen's *Pembrokeshire*, p. 216, where he shows that Brechfa and Cayo once belonged to Keredigion. So Garth Grugyn should, perhaps, be looked for near Brechfa, where there is a Hafod Grugyn, and, as I am told, a *Garth* also. One would like to know if there are any remains of a mediæval castle there.

As to *Gilvaethwy*, p. 22, the Irish equivalent should be *Gille-Machtai* or, perhaps, *Mac Gilli-mochtai*.

POSTSCRIPT.—I have the kind permission of the Rev. Dr. Gaster to print the following note of his on the three precious things between the ears of Twrch Trwyth:—

“The three objects for which King Arthur set out on an expedition must be more than a simple comb, a razor, and a pair of scissors. They appear to me to be absolutely identical with the three similar precious things which are in the possession of a witch or giant. The young hero of the fairy tale is helped by the daughter of that uncanny being to get hold of them, and, with their assistance, he is able to baffle the efforts of the furious pursuer and so escape unhurt. Each of these possesses a peculiar magic quality. When thrown behind the horse which carries the young pair away, the comb is changed into a dense and impenetrable forest, thus arresting the pursuit, the razor into a high mountain, steep and sharp, through which the pursuer has to bore a hole, and instead of the scissors we have, as a rule, some other object, which becomes a lake, in which the pursuer is drowned whilst attempting to swim.

“The three treasures of the Boar must also have originally been endowed with similar magic properties, as otherwise the hunt would be inexplicable. The man who wrote the tale down, or the one to whom it owes its modern form, had quite forgotten the true purpose of the hunt, bent as he was on giving to that tale an historical colour.

“As for the literature of these three magic objects in fairy tales I refer to *Cosquin*, No. 12, and his Annotations, i, pp. 141 and 152 (cf. also No. 32, ii, p. 27). His notes are almost exhaustive, and embrace the whole range of fairy-lore.”

THE FUTURE OF WELSH EDUCATION.¹

By MISS E. P. HUGHES, CAMBRIDGE TEACHERS' COLLEGE.

"THERE never can be one perfect education exactly fitted to all"—so writes a wise teacher, and he goes on to give the only conditions under which such a thing would be possible: conditions, I am glad to say, which can never be realised, namely:—

1. All men living under exactly the same physical conditions, that is, in one land where there is no scenery save monotonous sameness.
2. Living under exactly the same economic conditions, that is, where all differentiation of labour has been given up.
3. Living where all differences of race and age and sex have been swept away.

These conditions can never be, and we are receding further and further from such a possibility. Man is spreading over the whole earth, and by greatly altering it is making it possible to live in many hitherto uninhabited districts. Economic differentiation is increasing, and the question of differences of nationality and of sex is being more and more emphasised every day.

I shall venture to assume, therefore, that because human beings differ greatly and are living under very different conditions, no perfect education can be found that will suit them all. Of course we know that if they were educated

¹ Read before the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion on Thursday, the 28th of March, 1895. Chairman, Dr. Isambard Owen, M.A., Senior Deputy Chancellor of the University of Wales.

alike the results would not resemble one another, any more than if twelve people were fed alike for a month would they get the same physiological result out of their food. But, it may be argued, if we have a wide and varied bill of fare and considerable freedom, would not one bill of fare do for all? Not, I think, if the twelve persons were living in twelve different countries and were expected to do twelve different kinds of work. The time and conditions of eating, and, indeed, the food itself would vary greatly. But the psychical part of our nature is much more sensitive to environment of all kinds, and much more capable of being hurt and helped than the physical part of our nature. Hence, I believe that the mental and moral food of different nations, and their mental and moral environment, should differ far more than their physical food and their particular physical environment.

If there is anything in nationality then we must have a national education. I believe very strongly in nationality, as all down-trodden nationalities must. All through my life in England, I am constantly being reminded of the fact that I am not English, and that there is a great deal in race and nationality. On the other hand, my English friends are very apt to forget that I am not English. I think this points to an essential difference between the two races, from which arises a very interesting educational problem.

Let me make my first dogmatic statement about the future of Welsh education. *It must be a national education, differing in certain essential points from education anywhere else.* It follows, therefore, naturally, that we cannot copy the education of any other nation, however successful such education may be elsewhere. We can only learn from it, in so far as we can discover the principles which guide it, intelligently understand those principles,

and wisely apply them under our own special conditions. The principles of education are universal, but in addition to understanding the principles we must also know how to apply them under very different conditions. The principles are eternal and universal, the conditions are temporary and local. We must understand the present in order to apply the principles.

I should make a similar statement about the desirability of a national education with reference to all nationalities. I do this, because I hold that the ideal education, at a given time, at a given place, is the product of many things, time conditions, physical conditions, economic conditions, past history conditions, political conditions and race conditions, and, therefore, that every nationality (which really assumes its differentiation from the rest of humanity) demands a special and characteristic education.

My second dogmatic statement is, that *there are certain special reasons why education in Wales should be specially national, and also why we should more particularly aim at this characteristic.* There are many ways of classifying races. I propose to-night to use, as a basis of classification, susceptibility, sensitiveness, responsiveness to human environment. Races differ greatly in this respect. One of the strongest characteristics of the English race is a wonderful non-sensitiveness to human environment. This explains much of its marvellous success in the past, much of its almost universal unpopularity among other races, and many of its failures.

If you place an Italian among a number of foreigners, he will, in a wonderfully short time, adjust himself to his new environment. Place him in a crowd, and he is exceedingly susceptible to all waves of feeling that affect the crowd; to the power of oratory, too, he responds quickly and keenly. But an Englishman never adjusts himself to any-

body. He is thoroughly English at all times and in all places. He is seldom carried away by infectious emotion, but usually keeps his head under all conditions. Even when he goes in for a revolution he goes in for a rational one: spills no blood, scarcely loses his temper. The Celt is at exactly the opposite end of the scale. He is unusually impressionable to his human environment, very sensitive to this particular set of conditions, easily cowed by oppression and defeat, frequently carried away by the opinions of others; on the other hand, delightfully tactful and sympathetic. An Englishman succeeds partly because he never knows when he is standing on other people's corns. A Celt has failed partly because he is over sensitive about other people standing on his corns. Now if we imagine two such races living side by side, all that is best in the Celt will not come to the surface for a long time. He will be more or less crushed by his English neighbour. If an Englishman is despised he is superbly indifferent to it. If a Celt is despised he is crushed by it and begins to disbelieve in himself. He is signally wanting in the power of asserting himself. History, I think, has proved it. In English history we see numerous Celtic names in the front rank, but all their glory and renown is considered English. What would the English army be without its Irish soldiers, its Highland and Irish and Welsh officers and men? but it is the English army notwithstanding, and when it wins a battle, it is to the glory of John Bull alone. It is of the highest importance that our education should be national, that we should be taught how to make the best of our Celtic possibilities and virtues, how to deaden our Celtic faults, all the more because we have to live alongside of the more sturdy, less impressionable, and more assertive English race.

We now come to the real problem before us. What kind

of national education shall we have for Wales? What must determine it? Surely four things.

1. Our special characteristics.
2. Our past history.
3. Our present conditions, physical, mental, and moral.
4. The special work that we can do in the world.

It is comparatively easy to know what are our special characteristics, but it is very difficult to determine how far they are the result of our past history. I propose, therefore, to consider these two questions together. What are our special characteristics? It seems desirable to take our bad qualities first, and for those who, like myself, believe very firmly in the Celtic race, it is comparatively easy to discuss with calmness their bad points because we believe so much in their good qualities.

1. *Undoubtedly we are suspicious.*—If we trust at all we are inclined to trust completely, and then we can easily be taken in and deceived, but very often we do not trust. A committee of Welshmen is amusingly unlike a committee of Englishmen. I have had experience of both. The former is much more exciting, and, to me, much more interesting. It is often a series of considerable conflicts, frequently ending unexpectedly in a sudden and delightful peace. Certainly it often reminds me of the suspiciousness of our race. Now what causes this? Partly our history. We have been governed by a race who have from their standpoint tried to be just to us, but who have never understood us. We have been wronged over and over again, and suspicion has grown apace as a result. It is also partly caused by our imagination, vivid and quick flowing; we do undoubtedly often imagine what does not exist. Home Rule will probably remove many of our wrongs, and certainly give us others of another kind. But I fear that the old suspicion will still go on between the

North and South, and between different parties, political and ecclesiastical, because I fear it is partly based on an incapacity for looking at questions from a non-personal objective stand-point. We are all selfish to a point, Teuton and Celt alike, and when a Welshman's sentiment is touched he is capable of heroic self-forgetfulness. But these moments are short-lived, and in the long stages of time between, it is, I believe, harder to make him consider a question quite apart from its effect upon himself, to consider it, in fact, on a broad basis, than it would be to make an Englishman do so. I won't say there is more jobbery in Wales than in England, but it certainly strikes me it is harder to prove to a Welshman than to an Englishman that if there is a post going it is not his special duty to look after his friends, but to choose the best man, quite irrespective of party and friendship and relationship. We Welsh are too self-centred, our horizon is too contracted. It may be that our geographical position partly causes this, living among the more or less isolated valleys in Wales, until lately very much cut off from the rest of the world, and still more isolated by language and want of education. But I think there is a more deeply-rooted cause of the difficulty which we experience in considering questions from an objective stand-point. Shakespeare, who was, of course, partly a Celt, describes in the character of King Lear most admirably a Celt who is incapable (in spite of his considerable intellectual power) of looking at the question of succession in a statesmanlike way, and who actually decides to apportion his kingdom on the absurd basis of affection for himself, "Which of you, then, do love us most?" I am thinking of the Shakesperian Celtic Lear, and not of Irving's grotesque Anglicised Lear—to me an impossible character, devoid of all dignity. No Welsh education can be satisfactory that does not grapple with this inherent difficulty.

2. *We are not at all times masters of ourselves.*—We are easily offended and sometimes furiously passionate, some of the lovable qualities of childhood persist all through the life of a Celt, and, alas! also some childish follies and weaknesses. We are not self-controlled, we have not the reins firmly in our hands, we have never thoroughly learnt the lesson of self-government. I should be inclined to say to-night, if the English were not so utterly incapable of understanding other races, give us ten years of University education first before you give us self-government.

We are very responsive to our human environment; we are quick to note, quick to learn from what passes around us, but we are also quick to resent. Tennyson, who never understood the Celt, describes our passion as

“The blind hysterics of the Celt.”

Now, blind hysterics are wasted power; we have a considerable amount of force at our command—much steam. Now steam is an admirable force as long as it is not wasted, when it is likely to be unpleasant and disagreeable to those who are near it. We have wasted much of our steam in useless passion and unnecessary talk; we must learn to control it, to master it, and afterwards use it. It is a great gift to have the power of quick feeling and strong passion if they never run away with us, and if we are sufficiently educated and trained to control them. That will partly explain our want of control. We are a poor and uneducated race, more or less oppressed and conquered, and we have passionately hated the calm, strong race which has been pre-eminently successful in the history of the world, and in centuries when conquest and commercial prosperity were considered the highest aim of nations we have neither conquered nor flourished commercially, and the English have done both, and blindly and passionately we have declaimed

against our oppression, and with childish vehemence have gone on declaiming. Welsh education must give us self-control.

3. *We are greatly wanting in belief in ourselves.*—Probably for practical purposes this is our most serious defect. Most of our blatant self-praise at *Eisteddfodau* and other public meetings is really caused, I think, by a secret suspicion that we are perhaps after all not quite as good as other races, and we are very anxious that no one shall find this out. We are much too easily crushed, we can't stand failure and defeat, and nothing permanently good can be gained in this world which has not been through the fires of failure. History very largely explains our want of belief in ourselves, but I feel sure it is much more deeply-rooted than this.

4. *We want the power of persistent steady work.*—For the last nineteen years I have been specially considering this important educational problem, the best conditions of mental work, the best methods of mental work. This is a subject which has been very little studied. Medical men have dictated to us, but as they know very little psychology and look at the question chiefly from a physiological standpoint, and are not really very skilful observers of children, their opinions are not worth much. Psychologists have also dictated to us to some slight extent, but what do they know of children?—very little, I think. In the years to come highly educated teachers with a fair knowledge of physiology, and a considerable knowledge of psychology, and trained to observe child-nature scientifically, will, no doubt, answer this problem for the world. Meanwhile, we must stumble on in the dim twilight.

An ideal power of work assumes three things:—

(1) The power to disentangle yourself from everything else and concentrate the whole force of your mind on the subject of your study. It is of the greatest importance to

be able to do this completely and immediately. I always learn a good deal about the power of concentration possessed by my students by noticing the way in which they listen. It is also very interesting to notice how very differently audiences of different races listen.

(2) The power to work steadily and persistently until just before fatigue sets in. Some of the best and most educative work is what cannot be done at once, but must be done by continuous even working.

(3) The power of instantly and completely taking off your attention from the subject in hand, and for the time being completely forgetting it, and therefore completely resting from it. When I compare the two races I know most about, the Welsh have naturally the first and third powers very much developed. Unless very tired they can get up steam quickly, and they can throw off completely all thought of work and responsibility, that is to say, they can put on and take off the harness instantly. Englishmen, as a rule, find it difficult to do either at once; but they succeed admirably in the steady, prolonged, persistent work where we fail signally. It is easier, infinitely easier, to begin anything in Wales than in England. The quick imagination of the Celt seizes and revels in the new idea, the new association, the new work; but it is very much harder to continue anything in Wales than in England. The interest tends to vanish, and some other new thing has cropped up. Welsh education must develop in us the power of persistent, steady work.

5. *We are naturally lazy.*—When we are much stirred we are capable of a prodigious amount of work, but we want a considerable stimulus. It is easy for us to think, it is easy for most of us to talk, but we are very apt after we have elaborated a scheme, and talked much about it, never to carry it out. We are capable of great moments of heroism,

but in the smaller moments which are far more numerous for all of us, we are often incapable of the heroism of accurate, careful, prompt work. We are apt to be slack and slovenly in our work, and to work very unevenly.

So much for the shadows, now for the lights; and our virtues are not the result of past history, because historical conditions have been against us.

1. *We have a keen sense of proportion* in matters intellectual, artistic and social. We usually know what is appropriate and fitting, and we are more or less philosophical. However contracted our horizon—and it often is very contracted—within that horizon we usually see things in their right proportion. A Welshman's speech is never lop-sided, but well proportioned; his sentences, in English at any rate, are far more evenly balanced than those of the average Englishman. He will, consequently, appreciate literary form keenly; he will be a social success, *ceteris paribus*, but at present things are not equal. When his horizon is widened, and he has ceased to be self-centred, he will be capable of considerable wisdom in public affairs. His keen sense of proportion will, of course, be invaluable in artistic development. There is, perhaps, no branch of art where proportion is so important as in architecture. Welshmen in the future, I believe, will be great architects, but I confess there is nothing in the architecture of Wales to show this at present. This natural gift of a keen sensitiveness to proportion ought to make Welshmen good actors. The history of Wales has made this impossible in the past, and again I have no basis except a theoretical one for my prophecy.

2. *We have a powerful imagination*, wonderfully quick, adjustable and original. An historian once said that France was the political experimenting ground of Europe. She is pre-eminently Celtic in her characteristics, and

one would therefore expect her to elaborate numerous schemes and be very willing to try them. It is curious and interesting to see that Wales also seems to be going to perform the same function for the British Isles, at any rate in matters educational. The Government grants to our University Colleges and to our University, our Intermediate Education Act, Welsh being taught as a subject in our elementary schools, all these experiments are being tried by the Central Government. Even in matters political we have been allowed to try the experiment of a Welsh Sunday Closing Bill. This quick imagination of ours, combined with an unusual amount of responsiveness to our human environment, enables us to understand the standpoint of other people, and of other races. It helps to make us tactful, sympathetic, and easily polite, and it helps us to do what is quite beyond the powers of an Englishman, get on quickly and easily with foreigners. "I have never been able to get on quickly with an English lady before", is a remark often made to me, when I have to explain I am not English. In my own profession a Celt has naturally many gifts of the greatest value. We are already looked upon as a nation of preachers. I believe we shall be still more valuable as a nation of teachers.

This great gift of an unusually quick imagination, and consequently considerable fertility of ideas, and readiness to adjust oneself to new ideas, must be utilised in our Welsh education.

3. *We have the gift of expression.*—I mean this in a double sense. Unless our suspicion has been aroused or we are painfully repressed, we are essentially a transparent people. We show what we feel and we say what we think. Our faces, our gestures, our speech, express what we feel and think with a good deal of childlike simplicity. Further, in that special form of expression, speech, we have naturally considerable gifts, which for historical reasons

have been developed. As a result a Welshman usually speaks easily and eloquently.

4. *We are an emotional people.*—We have a considerable store of emotional force. We have, as I said, wasted a good deal of it in the past, but it is a good thing to have a good supply, and our Welsh education must utilise it. Our emotional tendency and our keen sense of proportion have led us to appreciate keenly the emotional art of music. Further, because we are poor, and our fresh mountain air has given us good rich voices, we have chiefly excelled in obtaining music from that instrument which costs us nothing, namely, vocal music.

5. *We are undoubtedly quick and rapid.*

6. *We are essentially a religious people.*—Materialism has no charms for us. We are not tempted to contract our views to what we see and touch. The supernatural, the supersensual, the superhuman, has always counted, and always will count, for much in our lives, and, therefore, must in our education. Superstitious we have certainly been, and are, but religious through all centuries. One cannot help contrasting our happier fate with that of Celtic France. She had, like Wales, a strong religious Calvinistic element. Once nearly half of France belonged to it; but St. Bartholomew's day came, and France committed political suicide in killing her Huguenots, that strong, sturdy, religious element, which she has wanted sadly ever since. We had no St. Bartholomew's day in Wales; our Calvinistic element remained to be our religious reformers and teachers, and now, in the House of Commons, the Welsh Huguenots are claiming religious equality. In Scotland the Calvinists were triumphant, as they have never been in Wales, and in Scotland they showed many of the bad qualities of their enemies. In Wales they have been restrained, and have never had a chance of being oppressive and tyrannical, and

if the chance comes to them I trust that they and the world will have become too civilised, too Christianised to use it.

Assuming for a moment that this is a fairly correct sketch of the chief characteristics of the Welsh race, self-distrustful, uncontrolled, suspicious, slovenly in action, but brilliantly imaginative, gifted into wonderful tact and sympathy, a keen sense of proportion, eloquent, religious, and emotional, saved, on the one hand, from the gross vice of brutish cruelty, and on the other hand from the intellectual fault of stupidity, what kind of education must we have to develop all our virtues and eradicate all our faults? We have at our side a nation which has had for many centuries educational advantages far superior to our own, a nation to which we are bound politically and historically, where education is being rapidly developed, more rapidly I think than in any other country just at present. Shall we accept the education of England and encourage it to flow across Offa's Dyke and cover Wales? No, a thousand times no, is my answer. It is by no means perfect for England, but it would be far more imperfect for Wales. There, some of its virtues would be lost and some of its faults would tell with ten-fold vigour. We must work out our own education. I rejoice to think that our university education and our secondary education in Wales are now at last in our own hands. I hope the time will soon come when the same remark can be made about our elementary education. Of course, I mean in the same sense in which it can now be made about Scotland. Scotland has its own Scotch Education Department, and I hope that that will be the next move in Welsh education; and as soon as that takes place, if I may digress for a moment, I trust we shall try in Wales an experiment which is not likely to take place in England

for many years. In our Welsh universities, unlike our English universities, it is no disqualification or drawback to be a woman, and with one glaring exception, which I cannot help thinking must be a mistake, sex is no disqualification in our intermediate schools, and, therefore, probably we could try in Wales before it is possible to do so in England, the experiment of opening the inspectorate of our schools to men and women indiscriminately.

But if we do not copy English education, on what lines shall we proceed? I propose at once to make a number of practical suggestions, but in order to do this I must make a short digression on the subject of education itself.

I propose to use the term in the very widest possible sense, as including all conscious efforts to improve the younger generation by teachers, parents, and others, and by the pupils themselves. These efforts can easily be separated into two classes:—

1. Efforts to improve by means of an improved environment.
2. Efforts to help the individuals to improve themselves.

I can either directly stimulate a child to make a greater or wiser effort, or I can indirectly help him by guiding his effort to a more successful conclusion, arranging his conditions so that his effort can produce a better result. That is to say, I can either stimulate him or I can guide his work and arrange his conditions of work.

Using technical terms:—

1. I can arrange his conditions. Practically, by school organisation I can decide when he is to take his regular school course, his hours of work, etc., etc.
2. I can teach him, *i.e.*, to decide his curriculum and methods of instruction.
3. I can govern him, that is, settle all questions of

discipline, all questions of stimulation, marks, prizes, punishments, etc.

Now in all these three departments of education I would suggest that there should be great differences between English and Welsh schools and colleges.

1. *As regards school organisation.* The more responsive, more excitable, Welsh child feels much more keenly than the English child the restraints of school life. I would suggest that its school course should begin later, its hours of work should be shorter, its length of lessons shorter, and I have no fear but that the result would be better than under existing conditions. I am a heretic about infant education. I would give no regular work up to the age of seven or eight years, give a child an intelligent companion, but no regular teacher. I also feel very strongly about the shorter hours, both the actual number of hours employed in study and the length of lesson. It is intensive work, not extensive work, that pays educationally. If I work hard for three hours I gain more in every sense than by dawdling through half-a-dozen hours; and when I hear a Senior Wrangler say that he thinks a man must be a fool if he tries to work more than six hours a day, I wonder what we ought to call those who expect five hours of work in school from little tiny children, and in our High Schools even more than six hours, including home-work. Over-work certainly hurts some types of character more than others, and I cannot imagine any character more hurt by it than the quick, excitable Celt. I object to over-work, because it means in due time less work. It is not that I think that we work too much, for I think we have as yet very little idea how much can be done by the average human brain. To work wisely is to work much. What I want to emphasise more particularly is that I believe the organisation of school work which

suits an English child will probably not suit Welsh children.

2. *As regards curriculum.*—Forgetting completely for a moment the ordinary curriculum of English schools, let us consider the characteristics of the Welsh race and see if certain subjects can be found which are specially appropriate for eradicating our faults and developing our virtues. *How can we gain a wider horizon?* Now, we can enlarge our horizon as regards space, that is, teach geography intelligently, or as regards time, that is, teach history intelligently. The Celtic mind is undoubtedly chiefly susceptible to its human environment. Also space limit in this world is less than the ever-widening limit of time, therefore for these two reasons let us use history and make it a special subject in our schools. If we live in imagination among other times and among other races we shall get in the way of looking at things from an objective standpoint, a lesson we want badly to learn. We have been very limited in Wales—we have scarcely felt ourselves a part of the great British Empire, which we helped to build up. When we have received the right to govern ourselves, I hope we shall become a potent factor in the Imperial Parliament to help other parts of our mighty Empire to get the same right. Let us by all means learn history.

How can we get self-control?—This will be chiefly taught by school government, but there is one subject particularly useful from this standpoint. I refer to a scientific system of drill. If you teach a child to control its body perfectly, to be completely master of its body, to be able to do what it likes with its body, and to be able to give prompt, absolute, and accurate obedience in movements of all kinds, you have done much towards giving that child complete control over itself. Slow rhythmical

movements are also most useful in calming over-excitement.

How can we develop the power of persistent steady work? Here, again, there is one subject which will be of great use,—a scientific system of manual work with the object constantly growing before the child; this will constantly stimulate it until it is finished. This obviously would not apply to some of the non-educational carpentering systems of manual work, beginning with joints and such like—admirable, no doubt, for the technical instruction of the artisan, absolutely useless for children. For children you want interesting objects that they can make for themselves, have for themselves, and use for themselves, and that they can make at their own rate.

How can we develop the power of accurate, prompt, business-like work?—Chiefly by insisting that everything done in school shall be done in this way.

How can we utilise our emotional power and our keen sense of proportion?—Two branches of knowledge where these will count for much are the artistic and the literary, and both should be strongly represented in our curriculum. English education helps us little on the emotional side. There is scarcely a place for emotion in it. In Wales it could be developed through music, and through literature read and recited. Let us develop our emotional force, and above all let us utilise it in action; whenever we feel deeply let us act strongly, and let us see that our children do the same.

A wisely ordered, all-round curriculum would have certain groups of study represented.

1. *Linguistic*.—Fortunately the majority of pupils in Wales have to learn two languages, and have to learn them thoroughly, and be able to speak them well. It is probable, therefore, that the language group will always be well represented.

2. *The humanistic, history and literature.*—For special reasons this should be emphasised.

3. *Mathematics, demanding special accuracy and reasoning.*—This will be of great value.

4. *Science.*—For a brief period it seemed as if Science was to be the one special subject of our English schools, but its day has gone by. Educationally it was less valuable than language, related as the latter is to literature, and it is a wide and comprehensive curriculum, and not a science curriculum, which will replace the narrow linguistic curriculum of the Renaissance. Science will have its due place, but never more than its due place in Welsh schools.

5. *Physical and manual development.*—For special reasons this should be emphasised.

6. *Artistic development.*—Music will, of course, be a strong point in our schools, but it will be possible to develop not only vocal music, but instrumental music, and let us not follow England and teach chiefly the piano—an expensive instrument, which cannot be easily carried about, and is not one of the best for accompanying the human voice. Let us be wiser, and teach many instruments of different kinds.

Let me remind you, finally, of what I am sure you know. No curriculum can be permanently satisfactory. It is only as it reflects the time and place of the child that its educational value belongs to it. The curriculum must be always changing, always made anew. Each race must impart its own characteristic study, its own characteristic estimate of value. As long as we wish to be Welshmen and not Englishmen, or Frenchmen, or Germans, we must not seek to borrow their measures of educational value as set in England, or France, or Germany. And, again, the curriculum of to-day must not be simply the curriculum of forty years ago, plus the new subjects which the new

environment demands. We must learn with composure to throw out the old which has lost value by the changing times, as well as to take in the present requirements. The problem of educational values is then a perennial one, and one whose principles may be defined and fixed.

Passing now to *method*. The English boy and English girl write far too much and speak far too little. I refer particularly to the secondary schools. It is easy for us to start a better method in Wales and teach our pupils first to speak easily and well and then to write. Spoken composition first, then the written composition—oration first, and then written essays. This I am sure, is the true educational order, and one which could easily be adopted in Wales.

Again, method in England has not been varied enough. We are so apt to forget that any method used constantly becomes a bad method, and most methods are good as a change. Change is specially desirable for quick, excitable, changeable Welsh children. There is a certain amount of waste of time and energy in introducing change into an English class; it takes a little time for the class to adjust themselves, but it is far easier in a Welsh class. Considerable variety of method is desirable in England; it is, I think, a necessity in Wales. Plenty of freedom should be given, unnecessary restraint and friction would undoubtedly irritate the Celt considerably, and would also be very bad for him, because in matters intellectual he is capable of quickly seeing new standpoints and of developing new ideas, and in actual conduct he is so deficient in self-guidance and power of initiation because of his want of belief in himself, that he requires much freedom to develop it.

Now passing on to *school government*, where, I believe, the greatest differences ought to be found. Here comes the important problem of stimulus: should the stimuli

differ in different races. Should we govern Welsh and English children in the same way? Decidedly not. Alcohol maddens the Celt when it only makes the Teuton stupid. The alcohol of competition often deadens the English child, but it would have a much more deadening effect upon the Welsh child. The quick imagination of the Celt, and his responsiveness, enables us to govern him easily, if we understand him. If you help him to see the good you want him to realise, or make him feel what is desirable, he will respond very quickly. The teacher of Welsh children has very little stimulating to do. There is plenty of life and responsiveness if they have not been stupified by bad teaching and bad governing. But there is much control requisite, much guidance, and that of the most delicate and difficult kind. You have to be very quick and sharp, and ready for emergencies. Fun is very often the best means by which you can keep order. But at present we know very little about this; our best teachers in Wales for some years to come will probably be English and Scotch teachers, and it is not until we shall have Welsh teachers of Welsh children that we shall know much about the matter. In our big English schools there is very much self-government, and we have much to learn from them. We have to teach our Welsh children to do two things that Welsh men and Welsh women find it difficult to do, as a rule:—

1. To govern themselves; and
2. To be able to work with other people without suspicion and without tension. In our big English schools we have also the immense help of old traditions, in Wales we have none. We have to make them, and all the help the traditions can give will not be ours for more than a century. The question of co-operation is one of special importance to us in Wales, and here again we should learn much from our big English schools, where games teach the boys not only

much self-control, but also much power of co-operation. If we are wise in Wales we shall devote much educational energy to the development of school and college games.

I have spoken chiefly about school education rather than college, because education is perhaps more easily discussed in connection with schools, and we have had so few colleges in Wales, and those only for such a short time. Looking, however, at education as a whole, from our past history and our characteristics, I think the distinguishing marks that our education will tend to have are :

1. That it will be eminently democratic. Our Intermediate Schools will not be Elementary Schools, but no such gulf will exist between them and our Elementary Schools as between the English Latin Grammar School and the English Elementary School, and our elementary teachers will, I hope, be largely trained in connection with our University Colleges.

2. Not only all classes, but both sexes will have equal rights, and I doubt not that the women of Wales will pay heavy interest for the debt of gratitude they owe.

3. Our education is going to be a symmetrical whole. There are gaps in England. There will be no gaps in Wales when our Intermediate Schools and University are in working order.

4. I think it is going to be national, specially fitted for Welsh needs and Welsh deeds.

5. I feel sure that it must be religious. I always find it is difficult to make an English audience realise that in spite of our non-religious University Colleges and our many non-religious elementary schools we are a religious race. I venture to predict that when religious equality is established, some other and better way out of the difficulty will be found than to keep religion and religious services out of our schools and colleges.

6. I think it is going to improve, not only in the haphazard way of learning from experience by which the English constitution and English education have grown, but also consciously and deliberately by means of theory. We have not the English fear of theory.

A practical question is very often asked me. Would you employ English teachers in Wales? My answer is, I would employ the best teachers, whoever they may be, but in the long run, I believe that up to the age of eighteen or nineteen, girls and boys had better be taught in their own country, and by their own race. Later, I think it a great advantage to go to a foreign country and be taught by foreigners.

There are two rocks ahead that I fear.

1. We may copy English education too blindly, and enter into competition with them with vigour, in examinations, etc.

2. If we begin to evolve an education for ourselves we may carry it on in a slipshod manner, and talk rather than do. I hope, however, there are a sufficient number of highly educated Welshmen to prevent this.

I have hitherto been speaking only of general education, which aims at improving an individual as such, without any respect to his future work. But we are all wealth consumers of necessity, therefore, we must be wealth producers, and our education ought to include professional and technical training for the professions and trades. The mistake that England has made hitherto is, that she has not realised that professional and technical training can only be satisfactory if they rest on the basis of a good general education. It is the quickest, cheapest, most scientific way to teach your pupil thoroughly well first, and then train him for his work.

And now let me utter one plea for the largest trade in

Wales, where workers are worst paid, unfortunately have no Union, and have no technical training of any kind provided, yet this trade concerns us all more than any other, and must be carried on in Wales if we are to exist as a nation. I mean the trade, the business of home-keeping. We train our carpenters, and give a long and expensive training to our doctors, but our happiness and health depend far more on our home makers, the mothers, wives, and daughters of our homes, than upon carpenters and doctors. The business of home-making requires an excellent education and a special training if it is to be satisfactory.

Many of our continental neighbours have started, even in small towns, home-making technical schools. England, as usual, lags behind, why cannot Wales make a start? A large number of Welsh peasant girls are constantly becoming domestic servants. If they could only be taught their duties effectively and thoroughly their fame would spread abroad. You may educate the men and women of Wales excellently and help the country to develop riches and learning, but if homes are not managed economically and wisely a vast amount of comfort and wealth will be wasted every year. Let us see to it, that Welsh national education will not only give national education to every child, but also make work in Wales far more scientific, and more especially the work of home-making.

Whether England will keep its colonial possessions or not I do not know. I doubt sometimes if it is far-sighted enough and wise enough to deserve to hold them, but, anyhow, the British Isles will probably hold together, and I foresee that if we Welsh do our duty gallantly, now at last that our educational opportunity has come to us, we shall not only develop our Principality and ourselves, but also make a valuable contribution to the intellectual and moral

life of Great Britain—let me add also to the political and social life. We are all aware of one side of the relation between politics and education, at any rate those who have had to petition Parliament for money. But there is a much deeper and more serious relation than this. The teachers of Wales are preparing the future citizens of Wales, and if Welsh teachers keep in touch with the times they can do much to enable their pupils to develop in school life the habits of self-control, far-sighted wisdom, and good judgment, which they will require in political life. The time is coming fast when new political duties will fall upon us—now is the time to prepare for them in our schools.

Let me briefly touch upon what, I think, may be the contribution of Wales to the education of Great Britain.

1. When we have our Welsh Education Department we shall have, I think, a very completely organised national education with no gaps.

2. Sex will be no disqualification, and the special trade of women will, I hope, be specially prepared for.

3. Literature will receive its proper attention.

4. Emotion will no longer be ignored.

5. We shall not be afraid to improve by means of theory as well as to be guided by experience.

6. Our education will be religious, on a broad non-sectarian basis, which the world has never seen as yet. The only choice, hitherto, has been sectarian religion or none. Both are alike impossible for Wales, who, I think, will never be satisfied by anything except a truly Catholic unsectarian religion in its schools and colleges.

7. I have hopes that a very important point in education will not be ignored in Wales, as it has hitherto been in England, and, with your permission, I will refer to it now.

It is not as Kindergarten teachers tell us the first years of school life, "but the period of adolescence, which is the

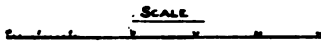
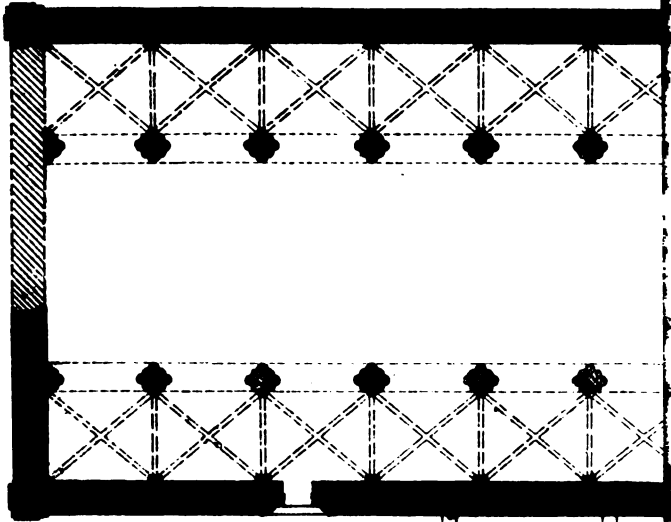
period of most vital importance educationally, that is, the period from 14 to 18 years, characterised by unprecedented physical growth, by intellectual turmoil and confusion, by the flaming up of emotion not yet bridled by reason, still plastic, yielding to sympathetic guidance, in short, the birth of will, the birth of individual character. The child is only then beginning to receive in its full the rich and powerful inheritance handed down by its ancestry. If education and heredity can ever be pitted against each other, here is the place where they must meet. There is no period so liable to the rise and sway of emotion as the period of adolescence. The youth himself does not know or understand himself; the sweet docility of childhood has gone, the rational self-government of adult life has yet to come. This is the time of the beginning of lofty aspirations, of yearning to sacrifice one's self for something noble and true. Altruism supplants the egoism of an earlier period, and right and wrong begin to look as they never looked before. Religious consciousness is awakened. Pestalozzi, and others have preached the gospel of childhood until the world has heeded, and is bending in reverence at the feet of a little child; but who shall be the apostle of this second childhood, through whose golden gates the child passes into manhood and womanhood?" For years I have felt strongly that character is chiefly settled during these years, and that education must take special note of it. As far as I can see, the years of adolescence are specially marked in the Celtic race, and will perhaps require special treatment. And it seems probable, therefore, that Celtic teachers will have specially to consider this question.

Let me finally again emphasise the necessity of a national education. "As long as any community has traditions to hold dear, ideals to be cherished, gods to be worshipped, which it holds dearer and truer than those of its neigh-

bours, the true education for the youth of that community must be coloured by these traditions and these ideals." I hope that some day we may have a summer meeting of Welsh teachers specially to consider the educational problems of Wales, and some day, a little further off perhaps, a meeting of Celtic teachers, Welsh, Highland, and Irish, because the revival in Wales has been followed by a revival just beginning among the Highlands, and no doubt the political revival in Celtic Ireland will be followed by an educational revival. For centuries our Celtic powers have been more or less latent; the time is coming when they will be utilised. We have not the English fear of theory, we are not afraid of dreaming. Let us purify and vivify our ideals, and let us do our best to turn them into actuality by work as persistent as if we were English. Three centuries ago the light of a Renaissance shone over England, but practically it left our Welsh mountains still steeped in darkness. Now our Renaissance has come, and like that of three centuries ago, it is intimately connected with education. Our opportunity has come, and now to utilise it we must work hard with Celtic fervour, and, if possible with Teutonic persistence.

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CWMHIR AB



SYSTEM W. WALLING P.S.A.
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PROBABLE
SITE OF
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THE CISTERCIAN ABBEY OF CWMHIR, RADNORSHIRE.¹

By STEPHEN W. WILLIAMS, F.S.A.

THE Cistercian Abbey of Cwmhir, in the county of Radnor, was founded, according to the Chronicles of the Abbey of St. Werburgh, of Chester, in the year 1143, and Leland says the founder was Cadwallon ap Madoc, who was chief lord of Cantred Malienydd. It was subsequently further endowed with large possessions by his son Howel, and his grandson Meredydd ap Maelgwn. Einion Clyd, a brother of the founder and lord of the adjoining Cantred Elvael, was also a benefactor to the Abbey, giving lands and possessions in the parish of Clyro. In the charters we find the names of three other Welsh benefactors, Einion de Port, Ann Meredith, and Llewelyn Anarawd, or, as he is styled in the Charter of Edward II, Llewelyn ap Amaranth. The Norman benefactors were Roger de Mortimer and William Fitzalan; the former granted the Abbey lands and possessions in the parishes of Saint Harmon and Llanbadarn Fynydd, in the county of Radnor, and common of pasturage in the parish of Worthen in the county of Salop; Fitzalan gave it a valuable property in the honour of Clun, in the parish of Llanfair Waterdine, on the banks of the river Teme, now known as Monachty Poeth and Skybory. These grants were all confirmed by

¹ Read before the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion on Wednesday, the 15th of May 1895, at 20, Hanover Square. Chairman, The Most Hon. the Marquess of Bute, K.T., President of the Society.

the Charter of Edward II, which, in addition, confirmed to the Abbey of Cwmhir the donation which Gwenwynwyn, the son of Owen Cyfeiliog, made to the monks, of the land called Cwmbiga, and other properties situate on the flanks of Plynlimon and lying westward of Llanidloes, in the parish of Llangurig, then forming part of Cantred Arwystli, and in the south-western portion of the county of Montgomery.

The monastery of Cwmhir also acquired property and rights of pasturage in Cardiganshire, as appears by the Charter of Maelgwn the younger, grandson of Prince Rhys ap Gruffydd, who, during the lifetime of his father, Maelgwn ap Rhys, granted a Charter to the Abbey of Strata Florida, which was subsequently confirmed by King Henry II in 1229. In this Charter we find that the monasteries of Whitland and Cwmhir had acquired rights of pasturage in Cardiganshire, as Maelgwn reserves their rights, when making the grant to Strata Florida in the following words: "And the whole pasture of Cardigan, except the portions which belong to the monks of Whitehouse and of Cwmhir as in the cyrograph (?) are contained." The Cardiganshire property was part of it the gift of Maelgwn ap Rhys, and the right of pasturage with a mill and other property in the same county was the grant of Iorwerth Bychan, or Vychan, and is described in the Charters as "the land called Legit in all its bounds and appurtenances, and of pasturage in all land which belongeth to the same Iorwerth, by hereditary right, and of the mill of Biscuant."

The only record of these donations to Abbey Cwmhir is contained in Charters 15th and 16th John, 27 December, Charter Rolls, page 205; and 16th Henry III, June 1st, and they are further confirmed by the *Inspeximus* Charter 2nd Edward II (Patent Rolls No. 5) before referred to. Differences arose between the monks of Cwmhir and the

Abbey of Ystrad Marchell (or Strata Marcella) near Welshpool as to their respective rights of pasturage on the territory comprised in Gwenwynwyn's donation. The dispute was referred to the determination of a general Chapter of the Cistercians in 1225 and decided; but the Chapter soon after revoked its decision, and in the following year issued a mandate to the Abbots of the monastic houses of Whitland, Dore, and Caerleon, to inquire into and settle the matter in dispute. The strife was ultimately settled by a compromise, to which the Arbitrators, with the consent of the Abbots of both houses, gave their sanction, at Radnor, in the month of July 1226. The terms of the compromise were recorded by a deed to which the seals of the sub-prior of Dore and of the Abbots of Caerleon, Pool, Strata Florida, and Valle Crucis were annexed.¹

The division thus made of the territory in dispute confirms the view that it was open and unenclosed moorland, of which the monks alone had sufficient means to avail themselves for the pasturage of a few sheep or cattle during the summer months, under the care of a shepherd occupying a small hut or *hafod* on the mountain, or a grange in the valley.

Cantred Malienydd, in which was situated the Abbey of Cwmhir, was one of the ten cantreds comprising the province or principality of Powys Wenwynwyn, and was divided into four cwmwds or comots, viz.: Ceri, Rhiew-ar-alt, Swydd-y-gre, and Swydd-yn-ithon. The three latter are part of the county of Radnor, and the Cwmwd of Ceri consisted of the existing parishes of Kerry and Mochdre, in the county of Montgomery. Cadwallon ap Madoc, who was supreme lord of Cantred Malienydd, was the eldest son of Madoc ap Idnerth, who was descended in four

¹ See *Archæologia Cambrensis*, vol. v, Fifth Series, p. 208.

generations from Elystan Glodrydd, the founder of the fifth Royal tribe of Wales, and Sovereign of the country which originally comprehended all the territory between the Rivers Wye and Severn.

Cadwallon ap Madoc was cousin to Rhys ap Gruffydd, Prince of South Wales, who was the founder of the Abbey of Strata Florida, and also a great benefactor to Whitland Abbey. It was from Whitland that the first colony of Cistercian monks came to Cwmhir, and, in all probability, in consequence of the relationship existing between the founder and Prince Rhys ap Gruffydd.

Madoc ap Idnerth was lord of Cantred Elvael as well as Cantred Malienydd. Elvael is entirely situated in Radnorshire, and the names of these cantreds still survive in the designations of two rural deaneries in the county, and they probably are divided by the same line of demarcation as the original cantreds.

After the decease of Madoc ap Idnerth, in 1139, his territory was, in accordance with the Welsh law of gavelkind, divided between his sons. Of these, Howel and Cadwgan came to a violent end, in a domestic quarrel, shortly after their father's death; Meredydd, another son, was slain within a year or two after (1145) by Hugh, son of Ralph de Mortimer the 1st, leaving Cadwallon lord of Malienydd, and Einion Clyd lord of Elvael. These two brothers fought against King Henry II, with Owen Gwynedd, Rhys ap Gruffydd, and other Welsh princes and chieftains, at the battle of Crogen, in the year 1163. After Rhys ap Gruffydd had made his peace with King Henry, in 1175, Cadwallon ap Madoc, Einion Clyd, and other Welsh lords accompanied him to Gloucester, and there did homage to the King of England for their lands.

In 1177, Einion Clyd, who had married a daughter of Prince Rhys ap Gruffydd, together with another Welsh

chieftain, Morgan ap Meredith, were treacherously slain by the Norman retainers of Mortimer, Lord of Wigmore, as they were returning home from a great Eisteddfod which Prince Rhys ap Gruffydd had held at Cardigan in the Christmas of 1176. It is supposed that the assassins lay in wait for their victims in the woods of Llawrdderw, near the town of Rhayader, and it is believed that the two chieftains were murdered at the place on the summit of the hill where now stands erect a huge stone, having upon



Stone at Llawrdderw.

it a rudely carved cross. Prince Rhys ap Gruffydd, immediately after the murder of his son-in-law Einion Clyd, invaded the territory of Mortimer, ravaged his estates, and, with a view to overawe and keep in check the encroaching Normans, built the Castle of Rhayader Gwy.

On the 22nd September 1179, Cadwallon ap Madoc, as he was returning home from attendance at Court, and travelling under a safe conduct from the King, was waylaid and murdered by the retainers of Roger, son of Hugh de Mortimer. Thus every one of the sons of Madoc ap Idnerth came to his death by violence, and three out of the

five fell by the hands of the Mortimers or their retainers—a fact which clearly exhibits the hatred and jealousy that existed between them and the Mortimer family.

Cadwallon ap Madoc married Eva, daughter of Gruffydd ap Meredydd, Prince of Powys, and had two, if not other sons, namely, (1) Maelgwn and (2) Cadwallon. Like their father and uncles, they lived in troublous times, and had to contend against the encroaching Normans, who endeavoured to deprive them of their ancient possessions.

The first that is heard of them is in 1193-4, when Prince Rhys ap Gruffydd, who had been taken prisoner by his own sons during the internecine feuds which raged at that time, was confined in Nevern Castle, Pembrokeshire; they, taking advantage of the general state of turmoil and confusion in which South Wales at this time was thrown, seized upon the Castle of Rhayader; but their possession of it was but of short duration, for, in 1195, Roger de Mortimer, with a strong force, attacked and dispossessed them of Malienydd and the Castle of Rhayader.

Prince Rhys ap Gruffydd, having been released from captivity by another of his sons, and his friends and retainers rallying round him, he very soon recovered his position as chief lord of South Wales, and, in 1196, levied a large army, with which he attacked Roger Mortimer, recovered from him all the territory he had wrested from the sons of Cadwallon ap Madoc in Malienydd and Elvael, and recovered his Castle of Rhayader Gwy; he also obtained possession of the Norman castles of Colwyn, Radnor, and Payne's Castle in Elvael, and, in all probability, reinstated the sons of Cadwallon ap Madoc in their estates and lordship of Malienydd.¹

¹ Maelgwn ap Cadwallon died in 1198, and appears to have been in possession of the property in Malienydd in which the Monastery was situated at the time of his death.—*Myfyrion Archaeology*, vol. ii, p. 441.

Eventually Roger Mortimer succeeded in dispossessing the sons of Cadwallon ap Madoc of much of their territory, but they must have retained a considerable portion of their Radnorshire estates, as Meredydd ap Maelgwn, a grandson of the founder, was a donor to the Abbey of Cwmhir of various lands and possessions in several of the parishes of the county of Radnor, and confirmed the grants of his father Maelgwn and grandfather Cadwallon ap Madoc.

In 1212 a Howel ap Cadwallon, Madoc ap Maelgwn, and Meurig Barach were executed at Bridgenorth for slaying one William de Moid, in some border feud or petty rebellion of that time. Of these, Howel ap Cadwallon was probably a son of the founder of Cwmhir; he was a donor to the Abbey of lands in the parish of Forden in the county of Montgomery; Madoc ap Maelgwn was most likely a grandson of the founder and son of Maelgwn, the eldest son of Cadwallon ap Madoc. A brother of Madoc ap Maelgwn, Cadwallon ap Maelgwn of Malienydd, died at Cwmhir about the year 1233, and was in all probability buried there, as no doubt such members of the founder's family who were fortunate enough to die in their beds found a last resting-place within its sacred precincts.

The late Mr. E. Rowley Morris, F.S.A., in his "History of the Parish of Kerry", printed in the *Transactions* of the Powysland Club, has traced the descendants of Cadwallon ap Madoc, the founder of the Abbey of Cwmhir, down to the commencement of the 14th century, but by that time the great house of Mortimer had become possessed of the bulk of their extensive estates, either by conquest or by intermarriage, for we find that Madoc, the eldest son of Maelgwn ap Cadwallon, married Rose, daughter of Sir Roger Mortimer, and had a son Adda, but it is not known when the patronage of the Abbey ceased to belong to the descendants of the founder; it is probable

that either Madoc or his son Adda were the last of the male line of the founder's race who possessed it. The descendants of Madoc ap Idnerth at the end of the thirteenth century had ceased to be persons of any great importance in the district, though they were probably to some extent landed proprietors.

Early in the thirteenth century the Mortimers were the patrons of the Abbey, as we find that about the year 1240 the Abbot and Convent of Cwmhir quit claim certain lands, (the lands of Karwyton and Brynygroes), to Ralph Mortimer and Gladys his wife, the daughter of Prince Llewelyn ap Iorwerth, and about the year 1241 they grant to Roger Mortimer the right to enclose with hedges for the hunting of animals of the chase in the convent's wood of Cwmhir, and to have wood for that purpose.

Having traced all that is at present known of the founders, it may be interesting to endeavour to elucidate what were the possessions of the monastery, where situated, and by whom they were given.

The late Mr. R. W. Banks of Ridgebourne, Kington, in the *Archæologia Cambrensis* for 1888, vol. v, fifth series, page 204, published some notes in continuation of the history of this monastery, by the Rev. Jenkin Rees, which also appeared in the *Archæologia Cambrensis*, 1850, vol. iv, first series; and I am very much indebted to both these authors, and to Mr. E. Rowley Morris's "History of the Parish of Kerry", for valuable information upon this portion of my subject, as well as for the historical facts relating to the founders.

The Abbey of Cwmhir possessed the following granges, which, with the exception of Cwmbiga, were all very fertile and valuable properties, and are now celebrated as rich and productive farms in their respective districts:—Clyro Grange (where there are still some remains of ancient

buildings), and Brilley Grange, are situated near to and on the banks of the river Wye, in the county of Radnor, where it borders upon Herefordshire; Monachty Grange, in the parish of Bleddfa, in the same county, where there is a fine old manor house of the Tudor period; the original monastic buildings were situated about a mile from the present house on the south side of the road to Llangunllo, and were doubtless destroyed by Owen Glyndwr—the site of the battle of Pilleth, so disastrous to the Mortimers, was near, and Glyndwr, the night before the battle, probably occupied the grange; Monachty Poeth Grange, in the parish of Llanfair Waterdine, in the county of Salop, in the Valley of the Teme, near Knighton; Gwernygo and Hopton Granges, in the parishes of Kerry and Churchstoke, in the county of Montgomery; Cwmbiga Grange, which is also situated in Montgomeryshire, westwards of Llanidloes and upon the slopes of Plynlimmon; and in addition to these there was the grange of Nantyrariant, in the county of Cardigan.

At the time of the ecclesiastical Taxation of Pope Nicholas, A.D. 1291, the property of Cwmhir was then valued as follows:—

“The property of Religious Persons in the Archdeaconry of Brecon, in the Diocese of St. David’s, as well in temporals as otherwise. The property of the Abbot of Cumhyr is assessed at £28 14s. 4d. The Tenth of which is £2 17s. 5½d.

“The assessment of temporal property in the Archdeaconry of Cardigan. The Abbot of Comhir has the grango of Nanterrant, two carucates of uncultivated land, with a Mill, and part of another, 13s. 8d. Profits of Animals. The Abbot has payment for the safe keeping of 128 cows, £7 8s.; and also of 300 sheep, £4 10s.; and likewise of twenty-six mares, £1 6s. The amount of which is £13 7s. 8d.

“Property in the Archdeaconry and Diocese of Bangor. The Abbot of Comhir, in the Diocese of St. David’s, has the grange of Cwmbuga and Estermeyn, with other privileges, £1. The amount of the tenth is 2s.”

In A.D. 1534 the valuation of the property of the Abbey as taken from the General Ecclesiastical Survey, 26 Henry VII, in the offices of the first fruits in the Exchequer, gives the following particulars :—

“Diocese of St. David’s, Monastery of Cwmhir. The Abbot has annually from the demesne lands, with the mansion house, 20*s.* Also from rents of lands and tenements in Golon, £18 6*s.* 8*d.* Likewise rent from Cumbyga in Arustlye, 13*s.* 4*d.* Likewise annual rent from Cabalva in Elvel, £2 17*s.* 4*d.* Also annual rent from certain lands situate in Brilley, in the lordship of Huntington, 13*s.* 4*d.* Likewise in Temcettor, £3 13*s.* 4*d.* per annum. From the Grange Farm called Carnaf, which was usually paid to the said Abbot, £6, but Roger Vaughan held the said Grange for a term of years, by the grant of the said Abbot, for the rent of 6*s.* 8*d.* a year. From the Grange of Gwernygo, in the lordship of Kerry, £8 8*s.*, which was usually paid to the said Abbot, but as it is said, the said Grange is placed in Mortgage to one John ap R. for a term of years, whereof ten are unexpired, without paying any rent. Amount, £28 17*s.* 4*d.* From these, is payable a fee to the Bailiff of John ap R., 3*s.* 4*d.* Likewise in cash repaid to the Lord of Temcettor, 6*s.* 8*d.* And to the Bailiff thereof, 6*s.* 8*d.* For a pension to Chirbury, 8*s.* A fee to John ap R., 20*s.* A fee to Richard Herbert, 13*s.* 4*d.* A fee to the Bailiff of Golon, 20*s.* Amount of deductions, £3 18*s.* Clear remainder, £24 19*s.* 4*d.* The tenth whereof is £2 9*s.* 11½*d.*”

In the above valuation no account is taken of the Cardiganshire property, the grange of Nantyrariant and its sheep walks, etc., nor of the common of pasture in Worthen and the lands in Forden; what had become of these we know not. The rents of lands and tenements in Gollon probably included all the properties adjacent to the Abbey, but there seems no reference to the valuable estate of Monachty, in the parish of Bleddfa. The lands in Temcettor would comprise the property in the Valley of the Teme, Monachty Poeth, and Skybory. Carnaf is, according to Rees, the grange of Clyro; Gwernygo would include the grange of Hopton. The mortgages and leases which the Abbot had granted were probably given for

valuable consideration ; he possibly foresaw the coming storm, which so shortly afterwards broke over the monastic institutions of the country. He and John ap R.¹ and Roger Vaughan doubtless entered into friendly arrangements, whereby the Crown would at any rate during his life not be able to deprive him of all his rich possessions and the valuable emoluments of the Abbey of Cwmhir.

After the dissolution of the monastery, the possessions of Cwmhir passed into various hands, and it would unduly lengthen this paper to trace the devolution of the various properties after they had ceased to belong to the Abbey.

Having traced all that is at present known of the history of the founders, and of the possessions of the Abbey, it will be of interest to note what little is recorded of its history from the date of its foundation until the period of its dissolution.

The facts at present ascertained, bearing upon this portion of my subject, are very meagre. Doubtless the events connected with the Abbey were from time to time carefully written down in the register or chronicle of the monastery, and preserved with the muniments and charters ; but whatever records there might have been, of what took place within its walls, or relating to its affairs, have long since disappeared, and it is only from a few scattered notices gathered from records, which had other objects in communicating information, that the few facts which remain have been gleaned.

It is not known who was the first abbot that presided over the monastery, but the earliest account to be met with

¹ John ap R. was probably John ap Rhys, or Price, of Newtown Hall, in the county of Montgomery, Sheriff of Montgomeryshire in 1566 and 1586,—Gwernyo formed part of the Newtown Hall Estate, before it was broken up early in the present century.

on the subject is that one named Meyrick died in the year 1185.

In 1199 a company of monks from Abbey Cwmhir went to Cymmer Abbey in Merionethshire, which, according to Dugdale, was founded at this time.

About 1210 the name of the Abbot of Cwmhir was Ririd he was one of the four abbots at whose solicitation Madoc ap Gruffydd Maelor, Lord of Bromfield, gave to the Abbot of Strata Marcella, in Montgomeryshire, certain lands in Llangwistel for the erecting therein of monastic buildings.¹ The other abbots were Peter, Abbot of Alba Domus or Whitland, in Carmarthenshire; Deniawel, of Strata Florida, in Cardiganshire; and Philip, Abbot of Strata Marcella.

In the year 1214 King John confirmed to the abbot and monks of Cwmhir the various grants of the lands which they possessed, that had been given to them by various individuals.

In the year 1231, during the wars between Henry III, and Prince Llewelyn ap Iorwerth, the latter having ravaged the Marches of South Wales, and taken the Castles of Rhayader, Radnor, and several others, Henry came against Llewelyn with a large army and advanced as far as Hereford; and during the time the King with the main body of his forces lay at Hereford, a somewhat remarkable circumstance took place, with which it has been supposed that Cwmhir Abbey was intimately connected. The facts as related by Matthew Paris, the historian, are as follows (Matth. Paris, *Hist. Angl.*, pp. 492-493):—

“The King, removing his army, came to the city of Hereford; Llewelyn was, at that time, with his forces not far from the Castle of Montgomery, in a certain meadow where was a river, whose banks consisted of marshes, and where he craftily prepared an ambuscade for

¹ Subsequently known as the Abbey of Valle Crucis.

the soldiers of the said castle. For it is said that Llewelyn directed a certain friar of the Cistercian Abbey, which was near, to go towards the castle, whom, when the soldiers of the castle saw pass by, they went out to speak with him, and enquired if he had heard anything about King Llewelyn. He answered that he had seen him with a small attendance in a neighbouring meadow, where he waited for a larger number of men. The soldiers then asked the friar whether the horsemen might pass through the river and meadow with safety? And he answered, that the bridge, on which travellers were accustomed to pass over the river, had been broken down by Llewelyn, because he dreaded an attack; but that they might safely pass through the river, and enter the meadow on horseback, and with a few horsemen either overtake or put to flight the Welshmen; which, being heard, Walter de Gordavilla, the governor of the castle, believed the false assertions of the friar, and ordered the soldiers and sergeants to be armed, who, having mounted their horses, came speedily to the place; whom when seen coming in force, the Welshmen betook themselves to flight to a neighbouring wood, and the soldiers of the castle pursuing them rapidly with their horses, and especially those who were foremost, became immersed in the said river and marshy portion of the meadow up to their horses' bellies; but those who were following, being warned by the immersion of their companions, escaped, and condoled with them in their misfortune. Then the Welshmen, being informed of the immersion of their enemies, returned against them in great force, and, with their lances, slew the horses and soldiers floundering in the mud. A dreadful conflict was the consequence, and many were slain on both sides, but the Welshmen gained the victory.

“When the misfortune that had happened to the soldiers was at length made known to the King, he speedily went in a hostile manner to the abbey, whose friar had betrayed the said soldiers, and in revenge for such criminal conduct, plundered and burnt a grange belonging to the abbey, and ordered the abbey itself to be similarly plundered and destroyed by fire. But the abbot of the place, that he might save the buildings, which had been erected at such very great expense and labour, gave the King three hundred marks, and thereby assuaged his indignation.

“These things having been accomplished, the King caused Maud's Castle, in Wales, which had been demolished by the Welsh, to be elegantly rebuilt with stone and mortar; and when the work was completed, which was done at great expense, the King placed therein soldiers and dependants, who should restrain the incursions of the Welshmen.”

The above translation from Matthew Paris has been extracted from the account of Cwmhir Abbey which appeared in the *Archæologia Cambrensis*, 1849, No. 16, p. 237, by the Rev. W. J. Rees, and he observes as to this event, "that the well-known histories of Wales, both by Powell and Wynne, mention these transactions as connected *not* with the Abbey of Cwmhir, in Radnorshire, but with that of Cymmer, in Merionethshire;¹ and Tanner, in his *Notitia Monastica*,² and Williams, in his account of the Welsh monasteries, published in the *Cymmrodorion Transactions*,³ have adopted their narrative as correct; but a little consideration will prove that the transactions which have been related were connected with this Abbey, and not with that of Cymmer."

"Both Powell and Wynne call the Abbey in question *Cymer*, whereas the Latin name given by the original historian is *Cumira*, to which word *Cwmhir* is more like than *Cymer*. With regard to the space said to be between this Abbey and the Castle of Montgomery, there is some difficulty, as it is stated that the Cistercian Abbey, to which the friar belonged, was near to the castle, whereas there is a distance of twenty-four miles between Cwmhir and the said castle; yet it was to be observed, that there was a still greater distance, by ten miles, between the castle and Cymmer. Besides, the Abbey of Cwmhir, for the King to go to from Hereford, where he was stationed, was only forty miles off, and much more convenient for access than that of Cymmer, which was distant above a hundred miles, and not to be approached but by roads difficult to be traversed. And also *Maud's Castle*,⁴ which he is said to have rebuilt after

¹ Powell's *Wales*, p. 206; Wynne's *History of Wales*, p. 252.

² Tanner's *Notitia Monastica* (Merionethshire).

³ *Cymmrodorion Transactions*, vol. ii, p. 257.

⁴ This castle is about five miles eastward from the town of Builth,

his hostile visit to the Abbey in question, is as much as forty miles distant from Cymmer, and only eleven miles from Cwmhir, from which latter place the castle was in a direct line of road for restoring the several castles in South Wales that Prince Llewelyn had ravaged, which circumstance has been the original cause of the King's expedition."¹

This expedition of Henry III, in 1231, must not be confounded with the previous expedition in 1228, when, according to Powell's *History of Wales*, "the King caused an abbey, called *Cridia*, which the Welsh were wont to take for refuge, to be burnt down." This matter of the burning of "*Cridia Abbey*" has been fully dealt with by Mr. E. Rowley Morris, in his "*History of the Parish of Kerry*", in vol. xxiii, p. 353, of the *Transactions of the Powysland Club (Mont. Coll.)*, and with his conclusions I fully agree; but with reference to what took place in 1231 I feel some doubts as to whether the Cistercian Abbey referred to by Matthew Paris may not have been the Abbey of Strata Florida, and for the following reasons.

We know that there was a grange belonging to Strata Florida at Abermule, in the Vale of the Severn, to which the Cistercian friar might at the time have been on a visit; this was not far from the Castle of Montgomery, and it is situated on the banks of the river Severn, near to where there would be the bridge which had been broken down by Llewelyn. This, in all probability, was the grange

on the road from thence to New Radnor. It is at present merely a farmhouse, surrounded by old entrenchments, and there still remain some traces of the outer wall. It is called Colwyn Castle, from the Hundred in which it is situated. In the Welsh records it appears as the Castle of Colunwy. It had the name of Maud's Castle from Maud de St. Wallerie, wife of William de Breos, who was owner of the castle and lord of the district. After marriage this lady was called Maud de Haia.

¹ Account of Cwmhir Abbey by the Rev. W. J. Rees, 1850.

that was burnt by the King's orders, and he may subsequently have advanced as far as Strata Florida. The breaking down of the bridge almost certainly fixes the action that took place on the banks of the Severn, as it certainly must have been a large river over which the bridge passed, or the breaking of it down would have been of no avail as a measure of defence by Prince Llewelyn.

There is an entry in the *Brut y Tywysogion* (Rolls ed., p. 335), under date of 1248, which states that Gruffydd, Abbot of Strata Florida, made peace with King Henry III, "in respect of a debt which the monastery owed for a long time previously, he forgiving to the Abbot and convent half the debt, namely, fifty marks, and three hundred marks the other paid, and was to pay as much more, under settled limitations, as may be found in the register of the monastery." Is it not possible that here we can trace the fine of three hundred marks which Matthew Paris states the Abbot gave the King to save from destruction the buildings which had been erected at such very great expense and labour, and that in seventeen years the accumulated interest may have been one hundred marks, of which the King forgives fifty marks, and that the three hundred marks which the Abbot paid was the original fine incurred by the treachery of the monk at Abermule in 1231? One other reason still remains. We find that in 1232 a writ of protection was granted by Henry III to the monks of Cwmhir Abbey, whereby they and their tenants and attendants had the privileges granted them to be exempt from the payment of toll and custom throughout his territories, with respect to what they bought and sold of their property, provided they took care that what they bought and sold did not get into the hands of the King's enemies; and all persons were forbidden, under a penalty of ten pounds, to molest them with respect to such things;

and also such persons as had a law-suit with them were forbidden to proceed except before the King and his Chief Justice.

In the same year the King also confirms the charter of King John of the year 1214. It would be scarcely likely that, in the following year to that in which the Abbot and Convent of Cwmhir had given the King such mortal offence, and had been fined three hundred marks, that he would grant them these privileges and immunities.

To my mind it appears far more likely that Cwmhir, at the time of the war with Llewelyn ap Iorwerth, being under the Mortimer influence, would take sides with the English rather than the Welsh; and we know that Strata Florida, being a purely Welsh abbey, adhered to the cause of Llewelyn, not only in the reign of Henry III. but subsequently suffered severely for its adherence to the national cause in the reign of Edward I.

About the year 1234, Cadwallon ap Maelgwn of Ma-lienydd, who was probably a grandson of Cadwallon ap Madoc, the founder of the Abbey,¹ died at Cwmhir.²

About the year 1240, the Abbot and monks of Cwmhir released to Sir Ralph Mortimer all their right and claim to the lands of Karwyton and Brynygroes.³

About the year 1241, Philip, Abbot of Cwmhir, and the monks thereof, granted to Sir Ralph Mortimer the privilege of making fences in Cwmhir Wood.⁴

In the year 1260, the Abbot and monks of Cwmhir Abbey acquitted Sir Roger Mortimer 2nd⁵ with respect to the annual payment of one mark, which had been

¹ These transactions took place about the time when the new Abbey Church was being built.

² *Mynyddian Archæology*, vol. ii, p. 457.

³ *Liber Niger de Wigmore*, Harl. MS. 1240, Brit. Museum.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ Died in 1282, October 27th.

granted them by him, and was annual rent due from Humphrey de Bohun.¹

In December 1282 the body of Llewelyn ap Gruffydd, the last native Prince of Wales, was buried at Abbey Cwmhir. His death took place on the 11th December 1282, as we learn from a letter of Roger Lestrangle to King Edward I, who reports "that on the Friday after the Feast of St. Nicholas, he, with the forces under his command, had fought with Llewelin, son of Griffin, in the country of Builth, that Llewelin was dead, his army discomfited, and the flower of it slain".

Llewelyn appears to have penetrated into Radnorshire with an escort of about eighteen men,² and to have slept the night before his death at Aberedw Castle, a small fortalice overhanging the left bank of the river Wye, a few miles below Builth.

It is somewhat difficult to understand what motive Llewelyn had in so rashly advancing into the territory ruled by the Mortimers, but there is a paragraph in Archbishop Peckham's letter to Edward I, dated from Pembroke, Herefordshire, on the Tuesday after the Feast of St. Lucy, 1282, which implies that upon the body of Llewelyn³ was found some treasonable correspondence which the Archbishop sends to the King; and advises "that none be put to death because of our report, nor suffer imprisonment".

It is therefore not impossible that Llewelyn was at that time in communication with some of the disaffected English nobility on the Welsh border, who may have had the intention of rising in rebellion against King Edward, during

¹ *Liber Niger de Wigmore*, Harl. MS. 1240, Brit. Museum.

² See note in appendix, extract from poem on the death of Llewelyn by "Gruffydd ap yr Ynad Coch".

³ Llewelyn was slain on the Friday before St. Lucy's Day.

his absence with his army in Wales, and that Llewelyn was induced to penetrate into Radnorshire with a view of meeting some emissaries from England with whom he was in correspondence.

However this may be, Llewelyn was in danger of being surprised at Aberedw by the forces under the command of Edmund Mortimer, John Giffard, and Roger LeStrange who were advancing from Herefordshire up the Valley of the Wye. Becoming aware of the advance of the English, he attempted to fall back upon the main body of his army, who would be stationed some miles westward of Builth, upon the hills between Breconshire and Cardiganshire, and retreated along the line of the ancient road from Builth, in the direction of Llanafan Fawr; but at or near Cefn-y-bedd, about two or three miles distant from Builth, his retreat was cut off by a party of men-at-arms under Helias Walwyn, and in the skirmish that ensued, Llewelyn was run through the body by one Adam or Stephen Francton.

In this action Edmund Mortimer, Lord of Wigmore, was wounded, and died some time after of his wounds in the Castle of Wigmore. The battle being over, Francton returned to plunder the man whom he had slain, he being entitled in accordance with the then laws of war to claim the spoils of his dead foe.

It would appear that Llewelyn was at the time not fully armed, at any rate he could not have had on the surcoat embroidered with his heraldic insignia, which was worn over the hauberk of mail at that period, or he would have been at once recognised, and so large would have been his ransom to the man who could have taken him prisoner, that even in the *mélée* of a chance skirmish the English would have hesitated to slay so valuable a prize.

Archbishop Peckham, in the letter addressed to the King, commences by acquainting the monarch that there

were found upon the body of Llewelyn when he fell, among other things, carefully concealed upon his person, the treasonable letter already mentioned, referring to certain individuals under disguised or fictitious names, together with Llewelyn's privy seal, and that they were in the possession of Edmund de Mortimer, who kept them awaiting the King's pleasure; and the Archbishop tells the King that he had sent a transcript of the treasonable letter to the Bishop of Bath and Wells, the King's Chief Minister or Almoner, then also at Rhuddlan.

The head of Llewelyn was cut off and sent to the King at Rhuddlan, who caused it to be placed upon the highest pinnacle of the Tower of London. It was crowned with ivy, and taken through Cheapside.

We have no very clear and decisive statement in the Chronicles of that period as to what became of the body of Llewelyn between the date of his death and the probable date of his interment in the Abbey Church of Cwmhir.

The Primate, in his letter to the King, states that "Dame Maud Longespee had besought him by letters to absolve Llewelyn, so that his body might be buried in consecrated ground; but he told her that he could do nothing unless it could be proved that Llewelyn had shown signs of true repentance before he expired."

"Edmund de Mortimer", he goes on to state, "had told him that he had heard from his retainers who were present at the death, that he, Llewelyn, had called for a priest before he died, "but without right certainty", wrote the Primate, "we could do nothing to absolve him." Then we come to another paragraph altogether unconnected with the one just quoted, which evidently refers to another period of time, and in it the Archbishop says: "The day he (Llewelyn) was wounded, a white monk chanted him a

Mass, and Sir Roger de Mortimer took or had the vestments."

There is a church at Aberedw, in the vicinity of the castle, and at no great distance, on the opposite side of the the River Wye, was the Grange of Aberdihonw, belonging to the Cistercian Abbey of Strata Florida, where there would be a monk in charge of the Grange. That monk may have celebrated mass for Llewelyn in the church of Aberedw, on the early morning of the day he was surprised by the advance of the English, and when he abandoned Aberedw it was probably seized by the Mortimers, and this would account for the statement in the Archbishop's letter that *Sir Roger de Mortimer*, not *Edmond*, who was wounded, "took" or "had" the vestments.

The lady who wrote to the Archbishop petitioning that Llewelyn's body should be buried in consecrated ground, was Maud Longespee, widow of the Earl of Salisbury, grand-daughter of Llewelyn ap Iorwerth, and consequently a cousin of Llewelyn ap Gruffydd. She had married a second time, "Master R. Giffard", who had upwards of 1,000 archers under his command at Rhuddlan, in 1282. *John Giffard* is stated to have acted with Edmund de Mortimer when Llewelyn was surprised at Aberedw.

It will be observed that there is nothing in the letters that are quoted to prove that Llewelyn's body was ultimately buried at Cwmhir, and still further, nothing is said that the body was buried where it lay, and it is far more likely that the body would be carried into Builth and there be preserved, awaiting the decision of the King and the Archbishop as to its ultimate disposal.

It would be quite in accordance with the practice of that period, and of a still later time, to have the body carefully disembowelled and preserved, probably with salt, and stitched up in an ox hide; such rude materials would be

available in the small town of Builth. The Mortimers were relations of Llewelyn, and would not be likely to treat the body of the Welsh Prince with disrespect. Throughout the correspondence there is an evident desire upon the part of the Archbishop and the Mortimers to give the remains of the last Prince of Wales Christian burial.

Peckham in his first letter, written in the beginning of December 1282, signifies his conditional assent, and in another letter to the King on the 17th of the same month, intimates that his condition had been satisfied; and on the 28th we find a Memorandum in the Archbishop's Register at Lambeth Palace, that the Archdeacon of Brecon was ordered to certify the Archbishop "whether Llewelyn was buried at Cwmhyr." Would such a question have been asked if no consent had been given? And if the body had not before that date been interred at the monastery?

We have also the testimony of contemporary Chroniclers as to the burial at Abbey Cwmhir. The Chronicle of Florence of Worcester referring to the death of Prince Llewelyn, says: "As for the body of the Prince, his mangled trunk, it was interred in the Abbey of Cwmhir, belonging to the Monks of the Cistercian Order"; and the fact is also recorded in the *Historia Anglicana* of Bartholomew Cotton.

Dugdale, quoting from the Chronicle of the Monastery of St. Werburgh, at Chester, states that Gruffydd ap Llewelyn was buried at Cwmhir Abbey. This is palpably an error on Dugdale's part, and there can be no doubt that he has transposed the name, which should read Llewelyn ap Gruffydd, as Gruffydd ap Llewelyn ap Iorwerth was probably buried at Conway.

It would take up too much of the space at my disposal to discuss all the points in connection with Llewelyn's death and burial, but I think we may assume that the documentary

evidence is clearly in favour of the fact that he was buried at Cwmhir Abbey, and that, very shortly after his death at Cefn-y-bedd.

The Marquis of Bute, the President of this Society, has suggested that the body was laid either (1) in the middle of the Chancel or Presbytery, or (2) before the Altar or in one of the side chapels, or (3) between two of the piers of the nave, or (4) in a central position in the nave itself. I would also suggest the possibility of the Chapter House having been selected as its resting-place, as we know that at Strata Florida some of the descendants of Prince Rhys ap Gruffydd were buried in the Chapter House there.

Whether Llewelyn ap Gruffydd's tomb be found or not, an attempt at its discovery is at any rate worth undertaking. A rude vault was probably constructed below the level of the floor line, and though the task of excavation would be somewhat difficult, there is the possibility that those who have previously excavated the ruins may have passed over it, but I much fear that anything in the nature of a memorial slab, or other indication of its position, has long since perished, as the entire surface of the church to floor level has apparently been excavated, and, so far as my investigations have gone, no trace of the original pavement remains. This portion of my subject we will further consider when dealing with the present aspect and condition of the ruins.

In continuance of what little is known of the history of the Abbey, subsequent to the death of Llewelyn, we find that in the year 1314, Roger Mortimer confirmed to his tenants the grant of his father, Edmund Mortimer, respecting the privilege of having wood and pasturage in the lands of the abbot and convent of Cwmhir.

In the year 1318, Edward II confirmed all the former grants mentioned in the charters of 1232 and 1214, and

also other grants that had subsequently been made to the monastery by Gwenwynwyn, son of Owen Cyfeiliog, and Maelgwn ap Rhys.

Owen Glyndwr, having encamped with his army at Mynydd Hyddgant, on Plynlimmon mountain, in the year 1401, from thence sent forth predatory expeditions against the English settlers in Wales, and against such Welsh gentlemen who refused to aid his cause. The county of Montgomery suffered much from these expeditions. Owen sacked Montgomery, burned the suburbs of Welshpool, and ravaged many estates. He also destroyed the Abbey of Cwmhir, took the Castle of Radnor, and caused the garrison of sixty men to be beheaded on the brink of the castle-yard.

We have no record of the restoration of the Abbey after Owen Glyndwr's insurrection was at an end; in all probability it was never fully restored, as the revenues were comparatively small; and from that time until the dissolution of the monastery, in 1536, its history is a blank.

At the dissolution it was found to have only three monks, and these no doubt would receive pensions. By an inquisition dated November 4, 1538, the possessions of the dissolved monastery were demised for the term of twenty-one years to John Turner, gentleman, who had previously been the King's minister in attending to them, and eventually the entire possessions of the Abbey were sold by the Crown, and they passed into the hands of various proprietors. We catch a glimpse of Abbey Cwmhir during the war between Charles I and his Parliament, and apparently at that time the conventual buildings were in fairly good condition; the church had been despoiled long before, in 1542, and some of its beautiful arcades and clustered columns broken down, and carried away to enlarge Llanidloes Church. Abbey Cwm Hir, as it was then

called, was, in 1644, occupied by Richard Fowler, and garrisoned for the King. Early in December of that year Sir Thomas Myddelton appeared before it, and summoned the garrison to surrender. The answer was a flat denial, whereupon it was taken by storm, and in it were taken prisoners Colonel Barnard the Governor, Mr. Hugh Lloyd, High Sheriff of the county, several officers, and some seventy soldiers, and considerable stores of arms and ammunition.

Richard Fowler was afterwards High Sheriff under Cromwell in 1655, and, if there is any truth in the rhyme, was the richest man in the county—

“Alas ! alas ! poor Radnorshire,
 Never a park, nor ever a deer,
 Nor ever a Squire of five hundred a year,
 Save Richard Fowler of Abbey Cwm-Hir.”

(*Llyfrydiaeth y Cymry*, p. 195.)

Hugh Lloyd, the Sheriff of 1644, was of Caerfagu, in the parish of Nantmel, and also served the office of Sheriff in 1643.

Mr. J. Roland Phillips, in his *Memoirs of the Civil War in Wales and the Marches*, prints two very interesting documents relating to Abbey Cwmhir (see vol. ii, p. 219) which set forth in considerable detail the event related above.

About the year 1824 the Abbey was purchased by a Mr. Thomas Wilson, and at that time he caused the site of the church to be cleared of the rubbish with which it was covered. Rees, in his paper before referred to, says :

“Previous to this clearance, there was nothing to be seen but a few ruined walls, and the surface of the ground was of unequal heights. In removing the rubbish to the original floor of the building, great quantities of freestone, as well as of the stone of the district, were met with. The workmen also turned up a great many human bones, iron-work that had been in the windows, pieces of painted glass,

ornamental lead-work, two pennies of Edward II, pieces of bottles, carved heads (one of a lady), the keys of the gates, through which entrance had been to the premises, four in number, and many other curious and interesting articles.

“The ground that was outside the ruins was also subsequently explored, and the whole of the field in which they were situated was dug up and examined. The site of the Abbot’s apartments, and of the refectory, and dormitories of the monks, was also discovered, with portions of two magnificent pillars, and also the slaughter-house, in which was a carved ram’s head, all whereof were on the south-east side of the church, and extended to the brook Clywedock. The cemetery was considered to have been on the south-west, but no coffin or inscription was found to identify the place.

“It was also discovered that the whole monastic establishment was enclosed and protected by a strong dyke and entrenchment, which crossed the little valley at equal distances, eastward and westward, from the church, extending through the village, and enclosing a space of about two acres of land, which appears to have comprised the ancient and usual privilege of sanctuary. At the south-western corner of this enclosure was the great oven of the monastery, the remains whereof were removed in the year 1831, which showed that when complete it was twelve feet in diameter and three feet in depth, and was built three feet from the ground, from which large dimensions it may be inferred that the inmates of the place were, at the time, no inconsiderable number.

“On the site of the Abbey Church being cleared, it was discovered that the building had consisted of a nave and a transept; and that the nave had been separated on each side from the side-aisles by thirteen piers, which, with the abutments at the ends, had sustained two sets of fourteen arches. The bases of the greater number of the piers, and portions of two or three of the piers themselves to the height of three or four feet, remained, sufficient to show their form when they were perfect; portions also of the western side wall, and of the northern and southern end walls of the transept, were rendered more visible; but not even traces of its eastern side wall, nor of any of the walls of the church or choir, were brought to light. Through means of the removal of the rubbish, the remaining portions of the external walls of the nave were likewise rendered higher, and one of those portions on the north side to the height of about eighteen feet.”

Unfortunately, no plans or records of the excavations made in 1837 were preserved, and consequently what now

is visible of the ruins gives one but a poor idea of the extent of the monastery. A few fragments of sculptured stone have been built into the terrace walls of the garden ; and Mrs. Philips, the present owner of the property, has lately been clearing some portion of the ruins, and has brought to light several features of great interest, more especially the bases of the jambs of the south-east and south-west doorways leading from the south aisle of the Abbey Church into the cloisters. Several very beautiful carved capitals and other fragments of sculpture have also been found and placed in the ruins, and are illustrated in the accompanying plates ; they are quite equal in beauty of design and execution to the fragments found at Strata Florida and Strata Marcella ; they are of a later period than Strata Florida, but similar to Strata Marcella, being distinctly Early English in character and style.

A drain has lately been cut through a portion of the site, crossing the cloister-garth ; traces of foundations were discovered, and two lines of lead pipe were found which had supplied the conventual buildings with water. At one point a piece of paving-stone was uncovered, evidently *in situ*, which apparently was a portion of the south walk of the cloister ; and it is probable that further excavations, at a depth of some two to three feet, would reveal much of the plan of the monastic buildings surrounding the cloister-garth.

With the view of placing before my readers the present aspect and condition of the Abbey Church of Cwmhir, and to enable them to realise the beauty and magnificence of the great church which the founders intended no doubt to complete, but which circumstances, at which we can only guess, caused them to leave in an unfinished state, I have, through the kindness and courtesy of the present owner, Mrs. Philips, of Abbey Cwmhir, been able

to carry out some trifling excavations, first of all to determine whether any part of the church eastward of the nave had been built; secondly, to ascertain whether there were any traces of an earlier church; and, thirdly, to determine the position of the cloister and conventual buildings.

The result of what has been done is shown upon the plan published herewith, and I have also had prepared a series of drawings of the architectural details and of such fragments of sculpture that time and the destroyers have left for us.



Ruins of Abbey Cwmhir looking eastwards up the nave of the Abbey Church, 1895.

These drawings, which are appended, were prepared for me by the able and talented artist of the Cambrian Archæological Association, Mr. W. G. Smith, and I am much indebted to him for the skill and ability with which he has delineated the beautiful architectural fragments that remain of the Cistercian Abbey of Cwmhir.

The plan indicates what little is left of the piers and arcades of the church, and it would have been impossible from the few fragments that are now left at Cwmhir to form an adequate idea of the beauty and magnificence of

the original design, but, fortunately, about the years 1540 to 1542 the inhabitants of the town of Llanidloes, in Montgomeryshire, about 13 miles north-west of Cwmhir Abbey, were restoring and enlarging their parish church, building a new north aisle, and putting a new roof on the nave, and as they required an arcade of five arches between nave and aisle, and a new south doorway, they obtained the material for this part of their church from the lately dissolved Monastery of Cwmhir.

The date when the work was done appears upon the roof itself, 1542, which was probably the year when the work was completed.

Differences of opinion have existed as to whether the piers, arches, and roof, actually came from the Abbey of Cwmhir; as to the roof of the nave, that I believe was built for Llanidloes Church, as it is 27 feet in span, and the span of the roof of the nave of Cwmhir Abbey Church would be at least 32 feet.

As regards the piers, responds, and arches of the arcade, and the jambs of the south door, there cannot be a doubt that the tradition of their having been brought from the Abbey is correct; the architectural details are absolutely identical, and, moreover, the position from whence the responds of the arcade and the jambs of the south door were taken can be identified.

Thus early commenced the destruction of the Abbey Church, but, fortunately, in this instance, it has saved for us so much of the architectural details from which we can without much difficulty reconstruct, in our mind's eye, one of the great monastic churches of Wales, and form some idea how, in one of the most remote and unfrequented districts, in a sparsely populated and poor country, it was intended to build a church of which the nave was, with some three or four exceptions, the longest in England.

Leland, in his *Itinerary* says: "No chirche in Wales is seen of such lengtht, as the foundation of walls there begon doth shew, but the third part of the work was never finished. All the howse was spoiled and defaced by Owen Glendour."

Evidently in Leland's time the foundations were visible of the eastern portion of the church, and I have shown upon the Plan how far the foundations have been traced in the recent excavations.

The North Wall of the Transepts ends abruptly, and there is not a trace of foundation further than is shown on the Plan.

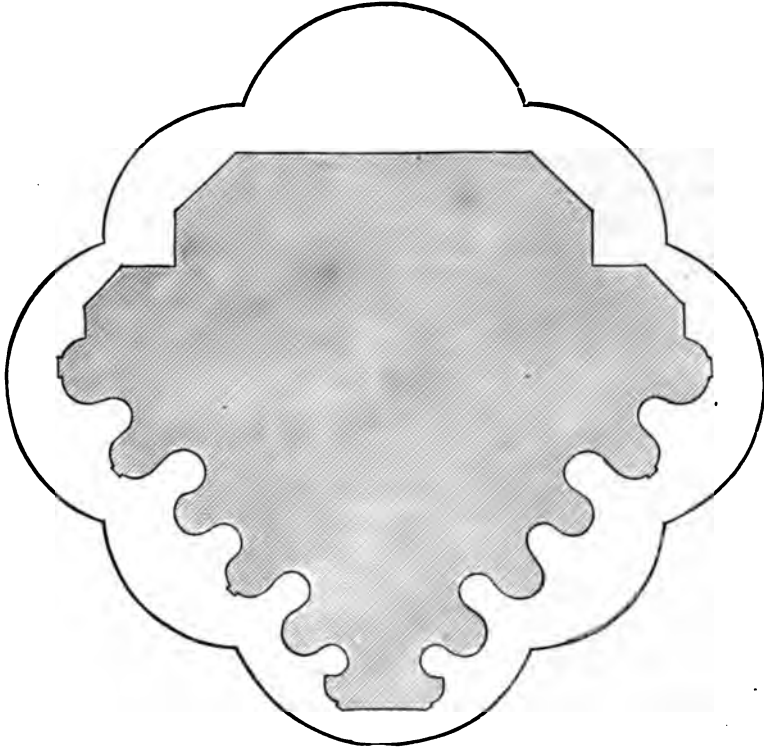
The South Wall does not appear to have been built much further than on the north side, but there are traces of foundations extending eastwards, and also southwards.

Parallel to the West Wall of the South Transept, I found a line of foundation which I think is the east side of the Sacristy, Chapter House, Dayroom, and Slype. The position that this wall occupies with regard to the church, points to the possibility that there was an earlier church that preceded the present structure.

The Abbey is said to have been founded in 1143, and certainly one of the benefactors mentioned in the charters, Einion Clyd, was slain in 1177, therefore, unless we assume that for a long period of years, extending from the middle of the twelfth century until the very end of that century, or early in the thirteenth, the monks were without a church, which is a most improbable thing, we must conclude there was an earlier church which the monks pulled down, intending to rebuild it on a much larger scale.

It is perfectly clear that the date of the architecture of Cwmhir Abbey Church is not earlier than the choir and the other portions of Lincoln Cathedral, built by Bishop Hugh 1192-1200. The architectural details at Cwmhir

very much resemble those at Lincoln, there is one especial feature in the responds intended to carry the groining of the aisles, the bases of which rest upon a projecting plinth, exactly similar in design to the pillars in the choir at Lincoln.



Section of Arch Mouldings, Arcade, Llanidloes Church.

The nave and part of the choir at Llandaff Cathedral is also of the same period, and in its general character the nave of Cwmhir doubtless resembled it, and also some of the Early English work at St. David's Cathedral, one of the local peculiarities being an occasional absence of neck

mouldings to the capitals, the piers consisting of an angular mass, with a cluster of three shafts attached to the principal faces; the central shaft filleted, the other two plain cylinders.

The foliage of the capitals is exquisitely beautiful, and though distinguished technically by the name of *stiff-leaved foliage*, because there are stiff stalks to the leaves rising from the ring of the capital, the leaves themselves curl over in the most graceful manner, with a freedom and elegance peculiar to this period. The arch mouldings are bold and deep, and much undercut.

The late Mr. Freeman, in his essay on Llandaff Cathedral, incidentally mentions Cwmhir Abbey, and states that in his opinion, though Cwmhir may have been founded in 1143, the date of the architecture must be nearly one hundred years later, and attributes the corresponding work at Llandaff to a date not earlier than 1220.

We may generally assume that work of any particular kind in Wales is usually considerably later than similar work in England, and upon that assumption it is not improbable that the rebuilding of the Church of Cwmhir might have been commenced by Madoc ap Maelgwn, who married Rose, daughter of Sir Roger Mortimer, or by Ralph Mortimer, who married Gladys, the daughter of Llewelyn ap Iorwerth, as we find that early in the thirteenth century the Mortimers became closely connected with the Abbey, and there are transactions between them and the monks recorded in the *Liber Niger de Wigmore*, about 1240 and 1241, which point to benefactions in money to the monastery.

The building of such a church must have extended over a considerable period of time; materials were difficult to obtain, and the large quantities of freestone used, which appears to have come from the Grinshill quarries near

Shrewsbury, must have cost a very large sum of money in carriage alone, into so remote a district, which was in those days, and even until the present century, practically without roads.

Only one inscribed tombstone has been found, illustrated on Plate 12, and this was discovered in 1836 in the nave of the church. It formed the cover of a shallow stone grave, and in it lay a perfect skeleton. It was that of a tall man, under middle age, the teeth were all perfect and remarkably white, the bones upon exposure crumbled to dust. This tombstone, or coffin lid, is now preserved in the churchyard at Abbey Cwmlhir. The inscription has been read, "HIC JACET MABLI CUJUS ANIMÆ PROPITIETUR DEUS," and translated as, "Here lies Mabli to whose soul may God be merciful." On the same plate is illustrated a fragment (No. 39) of what appears to have been part of a tombstone.

The aisles of the church were intended to be groined; whether the whole of the groining was ever executed cannot now be determined, but there are in existence fragments of the groin moulds (No. 23, Plate 5) and springers for the groins, four of them have been used in the neighbouring parish church of Llanbister as corbels, to carry the ringing loft of the tower; and among the fragments of sculpture illustrated on Plate 5 there is a groin boss (No. 17).

Among the carved fragments still lying in the ruins are five capitals of very distinctly French type, and showing Romanesque character, intended for detached shafts; to which portion of the building these belong it is now impossible to say; they are not apparently intended for any part of the work in the nave, and possibly have been a part of the central pier of the Chapter House, and may be part of the "portions of two magnificent pillars" mentioned in

Rees' description of the Abbey ruins at the time of the excavations by Mr. Wilson about 1830.

Among the fragments of sculpture, I would particularly wish to draw attention to the head now built into the terrace wall at Abbey Cwmhir. It is so evidently a portrait of the period of the thirteenth century that we may reasonably suppose it is intended for one of the founders, if not intended for the head of the King.

The ram's head is also interesting; the principal wealth of Cwmhir Abbey consisted of its flocks and its herds, and the carver, no doubt, wished to perpetuate that fact: there is a similar head, which has been used as a roof corbel, in Llanidloes Church.

And now, in conclusion, may I appeal to all Welshmen and lovers of ancient art to assist in preserving what little is left to us of this great monastic church, the burial-place of our last native prince; his bones have probably long ago mouldered into dust, the exact place where he was laid may never be discovered, but surely some memorial should be erected in this secluded and beautiful spot that will perpetuate to future generations that here was laid in consecrated ground all that remained of the gallant Llewelyn ap Gruffydd.

“His bones are dust,
And his good sword rust;
His soul is with the saints, I trust.”

(Coleridge.)

APPENDIX.

DESCRIPTION OF THE PLATES.

Plate No. 1 is a plan and perspective elevation of the Piers of the Nave, all of which are of the same design and thirteen in number, carrying an arcade of fourteen arches.

Plate No. 2 is the South-west Pier of the Tower; the portion

of wall cross-hatched on the plan is the foundation of the temporary wall, erected to cut off the nave from the unfinished portion of the Church Eastward, which was never completed.

Plate No. 3 is the detail of the South-west Door of the Nave; the South-east Door was exactly similar in design and detail.

No traces are left of the West Door. The foundations can only be traced of a portion of the West Wall, and from the contour of the ground there may be some doubts whether such a doorway existed; if it did, there must have been a descent of several steps into the nave.

Plate No. 4.—This gives the detail of the Wall Shafts of the Nave, Aisles, and of the North Transept. Those in the South Transept correspond; also, the base of an angle shaft, marked "Sacristy", in the angle where the broad-shaded foundation wall on the east side of "probable site of Chapter House" joins the external wall of the South Transept (see plan).

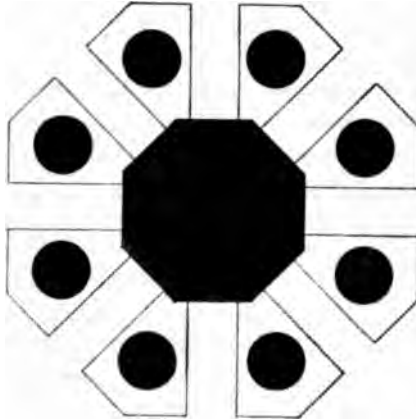
Plate No. 5 contains fragments of Sculpture, Figs. 16, 18, 20 and 21, all of Early English character; Fig. 19 is a part of one of the Capitals of the Nave Piers; Fig. 17 a groin boss from the aisle groining; Fig. 23 a section of the groin mould; and Fig. 22 a fragment of late Tudor tracery from some of the domestic buildings.

Plate No. 6.—Fragments of Sculpture built into the terrace wall of the garden of Abbey Cwmhir House. The head B is that of a young man, with flowing hair and a slight moustache, wearing a coronet; the mode of wearing the hair, and the form of the coronet or crown, enables us to date this piece of sculpture about the latter half of the thirteenth century. There is a ram's head exactly similar to the one illustrated on this plate, built in as a corbel, carrying one of the hammer beams of the roof of Llanidloes Church.

Plate No. 7.—Figs. marked K, L, M, N, and the corbel block of the hand grasping conventional foliage, are also built into the Terrace Wall at Abbey Cwmhir. Fig. 25 is a fragment of a Nave Capital found in the ruins, and may be compared with those now forming part of the Arcade in Llanidloes Church. Fig. 24, section of fragments of Arch Moulds found at the Abbey; and the section of a Capital at Llanidloes Church is also shown on this plate.

Plate No. 8.—The five Capitals shown in this plate, Figs. 26, 27,

28, 29, and 30, are entirely different in style from the other fragments that have been found, and as will be seen by the plan of the abacus, Fig. 31, have been intended to be grouped round a central octagonal shaft of considerable size. Mr. W. G. Smith has prepared a plan, and a drawing showing how these capitals were probably used, and it is not unlikely that these are fragments of the central pier intended to carry the groined roof of an octagonal Chapter House, which may or may not have been ever completed. The peculiarly French character of the sculpture is very remarkable, and resembles late Romanesque work.

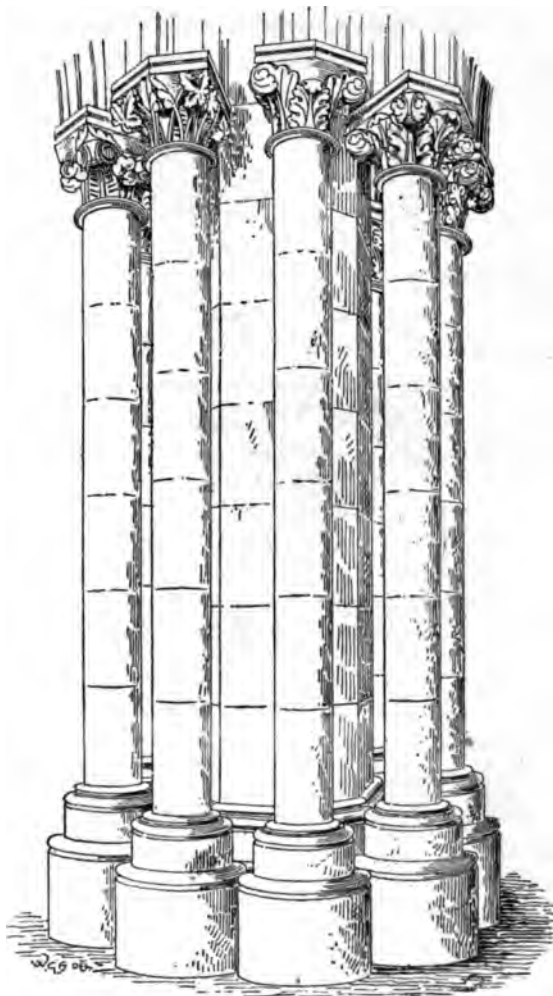


Plan of Central Octagonal Shaft.

Plates Nos. 9, 10, and 11, illustrate the Piers and Responds of the Arcade at Llanidloes Church, dividing the North Aisle from the Nave, and which are undoubtedly built up of portions of the arcades from the Abbey Church of Cwmhir. They agree in every detail with fragments now in existence at the Abbey, and it will be observed how the Capitals have become mixed, as in Fig. 34, Plate 10, and also Fig. 33, plate 9. In Fig. 32 we can trace the rude attempt of the local mason to make good the damage caused in transit over the hills between the Abbey and Llanidloes: his workmanship is more apparent in the Capitals themselves than is indicated in the drawings.

We have in these Capitals two types of Sculpture, the purest Early English work, quite equal to anything at Lincoln

Cathedral, as in Figs. 33, 36, and 37 ; and, on the other hand, we have a much ruder and apparently an earlier type of work, as in



Restoration of Central Octagonal Shaft.

Figs. 34 and 35. We have fragments at the Abbey illustrating both styles, see Fig. 19, plate 5, and Fig. 25, plate 7.

It is quite impossible to say how the various types of Sculpture were applied in the Nave. Possibly the East end may have been first completed, and the men who had worked at Lincoln might have been employed at Abbey Cwmhir; then, as the Nave extended westward, the work may have fallen into other and less competent hands. However this may be, here we have side by side two distinct classes of work, surmounting the same shafts and bases throughout.

Plate No. 12.—On this is illustrated the only inscribed Monumental Slab found at Abbey Cwmhir, Fig. 38, now placed in the churchyard there, on the north side of the church; Fig. 39 is a fragment apparently of a tombstone, with a moulded edge.

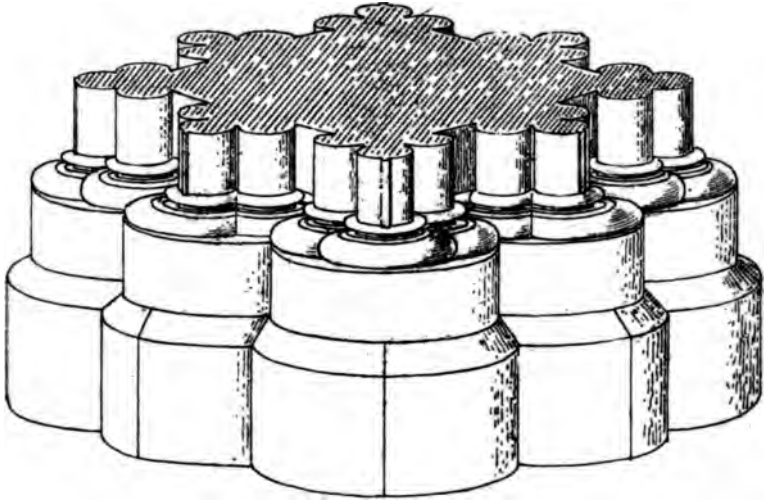
NOTE.—Mr. Edward Owen has very kindly furnished the following extract from Stephens' *Literature of the Kymry* of a poem of Gruffydd ap Yr Ynad Coch on the death of Llewelyn ap Gruffydd, in which it appears that his personal escort was eighteen men when he visited Aberedw Castle, and that all these were slain when their retreat upon the main body of Llewelyn's army was cut off by Helias Walwyn :—

POEM OF GRUFFYDD AP YR YNAD COCH ON THE DEATH OF
LLEWELYN AP GRUFFYDD.

“ It is my lot to complain of Saxon treachery,
It is mine to complain of the necessity of dying,
It is mine to despise myself because God
Has left me without him.
It is mine to praise him without interruption or silence,
It is mine henceforth to meditate on him,
It is mine while life lasts for him to mourn,
It is mine to grieve, mine to weep.
A lord I have lost—well may I mourn—
A lord of a royal palace, slain by a human hand,
A lord righteous and truthful : listen to me !
I soar to complain. Oh that I should have cause !
A lord, victorious until the eighteen were slain.
A lord who was gentle, whose possession is now the silent earth,
A lord who was like a lion, ruling the elements,
A lord whose disfigurement makes us most uneasy,
A lord who was praised in songs, as Emrys predicted ;
No Saxon would dare to touch him,” etc.

The Welsh line about the eighteen is :—

“ Arglwydd llwydd cyn lladd y deunaw.”



PIERS OF NAVE

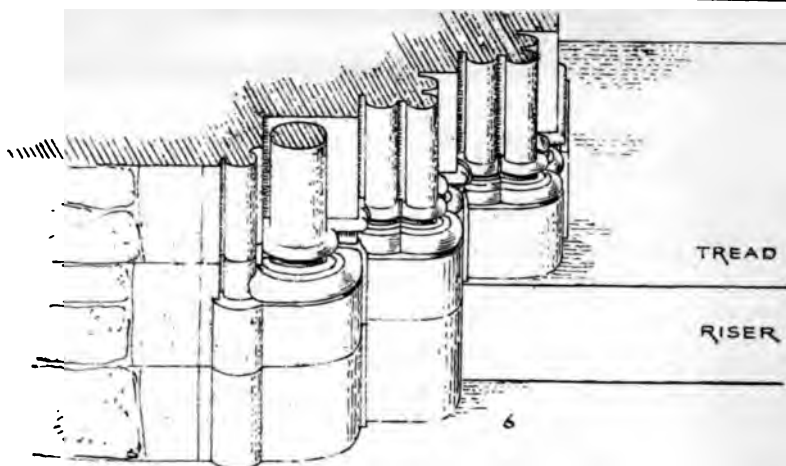


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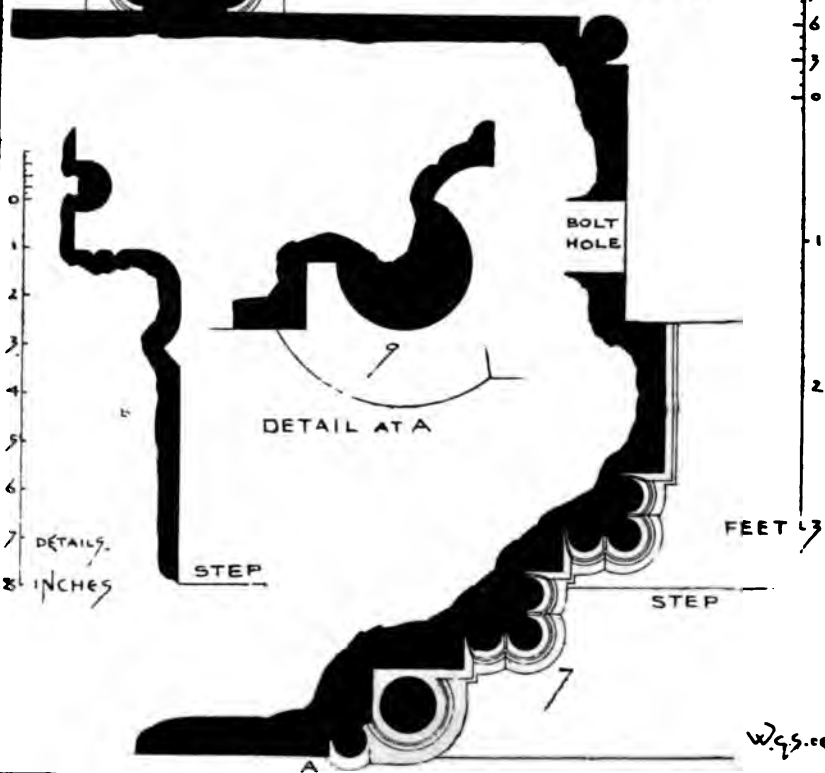
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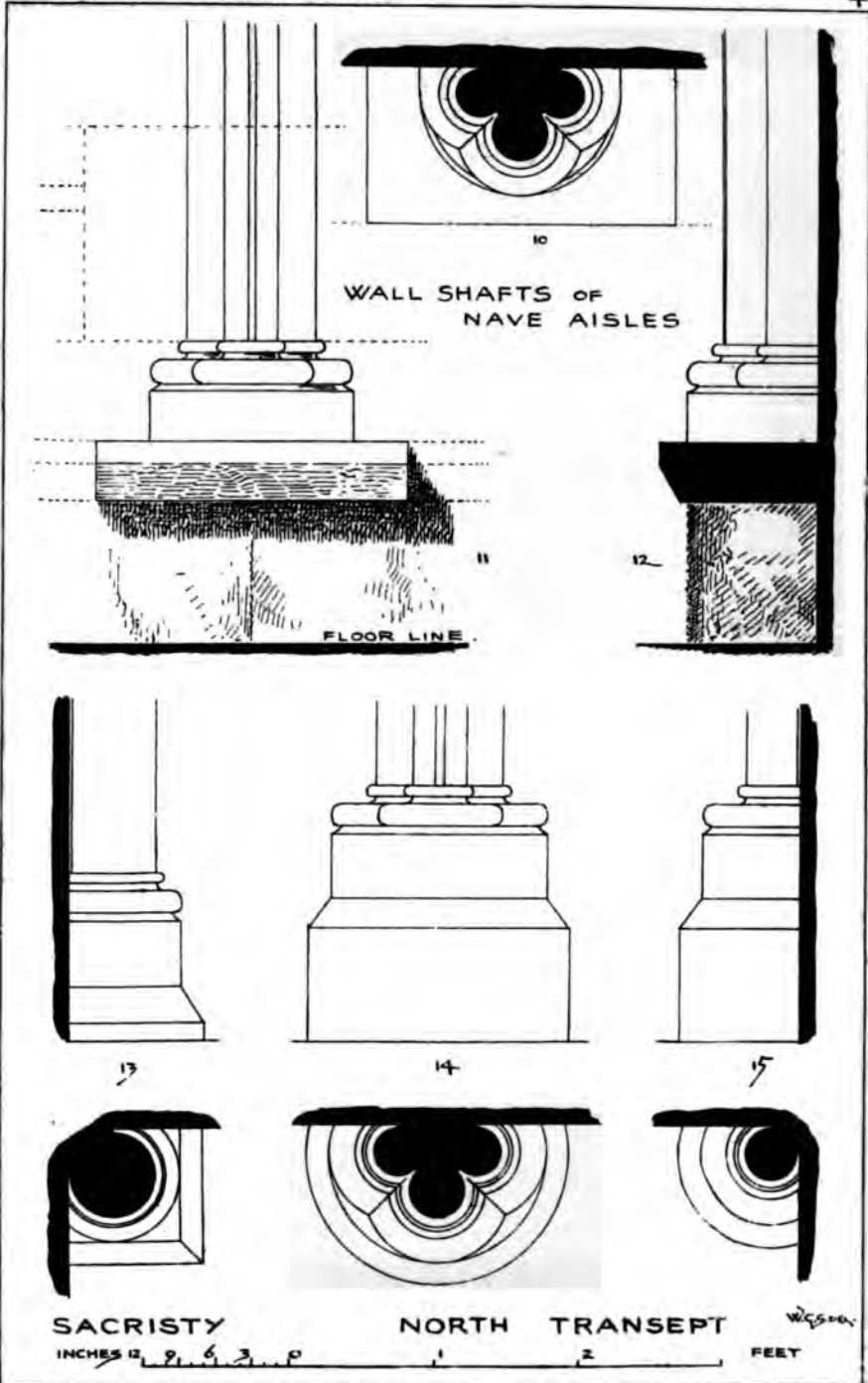
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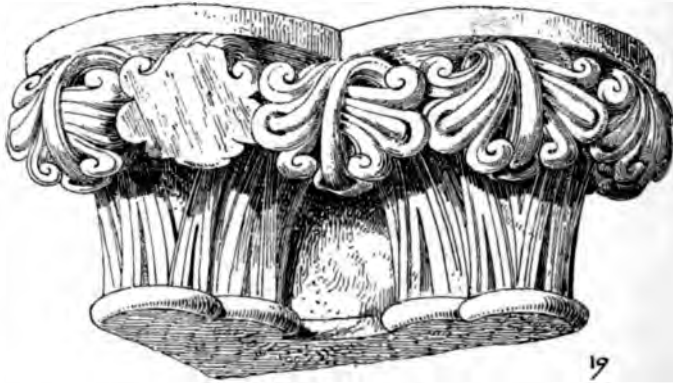
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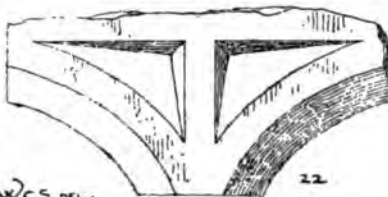
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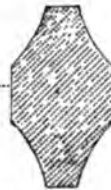
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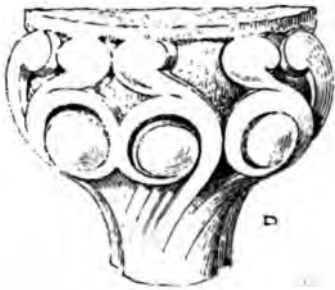
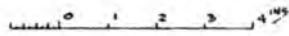
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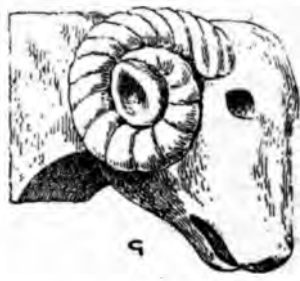
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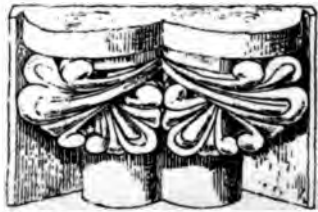
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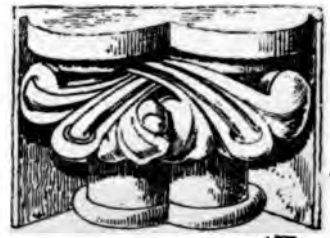
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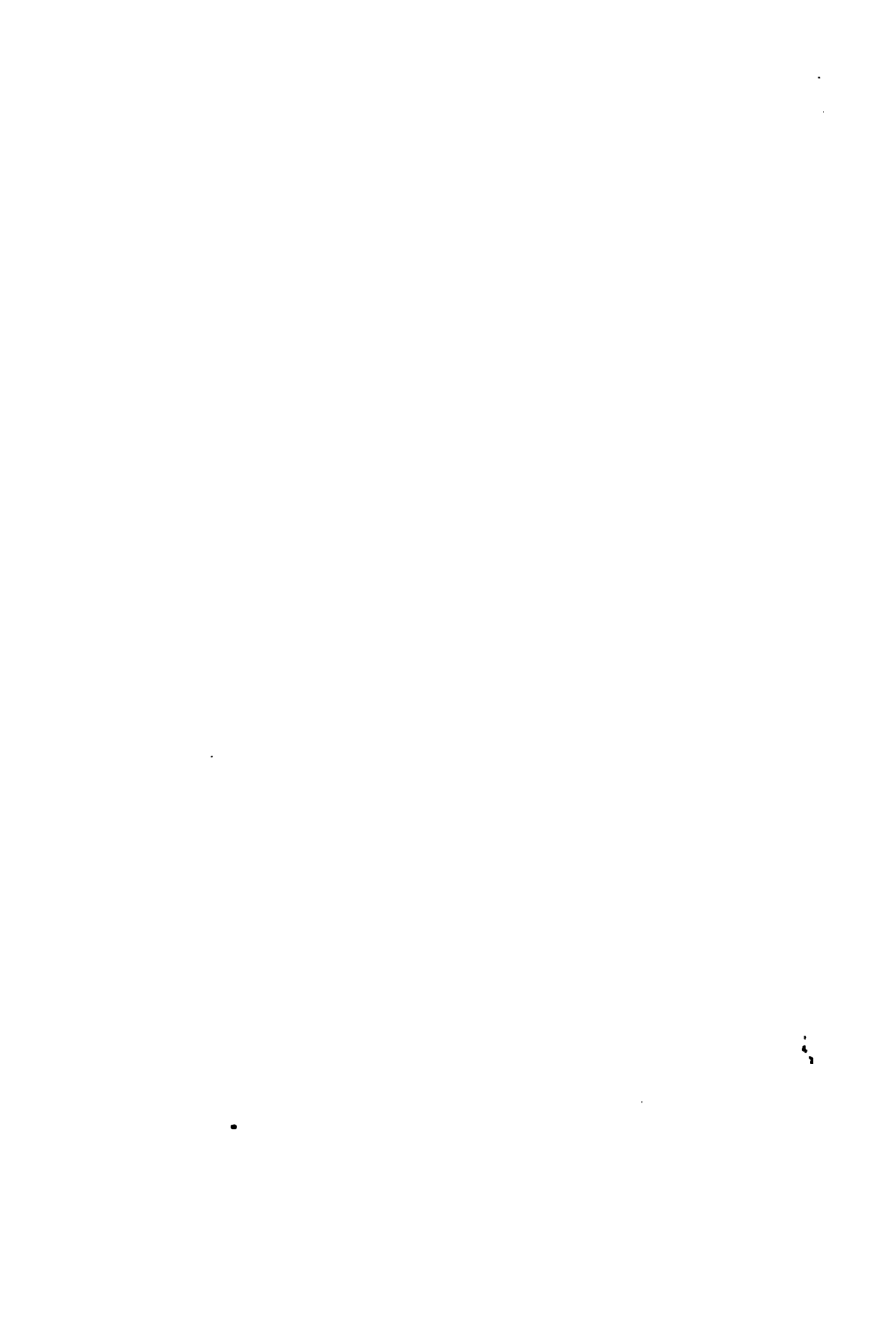
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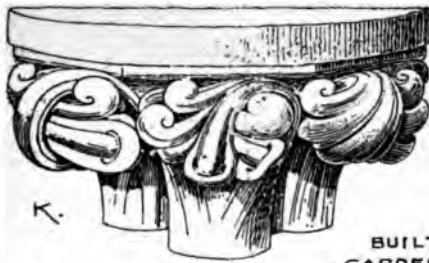
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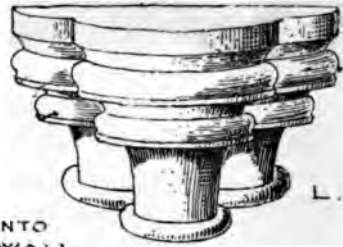
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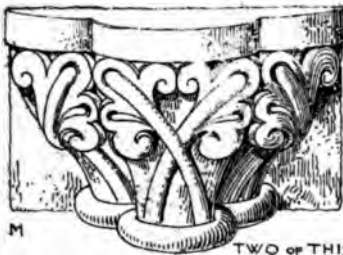


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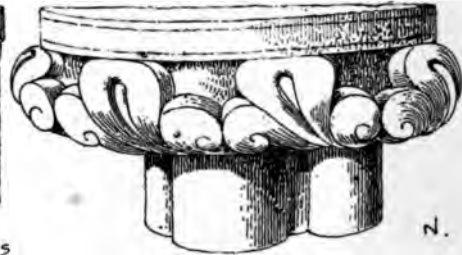
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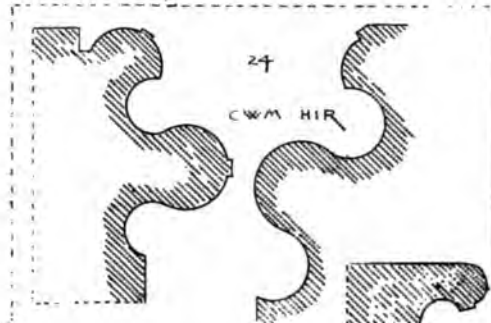


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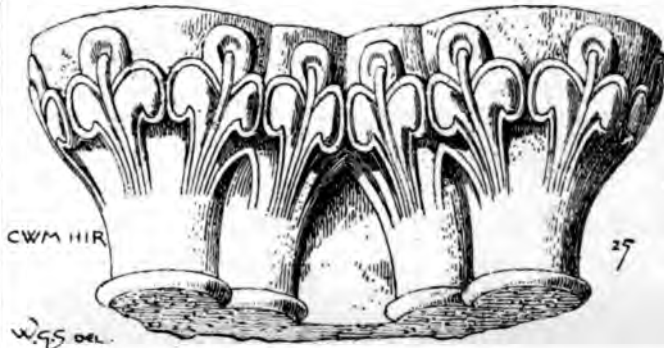


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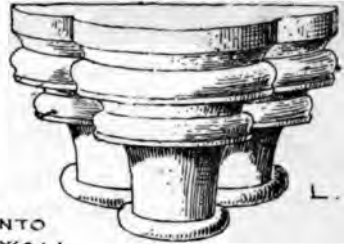
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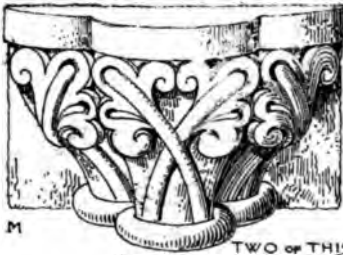


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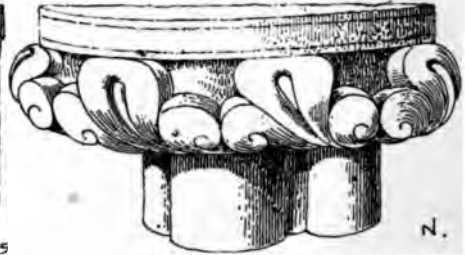
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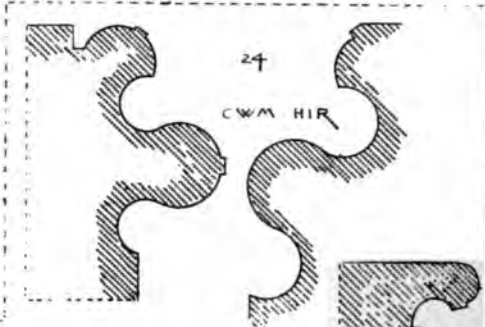


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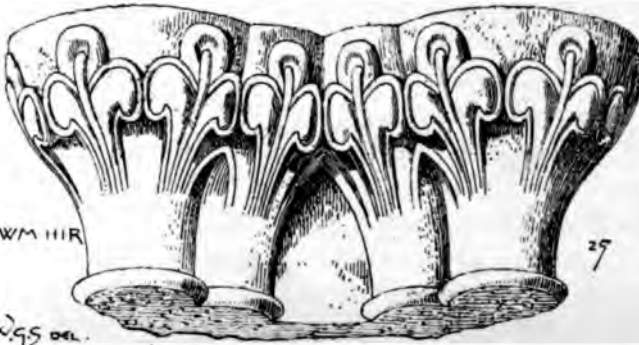


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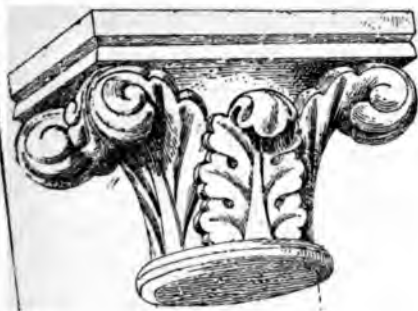
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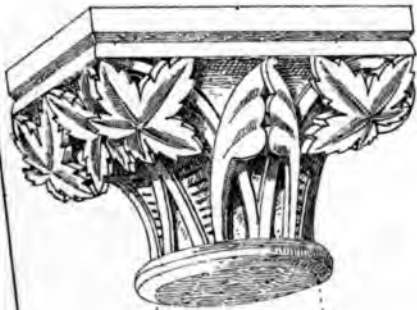
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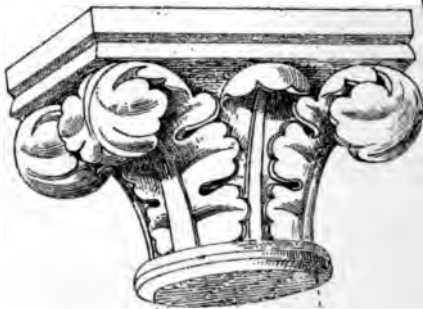
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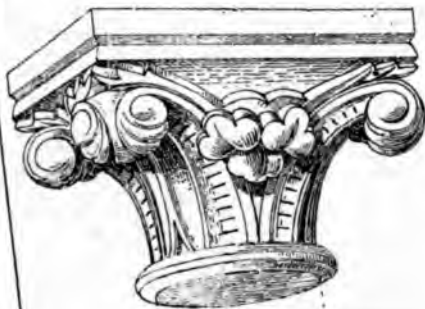
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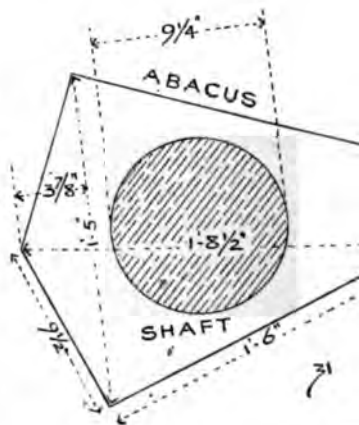
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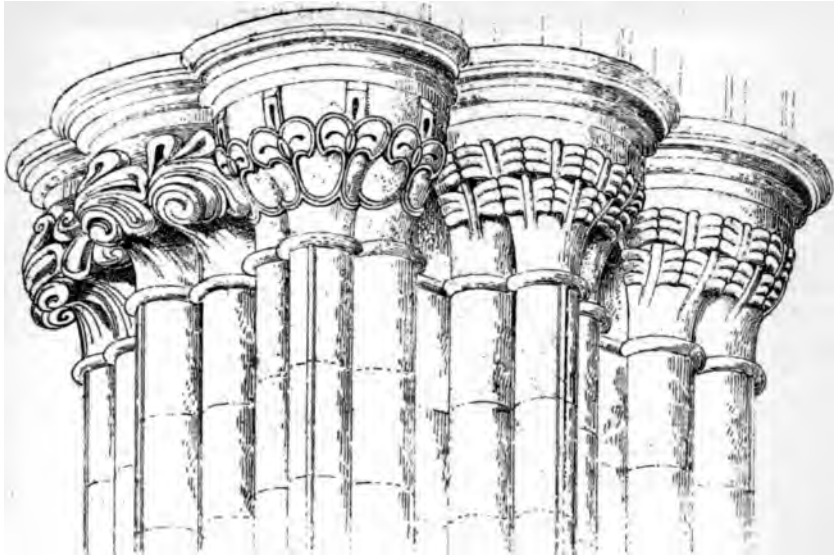


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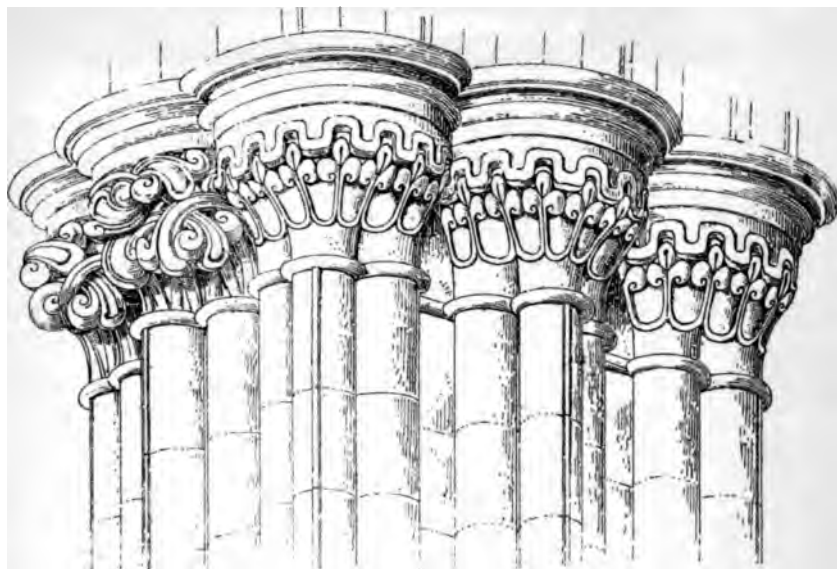


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FOURTH PIER FROM EAST

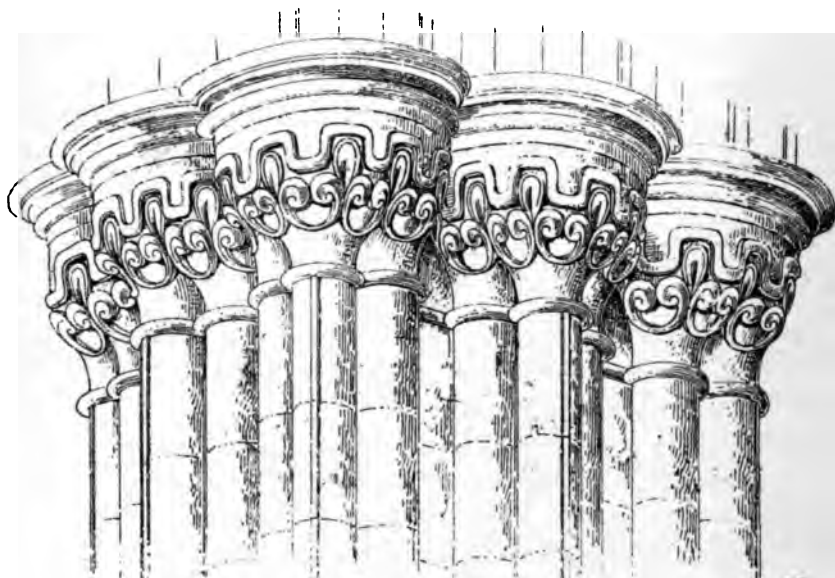
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PIERS LLANIDLOES CH.



FIRST PIER FROM EAST.

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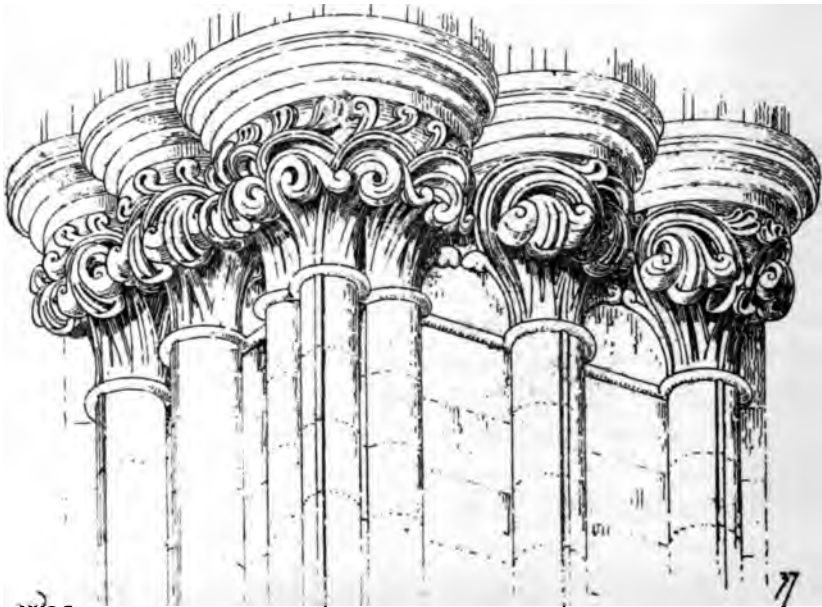
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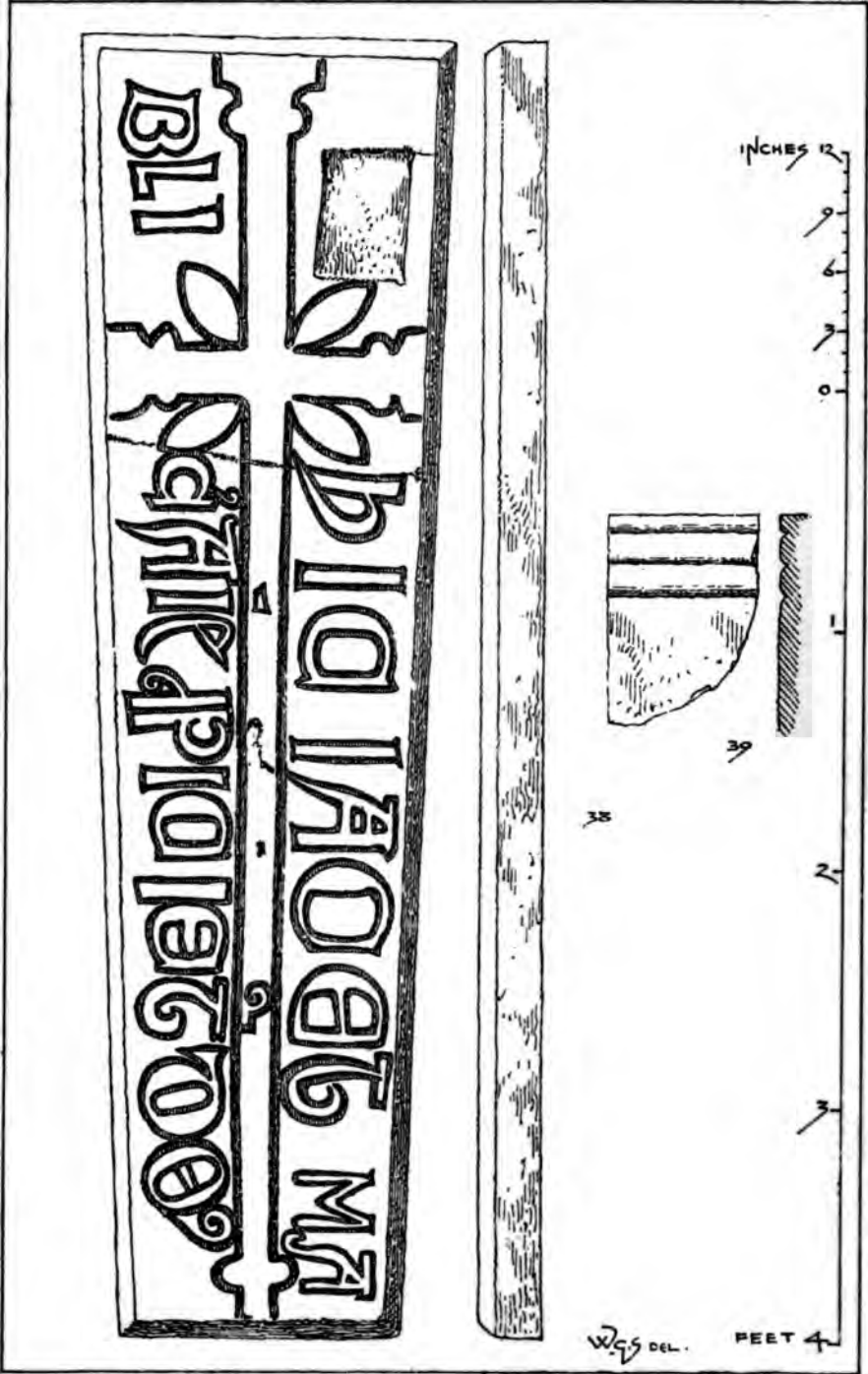


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THE WELSH CALENDAR.

BY THE REV JOHN FISHER, B.D.¹

IN mediæval Welsh literature references are constantly made to certain events as happening upon, or near, such and such a Holy Day or Saint's Day, without mentioning the month at all. For instance, the Welsh Laws, *Brut y Tywysogion*, and other Welsh Chronicles, to say nothing of the poems of Lewis Glyn Cothi, and other bards, are full of such dates. These Festivals stood out as landmarks in the popular Calendar, and our forefathers dated by them the various events that occurred in their individual and national history. This paper is an attempt at elucidating and giving the history of, from the Welsh point of view, these Festivals and Holy Days, which are, for the most part, the common property of Christendom. No one, I think, can read with intelligence and appreciation much, especially of that vast store of mediæval literature we possess, without some acquaintance with these Festivals.

I had at first intended treating also of the old non-Christian Welsh Festivals, connected principally with the equinoxes and solstices, where we have undoubted traces of sun-worship, attesting the extraordinary vitality of the old Celtic religion; but I found when I came to look into my notes that I could not possibly bring both the Christian

¹ Read before the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion on Thursday, the 30th of May 1895, at 20, Hanover Square. Chairman, Dr. Alfred Daniell, B.Sc.

and non-Christian Festivals within the compass of one paper, and so I decided for the present to leave the non-Christian Festivals untouched.

I propose, first of all, taking the Festivals that are not Saints' Days, giving the history of the names found for them in Welsh literature, with their meanings, noting anything about them peculiar to the Welsh Calendar, and illustrating them occasionally by any customs, bits of folklore, or proverbial sayings there may be connected with them. The latter will, I hope, relieve somewhat of the philological monotony of the paper; but space, of course, would not allow of my going into them with any degree of thoroughness. I intend also dealing at some length with the *Gwyl Mabsant*, which at one time formed an important factor in the social life of the Welsh people in, as I suppose, every parish.

The Welsh Calendars that I have consulted in writing this paper are:—

(1) The Calendar in the Additional MS. 14,912, in the British Museum. The Calendar is prefixed to a fourteenth century MS. of *Meddygon Myddfai*, on vellum, which belonged to Lewis Morris. This is a valuable Calendar, but is, unfortunately, imperfect, beginning only with March; nor is it always quite legible. A few of the entries are in a later hand.

(2) The Calendars in the fifteenth century Hengwrt MSS., 13, 22, and 45, for copies of which I am indebted to my friend, Mr. Egerton Phillimore, M.A., who had taken copies of the transcripts made by the late Mr. Howel W. Lloyd, M.A., of the originals. These Calendars give us the Festivals of a great number of the Welsh Saints (as well as the usual Festivals of the Western Church), but it will be found on testing them that they are not very accurate, being often wrong by a day or two.

(3) The Calendar in the Additional MS. 14,882, a volume of Welsh poems. At fol. 39*a* begins the Calendar, with a treatise on the days of the months, planetary influences, etc., called *Erra pater*, written by William ap W. in 1591. This is a very legible and perfect Calendar.

(4) The *Iolo MSS.* Calendar, 152-3 (= 558). This is said to have been taken from "a MS. written about 1500, in the possession of Mr. Thomas Davies of Dolgelley". The Festivals for December are imperfect, a leaf being lost. It would be interesting to know where this MS. is now. This Calendar is a pretty correct one.

(5) The Calendar prefixed to *Allwydd neu Agoriad Parawys i'r Cymru*, a Roman Manual published at Liège in 1670, wherein the Welsh Saints are marked with an asterisk to distinguish them from the Roman and other Saints.

(6) The Calendars published in the London *Greal*, 287-8 (1806), and the *Cambrian Register*, iii, 219-21 (1818). These are practically one and the same Calendar or list, with this difference, that the one is in Welsh and the other (nearly all) in English. It is rather a meagre Calendar, and is not arranged chronologically.

(7) The Calendar in Williams ab Ithel's *Ecclesiastical Antiquities of the Cymry*, 301-3 (1844), which is based upon the Festivals given *passim* in Rees's *Welsh Saints*.

(8) Some Welsh Almanacks published during the last 200 years, beginning with Thomas Jones's for 1692. The first Welsh Almanack was the one published for 1680 by Thomas Jones of Shrewsbury, whose Almanacks Stephen Hughes commends to his readers in his preface to the translation of *The Pilgrim's Progress* published in 1688. In the Almanacks of the earlier part of last century, and before, the Festivals of Saints are very numerous, not only of Welsh Saints, but also of Roman and English Saints. These

Saints' Festivals, however, from about 1770 became fewer and fewer, and gradually disappeared, so that there is scarcely a Saint's name, Welsh or otherwise, to be met with in the ordinary Welsh Almanack of to-day—none beyond a few inevitable ones.

Gwyl, the Welsh for 'Festival', is simply the L. *vigilia*, 'a watch'. Originally it meant the vigil or watch that was kept the evening or night preceding a Holy Day. A parallel to it is the Eng. *Wake* for a Patronal Festival, from the O. Eng. *wacu*, 'a vigil'. There are a few instances of *gwyl* being used in its original sense to be met with in Med. Welsh literature; *e.g.*, in one of the tracts on Bardism printed in the *Iolo MSS.*, 52, we find the following:—"y dydd o flaen yr Alban a elwir Gwyl [*i.e.*, the vigil] yr Alban, ar dydd ar ol Gwledd [*i.e.*, the Feast] yr Alban." Salesbury in his *Dict.* (1547) gives "Gwyl ne vysilia — vigyll". Compare the verbs *gwyllo* and *gwylad*, which, like the L. *vigilare*, mean 'to watch, or sit up'; and *gwylnos*, 'a watch- or wake-night'. In course of time the term *gwyl*—which marked at first the beginning of the Festival, and was only of secondary importance as compared with it—came to be applied to the Festival itself. Still, some word for 'vigil', as such, would have to be used when occasion required it; and we have it in *mywyl*, a late Med. form of *vigilia*, which, with *gwyl*, forms what is called a 'doublet', like *swyn* and *sygn*, from the L. *signum*. The changing of initial *v* to *m* in later Welsh is common enough; *cf.* *velvet*, *melfed*; *villain*, *milain*; *venture*, *mentro*, etc. There are plenty of passages in Med. Welsh attesting the use of *mywyl*, but generally we meet with it in the pl. *mywyliau*. In the fifteenth century Hengwrt Calendars, as the vigil or eve of a Festival, it is written *mevilia* (also *mevylia*), and occurs a good many times. So also in the Calendar of Additional MS. 14,912, as *miwilia*, and in that

of Additional MS. 14,882, as *mevilie*. In the *Iolo MSS.* Calendar it only occurs once, written *mifilia*. We have the pl. *mefiliau* (*al. mywiliau*) in a poem by Meredydd ap Rhys (1430-60; *Iolo MSS.*, 323); and a saying attributed by some to Catwg Ddoeth runs:—"Na vydd gyveddachwr vywiliau a chatgor" (*Myv. Arch.*, 758, twice; *cf.* also *Barddoniaeth D. ab Gwilym*, 490; 1789). I may add that *Noswyl* (in short, *Nos*; and occasionally *Ucher-wyl*) is also used much in the same sense as *mywyl*—the *nos* or eve of such and such a *gwyl* or Festival—and formerly it used to be observed by cessation from work generally. Hence the verb *noswylïo* came to mean to leave off work and retire for the evening to rest; *cadw noswyl*, as it were. In Morris Williams's *Y Flwyddyn Eglwysig* (64; 1843), under *Nos Basg*, occur the lines:—

" A dyma'r fan, fy Iesu mawr,
Yr wyt, yn llawr y ceuffedd,
Yn *cadw noswyl* wedi'th waith,
Mewn beddrod llaith yn gorwedd ! "

Whilst dealing with these terms I may perhaps be allowed to refer to the phrase, now written, *dyw gwyl*, *i.e.*, 'a Festival day'—the first word being used in several other instances. The word for 'day' here probably only differs in spelling from *Duw*, the Welsh for 'God' (Rhys, *Hibbert Lectures*, 116); in fact, in Med. Welsh *duw* is much the commonest spelling for the word. To take Skene's *Four Ancient Books of Wales*, we find the word for 'God' there spelt *duu*, *duw*, *duf*, and once *dev* (ii, 13); the word for 'day' *duw*, *duw*, *diu*, *diw*, *div*, *dyl*, *dyf*, and *dyw*. The various spellings represent but one word, cognate with the Sanskrit *dyaus*, 'heaven, sky, day, the god Dyaus', and the words usually strung upon it in works on the Science of Language. The words for 'God' and 'day' are still heard in some parts pronounced exactly alike. An

anonymous bard, writing in the S. Wales dialect, in *Llyfr Carolau a Dyrïau Duwiol* (215; ed. 1729)—exhibiting in strong terms his righteous indignation at some of the evil customs and practices of the Welsh people of his day—was evidently quite unable to make any distinction between the two words, for he says:—

“ Mae gan fagad saith o Dduwiau,
Rhieni (*sic*) ydyw y saith ddyddiau ;
Duw *Sul*, Duw *Llun*, yw dau o honyn,
Ar pump eraill sydd yn canlyn.

“ Dymma arfer gâs annuwiol,
A ddysgodd yr hen Ddiawl ir Bobol ;
Galw Enw'r Sanctaidd Drindod,
Yn gyffredin ar ddiwrnod.”

I may further add that *Gwyl*, being fem., changes the initial letter of the Saint's name, if mutable; e.g., *Gwyl Fair*, *Gwyl Bedr*, *Gwyl Domas*, *Gwyl Badrig*, *Gwyl Armon*, etc. This mutation regularly occurs in Welsh literature, in its purer periods; so that such a form as *Gwyl Dewi*, one now so frequently meets with, is contrary to the genius of the language, and should be avoided. It does occur occasionally in Welsh literature, I know, but the instances are not anything so numerous as those of the correcter *Gwyl Ddewi*. In the parish of Llandeilo Fawr the following couplet—intended to refer to the approach of spring—may be heard on *llafur gwlad*:—

“ Fe ddaw Gwyl Fair, fe ddaw *Gwyl Ddewi*,
Fe ddaw y g'wenen fach i ddedwi.”

The old Welsh year, like the Celtic year generally, began on the first of November (*Culan Gauaf*), and the importance once attaching to the day, and especially the eve, has not yet quite disappeared. That is the old New Year's Day which Celtic tradition as a whole favours; but Welsh tradition is not *quite* unanimous on the point, for

in one of the Bardic tracts printed in the *Iolo MSS.*, 52, we are told that *Alban Arthan*, *i.e.*, Dec. 10 (the shortest day, O.S.), was the first day of the Welsh year, as also of the winter. A passage to the same effect appears in a document printed in *Barddas* (i,416), edited by Williams ab Ithel; and in one other passage in the latter work (i, 404) we are further told that *Alban Eilir* (the Vernal Equinox) was the first day of the year, being the day on which Prydain ab Aedd Mawr was born.

In England the commencement of the year has been variously reckoned. From the Norman Conquest to 1155 it was reckoned from the 1st of January, but between 1155 and 1751 from the 25th of March, and since the latter year from the 1st of January. In Bibles and Prayer Books, both English and Welsh, published previously to 1752 a note generally occurs, having reference to the Calendar prefixed, giving the reasons why the 25th of March was regarded as the commencement of the year. In Bishop Parry's Bible (1620), for instance, it runs thus:—"Nota hefyd fod cyfrif blwyddyn yr Arglwydd yn dechrau ar y pumed dydd ar hugain o fis Mawrth, y dydd y tybir dechreu creu'r byd arno, a'r dydd y câd Christ ynghroth y Forwyn Fair."

The Welsh people, like the English, did not at first take kindly to the introduction of the New Style, and it is curious to notice how tenaciously they clung to the old order of things, as testified by several Welsh writers, *e.g.* :—

The author (Nefydd) of *Crefydd yr Oesoedd Tywyll* (45; 1852) says:—"Cafwyd trafferth fawr i gael gan y bobl ymostwng i'r peth a alwent y '*new style*'. Gan hyny yr oedd dwy restr o wyliau, ffeiriau, a dyddiau hynod ereill, yn cael eu cadw mewn rhai parthau o'r deyrnas am amser ar ol hyny, a'r rhai hyny ll eg. o ddyddiau oddiwrth eu gilydd. Shon Prŷs o Iâl, a gwneuthurwyr Almanaciau

ereill, yn gorfod nodi amserau yr hen a'r 'new style' yn ei Almanac. Ac mae llawer o hen bobl wedi bod yn ein cof ni nad oedd fawr o barch ganddynt i'r 'new style' mewn cyferbyniad i'r *hen* ddydd Nadolig, yr *hen* ddydd Calan, etc., etc. Y prydiau hyny, meddynt, yr oedd yr anifeiliaid yn y beudai yn myned ar eu gliniau, ac yn brefu, i ddangos parch i enedigaeth ac enwaediad ein Hiachawdwr; y gwenyn yn canu, a'r coed yn blodeuo (yn enwedig y *Glastonbury thorn*) mewn noswaith, neu yn hytrach yn y boreu, yn wyrthiol. Yr un modd y gellir dweyd am yr holl wyliau ereill. Ac am y tymor cyflogi gweision a morwynion, ni chymerasai llawer un o'r hen bobl rodd o fuwch a llô am wneyd yn ol Calan-Mai newydd, ond yr *hen Galan-Mai* oedd gymeradwy." (See also a passage to the same effect in *Gwaith G. Mechain*, ii, 368.)

Goronwy Owen in his *Cywydd i'r Calan* (1753) refers to the change of Style when he says:—

"Aed y calendr yn hendrist,
Aed Cred i ammau oed Crist."

(*Poetical Works*, i, 78 ; 1876.)

The poet was born on the 1st of January, which, after the introduction of the New Style, would be the 12th; and in another *Cywydd* (written in 1755) he grieves the loss of the intervening days from the short span of his life.

I propose to begin with the Festivals from the commencement of the present Ecclesiastical Year (which for a long time began, like the Civil Year, on March 25th, still one of the quarter-days)—Advent, *Y Dawodiad*, or *Y Dyfodiad* as it is occasionally called. In the first translation of the Welsh Prayer Book (1567) the season is called, *Yr Aduent, neu'r Grawys 'ayaf*, 'the Lent of winter'; so also in the fifteenth century Hengwrt MS. 45 (last page), Salesbury's *Dictionary* (s.v. *Grawys*), *Yr*

Athrawaeth Gristnogawl (213; 1618), the 16th-17th century MS. of a Welsh-Latin Roman Manual of Devotion in the Robert Jones collection in the Swansea Public Library (f. 33a). In Adamnan's "Second Vision", in the 14th century *Lebar Brecc*, we have the Irish counterpart of the Welsh *Grawys Auaf*, where occurs the phrase *n-init chorgais gemrid*, 'the shrovetide of the Lent of winter', i.e., the beginning of Advent; and also *n-init chorgais erraig*, 'the shrovetide of the Lent of spring' (*Revue Celtique*, xii, 431, 441; 1891). In the Calendar of Additional MS. 14,912, opposite November 3rd and 4th, is inserted (in a later hand)—"*Grawys helias a vydd o wyl martin hyt y nadolic*", which we must take, I believe, to mean 'Elias's (or Elijah's) Lent', so called from the forty days fast of him in whose 'spirit and power' came the herald of Christ's Advent. In *The Calendar of Oengus* (clxiii), however, under November 13th, we have an *init corgaiss* which the editor, Dr. Whitley Stokes, renders 'the beginning of (Moses') Lent'. In the Gallican Church, Advent was also reckoned from Martinmas (Nov. 11th), hence called *Quadragesima S. Martini*, and included, roughly speaking, six Sundays and a forty days' Fast. There is an Advent of six Sundays in the ancient Gallican Lectionary of Luxeuil, and also in the Ambrosian and Mozarabic Liturgies. The Orthodox Greek Church still commences Advent on Martinmas.

Christmas, *Y Nadolig* (Med. Welsh *Nodolyc*, etc.; O. Irish, *Notlaic*; Manx, *Nollick*; Cornish, *Nadelic*; Breton, *Nedelic*) is a modification of the Latin *natalicium*, 'a birth-day present', which in Mediæval Latin meant 'a birthday'. Dr. Davies in his *Welsh-Latin Dictionary* (1632) gives *natale* and *natalicia*. The French *Noël* is a modification of *natale*. In fact, the name of the Festival among all peoples of the Latin and Celtic races represents some form

of the Latin. In some old Welsh Prayer Books (*e.g.*, 1621, 1718), the Festival of the Nativity of St. John Baptist is called *Gwyl Natalic Sanct Ioan Fedyddiwr*; in the Prayer Books of 1664, 1718, etc., we have also, May 29th, *Dydd Natalic a Dychweliad Charl's yr Ail*, and Sept. 8th, *Natal. y Fend. Fair For*. A proverb says: "Mal mursen nôs nadolig" (*Myv. Arch.*, 850-1). A common term for Christmas-tide is *Gwyliau 'r Nadolig*, or shortly, *Y Gwyliau*, lit. 'the Festivals or Holy days', from the number of Holy Days that crowd then (*e.g.*, the three Saints' Days immediately following Christmas)—in fact, the Christmas Festival lasts till Twelfth-Day. *Y Gwyliau* has always been a time looked forward to with delight by the Welsh people, like people of most other nationalities; so much so that John Prichard Prÿs in his *Difyrrwch Crefyddol* (published in 1721, now very rare) could speak of Heaven (p. 85) as—

"Y cartref gogoned sydd rydd heb gaethiwed,
Y fann na cheir gweled ond Gwylie."

There is a reference to Christmas joy (lasting till Twelfth Day) in the *Englynion y Misoedd* of the pseudo-Aneurin, under December (*Myv. Arch.*, 22):—

"Llon ceiliog a Thwylluan
Au deudeng-nyd yn hoean
Am eni yspeiliwr sattan."

December 28th, Innocents' Day or Childermas, is now called *Gwyl y Gwirioniaid*, but the name one constantly finds given to it in Mediæval Welsh literature is *Gwyl y fil* (occasionally *mil*) *feibion*, 'the Festival of the Thousand Sons'. *Duw gwyl vil veib* occurs in two fourteenth century MSS. of the same work, but representing different editions, viz., *Ystoria de Carolo Magno* (28, printed from the Red Book of Hergest, 1883) and *Campeu Charlymaen* (printed from Llyfr Gwyn Rhydderch in *Selections from the Hengwrt MSS.*, ii. 50). It also occurs in the fifteenth

century Hengwrt MS. 45, and Salesbury's *Dictionary* (1547). As far as I have noticed the name has only crept into one edition of the Welsh Prayer Book—that of 1708 (in one of the Tables prefixed). In some of the Almanacks of last century the same name is set down against the day, and also *Lludd 1,400 Gwirion.*, *Lludd 14,000 o Wir.*, for they do not appear to be certain. In *Pryt Map Deo* (*Sel. from the Hengwrt MSS.*, ii, 444-453; *Llyvyr Agkyr Ll.*, 92-5; and the *London Greal*, 393-6) the Innocents, to the number of 144,000, slain under two years of age, are represented as singing a song of praise to the Son; and in an *awdl*, *Y Grog o Rhiw Dymeirchion*, by Gruffydd ap Ieuan ap Llewelyn Fychan (*flor. c.* 1470-1520; printed in Elias Owen's *Old Stone Crosses*, 184-8), they are referred to as *Uu o feibion*. In the Irish MSS. quoted in the notes on December 28 in the Irish metrical *Féilire*—or Calendar of Church Festivals—*The Calendar of Oengus* (clxxxiv; ed. Dr. Whitley Stokes), the number involved in the massacre is variously put down as 2,120, 2,140, and 2,240. The common belief, however, of the Church was that the Innocents were 14,000 in number. Bishop Jeremy Taylor says that Herod “killed fourteen thousand pretty babes, as the Greeks in their calendar and the Abyssines of Ethiopia do commemorate in their books of Liturgy”. Another notion, founded on a misinterpretation of Rev. xiv, 3 (the Epistle for the day in the Western Church), swelled the number to 144,000. It is monstrously absurd to suppose that there could have been such a number of infant children, of two years and under, in so small a village as Bethlehem. They probably did not amount to forty. There is an obscure religious poem, entitled *Marvnat y vil veib* ('The Elegy of the Thousand Sons'), in the Book of Taliessin (Skene, ii, 109-114), but it does not contain any reference in particular to the Massacre of the Innocents.

New Year's Day is *Y Calan par excellence*. The Welsh adopted the Roman custom of calling the first day of each month *Calan*, from the Lat. *Calendæ*; but it has been for the most part dropped now, in connection with the name of a month, except in the case of *Calan Mwi*. Formerly we said *Calan Ionawr*, *Calan Chwefror* (*Yst. de Carolo Mag.*, 107), *Calan Mawrth* (*Myv. Arch.*, 972), *Calan Ebrill* (*Oxf. Bruts*, 310-1, 384)—in fact one could adduce instances of the first of every month in the year being so designated. The first day of certain seasons and festivals was sometimes also called *Calan*. We meet with *Calan Haf*, *Calan Gauaf* (still common), *Calan Nadolig* (Seisyll Bryffwrch, *Myv. Arch.*, 236), *Calan Ystwyll* (Gutyn Owain, *Gorch. Beirdd Cymru*, 202, 2nd ed.; cf. *Culan Ystwyth*, an error, in *Y Brython*, v, 349), and even *Calan Ieuan Fedyddiwr* (Gr. ab Meredydd, *Myv. Arch.*, 315) for Midsummer's Day. The derivative *calenig*, a New Year's gift, or Christmas-box, is often used in Med. Welsh for a handsel or gift, generally.

The Epiphany is *Gwyl Ystwyll*, or *Yr Ystwyll*. *Ystwyll* is simply the Lat. *stella*, but being an uncommon word it is explained in the Welsh Prayer Book by the alternative title *Seren wyl*, 'Star Festival'. The name *Festum Stellæ* appears to have been in use also in the Gallican and Irish Churches (e.g., in the Stowe Missal), and was, as far as I know, peculiar to the Celtic Church. The name occurs for the first time, I believe, in an *Awdl i Dduw* by Meilir ap Gwalchmai (*flor. c.* 1170-1220; *Myv. Arch.*, 227), and is also mentioned by Y Prydydd Bychan (*f. c.* 1210-60; *ib.* 264), Gruffydd ab Meredydd (*f. c.* 1290-1340; *ib.* 314), and in the fourteenth century *Brut y Tywyssogyon* (*Oxf. Bruts*, 367, 377). Epiphany carols occur fairly frequent in our various Welsh collections of carols, and the traditional names of the Magi are generally recorded, as

for instance in the carol for the year 1697 by Huw Morus:—

“Melchior, Balthasar, sydd hysbys a Siasbar,
Tri brenhin di-gymmar uwch daear wych deg,
A ddaethant wrth ganwyll, oedd wedi ei hen grybwyll,
I'w addoli fo'r Ystwyll ar osteg.”

(*Eos Ceiriog*, ii, 342 ; 1823.)

In a “Carol Plygen i'r Seren Wyl iw ganu ar fore Ddydd Ystwyll” in Sion Rhydderch's Almanack for 1726, occur the lines:—

“Ar gyfen i'rwan Crist Jesu Sancteiddlan,
Cadd Fedydd gan Ifan yn gyfan dan go'.”

The rustic festival, Plough (or Lort) Monday, held the first Monday after Twelfth day—formerly of great account, when labour was resumed after the Christmas holidays—was called in Welsh *Dydd Gwyl Geiliau*, ‘The Festival of the Sheepfolds’. Chancellor Silvan Evans (Welsh Dict. s. v. *bacas*) quotes as a Gwentian saying, *Dydd gwyl Geiliau, at y bara haidd a'r bacsau*, ‘Plough Monday, resume ordinary fare and working clothing’.

Shrove-tide is in Welsh *Ynyd* (Old Irish *Init*, Manx *Ynnyd*) from the Latin *initium*, i.e., *Initium Quadragesimæ*, as marking the *beginning* of the great Lenten Fast, like *Caput Jejuni* (the head or beginning of the Fast), an old name for Ash Wednesday. In the ancient Gallican Lectionary the First Sunday in Lent is called *Inicium Quadragesimæ* (*sic*). The first to give it the derivation from *initium* was, I believe, Edward Lhuyd in his *Archæologia Britannica* (32 ; 1707). Salesbury in his *Dictionary* (1547) gives “Good tyde” as the equivalent of *Ynyd*; and Dr. Pughe quotes the proverbial saying, “*Y mae'n cael ei ynyd*” (‘he obtains the height of his enjoyment’); and also the phrase, “*Ynyd y Grawys*” (‘the beginning of Lent’), as occurring in Llygad Gwr (1220-70), but I have

not been able to light upon the passage where it occurs. We use *Sul Ynyd* for Quinquagesima Sunday (formerly called in English Shrove Sunday), *Mawrth Ynyd* for Shrove Tuesday, also *Nos Ynyd*, *i.e.*, 'the Eve of the *Ynyd*', for the same day, a phrase as old as the fifteenth century at any rate (Oxf. *Bruts*, 405). The last leaves little doubt, I think, that the *Ynyd* proper was the first day of Lent, the present *Dydd Mercher y Lludw*. Compare *Nos Nadolig*, *Nos Basg*, *Nos Galan*, *Nos Galun Gauaf*, etc., for the eve before the festival or day mentioned. The name *Ynyd* occurs for the first time in Welsh, I believe, in a poem by Elidr Sais (*flor.* c. 1160-1220; *Myv. Arch.*, 245, *cf.* 242) in the lines:—

“Goreu yw y dyn div ynyt peri
Periglaur y gymryd.”

Madawg Dwygraig (*f.* c. 1290-1340; *ib.*, 326) in a lampoon makes use of the line:—

“Crwydrwr goganwr am gig ynyd”;

and D. ab Gwilym (*Barddoniaeth*, 198; 1789) says:—

“Dydd a'i bwys mal diwedd byd
Ar awenydd yw'r ynyd!
Dechreuad ffordd baradwys,
I dynu pawb dan eu pwys.”

A Shrove Tuesday custom once obtaining in Wales, as also in England, was the cruel sport called *Dyrnu'r iar*, 'thrashing the hen', which was variously played in different parts of Wales. Another custom was that of *Hel Ynyd*, called also *Blawta a blonega*. Grown up people went about begging flour, lard, milk, etc.; and boys went about clapping for eggs, using two stones as clappers. And, of course, there existed, and still does, the custom of making pancakes on this day. The tossing or turning of the first pancake was considered rather a serious under-

taking in days gone by (Elias Owen, *Old Stone Crosses*, 191-2). Formerly, if not still in some parts, children used to go about on this day from house to house and say:—

“Wraig y ty a'r teulu da,
Welch chwi'n dda ga i gremfog!
Lwmp o 'fenyn melyn mawr
A eiff i lawr yn llithrig.
Os nad oes 'menyn yn y ty,
Rhowch lwyaid fawr o ddrïog.”

(*Yr Haul* for 1893, p. 119.)

I have to thank Mr. D. Llever Thomas, B.A., the Secretary of the Welsh Land Commission, for kindly drawing my attention to certain curious old customary payments, still in vogue on some Welsh estates (*e.g.*, that of Abermeurig, Cards.), called generally *Ynyd*, and sometimes *Gieir Ynyd*. These payments usually consist of one hen and twenty eggs yearly to the landlord. In one instance brought before the Commission the payment consisted of two fat geese and forty eggs. (*Minutes of Evidence*, etc., iii, 564, 576, 1,034; 1895.) A reference is made to the custom in a Welsh ballad by Rees Jones, Pwllffein, where he makes Sarah tell her landlord:—

“Cewch ugain punt bob dimmau goch,
A dwy wydd dew o gafnau'r moch,
A dwy iar ynyd gribgoch lân,
A llwyth o lo i gadw'ch tân.”

(*Certh Diffryn Clettwr*, 73; 1848.)

Garawys, or *Grawys*, Lent, is simply the Lat. *Quadragesima* (minus the termination *-ina*), a name by which the First Sunday in Lent is often called, as is also the Forty Days' Fast itself. Edw. Lhuyd (*Arch. Brit.*, 23) so derived it as far back as 1707. The O. Irish *Corgais*, Breton *Corais*, and French *Carême* are also modifications of *Quadragesima*—in fact Lent in all the languages of the Latin and Celtic groups. S. Thomas, in his badly-printed

little book *Hanes y Byd a'r Amseroedd* (191; 1721), gives it the following fanciful and amusing derivation—"Y Cymru a'i galwant *Amser y Garawys*, neu *Garw-wys* [glossed in the margin by *Iscell gwael*, *i.e.*, 'poor broth', otherwise, I suppose, *cawl dwr*!], oblegid y gwael ymborth a arferyd tra parhae y dyddiau hyn, Canys amser ymryd Cawl. yw"! Elidr Sais (*f. c.* 1160-1220) has an *Awdyl i'r Garawys* (*Myv. Arch.*, 245, *cf.* 242). The Greek Church observes four Lents (not all of forty days' length) with great strictness and austerity—(1) beginning November 15th, and ending with Christmas; (2) our Lent; (3) beginning the week after Whit-Sunday, and continuing till the Festival of SS. Peter and Paul (June 29th); and (4) beginning the 1st of August, and ending with the 15th (Dean Hook, *Church Dictionary*, s.v. *Lent*, 14th ed.). Williams, Pantycelyn, dilates upon them in his *Pantheologia* (472-3; 1762+). (1), (3), and (4) are given in the Calendar of the Additional MS. 14,912, where are inserted, in a later hand, (1) opposite November 3rd and 4th, *Grawys helias* (otherwise *Grawys Auaf*), already quoted under Advent; (3) opposite May 4th and 5th, "*Grawys yr ebystyl* a vydd o duw ieu kychafel hyt y sulgwyn", *i.e.*, *Quadragesima Apostolorum*; and (4) opposite August 2nd and 3rd, "*Grawys meir* a vydd o dduw awst hyt wyl veir yn awst." (3) is also given as *Grawys haf*, "the Lent of summer", opposite April 29th, in the Calendar of Hengwrth MS. 45, and opposite April 27th and 28th, in the Calendar of the Additional MS. 14,882. In *The Calendar of Oengus* (xxvi), under January 7th, a *corquis issu*, "Jesus' Lent", is mentioned. The following Triad occurs in *Doethineb y Cymry* in the *Myv. Arch.*, 831:—"Tri pheth nid boddlon Duw iddynt: dŷn ni wellâo ei vuchedd yn y grawys, ni vwyâo ei boen yn y cynhauav, ac ni wellâo ei vwyd y nadolig." A proverb says:—"Mor sicr a Mawrth

yn y Grawys" (*Y Brython*, iv, 31); another, "Gleisiad a phregeth y Grawys" (*Meddygon Myddfai*, xx). There are no end of passages in Mediæval Welsh literature making some reference of one kind or another to the Lenten Fast. An old popular saying has it:—

"Dydd Mercher y Llundw
Codi'r cig i gadw."

Several passages show that fish was a common article of diet. Suffice the following by Meredydd ap Rhys (*f. c.* 1430-60), which is also otherwise interesting (*Iolo MSS.*, 323):—

"pawb yno sydd nos Iau
yn aros y Gwenerau,
Deliais ar Nos Nydolig
Pam waeth dydd caeth no dydd cig?
Hawdd Amor i'r Catcoriau,
Hawdd fyd bwrw'r Ynyd brau.
Pam na ddaw y garawys
Fal y daw Mofiliau [*id.* mywiliau] dwys,
Ystyried ter Ystôr ty
o Rwyd aml a roed ymy."

Dyddiau y Cadgoriau (or *Cydgoriau*) ar y *Pedwar Tymmor* are "the Ember Days at the Four Seasons". The plural form *cadgoriau* (occasionally *cadgorau*) represents the *quatuor* in its Latin name *Jejunia quatuor temporum*. The German, Dutch, and Danish names are abbreviations of the words *quatuor tempora*. In the Welsh Prayer Book the name is wrongly printed with a hyphen (*cyd-goriau*), as if the word was to be derived from *cyd*+*côr*. But *cad* is the best attested form of the first syllable. The singular *cadgor* occurs, for instance, in a saying attributed to Catwg Ddoeth—"Na vydd gyveddachwr vywiliau a chatgor" (*Myv. Arch.*, 758).

The old people used to count the Sundays from Quinquagesima to Easter in the following manner, as a *memoria technica*:—(1) "Dydd Sul Ynyd, (2) Dydd Sul Hefyd, (3)

Dydd Sul a Ddaw, (4) Dydd Sul Gerllaw, (5) Dydd Sul y Meibion, (6) Dydd Sul y Gwrychon, (7) Dydd Sul y Blodau, (8) Pasg a'i Ddyddiau" (*Ysten Sioned*, 96, 1882; cf. *Yr Haul*, March 1889 and February 1894). In Salesbury's *Dictionary* (1547) they are given thus:—"dywsul ynyd, dywsul hefyd, dywsul a ddaw, dywsul garllaw, dywsul y blodeu, dywpasc". "Dydd Sul Ger Llaw" is also called "Dydd Sul Rhag Llaw", and for "Pasg a'i Ddyddiau" we have "Pasg y Wyau" (in districts where children go, or used to go, about for Pasch eggs), and "Dydd Sul y Pasg". "Sul y Meibion" seems to be the Welsh equivalent for the English Mothering Sunday. "Dydd Sul y Gwrychon" is also given as "Dydd Sul y Gwreichion", and has been explained as standing for *goruchafion* (St. Matt. xxi, 9). Chancellor Silvan Evans, however, has shown (*Ysten Sioned*, 96-7) that the *Gwrychon* were peas that had been steeped over night in water, milk, wine, cider, and the like, then put up to dry, and afterwards boiled for eating. This would be the English Carling Sunday. Among the proverbs given in *Myv. Arch.*, 862, we have "Dywsul y pŷs", which, however, is said to mean "never", as there is no Sunday of the name in the year, like the phrases "Ad Calendas Græcas", "St. Tib's Eve", "At latter Lanmas", and the Welsh "Yng nhyfarfod deu-Sul", corresponding to the English:—

"To-morrow come never,
When two Sundays come together."

There was a quaint rhyme in English also to help the memory respecting the order of the Sundays in Lent:—

"Tid, Mid, and Misera,
Carling, Palm, Pasch (Paste or Pace) Egg Day."

Carling (Curling, Carl, or Care) Sunday was the day on which quantities of small grey peas, called carlings, were

eaten in the North of England, prepared much in the same way as the Welsh *gwrychon*, excepting that they were fried.

Palm Sunday is usually called *Sul y Blodau*, which occurs at least as early as the latter part of the fourteenth century, in the *Bruts* (Oxf. ed., 363, 402). It occurs also in the early fifteenth century *Y Seint Greal* (*Sel. from the Hengwrt MSS.*, i, 45), and in Lewis Glyn Cothi in the latter part of the same century (*Gwaith*, 135). In South Wales and Monmouthshire there is a very beautiful old custom, among rich and poor, of carefully tidying and decorating the graves of departed relatives and friends against this Sunday. In some of the more populous districts the burial grounds are literally turned into flower gardens. If no near relatives or friends of the deceased still live in the parish or neighbourhood they will often come from far to make this little tribute of reverential love to the departed. The English-speaking people call it "Flowering Sunday". It is also called in Bohemia "Flower Sunday", or "Flower Day". In the beautiful little poem, "Bedd y dyn tylawd", by Ioan Emlyn, occur these touching lines, wherein a reference is made to this custom:—

"Mae'r gareg arw a'r ddwy lythyren,
Dorodd rhyw anghelydd law,
Gyd-chwareuai ag e'n fachgen,
Wedi hollti'n ddwy gerllaw ;
A phan ddelo Sul y Blodau,
Nid oes yno gar na brawd,
Yn rhoi gwyrdd-ddail a phwysïau
Ar lwm fedd y Dyn Tylawd."

Ceiriog in *Alun Mabon*, Mynyddog, and others, also allude to this beautiful custom. The latter in one of his poems says (*Trydydd Cynyg*, 88):—

"Gorwyrion hoff y ddau a ddônt
Bob Sul y Blodau cain,
Y llygaid dydd a'r briall rônt,
I hulo bedd y rhai'n."

The Wednesday in Holy Week (Tenebræ Wednesday) is sometimes called *Dydd Mercher y Brad* (the Wednesday of Betrayal). It occurs in *Awdyl i'r Garawys* by Elidr Sais (1160-1220; *Myv. Arch.*, 242, cf. 245):—

“ Am Ddiw merchyr y brad dybu bryd iudas
Bredychu ein ysbryd.”

Salesbury in his *Dictionary* gives “dyw mercher y brad”, and the name appears also in some of the Almanacks of last century. In Ireland it is sometimes called “Spy Wednesday”, in reference to the Betrayal.

Maundy Thursday (Shere or Shear Thursday) is called *Dydd Iau* (*Iou*, or *Difiau*) *Cablyd*. *Cablyd* occurs in a modified form in all the Celtic dialects, and a very interesting note on the word appears in Chancellor Silvan Evans's new *Welsh Dictionary* (s.v.). The great lexicographer derives it “from L. L. *capillitio* = *capillatio*, ‘capillorum evulsio’ (Du Cange, ed. Favre, s.v.). The monks were, apparently, tonsured on this day. See *Calendar of Oengus*, November 24. Palm Sunday is sometimes called in L. Lat. *capitilavium*, or head-washing (Du Cange, s. v.). The derivation from *cabl-u* (q. d. Thursday of Blasphemy) is not without probability but the Irish form [*caplait*, *caplat*] points to a different origin.” Every one was then tonsured, and his head washed, in preparation for his anointment on Easter Day (see *Cormac's Glossary*, s.v. *Cuplat*, ed. Dr. Whitley Stokes). An old homily says:—“It is also in Englyshe called *Sher Thursday*, for in old faders dayes the people wolde that day shere theyr hedes, and clippe theyr berdes, and poll theyr hedes, and so make them honest agenst Ester day.” (Quoted in Dyer, *British Popular Customs*, 146; Brand, *Popular Antiquities*, i, 142; 1849.) The name as *divieu cablut* occurs in the early fifteenth century *Y Seint Greul* (*Select. from Hengwrt MSS.*, i,

49, 51); and as *Iay Kabled* in a Welsh fragment of about the latter part of the sixteenth century in Hengwrt MS. 202 (*Y Cymmrodor*, ix, 365). The derivation from *cabl-u* might be justified by the malicious, false accusations brought against Jesus in the mock-trial before Pilate. In some of the Almanacks of last century the day appears as *Iau y Cablwyd*, *Iau Cablwyd*, and *Iau Cablydd*. The day is popularly called *Dydd Iau'r Cablu* in some parts of Wales; and one of the fairs held at Bala is known as "Ffair Dydd Iau'r Cablu". One of a number of old *Englynion i Wythnos Dioddefaint Crist* runs:—

“*Dydd Iau y cablau* bob cibled,—annoeth
Ei enw da noddod,
A'i ddwyn Oen oedd ddiniwed,
At swyddogion greulon gred.”

(*Y Brython*, iv, 265.)

Dydd Gwener y Croglith for Good Friday means, literally, 'the Friday of the Lesson respecting the Cross or Crucifixion' (from *crog* + *llith*, the Lat. *cruc-* + *lectio*). *Croglith* occurs generally as masc. in Welsh literature, but occasionally as fem., which is its prevailing gender on *llafar gwlad*. *Duw gwener y croclith* occurs in the fourteenth century Romance of Peredur (Oxf. *Mabinogion*, 236) and *Brut y Tywysogyon* (Oxf. *Bruts*, 330). *Wythnos y Grog* (= *Hebdomada Crucis*) and *Wythnos y Croglithiau* are equivalents for Holy Week, so called from the fact that the narratives of our Lord's Passion and Crucifixion are read as Gospels daily this week. There is printed in *Selections from the Hengwt MSS.* (ii, 250-266) a tract with the title *Y Groglith*, which is a somewhat free rendering of St. Matthew, xxvi-xxviii, 8, together with an account of the finding of the Cross by the Empress Helena. *Y Groglith*, 'the Lesson of the Cross', is referred to in *Y Seint Greal* (*ib.* i, 25). In the extremely rare *Llith a Ban*,

the Liturgical Epistles and Gospels, translated by Wm. Salesbury and published in 1551, the Gospel for *Die gwener y croclith* is headed *Yr Ewangel ne'r croclith* (St. John xviii and xix, which, in the First Prayer Book of Edward VI, 1549, formed the Gospel).

Y Pasg for Easter Day has come to us through the Greek and Latin form *Pascha*, from the Hebrew *Pesach*, the Passover. In some similar form the name for Easter occurs in most, if not all, of the Romance and Celtic languages. The name appears for the first time in Welsh in an anonymous religious poem in the *Black Book of Carmarthen* (Skene, *Four Ancient Books of Wales*, ii, 47)—“Pan deuthoste y passe diwedit o vffern” (‘When Thou camest on Easter Eve from Uffern’). Salesbury in his *Dictionary* gives—“pasc ner sulwyl”. A proverb says—“Ni bydd preswyl pasc” (*Myv. Arch.*, 852). “Calon lân Pasg, a dillad newydd Sulgwyn”, is an old saying I have heard in Carmarthenshire, and it would appear is known also to North Wales, for Gwilym Hiraethog gives it as one of the seven articles in the creed of the religious old couple in his *Helyntion Bywyd Hen Deiliwr* (72 ; 1877).

Pasg Bychan for Low Sunday, the Octave of Easter, is so called no doubt in contrast to the *great* Festival with which the Octave begins. It appears as *dihw Pasc beccan* in the Welsh Laws; and *y pasc bychan* occurs in the fourteenth century *Brut y Tywysogyon* (*Oxf. Bruts*, 380). In the ninth century Irish Glosses on the Carlsruhe Beda Low Sunday is glossed *minchasc*, i.e., *Pascha minor*, ‘Little Easter’ (Dr. Whitley Stokes, *Old-Irish Glosses*, 236, 349 ; 1887); and in the Irish Glosses on the Latin Hymns in the *Liber Hymnorum*, probably of the end of the eleventh or the beginning of the twelfth century, the day is similarly glossed (Dr. W. Stokes, *Goidelica*, 66-7 ; 1872). The name ‘little Ester’s daye’ for Low Sunday is also

known to occur at least once in English, in the time of Queen Elizabeth (Maskell, *Monumenta Ritualia*, i, 51; 1882). So the name is not by any means peculiar to Wales, as some have thought.

Ascension Day, *Dydd Iau* (*Dydd Iou*, or *Difiau*) *y Dyrchafael*, is variously called in Mediæval Welsh literature *diwieu kyrchael* (*Y Seint Greal, Select. Hengwrt MSS.*, i, 174), *duw ieu kychael* or *kychafel* (*Oxf. Bruts*, 263, 331, 380—maybe, errors for *cyrchafael*), *kyuarchauael* (*Yst. de Carolo Magno*, 107), *gwyl gyuarchauael* (*Myr. Arch.*, 231), and *dywieu gyfachael* (*Campeu Charlymaen, Select. Hengwrt MSS.*, ii, 117—no doubt an error). It also appears as *Jeu kyfachael* against April 24th in the Calendar of Additional MS. 14,912. Of these mediæval forms the best appears to be *cyrchafael*. Dr. Pughe, in both editions of his *Dictionary*, renders *Dydd Iau Cyrchafael* by ‘Ash Wednesday’! and in this he has been followed by most later Welsh lexicographers!! One of a number of *Diarhebion Meddygol* advises, “Na ddiog dy bais cyn y Derchafael” (*Meddygon Myddfai*, xx).

Sulgwyn, ‘White Sunday’, is in origin the same as its English name, *Whitsunday*. It is true the derivation of the latter has been much debated, but scholars are now pretty well agreed that the ‘white’ derivation is the correct one. The Festival in English occurs for the first time in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, under the year A.D. 1067, as *hwita sunnan-dæg*; and its Icelandic and Norwegian equivalents mean the same. In the Early Church Easter and Whitsunday were the special seasons for Baptism, and the Sunday after Easter was called *Dominica in Albis*, i.e., ‘White Sunday’; but in the Northern Churches Whitsunday seems to have been the favourite season—being preferred to Easter in these cold climates—and the week following it was called the Holy Week

(Skeat, *Etym. Dict.*, s. v.). In this name the English and Welsh agree whilst forsaking the common nomenclature of the Latin Church. *Sul Gwyn* is to be met with several times in the Welsh Laws. Llywarch ab Llywelyn or Prydydd y Moch (1160-1220) mentions *Duw sul gwyn* in one of his poems (*Myv. Arch.*, 206), and it occurs frequently enough in MSS. written later, e.g., the Bruts.

The name Trinity Sunday, *Sul y Drindod*, is of comparatively recent date, having been used in England only since the time of St. Osmund (A.D. 1080). In the Roman Church the Sundays between Whitsunday and Advent are reckoned from Pentecost. One meets with *gwyl y drindawt* in the fourteenth century *Brut y Tywyssogyon* (Oxf. Bruts, 378). In days gone by it was customary in many places on this Sunday to visit certain wells and springs for the purpose of drinking *eau sucré* (*dwfr a siwgr*); e.g., Pistyll y Cefn Bedwog, near Llanerfyl (*Y Brython*, iv, 458); the "Trinity Well" on the borders of the parishes of Bettws Cedewain and Tregynon; and two springs in different parts of the parish of Meifod (*Gwaith G. Mechain*, iii, 109). In some parts, however, it was the custom to go through this ceremony at other times than Trinity Sunday; e.g., the Wake Sunday (*Works of the Rev. Griffith Edwards*, 69-70; 1895). In some parts of the North of England it took place on some Sunday in May, called "Sugar-and-Water Sunday". The people would afterwards retire to a green spot for dancing, etc. Peter Roberts (*Cambrian Pop. Antiquities*, 28; 1815) tells us that "in an old Welsh calendar it is said that on the eve of Trinity Sunday it was the custom to wash or bathe to prevent the tertian-ague".

The Roman Festival of *Corpus Christi*, the Thursday after Trinity Sunday, is mentioned in the fifteenth century

Hengwrt MS. 45 (last page)—“ar diviav nesaf yn ol sul y drindod vydd gwyl dduw”, ‘the Festival of God’—the French *Fête Dieu*; also as *dyddgwyl dduw* in Additional MS. 14,882, f. 45a. The Festival was instituted in 1264 to celebrate the doctrine of Transubstantiation. Pennant (quoted in Dyer, *British Pop. Customs*, 297) says that on the Eve of Corpus Christi it was customary at Llanasa (Flints.) to strew green herbs and flowers at the doors of houses; and at Caerwys (where he says the Festival was called “Dudd Son Duw, or Dydd Gwyl Duw”) to strew a sort of fern before the doors, called *rhedyn Mair* (the heath shield-fern).

In the Calendar of the Roman Church there are six principal Festivals of the Blessed Virgin Mary, which also appear in the Welsh Calendars. In the Calendar of the Anglican Church there are five, of which two only are red-letter. The six Festivals are the following, taken in the order they occur:—

(1) Feb. 2nd, The Purification or Candlemas. This is in Welsh *Gwyl Fair y Canhwyllau*, which occurs, for instance, in *Brut y Tywysogyon* (Oxf. Bruts, 382, 384); also called *Pureliqaeth Mair*. There are two carols printed in *Blodeugerdd Cymru* (226-8; 1759), headed respectively *Carol i Noswyl Fair* and *Carol i'r Gwirod*, which refer to the old custom of drinking *Gwirod Mair* (Mary's wassail) on this Festival. With this cup may probably be compared *Gwirawd yr Ebestyl*, drunk in honour of the Apostles, referred to in the Welsh Laws (*v. Myv. Arch.*, 1066).

(2) March 25th, The Annunciation, St. Mary's Day in Lent (Lady Day *par excellence*), is called *Gwyl Fair y Cyhydedd* (*gwyl weir y gehydedd* in Red Book Bruts, 384), from its falling near the Vernal Equinox (March 21st). It is also met with as *Gwyl Fair y Cyhydau* (Baddy,

Dwy Daith i Gaersalem, 11 ; ? 1728). Sion Rhydderch in his Almanack for 1726 gives it as *G. Fair hanner y Gwanwyn*. There is a reference to it in an anonymous mediæval fragment published in *Myv. Arch.*, 354:—

“ Ymru morwyn fwyn o fonedd Anna
Diw gwyl Faria fawr Gyhydedd”;

and in a poem attributed to Heinin Fardd (520-60 ; *ib.*, 363) occur the words—“ gwyl gyhydedd Gwen Fair”.

(3) July 2nd, The Visitation, appears as *G. vair yn yr haf* in Additional MS. 14,882, and generally as *Gofwry* (or *Ymweliad*) *Mair*. It was only instituted in 1389.

(4) August 15th, The Festival of the Assumption, an important Festival in the Roman Church, but which does not occur in the present Calendar of the Anglican Church. In the Welsh Laws (*Myv. Arch.*, 1005), in one of the Hengwrt Calendars, and usually in the Welsh Almanacks, it is called *Gwyl Fair Gyntaf*; but why *Gyntaf* it is not clear. In the *Iolo MSS.* Calendar it is given as *Gwyl Fawr fawr*, which must be a mistake for *Gwyl Fair Fawr* (in Swansea MS., ff. 34, 35) In *Meddygon Myddfai*, 204, we have “ o wyl Fair gyntaf yn y cynhaiaf hyd wyl Fair diwetha yn y gwanwyn” (*cf. Oxf. Bruts*, 343). Maybe it was called *Gyntaf* from its being the former of the two Festivals of the B. V. M. in harvest. It is also mentioned as *gwyl ueir yn awst* (*Oxf. Bruts*, 380 ; *Iolo MSS.*, 198). John Lloyd in a letter to Edward Lhuyd, written in 1693, says:—“ All Bettwses are dedicated to ye Virgin Mary, and ye Feasts or Wakes are kept upon Gwyl-vair-gyntaf in August” (Lloyd, *Hist. of Powys Fadog*, vi, 138); but the statement about the dedication of Bettws-Churches is glaringly inaccurate. It used to be a favourite day for fairs in Wales ; in fact, in mediæval times, we regarded it as the greatest of all the Festivals of the B. V. M., being the consummation of them.

(5) September 8th, The Nativity, Lady Day in Harvest, is given as *Gwyl Fair pan aned* in one of the Hengwrt Calendars, and in Additional MS. 14,882; and as *Genedigaeth Mair* in the Almanacks. It is also called occasionally *Gwyl Fair Ddiweddaf*. Of this Festival folk-lore makes the swallow to say when she returns to the Principality about the middle of April:—

“Gwyl Fair ddiwedda’,
Pan eis oddi yma,
Mi adowais lawer o yd ;
Gwyr a ffustau,
Gwragedd a gwagrau,
Aethant ag e ymaith i gyd, i gyd !”

(*Ysten Sioned*, 64; cf., with slight variations, *Gwaith G. Mechain*, i, 432). In *Y Brython* (iii, 170; cf. *Cell Meudwy*, 71; 1877), however, it is given in the following form:—

“Gwylfair gynta’ yr euthym oddi yma,
Yr amser hōno ’roedd digon o yd,
Gwyr a’u ffustiau, gwragedd a’u gograu
Aethant ag ef odd’ yma i gyd i gyd.”

The Festival is also called *Gwyl Fair y Medî* (Oxf. *Bruts*, 346; Additional MS. 14,912; *Meddygon M.*, 9). Under September in *Englynion y Misoedd* (*Myv. Arch.*, 21-2) we have the couplet:—

“Merch frenhinawl a aned
An duc o’n dygn gaethiwed.”

(6) December 8th, The Conception, which is called in the Almanacks *Ymddwyn Mair*, and by Salesbury in his *Dictionary*, *dyddgwyl vair Pan gad*. In Additional MS. 14,882 it is set down as *G. ymrithiad mair ynghroth i mum*.

There are four Johannine Festivals in our Calendar—two of the Evangelist’s and two of the Baptist’s.

(1) May 6th, St. John Evangelist *ante Portam Latinam*, is variously called—in the Calendar of Hengwrt MS., 45, *Gwyl Ievan yn olew brwd*, in the Almanacks *Sanct Iôn i'r olew poeth*, and in the *Iolo MSS. Calendar Isan* [misscript for *Ioan*] *borth Lladin*. The Scriptural semi-naturalised form *Ioan* (occurring also as *Iôn* and *Sion*) for *John* appears as *Iouan* (also *Iouann*) in the twelfth century *Book of Llan Dâv*. This favourite name occurs in a variety of forms—*Iewan*, *Iwan*; *Iefan*, *Ifan*, and the Anglicised *Evan*. Vicar Prichard (*Canwyll y Cymry*, 113; last ed.) calls St. John the Beloved Disciple *Ifan anwyl*; and in *Yr Athrawaeth Gristnogawl* (215, 252; 1618) we come across the odd-looking form *Siôn Fedyddiwr*.

(2) December 27th, the other Festival of St. John Evangelist is simply called *Gwyl Ievan* (Hengwrt Calendars) or *Gwyl Ioan*.

(3) June 24th, The Festival of the Nativity of St. John Baptist, is called *Gwyl Ievan (yn) yr hâf* (e.g., *Burddoniaeth D. ab Gwilym*, 381), *Gwyl Ievan hanner hâf* (e.g., *Y Seint Greal in Selections from the Hengwrt MSS.*, i, 190; *London Greal*, 343), and is commonly used for Midsummer Day. In the *Iolo MSS. Calendar* it is called [*gwyl*] *Ifan uwwr*, to distinguish it from his *Lesser Festival* (his Decollation). This occurs also as its name in the Swansea MS. of Devotions (ff. 34 b, 35 a). It is called in some old Welsh Prayer Books (e.g., 1621) *Gwyl Natalic Sanct Ioan Fedyddiwr*. A Dimetian saying about the cuckoo has it—

“ Wythnos gyfan
Cyn Gwyl Iwan,
Y cwyd y gwew
Ei chàn i gadw.”

On *Nos Wyl Ifan yn yr hâf* our ancestors used to decorate their houses (over the doors and sometimes the windows) and wash or bathe their feet with *Llyisiau Ifan* (the mugwort)

This was the *Nos wyl Ioan* mentioned in a little book called *Cas Gan Gythraul* (13-15; 1711) as being a popular evening with young women for divining who should be their future husbands.

(4) August 29th, The Festival of the Beheading or Decollation of St. John Baptist, is called in the *Iolo MSS. Calendar* [*Gwyl*] *Ifan fechan, Torfynygl* (the Lesser Festival of St. John, the Beheading); in Additional MS. 14,912, *Gwyl Ieuan vychan*; in Additional MS. 14,882, *G. Iwan pan dored i ben*; in Hengwrt MS. 13, *Gwyl Ievan pun las y ben*; and in MS. 45, *Gwyl Ievan y Koed*. The last name is also frequently found in the Almanacks. In the Calendars prefixed to Salesbury's New Testament (1567), Parry's Bible (1620), and the Prayer Books of 1621 and 1664, it is simply called *Lladd pen Ioan* and *Dibennu S. Joan Fedyd*. The Festival is called in the Welsh Laws *Gwyl Ieuan y Moch*, because at that time it was lawful for the swine to commence pannage in the woods. It is also called in one copy of the Laws *Gwyl Ieuan yn y Cynhauf*; and in one of the MSS. of *Brut y Tywysogion*, *Gwyl Ievan y kols*, i.e., the Festival of the Decollation of St. John, *kols* being a contraction of *decollatio*. There is a fair held at Carmarthen on September 9th, which is popularly called *Ffair Wyl Ifan Fach*.

The Festival of St. Michael is *Gwyl Fihangel*. *Mihangel* stands for *Mich-angel*, of the same formation as the French *Michel Ange*, and the Italian *Michel Angelo* (Rhys, in *Arch. Camb.* for 1874, p. 231; cf. his *Arthurian Legends*, 341). It is generally heard sounded in Carmarthenshire *Gwyl-hengel*, where one also hears *Llan-hengel* for *Llan-fihangel*. For the latter compare Williams of Pantycelyn's couplet (*Gweithiau*, i, 462; ed. 1887):—

“ Mae Llan'hangel wedi oeri,
Yn y fynwent y mae Beti.”

Y Brawd Fadawg ap Gwallter (1250-1300) addresses the Archangel as "sant y sarph", and "Fihangel fy mabsant" (*Myv. Arch.*, 275). His Festival occurs as *duw gwyl vihagel* in the fourteenth century Bruts (Oxf. ed., 329; cf. 343); and in the sixteenth-seventeenth century MS. in the Swansea Public Library (f. 35 a), as *mihangel y mis medi*, to distinguish it from *Gwyl Fihangel Fechan* (or *Fach*) on October 15th, a Festival which appears as early as the fifteenth century Hengwrt Calendars. The Festival of St. Michael in *Monte Tumba* (Normandy) is, however, generally put down for the 16th. The autumnal summer, *Haf Bach Mihangel*, is well known, corresponding to the English "St. Luke's Little Summer" (October 18th), "All Saints' (or All Hallowe'en) Summer", and the French *L'été de S. Martin*.

November 1st, All Saints' Day, *Gwyl yr Holl Saint*, as *Calan Gauaf* (the New Year's Day of the old Celtic year) used to be regarded as a very important day by the Welsh, and particularly the Eve before (*Nos Galan Gauaf*). It was the principal time in the year at which the Celts consulted the future. There are no less than twenty Welsh Saints commemorated on this day, and it is the only occasion when they may be said to jostle and incommode each other on the Calendar. The Festival occurs in the Hengwrt Calendars; and so does *Gwyl yr Eneidiau*, also called *Dy'gwyl y Meirw*, for November 2nd, All Souls' Day. It is still customary in some parts of North Wales (particularly Denbighshire and Merionethshire) for children to go about on All Saints' Day asking for *Bwyd cennad y meirw* ('food for the messenger of the dead') in, amongst others, the following rhyme:—

"Dydd da i chwi heddyw
Bwyd cennad y meirw."

They receive small cakes, pieces of bread and butter, or

coppers. In some parts of England, too, children and poor people used to go "a-souling" at Hallowmas-tide. The parkin cakes of Yorkshire, the simnel or soul-mass cakes of Lancashire, and the *gauffres* of Belgium, as well as the Welsh *bwyd cennud y neirw*, are all reminiscences of the food prepared and offered to the dead, particularly at All Souls, the great day of commemoration of the departed.

There are two days of the Holy Cross in the Calendar.

(1) May 3rd, The Invention (or Finding) of the Cross, is called usually *Gwyl y Grog*, but occasionally *Gwyl y Grog yn Mai* (London *Greal*, 147, 199), and *G. y grog klume* (Swansea Devotional MS., f. 35 a). *Caffael* (and *Dyfaïs*) *y Groes* occur in the Almanacks.

(2) September 14th, Holy Cross Day (Crouchmas), or the Exaltation of the Holy Cross, is also generally called *Gwyl y Grog*; but we also meet with *gwyl y grog yny cynhayaf* (also *gwyl grog y cynhayaf*; the Swansea MS., f. 34 b, and the Hengwrt MS., 45), *Gwyl y groc hanner y kanhayaf* (Additional MS. 14,912), and *Dy'gwyl Dyrchafud y Grog Sanctaidd* (*Allwydd neu Agoriad Paradwys*, 369). The sudden showers that come on in the autumn at this time, or rather a little later, are called in some parts of North Wales *Scrympiau Gwyl Grog* or *Scrympiau'r Grog*.

August 1st, Lammas Day, St. Peter *ad Vincula*, appears in Welsh as *Dydd Awst* and *Gwyl Awst*. In the Calendar of the Additional MS. 14,912 it is called *Gwyl beder yn awst*. The name Lammas stands for *Hlafmæsse*, which occurs in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* (s. a. 921), and would now be *Loaf-mass*. Neale in his *Essays on Liturgiology* (526; 2nd ed.) gives the Welsh for Lammas Day (which I have never heard or met with in Welsh literature) as *dydd degwm wyn*, 'lamb-tithing day', which, of course, is supposed to support the fanciful *Lamb-mass* derivation. It is a heathen holiday incorporated into the Calendar of

the Christian Church, and made the thanksgiving day for the first-fruits of the harvest. The day is designated in the Sarum Missal *Benedictio novorum fructuum*. The first of August is called in the Bruts *Kalun Awst, yr Awst*, and simply *Awst*; and we read of such-and-such an event occurring so many days *wedy Awst*. It similarly occurs in the Welsh Laws. *Gwyl Awst* was once so important a Festival that its name, in the form of *Gula Augusti*, passed into the Latinity of the Chronicles (Rhys, *Hibbert Lectures*, 421, 424; cf. Lloyd, *Hist. of Powys Fadog*, iv, 171). *Cawl Awst* was the name given to a kind of picnic among herdsmen and shepherds formerly on the hills in the beginning of August in Cardiganshire. There is a Welsh air called *Y Cyntaf o Awst*, and a *caniad* adapted to it may be found in *Gwaith Ieuan Brydydd Hir*, 71 "Son am Awst wyliau y Nadolig", and "Son am Awst ddydd calan-gauav", are given as two proverbial sayings (*Myv. Arch.*, 858, 866).

I might here add that in the Calendars prefixed, *e.g.*, to the Welsh New Testament of 1567, the Bible of 1620, and the Prayer Book of 1621, there are a few Festivals of Welsh Saints included—July 31st, Garmon; September 1st, Silin; December 1st, Grwst; and December 18th, Tydecho. The Calendar prefixed to the New Testament of 1567 has also November 15th, Mechell (also called Machudd, *i.e.*, Machutus). No doubt there were some good reasons (whatever they were) for the insertion of these particular Saints' Days in those Calendars.

I now come to the *Gwyl Mabsant*, the Wakes or Patronal Festival of a parish, which at one time, and that not so very remote, played an important part in the social life of the Welsh people. It began to be held nearly all through Wales on the Sunday following the Festival proper of the Saint (*Myv. Arch.*, 428), and lasted the whole week, though

in the early part of the present century it seldom exceeded the third or fourth day. The week was observed as a general holiday, work being suspended. In days gone by it would probably be the most important and joyous annual event connected with a parish, and it eclipsed every other Festival. Old and young looked forward to it, and those who had left the parish to live elsewhere made a point of paying a visit if possible to their old home during its continuance. Great preparations were made for it. Everybody kept open house, and there was a general welcome to those who came from a distance. But, however good it may have been in its inception, it was not very long before it came to be abused. In the *Myvyrian Brut y Tywysogion* we are told that in 1030 Joseph, Bishop of Llandaff (died in 1043), issued an injunction against carrying on any secular works on Sundays and Festivals generally, and, further, that he "reformed the Festivals of Patron Saints (*gwyliau mabsant*) so that they were to be reserved entirely for prayer to God, showing good works, almsgiving, and a due remembrance of God and His Saints, and of their praise-worthy works"; and again we are told that Uchtryd, Bishop of Llandaff, who died in 1146, "reformed the Sundays and the Holydays, and Festivals of Patron Saints (*y Suliau a'r Gwyliau, a gwiliau Mab Sant*), and caused them to be observed with religious services (*yn olychwydawl*) where that had not been done willingly and customarily" (*Myv. Arch.*, 694, 696, 710; Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils*, etc., i, 291-2, 352). In contrast to this, but referring to a much later time, Browne Willis (*Survey of St. David's*, 36; 1717) observes that the Festival of St. David was still kept at St. David's with great solemnity; and he adds that there was a tradition that some 100 years before so great was the honour paid there to the three Festivals of SS. David, Nun, and Lily (March 1st, 2nd, 3rd) that if any of

the people "had been known to work upon any of those Days, it would have been esteemed as a very heinous Offence". However, by the early part of the present century the *Gwyl Mabsant* had lost its religious character entirely, and had become a Festival for different kinds of rustic games and sports, trials of strength and agility, dancing, feasting, drinking, and every kind of merry-making. Drinking to excess was very common and not infrequently led to fighting. It was mostly confined to the lower orders. In some parts the Wakes were not considered complete without an *antarliwd* (interlude), which Twm o'r Nant did so much to popularize in his day; whilst, in other places, a burlesque election of mayor and other officers took place, e.g., at Mold (*Cambro-Brit.*, i, 259; 1820), and at Llangollen (Jon. Hughes, *Bardd a Byrddau*, 318; 1778). Its riotous character in time brought the *Gwyl Mabsant* into disrepute, which eventually determined its discontinuance. There are very few parishes where it was held later than the early years of the Sixties. I subjoin two extracts in Welsh giving an account of its observance.

S. Thomas in his *Hanes y Byd a'r Amseroedd*, 129-130 (published in 1721) says:—" . . . monach a Mabsanct yr unpeth ydynt; Mabsant yn yr jaith Gymraeg sydd yn arwyddocau yr un peth a Monach yn y Groeg hynny yw. dyn gweddw sengyl a fae hynod mewn Duwioledeb a sancteiddrwydd." Of the *Noswyl* or Eve of the Patronal Festival he says:—"Arfer y plwyfolion oedd, ymgynull 'r Eglwys neu'r Llan i wyllo, i ymprydio o gweddio, ac i losci canhwyllau ger bron yr Esecyrn Wedi treulion o honynt Nos-wyl y mabsanct fel y crybwyllwyd yn gwyllo ac yn ymprydio, fe fydde iddynt a'r y diwrnod trannoeth, yr hwn a elw'd Dydd-gwyl y mabsant, ymroddi yn llwyr i Lawenydd: Canys hwy dreulient yr

holl ddydd mewn gwleddau, chwaryddiaethau, cerddoriaeth, a phob math o ddifyrrwch Nid ydys yn awr yn gwneuthur cymmaint gyfrif *Nôs* wyl y mabsanct ac oeddid yn yr amseroedd hynny: eithr am y *Diwrnod*. fe a'i cedwir byth yn dra-chyffelyb i'r modd y cedwid gynt canys yr ydys nid yn unig yn ymgynnull i wledda, campio a difyrru, eithr hefyd mewn rhai mannau o Gymru, yn rhoddi rhyw fath o offrymmau *er mwyn Duw a mair, a'r mabsanct*, gan ei goffa wrth ei Enw." I may add that whilst it was customary in some places to offer only a few pence (*Y Brython*, ii, 120), the offerings presented at some shrines amounted to very considerable sums.

In one of the *Ymddyddanion rhwng Scrutator a Senex* that appeared in the *Trysorfa* for 1813, when edited by the Rev. Thomas Charles, "Senex", then an old man close upon ninety years of age, in a *quasi*-interview, gives the following account of the observance of the Holy Days and Patronal Festivals in Anglesey as he remembered them in his earlier days:—

"Ar y dyddiau gwyliau, a'r gwylmabsantau, tyrai miloedd at eu gilydd, gan ddechreu ar y Sabboth—byddai y *siopau* i gyd yn agored, a gwerth llawer o bunnau yn cael eu gwerthu o eiddo—yr amaethwyr (*ffermwyr*) a fyddent yn cyflogi eu gweinidogion, etc. Y nos yr aent i'r tafarndŷau i yfed, i ganu, ac i ddawnsiaw, ac yn y diwedd yn curaw eu gilydd yn greulawn iawn, nes y byddai y gwaed yn llifaw. Gwelais lawer gwaith ugeiniau, neu, am a wn i, gannoedd o ffyn i fynu ar unwaith, yn curaw ac yn labiau eu gilydd yn y modd creulonaf." (*Trysorfa*, ii, 477.)

The Welsh Revivalists of the latter part of last century and the early part of this contributed no small a share towards putting an end to the *Gwyl Mabsant*; and sometimes they had recourse to "uncanny" methods of doing it.

This is how that strange old character, "Siencyn Penhydd" (1746-1807)—whose history has been so amusingly told by the late Rev. Edward Matthews—played his rôle. Once, whilst on his *taith*, he came to a certain parish "where the whole district had congregated to drink and dance for several long nights", by way of observing its *Gwyl Mabsant*. Entering a public house, where the revelry was going on upstairs, he put on such "wise airs" that he was immediately taken for a *consurwr* or *dyn hysbys*. When the merry-makers were informed of his presence and his would-be sinister intentions, they got so alarmed that they all fled for their lives through the back door in the direction of their homes!

Before proceeding any further it may be well to answer the question, what does *Mabsant*, the Welsh for the Patron or peculiar Saint of a parish mean? The term (a quasi-compound) is composed of *mab*, in the sense of 'man', and the adjective *sant*, 'holy'. He was the typical 'holy man' connected with a parish. *Mab* means not only a 'son or boy', but also 'a man', I suppose of any age. For instance, 'a bridegroom' is called *priodfab, y mab ieuanc*, and *y mab*. With the term *mabsant* compare *mab aillt* (or *aill*) 'a non-tribesman, a stranger' (lit. 'a shaven or tonsured person'—Seebohm, *The Tribal System in Wales*, 119, 129; 1895); *mab uchelwr*, 'a privileged tribesman, a landed person' (both common terms in the Welsh Laws); and *mab-wraig*, 'a virago'. There are plenty of instances of *sant* being used as an adjective meaning 'holy', especially in Mediæval Welsh. The Latin *sanctus* has yielded the two forms *sanct* and *sant*, of which the latter is the more assimilated and naturalised form. *Sant* has always (with comparatively few post-Reformation exceptions) been the favourite form for 'saint'; but in Modern Welsh, through the influence of the translation of the Bible and Prayer Book,

sanct alone generally does duty for the adjective, whilst in Mediæval Welsh *sant* did for both. The "Renaissance" in Welsh letters has stamped out, in the case of loan-words, several better, more rule-right forms. For instance, we always now use *sacrament* for the common Mediæval form *sacrafen*, and *testament* for *testafen* (*Yr Athrawaeth Gristnogawl*, 225, 249, 250; 1618; cf. also *arch ystafen* = *arca testamenti*, e.g., in Geoffrey's Brut, *Oxf. Bruts*, 59). With this use of *sant* compare the names 'Church of St. Saviour', 'Church of St. Sepulchre', 'Church of St. Cross', etc. Rowlands in his *Mona Antiqua Restaurata* (190; 1723) gives a very fanciful derivation of *Gwyl Mabsant*. He thinks it possible for the Latin *Memoriæ Sanctorum* to appear in Welsh as "Gwyliau Myb'r Sant, corruptly called Mab-Sant"!

The use of the title *Sant* is comparatively modern in Welsh. It is very sparingly used in Mediæval Welsh, and then mostly (under English influence) in the case of non-Welsh Saints. *Dewi Sant* might perhaps be adduced as an exception, but *Sant* need not in this instance necessarily mean 'saint', for we might render it 'Holy David'. The title *Sant* is not used, as a rule, when a Saint's name is coupled with *Gwyl*, *Ffynnon*, *Maen*, etc.; nor again when a Saint's name enters into the composition of *Llan*-place-names. There are a few exceptions, such as *Llansantffraid Llansantsior* (near St. Asaph), *Llansantffagan* (*Myv. Arch.*, 748; *Iolo MSS. passim*—also *Llanffagan*, *ib.*, 34, 220), and *Llansantguainerth* (*Bk. of Llan Dâv*, 275-6); whilst *Llandyfeisant*, under Llandeilo Fawr, seems to be the only instance of its kind.

The earliest use of the word *mabsant*, as far as I know, is in a eulogy of the Welsh Patron Saint (*Canu y Dewi*) by Gwynfardd Brycheiniog (1160-1220; *Myv. Arch.*, 194). The friar-bard, Y Brawd Fadawg ap Gwallter (1250-1300;

ib., 275) addresses the Archangel Michael as “Fihangel fy mabsant”. A person of the name of “Mabsant m. Kaw” is mentioned in the Tale of Kulhwch and Olwen (Oxf. *Mabinogion*, 107). An old proverb says (*Myv. Arch.*, 849)—“Hu pawb ar ei vabsant”, *i.e.*, every one may make bold to approach his patron saint. Of course, to say that the Welsh in mediæval times were not given to the adoration and invocation of the Saints would be to betray gross ignorance of the literature of the period. They, like other nations, did not stop short at simply paying honour to them. The subtle distinctions of the Schoolmen, who distinguished between *Latria*, *Hyperdulia*, and *Dulia*, would have been quite lost upon the ignorant many.

Every country in Europe in the Middle Ages had, I believe, its Patron Saint; and so had every parish—at any rate in this country. The various trades or guilds also had their Patron Saints or Advocates. It is noteworthy that no purely Welsh Saint found admittance into the ancient Martyrologies or Calendars of the Western Church until the canonization of St. David in 1120, who is still the one Welsh Saint formally enrolled in the Western Calendars (Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils*, etc., i, 160). In addition to this distinction our Patron has been actually honoured with a coat-of-arms, as appears from “a book of pedigrees, written about A.D. 1560”—“Dewi Fâbsant. Sable, a chevron or between three roses argent” (*British Remains*, 37; 1777). The other Saints have all been canonized, so to speak, by the popular voice of the Welsh themselves, and they are not entitled to the prefix by pontifical decree or by papal recognition. Canonization by the decree of a Pope was not known until the tenth century, and they are practically all supposed to have lived some centuries before then.

The date of the *Gwyl Mabsant* coincided, as a rule, with

the date on which a fair is, or used to be, held. The fair was an important part of the Festival. The Wakes or Festival brought a great concourse of people together, who turned the occasion into an opportunity for buying and selling. Where there are several fairs held, that connected with the Festival of the patron of the parish (as a rule, no doubt, the oldest-established) is still often spoken of as the 'Fair of such-and-such a Saint's Festival', e.g., *Ffair Wyl Garon* at Tregaron, and *Ffair Wyl Deilo* at Llandeilo Fawr. The intimate connection between the regular fairs and the Festivals of the Church is shown by the fact that the word 'fair' is derived from the ecclesiastical term *feria*, originally 'a holiday'. There were certain fairs held in Anglesey known as *Mabsantau*, devoted entirely to hiring and pleasure. They are still held at Bodedern and Trefdraeth, at the beginning of May and November (*Royal Commission on Labour—Wales*, 129; 1893). The fairs generally give one great assistance in arriving at the correct date of the *Gwyl Mabsant* when the Calendars do not agree; but we must take into consideration the difference between the Old and New Styles. The difference since 1752, when the change from the Julian to the Gregorian Calendar took effect, was, up to the present century, one of eleven days, but since 1800 the discrepancy between them has become twelve days. This, however, has not been taken into account by the Welsh peasantry and Almanack-makers in regulating the days for holding the fairs; so that what we have to subtract from the date of the present-day fair to get at the Festival of the Saint is not twelve but eleven days. In Almanacks previous to the change of Style the date of the fair and the Saint's day should, of course, tally. For instance, take the two following as specimens. Tregaron—Church dedicated to St. Caron, with his Festival on March

5th; a fair used to be held there March 5th (O. S.); now it is the 15th, 16th, and 17th. Llandeilo Fawr—Church dedicated to St. Teilo, with his Festival on February 9th; a fair used to be held there on the same date (O. S.); now it is the 20th. Sometimes, however, the fairs were held, or rather perhaps began, on the eves or vigils of the Festivals; e.g., at Nevin (Church dedicated to the B. V. M.) we have fairs on March 24th and August 14th (O. S.). At Abergele (Church dedicated to St. Michael), there was a fair held September 28th (O. S.), and still is October 9th, i.e., eleven days after. At Llanrwst (Church dedicated to St. Grwst, Festival December 1st), a fair used to be held November 30th (O. S.), and still is December 11. In some cases again the dates (O. S.) of fairs have not been altered to eleven days later. For instance, fairs are still held at Rhuddlan (Church dedicated to St. Mary) on four of the present-date Festivals of the B. V. M. The Festivals of the B. V. M. were very popular fair days. At Ty Gwyn ar Dâf (Whitland) and Cardigan (both Churches dedicated to her) fairs used to be held on all the six Festivals of the Virgin except one (July 2nd). Not the slightest difference was made, on the score of supposed greater sacredness, between these Welsh Saints' Days and the red-letter Festivals of the Church Catholic, for holding fairs. It all depended upon the dedication of the Parish Church. In fact, in the olden times, fairs, as well as markets, were held on Sunday and the Festivals of the Church much oftener than on other days of the week.

On cataloguing the names of those mentioned as Saints in the various *Achau'r Saint*, or *Catalogi Sanctorum*, that have been published, it will be found that there are between six and seven hundred Saints, genuine and otherwise, known to Welsh hagiology. I say "genuine and otherwise", for it is very questionable whether a good many of them ever

had any existence at all other than in the imagination of the writers of those documents. Of this number only a few over 200 have been provided with Festivals—or at any rate find a place in such Calendars as have come down to us. A great many more must have had their day commemorated in the parishes of which they were patrons; but being minor, obscure Saints, enjoying a local *cultus* only, generally hardly anything beyond their names in the dedications of churches has reached us. What the author of *Ceinion Essyllt* (509; 1874) says of St. Carfan may, with equal truth, be said of many a Welsh Saint:—

“Ond ar hon [the old Church of Llancarfan] ei *enw* a drig,—a’i
hanes
 Yn ei *enw* seintig;
 O’i rin a’i ddawn, rhagfarn ddig
 Ni chadwodd ond ychydig.
 * * * *
 Os na chafodd bris na chofiant—ei oes,
 Ni waeth, digon haeddiant
 Rhin a swyn yr *enw* Sant,
 I gynal ei ogoniant.”

In the case of a good many of these Saints, one, so far, has but little difficulty in getting at the date of their Festivals, even without the aid of the Calendars, for very often it will be found that there are old people still living who can tell us the day on which the *Gwyl Mabsant*, now discontinued, used to be held, and so we can fix the date with something like certainty. Many of what I may call the major Welsh Saints, however, have several days in the Calendars assigned to them, and it would now be a very difficult thing indeed in some cases to arrive at what should be regarded as the correct dates of their Festivals. What the late Dr. J. Hill Burton in his chapter on “The Early Northern Saints” (*The Book-hunter*, etc., 354; 1889) says of Saints’ days in general may also be applied, to some extent, to

Welsh Saints' days. "Few compilers", he says, "deserve more sympathy than those who try to adjust Saints' days by rule and chronology, since not only does one saint differ from another in the way in which his feast is established, but for the same saint there are different days in different countries, and even in different ecclesiastical districts". Generally, a Saint's Festival is the anniversary of his or her death, or *depositio*, as it is technically termed. It is sometimes called his or her *natalicium*—the birthday of his or her soul, the day whereon it entered upon the joys of Paradise. In a few instances we find the translation of a Saint's relics, or some notable event in the history of his or her life, supplying an additional commemoration; e.g., St. Dyfrig's translation, and St. Winefride's decollation or first death. I might mention the following, out of a good many more, as perplexing dates of Festivals, with no reason known to us assigned for the variations. St. Deiniol (patron, amongst other churches, of Llanuwchllyn and Hawarden), commemorated on September 11th and December 10th. At Llanuwchllyn a fair was held on September 11th (O. S.), and still is on the 22nd; and at Hawarden, a fair used to be held on December 21st (N. S.). St. Garmon, commemorated on May 27th, July 31st, or August 1st, October 1st, and on one or two others given in the Almanacks. St. Melangell (Monacella), commemorated on January 31st, May 4th, and the 27th. St. Padarn's name is set down against a number of days. This multiplicity of dates is undoubtedly, in some cases, due to the fact that there were several saints bearing the same name, e.g., SS. Germanus and Paternus. There are a few Saints' Festivals again of moveable or of no fixed date; e.g., St. Rhystyd's Festival, on "Thursday in the Ember Week preceding Christmas"; and the Festival of SS. Padarn and Teilo on the first Sunday after Michaelmas. In the *Great*

and *Cambrian Register* Calendars we have the following commemoration:—"Gwyl y gwr a fu varw [in *Camb. Reg.* read 'S. Gwryfarn (or Gwyrfarn)'] ar ddywsul y Drindawd, a gwylva [*C. R.* Gwyl] vawr nos Sadwrn o'r blaen, ac ymolchi rhag cryd y deirton [*C. R.* Ddurton]." There is no such Saint given in the "Genealogies" as Gwryfarn or Gwyrfarn, though Rees (*Welsh SS.*, 308), following the *Cambrian Register* Calendar, gives the latter form as the name of a Saint, whose name, of course, has been evolved by the copyist out of the words *gwr a fu farw*.

There is one commemoration in the Welsh Calendar well worth while making a special reference to, as but very few persons know anything about it. I mean the Festival of the Welsh Rain-Saint. The Saints credited with determining the weather for the period of forty days vary in different countries. In England he is, as everybody knows, St. Swithin, July 15th; in France, St. Médard, June 8th; in the Tyrol, the sainted Queen Margaret of Scotland, called "Wetter Frau", June 10th. In like manner the Welsh have, or rather, had (for he is now usurped by St. Swithin) their Festival of St. Cewydd. The only Calendars, as far as I know, wherein his day is marked, are those of the *Iolo MSS.* and the Additional MS. 14,912. In the former we have, against July 1st, *Gwyl Gwydd y Glaw*; and in the latter, against July 2nd, *Gwyl gewe*, which I may note was also the day on which St. Swithin died, the 15th being that of his translation. In an article in *Y Brython* for 1859 (ii, 153-4), headed *Dyggwyl Gwydd*, the writer says that in many parts of South Wales July 15th, *i.e.*, St. Swithin's Day, was called *Dyggwyl Gwydd* (or, rather, *Dyggwyl Gawau*, as it was sounded), and that it was generally believed that if it rained on that day it would be sure to rain for forty days in succession. He adds that,

generally throughout North Wales, that distinction belonged rather to *Dygwyl Bedr*, St. Peter's Day (June 29) (*cf. ib. v, 224*). He further adds that it was the popular belief in Dyfed, or South-West Wales, that the Deluge began on July 15th, and lasted for forty days (*v. Genesis vii, 12*); and also that the Dog Days (July 3rd to August 11th), which likewise continue for forty days, commemorate the period during which Sodom and Gomorrah were in burning, and "the smoke of the country went up as the smoke of a furnace". Lewis Glyn Cothi refers to *Gwyl Gwydd* in his "Marwnad Morgan ab Syr Dafydd Gam" (*Gwaith, 5*). He says that at Morgan's death Brecknockshire would shed tears, which, for profusion, would be like the rainfall on St. Cewydd's Festival, which lasted for forty successive days.

"Gwlad Vrychan am Vorgan vydd
Ail i gawod wyl Gwydd.
Deugain niau davnau dwvr
Ar ruddiau yw'r aweddwvr.
Deugain mlynedd i heddyw
Yr wyl y beirdd ar ol y byw."

Very little is known of St. Cewydd. He is still popularly spoken of in Glamorganshire as *Hen Gwydd y Gwlaw*. He is classed by Rees (*Welsh Saints, 230*) as a Saint of the first half of the sixth century. He is not as much as once mentioned as a Saint, I believe, in the Genealogies printed in the *Myv. Arch.*, but in those of the *Iolo MSS.* (107, 109, 117, 136, 142, 146) he is to be met with several times. We there learn that he was one of the many sons of Caw o Brydyn (*i.e.*, 'Pictland'), Arglwydd Cwm Cawlwyd yn y Gogledd (covered by modern Renfrewshire, according to Skene, *Four Anc. Bks.*, i, 173), who, owing to the incursions of the Gwyddyl Ffichti, or Pictish Goidels, was compelled to leave his territory, and come with his large family

and settle down at Twr Celyn, in Anglesey. He is also said to have been a saint of Côr Catwg and that his church was Llangewydd, in Glamorgan, a church once existing at Laleston. He is said to be the patron of the churches of Aberedw and Disserth in the Deanery of Elwel, in Radnorshire. A "saying" attributed to him is preserved in *Chwedlau 'r Doethion*, a collection of proverbial triplets, printed in the *Iolo MSS.*, 254:—

"A glywaist ti chwedl Cewydd
Sant. wrth aml ei garenydd?
Nid car cywir ond Dofydd."

The following are some curious and unusual commemorations that occur in the Calendars.

March 23rd—"Pann luniwyd addaf" ('when Adam was created') in Hengwrt MS. 45. The date is wrong, being elsewhere given as the 25th.

In some ancient Calendars, Easter Day, the Day of Christ's Resurrection, is *fixed*, but the date sometimes varies. In most Calendars it appears as March 27th; *e.g.*, the Calendars of Hengwrt MS. 45 ("kyvodigaeth krist or bedd"); Additional MS. 14,912; Additional MS. 14,882 ("kyvodiad krist"); *The Calendar of Oengus*, lviii; Owen, *Sanctorale Catholicum*, 162. In the *Iolo MSS.* Calendar, however, *Duw Pasc* is given under March 11th; and in two Calendars of the Use of Sarum it is fixed in April (Maskell, *Monumenta Rit.*, iii, 192-3; 1882).

May 17th—"Noe i'r Arch. dilyw'n codi" ('Noah enters the ark; the Deluge rising') in the *Iolo MSS.* Calendar. It also occurs against the same day as "Dech. dwfr del." in an Almanack for 1708; and in the same Almanack, for May 27th, we have "Nou a ddaeth o'r Arch" ('Noah came out of the Ark')—Nefydd, *Crefydd yr Oesoedd Tywyll*, 114, 116. In certain ancient Calendars, March 17th and April 29th are the days set down as those whereon Noah

respectively entered, and came out of, the Ark (Owen, *Sanctorale Catholicum*, 144, 208).

July 10th—"Y Saith Frodyr" occurs in some Calendars and Almanacks. They are the "Seven Brethren" of the Roman Calendar.

July 27th—"Y Saith Gysgadur" ('the Seven Sleepers' of Ephesus) in the *Iolo MSS.* Calendar and also some Almanacks. In the Irish Church they were commemorated on August 7th (*The Calendar of Oengus*, cxxix, cxxx).

September 9th—"Gwyl y Ddelw Fyw" ('the Festival of the Living Image') in the Calendars of Hengwrt MS. 45 and the *Iolo MSS.*, and in many Almanacks. What this 'Living Image' was I am unable to say; but the Rev. Robert Owen, B.D., in his *Kymry* (110; 1891) thinks it "must have been a clumsy replica of some Italian Madonna". D. ab Gwilym in one passage (*Barddoniaeth*, 437; 1789) uses the expression, "myn y ddelw-fyw"! Browne Willis in his *Survey of Bangor* (274; 1721) gives the dedication of the Church of "Rhyw. St. Eelrhyw, or Delwfyw. September 9th. Fanum in clivo situm." There is a St. Aelrhiw given in Rees, *Welsh Saints*, 306, with Festival on this day, but the Saint does not appear in the *Myv.* and *Iolo MSS.* Catalogues. There is a St. Ailfyw or *Elfyw* given.

To these may be added a few other curious commemorations that occur in old Almanacks; and I may remark, before doing so, that in the Greek Church, the Jewish patriarchs and prophets are held in greater visible esteem than they are in the West. Old Testament worthies like Abel, Noah, Abraham, Moses, etc., have Festivals assigned to them, and the title "Saint" prefixed to their names.

January 3rd, "Enoch" is commemorated; the 4th, "Methusalem"; February 21st, "Y 69 Merthyri"; the

22nd, "Pedr Gadair, Gadeiri, or Gadeiriog" (this is the "St. Peter's Chair at Antioch" of the Roman Calendar, and the "g. beder y chwefror" of the Additional MS. 14,882); March 9th, "Pryden", and "Prydferth"; the 14th, "Merthyri Candŷn" (1692), or "Can dyn mer."; the 15th, "Wynebdeg" or "Wynebog"; the 16th, Codi (or cyfodiad) Lazarus (or Lazar); April 8th, "Mynediad Crist" (1692, etc.); the 18th, "Israel i'r Môr"; the 30th, against this we have "Cynnull y Ferfaen (or Y dderwen fendigaid)", i.e., 'Gather the Vervain'; July 5th, "Esaias Brophwyd"; August 2nd, "Marwolaeth Aaron", and "Moesen"; September 13th, "Caredig un"; October 26th, "Ardderchog"; December 22nd, "30 Merthyri"; the 24th, "Adda ac Efa" (the orchis, by the way, is called in some parts of South Wales "Adda ac Efa"). *Apropos* to these commemorations I may add that there is an English Calendar for 1578 printed (Appendix i) in *The Prayer-Book of Queen Elizabeth*, 1559 (Griffith, Farran and Co.), wherein a few of them, as well as other curious ones, are given; e.g., March 16th, Resurrection of Lazarus; the 27th, Resurrection of Christ; April 18th, Israelites went through the Red Sea; May 17th, Noah entered the Ark; the 27th, went forth of it; August 1st, Death of Aaron. Noah, the Ark, and the Dove figure largely in it.

A few more of these curious commemorations might be given, and the paper as a whole amplified in several respects; but the immoderate length to which it has already run bids me desist. *Digon sy ddigon.*

NOTES ON THE HUNTING OF TWRCH TRWYTH.

Additions and Corrections,

BY PROFESSOR JOHN RHYS, M.A., LL.D.

LAST October I spent a day with Mr. Williams (Walcyn Wyn), and accompanied by him, Mr. N. H. Thomas of Jesus College, and others, I visited the scene of a considerable portion of the ancient hunt. Not only did I see how the land lies, but I heard what the people have to say, and, above all, how they say it. Under this head I may mention that I noticed Llyn Llech Owen being repeatedly called Llyn Llech Hovel, or rather Hwel, with the accent on the *w*. *Apropos* of *Egel* or *Ecel*, I may mention that my friends had occasion to call at a cottage in the village of Cwm Twrch, and in the course of a few minutes I heard a middle-aged woman using the forms, *doti*, *cretuch*, and *pleto*, for *dodi*, *creduch*, and *pledo* ('plead'). The *t* in such words is possibly not so hard as I should pronounce it, but it is far removed from the sound of *d*. So with regard to *Egel*, it would be more nearly correct to write it *Ecel*, so far as regards the colloquial pronunciation of the word. Walcyn Wyn says *rhoi cerryg yn yr afon i 'neyd causi*, where *causi* means what I have been used to call a *sarn*. It is evidently derived from some form of *causeway*, and I fancy it occurs as *causi* in some such a name as Llan-gowau, for a spot at Llanbadarn Fawr. I am quoting from a very faint memory of the name.

I have now to append the following notes, and some corrections necessitated by my carelessness:—

P. 1. With the name of *Meneu*, Dr. Stokes suggests that one should equate Irish *menb*, 'small'.

P. 2. With regard to the ravages of the Twrch Trwyth in Ireland, he calls my attention to the disastrous hunt of an equally ferocious boar in the Dinnsheanchus of Loch Con, in the *Revue Celtique*, xv, 474.

P. 4. As to *Glynn Ystu*, I heard at Ammanford of a farm on Lord Dynevor's estate called *Clyn Ystyn*. It is not improbable that it marks the spot mentioned in the story, as it certainly fits in so far as its position is concerned. I am indebted for information about it to Lord Dynevor and to his agent, Mr. Lewis Bishop, who has been good enough to send me the following letter, dated Nov. 28, 1895:—

"Lord Dynevor has handed me your letter of the 4th, with a request to reply thereto. The oldest map I have relating to this farm is dated

1778, and it is spelt as above therein (Clyn Ystyn) The farm is situate in almost a direct line between Carmarthen town (which, as you know, is on the Towy) and the confluence of the Loughor with the river Amman. As the crow flies, it is about eight miles and a half from Carmarthen, and six miles from the confluence of the above-named rivers. I know of no other Clyn Ystyn or Glyn Ystyn in the same locality, or anywhere else in the county. If I can get you any further information I shall be glad."

P. 5. Llwch Ewin is not Rhwin, which I have heard there pronounced with the aspirate. Rhwin means *y Rhowyn*, 'the drain' or 'gutter'. It drains a bog on the watershed, and the water runs off in two contrary directions. Llwch Ewin was near a farmhouse called Llwch, in the parish of Bettws, which comprises the southern slope of the Amman Valley. The spot I mean is near the top of the slope, and above the house called Llwch is a bog-pool, from which it probably derives its name. I have seen it called in a map *Llwch is Awel*, 'the Pool below the Wind'.

P. 6. The position of Llwch Tawi, or the Tawè Pool, is indicated by that of Ynys Pen Llwch, some distance lower down the Tawè than Pont ar Dawè. The name *Ynys Pen Llwch* means 'the Island at the end of the Pool'.

P. 13. Dr. Stokes suggests that a *parchell quin guis* should be rendered 'O pigling of a white sow'. The uncertainty of the initial mutations makes it difficult to decide; but perhaps the most natural rendering of the words would be 'O white pigling of a sow', which I must confess does not recommend itself greatly on the score of sense.

P. 14. The genitive of the Irish name to be identified with Grugyn occurs in the *Book of Leinster*, folio 359^a, as *Grúicind*. *Grugyn* has nothing to do with *grug*, 'heather', which is still to be heard *gwerug* in parts of Dyved. For *Cúcholainn* read *Cúchulainn*.

P. 16. In the note read *Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen*, and so at p. 22.

P. 17. As to *Echel* and *Egel*, I suspected that there was something wrong when I had to treat the former as Goidelic, and the latter as Welsh. I should have made certain of the Irish equivalent: I find now that it was *Eccl*, which occurs in the *Book of the Dun Cow*, p. 80^b. Thus, after all, *Egel*, the local name, proves to be Goidelic, and the more literary form, *Echel*, more Brythonic.

I ought to have said that there are two Clydachs, and that it is into the Upper Clydach the *Egel* flows. The relative positions of Llwch Ewin, the *Egel*, and Llwch Tawè, as here indicated, seem to offer no difficulty.

P. 19. For *Dinseanchus* read *Dinnsheanchus*.

P. 21. As to Prof. Zimmer's Breton theory, Dr. Stokes calls my attention to M. F. Lot's opinion of it in the *Romania*, xxiv, 333-4.

P. 22. Dr. Stokes suggests that Cualand is the genitive of *Cualu*. The letter *l* has dropped out of *Celtechar* in note 3.

P. 26. For *Nuda* read *Nuada*.

P. 27. For *suns of Mil* read *Sons of Mll*.

P. 28. The Dúnbolg story has been edited and translated by Stokes in the *Revue Celtique*, xiii, 90-94. For the *Blatobulgiun* beyond the Forth, see now Liddall's *Place-Names of Fife and Kinross* (Edinburgh, 1896), p. 10, where he gives *Bleho* as the last of the series *Blathbolg* or *Bludebolg*, *Blabolg*, *Blabo*.

P. 34. For *Gille* read *Gilla*, and so at p. 22. I have not yet heard anything about *Castell Garth Grugyn*. The name *Brechfa* occurs also in Ireland, namely, as *Brechmag*, which is explained to have meant 'Wolf-field'. See Stokes' *Revue Dinnsheanchus*, Nos. 34, 118 (*Revue Celtique*, xv, 420; xvi, 71), where he alludes to places so called in Connaught and Leinster, in Clare and Tirconnell.

Should any of the readers of the *Cymmrodorion Transactions* have any local light to throw on any of the difficulties and uncertainties of the story of the Hunt, I should be only too glad to hear from them.

Jan. 7, 1896.

J. RHYA.

THE
Cymmrodorion Record Series.

THE idea of the publication of Welsh Records, which had for some time occupied the thoughts of leading Welsh Scholars, took a definite and practical shape at the meeting of the Cymmrodorion Section of the National Eisteddfod held at Brecon in 1889. In the papers which were read at that meeting it was shown that a vast quantity of material necessary for understanding the history of Wales still remained buried in public and private libraries, and also that such of the Welsh Chronicles as had been given to the world had been edited in a manner which had not fulfilled the requirements of modern scholarship.

As it appeared that the Government declined to undertake any further publication of purely Welsh Records, it was suggested by Sir John Williams that the Council of the Cymmrodorion Society should take the work in hand, and establish a separate fund for that purpose.

The Council are of opinion that a work of this magnitude cannot be left to private enterprise, although they thankfully acknowledge the indebtedness of all Welshmen to such men as Mr. G. T. Clark of Talygarn, the Rev. Canon Silvan Evans, Mr. J. Gwenogfryn Evans, Mr. Owen Edwards, Mr. Egerton Phillimore, and Professor John Rhys, and they fully appreciate the valuable work done by members of the various Antiquarian Societies.

Private enterprise has enabled the Council to issue, without cost to the Society, the first number of the Series which they have undertaken. The edition of *Queen's Pembrokehire*, the first Part of which has already been issued, is the result to Mr. Henry Owen—a member of the Society's Council—of long and arduous labour, and an expenditure of a sum of money which would enable any patriotic Welshman who follows that example to present two numbers of the proposed Series to his countrymen.

The second number of the Series consists of Records from the Ruthin Court Rolls (A. D. 1294-5), edited by Mr. R. Arthur Roberts, of the Public Record Office. *A Catalogue of the Welsh Manuscripts in the British Museum*, and a transcript of *The Black Book of St. David's*, are in course of preparation.

In the future numbers of the Series will be published, from public or private MSS., with Introductions and Notes by competent scholars, such Records as will throw light on some period of Welsh History. These publications will, the Council trust, go far to remove from the Principality the dishonour of being the only nation in Europe which is without anything approaching to a scientific history.

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The Court Rolls of the Lordship of Ruthin or Dyffryn-Clwyd, of the Reign of King Edward the First, preserved in the Public Record Office. Edited, with Translation, Notes, etc., by R. Arthur Roberts, of H.M. Public Record Office. Being No. 2 of the *Cymmrodorion Record Series*.

The Transactions of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion (Session, 1892-93).

Ditto, (Session 1893-94). **Ditto**, (Session 1894-95). **Ditto**, (Session 1895-6).

Gweithiau Iolo Goch; Gyda Nodiadau Hanesyddol a Beirniadol, gan Charles Ashton. The Works of Iolo Goch. Price 10s. 6d.

To be obtained on application to the Secretary, at the Cymmrodorion Library, 64, Chancery Lane, London, W.C.

THE
TRANSACTIONS
OF
THE HONOURABLE
SOCIETY OF CYMMRODORION.

SESSION 1895-96.

LONDON:
ISSUED BY THE SOCIETY
NEW STONE BUILDINGS, 64, CHANCERY LANE.
—
1897.

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REPORT
OF
THE COUNCIL OF THE
Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion,

For the Year ending November 9th, 1896.

PRESENTED TO THE ANNUAL MEETING, HELD ON THURSDAY,
26TH OF NOVEMBER, 1896.

THE Council have the honour to report that the last year has, from some points of view, been the most successful and promising in the history of the Society. Special prominence and interest was given to the Annual Banquet by the presence of H.R.H. the Duke of York, K.G., who attended as the Society's guest, and who subsequently graciously accepted Honorary Membership in the ranks of the Society. In proposing the toast of the evening on the occasion referred to, His Royal Highness wished Success and Prosperity to the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion, "because it promotes the study of Welsh Literature, because it assists in the development of the national life of the Welsh people, and because it serves to unite all classes for the advancement of Wales", a summary which the Council ventures to believe accurately represents the main current of the Society's efforts since its first inception, nearly a century and a half ago.

It affords the Council much gratification to be able to announce that eighty-six new members were added to the Society during the past year, and it was particularly pleasing to note that many of these additions to the List

of Members constituted a renewal of interest in Cymmrodorion work by persons whose ancestors were closely connected with the foundation of the Society in the eighteenth century. Unfortunately, it has not been all gain, for the Society has sustained severe losses in its ranks through the death of many of its active and well-known members. Amongst these were two of its Vice-Presidents. Mr. Charles W. Williams Wynn had held that position from an early period in the history of the revived Society. Lord Kensington, a later comer, who was present at the last annual gathering, had shown keen interest in the Society's work. The gap in the list of members caused by his death has been filled by his son, his successor in the title. Generous supporters have been lost to the Society through the deaths of Mrs. Rachel Thomas, of Ysguborwen, Mr. Thomas Fuller-Maitland, and Mr. Octavius Vaughan Morgan. Mr. Henry Leslie, a distinguished musician, who on many occasions rendered signal services to the Society, also joined "the great majority" during the year—his place in the list is retained by his devoted widow. Within the last few days the Society and all friends of Welsh education have had to mourn the loss of another of our members, the late Mr. William Williams, Her Majesty's Chief Inspector of Schools for Wales.

During the year the following meetings were held:—

In London:—

1895.

November 13.—INAUGURAL ADDRESS on "The Historical Importance of the Cymric Tribal System", by Mr. Frederic Seebohm, LL.D. Chairman, Sir John Williams, Bart.

December 19.—ANNUAL MEETING OF THE MEMBERS. Chairman, Mr. Stephen Evans (Chairman of the Council).

1896.

March 10.—"Morgan and Arthur: A Study in Heroic Legend",

by Mr. Alfred Nutt. Chairman, Professor Rhÿs, Principal of Jesus College, Oxford.

March 17.—ANNUAL DINNER OF THE SOCIETY (to meet H.R.H. the Duke of York). Chairman, The Right Hon. Lord Tredegar.

May 19.—Paper on "The Development of the Agricultural Resources of Wales", by Mr. Tom Parry. Chairman, Mr. Henry Owen, F.S.A.

May 28.—Paper on "The Early Relations of the Brython, the Gael, and the Kelt", by Professor Kuno Meyer. Chairman, Mr. Alfred Nutt.

June 11.—Paper on "Cymru Fu: Some Contemporary Statements", by Mr. R. Arthur Roberts, of the Public Record Office. Chairman, Mr. Edward Owen.

June 15.—THE ANNUAL CONVERSAZIONE, held at the Hall of the Worshipful Company of Haberdashers, by permission of the Master (Sir David Evans, K.C.M.G.) and Wardens.

In Wales:—

At the Church House, Lower Mostyn Street, Llandudno, in connection with the National Eisteddfod of Wales, 1896 (Cymmrodorion Section):—

On Monday, June 29th, 1896.—President, The Right Hon. Lord Mostyn. Inaugural Address on "Music in Wales—how to better it", by Mr. Joseph Bennett, followed by a Discussion, in which several leading Welsh Musicians took part.

On Wednesday, July 1st, 1896.—President, Professor John Rhÿs, M.A. Paper on "The Collection of Welsh Dialects", by Professor Kuno Meyer, M.A., of Liverpool; and a Paper on "Welsh Thought and English Thinkers", by Mr. W. Edwards Tirebuck.

On Thursday, July 2nd, 1896.—President, Principal Reichel. Paper on "The Collection and Preservation of Welsh Records", by Mr. J. Herbert Lewis, M.P.

The arrangements for the current Session include an Inaugural Address on an important musical subject, by Mr. Joseph Bennett, the well-known Musical Adjudicator and Critic—and papers by Mr. Palgrave, Professor of Poetry in the University of Oxford, Dr. Henry Hicks, President of the Royal Geological Society, and others.

It is proposed to hold the Annual Dinner of the Society

at the Hotel Cecil, on the 17th of December, and the Right Hon. the Lord Chancellor has accepted an invitation to preside on the occasion.

The Session will wind up with the usual Social Gathering in the month of June, when it is proposed to get together an Exhibition of pictures by Welsh Artists.

During the year the Transactions for the Session 1894-95 were issued. They contain the following papers, viz. :—

Notes on the Hunting of Turch Trwyth, by Professor John Rhÿs, M.A., LL.D.

The Future of Welsh Education, by Miss E. P. Hughes.

The Cistercian Abbey of Cwm-Hir, Radnorshire, by Stephen W. Williams, F.S.A., with Illustrations by W. G. Smith.

The Welsh Calendar, by the Rev. John Fisher, B.D.

The Report of the Council for 1894-95, and List of the Officers, Council, and Members of the Society.

The year has also seen the publication of an important Welsh work. Twenty years ago—in the year 1877—the late Rev. Robert Jones, B.A., Rotherhithe, undertook, on behalf of this Honourable Society, the duty of editing “The Works of Iolo Goch”, the bard of Owain Glyndwr. A few of the Poems were printed and published in the form of a supplement to *Y Cymmrodor* (vols. i and ii). Others were promised, together with a sketch of the Author’s life, but the Editor died before the work was accomplished. The Council of the Society were anxious to complete the work, but many years elapsed before anyone was found to take it up. At the Eisteddfod of 1894 (Carnarvon), the Council of the National Eisteddfod Association offered a Prize of £50 for the best collection of the Works of Iolo Goch, with Historical and Critical Notes. Three collections were sent in for competition. The Prize was awarded by the Adjudicator, Mr. Egerton

Phillimore, to Mr. Charles Ashton, of Dinas-Mawddwy, the author of *The History of Welsh Literature from 1650 to 1850*. By arrangement with the National Eisteddfod Association, the Council undertook the duty of printing and publishing the Prize Collection, and the work, which is contained in a handsome volume (*Royal 8vo of 700 pages*), is now at the command of all students of the Poetry and the History of Wales. Copies are offered to members of the Society at the nominal price of 5s. and to non-members at 10s. 6d., a price much below the actual producing cost of the book.

The *Transactions of the Society* for the Session 1895-96 are now being printed, and will be published shortly. The volume contains:—Mr. Frederic Seebohm's Address on "The Historical Importance of the Cymric Tribal System", Mr. Tom Parry's paper on "The Development of the Agricultural Resources of Wales", Professor Kuno Meyer's paper on "The Early Relations of the Brython and the Gael", and Mr. R. Arthur Roberts' paper on the "Ministers' Accounts", kept at the Public Record Office, with an extended transcript of one of the Accounts dated A.D. 1277.

The following works are in the press and in preparation:—

1. Nos. II. and III of *Owen's Pembrokeshire*, edited by Mr. Henry Owen, F.S.A. Containing: The Collections for *Pembrokeshire*, The Tallage for the Redemption of the Great Sessions, The Treatise on Marl, A Dialogue on the Government of Wales (in 1594), and other productions of George Owen.
2. *The Black Book of St. David's*, edited by Mr. J. W. Willis Bund, F.S.A.
A *Catalogue of Welsh Manuscripts in the British Museum*, compiled by Mr. Edward Owen.
4. A *Transcript of the Harleian MS. of Nennius*, with an

Introduction by Mr. Alfred Nutt, and a Translation by Mr. Henry Owen, F.S.A.

5. A new edition of *Gildas*, with Introduction, Translation, and Notes by the Rev. Professor Hugh Williams, of Bala.

Under the Society's Rules the term of Office of the following Officers expires, viz. :—

THE PRESIDENT,
THE VICE-PRESIDENTS,
THE AUDITORS,

and ten Members of the Council retire in accordance with Rule 4, viz. :—

Mr. R. ARTHUR ROBERTS.
„ H. LLOYD ROBERTS.
„ RICHARD ROBERTS.
„ D. LLEUFER THOMAS.
„ HOWEL THOMAS.
„ JOHN THOMAS (Pencerdd Gwalia).
„ W. CAVE THOMAS.
Sir JOHN WILLIAMS, Bart.
Mr. T. MARCHANT WILLIAMS.
„ T. H. W. IDRIS.

The Accounts of the Society have been duly audited and certified up to the 31st of December last, and a Statement of Receipts and Payments for the current year are submitted herewith.

THE HONOURABLE SOCIETY OF CYMMRODORION.

Statement of Receipts and Payments,

FROM 9TH NOVEMBER 1895 TO 9TH NOVEMBER 1896.

Dr.

Cr.

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
To Balance in hand, November 9th, 1895	117	11	1	By Rent, Hire of Lecture Room, Insurance, etc.	39	6	6
" Subscriptions and Donations	407	6	8	" Printing Transactions, 1895, and o/s <i>Iolo Gloch</i>	177	1	3
" Sale of Publications	21	6	6	" Editorial Expenses (<i>Iolo Gloch</i> and <i>Transactions</i>)	45	0	0
				" General Printing	43	7	9
				" Lectures, Meetings, and Conversazione	15	19	3
				" Eisteddfod Section Expenses	7	10	0
				" Advertising	1	1	0
				" Stationery, Postage, and Petty Expenses	45	3	1
				" Library Expenses	2	2	0
				" Secretary's Remuneration	50	0	0
				" Commission on Sale of Publications and Subscriptions	11	8	0
				" Balance in hand	58	5	5
					546	4	3
					546	4	3

JOHN BURRELL, }
 ELLIS W. DAVIES, } *Auditors.*

H. LLOYD ROBERTS, *Treasurer.*
 E. VINCENT EVANS, *Secretary.*

ANNUAL DINNER

OF THE

Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion.

ON Tuesday night, the 17th of March, 1896, at the Hôtel Métropole, a large and distinguished company of Welshmen assembled in the Whitehall Rooms to do honour to the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion. Honour was, of course, done in the first place by enjoying the pleasures of the table, and afterwards, in speech and song, the gallant sons of Gwallia testified their loyalty in true national style. In the absence of the Marquess of Bute (*President of the Society*), the dinner was presided over by Lord Tredegar.

His Lordship likewise received the guests in a hearty manner in the Whitehall Ante-room beforehand. With a leek in his buttonhole, and wearing the smile of a genial presence, Lord Tredegar was as gay and festive as the youngest, and from the first infused a spirit of general *bonhomie* into the proceedings. On his right sat the guest of the evening, H.R.H. the Duke of York. His Royal Highness, as is customary at banquets of this description, wore the ribbon of the Garter. The broad blue ribbon crossed the emerald-studded shirt from left to right, and was fastened with the customary seal. Violets decorated his dress coat and shed an agreeable perfume around. The Duke was attended by his equerry, Sir Charles Cust, Bart., who was prominent in the Windsor uniform. On the other side of the Duke sat Lord Kenyon, between whom the closest friendship appeared to exist. Most animated was the conversation which the two kept up. Lord Tredegar occasionally managed to get in a word, but the tall son of Denbighshire almost monopolised the Royal guest. Lord Penrhyn and Lord Tredegar had, however, much in common. The names of those present will be found included in the following alphabetical list of guests:—

H.R.H. the Duke of York, K.G.
 Mr. W. Abraham (*Mabon*), M.P.
 Mr. D. T. Alexander.
 Mr. Arnell.

The Bishop of Bangor.
 Captain Bonsall.
 Mr. A. G. Boscawen, M.P.
 The Hon. Algernon Bourke.
 Mr. Ivor Bowen.
 Mr. James Brady (Mayor of Carnarvon's guest).
 Mr. John Burrell.
 Mr. J. F. Bursell.

The Mayor of Carnarvon (Alderman Thomas).
 Mr. Lascelles Carr, J.P.
 Mr. W. Emsley Carr.
 Mr. John Carrow.
 Mr. Charles Coram.
 Mr. Clifford J. Cory.
 Mr. Henry Curtis.
 Sir Charles L. Cust, Bart.

Daily Chronicle.

Daily News.

Daily Telegraph.

Dr. Alfred Daniell.
 Mr. William Daniel.
 The Rev. D. Jones Davies, M.A.
 Dr. H. Naunton Davies.
 Mr. J. E. Davies.
 Mr. John R. Davies.
 Mr. J. Wallis Davies.
 Mr. M. Vaughan Davies, M.P.
 Mr. R. O. Davies, J.P.
 Mr. Timothy Davies.
 Mr. W. Cadwaladr Davies.
 Mr. F. C. Dobbing.
 Mr. David Duncan, J.P.
 Mr. James Dundas.

Mr. David Edwards.
 The Rev. J. Crowle Ellis.
 Mr. Charles Evans-Vaughan.
 Sir David Evans, K.C.M.G.
 Mr. D. H. Evans.
 Mr. D. R. Evans.
 Mr. E. Vincent Evans (*Secretary*).
 Mr. Pepyat W. Evans.
 Mr. Stephen Evans (*Chairman of Council*).

Mr. John Francis, J.P., D.L.
 Mr. Richard Gillart.
 Mr. D. F. Goddard, M.P.

Mr. A. E. Goodchild.
 Mr. Elis J. Griffith, M.P.
 Mr. R. C. Griffith.
 Mr. John Griffiths.
 Mr. J. J. Griffiths, J.P.
 Dr. W. Griffith.
 Mr. Alderman Grove (*Treasurer of the Univ. of Wales*).

Dr. Habershon.
 Staff surgeon Henry Harries, R.N.
 Mr. T. J. Harries.
 Rev. G. Hartwell-Jones, M.A.
 Mr. H. Harris.
 Dr. Hicks (*President of the Roy. Geol. Society*).
 Mr. H. W. Hoare.
 Mr. Charles E. Howell.
 Mr. H. Llewelyn Howell.
 Mr. W. Tudor Howell, M.P.
 Mr. Anthony Howells (*United States Consul*).
 Mr. Richard Hughes.
 Mr. William Hughes.
 Mr. John Humphreys.
 Colonel Hunter, of Plascoch.
 Mr. Walter Hunter, J.P.

Mr. T. H. W. Idris, L.C.C.
 Mr. Robert Isaac.

Mr. Ivor James.
 Dr. J. T. James.
 Mr. Howell Jeffreys.
 Mr. Jenkins.
 Mr. R. H. Jenkins.
 Mr. W. Goscombe John.
 Mr. D. B. Jones.
 Mr. D. Brynmor Jones, Q.C., M.P.
 Mr. G. Jones (*Caradog*).
 Mr. Harry Jones (*Sun*).
 Dr. J. T. Jones.
 Dr. Talfourd Jones.
 Mr. T. Davies Jones.
 Mr. Thomas Jones, M.E.
 Dr. T. Ridge Jones.

The Right Hon. Lord Kensington.
 The Right Hon. Lord Kenyon.
 Dr. G. J. King-Martyn.
 Mr. Edward R. Knowles.

General Laurie, M.P.
 Mr. Stanley Leighton, M.P.
 Mr. Glynn Lewis.
 Mr. J. Herbert Lewis, M.P.
 Mr. Owen Lewis.

- Mr. Robert Lewis.
 Sir William Thomas Lewis.
 Sir John T. D. Llewelyn, Bart.,
 M.P.
 Mr. E. O. V. Lloyd, (*High Sheriff
 of Denbighshire*).
 Mr. J. M. Maclean, M.P.
 Mr. H. R. Maddocks.
 Mr. A. T. D. Marks.
 Mr. Alderman W. H. Mathias.
 Dr. R. Mathias.
 Mr. Powlett C. Milbank, M.P.
 Colonel Morgan (*of Brecon*).
 Mr. D. Hughes Morgan.
 Sir George Osborne Morgan, Bart.,
 M.P.
 Dr. Kinsey Morgan.
 Mr. Tom Morgan.
Morning Post.
 Dr. W. Jones Morris.
 Mr. J. Pugh Morris.
 Sir Lewis Morris.
 Mr. T. E. Morris.
 The Right Hon. Lord Mostyn.
 Mr. Murdock.
 Mr. Thomas C. Myddelton.
 Mr. W. Marshall Myddelton.
 Mr. Hildebrand H. Oakes.
 Mr. A. Oliver.
 Mr. C. Maynard Owen.
 Mr. Edward Owen.
 Mr. George Leader Owen, J.P.,
 D.L.
 Mr. Henry Owen, F.S.A.
 Dr. Isambard Owen (*Sen. Dep.
 Chancellor of the Univ. of
 Wales*).
 Mr. T. Woodward Owen.
 Mr. William Owen.
 Mr. R. E. Paget.
 Mr. Edward Parry, C.E.
 Rev. John Parry, M.A.
 Mr. Joseph Parry (Mus. Doc.).
 The Right Hon. Lord Penrhyn.
 Mr. H. E. Philipps.
 Mr. Owen Philipps, J.P.
 Mr. Fortescue W. Porter.
 Mr. W. H. Preece, C.B.
 Mr. Hamilton Price.
 Mr. Walter Price.
 Mr. J. Prichard-Jones.
 Mr. J. Lumsden Propert.
 Major Prust.
 Major E. Pryce-Jones, M.P.
 Mr. Thomas E. Pryce.
 Sir John Puleston.
 Mr. Dan Radcliffe.
 Mr. Henry Radcliffe.
 Mr. Rowland Rees.
 Principal Reichel (*North Wales
 College*).
 Professor John Rhys (*Principal of
 Jesus College, Oxford*).
 Mr. W. Richards.
 Mr. H. Meredith Richards.
 Mr. J. Richards.
 Mr. W. H. Richards.
 Mr. G. A. Riddell.
 The Rev. Dalgarno Robinson.
 Dr. D. Watkin Roberts.
 Dr. Frederick T. Roberts.
 Mr. Henry Trist Roberts.
 Mr. J. Herbert Roberts, M.P.
 Mr. Lewis H. Roberts.
 Sir Owen Roberts.
 Dr. Owen Roberts.
 Dr. Owen W. Roberts.
 Mr. R. Arthur Roberts.
 Mr. Richard Roberts, J.P., L.C.C.
 Sir William Roberts.
 Mr. W. A. Robson.
 Major Rose.
 Mr. H. Sawtell.
 Mr. Walter Scott.
 Mr. Isaac Shone.
 Mr. Abel Simner.
 Mr. Simner's Guest.
 Mr. John Skinner.
South Wales Daily News.
 Mr. Albert Spicer, M.P.
Standard.
 Sir James W. Szlumper.
 Mr. Tatum.
 Mr. D. Lleufer Thomas.
 Mr. John Thomas (*Pencerdd
 Gwalia*).
 Mr. J. Lewis Thomas, F.S.A.
 Mr. William Thomas.
 Mr. W. Cave Thomas, F.S.S.
Times.
 The Right Hon. Lord Tredegar.
 Mr. T. M. J. Watkin (*Portcullis*).
 Mr. W. Webb.
Western Mail.
 Mr. John White, Junr.
 Mr. Christopher D. Williams.
 Mr. D. R. Williams.

Mr. E. Warwick Williams.
 Mr. Henry Williams.
 Mr. Howell J. Williams.
 Sir John Williams, Bart.
 Mr. J. Mason Williams.
 Mr. Llewellyn Williams.
 Mr. Morgan Williams, C.C.
 Mr. Richard Williams.
 Mr. Stephen W. Williams, F.S.A.

Mr. Thomas Williams, Senr.
 Mr. Thomas Williams, Junr.
 Mr. T. Marchant Williams, J.P.
 Mr. J. Ignatius Williams.
 Mr. W. Ll. Williams (*Star*).
 Mr. William Williams, of Maes-
 Gwernen.
 Mr. B. Winstone.
 Major W. H. Wyndham-Quin, M.P.

The clock had passed the 7.30 stage when this distinguished gathering sat down at the cross table and the seven tables of lesser length which stood at right angles to it. Ablaze with silver and handsomely decorated with floral trophies, the tables presented a most attractive aspect, well worthy of the handsomely ornamented room in which the banquet was held. On those tables menus stood out with welcome distinctness. The Menu ran thus:—

Hors d'Œuvres.
 Consomme Doris.
 Crème Fontange.
 Turbot Sauce Crevettes.
 Whitebait.
 Mousse de Volaille Princesse.
 Cotellettes d'Agneau Jardinière.
 Punch Romaine.
 Filet de Bœuf Richelieu.
 Jambon d'York au Champagne.
 Haricots Verts Maître d'Hotel.
 Pommes de Terre Chateau.
 Caille roti sur Canape.
 Salade.
 Poires a la Richelieu.
 Canape Provençale.
 Melon en Surprise.
 Biscuit aux Avelines.
 Dessert.
 Cafe Noir.

Wines:—Dry Sherry. Niersteiner, 1886. Duminy & Co., ex. qual. dry, 1883. Louis Roederer, ex. dry, 1889.

Liqueurs:—Chateau Pichon Longueville, Grand Vin, 1889. Hunt Roope's Old Bottled Port.

After this elaborate repast had been discussed with some interest, the more formal part of the proceedings was entered upon.

Lord Tredegar submitted the toast of "Her Majesty the Queen", and in so doing said that during the past few months the country had passed through a great crisis and a great sorrow. The crisis had shown how the nation was prepared to face its responsibilities; and as to the sorrow, England and her Colonies had expressed in the fullest degree their sympathy with her Gracious Majesty Queen Victoria. Immediately the toast had

been honoured, the Rhondda Glee Society sang "God Save the Queen" in the Welsh language. The fine old National Anthem was sung with electrical effect, and the rendering was followed with evident interest by the Duke of York.

In giving the toast of "The Prince and Princess of Wales", the noble Chairman referred to Edward the First, and observed that, however opinion might differ as to that great monarch on account of his treatment of the old Welsh bards, every Welshman was agreed in honouring him for creating the title of Prince of Wales, but for which, possibly, the name of the gallant Principality might not to-day be known outside of the United Kingdom. His lordship went on to refer to the popularity of the Prince and Princess of Wales, and elicited a loud cheer by quoting a passage from a recent speech of the Prince, wherein he spoke of the desire of his illustrious consort and himself to live with and for the people (loud cheers). The sentiment was honoured with great enthusiasm, the Glee Society singing "God Bless the Prince of Wales" in Welsh. At this point the Glee Society sang "On the Ramparts", and did so in such a way as to win an enthusiastic tribute from the delighted audience. Messages were here read from "Hwfa Môn", "Gwalchmai", "Gwilym Cowlyd", "The Glasgow Welshmen", the "Welshmen of the Rhondda Valley", etc. The reading of the various messages evoked frequent cries of "Clywch, clywch."

Lord Penrhyn, who was warmly welcomed, gave the toast of "Our Guest, His Royal Highness the Duke of York, K.G." In so doing his lordship paid a warm tribute to the Duke for his patriotism, and said that in his Royal Highness they saw the exemplification of the motto, "England expects every man to do his duty" (cheers). They regarded his presence there that night as a mark of Royal sympathy with the best and noblest aspirations of the Welsh people (great applause).

The Duke of York, on rising to reply, was received with a great ovation, the cheering being continued for a couple of minutes. When silence had been restored his Royal Highness said: My Lords and Gentlemen,—I thank Lord Penrhyn for the very kind but much too flattering—(cries of "No, no")—terms in which he has proposed this toast. I am delighted, also, to acknowledge the great heartiness with which you have received it. I look upon it as a great honour to be here this evening and have this opportunity of meeting so many distinguished and eminent Welshmen. I am very glad to think that my father has accepted the position of Chancellor of the University of Wales—(enthusiastic cheering)—and that he will be installed in that position in a few weeks' time at Aberystwyth (renewed cheers). The visit which my

father and mother paid to the Principality in 1894 gave them the greatest possible pleasure (hear, hear). I can assure you that they will not easily forget the hearty reception they then received from all classes of the community (cheers). I am sorry to say it is many years ago since I had the pleasure of visiting Wales. I believe I was only ten years old at the time. I then went to Carnarvon Castle—(hear, hear),—and one or two other places in that locality, but I earnestly hope that another opportunity may soon occur when I shall be able to pay a visit to your beautiful country (cheers). Gentlemen, I have been asked to propose a toast which I know will be most heartily received by you all. It is “The Success and Prosperity of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion” (cheers). I wish, however, that the toast had been entrusted to some one more able than I am—(shouts of “No, no”)—to do justice to the valuable work which the society has carried on for nearly one hundred and fifty years (applause). This work consists of the preservation of Welsh antiquities, the publication of Welsh manuscripts, and the promotion of everything connected with the history, the literature, and the language of Wales (cheers). The Cymmrodorion Society has also taken a very prominent part in furthering the cause of education in Wales (hear, hear). From a literary point of view the society has done inestimable services to Welsh learning, and this work, by the generosity of Lord Bute, Lord Tredegar, Sir John Williams, Mr. Henry Owen, and other gentlemen, will be largely increased in the future. Because it promotes the study of Welsh literature, because it assists in the development of the national life of the Welsh people, and because it serves to unite all classes for the advancement of Wales, we wish success and prosperity to the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion (loud and prolonged applause). His Royal Highness spoke with fluency and ease. His pleasant voice filled the large banqueting-hall, and every word was heard in every part of the room. The pronunciation of the words “Cymmrodorion” and “Aberystwyth” was such as to bring joy to the hearts of patriotic Welshmen.

Professor John Rhÿs, Principal of Jesus College, in responding, said: My Lord,—I will not attempt to describe my feelings on rising in response to the toast which has been proposed in such kindly and flattering terms by his Royal Highness the Duke of York (hear, hear). It is a long time since a Prince of his exalted position has graced with his presence any festive meeting of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion. On being told by our genial secretary, Mr. Vincent Evans, that I was to respond for the Society, it struck me that I ought to know something of its history; but it often happens that the paths of

history only lead into the fog, and my first queries only elicited the highly unsatisfactory answer, "The origin of the Society of Cymmrodorion is lost in the remoteness of the last century." I hold rather peculiar views about history, and I am not apt to be disheartened when told that the origins of this and that institution are lost in the darkness of antiquity. I console myself with the idea that that must be a realm of untold wealth, so many things have been lost there, and we are never without hope of its hiding-places being exposed some day to the light of modern discovery and research. So if it is the obscurity of the tenth or say, of the fifth, century, it is not so bad, though the first century or the fifth before the Christian Era would be far more fascinating, for there is nothing more delightful than to discuss the history of a past which has left us no awkward facts, or no facts worth speaking of, to bother us (laughter). Like all men of a sweetly reasonable disposition, I instinctively hate facts, together with all other stubborn things. Now, when you come down to the last century, even the remoter end of it, you never feel safe from coming into cold contact with fact. So one has to move about with tiresome caution and consult the record such as it is (hear, hear). From a study of that record I gather that this Society has always had two aspects, or, shall I say, rather, that it has steadily aimed at two objects—to provide, on the one hand, a focus for the union in a social and edifying manner of our countrymen in and near the metropolis, and, on the other, to exert a steady and active influence over the national life of the Welsh people. The former phase may be said to be illustrated by the Society's old coat-of-arms, with a bishop on one side clad in his sacerdotal vestments, and on the other a Druid in his professional beard—(laughter)—while at the foot one reads the motto "Undeb a Brawdgarwch" ("Unity and Fraternity"). Possibly the originator of that design had an idea that the bishop is a Druid translation, but that involves a theological question on which nothing would induce me to enter (great laughter). Suffice it to say that the bishop looks considerably less unfitted for the world as we know it than the Druid, who appears dilapidated and utterly out of his element. Another illustration of the unity and fraternity phase of the society is presented, perhaps, more adequately in our present motto, "Cared Doeth yr Encilion", intended to convey the idea that the wise and meditative like to withdraw from the business and bustle of the world around them. Nothing could be more antagonistic to the cult of the muses than the hurry in which we live in the Metropolis, and the Cymmrodorion Society was destined to provide an occasional escape for its members from the regions of hard fact to that of fancy and the imagination.

Many a Cymmrodor in days gone by must have availed himself of it to the full in the course of the general meetings at the Half Moon Tavern in Cheapside, when, in the eighteenth century, Cheapside doubtless possessed greater possibilities of an Arcadian description than it does in our day. We learn something of their habits from the verses sung when a new member was elected. These were partly patriotic and eulogistic of Wales and her language :—

“ Cydunwn, Gymmrodorion,
A'n gilydd yn un galon
I ganu clod i'n gwlad a'n iaith,
Dewisol waith cymdeithion.”

They give evidence, among other things, of unbounded confidence in the British Navy (cheers).

“ Ein llongau, pan ollyngon
Yn rhydd i'r moroedd mawrion,
Y daran fawr a deiff ei bollt
I laenio'n holl elynion.”

(Clywch, clywch). They breathe hostility against the French and the Spaniards, who would prove no match for Wales and England :—

“ A gwnawn i'r Ffrancod duon
Fyn'd ar eu gliniau noethion,
Gwae nhw 'rloed y dydd a fu
Ffyrnigo Cymry a Season.”

“ Bydd yno'r Spaeniaid beilchion
Yn, crynnu 'u esgyrn crinion,
Ni rown 'mor cleddyf yn ei wain,
Nes cro 'rhain yn 'syrion.”

But they did not forget the convivial ceremony of drinking the health of the new member :—

“ Dowch, llenwch bawb yn llawnion,
Ac yfed pawb yn gyflon ;
Na 'dawn ddiferyn ar ein hol,
Dragwyddol ddoniol ddynion.”

So far of the Society as a convivial organisation. The other aspect to which I have referred directs me to the active aims which it has had in view from time to time. One of the first efforts was to do something for the education of the children of the Welsh people living in London, and this resulted in the establishment, thanks to the sincere patriotism and generosity of the members of the Society, and of others influenced by them,

of the Welsh Charity School, now represented by the Welsh school removed to Ashford. The Ashford School continues to do good work, and to be backed by the unostentatious support of Welshmen of means, both noblemen and commoners (hear, hear). Like the Welsh nation, this Cymmrodorion Society has had its ups and downs, but in all vicissitudes its motto has been, one might say, "Resurgam." Now and then it has slumbered, but only to wake up refreshed for the fulfilment of some new task of importance for Wales. The last awakening took place in 1878, when the society was resuscitated by a handful of ardent patriots, among whom were Sir Thomas Lloyd, Mr. Griffiths (the London "*Gohebydd*" of the "*Baner*"), Mr. Brinley Richards, the Rev. Robert Jones, and Mr. Hugh Owen, afterwards Sir Hugh Owen), together with a number of other gentlemen who are still with us and present here to-night (hear, hear). The society was re-constituted under the presidency of the late Sir Watkin Williams-Wynn, to wit, for the improvement of education in Wales and the promotion of intellectual culture by the encouragement of literature, science, and art as connected with the Principality. The continued identity of the Society cannot for a moment be doubted by anybody who will scan the list of the names of the earlier Cymmrodorion and those of the members at present. Thus, for instance, the Butes of a former day are now represented by our president, the Most Noble the Marquess of Bute, or, as we prefer to call him on these occasions, Baron Cardiff of Castle Cardiff; the Morgans by your Lordship; the Wynns by the Sir Watkin now bearing their name, the Kenyons by one of the ablest men of an able family, Lord Kenyon. I might go through the list of Myddeltons, Pennants, and Edwardeses in the same way, and also show how the poets Goronwy Owen and Llewelyn Ddu o Fôn are represented in the direct line of descent as to muse and pedigree by Sir Lewis Morris (hear, hear). And I am told that one of the most recent recruits to the ranks of the society—Judge Parry, of Manchester—is a lineal descendant of the first editor of the *Cymmrodor*. It is needless to say that a Society so constituted as ours, exercises considerable power over Wales and the Welsh. I can only just touch on one or two of the spheres of its influence. One of these is abundantly illustrated by the number and importance of the Society's publications. Of late years we have commenced a Record Series. On previous occasions I have had opportunities to refer to the handsome contributions to the fund for that purpose by such men as the Marquess of Bute, Sir John Williams, Mr. Henry Owen, and others. I will only mention one other instance. I allude to the gracious suggestion of our Royal

guest, that the balance of the Welsh National Presentation to their Royal Highnesses the Duke and Duchess of York be handed over to the fund for publishing Welsh Records. I leave that fact to speak for itself (loud cheers). Among other spheres of the activity of the Cymmrodorion is to be reckoned from the first that of Education, and one of the men engaged in its re-establishment in 1878 was Hugh Owen, who stands *par excellence* as our Welsh educationalist. He had long laboured in the cause of elementary schools, when he directed his attention to higher education, and began to make use of the machinery of the Eisteddfod for his excellent purposes (hear, hear). I may remark that no country ever produced a more sincere and devoted patriot than Hugh Owen, and that from the day when her Majesty the Queen invested the victorious bard at the Beaumaris Eisteddfod down to her recent sojourn in the pretty part of the Principality "where Deva spreads her wizard stream," she never gave more universal satisfaction to the Welsh people than when she made known her recognition of the life-long services of our unobtrusive Hugh Owen (cheers). He, and other leading Welshmen who acted with him, succeeded in establishing as a part of the National Eisteddfod, a Cymmrodorion Section to promote the consideration of educational, literary, and social questions affecting the Principality, and out of that Section have more or less directly sprung various other useful organisations, and notably the National Eisteddfod Association. I have reason to remember the first meeting of that body being held at Shrewsbury in 1880. Somebody thought we had appointed a president who could not speak Welsh. I do not like to talk about myself, but I ventured to help to remove any discontent that might arise from that source by proposing to appoint two vice-presidents who could not speak English. An Association with such resources has never experienced any difficulty from that day to this, as you might expect, and, thanks to the ability of Sir Lewis Morris and the tact of Mr. Marchant Williams, the Cymmrodorion are enabled, by means of that Association, to play a considerable part in guiding the Eisteddfod in the way it should go. As I cherish the hope that His Royal Highness will some day attend the National Eisteddfod, I may, perhaps, be allowed to characterise that institution in a sentence or two. It is "one the origin of which is lost in the obscurity of the past." I will not spoil that statement by trying to fix the century. Every true Welshman is born with a decided predisposition to attend the Eisteddfod and to fight immediately afterwards. The Eisteddfod is in some respects so utterly unregenerate that it ought to appear a thing of beauty to all those who adore the incorrigible. On the other hand, it has

such vitality and such possibilities that the astutest tactician could not leave it out of his reckoning. Lastly, it is, like this Society of Cymmrodorion, determined to ignore all distinctions of politics and religion. Under the auspices of the Cymmrodorion and of the Eisteddfod, the most timid Tory need not fear any attack on the most untenable of his opinions, and the most aggressive of Radicals knows that we doom him here, *qua* Radical, to a golden silence. We do our utmost, in fact, to prevent the lion from treating the lamb with extreme voracity, and in the last resort prevent the lamb from disagreeing with the lion. Which is the lion and which is the lamb I need not say; where everybody is certain information is useless. Our platform is that of loyalty and love of our country. The latter is proved by all the doings of the Society, and the former received such an illustration as I had never witnessed before on the occasion of his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales appearing with Lord Penrhyn on the platform of the Carnarvon Eisteddfod. For the spirit of our Society pervades the Eisteddfod, as does also our Secretary; but, indefatigable man as he is, I cannot compare him to our excellent Secretary of years ago, who was conspicuous at every Eisteddfod by his magnificent carriage and fine beard. The wags were heard to say that he was not only Secretary, but was meant also as a sample of the Society, and one of them is said to have addressed him in the words of Toinette: "Tenez, Monsieur, quand il n'y aurait que votre barbe, c'est déjà beaucoup et la barbe fait plus de la moitié d'un" Cymmrodor. But those were the days of advertisement and of the beginning of undertakings which the present day finds approaching their completion. Take, for example, the educational structure to the building of which the Cymmrodorion Society and the Eisteddfod, under its guidance, have, in their respective spheres, contributed. We are about to see that structure receive its coping-stone in the installation of the Prince of Wales as Chancellor of the Welsh University. His reception will, I doubt not, be of the same cordial and loyal nature as that with which he met the other day under the shadow of the lordliest of Edward's castles in North Wales. I feel confident that I am correctly representing the feelings of this Society when I say that we all rejoice in "Eich Dyn", and treat it from our point of view as meaning "Our Man" (loud cheers).

The Bishop of Bangor proposed "Gwlad ein Tadau." He referred to the Renaissance in Wales, and put in a plea for unity among Welshmen in the Principality and outside of it.

Mr. W. Abraham ("Mabon"), M.P., responded to the toast in a fervid Welsh speech.

The pitch of national enthusiasm was kept up by the spirited rendering of the "Men of Harlech" in Welsh by the Rhondda Glee Society.

Lord Kenyon afterwards gave "The health of the Chairman, Lord Tredegar"—a true Welshman, who bore a Welsh name and had a Welsh ancestry. The words of his Lordship were enthusiastically received. Mention of the Chairman's service at Balaclava brought down the house, whilst heartily received were Lord Kenyon's references to the educational benefits Lord Tredegar had conferred upon the country. Lord Kenyon concluded a well-conceived speech by trusting that the Welsh University would heal all the petty differences which existed between North and South Wales, and that the country would be, as it ought to be, united on every subject.

Lord Tredegar's response was most felicitous. He said that over and over again weak men had come up to him and said, "What the d— are the Cymmrodorion?" (laughter). He only trusted that the recording angel would look mildly down upon the many replies he had given them (renewed laughter). His lordship concluded by thanking the Rhondda Glee Society for the beautiful singing that evening, and Mr. Ll. Williams for having brought them up at his own expense.

The proceedings, after the singing of "Hen Wlad fy Nhadau", came to a close.

From the "Western Mail".

TRANSACTIONS
OF THE
Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion.

SESSION 1895-96.

INAUGURAL ADDRESS
ON
"THE HISTORICAL IMPORTANCE OF THE
CYMRIC TRIBAL SYSTEM."*
BY
FREDERIC SEEBOHM, LL.D.

I must begin by discounting the praises that your Chairman has just expressed of my work, but I should not like to discount the kindness with which those praises were spoken.

I am sorry to say that I have not written a paper to read to-night; I have been prevented by the pressure of other engagements and the difficulty that I had in knowing exactly what kind of an audience I should have to address. And therefore I must ask you to pardon me if I am not quite so clear in what I say, and direct in the manner of saying it, as I should have been if I had committed it to writing.

I think it is pretty well known, though the reason why is perhaps not always understood, that whilst political economy has been thrown a little into the background and even by some banished to one of the planets, greater

* Delivered before the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion, on Wednesday, the 13th of November 1895, at 20, Hanover Square; Chairman, Sir John Williams, Bart.

interest has been shown of late years in economic history. I think that the reason of it probably is, that political economists themselves have found out that their science requires a wider basis than the facts upon which it was first founded, and that they are seeking gradually to right themselves not only by the study of modern social movements and the great changes that are taking place in modern society, but also by the study of the changes that have taken place in the past. I think that it is pretty clear that our political economy was made into a science at a time when the environment and the facts upon which it was founded were somewhat different from what they are now, and certainly very different from what they were in the past. To take one instance: those who remember—and of course every one has read—the early political economy of our time, must have been struck with the keen anxiety that there was in the minds of the economists, almost amounting to a nightmare, lest population should outrun the powers of production. The fact is, that at the present moment we are suffering from exactly the opposite fact, *i.e.*, that the powers of production have all of a sudden—or at any rate we have all of a sudden awakened to the fact—outstripped the demands of the population, so that we are suffering from over-production rather than under-production.

So far with regard to the present; then with regard to the past. The late Mr. Bagehot, who was a very thoughtful political student, in his excellent essay on *The Postulates of Political Economy*, pointed out very clearly how some of the main postulates upon which political economy was founded held no place in a not very remote past, and that when you got to earlier stages of society, those postulates really were quite beside the mark. He singled out two: the transferability of capital, and the transferability of labour

—upon which our modern political economy is built. Our modern political economy expects labour and capital to find their level, just like water. But he pointed out that if you consider the earlier stages of our English history, the capital was in the hands of men who could neither move their capital nor themselves, whilst labourers were perhaps still more immovable. Surely, then, our economists are wise in going back upon economic history. They find that, after all, in order to readjust themselves with facts, they have to study not only the facts of the present, and not only the changing facts which seem to be becoming the facts of the future, but also the facts of the past.

Then, with regard to the practical importance of our studies, it seems to me that we are waking up still more and more to it. I will mention two instances. At the present moment we have only just passed through the extraordinary political procedure which the present Prime Minister described in rather facetious but very true words, when he said with regard to the Continent of Africa, that we had been dividing up amongst ourselves what did not belong to us, and in fact belonged to other people. Now, the "other people" to whom the continent of Africa belonged are passing through the earlier stages of economic life, and we now find ourselves in the position of having to deal practically and politically with peoples who are not at all in the same stage of political existence in which we are ourselves. A friend of mine, who bears a very honoured name, well known in this country, told me the other day that his son had been sent out by the German Government as Local Governor of a district that was under the sphere of influence, as it is called, of his country, *i.e.*, of Germany, and the very first thing that he had to do as a young man taking up the position of Local Governor of a district in

which there was a population of Hottentots, was to preside at a meeting of their chiefs to discuss the question whether they should go on holding their property in common, or whether they should start upon the more modern plan of individual ownership. There is one instance.

The other instance that occurs to me is that of Russia. There we have a country, believing itself to be a sort of Holy Land, very much as the Jews did; its old school of economists devoutly believing that it is their mission to regenerate the effete nations of the west by the introduction of their renowned village system. But this system itself has recently been partially turned inside out by the abolition of serfdom, and by the fact that together with serfdom have been abolished those restraints upon the subdivision of holdings which had kept the population in olden times in some degree in proper proportion to the land. Well, what are they doing? They are sending out investigators into other countries. A gentleman came over, a year or two ago to England, went on to Ireland, studied the Irish question and what was taking place there, the English legislation and economic history of Ireland, and went back to write a learned book, unfortunately for us in the Russian language, for the edification of the statesmen of his country. At the present moment another learned Russian professor, after studying English economic history and writing a work, published by the Clarendon Press, which has become the standard work on English villenage, is spending a whole year in Scandinavia, learning the modern languages and the old languages of Norway, Denmark and Sweden, with the express purpose of mastering the economic history of the Scandinavian nations, in order that when he goes back to his professorship at Moscow he may really know something about it. That is sufficient to show that economic studies on the lines

of economic history are becoming acknowledged to be a necessity, even as regards practical dealing with social questions requiring solution.

Having said this, let us for one moment see where we now stand as regards economic history in this country. It seems almost but yesterday that we were fascinated by the wider view that was given by the introduction of the theory of the German mark, and by Professor Freeman's very graphic description of how our Saxon ancestors, or, as he delighted to put it, *we ourselves*, came out of the far East and settled in what he called the old Englands, on the Weser and on the Elbe; and how we came out from these districts into England, and founded free village communities in England, which in the course of centuries became subject to the feudal system and the manorial system, and at last, under Norman rule, settled down into what we know as mediæval serfdom. Now, I for one might not be able to follow Professor Freeman's views in their entirety, but at the same time I think we should all of us admit and never forget that there was in his picture of English economic life, following the people rather than the country, and connecting them in kinship with peoples in other parts of the world, even in remote Asia, a real step in advance in the understanding of the evolution of economic society. It was valuable, because it introduced into our naturally insular ways of looking at things a wider view, and tended to promote in our minds what I may call the historic sense. We felt, in reading Professor Freeman's books, that we had enlarged the area of our knowledge and widened our conceptions of the evolution of society. Though we may think that Professor Freeman was wrong in some senses, though we think perhaps that he exaggerated the extent to which the Saxons drove out the Celtic population, though probably

his own adherents would admit that perhaps his theory was carried to an extreme, yet, at the same time, we owe him gratitude for that wider view of English economic history to which I have alluded. We may transfer it even to the Celtic population itself. It is something for the Celtic population also to feel that they, like the English, came out of Asia, that they had their migrations from one country to another, and that their history is just as much mixed up as that of the English with the history of the world and with the economic evolution that has been going on in the nations of Western Europe.

Starting from this, let us for one moment see what are the points in the theory about the Saxons which are troubling us now, which we have not yet solved, and see whether in the tribal system of the Welsh we can find any light upon them. I suppose, whichever view people take of the controversy upon the question of the manorial system, it would be generally admitted that—and this is more than would have been admitted a few years ago—we must look upon the village communities in the Saxon side of Britain as being under manorial lordship, and as not only being under manorial lordship, but as being more or less in a condition of what is popularly called serfdom. In other words, that those people who are popularly called serfs, and who, under the phraseology of the Domesday Survey, are called *villani*, cannot have been in any large sense of the words original free Saxons who came over and founded free village communities. The idea that it was possible that such could have been the fact seems to me—very curiously in Mr. Freeman's case, because he certainly had in many things a very strong historic sense—to be at variance with the true historic sense. Everyone who has really tried to conceive what the condition of tribal society was at the time when the Saxon

tribes came over into England, would feel that to import into the idea of their society at that time anything like the modern idea of democracy, of equality and freedom of individuals, was a breach of the historic sense, and would say that such a thing was impossible.

How are we to get out of this difficulty? Here we have the greater part, and sometimes perhaps nearly the whole population, settled upon these manors, with the exception of a few free tribesmen, who seem to be to a certain extent accounted for otherwise, in the condition called serfdom. What do we mean by serfdom? In the first place we do not mean slavery, because beneath the serf there was the slave. Beneath the serf or villanus was the "theow". He is represented in a dialogue in the Saxon language as a ploughman, doing work for other people. In describing his work and how hard it was, and how long his days were, the dialogue makes him end up with the remarkable phrase: "Ah, it is hard work because I am not free!" Now, if you had given that man his oxen and his part in the village fields—in the village community, he would have been, from his point of view, a freeman, he would not have been a slave. In other words, people who had the position in the village community of possessing holdings in the open field were freemen as contrasted with the slave, though they were not freemen in another practical sense, because their freedom was limited by a good many limitations. Now, what were these limitations? The chief of them probably was that they were tied to the land and could not remove from it. What did that mean? We might very easily exaggerate and say it meant something like slavery, that they were the chattels of their lord. But they were not, at any rate according to our modern view of things, because the lord could not turn them out any more than they could leave the land. Very

well then, here you have the curious thing that is called serfdom, and this rough definition may apparently be applied not only to the serfdom of England, but also to that of the mediæval system pretty well over all Europe, leaving out parts of Scandinavia and Switzerland.

You have this condition of things: these men are free in contrast to the slave, but they are under these limitations, they cannot move from the land, they have an equality in their holdings which is brought about and maintained from generation to generation and even perhaps from century to century, because there is a lord over them who insists upon it that each one of their holdings shall have a single successor, and so go down from father to son for generations. Now it is pretty well understood, so far as I can judge, amongst economists, that we are to seek for the solution of the problem partly at any rate in the tribal system. If you think of it for a moment, the mediæval system—whether you call it the manorial system, or feudalism, or what you like—was the result of the contact of the civilisation of what were technically called the barbarian tribes with the Roman civilisation. Surely, then, you must know something about the tribal system if you want to know how such tribes would act when they conquered a country which had been under the influence of Roman civilisation. In order to know how they would be likely to act in England, you must understand something about what the tribal system is. And here comes in, I think, the importance of the tribal system in Wales. In Wales, owing to the fact that you have the written laws of the tribal system, and the fact that the tribal system lasted long enough to come within the range of the technical examination of lawyers and surveyors who could describe it in surveys and extents—owing to these facts we have, perhaps, a unique example in

the Welsh tribal system that can be studied in a way that no other can, unless it be the Irish, which may come within our reach by and by. Of course we have the description by Tacitus of the tribal system of the Germans, and we also have certain survivals of the tribal system in the polity of Rome itself. If we had the text of the laws of the Twelve Tables, we should know something of the early tribal stages through which the Roman people passed, or, if we had the tribal rules of the other tribes of Italy, we should from them be able to reflect very much light upon the history of Rome, we should understand a good deal better than we do what the tribal system was, out of which Rome herself rose into power. But we have not got these; we have a few chapters of Tacitus, not very easy to understand, into which therefore it is very easy for us to read our own theories rather than to find out what they really meant at the time. Then we turn to the Welsh tribal system, and what do we find? Bearing in mind the two points I have mentioned about English or Continental serfdom, let us turn our attention to the Welsh tribal system and see whether it gives us any light as to how that serfdom may have arisen.

We find in Wales that the conquering race comes down upon a race which is not very far removed from itself ethnologically. Of course there may have been remnants, and no doubt there were, of the early non-Aryan peoples who had been there from time immemorial. There were also probably Goidelic peoples who had conquered them or settled among them, and there may have been Brythonic people too. But it does not seem to have made much difference. The best history that we have of this time is no doubt to a certain extent legend, but it is generally believed, that at about the time of the departure of the Romans from England, Cunedda and his sons came down

upon the North of Wales, conquered the Goidelic population, and became practically the rulers of North Wales, making themselves in a few generations the masters of the whole of Wales, the conquest of the South being some generations later than the first conquest of the North.

What did these conquerors do? I imagine that the tribal system and the customary rules of tribal society in Wales, must be regarded as being, to a very great extent, the rules and the customs of these conquering Cymri. We have a great gulf fixed between the conquering tribes and what we may call the people of the land. I do not profess to be an ethnologist at all myself, but with regard to Powys, the fact seems to be that in some way or other the people of that region were admitted into a sort of communion or brotherhood with these people who came from the North. But between them and the general mass of the people of the land, a great gulf was fixed. They did not belong to the tribal blood. This gulf was so deep, and the tribal feeling so strong, that inasmuch as the ideal of the tribesman was that he was a tribesman of nine generations, *i.e.*, the ninth or the tenth in the descent of true tribal blood, the stranger in blood could not enter into the tribe, except under certain exceptional circumstances, until his family had lived nine generations in the land and in connection with the tribe. Then in South Wales he might become a tribesman, in North Wales perhaps not even then.

Now, there is this very strange peculiarity in the position of the stranger; if he has been three generations, *i.e.*, if he is a man of the fourth generation, whose family has lived on the land of a single chieftain for all those generations, even then the stranger does not become a tribesman, but he is, for the first time, admitted to have proprietary rights, which I take to mean that he has a right to remain

on the land and to have his maintenance in some way or other out of the land. Up to that time he is free to go away if he chooses, but at the moment when he obtains the proprietary right for himself and his family to remain upon the land and to live upon it, from that moment he becomes what in England we should call the serf of the lord or the chieftain upon whose land he lives. He can no longer leave the land, the time for that is past, and so strong is the feeling that he has become in a certain sense the property of his chieftain, that the chieftain himself cannot set him free except during his own life, and his son, when he succeeds to the chieftain's position, may reclaim the man who, having become tied to the land, afterwards leaves it. This, it seems to me, has a very strong bearing upon the question which we were considering as regards the English serf. One of the great features in his position was, that he was tied to the land and could not leave it. It does not follow therefore that he was a slave, it simply may mean that he had lived on the land so long, that he had obtained a sort of proprietary right to it and could not be moved, and at the same time that he had become in a certain sense subject to the lord of the manor upon whose land he had settled.

Now, let us look for one moment upon the question of freedom. What was it that placed the stranger in Wales in a semi-servile position? No rights of kindred were allowed to him, he was looked upon as a stranger, he had not only no ties of blood between him and the conquering tribe, but also they did not recognise and did not help him to recognise kindred in his own family; and it was not until the third generation that, when he became to a certain extent a proprietor, his claims of kindred in his own family were recognised. Up to that time he might not bear arms, he was denied horsemanship, his oath was

of no value, and it was only when he became in this way a proprietor and tied to the land, that these rudimentary rights were given him.

I do not for one moment maintain that this solves the whole problem of mediæval serfdom, but I do say, that the more we study such a tribal system as that of Wales, the more likely we are to get hold of those thoughts and those long established customary notions which moulded mediæval society, when these barbarian tribes came down and, mixing themselves up with the Roman civilisation, formed or came under what we call the mediæval system.

We have spoken of the stranger in blood, now let us consider the tribesman. We should make, I think, just the same transgression against the true historical sense were we to import into the position of the free tribesman of Wales the same sort of notion of modern republican equality, which just now I condemned when imported into our notions of the village community when considering the Saxon side of the question. It may be quite true that the conquering tribe were free men in a broad sense of the word, but we have no historical basis for believing that there was among them an absolute equality. That, I think, is an idea quite foreign to their probable ideas, conditions, and circumstances. Granted the very improbable supposition that the conquering host was composed altogether of tribesmen. What was the position of a tribesman? In the first place, when a man is born into the tribe, if he is of the ninth generation of the true blood, he becomes a free tribesman, *i.e.*, a member of the tribe. Does he claim an equal share in the land? Does he claim any land at all, in our modern sense of the word? No, his claim, so far as the laws of the tribal systems of Wales enlighten us on the subject, was to maintenance; he claimed maintenance, and from whom? Not from his father. Until he was

fourteen, he ate, according to the laws, at his father's platter, but on attaining the age of fourteen, he had to go to the higher chieftain and become the man of the higher chieftain, and the higher chieftain had to maintain him instead of his father. What does that mean? It seems to me to mean that the chieftain—whether the lower or the higher chieftain, the head of the family, the head of the kindred, or whoever he might be—was looked upon as the patriarch or chieftain in whom were centered all the rights of the tribe as regards the occupation of land, and probably in him also was vested the ownership of the flocks and herds of cattle that formed the great wealth of the tribes. How did he maintain his man when he became fourteen and was put under his control with the claim to maintenance? Almost certainly by allotting him a certain number of cattle, and when he had allotted him that certain number of cattle, he became entitled to what we should call the individual occupation of a certain amount of land, which he could enclose, and on which he could keep his cattle during the winter, when they were not grazing with the common herd. He could also join with others in co-ploughing portions of the waste. And when you have said that, you have pretty well described roughly the position of the free tribesman as he came into the tribe. He is under a more or less patriarchal *régime*, involving the family holding of land or the holding of land by the kindred instead of by the individual; and in no sense can we say that individual ownership of land with republican equality lay at the bottom of the tribal system in Wales. Perhaps the strongest way of putting it, is to take the position of the chieftain himself. We find that the higher chieftain himself is under the same laws as the lower chieftain, he holds his chieftainship and the rights that he has as chieftain as a sort of family

matter, not as an individual right, and he divides the jurisdiction of the country, so far as we can make out, amongst his sons. It is not Cunedda himself who comes and conquers Wales, but Cunedda and his sons, and it is said that these sons gave their names to some of the counties. It is all rather vague, but the principle seems to be that the chieftainship, like the occupation of land, is vested in the chieftain's family rather than in the individual; and that is not at all peculiar to Wales, though the Welsh system enables one to see through the thing in a better way perhaps than one did before.

If we turn to India we find very much the same thing going on there; we find, for instance, land occupied by some tribe who may or may not be the original inhabitants of the country, however there they are; then they are conquered by somebody else, and that somebody else is never one single person, but a tribal chieftain bringing with him members of his own family and members and followers of his own tribe; and so you get a conquering tribe introduced and becoming the masters of a district with a subservient tribe under them. What happens? The ordinary course of things is one of two, either this chieftain and his companions mark off a certain amount of the land which has been conquered and call that theirs and reap the fruits of it themselves, or, what is more common still, they put the whole of the land that they have conquered and the conquered tribe in a sort of tributary position. The corn grown on the whole of the village land in this case, is brought after the harvest into one great village heap, and then it is divided. A certain portion of it is put aside for the chieftain or the conquering tribe, and the rest goes to the conquered tribesmen cultivating the land. The chieftain, or the chieftain's family or companions, very soon become a tribe themselves; in the course

of fifty or one hundred years they become numerous, and the consequence is that the heap of corn which is set aside for the chieftain and his tribe, has to be divided in such an intricate way that it is absolutely necessary to have a village accountant to do it. Thus you have in India two tribes, one under the other, the upper one having its tribal rights in the same way as the lower one, the overlordship of that village—if you like to call it so—belonging to the descendants of the original tribesmen who conquered it. This is the same principle as that according to which the chieftainship under the Welsh laws becomes distributed until the descendants of the original chieftain ultimately find themselves a very numerous body scattered all over the country.

These details, I am afraid, must have been tedious to you, and yet at the same time they seem to be necessary to show what the Welsh tribal system was, and what the points were in which it might, when more fully and closely examined, throw light upon the formation of the mediæval institutions of other countries.

Perhaps a more interesting point is this: we might have a tribal system in Wales and it might be isolated there, but it adds very greatly to its interest when you come to consider whether this tribal system in Wales has features in common with the other tribal systems all over Europe, and, one may almost say, the world. I have already spoken of the fact that the stranger in blood in Wales at the fourth generation had certain proprietary rights allowed him, and became tied to the soil. There also was a bridge over the gulf, which in South Wales enabled the stranger to actually come into the tribe. The other man, though he had proprietary rights allowed him, had only the proprietary rights of a stranger, but there was a bridge over which a man could actually come into the tribe and

become a tribesman; that came to pass in the fourth generation, if every generation had intermarried with Welsh tribes-women, then the fourth man was allowed to take his place as a tribesman in Cymric tribes. That third generation or fourth man is a very important division in the kindred in Wales; that is to say, the little community which consisted of the descendants of the great grandfather, formed a family kindred of themselves united together for certain purposes. They were bound together by ties which obliged them to be responsible for one another's insults and crimes short of murder. Then you have the next division to the seventh generation, and they were primarily liable for the crime of murder, but beyond that down to the ninth generation, or the tenth degree of kindred, they were also liable for murder, because the last two degrees of kindred, though they had not to contribute directly, had to contribute in this way, that if the murderer could not get the amount that he had to pay from his own people within the seventh kindred, he could come upon those two last degrees up to the ninth degree of kindred, or the tenth in descent from a common ancestor, and demand what was called the spear money, to aid him in paying the tribal fine. Therefore the ninth generation, or tenth man, seems to be the edge, as it were, of the kindred in its organization in Wales, and the third generation, or the fourth man, including great grandchildren, formed a distinct group for the holding of land and also as regards liability for the smaller crimes.

As regards that ninth degree, the ninth generation forming the extreme limit of kindred, we do not find that only in Wales. Mr. Robertson, in his *History of the Early Kings of Scotland*, says, that the formula of the renunciation of kindred contained these words: "All my kin I forsake to the ninth knee." There we have again the

ninth generation as the limit of kindred; when a person has renounced his kindred to the ninth knee, he has renounced all the kindred that is recognised. He also mentions that in the clan of Macduff the full privileges of the clan were not given until the ninth descent.

Then with regard to the fourth generation, I think it is a most remarkable fact, that even in a tribal system which was not Aryan, *i.e.*, in the Semitic tribal system of the Jews, we have a statement in one of the chapters of Deuteronomy in which we are told that the Jews were commanded, "Thou shalt not admit into the House of the Lord (*i.e.*, into the precincts of the temple, which meant into the tribe) the Ammorite and the people of the land even at the tenth degree." There we have the outside range of the kindred described; whereas the Edomites who were their brothers, and the Egyptians in whose land they had sojourned, they were to admit at the fourth generation. So that we have in the Semitic tribal system exactly the same bounds to kinship which we have in the Welsh, and perhaps I need hardly say that these are not the only instances that could be given.

We have no real evidence, except the evidence of folklore, and I hope that that evidence will some day become sufficient to establish the fact, that at the foundation of the Welsh tribal notion of kindred, lay ancestor worship. Of course the Welsh system, as we have it, belonged to late times, long after the introduction of Christianity, and we could hardly expect to find in the laws much allusion to a thing like ancestor worship; but if we ask ourselves the question: What is it which makes the law of kindred so strong and so holy as it is in the Eastern countries of Europe and of Asia, we find the answer is, ancestor worship. In the laws of Manu we have exactly the same division of kindred. Those who are within the fourth degree of

kindred are those relatives who are bound to give the cake at the hearth where the spirits of the ancestors were supposed to reside, and that sacred duty of giving the cake was apparently at the root of the extreme care which they gave to the observance of the degrees of kindred. Those who were beyond the fourth degree were not quite free from obligation, they had to give only water and not the cake. There you have, I think, an intelligible hint of the religious origin and sanctity of these steps in the kindred. I have asked myself over and over again whether there is anything in the Welsh laws which can be made to fit in with that religious beginning and religious sanction to these long perpetuated grades of kinship. This is the best thing that I can say upon the subject. In the East, in the glimpse we get in the laws of Manu, we have this curious point, that if a man who is the patriarch or head of his family has no sons, he has a right to claim the *son of his sister*, who has married into another clan or branch of the tribe. Now, that in itself is a very curious thing, because you see you even break up one family, it may be, in order to provide an heir for the original one. Do not let us mistake it for matriarchy, because the object of it is to perpetuate the family in the male line, so that the childless man and his ancestors may not be without someone to give them the cake. You take the son of a sister because you have no sons of your own, and he becomes your son in order to perpetuate the family in the male line, and that leads to a curious caution which is given in the laws of Manu, that you take care that you marry a woman who has several brothers, because if she had no brothers your son might be taken away from your family to fill the gap in the family from which she came.

We can get one step further. Under the Greek system, it is not at all an uncommon thing in Greek lawsuits to

find that the sister's son is claimed as a right from another family in order to fill the gap in the family of one who is childless. There is a curious passage in Tacitus which is not very easy to read or to understand, because it seems at first sight rather a jumble of thoughts. This perhaps is not a very uncommon thing in the Germania of Tacitus, but at the same time I do think it is better to try to get at the original meaning of a passage rather than to read our own meaning into it, for it may be that, as we get further and further light, things will become intelligible to account for which we may have had to invent strange theories. This passage in Tacitus begins by saying, that the sister's son amongst the Germans is held as much in honour by his maternal uncle as by his own father, and that this is carried so far, that he is preferred above others as a hostage, because the ties of affection and kindred are supposed in this case to be stronger and wider. Then Tacitus goes on to say that amongst the Germans the aged tribesman is regarded with all the more consideration if he has plenty of relations both by affinity and by descent; childlessness in old age having no particular advantage. The Roman idea of the *patria potestas* seems to have been a very rigid one, and when a daughter married out of one *patria potestas* into another she could not be got back again, she remained in the *patria potestas* into which she married, and therefore the old man who was childless became, under Roman law, a person of great regard, a person who was courted and run after, because the only way in which he could fill the vacant place so important in the theory of ancestor worship was by adoption. Those who had sons whom they desired the childless rich man to adopt, were thus wont to flatter and treat him as a person in great regard. This both Tacitus and Pliny satirically declare to have been the position of the childless old man among the Romans.

In this respect the Indian, the Greek, and the German tribal systems seem to have been on a different footing from the Roman. Whilst the Roman system of the *patria potestas* was so rigid that you could not bring the son of a sister back into the family to fill up the vacant place, in the other tribal systems you could and did do so. And this is a useful warning to us not to take one tribal system as necessarily identical in all points with all the others, because tribal systems must necessarily pass through different stages, and their rules and customs may have been settled in earlier or later stages.

I wish very much that I could connect what I have just said with the Welsh tribal system, and there is one passage—not quite so clear as I should have wished—which I think gives one a glimpse of the fact that somewhat similar rules may have been applied in Wales. We go back to the position of the stranger in blood, between whom and the tribe there is a great gulf. Besides the bridge of marriages for four generations, we have certain exceptional cases in which a man is introduced into the kindred though a stranger in blood. “If a person be condemned to wager of battle, and he is afraid in his heart to enter into personal combat, and a stranger should arise and say to him, ‘I will go in thy stead to the combat,’ and he should escape thereby, such stranger acquires the privilege of a brother to him, or *nephew, the son of a sister.*” So that this man from outside who has risked his life to save the life of a tribesman is rewarded by being introduced into the tribe, and the position which is given to him is exactly that of the sister’s son which we have been speaking of.

I do not want to carry any inferences from this too far, because it may be that there were other reasons for it, but I am inclined to think that the position of the man treated

as a sister's son is so far really typical, from the point of view that he is a man from outside brought into the kindred, just as the sister's son is a person from outside, belonging to another group, brought into the kindred. I do not think that this really quite proves that the Welsh tribal system shared the peculiarity under consideration about the sister's son, because we have another law which might possibly account for it. There was an exceptional case in which tribal rights could be claimed by maternity. It was this: where the little group of kindred to the fourth generation, down to the second cousins, who had the responsibility of the family concerns, and amongst others of marrying the daughters, married the daughters to persons who were strangers in blood, and who therefore could not give their sons the inheritance of tribal rights which the son of a free tribeswoman ought to have, then the sons of the sister who was given away to a stranger, had rights by maternity in the tribe from which their mother came; and therefore, apart from what I have just been saying in connection with the worship of ancestors, it may be possible that the stranger entering the kindred is placed in the position of a sister's son, by analogy to the case of the son of a stranger to whom the kinsman had married their sister. And, therefore, I should not like it to be understood that I think that this necessarily connects the Welsh system with the worship of ancestors, and that strong tie of sacredness in the kindred which in some other tribal systems was connected with the worship of ancestors. But I should not be at all surprised if those of you who have given so much attention to folk-lore, may some day be able to provide us, from your point of view, with at any rate very strong reasons for thinking that the worship of ancestors did lie at the foundation of the Welsh system, as of other tribal systems.

I have finished what I meant to say, except one point with regard to this learned Society. It occurs to me that in what I have said, I have two or three times had occasion to refer to the necessity of our cultivating, what I have called, the historical sense. I think that just as we make mistakes in reading the economic history of the past, for want of a better and truer historical sense, so even in the practical and political sphere of modern life, the value of a true historical sense becomes very important. It seems to me that in dealing with many questions that are coming up now amongst ourselves, not only in Wales but everywhere, if we were to regard them solely from the point of view of the present facts open to us, without taking into account those elements and instincts in human nature inherited from past stages of a people's growth, we should fall into practical error as well as sin against the historical sense. If, for instance, we were to expect to be able to infuse notions of modern republican equality and individualism all of a sudden into the minds of a tribal people, or to bring back what belongs to earlier stages of economic development into modern life, or in any other way to break the connection of historical development, we should be repeating some of the same kind of mistakes which before now we have stumbled into, and out of, I hope, to a certain extent, in such countries as Ireland and India. Let me then end by hoping that one of the functions of this learned Society connected with Wales, will be successfully to inoculate the Welsh people with a truer historical sense than they would have had if it did not exist.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE AGRICULTURAL
RESOURCES OF WALES.*

BY

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THE long continued depression of our greatest national industry forces itself on the attention of agriculturists, philanthropists and statesmen. In Wales complaints probably have not been so loud as in other parts of the kingdom, owing to the fact that the manual labour of the farms is carried on to a very large extent by the farmers' own children, who work very frequently without wages. The depression, however, on this account is not less real or serious, and I can state, from a close personal knowledge of the habits of the ordinary Welsh farmers, that the combined effect of foreign competition, a sequence of unfavourable seasons, and low prices, without a corresponding increase in the rate of consumption, together with the scandalously inefficient administration of the Adulteration of Foods Act in the towns, have had a disastrous effect upon the financial position of the Welsh farmers. It will take them as a class many years to recover their lost capital, even if favoured by good seasons and higher prices. So far the small dairy farmers, renting fairly good pasture land, appear to have suffered

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least by the general decline in the value of the articles which the ordinary farmers convert into money. They generally sell either milk, butter, or cheese, and employ the *unpaid labour* of members of their own families.

It is acknowledged generally that Great Britain possesses a favourable climate, a moderately fertile soil, a superior system of cultivation, and highly developed and profitable races of live stock. With these advantages there is something clearly wrong when the production of food is unprofitable to the cultivators, who, in comparison with foreign competitors, live in close proximity to the consumers.

It may be said at once that protective duties on the food of the people cannot be the remedy for the present depression. If the proposed duties added increased fertility to the soils of the country, or in some mysterious way improved the quality of the crops, we could see the advantage of their being permanently imposed. Moreover, the inhabitants of the large towns, who only occasionally see the country, cannot be convinced that a dear loaf, which alone sometimes stands between them and starvation, can be the proper remedy for agricultural depression.

Free trade, therefore, must be frankly accepted by the farmers as the leading principle of the political and social economy of this country in the future, whichever political party may be in power.

The soil of Wales is comparatively shallow and infertile, while the climate is moist and suitable to the growth of green fodder crops, especially the grass crops. In some of the valleys traversed by the large rivers there may be found limited tracts of very fertile soils, capable of fattening the largest breeds of cattle. But a considerable percentage of cultivated land in Wales is only fit for dairying and for rearing store stock and sheep, while the

mountains and heath are stocked in the summer with the small sheep indigenous to the country.

Out of the 2,856,955 acres of cultivated land, 2,303,852 acres are under permanent or temporary pastures (*i.e.*, grass crops), while only 544,156 acres are devoted to corn and root crops. It will be seen, therefore, that over 80 per cent. of the cultivated area—four out of every five acres—is devoted to the growth of green fodder crops for live stock. This remarkable preponderance of pasture over corn crops is chiefly due to the natural causes already enumerated, and partly to the pressure of the immense importations of corn, at prices with which we, owing to our comparatively high rented land, and an expensive labour bill, are quite unable to compete.

In England, also, more land is gradually being laid down to permanent pasture, while two or three years' layers of clover take the place of one year. The pressure of foreign competition, due to free trade and the perfecting of transport arrangements, compels the farmer to employ as little labour as he can. Labour-saving machinery has also been introduced; but it is not so advantageous to the farmer as to the manufacturer, for the farmer cannot increase his crops indefinitely, while the manufacturer can multiply the produce he sells one or a thousandfold with corresponding economy in the cost of production.

While four-fifths of the cultivated area in Wales is under grass, it becomes a question of primary importance to inquire into the annual value of the grass crops grown, and their relative economy, as compared with the crops grown under arable cultivation. Opponents of this kind of pastoral farming charge the farmers with starving the people and depriving them of employment by relinquishing the cultivation of corn. It can be clearly admitted that

the gross weight of crops per acre may be higher under arable cultivation than under permanent pasture ; but the crucial test is, which system of farming leaves the *largest relative net profit per acre* to the farmer. Large crops are not necessarily *paying crops*. If the capital employed in pastoral farming and stock raising returns a larger profit than that employed in arable culture under the present fiscal policy of the country, economists would support the former practice as being thoroughly sound both for the farmer and the labourer—otherwise the labour and capital employed would be unprofitably invested.

That farmers should be lectured as to their duty to the public, etc., etc., by persons who claim the utmost liberty to select their own raw materials for manufacture, or who purchase their commodities in the cheapest and best market, is highly inconsistent, unfair, and unworthy of a true believer in free trade principles. Let it be understood, therefore, that it is the first duty of the farmer to make his farm pay.

Many so-called *reasons* have been given during the last thirty years for ploughing up pasture land, as for example, that the amount of human food would be greatly increased, and that the farmers would thereby offer an immense field for labour, and a safe investment for native capital. But owing to the low prices due to a free trade policy, all such plausible statements are unreliable and inaccurate, as we hope to prove in this paper.

The universal experience of farmers testifies that good grass land is a much safer form of property than arable land. Its produce—grass, meat, or milk—has also risen in value during the last fifty years. It is much less costly to manage, and less subject to crop failures. It also requires more capital per acre than arable land, and more intelligent and higher paid labour to attend to

the live stock than to crop cultivation, and expenses of tillage are reduced to the lowest minimum. It is no wonder, therefore, that it commands relatively a much higher rent to the owner, and higher profit to the tenant. In other words, grass land greatly lessens the cost of production—one of the chief factors in successful competition all the world over. Given an acre of well managed fertile pasture land, in a fairly favourable situation, and you have the most economical, strictly agricultural production, known to average farm management.

To illustrate the above points, I have selected several typical cases of pastureland, and of the best arable land, for the purpose of comparison as to relative value. Take first the best bullock feeding pastures, which are to be met with in Lincolnshire, Leicestershire, etc., etc.,—pastures so full of plant food, that in average seasons they supply very large quantities of grass of a highly digestible and nutritious character. The debits, and credits, and balance of profit of such lands would be approximately as follows :—

<i>Dr.</i>	EXPENDITURE.	£ s. d.
To 1 Ox, 1,000 lbs. Live Weight, at 4 <i>d.</i> per lb. (at 53% Carcase=7½ <i>d.</i> per lb.)	16 10 0
„ 1 Sheep, 180 lbs. Live Weight, at 4 <i>d.</i> per lb.	3 0 0
„ Labour and Attendance (per acre)	0 10 0
„ Interest on Capital (£20) 5%, Risk 10%, Profit 5%=20%	4 0 0
„ Balance (Gross Rent) *	4 3 0
		£28 3 0

<i>Cr.</i>	RECEIPTS.	£ s. d.
By 1,180 lbs. Live Weight, plus 460† lbs. Live Weight, Increase = 1,640 lbs. at 4½ <i>d.</i>	28 3 0
		28 3 0

NOTE.—* Nett Rent, 70*s.* per acre. Rates and Taxes, 13*s.*=3*s.* in the £.
 Total Grass Crop=12 tons green=3 tons hay. 50 lbs. Grass,

giving an Increase of 1 lb. in Live Weight. 12 tons Grass, less 20% wasted=9.6 tons=4,300 lbs. Dry Substance, yielding 430 lbs. increase at 10 lbs. Dry Substance per lb. of Live Weight increase.

† Ox 400 lbs. : Sheep 60 lbs. Live Weight Increase, giving at 60 per cent. Carcase 6.847*d.* per lb. dead meat.

Compare with this a case of a well-managed and productive arable land under a four-course rotation. The expenses and returns at the present day would be approximately as follows :—

<i>Dr.</i>	EXPENDITURE.	£ s. d.
To Manual Labour (heavy Crops require much Labour)		2 0 0
„ Horse Power per acre		1 0 0
„ Cost of Seeds		0 10 0
„ Cost of Purchased Manures and Foods		1 0 0
„ Interest 5%, Risk 5%, Profit 5%=15% on Capital of £12 per acre		1 16 0
		6 6 0
		4
		25 4 0
To Balance (Gross Rent) for 4 acres (£1 8 <i>s.</i> 3 <i>d.</i> per acre)		5 13 0
		£30 17 0
<i>Cr.</i>		
	RECEIPTS.	£ s. d.
By 20 tons Swedes, at 5 <i>s.</i> per ton, consuming value ..		5 0 0
„ 60 bush. Barley, at 3 <i>s.</i> per bush. (net market value)		9 0 0
„ 3 tons Seeds Hay, at £3 per ton (consuming value)		9 0 0
„ 45 bush. Wheat, at 3 <i>s.</i> 6 <i>d.</i> per bush.		7 17 0
		£30 17 0

NOTE.—Net Rent, 24*s.* ; Rates, etc., 4*s.* 3*d.*

But the above account does not include blacksmith's, joiner's, saddler's, and tradesmen's bills, which would amount to another 2*s.* 6*d.* per acre or more. In Wales, however, the above corn crops could not possibly be grown on an average, owing to the unfavourableness of

the climate; but the moist climate of Wales would admirably suit a high development of green fodder crops, such as grass and roots, etc., etc.

It will be seen at once that it would be highly reprehensible, under present conditions, to break up any of the good pasture land in the country—not only because it would be difficult to replace the old sward again, but because it is *now* producing highly economical results when well managed.

But only a very small percentage of the cultivated area of Wales can be considered as anything but inferior pasture. Therefore the methods of improving the old exhausted grazing lands, devoted for long periods of time to the growth of young cattle and sheep, deserves the fullest consideration of all patriotic Welshmen. I need not mention the special importance of this subject to a country like Wales, where such a large percentage of its area is devoted to hay crops, and temporary or permanent pastures, *i.e.*, *four* out of every *five* acres are under grass or hay crops. These crops form the staple fodder of live stock. As large numbers of these animals are yearly sold off in their “store” condition, the land in consequence loses the most important elements of fertility, and gradually becomes more and more impoverished and unable to feed properly its accustomed head of cattle. If the Welsh export of live stock to England is at the same rate as that exported from Ireland, then it can be shown that the soil of Wales furnishes yearly the elements of the bones and flesh of 50,000 cattle, and 750,000 sheep. This enormous number would be roughly equivalent to about 147,500 bullocks, at about £10 per head. (50,000 at £7=£350,000, and 750,000 at 30s.=£1,125,000.)

I shall, in this paper, suggest three systems of manage-

ment, calculated to restore fertility to these exhausted soils, and with profitable results, if carried out under average conditions of soil and climate and existing prices of commodities. The majority of the suggestions have already been demonstrated on a large scale in Montgomeryshire, thanks to the liberality and public spirit of Mr. Edward Davies, Plasdinam, and on a more limited scale throughout the other counties affiliated to the Agricultural Department of the University College of Wales, Aberystwyth. If we consider the history of these exhausted pastures, we shall find that the farmers, not only in Wales, but throughout Great Britain, have generally speaking thought it unnecessary to *especially* manure grazing pastures, owing to some vague idea that the land, while under pasture, became more fertile every day, notwithstanding the fact that the land constantly furnished the elements of the flesh and bones of hundreds of thousands of animals annually removed from it. The reason why this idea has obtained such a strong hold of the mind of the farming community generally, may probably be due to the fact that if the pastures were ploughed up, the residue of roots, stubble, and leaves, of the grasses and clovers in the soil, would furnish nutriment to two or three large crops of corn in succession. But by the action of ploughing and harrowing, etc., the conditions of productiveness are entirely changed. A depth of five or six inches, perhaps, of soil has now been turned up and thoroughly opened to the action of the various agents engaged in the preparation of plant food, while under pasture, only a small depth—one or two inches perhaps, owing to the character of the shallow-rooted vegetation, contributed to the growth of the grass crops. And as succeeding generations of live stock derived their growth from this shallow surface soil the pasture very soon became thoroughly exhausted and quite in-

capable of producing abundant or nutritious grasses or clover. For it is well known that the elements lost to the soil by the growth of animals are by far the most important elements in the nutrition of grass crops.

A bullock weighing alive about 700 lbs., and valued at £10, carries away in its body about 17 lbs. nitrogen, 10 lbs. phosphoric acid, and $1\frac{1}{4}$ lbs. of potash. The application of nitrogen and phosphoric acid (in the form of phosphate of lime) to worn out soils has been extensively practised on the old grass lands of Cheshire and other grazing counties, with uniformly profitable results. About 60 or 70 years ago, many thousand acres received as many as from *one and-a-half* to *two* tons of bones per acre in one application, at a cost of £7 to £10 per acre. The more completely the land is covered with vegetation, the larger the total yield of crop, and the longer the period of growth (grasses and clovers sometimes grow throughout the year above or under ground) the greater will be the evaporation of water and the less will be the loss of plant food by drainage. Hence the general superior economical returns of manurial applications to pasture land as compared with those applied to arable land. Under the latter system of management the period of active growth hardly extends over six months, while afterwards the land, with its residue of plant food, due to previous applications of manure, is exposed for months to the leaching action of the winter's rainfall.

Lawes's experiments on permanent pasture have shown conclusively that the character of the herbage is mainly dependent on the plant food supplied. Weeds and inferior grasses can hold their own as long as poverty exists, but with a liberal supply of manure the superior grasses overgrow and drive out the bad grasses and weeds. The systems of management recommended in this paper are

based upon the best data available to agricultural science and practice at the present day.

The first system of restoring fertility to second and third class quality pastures may be described as the *direct* method, by the purchase of certain quantities of artificial manures which contain the chief elements of fertility carried away in the bodies of the animals, or of the crops sold off the farm. The following would be a typical case :—

Land under grass far removed from the homestead, which has been reserved for the use of young store stock for many years. On examining such land, even the colour of the vegetation at once gives unmistakeable signs of the poverty of the soil on which it grows, and the practised eye will find the grass hard, woody, and innutritious. If to this unsatisfactory grass land, half a ton of slag per acre (*i.e.*, four oz. to each square yard) be applied in November, containing 18 per cent. or 19 per cent. of phosphoric acid (which is the essence of all bones), in the course of ten or twelve months a very marked change will take place over those portions which received the manure. The harsh, woody, indigestible and late growing herbage, with its dingy-yellow green colour, will have given way to early, tender, nutritious, and a peculiarly rich dark green colour, that furnishes incontestable proof that the vegetation is living on the fat of the land. The half-ton of basic slag contained about 220 lbs. of phosphoric acid and a large quantity of free lime. The phosphoric acid is equivalent to that present in the whole bodies of 22 bullocks valued at about £10 a piece. The cost of the manure will be about 25s. per acre, and its effect will last for six or eight years if the land is only grazed and not mown for hay. The rent of such land generally would be valued at 12s. to 15s. per acre, and the additional yearly value due to the application of slag may be 10s. or 15s. The return

of even the smaller sum of 10*s.* per acre of additional value to graze will be 40 per cent. on the outlay. Practical farmers have often agreed with the above estimate of improved value while inspecting actual trials in the field.

The second system of restoring fertility to pasture land which I recommend, may be described as the *indirect method*; by the purchase of foods which give a high rate of increase in the weight of live stock receiving them, and at the same time leaving a valuable manurial value or residue in the excrement of the animal. For instance, take a second-class quality pasture, valued at about 40*s.* per acre, gross rent. To bring such a soil in four or five years to carry as many live stock as first-class land, there is no method so economical as giving additional food to the cattle or sheep consuming the crop. Five cwt. of decorticated cotton cake, at the average rate of 4 lbs. per head for 140 days, would leave a satisfactory balance at the end of the grazing season. The account, in average years, would stand something as follows :—

<i>Dr.</i>	<i>£ s. d.</i>
To 1 Ox, 1,000 lbs. Live Weight at 4 <i>d.</i> per lb. (at 53% Carcase=7½ <i>d.</i> per lb.)	16 0 0
„ 5 cwt. Decorticated Cotton Cake, at £6 per ton† ...	1 10 0
„ Attendance and Labour (per acre)	0 10 0
„ Interest 5%, Risk 10%, Profit 5%=20% on £18 ...	3 12 0
„ Balance (Gross Rent)*	2 3 0
	£23 15 0
<i>Cr.</i>	
By 1,296 lbs. Live Weight from Grass Crop.	
„ 86 lbs. Live Weight from 5 cwt. of Cake.†	
1,382 lbs. at 4½ <i>d.</i> =(at 60% Carc., 6·84 <i>d.</i> per lb.) ...	£23 15 0

NOTE.—* Net Rent=35*s.* per acre ; Rates=6*s.* per acre.

† Manurial value at half theoretical value=14*s.* per acre.

Again, take the case of third and fourth rate pasture

lands, which make up such a large percentage of the area of the grazing lands of Wales. Their rents generally vary from 5*s.* to 20*s.* per acre. The most economical method of restoring fertility to these sadly neglected soils would be a liberal allowance of purchased foods to well-bred and properly selected live stock. Suppose that two acres are set apart for each beast, and that 10 cwt. of decorticated cotton cake are given to each animal during the six months of grazing, the account would be something like the following:—

<i>Dr.</i>	<i>£ s. d.</i>
To 1 Ox, 1,000 lbs. L. W., at 4 <i>d.</i> per lb. (at 53% Carc.	
= 7½ <i>d.</i> per lb.)	16 0 0
„ 10 cwt. Decorticated Cotton Cake, at £6 10 <i>s.</i> per ton	3 5 0
„ Attendance and Labour (7 <i>s.</i> 6 <i>d.</i> per acre)	0 15 0
„ Interest 5%, Risk 10%, Profit 5% = 20% on £20	
Capital	4 0 0
„ Balance (Gross Rent) two acres*	1 4 0
	£25 4 0

<i>Cr.</i>	<i>£ s. d.</i>
By 1,296 lbs. Live Weight from Grass.	
„ 172 lbs. Live Weight from 10 cwt. Cake.†	
1,468 lbs. at 4½ <i>d.</i> = (at 60% Carcase = 6·84 <i>d.</i>	
per lb.)	£25 4 0

* Net Rent, 10*s.* per acre; Rates, etc., 2*s.* per acre.

† By manurial value (at half theoretical value) = 19*s.* per acre, or 38*s.* for the two acres.

It has been shown that the original cost of the 10 cwt. of decorticated cotton cake came to about £3, and as 172 lbs. of live weight increase may be obtained by its consumption by grazing beasts of good quality, the value of this increase in live weight would be fully worth £3 even at present prices. This sum would pay for the cake and leave the manurial value of the cake as a *clear profit*, obtained *free of cost*. The land, indeed, would receive in

the manure derived from the consumption of cake, 72 lbs. of nitrogen, 33 lbs. of phosphoric acid, and 22 lbs. of potash, and all of them in a highly available condition for plant growth, owing to the high character of the original food, and its richness in the elements of fertility. If the above elements were purchased in artificial manures at present prices of manures, the cost would be about £2 14s. 6d. (72 N at 7d.=42s., 33 lbs. P₂O₅ at 3d.=8s., and 22 lbs. K₂O at 2½d.=4s. 6d.) But it has been shown that the residual manure in the excrement of the animal was valued at 38s. (or if taken at *half* the theoretical value, according to the tables published by Sir John Lawes, the sum will be 19s.) and was obtained *free of cost*. Hence the great economy of a system of feeding that benefits the animal in a high degree, and also unerringly improves both the quality and quantity of the herbage, enabling the land gradually to carry more live stock per acre, owing to the added fertility, and also make a more rapid increase in the live weight of the cattle.

So far, I have referred to the improvement of pastures by the application of manures only—and that *directly* by the purchase of artificial manures, or *indirectly* by the use of purchased food for the grazing live stock. The purchase of artificial manures has undoubtedly made a great advance in Wales during the last five or ten years. It is not to be wondered at, that men who, comparatively speaking, farm on a small scale, and under great diversity of circumstances, should find it difficult to apply to agriculture the well-tested results of recent scientific investigation. But if the severity of the competition with which the farmers have to contend, the want of adequate farming capital, and a series of unprecedented bad seasons and low prices are considered, one is astonished at the progress already made by them in this direction. Our field

trials of suitable and economical applications of manures have been taken up by land owners and tenant farmers, over a wide area, and are the natural outcome of the principles taught in the Extension Lectures. The farmers are gradually learning the profitable use of fertilizers, which a few years back were not known even by name. As an instance of this advance in practice, I may mention that, during the year 1895, 215 tons of basic slag and 203 tons of mineral superphosphate were delivered to one country railway station in Cardiganshire, where the quantity of lime used in agriculture had been reduced eighty or ninety per cent. during the last thirty years. Similar results would be obtained by enquiry at the various railway stations and seaports throughout the district.

The gain to the farmers who adopt new methods discovered by science to keep up the fertility of weak, light soils, may be strikingly shown by comparing an expenditure of £20 for manure under the old and under the new system respectively. On an average, this sum would purchase about 20 tons of lime, or seven tons of basic slag, including the cost of carriage and haulage. The lime would only be sufficient for seven acres, but the 7 tons of slag would be a very liberal dressing for 14 acres. Most farmers would consider it sufficient for 20 to 24 acres, *i.e.*, 6 or 7 cwt. per acre instead of 10 cwt. The new method of subsidizing the natural manure of the farm would also save fifteen days of carting manure from the station or port, and the farmer would really import to his farm 2,800 lbs. of phosphoric acid—the essence of bone—or as much as 280 oxen valued at £10 a piece carry away in their bodies of this important element of nutrition. In buying basic slag the new system obtains in the 7 tons 3½ tons of lime for nothing, and this consideration has a charm for most people, especially farmers.

The 20 tons of lime do not contain at best any of the chief elements of growth, but it will compel the *already* exhausted soil to give up more nitrogen and phosphoric acid from its small store of organic matter, and it can be said, with perfect truth, that the last state of such a soil would be worse than the first.

For some years I have laid special emphasis on the importance of forming and managing permanent pastures in such a way that, year by year, they may become more and more profitable to their owners, instead of the contrary. Much misconception has long prevailed among farmers in Wales and in England in connection with this subject, relying as they have done on the old couplet:—

“To break a pasture—makes a man,
To make a pasture—breaks a man.”

The explanation of the surface truth of this statement is, that by most farmers only *annual* or *biennial* seeds are sown in any quantity, and that the rapid and productive growth of these naturally impoverishes the surface soil of the intended pasture land. Under these circumstances it is a real blessing that hardy weeds and inferior grasses take possession of the ground, and provide at least “something green” to cover the land, until the occasional application of manure in succeeding years makes it possible for a higher race of perennial plants—perhaps indigenous to the locality—to establish themselves after several years upon the soil. It will be seen from the above remarks that the deluded farmer too often expects to “reap where he has never sown.” He sowed *biennial* seeds and expected to reap or graze *perennial* fodder crops. However, if the proper seeds are not sown, even the best system of manuring can only give half-results; a heavy yield per acre, and grasses of superior quality, being indispensable to obtain the most economical results in pastoral

farming. Under these circumstances I have emphasized how important it is that the farmers and landowners should make a serious attempt to form good pastures, and in as short a period as possible. With a view of encouraging them in this real national work, I have undertaken to enumerate suitable permanent seeds, stating the proper guarantee that should be insisted on in purchasing as to the genuineness, purity, and germinating power of the different seeds recommended. It is impossible to over-estimate the loss of capital, manure, and labour yearly to farmers who sow impure and comparatively worthless seeds for the purpose of permanent growth in succeeding years. I would strongly counsel all farmers to buy *good* seeds if they buy seeds at all. Fortunately this does not mean a greater expense per acre, for superior seeds often contain three times the number of germinating plantlets that are present in inferior samples. In addition, full printed instructions are given as to the proper preparatory cultivation and manuring, as well as the general after-treatment of the pastures under the varying circumstances of Welsh agriculture as to cropping and climate. I am glad to state that in a large number of cases throughout the six counties affiliated to the College, my suggestions have been taken up with earnestness ; and I have proofs already of the complete success of the system to convert our lighter soils into permanent pastures, even of very superior quality.

The advantages to be derived from the selection of permanent seeds of high quality, and the judicious use of artificial manures, and purchased foods, may be summed up as follows :—

1. The number of live stock *might* be profitably doubled, and they would be maintained in a far better condition than the present races of live stock.

2. Unremunerative labour on mere tillage operations would be saved, amounting in many cases to about £2 per acre.

3. Valuable manure would be saved by substituting vegetation which grows under or above ground almost the year round.

4. By feeding of stock with cakes and other foods the necessary fertility for light soils would be obtained, at only a tithe of the cost of what was required under the old system of management.

5. The labour required to attend to live stock would be more intelligent and better paid, and not such exhausting toil as that connected with arable culture.

6. The live stock would make a quicker return under good feeding, and their produce would be obtained at the lowest possible cost of production, in consequence of the saving of food which a rapid system of growth would bring about. The quality of the increase, or milk, produced would be improved, and would be more valuable.

7. It is well within the mark to say that 70 per cent.—or over 1,500,000 acres—of the present grass area in Wales could be profitably increased £1 or £2 per acre in annual value, by a judicious selection of permanent seeds and skilful treatment afterwards, which, if only capitalized at ten years' purchase, would make twenty to thirty millions sterling additional value.

But I am of opinion that the cost of this first-class permanent improvement should be equally divided between owner and tenant, or that perfect security for the improvement should be given to the tenant in case of a notice to quit, or of raising the rent. Until the one or the other of these alternatives be adopted, I do not see much hope for the restoration of fertility and added productiveness to the exhausted soils of Wales. For out of

the 2,856,956 acres of cultivated area only 342,473 acres, or 12 per cent., belong to the occupiers, while 88 per cent. are farmed by tenant farmers.

The Circular at the end of this paper gives the list of perennial seeds and particulars as to the preparatory cultivation of the seed-bed and manurial applications necessary to secure the early and vigorous growth of the young seeds, which have been sown during the last two years by a large number of the farmers, who have attended the Extension Lectures, in the counties served by the Agricultural Department of the University College of Wales, Aberystwyth.

II.

CO-OPERATION IN THE MANUFACTURE AND SALE OF DAIRY PRODUCE.

Wales, with its large percentage of grass land, mountain, and heath land, possesses a high proportion of live stock to each 1,000 acres of cultivated area. The figures are :—

For Wales	240	cattle	and	1,070	sheep	per each	1,000	acres.
„ Ireland	200	„	„	240	„	„	„	„
„ Scotland	246	„	„	1,487	„	„	„	„

The reason for the difference is to be found in the much larger proportion of mountain land to cultivated area in Wales and Scotland than in Ireland. If we take the proportion of cows to population we shall find that there is—

1	cow	to	16	persons	in	England.
1	„	„	9	„	„	Scotland.
1	„	„	6	„	„	Wales.
1	„	„	3	„	„	Ireland.

These facts at once determine the system of farming that must be adopted in the different portions of the United Kingdom. England, with its smaller number of cows to population, and the comparative nearness to large towns, devotes its energies to the production and sale of milk, and of cheesemaking when the market price for milk is low, and to the fattening of live stock. Wales and Ireland, owing to the distances from the populous towns and the imperfect development of railway transport, are compelled to produce milk for butter-making and rearing store stock. The size also of the average Welsh farm is too small for the profitable manufacture of a high-class cheese, this system requiring a comparatively large quantity of milk daily. The enormous increase in the importation of dairy products during the last eight or ten years, however, has now reduced the price of fresh butter so low that, in many of the South Wales markets, it has been sold during the last two or three summers for 7*d.* or 8*d.* per lb. During the year 1894, the value of the 128,740 tons of butter imported reached the enormous sum of £13,456,669, which averages 11½*d.* per lb., and 3¾*d.* per gallon for the value of the milk used in its manufacture—taking three gallons to each lb. of butter produced. If we add to this the 55,466 tons of margarine imported in 1894, and valued at £3,044,810, it will be seen that the total importations under these two heads—

Butter	=	1,730,289	number of cows displaced,
Margarine	=	700,000	” ” ”

are equivalent to the total displacement of 2,430,289 cows, if we take the average annual yield per cow as 500 gallons, and 3 gallons to each lb. of butter, or in other words, considerably more than one half of the total milch cows in the United Kingdom in 1894.

The amount of imported butter and margarine in 1873, per head of the population, was 4½ lbs. each, while twenty years afterwards (1893), with an increase in population of over six millions, the average per head of imported butter and margarine had increased to 10½ lbs. each, or an increase of over 100 per cent. Denmark, France, and Sweden, between them, account for three-fourths of our butter imports,¹ Canada and the United States for four-fifths of our cheese, and Holland for nineteen-twentieths of the margarine landed in the United Kingdom.

Seeing the important position the Danish butter has attained in the markets of the United Kingdom, it may be useful to refer to the Danish system of dairy farming. The success of the Danes is mainly due to the perfect organization of the manufacture and sale of the butter. Taken as a whole, the Danish butter does not fetch on the average of the whole year quite so high a price as imported Normandy butter. Its position in our markets may be described as the butter consumed by the middle classes generally, and herein lies its great importance from a commercial and a competitive point of view.

Denmark has about two and a half times the cultivated area of Wales, the total number of cattle being over *twice* that of Wales. The milch cows of Denmark, however, are *five* times as numerous as Welsh cows. The proportion of cows to population in Denmark approximate to that of Ireland, *viz.*, about one cow to three persons.

Taking the value of Danish butter imported to this country at 11¼*d.* per lb., and if we estimate 500 gallons of milk as the annual yield of each cow, and that on an average of the whole year three gallons will be required to make one lb. of butter, we conclude that the Danish

¹ Denmark, 55,000 tons butter; France, 21,000; Australia, 15,000; Sweden, 13,000.—Total, 104,000 tons.

farmers have to feed and attend their cows for a return in milk of less than 5*d.* per day, taking the whole year through, or about 3½*d.* per gallon of milk produced. The 226 Irish co-operative dairies also report that their price for milk for butter-making is about 3½*d.* per gallon plus the return of the skim-milk, which may be valued at 1*d.* or 1½*d.* per gallon for feeding purposes.

The wholesale prices per lb. of the finest Danish butter for the twelve months November 1881, to October 1882, averaged 1*s.* 2½*d.* It has now, however, fallen to an average of 11½*d.* per lb. for the twelve months November 1890, to October 1891.

The Danish farmers during the last ten years have gradually done away with the services of middlemen in Denmark, or commission agents here, and they now deal *directly* with the wholesale and retail firms in this country. Their customers telegraph their orders once a week to Copenhagen. This arrangement has important advantages, such as avoiding the risk of the butter remaining unsold in the hands of commission agents; it also saves 3 per cent. commission, and perhaps avoids an additional depreciation in the price owing to delayed sales.

It is estimated that there are now 1,000 co-operative dairies in existence throughout Denmark. In nearly all cases the farmers who produce the milk are also the owners of the dairy buildings and plant. Centrifugal cream separators are used throughout the country, and butter-making is now carried on at all the Danish farms. The importance of perfect cleanliness, the proper ripening of the cream, the temperature of the cream when put into the churn, the nature of the fodder used, and the calving period of the cows, are all carefully studied and regulated.

The astonishing development in the organization of the

manufacture and sale of butter is, in a great measure, due to the energy and skilled advice of the experts appointed as consulting advisers and organizers by the State. Three consulting experts were appointed to act in different districts of Denmark by the Ministry of the Interior, in 1888, while another consulting expert was appointed to act in England, to promote the reputation and sale of Danish agricultural products, and to look out for fraudulent practices which may injure the reputation of Danish butter.

Similar developments are reported in the dairy industries of other European and Colonial competitors, no stone being left unturned in the endeavour to improve the quality and increase the quantities of their exports to our markets.

Under these circumstances, it is clear that the Welsh farmers must adopt new methods of manufacture, and especially discard the old slipshod system of marketing the butter, which generally prevails in the country at the present day, unless they are to be driven out of their own markets. Even in a small village in the heart of Montgomeryshire I noticed, the other day, prime fresh Australian butter being sold, of excellent quality, the native population preferring the mild rich flavour of the carefully made Colonial butter, to the strongly flavoured and, perhaps, long kept butter, produced in the average farms in the neighbourhood by primitive methods.

It has been said, oftentimes, that Welsh farmers will trust the manure merchants, seedsmen, and everybody else with whom they do business—but they will *not* trust one another, and that this suspicion at times amounts to mania. For instance, in a co-operative dairy, if market prices fluctuated, they would be likely to think the profits had been improperly adjusted. This is also true, to a

large extent, even amongst English farmers, notwithstanding the reputation of the Saxon for a special talent for trade combinations. But, in justice to the farmers, it must be said that there is another side to this question. So long as there exist great inequalities in milk and cream values produced under different conditions, ranging, indeed, as high as 100 per cent. in some extreme cases, and that methods for testing values are imperfect or inconclusive to the farming mind, we must not blame the hesitation of the hard-working, thrifty, and sadly handicapped Welsh farmer, before joining a dairy company. There is little wonder, indeed, if he be even suspicious of his neighbours having better prices than himself, or that outside questioners have some ulterior motives to serve in their enquiries.

If I were asked to point out the characteristic defect of the dairy industry in Wales, I think that I should have no hesitation in stating my opinion that nothing has stood in the way of improving the butter product of Wales more than the complete absence of any system of buying carried on by the local dealers. The first evil is, that everything that is offered, unless hopelessly bad, is bought at the same price without any regard (*i.e.*, *publicly*) to the quality or *real* value of the product offered for sale. The effect, generally, has been to discourage any disposition that might exist on the part of the makers to improve the quality of the butter by the adoption of new and superior methods of manufacture. Even now, after five years of technical training in butter-making by means of our travelling dairy schools and lectures, it is very rare, indeed, to meet with a dealer willing to purchase prime, fresh butter on its merits. On the other hand, the farmers have sent their daughters and wives to learn the new method in large numbers. Over 1,500 dairymaids have

been trained in our travelling school, during the last four years. But dealers appear perfectly helpless to organize the supplies for a quick market, preferring the old slow markets of the olden time, as if the improvement of railways and steam navigation, the telegraph and the telephone, and the creation of a new commercial world were only a dream, and not a reality. Under the present conditions of marketing butter in Wales, the farmers feel that if they purchase new and expensive machinery, the prices that they would receive would, in reality, be only those for inferior qualities of butter, because of the present vicious system of paying an "average price" for all samples. This average price, of necessity, must be a very low one to protect the buyers. I do not hesitate to say that a moderately inferior article with a good marketing system will fetch a higher price than a superior article with imperfect arrangements for its sale.

I go so far as to say that the Danes and the French owe more to their thorough organization of the preparation and packing of the butter for the English markets than even to their technical education in the art of butter-making, their system of farming, or the management of the live stock of the farm.

It will be seen, from the special emphasis that has been laid upon proper organization in the manufacture, and especially in the sale of butter, that, in the writer's opinion, it is absolutely necessary for Wales to adopt a system of co-operative dairies if it is to establish a position in the market such as it is entitled to by its education, and the natural advantages which it possesses for the production of standard fodder crops, exceedingly suitable for the best milk production.

How is it, that while Denmark has 1,000 and Ireland 226 co-operative dairies in operation, there is only *one*

co-operative butter factory established in Wales at the present time?

It is my desire to fairly consider the *disadvantages* attending co-operative dairy factories in Wales, especially those that are organized on the American and European plans. In America, for instance, labour is expensive and even prohibitive in price on thousands of farms; hence, if butter and cheese are to be made there at all, the manufacture must be carried out in a co-operative dairy. In Wales, on the contrary, the farm work is done generally by the unpaid labour of the farmer's children, and it would be a doubtful policy—without very positive and solid advantages—to pay the wages of a superior servant in the factory, for work that many of them honestly believe ought to be done better at their own homes. Then the trouble of carting comparatively small quantities of milk, owing to the small size of the average holdings in Wales, once or twice a day, three or four miles away, in a hilly country with rough roads, presents very great difficulties, even in the most favourably situated districts. But far more serious than the above is the reduced and inadequate capital possessed by the average Welsh tenant farmer at the present time. It is out of the question for men who often are unable to obtain the rent and taxes out of revenue, owing to a sequence of bad seasons and low prices, etc., etc., to find £1,000 or £1,500 to start a co-operative dairy factory.

It will be seen, therefore, that a system suitable for Wales must take into consideration the special difficulties of the Welsh farmers, and must be an attempt to secure for the country the advantages of a system of co-operation without its defects.

Briefly stated, the advantages claimed for co-operation in butter-making and cheese-making is, that this system

(1) lessens the cost of production or manufacture, and (2) improves the quality of the article, *two vital factors* in successful competition all the world over. It is well known that many of our competitors have already a great advantage in the possession of much cheaper land than our farmers in this country, and, what is equally important, a great aptitude for adopting and inventing new methods in manufacture. But many of them are situated thousands of miles away from the consumers,—a fact which ought to be a sort of permanent “natural protection” to the farmers of the United Kingdom, if railway rates and freights were arranged on a fair and just basis.

The cost of production is often too high, because the methods employed in manufacture are not the best; or the cost of the raw material (in this case food or crops) may be too expensive, owing to the fact that the pastures yield crops small and inferior in quality or digestibility. Hence the great importance of sowing permanent seeds of superior character, and supplying them with adequate and judicious fertilizers, so as to secure a profitable yield of grass. The live stock also may be incapable of producing a large quantity of rich milk, owing to defective selection or breeding from inferior races of dairy cattle. If farmers can cheapen the cost of production they will at once increase their profits; because prices, generally speaking, are only indirectly and remotely affected by cost of production,—being determined by the supply in the market, and the quality of the product. The better the improvement in quality, the more readily will the article sell and at a higher price. Therefore, to lessen the cost of production is a necessity of competition, if profits are to be maintained under lower prices. Welsh farmers, in years gone by, used to hold back the butter until the winter, in order to get higher prices than those obtained

in the spring and summer. At that time, of course, there were no thousands of tons of prime fresh butter arriving from Europe and Australasia, as they do now throughout the year, but especially in winter, because the higher prices rule the markets during the first and fourth quarters of the year. There are now most decided reasons why butter should not be kept, but sold as soon as made. Dairy goods are at their best when first made, for the soft and delicate fats that give a characteristic flavour to a high-class butter, quickly deteriorate and are destroyed by keeping. A quick sale of butter will have the tendency to increase consumption and to raise the market prices and reputation of the makers, by the increased demand for a superior article. Holding back the butter will turn the trade into other channels, and give away the *whole advantages* of nearness of position to the consumers to the foreign or colonial competitor, who invariably places his goods in the market as soon as made, and the best transport arrangements can bring them to our shores. Even if prices were always higher in winter than in summer, the rise in price would not be given to old butters, but only to the freshest samples, and the advantage generally would go to the middleman and not to the poor deluded farmer. If the butter product of a country is kept back, it makes the market *speculative*, and introduces *uncertainty* in regard to the extent of supply, which, in the long run, must prove hurtful to the producers of perishable goods, such as butter.

I would, therefore, advocate a modified system of co-operation in dairy farming in Wales, calculated to develop and not to supplant the present system, for the reason which I have already stated. I think the Duke of Devonshire gave characteristically sound advice to the English farmers at the opening of the new Dairy Institute

in the Midlands, when he advised the farmers to endeavour always to produce the best possible article under the existing competition. Even now, the English market offers remunerative prices for nearly all goods of a high-class quality. To secure this indispensable condition in Wales, I would make it imperative that every farmer joining a co-operative creamery, should purchase a cream separator for himself, suitable, of course, to the number of cows kept. This I would consider as equivalent to taking a certain number of shares in a co-operative society. The possession of a mechanical cream separator would offer the farmer many advantages, even if the co-operative society failed, a very different result from that of the capital being sunk in an expensive plant and a large central building. The machine would give an increase of about 20 per cent. in the quantity of butter obtained from a certain volume of milk. The skim-milk would be obtained for feeding purposes without its having lost its natural heat, and although much poorer in fatty ingredients, it would be in a much superior condition for feeding in its sweet state immediately after milking than if kept for thirty-six or forty-eight hours to allow the cream to rise, and then given to the calves after becoming sour. The increase in butter alone in one or two years would repay the whole cost of the machine. Farmers should remember that it will not pay in these days of severe competition to feed pigs on butter, and to sell the lard at 4*d.* per lb. There is an enormous annual waste in Wales, through this loss of butter-fat, due to the old method of creaming, which is equivalent to the total butter yield of 56,000 cows, *i.e.*, 20 per cent. of the 280,000 cows in Wales. The cream is also much more economically separated immediately after milking than if the milk were allowed to lose its heat, etc., on its way to the factory some miles

away. Immediate separation at the farm would give it a superior quality, from its being set at once under those favourable conditions of temperature for the manufacture of high-class fresh butter. The farmer, thus having always at command the best quality cream, and the labour of carting, etc., reduced by 90 per cent., would be more likely to support and firmly adhere to the new creamery than under the old laborious methods, and so make its success more certain.

Having in this way secured the best possible quality of cream, it would be brought twice a week to a central building very cheaply erected, where it would be churned under skilled superintendence, by the farmer himself, until he gained confidence in the management. Here the butter would be dried by machinery, and then weighed and packed in lb. pats with parchment paper, with distinguishing printed marks for each patron. Thus, in the event of consumers finding fault with any special consignments, the supplier of the cream could be easily traced at the central churning building. Any cottage with a good water-supply could be adapted for this purpose.

It will be seen that the above method would make it easy and profitable to do right, and difficult and unprofitable to do wrong, and would do away at one stroke with one of the greatest difficulties in working co-operative creameries generally, owing to the great inequalities in milk and cream values. For instance, 450 gallons of milk, containing only $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of fat, would only be worth £5 at 10*d.* per lb. for the butter. Whereas 450 gallons containing 4 per cent. would be worth £8 16*s.*, at 10*d.* per lb. of butter produced from it.

The above method of only paying for the actual weight of butter produced from the milk or cream would at once put all the farmers to a healthy rivalry in the selection

and breeding of superior dairy cattle, and in properly and adequately feeding them, so as to lessen the cost of production and greatly increase their profits.

This cream-gathering system would secure a uniform marketable quality, economy of labour, and could offer supplies, either in large bulk or in smaller quantities. It would provide an organized collection of produce, and could deal on more favourable terms with Railway Companies, and, by a more direct supply to the public, do away with the profits of the middlemen and commission agents. The method also could be introduced gradually into different localities, thereby giving time to establish the brand, and to avoid mistakes which might be ruinous.

It will be seen that this method differs essentially from the old blending system of the Continent, where different makes of butter are classified, mixed together, and coloured uniformly, and then re-worked, with a serious deterioration of quality in consequence.

Farmers also, in time, could be educated to regulate the supply, so as not to flood the market in the summer when the price is low, but having a part produced in winter when prices are higher than in summer. Unfair and excessive railway charges could be opposed, and combatted, and preferential rates for foreign goods should not be allowed. The distribution and sale of dairy produce is more of a commercial question than an agricultural one, and requires the greatest tact and knowledge of markets and carriage rates and freights.

Lord Vernon, the founder and chief proprietor of the co-operative dairy factory at Sudbury, in Derbyshire, established about ten or twelve years ago, recently advocated the appointment of experts in dairying for England, similar to those in Denmark and other European countries, to teach the English people how to make and how to

organize the sale of the butter. The farmers would be willing to take the advice of men in whose sincerity of purpose they had absolute confidence, and who had no personal interests to serve. The services of similar Government experts are urgently needed to guide the practice of Welsh farmers, who as a class labour under exceptional difficulties as regards transport facilities and suitable markets for their produce. If Parliament only followed the example set by our Colonial and Foreign competitors by the appointment of Consulting Experts, who would be independent of all interested parties, I believe that their work would be immediately successful, and would greatly benefit the country generally.

FIELD TRIALS—FORMATION AND MANAGEMENT OF PERMANENT PASTURES.

LIST OF SEEDS FOR ONE ACRE.

Quantities and Names of Grasses.	Time of Flowering.	Guaranteed Weight per Bushel.	Guaranteed Percentage of Germination.	No. of Germinating Seeds per acre (1896).	Cost of Finest Quality (1896).
		lbs.	Per cent.		£ s. d.
6 lbs. Foxtail	I week May	12	80	2,352,000	10 6
6 " White Clover	III " "	66	98	4,304,160	6 0
3 " Alsike	I " June	66	98	2,110,920	2 3
3 " Per. Red	II " "	65	98	640,920	2 6
4 " Cocksfoot	III " "	21	95	1,618,800	3 8
3 " Rough-stalked Meadow Grass	III " "	30	98	6,570,900	3 6
6 " Catstail (Timothy)	I " "	50	98	7,761,900	2 9
6 " Italian Ryegrass	II " "	22	98	2,187,600	1 6
4 " Rape *	— " "	—	—	—	0 10
37 lbs. Seeds (per acre)				27,536,900	£1 13 6

* If the grasses are to be sown with a Corn Crop (Barley) leave out the Rape and sow only 2 bushels of Barley, so as not to choke the grass and clover. Rape seed to be mixed with the Clovers and Catstail.

NOTES.

- (1.) SEEDS:—To be guaranteed, as above, as to percentage of germination—weight per bushel and freedom from impurities.
- (2.) SOIL CONDITIONS:—To be very fine—very clean—and very rich in Manure. Roll the land before sowing the Seeds—then chain-harrow the surface after sowing—and roll once again.
- (3.) MANURES:—Use 1½ cwts. of Nitrate of Soda and 4 cwts. of Mineral Superphosphate—mix together if both are dry, then sow and harrow into the Soil before sowing the Seeds. About the 1st November sow over the young Seeds at least 10 cwts. of Basic Slag of high quality. This ordinary Soil ought to be a sufficient phosphatic application for six or seven years.
- (4.) AFTER MANAGEMENT:—The Rape Crop to be mown when 12 to 18 inches high, and left on the ground or carried away to the Live Stock. The new pasture to be very lightly grazed with Cattle (*not Sheep*) before Winter. If kept for Hay in the following Spring—the crop to be mown early—at two-thirds of a full crop—so as not to choke the finer grasses forming the bottom herbage.

EARLY RELATIONS BETWEEN GAEL AND BRYTHON.¹

By PROFESSOR KUNO MEYER, M.A., PH.D.

WHEN I was asked to read a paper before this Society, I happened to be engaged in working at the edition of an old-Irish saga, which, among other things, tells of the wanderings of an Irish tribe and its final settlement, in the third century of our era, in South Wales. As those who supply the small demand for Celtic books generally find it pretty hard to dispose of their wares, which are a drug in the market—for, with the honourable exception of one or two continental firms and the philo-Celtic house of Messrs. D. Nutt, what publisher would care to risk money on such unprofitable matter?—I accepted the invitation with all the greater pleasure, hoping that you would grant my edition a place in the Transactions of the Society.

I have the honour, then, to-night of laying before you a series of documents of a somewhat varied character, all of which, however, have this in common, that they bear more or less directly on the relations in the early centuries of our era between Ireland and Great Britain, or between the Gael and Brython, and, to a less extent, also between the latter and the Saxon. Some of these documents are old Irish texts not hitherto edited; others consist mainly of corrections and emendations of Welsh

¹ Read before the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion on the 28th of May, 1896, at 20, Hanover Square. Chairman, Mr. Alfred Nutt.

and Latin texts imperfectly edited; and lastly there are a number of philological speculations, more especially interpretations and etymologies of place-names.

It is, however, not my intention to-night to read these to you *in extenso*. They are all of them of too special a nature to engage the attention of a wider audience. I propose rather to give you an account of their chief contents only, and to point out their bearing on some questions which are at present much under discussion, more particularly on a question of racial and historical import, which has lately been brought forward again by Professor Rhys in his paper on the *Twrch Trwyth*, read before this Society, and in two further papers printed in the *Archæologia Cambrensis*. I refer to his theory that the Gael preceded the Brython in the occupation of Britain. This is, as you are doubtlessly aware, by no means a new hypothesis; indeed it will soon be 200 years since it was first published. But Professor Rhys has brought forward in its support several new arguments; such as the undoubted existence in Welsh of a fair number of loanwords from Irish Gaelic,¹ and the presence in those early Welsh tales known as the *Mabinogion* of legendary lore of unmistakably Irish origin.

I hope you will not be disappointed, if I decline to enter into all the aspects—racial, historical, linguistic and literary—raised by this hypothesis. I intend rather to place certain facts before you, which I think Professor Rhys cannot have fully considered, and which will be found in the main to make against his theory. I prefer to let these facts as far as possible speak for themselves. Indeed, at the present stage of Celtic research, it seems

¹ With regard to the Welsh *machdeyrn*, Bret. *mactiern*, the Irish word from which it is borrowed is *macthigern* or *mac-tigirn*, not *mactigerna*.

often preferable to collect facts and state them as baldly as possible, to drawing conclusions and launching forth theories which, however ingenious and brilliant they may be, must still be premature, and are sometimes upset by the discovery of a single new fact.

The first and oldest as well as the most extensive document which I have to offer is an edition and translation of an old Irish prose tale, which has not hitherto been edited, though Professor Zimmer has pointed out its value, and fixed its age.¹ This tale, of which several versions have come down to us, bears the title of *Indarba inna nDéisi*, or the *Expulsion of the Déisi*. As we shall presently see, it was first written down in the 8th century.

The Déisi were an Irish tribe originally settled in Mag Breg or Moy Bray, a plain in the present county of Meath, whence in the 3rd century of our era—the Irish annals tell us²—having been defeated in seven battles by Cormac Mac Airt, a celebrated over-king of Ireland, they were compelled to emigrate and to seek new homes. After many adventures, which are described in detail, part of them finally settled in Munster, while another portion, under the leadership of Eochaid, the son of Artchorp, crossed the Irish sea, and obtained a new home in that part of South Wales anciently called Demet, now Dyfed. Whether Dyfed is here to be taken in the sense which, as Mr. E. Phillimore has shown,³ it had before A.D. 750, when it included the modern Pembrokeshire and all Carmarthenshire north of the Towy, or in a looser sense, in which it is sometimes used for South Western Wales, it is impossible to decide. But Professor Zimmer is cer-

¹ In his *Nennius Vindicatus*, pp. 86-88.

² See *The Annals of the Four Masters*, A.D. 265.

³ *Owen's Pembrokeshire*, p. 199.

tainly wrong in considering Dyfed and Pembrokeshire as convertible terms.

Our tale goes on to state that Eochaid, from this expedition, was henceforth known as Eochaid Allmuir, *i.e.* Eochaid beyond the sea, and that there in Dyfed his sons and grandchildren lived and died, down to one Teudor Mac Regin, king of Dyfed, who was alive at the time of the writer. Teudor's pedigree is then traced through fourteen generations up to his grandsire Artchorp, Eochaid's father. Taking a generation as thirty-three years, and starting with the year A.D. 270—the date offered by the Irish annals—a simple calculation brings us to A.D. 730 as the time when Teudor Mac Regin must have reigned, and about which this Irish tale must have been written. Now, as good luck will have it, we possess a Welsh pedigree in which this same Teudor figures. This is the pedigree of Elen, the mother of Owen, son of Howel Dda, preserved in the 11th century British Museum MS., Harleian 3859, whence it was edited by Mr. Phillimore in the *Cymmrodor* (ix, p. 171). In this pedigree, for eleven generations the names of Teudor's ancestors tally with those of the Irish account. The only differences are in the spelling, and indeed when we consider that these Welsh names passed through the hands of who knows how many Irish scribes, one must marvel that they have preserved their forms so well. Besides, the endeavour is apparent of giving them a more Irish look, as when Guortepir is made into Gartbuir, Aircol into Alchoil. Now we know from the *Annales Cambriae*¹ that Meredydd, the son of Teudor, king of Dyfed, died in 796, so that the date 730, which we have just obtained for the *floruit* of Teudor, is fully confirmed.

I have dwelt on this at such length, because we have here

¹ "Offa rex Merciorum et Margetiud rex Demetorum morte moriuntur," *Annales Cambriae*, p. 11.

a most instructive instance as to the reliance which may be placed on some at least of these early Irish and Welsh accounts, independent as they are of each other, and of such different purport. In the light of this evidence alone I have no hesitation in saying that the settlement of an Irish tribe in Dyfed during the latter half of the 3rd century must be considered a well authenticated fact.

But we have other evidence, again from an Irish source, of an Irish occupation of South Western Britain, evidence which seems to show that this occupation of the Déisi was neither the first nor the only one that took place in these early centuries. This account is contained in an often quoted article in the Irish glossary of Cormac, the famous King-bishop of Cashel, who was slain in battle in 907. I will read the passage *in extenso*, because Professor Zimmer, who has lately handled it,¹ has fallen into several grave mistakes and is consequently led to entirely false conclusions, although the translation, made long ago by O'Donovan, and published with valuable corrections and annotations by Whitley Stokes, ought to have preserved him from such errors.² Cormac is explaining the Irish name *Mug-éme*.

“*Mug-éme*, *i.e.* ‘slave of hilt’, was the name of the first lap-dog which was in Ireland. Coirpre Muse [an Irish chieftain, whose father Conaire, over-king of Ireland, died, according to the *Annals*, A.D. 165] first brought one into Ireland out of the land of the Britons.” Here Zimmer makes the plausible suggestion that the fashion of keeping pet dogs had probably been introduced into Britain by the Romans. “For at that time—Cormac explains—great was the power of the Gaels over the

¹ See *Nennius Vindicatus*, pp. 89-91.

² See *Cormac's Glossary*, translated by O'Donovan, edited by Whitley Stokes, p. 111.

Britons. They had divided Alba (*i.e.* Albion, Great Britain) among them into estates, and each of them knew his friends' abode." Here Zimmer renders Alba by Scotland. But in the 9th century *Alba* (*Albe*, *Alpe*) in Irish always meant Britain, never Scotland.¹

"And the Gaels used to dwell to the east of the sea [*i.e.* from a South-Irish point of view, the Irish sea] not less than in Scotia [*i.e.* Ireland]." Here again, Professor Zimmer, in translating Scotia by Scotland, falls into a serious error, which makes nonsense of the whole passage. Scotia, down to the 10th century at least, was never used of Scotland, but always meant Ireland.²

Cormac continues: "And their dwellings and their royal forts were built there. Hence is said *Dind Tradui*, *i.e.* [in Irish] *Dún Tredui*, that is, the triple foss of Crimthann the Great, son of Fidach, King of Ireland and Albion as far as the Ictian Sea." [Crimthann was overking of Ireland from 366 to 378.] "And hence is Glas-tonbury of the Gael, a church on the Brue." ["On the Brue" is no doubt, as Stokes was the first to point out, the original reading. It is *for Brú* in Irish, and was changed by a scribe whose geography was deficient into *for brú mara Icht*, on the brink of the Ictian Sea", *i.e.* the sea of Wight.]

¹ Similarly *Albanach* originally meant not a Scot, but any inhabitant of Britain, as is clearly shown by passages such as the following, which occurs in the *Book of Leinster*, p. 29a, 43: *Gaill ocus Romáin, Frainc ocus Frési ocus Longbaird ocus Albanaig, i. Sazain ocus Bretnaig ocus Cruithnig, i.e.*, "Galls and Romans, Franks and Frisians and Longobards and *Albanachs*, *i.e.*, Saxons and Brythons and Picts." At what period exactly *Alba* lost its ancient signification and was restricted to its application to Scotland, I cannot say; probably not till the 11th century.

² This is a long-established fact, and one is surprised to find it so often ignored or forgotten, as *e.g.*, in the scholarly edition of Bede by Mayor and Lumsden (Cambridge University Press), in the index to which Scotia is said to mean 'often Scotland, and sometimes Ireland', though the former meaning will not fit a single passage quoted.

“And there also, in the lands of the Cornish Britons, stands Dind map Letan, *i.e.* the fort of the sons of Liathan, for *mac*, ‘son’, is the same as *map* in the British. Thus every tribe divided on that side, for its property on the east was equal to that on the west, and they long continued in that power, even after the coming of Patrick. Hence Coirpre Musc was paying a visit in the east to his family and to his friends.”

So far Cormac. Again, this Irish account of the 9th century is confirmed by an independent Welsh source. The author of the *Historia Brittonum*, the South-Walian Nennius, writing early in the 9th century, speaks of the sons of Liethan—whose *din*, or fort, Cormac mentioned—as settled in the district of Dyfed and in other districts, *viz.*, Gower and Kidwelly.¹ That the further remark in the *Historia Brittonum* as to these Gaels having been driven out of all regions of Britain by the sons of Cuneda is a mistake, has been ably shown by Zimmer.² This remark can only apply to those Gaels who had obtained a footing in Gwynedd or North Wales, and neither to those of the South, nor, of course, to those of Scotland. So far as I know, only one other Welsh source repeats this mistaken remark, and that a very late and spurious one. Still I desire to quote it, as it gives a popular account of some of the Gaelic invasions (*gormesion*) of Britain. In the Iolo MSS. (pp. 78 and 467) we read as follows:—

“Tair gormes Gwyddyl a fu yng Nghymru a Gwyr, a chymmaint ag un teulu a’u gwardawdd y tair, nid amgen teulu Cyneddaf Wledig. Cyntaf y bu yny Ngwyr ym

¹ *Historia Brittonum*, ed. Mommsen, p. 156: filii autem Liethan obtinuerunt in regione Demetorum (ubi civitas est quae vocatur Mineu [= Mynyw] *inser. C*) et in aliis regionibus, id est Guir et Cetgueli, donec expulsi sunt a Cuneda et a filiis eius ab omnibus Britannicis regionibus.

² *Nenn. Vind.*, p. 92.

Morganwg, sef yno y daeth Ceian Wyddel a'i feibion, ac ynnill y wlad a'i goresgyn deunaw mlynedd ar hugain. A Chyneddaf Wledig ac Urien fab Cynfach a'u gorfyddawd a'u lladd hyd ymhen y naw ohonynt a gyrru'r lleill i'r mor. Yna rhodded teyrnedd y wlad honno i Urien fab Cynfarch, a'i galw Rheged am ei rhoddi gan wirfodd Cymry'r wlad honno in anreg iddaw, ac o hynny y gelwid ef Urien Rheged.

"Ail Aflech Goronawc a ddug Arth Mathrin yn ormes, yna priodi Marchell ferch Tewdric, brenin y wlad honno. Ac o hynny ynnill bodd y wlad, a'i chael yn gyfoeth ym mraint y briodas. Ac yno 'r gwehelyth yn aros fyth yn un a'r Cymry.

"Trydydd oedd Don (a Daronwy medd eraill) brenin Llychlyn a ddaeth hyd yn Werddon ac ynnill gwlad yno, ac wedi hynny efe a ddug hyd yng Ngwynedd drigain mil o'r Gwyddyl a Llychlynwys, ag yno gwars-eddu hyd ymhen can mlynedd a naw ar hugain. Yna daeth Caswallawn Lawhir ap Einion Yrth ap Cynedda Wledig i Fôn ac a ddug y wlad oiarnynt, a lladd Syrigi Wyddel yn y lle a elwir Llan y Gwyddyl ym Môn. Ac ereill o feibion Cyneddaf Wledig a'u gwrthladdasant yng Ngwynedd a'r Cantref ac ym Mhowys, ac a aethant yn dywysogion yn y gwledydd hynny. A mab y Don hwnnw oedd Gwydion brenin Môn ac Arfon. Ac efe a ddysges wybodau llyfrogion gyntaf i Wyddelod Môn a'r Werddon. Yna y daeth Môn ac Werddon yn oreuglod am wybodau a seiniau."¹

¹ Zimmer supposes that the third invasion of Don is a reminiscence of the piratical descent of the four sons of King Donn Déss of Leinster, who, together with Ingcél, the exiled son of a British king, ravaged the coasts of Scotland and Wales as well as of their own native land. Their story is told in the old-Irish saga called *Bruden Dá Derga*. See Curry, *Manners and Customs of the Ancient Irish*, iii, p. 136. Syrigi Wyddel is no doubt a reminiscence of a Viking Sitric, perhaps of the son of Olaf Cuaran, the king of the Danes at Dublin (Sitric vab Abloec, *Brut y Tywysogion*, p. 264).

There are but few other references in Welsh literature to Irish conquests of parts of Wales. In the Life of St. Carantocus¹ we read of an Irish occupation of Ceredigion, *i.e.* Cardiganshire, but no further details are given.

In the same Life there is an account of a temporary Irish occupation of Britain in the 5th century. After having spoken of the missionary work of St. Patrick and St. Carantog in Ireland (about 450 A.D.), the author continues: "In those times the Irish conquered Britain for thirty years, their leaders being Briscus, Thuihaius, Machleius and Anpacus".² Of this invasion nothing is known, and one cannot say that the names have a very Irish ring, but they have probably greatly suffered at the hands of succeeding scribes. A particular interest, however, attaches to these passages. They are the only references in Welsh literature, so far as I know, to Irish inroads during that period of repeated and almost continuous invasions which Gildas describes so graphically, when, after the death of Maximus in 388, and again after the final departure of the Romans, the Irish, making common cause with the Picts, landed again and again, devastated the country, and drove the inhabitants from their towns and settlements into the woods and mountains, where they were compelled to live by the chase.³

But while the meagre Welsh sources are silent as to these invasions of the 5th and 6th centuries, the Irish annals, lives of saints, and sagas supply us with many data. I do not imagine that every date and detail in these

¹ "Keredic autem tenuit Kerediciaun, i. Keredigan, et ab illo nuncupata est. Et postquam tenuerat, venerunt Scotti et pugnaverunt cum eis et occupaverunt omnes regiones."—Rees, *Cambro-British Saints*, p. 101 (collated with the MS.).

² "In istis temporibus Scotti superaverunt Britanniam; nomina ducum quorum Briscus, Thuihaius, Machleius, Anpacus, xxx annis."—*Rees, l. c.*, p. 97.

³ *Gildas*, "De excidio," §§ 14-19.

accounts is to be relied upon. Still I consider the picture which we obtain from them of the relations between Ireland and Britain during those times a correct one. Thus they tell of a Leinster king of the 6th century levying rent and tribute in Britain; of frequent piratical descents of Irish chieftains on the coast of Britain; of raids apparently not so much undertaken for the purpose of conquest or settlement, but rather of the character of slavehunting expeditions. And here I would instance the constant mention of British slaves in Ireland which we find in the Lives of the 5th and 6th century saints. Thus we read of St. Albe (died 541) that he was given in fosterage to certain Britons, who were in servitude in Ireland, in the east of Munster. It was they who gave him the name of Albe, from *ail* "rock" and *beo* "alive", because he had been found alive under a rock. These Britons afterwards escape from their captivity and return to Britain, taking their foster-son with them.¹

Sometimes we find that exiled Britons make common cause with these Irish pirates, as in the story of Incéal quoted above.² Besides, Britain had always been the natural refuge of Irish exiles and fugitives. Thus at the end of the 2nd century Lugaid, better known by his nickname Mac Con, had spent several years in exile in Britain, and then returned at the head of a foreign army in company with Beinne Britt, "Beinne the Briton", a British king (*rí Bretan*), to fight the battle of Muccrime (A.D. 195). And in the 6th century Aed Guaire, fleeing from the wrath of king Dermot mac Cerbaill, at first finds refuge in Britain, but cannot remain there, as king Dermot's power and influence were great there also.³

¹ *Acta Sanctorum Hiberniae*, edd. de Smedt and de Backer, col. 236.

² For another instance of British and Ulster pirates combining see *The Tripartite Life* (ed. Stokes), p. 439.

³ O'Grady, *Silva Gadelica*, ii, p. 81 = *Acta Sanctorum Hiberniae*, col. 325.

At the same time, these hostile relations between the two countries do not exclude peaceful intercourse. A certain amount of commerce must always have existed, and we obtain glimpses of this in the occasional mention of the routes followed by British trade. In the Lives of St. Finnian, *e.g.*, we read of British merchants returning from Dairinis, an island in Wexford Haven, to St. David's¹; and several British harbours, such as Porthmawr, in Pembrokeshire, are mentioned as places of embarkation for Ireland. Intermarriages between the Irish and British, too, are frequent. Thus in the 5th century Fedilmid, the son of Lóiguire, a chieftain on the Boyne, has a British mother (whose name is given in Irish and Latin as Scoth Nóe and Flos Recens), and a British wife. The son of this couple is called Fortchernn, a name which is remarkable as the Irish reflex of the Welsh Gortigern, Gwrtheyrn.² Or again, St. Tigernach, while waiting in a British harbour for a favourable wind to take him across to Ireland, meets Ethne, the king of Munster's daughter, who has just landed with a British escort to be married to a British king. To sum up, we have the concurrent testimony of Irish and Welsh tradition that from the 2nd century of our era till the 6th a series of partial conquests of Britain took place, some only of a temporary character, others more lasting. These Irish invasions seem to have been directed mainly against three points of Britain, exactly where, looking at the map, we should naturally expect them; namely, where the coast of Britain projects towards Ireland, and where in clear weather the land is plainly visible from the sister isle.

¹ Stokes, *Lives of the Saints from the Book of Lismore*, l. 2527, where instead of *Tairinis* read *Dairinis*. On p. 222, instead of "Tours" read "Dairinis". Cf. *Acta Sanctorum Hiberniae*, col. 191.

² Just as the Irish word *fortche* (ex *for-tuge) "a covering", is the Welsh *gortho*.

In the south-west, as we have seen, the peninsula of Dyfed invited an invasion from the opposite coast of Munster. The second point of attack was no doubt the peninsula of Lleyn and the isle of Anglesea; and the third, as is well known, was the peninsula of Cantire, where towards the end of the 5th century the tribe of the Dál Riata from the opposite coast of Antrim obtained a firm footing.

The ultimate fate of these three invasions has been a different one in every case. In the south no expulsion seems to have taken place. The Gaels here lost their supremacy, and became gradually amalgamated with their Brythonic surroundings, losing their nationality and their speech. The Gaelic invaders in Carnarvon and Anglesea were vanquished and expelled shortly before 400 by Cunedda and his sons, who had left their northern home in Manaw Gododin and settled in Gwynedd. In Scotland alone the Gaelic conquest was destined to be permanent.

The question naturally arises with regard to some of these invasions how it was possible that during the supremacy of the Roman such conquests and settlements could have taken place in districts so near the seat of Roman power as, for instance, Dyfed. I will not attempt to explain away this difficulty. There is no doubt that it is one of the causes why these statements of Irish and Welsh sources have not met with general credence, and why another theory of accounting for the presence of the Gael in Wales has again and again been advocated and found willing ears.

The hypothesis that these Gaels were the remains of an original population, seen as it were in the act of departing from the country before the presence of the Brython, was first advanced by the 17th century Welsh scholar, Edward Llwyd, Lloyd or Floyd, who, had he lived in a more scientific age, might have become the father of Celtic philology,

and who must still be regarded as the most remarkable forerunner of Johann Kaspar Zeuss. It is interesting and instructive to see how Lloyd arrived at a theory, which, as Skene puts it with legal precision, "runs counter both to the traditions and to the real probabilities of the case."¹ Lloyd, whose arguments will be found stated in his Welsh preface "At y Kymry", was in this matter entirely led by philological speculations. But he took philology for a guide in an age when the science of language had not yet been born, and he was bound to be misled. In the light of more modern research his array of linguistic facts and materials, and the conclusions derived therefrom, alike count for nothing. A few indications will suffice to show his method. He observed and collected a large number of cognate words in Welsh and Gaelic, and arrived at the conclusion that the Gaels—both Irish and Scotch—and the Brythons had originally been one and the same people, speaking the same language and having long lived together, first on the continent and then in Britain. But he also noticed in Irish and Scotch Gaelic a large number of words which he was unable to connect with any cognate Welsh ones. To account for this phenomenon, he assumed that the Britons, when they had passed over from Britain into Ireland, found there a different non-Celtic race, the Scots, with whom in the course of time they became amalgamated, while their language received a large number of Scottish words, and was thus differentiated from the purer Welsh language. It is not necessary to prove the fallacy of Lloyd's conclusions. It is not his method that is at fault, but the linguistic facts upon which he based his argument are wrong.

It is different with the modern upholders of the theory of an original settlement of the Gael in Britain. They seem to me to have been influenced rather by certain pre-

¹ *Four Ancient Books of Wales*, i, p. 44.

conceived notions and general ideas, by such an idea, for instance, as that of the westward trend of migration and colonisation, an idea which has done so much harm in directing philological research into wrong paths; or by the assumption that the Gael, on his way to Ireland, must of necessity have passed through Great Britain. And I hope I may be pardoned for supposing that even in the scholarly mind of Professor Rhys there may lurk somewhere below the sphere of consciousness some subtle influence of native Welsh traditions. For it has often struck me as curious and perhaps worth considering that the theory has (so far as I know) been advocated by Welsh scholars only. To the Welsh mind the name *Gwyddel* seems to convey the idea of something aboriginal, a notion that arises in the first instance no doubt from a fanciful popular connection of the name with the Welsh word for wood, *gwydd*, as if it meant woodman, dweller in woods. To illustrate this let me quote what Dr. Owen Pughe has to say in his Dictionary, s.v. *Gwyddel*.

“Gwyddel, pl. Gwyddelod—That is, of the woods, that is, in a sylvan state; a savage. It is an appellative, synonymous with Celt, and Ysgotiaid, for an individual of such tribes as lead a venatic life in woods, in contradistinction to the Gàl, living by cultivating the ground. Whichever of these two primary classes of mankind had the ascendancy gave its name to the whole country. There is a tradition of Wales being once inhabited by the Gwythelians, or, more properly, its first inhabitants were so called; and the common people, in speaking of it, ascribe some ruins about the country, under the name of *Cytiau y Gwyddelod*¹ to them;

¹ The popular attribution in Wales of early stone and earth-works to the *Gwyddel* has no more historical value than the common supposition that similar remains in England owe their origin to the “Danes”, or in Scotland to the “Picts.”

and the foxes are said to have been their dogs; and the polecats their domestic cats, and the like.”

I will mention at once that when Dr. Pughe here speaks of a tradition in Wales that the country was once inhabited by Gaels, if thereby he means that these Gaels were a more original race in Britain, older than the Kymry, such a tradition is certainly not a very old one, as there is never any allusion to it in early Welsh literature, where on the contrary, as we have seen, invasions [*gormesion*] of the Gael only are referred to.

In some parts of Wales at any rate, *Gwyddel* is also used to denote gypsies, though they are more properly called *teulu Abram Wd.*¹ I suppose it is in this sense that John Ceiriog Hughes uses the word, when enumerating the delights of a Welsh fair:

“ Moch, bustych, deunawiaid, a heffrod,
 Saeson a buswail, a theirw gwyllt:
 Fferins, almanacs, Gwyddelod,
 Asynod, a merlod, a myllt.”

Popularly, then, the name *Gwyddel* is of very wide application, and if I lay any stress at all on this, it is only because I fail to see on what other grounds the notion of the Gael having preceded the Brython in Britain can be based. So little do the facts at our disposal bear out such a notion. For whether we take history for our guide, or native tradition, or philology—we are led to no other conclusion but this: that no Gael ever set his foot on British soil save from a vessel that had put out from Ireland. Let us consider what other evidences we have as to the presence of the Gael within the boundaries of Wales, and how these fit in with the two opposing theories.

There is the evidence, first, of the inscribed stones, which

¹ From an eponymous ancestor Abraham Wood, who came into Wales about two hundred years ago.

show by their character or contents that they were erected by Gaelic inhabitants. These are of two kinds, they are either written in Latin, or in Irish in Ogam characters.

The Latin inscriptions—collected by Hübner in the *Inscriptiones Britanniae Christianae*—show clearly by the Gaelic proper names which they contain that down to the 6th century at any rate a considerable percentage of Gaelic population was to be found among Brythonic surroundings in Cornwall, Devon and Somerset, as well as in Anglesey, *i.e.*, exactly in those districts where, as we have seen, Gaelic settlements had taken place.

As for the Ogam-stones, they are generally admitted to be the work of a Gaelic population. Professor Rhys also admits this now, though formerly, as you are aware, he held a different opinion.

Of the people who set up these stones he says (*Celtic Britain*, p. 213): “They were Goidels belonging to the first invasion of Britain, and of whom some passed over into Ireland, and made that island also Celtic. At this point, or still earlier, all the British islands may be treated as Goidelic, excepting certain parts where the neolithic natives may have been able to make a stand against the Goidels; but some time later there arrived another Celtic people, with another Celtic language, which was probably to all intents and purposes the same as that of the Gauls. These later invaders called themselves Brittones, and seized on the best portions of Britain, driving the Goidelic Celts before them to the west and north of the island; and it is the language of these retreating Goidels of Britain that we have in the old inscriptions, and not of Goidelic invaders from Ireland.” By using the expression “retreating Goidels” Professor Rhys endeavours to reconcile his theory with the fact that these Ogam-inscriptions are almost exclusively found in South Wales (Pembroke-

shire, Carmarthenshire, Cardiganshire, Brecknockshire, Glamorganshire), while two or three only have been found in Devonshire, Cornwall, and North Wales. I need hardly point out how surprisingly well this peculiar distribution of the stones fits in with the topography of the Irish invasions.

As to the list of Gaelic loanwords in Welsh, which Professor Rhys has been the first to collect,¹ his theory is surely not necessary to explain their presence. None of them can have been borrowed before the second century of our era, the time of the first Gaelic invasion. There were plenty of opportunities for borrowing at all times, and it should be borne in mind that we also find Welsh loanwords in Irish. Both nations, *e.g.*, borrowed a number of ecclesiastical and religious terms from each other in consequence of the contact and intercourse between the Irish and British Churches.

Lastly, there is early Welsh literature to be considered. I do not here refer to the literary influence of Ireland on Wales, of which there are such marked traces in the annals and chronicles of Wales, and which may date from the second half of the fifth century, when intercourse between Irish and British monasteries began.

I am speaking here of the deposits of Irish legendary lore which we find in early Welsh poetry and in the tales known as the *Mabinogion*. Most of these have been pointed out and discussed by various scholars; I can therefore confine myself to putting before you the most characteristic of them. We have in the *Book of Taliessin*,² a poem dating perhaps from the ninth century, in which, in the form of an elegy (*marwnad*), the well-known Irish tale of the storming of Cúrói mac Dairi's fort by the Ulster hero Cúchulinn is alluded to in a way

¹ Cf. also *Revue Celtique*, vol. xvii, p. 102.

² Skene, *Four Ancient Books*, i, p. 254; ii, p. 198.

which shows that this Irish story was well known to a Welsh audience. Indeed, as is generally the case with this kind of composition, the poem can hardly be understood by anyone not perfectly acquainted with all the incidents of the legend.

Again, in the *Mabinogi* of Branwen, one of the chief incidents of another Irish saga, the *Mesce Ulad*, or "Intoxication of the Men of Ulster", is referred to in a way which shows that the narrator was alluding to a story with which his audience was familiar. In the Irish saga King Ailiel and Queen Medb (Maive) of Connaught are unexpectedly visited by their enemies, the Ulster King Conchobor and his heroes, who in a fit of drunkenness had wandered into the hostile country. The King and Queen of Connaught receive them apparently without hostility. A large building is placed at their disposal which was called the iron house (*tech iarnaide*), because it was built of iron, though the iron was concealed by a covering of wood both inside and outside. A rich banquet was set before them. "But as the night approached, their attendants would steal away from them one by one, even to the last man, who closed the door after him. And seven chains of iron were fixed upon the house, and fastened to seven stone pillars that were upon the green outside. An enormous fire was kindled, and thrice fifty smiths were brought, with their smiths' bellows, to blow the fire. Then the hosts shouted loudly about the house, so that the men of Ulster within were silent, speechless, until one of them said: 'What, O men of Ulster, is the great heat that seizes our feet? Meseems they are burning us from below and from above, and the house is closed fast.'"¹ It is to

¹ *Mesce Ulad*, ed. Hennessy, p. 45. This incident reminds one of the somewhat similar fate which, in the *Nibelungenlied*, the Burgundians suffer at the hands of King Etzel.

this Irish tale the Welsh story-teller evidently refers when he says of Llassar Llaesgyfnewit and his wife Kymideu' : "Ac a diangyssant or ty haearn yn Iwerdon pan wnaethpwyt yn wynnyas yn eu kylch, ac y dihangyssant odyno."

Again, in the *Mabinogi* of Kilhwch and Olwen, among the household of King Arthur, we find mention of Knychwr mab Nes,² *i.e.* Conchobor mac Nessa, the famous Ulster King. In the same *Mabinogi* a place famous in Irish legend is repeatedly mentioned, though not quite correctly, but with that easily-explained distortion so common in oral tradition. I refer to the place called *Esgeir Oervel yn Iwerddon*,³ evidently a corruption of the Irish *Sescenn Uairbheóil*, "the Marsh of Uarbél," a place in Leinster, frequently mentioned in early Irish story-telling as the abode of famous heroes.⁴ A Welsh word similar in sound, *esgeir*, "a ridge," has been substituted for *sescenn*, and *Uarbhel*, "cold-mouth," has been half rendered into Welsh.

Professor Rhys, in his paper on the *Twrch Trwyth*, has put together a number of identifications of proper names in the *Mabinogion* with Irish ones.⁵ Again, he contends that the presence of these comparatively few Irish names is to be explained by the Goidelic theory. "The *Mabinogion*," he says, "are of Goidelic origin, but they do not

¹ *Red Book of Hergest*, edd. Rhys and Evans, i, p. 31.

² *Red Book*, p. 106, 18.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 104, 2; 112, 14; 135, 18; 136, 28.

⁴ See, *e.g.*, *Fled Briarenn*, (Windisch, *Irische Texte*, § 83), where the three Glas of Sescenn Uairbéoil (*na trí Glais Sescind Uairbéoil*) are mentioned. The place is also in the Ossianic sagas; see *Macgnimartha Finn*, § 7 (*Rev. Celt.*, v, p. 199), and *Aided Finn* in my edition of the *Battle of Ventry*, p. 74.

⁵ Other identifications may no doubt be added. Thus Erim (*Red Book*, p. 108, 2), whose sons are all remarkable for their swiftness, seems to derive his name from the Irish word *érim*, "course, career." Garselit, who is called *pennkynydd Iwerddon* (*Ibid.*, 124, 10), "the chief hunter of Ireland," bears an Irish name meaning "Short-while."

come from the Irish or the Goidels of Ireland; they come rather, as I think, from this country's Goidels, who never migrated to the sister island, but remained here, and eventually adopted Brythonic speech." This seems to me, among other things, to postulate far too early an age for the *Mabinogion*. Besides, the familiarity of Welsh story-tellers with Irish sagas—mainly of the Ulster cycle—can, as we have seen, be explained much more naturally in other ways. From the forms in which the Irish names appear, two things are quite plain; first, that they have been handed on by oral tradition,¹ and secondly that this took place at a comparatively late time, certainly not before the ninth century, and in some instances much later, as such forms as *Cnychwr* = *Conchobur*,² *Oeruel* = *Uarbhél*, *Garselit* = *Gearr-selit*, conclusively prove.

The second contribution which I offer for publication in the Transactions of the Society consists of a collation and emendation of some of the Latin and Welsh texts published in 1853 by the Rev. W. J. Rees under the title *Lives of the Cambro-British Saints*. This edition has long been known to be very inaccurate both in its Latin and Welsh portions.³ The very facsimiles with which the book is adorned give an altogether false idea of the MSS. from which the texts are taken. Several of the *Lives* in this collection are based on very old material, as becomes

¹ Here I would also instance the form in which the name for the river Shannon twice appears in the *Red Book* (p. 36, 16, 17), viz., *Llinon* = Ir. *Sinainn*, the Welsh *ll* rendering the palatal Irish *s*. Compare with this the spelling *Scene* in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* (A.D. 891), from the Irish nominative *Sine*, *sc* being put for the palatal *s*.

² In the middle island of Aran, on the coast of Galway, *Dún Conchobhair* is now sounded *dún crochir*.

³ Some of the blunders in this edition it is hard to account for. Thus on p. 26, l. 26, the senseless *nomine Snaudrcntia* has been made out of *uoce in audientia* in the following line! P. 79, l. 10, instead of the meaningless *clunecerunt* the MS. has *apud Clunecert* (= Irish *Clúain Kraird*, now Clonard), etc.

particularly clear from the old-Welsh and old-Irish forms in which the proper names and place-names appear,¹ though many of them have been much corrupted by the scribes.

One of the most interesting *Lives* is that of St. Carantocus, who lived in the fifth century, and divided his missionary work between Great Britain and Ireland, where he was known and is still commemorated under the name of *Cairnech*, "the Cornishman." In Britain, Llan-grannog in Cardiganshire, and Crantock in Cornwall, take their names from him. He is said to have been a contemporary of St. Patrick's, and to have been active in the north of Ireland, while Patrick worked in the south. But his chief labours were in Leinster,² where he founded many churches. In Irish tradition he is said to have arranged the Pagan laws of Ireland, together with SS. Patrick and Benignus. There was another *St. Cairnech*, also a Cornishman, who lived about a century later, whose missionary work lay also in Ireland. He was the founder of Tuilén, now Dulane, near Kells, in Meath; and an Irish rhymed topography of the fourteenth century tells us that there then lived a sept of Welshmen in Meath, who were called *Comthinól Chairnig*, "Cairnech's Congregation." They were subject to the Cenél n-Eochain. These are the lines³:

" In Meath, though not Meathmen,
Are Britons of lasting fame :
Early they quaff their mead.
They are the congregation of Cairnech."

I may here mention that we know of several other

¹ I would instance such old forms as *mons Betho* (p. 234, 17), *Molue* (238, 22), *litus Eehdromo* (241, 28, now Aghrim, co. Wicklow), *Hirlocre* (244, 5), *Mochúe Loere* (*ib.*, 6), *cellam Daro* (249, 35), *Eogin* (240, 16).

² " In regione Le-gen," *Rees*, p. 98, 5. In *Legen* the *e* of the first syllable renders the infected *a* of the Irish *Luigen*, as *Cernach* = Ir. *Cairnech*.

³ *The Topographical Poems of John O'Dubhagain*, ed. O'Donovan, p. 51.

settlements of Britons in Ireland, and Irish topography has to the present day preserved the memory of such British settlements in various parts of the country. The Irish designation for a Briton was *Britt*, or *Bretnach*, later *Brannagh*. So St. Patrick is called *in Britt*, "the Briton" (*Book of Leinster*, 164*b*, 15). Both were very common surnames. But in conformance with the Statute of 5 Edward IV (1465), which enacted that every Irishman dwelling within the Pale should take an English surname, the Irish name was changed into *Walsh*. In the thirteenth century a considerable number of Welsh adventurers settled in Tirawley, from whom the Barretts, Hostys, Joyces, Lawlesses, MacAndrews, Merricks, and Tomlyns are derived.¹

That there were a large number of Welsh settlements throughout Ireland is evident from the frequent occurrence of the place-name Ballybrannagh (Ir. *Baile breathnach*), Anglicised Walshestown, Walshstown, Welchtown or Wallstown, of which the Census of Ireland (1871) enumerates no less than twenty-five.² The majority of these names occur in Leinster and Munster, but a few are also found in Connaught and Ulster.

There is a fabulous account of a very ancient settlement of Britons in what is now the barony of Forth in Wexford. The story, the oldest version of which we find in the *Book of Leinster*, a MS. of the twelfth century, says that Crimthann Sciathbél, a King of Leinster, fabled to have lived about A.M. 3500, received a Pictish clan into his territory on condition that they should free him from a British tribe called Túath Fidga. "Each man of them had the strength of a hundred. He whom they wounded

¹ See O'Donovan's *Hy Fiachrach*, pp. 324-339.

² See *Alphabetical Index to the Townlands and Towns of Ireland*, Dublin, 1877.

would perish, and neither points nor edges were able to hurt them, unless they were charmed (*nemide*). Then Trostan (or Drostan), a Pictish Druid, gave this advice to the King: 'Let thrice fifty milch-kine be milked into one trench, and let him whom the men of Fidga shall wound be bathed in that milk, and from the poison of their weapons he shall arise healed.' Thus it was done, Crimthann was victorious, and the tribes of Fidga fell."¹

From the Irish Annals we learn that in A.D. 682 Britons fought with the Dálaraide at Rathmore in Moylinny, that in A.D. 697 Britons and Ulstermen together devastated the coast of Louth (Mag Muirthemne), and that in 701 Irgalach, the grandson of Conang, was killed by Britons in Inis mic Nessán (now Ireland's Eye). "Possibly", says Reeves (*Adamnan*, p. 54), "they had made a settlement in Ireland."

To return to Rees' *Lives*. From them and from the *Acta Sanctorum Hiberniae*, edited by de Smedt and de Backer, we obtain a lively picture of the incessant intercourse between British and Irish monasteries during the sixth and following centuries. British monks and hermits in Ireland, and Irish monks and hermits in Britain, become familiar figures.² Thus St. Cybi spends four years in Aranmore off the coast of Galway during St. Enda's abbacy there, and on his return to Britain builds a church in Meath (*Rees*, p. 184). It is a saintly British anchorite, working as a cartwright for a monastery in Ireland, to whom St. Fintan tells the curious story of his visit, in

¹ See also the Irish *Nennius*, pp. 122 and 136.

² "Quidam religiosus Hibernensis heremita Deo devotius serviens nomine Meuthi," *Rees*, p. 25. "Monachus quidam de fratribus erat genere Brito" *Acta SS. Hib.*, col. 426. Seven British "peregrini" expel St. Fintan from Tulach Bennain, *Ib.* col. 229. As to a British "peregrinus" in Iona, see Reeves' *Adamnan*, p. 202. - Cf. also Cóica fer de Bretnaib [*sic leg.*] la Mac Móinain (=Furudran) il-Láind Léiri, *Book of Leinster*, p. 373 d.

the company of St. Colomba, Cainnech, and Brennaind (Brendanus), to the Land of Promise, whence he has just returned, bringing with him sand from thence in his shoes (*Acta Ss. H.*, col. 411). This story is also told of St. Munnu (*Ib.*, col. 502). A special interest attaches to it because the name of the place where Fintan took up his abode in the Land of Promise (*Terra Repromissionis*) recalls the name of one of the islands visited by Bran mac Febail on his way to the Land of Women. *Port Subi*, "the Port of Delight", was evidently suggested by *Inis Subai*, "The Isle of Delight", of the pagan Elysium.¹ In the Life of St. David (*Rees*, p. 124) there is the well-known story of an Irish chieftain named Boia, who had his abode near St. David's, and who gave to the saint the *Vallis Rosina*. His memory is preserved to the present day in the name of a large rock near St. David's called *Clegyr Fwya*, which is sometimes wrongly explained as *Clegyr Fwyaf*, "the biggest rock".² His daughter-in-law bears the Brythonic name Dunaut (= Lat. Donata). An Irish pupil of St. David's was *Scutinus*, or Scuthine of Sliab Mairge, also called *Scolanus*, we are told (*Rees*, p. 131). Irish tradition says that he could walk on the sea, and once went to Rome and back in one day. In the Welsh Life he visits St. David's, riding across the Irish Sea on a whale. Similarly St. Barri (Finnbarr of Cork), on his return from Rome, pays a visit to St. David, and then rides home to Ireland on a horse (*Rees*, p. 132). When out at sea, he meets St. Brendan on a whale. In the glosses to the *Félire* a similar legend is told of St. Barri and Scuthine, and as I want to append a remark on these and similar legends of saints, I will read it to you in Mr. Whitley Stokes' translation :³

¹ See my edition of *The Voyage of Bran*, § 61.

² See Owen's *Pembrokeshire*, p. 244, n. 2.

³ See the *Félire* Oen uso, p. xxxii. St. Gwynllyw also rides on the sea (*Rees*, p. 152).

“Once upon a time Scuithine met Barra of Cork, and he walking on the sea, and Barra in a vessel. ‘What is the cause of thy walking on the sea?’ says Barra. ‘It is not a sea at all, but a plain full of flowers and shamrock,’ quoth Scuithine, and in his hand he lifts a purple flower, and casts it from him to Barra in the ship. And Scuithine said: ‘What is the cause of a vessel swimming on the plain?’ At that word Barra stretches his hand down into the sea, and takes a salmon thereout, and casts it to Scuithine.”

To a student of early Irish literature it is plain that in this and many similar cases, supernatural attributes of pagan divinities and heroes have been transferred to the heroes of Christianity, the saints. The incident here related reminds one more particularly of a passage in the old-Irish saga *The Voyage of Bran*.¹

“When Bran had been at sea for two days and two nights, he saw a man in a chariot coming towards him over the sea. It was Manannan the son of Ler [the sea-god of the Irish]. Then Manannan sang the following quatrains to him :

“ Bran deems it a marvel
As he sails in his coracle over the sea :
While to me in my chariot from afar
It is a flowery plain on which he rides about.

What is a clear sea
For the prowed skiff in which Bran is,
That to me in my two-wheeled chariot
Is a joyous plain with profusion of flowers.

Bran sees a thousand waves
Beating across the clear sea :
I see in a pleasant plain
Red-headed flowers without fault.”

Similarly the speckled salmon are calves and lambs, and Bran’s boat passes over the tops of trees.

¹ See my edition, §§ 32-35.

St. Cadoc also spent some time in Ireland. His mother, Gladusa, daughter of Brachan, was of Irish descent. He stayed three years with St. Muchutu (+ 636) of Lismore (co. Waterford) "until he succeeded in gaining perfection in the learning of the West" (*Rees*, p. 36). On his return to Britain he was accompanied by several British and Irish clerics, amongst whom were Finnian, MacMoil and Gnauan. We are also told that he possessed a grant of land on the river Liffey. St. Finnian was his favourite Irish pupil, and the veneration of the monks of Clonard (a monastery founded by St. Finnian) for the memory of St. Cadoc was such that they would honourably receive any of his clergy, and make him as one of their heirs (p. 79). In this Life we find the mention of an Irishman called Liuguri (= Lóiguire) a skilful architect, who had come to Wales and settled near Neath. From him Llanlyugri is called (p. 47).

In reading the Lives of St. Cadoc one is struck by the fact that nowhere is there any mention of his being the author of those aphorisms which Welsh tradition ascribes to him. Nor, though the opportunities are not wanting, is any remarkable saying ever put in his mouth; and the epithet *Doeth*, "wise", which is now always bestowed upon him, is never once applied to him, though when on the Continent he went by the name of Sophias. But there seems to be no authority whatever for ascribing the aphorisms collected in the third volume of the *Myvyrian Archaiology*, that go by the name of *Cattwg Ddoeth*, to our saint. As I hope to show in a special paper, these proverbial sayings are simply renderings and adaptations in Welsh of the well-known *Disticha Catonis*, ever since the eighth century one of the favourite books of the Middle Ages.

That the distichs of Cato were as well-known in Wales as in the rest of Western Europe can be proved by a number of references and allusions to them in Welsh

literature, of which I will only mention two. In the triads of the *Red Book of Hergest* (p. 297, 6) *Cado hen*, 'old Cato' is mentioned together with Bede and the Sibyll (Sibli) as one who possessed the wisdom of Adam. In the *Iolo MSS.* (p. 252), among a set of wise or witty sayings, each of which is ascribed to some legendary or historical character, we find the following extraordinary sentiment ascribed to one Cadgyffro :

"A glywaist ti chwedl Cadgyffro
Hen, yn darllain llyfr Cato :
Nid mad gwr ni bai Gymro,"

which may be Englished as follows :

"Hast thou heard the saying of Cadgyffro
The old, while reading the book of Cato :
He is not a good man who is not a Welshman."

Who Cadgyffro was I know not. But his name seems to mean "Exciter of battle", and I have no doubt that he was responsible for much fighting if his sayings were all of this provocative nature. The similarity of the names *Cato* (in later Welsh *Cado*) and *Cadoc*, and the circumstance that the latter was also called *Sophias*, explain the fact that these aphorisms were fathered upon the Welsh saint.

The Irish saints who are said to have visited St. David and St. Cadoc are too numerous to mention.¹ But before leaving this subject I should like to draw attention to an interesting linguistic phenomenon which is directly the outcome of the intercourse between members of the two nations. British and Irish "peregrini" would naturally acquire the language of the country in which they lived.

¹ Among them is St. Brendan, who on his visit to St. David read a Greek missal, though not knowing the language, as easily as if it had been Latin (*Act. SS. Hib.*, col. 768). *Insula Ailech*, where he is said to have founded a monastery (*Ib.*, col. 769), is certainly not Alyth in Perthshire, as Reeves conjectured (*Adamnan*, p. 74), but Islay.

They would thus be familiar with two Celtic dialects or languages, and if we may judge from a single curious specimen, the two kindred languages would sometimes influence each other and a sort of mixed language arise. This was the case with the scribe of the Juvencus Glosses, an Irishman of the name of Núadu, who evidently lived in a British monastery. Professor Thurneysen was the first to point out¹ that in these glosses some apparently Brythonic words have really been modelled on Irish words, or, as he expresses it, certain Irish words have been "brythonised". Thus *hencassou*, which glosses *veteris scripti monumenta*, is not a genuine Brythonic word, but is modelled upon the Irish *senchassa*; similarly *gurthdo* (gl. *obsistit*) seems the Irish *fristá*, *strutiu* (gl. *antiquam gentem*) the Irish *sruthiu*, *arber bit* (gl. *vescitur*) is imitated from Ir. *airbir biuth*, etc.

My last contribution is a batch of Welsh loanwords from Anglo-Saxon and Early English, which I believe have not hitherto been collected.² While the influence of Welsh on English has always been of the slightest—for most Welsh loanwords given, *e.g.*, in Skeats' *Etymological Dictionary* turn out to be none—Welsh has at all times borrowed from English. To many of the older loans a peculiar interest and importance attach.

With regard, *e.g.*, to the vexed question of dating early Welsh poems, I think we may sometimes derive help from these foreign words, if, namely, we are able to fix the

¹ He says (*Rev. Celt.*, xi, p. 92): "Outre ces mots purement irlandais s'en trouve d'autres qui ont bien l'aspect gallois, mais qu'on n'a jamais rencontrés dans d'autres monuments des dialectes bretons; on ne les connaît que sous une forme irlandaise. Ne serait-ce pas que le glossateur irlandais ait parlé un gallois 'hibernisant,' c'est-à-dire qu'il ait çà et là 'britannisé' des mots irlandais, tout comme un Français qui, parlant italien, se servirait de mots français italianisés."

² They will be printed in the first number of the forthcoming *Archiv für Celtische Lexikographie* (Niemeyer, Halle a. S.).

period at which they came into the language. A very common loan from Anglo-Saxon is the Welsh word *tarian*, "a shield." It was borrowed from the oblique case of the Anglo-Saxon *targe*, a feminine, which gender the Welsh word has preserved. But Anglo-Saxon *targe* is not a native word, either. It was in its turn borrowed from the Norse *targa*, and cannot have come into use among the Saxons before the ninth century at the earliest. Indeed, the earliest occurrence in Anglo-Saxon, as Professor Toller informs me, is in a will dated 970. You will easily see the importance of this. For we can say with certainty that a Welsh poem in which the word *tarian* occurs—and so many of the early Welsh poems dealing with war, there is ample opportunity for the use of the word—cannot very well be assigned to an earlier date than the tenth century. It would take me too long to enter fully into this now, but I should like to point out that in some of those poems which are generally considered as the oldest, such as the *Gododin*, the word does not occur, native words, such as *ysgwyd*, or *aes*, being used instead. On the other hand, *tarian* does occur in several poems commonly ascribed to Taliessin and other early bards.

Other interesting and instructive examples of loans from Anglo-Saxon are found in place-names within the boundaries of the Principality. Some of these have often been noticed before, such as *bettws*, which is undoubtedly the Anglo-Saxon *bedhús*, "a prayer-house," *ffridd*, "a plantation, or enclosed ground," from *frith* in the same sense. These are of common occurrence. But two interesting isolated place-names of Anglo-Saxon origin have, I believe, not been noticed before. One is the name of a well-known mountain in Caernarvonshire spelt *Cynicht* and pronounced C'nícht. The combination *cht*,

which is quite un-Welsh, at once betrays its foreign origin, for *cht* is only found in foreign loanwords, as *e.g.* in *brachtan* or *brechtan*, "a slice of bread and butter," a word borrowed from the Gaelic. *Cynicht*, I take it, is the old-English *cniht*, modern English *knight*. The *y* of the first syllable has here merely the value of the so-called irrational vowel, as in *tylawd*, *tylodi*. Those who are familiar with this mountain, and have seen it, say, from the Aberglaslyn valley, will remember its bold and imposing shape, and admit that no more appropriate name could have been given to it.

A still more interesting loan from Anglo-Saxon is found, I believe, in the name of a village not far from Denbigh, called *Efenechtyd*, though I believe Professor Rhys has proposed a different explanation. Again, the *cht* points to foreign origin. Now there is an Anglo-Saxon word *efen-néhthe*, which, however, occurs only once in a passage in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*. Unfortunately its meaning is not very clear, and two different etymologies and explanations have been proposed. According to one, it means "neighbourhood", from *efen-néah* "even-nigh"; according to another it comes from *efen-héah* "even-high", and has the meaning of "plateau". I myself incline towards the latter explanation, and as for *Efenechtyd*, I am told that it lies at the foot of a very remarkable hill, the shape of which may perhaps account for the name.

But it is time to bring these very desultory remarks and notes to an end. Before, however, I sit down, I should like, now that I am face to face with a Society that ever since its foundation has done so much for the advancement to Celtic research, to bespeak your interest in an undertaking which, together with all Celtic students, I have very much at heart. This is a systematic collection of Welsh dialectical words and phrases so far as they have

not yet found their way into the dictionaries. This is a matter which can no longer be safely deferred; for the vitality of Welsh dialect is now seriously on the wane. Quite apart from any other considerations, such a collection would be of great value for the student of older Welsh. You know that older Welsh literature is full of words, the meaning of which cannot now be ascertained unless we can connect them etymologically with known words in one of the cognate languages. But it frequently happens that such old words, though they have long disappeared from the standard Welsh language, linger on in some dialect, where they may disappear any day without having been chronicled.

Let me give you an instance which has lately occurred to me. There is a line in the *Gorchan Cynfelin* in the *Book of Aneurin* (Skene, *Ancient Books of Wales*, ii, p. 75) which runs as follows:—

trwy hoel trwy hemin,

thus translated by Canon Silvan Evans :

“ through nail, through snare”.

But there seems to be no authority for attributing the meaning of “snare” to the word *hemin*. Professor Rhys, in quoting the passage in his learned paper on the language of old-Welsh poetry (*Rev. Celt.*, v, p. 39) leaves the word untranslated. It occurred to me that *hemin* might be cognate with the Irish *semenn*, “a rivet”; for initial *h* in Welsh generally corresponds to an Irish *s*, as *hen*, *sen* ; *hir*, *sir*, etc.

My delight was great when not long afterwards I heard the word—or rather a verb derived from it—used in this sense by an old farmer in the neighbourhood of Carnarvon. He was sending his son to the blacksmith with a piece of iron plate, through which he wanted a nail or

rivet put, and his words, so far as I remember, were something like this : “ Cerdd â hwn i'r efail a gofyn i'r go' ei hemynu ”. If you consider that more than 1,000 years lie between the first and only occurrence of this word in Welsh literature and its chance turning up to-day, you will have a striking example of the vitality of Welsh dialects.

Perhaps in the large number of literary societies scattered throughout the length and breadth of the Principality the means may be found for carrying out such dialectical work, and if from such a centre as your own Society such work could be organised, directed, and assisted, you would do, I think, a useful and truly national work, and one for which future generations of Celtic students would be particularly grateful.

CYMRU FU :
SOME CONTEMPORARY STATEMENTS.*

By R. ARTHUR ROBERTS,
Of the Public Record Office.

It was my privilege, some years ago, to give a summary account in the audience of this Society of the Public Records relating to Wales as a whole. On this occasion I confine myself to one class, which are technically known as "Ministers' Accounts." These contain statements of fact intimately concerning the inhabitants of the parts of the country to which they relate; the statements were made by men who themselves were on the spot at the moment when the facts chronicled arose, and by men, too, who were, by the very nature of the arrangements prevailing, bound to the strictest veracity. By the study of these documents, therefore, we may reasonably expect to gain some knowledge of the circumstances of the life of the people in Wales in times remote from the present, and in this expectation anyone properly qualified entering upon this study will, I think, not be disappointed.

It is necessary at once to explain that these "ministers" were not persons of a religious calling, such as those with whom the word in Wales is now most generally associated, but (to quote from Mr. Scargill-Bird's invaluable *Guide to the Public Records*) "Bailiffs, Farmers, Reeves, Collectors, Receivers, and other Officers or Ministers of such Manors

* Paper read before the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion, on the 11th of June, 1896, at 20, Hanover Square. Chairman, Mr. Edward Owen.

and Lands belonging to the ancient demesne of the Crown as did not form part of the *Firma Comitatus* or yearly Farm of the Sheriff, and also of such lands as were acquired from time to time by escheat, forfeiture, or otherwise." These ministers brought to the King's Exchequer a *compotus*, or account of their receipts and expenses, containing minute particulars; and these accounts, rolls of parchment of a varied character, so left at the Exchequer, have remained to this day and are now carefully preserved, and may be examined by any who have leisure to devote to the task, but profitably, it should be said, only by those who can interpret the abbreviated Latin in which they are expressed. They have reference to all parts of the country south of the Tweed, and among them are many relating to Wales and to almost every district of Wales. The particulars to be obtained from them are valuable historically, are often very curious and interesting, and are always instinct, as it were, with life and actuality.

(M.A. Portfo.
1202, No. 1)

Almost, if not quite, the earliest in date of the Welsh section is one that bears the venerable age of over six hundred and thirty years, referring to a time when, as all the world knows, on the throne of England sat King Henry III, and ten years of his reign had still to run. In the year 1262 died Richard de Clare, Earl of Gloucester, Lord of Glamorgan, and for the space of a few days more than twelve months his lands in Glamorgan were in the hands of Humphrey de Bohun, Earl of Hereford, then Warden of the Marches of Wales, as representative of his lord the king. The exact period during which they were so held was from Lammas Day, the feast of St. Peter ad Vincula, that is, 1st of August, 1262, to the 10th of August in the following year. During this time, I need hardly say, the Earl of Hereford took good care to secure

such of the proceeds as were forthcoming. Then it was that somebody "farmed" the whole of Cardiff—Kerdiff, the roll calls it. There was a port there then, as now; there was good fishing, and there were mills. This "farmer" had them all; made out of the town and port, fishery and mills, what he could, and paid a rent of £66 13s. 4d. [I am not concerned now with the values of money, but you will understand that that sum represented then a much greater value than such a sum denotes to-day; and what the comparative value is might easily be worked out from this very document from which I am quoting.] There were other rents and moneys accounted for which I must not stay now to give details of—one among them, for example, of 5s., the proceeds of a tax on the beer that was brewed at Cowbridge. But the most interesting part of the Earl of Hereford's account is, I think, his statement of expenditure, and to that I turn at once. He took over the management of the property, so to say, in the month of August. Like a prudent agriculturist he did not, although it was a troublous time, allow these broad acres to remain unsown and untilled. At Lantwit—which the document calls Lanyltwyt—he sowed thirty-six quarters of corn, for which he paid six and eight pence (half a mark) the quarter, and fifty quarters of oats, for which he disbursed two shillings and sixpence the quarter, and he sowed also, possibly, some beans. I am not practical agriculturist enough to estimate how far these quantities would go, but it is stated that there were four ploughmen employed there: it may be taken for a certainty that they were occupied in preparing the land more days than one; but whatever time they occupied, when their work was completed, they divided between them the sum of six shillings and twopence, that is, less than the price of a quarter of corn.

This document furthermore tells us something of the occupants at this time of the castles of Neath, of Llangenydd, of Talvan, of Llantrissant, and of Cardiff itself. We can in imagination accompany the Earl of Hereford to any one of these outlying strongholds, and turn out the whole of the garrison for inspection. Let us, for example, look at them as they might be mustered at Neath for the purpose. There is first, standing out alone, the constable. He is allowed two horses, and has two grooms or men to attend to them. He is supported by five men in armour; each of these is on horseback, and each has a spare horse beside, and each has two grooms. This is the fighting force. Then a little aside stands the clerk; he has one horse and one groom. The garrison is not left without spiritual privileges: they have a chaplain, whose duties, however, do not take him abroad, and who, therefore, has no horse, but only an attendant. Now come the subordinate establishment—the porter at the gate, the man who carries the keys, the cook, the baker, the brewer, the smith, the ferrymen, the reeve, two foresters, two cowherds, the miller, the laundress, and sundry others, in all fifty-two persons and thirteen horses. Such was the garrison of Neath Castle, and this document proceeds to tell how much bread and beer they consumed per week, and what the cost of the accompaniments to these staple articles of food was; also how much each person was allowed for clothing during the time. Details would be tedious, but the document furnishes them, and in the case of Talvan gives us the names of the two men-at-arms who, with their armoured horses, for the pay of twelve pence a day, and at a cost of living of seven shillings per week, held this post for the Lord Marcher and the King. The men were Owen Grek and his brother Morgan.

Cardiff Castle at this time, for a reason which we can

only surmise, had a much smaller garrison than Neath. The constable had but three men-at-arms to support him; he had this advantage, however, over his fellow at Neath: he was allowed three horses where the other had but two.

The next document¹ to which I should wish to refer makes statements of a more purely Welsh character (though still in the Law Latin of the period, of course), and deals with a time fifteen years later, when, Henry III having been laid with his fathers, his son Edward, as yet a young king, had succeeded him in England, and in Wales Llewellyn had been brought to terms of submission and had married a wife, a daughter of the great de Montfort. This document relates to Cardiganshire. Before I say anything as to its contents, permit me to read and so recall to your minds two or three passages from the *Brut y Tywysogion*, or Chronicle of the Princes of Wales. I quote from the translation in the Rolls edition, as sufficient for my purpose. First, under the year 1276, we read there, "At length, about the feast of Candlemas [that is, February the 2nd], the King appointed a Council at Worcester: and there he designed three armies against Wales. . . . The third army he sent to Caermarthen and Ceredigion, led by Pain, son of Patrick de Sais." Then under the next year, 1277, we have, "Then Pain, son of Patrick, subjugated to the King three commots of Upper Aeron—Anhunog, and Mevenydd and the middle commot. And Rhys, son of Maredudd and Rhys Wyn-dod, and the two sons of Maredudd, son of Owain, son of Gruffudd, son of the Lord Rhys, from Ceredigion, went to the Court of the King, to offer their homage and oath of allegiance to him. . . . The same year, the feast of

(M.A. Portfo.
1158, No. 1)

¹ See Transcript of this roll, given as an appendix to this paper.

S. James the Apostle [July 25], Edmund, the King's brother, came with an army to Llanbadarn,¹ and began to build a castle at Aberystwith."

"On the eve of S. Matthew [September 20] Edmund and Pain went to England, and left Roger Myles to be constable at Aberystwith and to protect the country."

So much for the chronicler. Let us now turn to our document, this "Ministers' Account" for Cardiganshire, making statements, recorded at the moment, relating to occurrences from December, 1277, to February, 1280, a period commencing, that is, three months after the time when Edmund, the king's brother, and Pain went off to England, leaving Roger Myles behind them, and what does it purport to be? It purports to be, and it undoubtedly is, the account rendered by Sir Roger de Meolis or Molis (the very Roger Myles of the translator of the chronicle) of his receipts from these very commots of Mevenydd and Anhunog, with those from other commots, namely, Creuddyn, Perfedd and Geneurglyn; and of his receipts also from the vills of Treflan and Llanhilar, the demesne of Llanbadarn, the vill of Llanbadarn (called in the roll Lampader), and Llanrhystyd. Lives there a man—from Cardiganshire—with soul so dead that he will not turn to this roll of parchment, more than six hundred years old, and ask with interest what it has to disclose to him of his rude forefathers who then, amid natural surroundings and beneath a sky that he knows so well, lived and moved and had their being. I trow not: and therefore, for the benefit of such a person, if he be here,

¹ It is almost impossible to avoid an allusion, by the way, to a Royal Prince, who in the month of June in this year 1896 came to Aberystwith, not in a hostile character, there to assist in the building of a fabric which, it may be hoped, will flourish for more centuries than the material fortress of Llanbadarn: Vawr has stood.

without troubling you with too many details, I mention a few of these contemporary statements relating to *Cymru fu*, as it was in the county of Cardigan.

Of the commot of Mevenydd, Madoc Vauchan was *præpositus*, or reeve, and this roll contains, first of all, an account of his receipts from the 21st of December, 1277, to the 22nd of February, 1280, a period of two years and three months. The truth of his statements was certified by another official, Howel ap Wilim, the Raglow of the commot. The moneys demanded and obtained from the inhabitants of the commot were not newly imposed taxes, but ancient customary payments, the only difference being in their destination: they consisted of the rents of assize or the fixed rents, the rents from the Weest, or *gwestfa* or food-rents, the payments for the *potura* of the *servientes de Keys*, or dues for the support of these persons, reckoned at one penny a day each, the payments for the maintenance of two horses for the lord of the country, which, as the roll incidentally chronicles, were calculated at two pence per day for groom and horse, a certain sum for the maintenance of the Raglow's horse and man, and a payment for provender for the lord's war-horse. These payments are repeated each year. There were also payments constantly recurring for "having the King's peace". It appears that a woman could hold land, for it is stated that the wife of Trahayern ap Madoc did so, and this is given as a reason why no rent was forthcoming. Then the personality of that Pain whom the chronicler mentions to have led the army against Ceredigion presents itself in the statement that Griffith ap Meredydd held certain land by delivery from *Paganus de Cadurciis*, and this also is held to excuse the payment of rent; and then finally, in this account of Madoc Vauchan, there is a statement relating to such familiar and useful animals as sheep and

pigs, the latter, at any rate, not unknown within living memory in that favoured county of Cardigan.

For the commot of Anhunog, here called Henhinioc, Philip Vauchan, who was *præpositus* there, renders a similar statement; and for the commot of Creuddyn, Iouan Vauchan, who includes among his receipts rents from certain cottars in a certain vill called Lanmihangel, now known as Llanfihangel y Croyddin. Here, then, were three of the same name, probably of the same family, holding office in this district. They all, by the way, have to tell a tale of non-receipt of rents for lands in the king's hands for which they claim to be allowed; and in this connexion the "randir", or divisions of land, or districts, and the names of their occupiers, very frequently occur.

When we come to the commot of Perfedd, the *præpositus* is one of another family, who has so long held a position of the kind that he has assumed it as a name, for Ivor Bedell is the *præpositus* here. His story is of much the same character. He makes the statement, in explanation of a deficiency in the rents of assize, that certain land called *Ranbran*, which customarily had paid ten shillings and eight pence per annum, had been given in exchange for the site of the vill and castle of Lampader, that castle at Aberystwith which, you will remember, the chronicler of the *Brut* tells us was even now in building. Roger de Meolis also exchanged other land for part of the meadow of Claran. In these two entries, therefore, we have as early a step in the proof of title as most present day owners would care to have the knowledge of, or any lawyer either.

In the account of the commot of Geneurglyn, among the items are fines paid "for having the King's peace" (a phrase which explains itself), and the first reference in

this roll to honey as a product of the country: this sold at the price of three shillings and fourpence for four *lagenæ*, or four gallons or jars. It gives also the names of a great number of the holders of land in this commot whose lands were in the king's hands. At this point it is of interest to turn again to the statements of the chronicler of the *Brut*, who says, in his account of the events of the year 1277 from which I have already quoted, "That year, the Saturday after August, Rhys son of Maelgwn, son of the Lord Rhys, retired to Gwynedd to Llywelyn, for fear of being taken by the English who were at Llanbadarn; and thereupon the English took possession of his whole territory. And along with him the men of Genau y Glyn retreated to Gwynedd, leaving the whole of their corn and land waste." So the chronicle explains the "Ministers' Account," and the "Ministers' Account" supports the veracity of the chronicle. And thus, when in the "Ministers' Account" we come upon the lengthy list of names, almost like that of a census, and the names of lands also—Leysecoyt, Stratgilion (or, to turn to the men, Haman fab Howel ap Eynon, Lewelin ap Eynon, and so forth)—and demand a reason, the chronicle supplies it, and there is called up before our imagination a great exodus of the people as, following their leader, they withdraw from their own loved neighbourhood on the banks of the river Dovey to seek protection for themselves, or to aid, comfort, and abet Prince Llewellyn, in the fastnesses of Snowdon.

Returning to the matters on this roll, I note that in the account of Trefilan, there is nothing essentially different from such as I have already referred to, but in that relating to Llanhilar are signs of the return of the people to peaceful avocations, for, as regards this place, it appears that Roger de Meolis, Constable of Aberystwith,

had issued licences *pro mercandisiis faciendis*, i.e. for the buying and selling of commodities. The accounts just referred to relate, it will be remembered, to a period commencing in December, 1277, shortly after Roger de Meolis had been left in charge at Aberystwith. But on membrane 7 is a statement made by one who had been receiver for the eight or nine previous months, and whose personality is embodied in the name and title of *Cadwgan the dean*. His returns, however, are for the most part of a negative nature, as when he sententiously requests that "it be remembered" that during this time, from the commots of Mevenydd and Anhunog, he had received no *gwestfa*, nothing for the sustenance of the lord's horses nor for that of the Raglow, nor for the three men to attend them, nor for the maintenance of the *servientes* who were called "keys", because peace was in those parts at that time *tenerrima*, and almost every one of the neighbouring commots was in a state of war. On the other hand, he notes payments made for levelling the groves of Trevileyn by order of that Pain who was ruling at Aberystwith.

Prefixed to these accounts of his subordinates is the statement of Roger de Meolis himself. He acknowledges the receipt of sums paid into his hands by the various *præpositi*, of tolls from the market of Ystrad Meurig, of proceeds from a certain wood called "Gleys" (with regard to the title to which he incidentally makes a statement that it did not belong to the king but to a certain unnamed right heir, come to the said king's peace), and of moneys from men of the country for having the king's peace. On the other hand, he claims to retain to himself all he received during his first three months, between Christmas and Easter, as a gift from the king, and also eighty pounds for his fee; he claims allowance also of seventeen pounds odd for expenditure upon houses built in

the castle at Aberystwith; but, a windfall having come in in the guise of a wreck in Cardigan Bay, from which seven casks of wine produced the sum of fourteen pounds, he acknowledges himself indebted to his lord and master the king, clear, in a sum of a fraction over one hundred and sixty-eight pounds.

A document of one membrane only, of an age not far short, if at all short, of that from which the facts above have been taken, relates to the county of Carmarthen-shire. It gives *particule*, that is, the details of receipts, etc., brought up by the person accounting to explain his totals. It shows that it was possible to find tenants for lands seized into the king's hands; whether any boycott followed, it says not; but it would seem not, for a large number of the entries are statements of payments made by the persons named, *pro advocacione domini habenda*, that is to say, for being received into the king's vassalage and having peace. The sums paid to this end vary; thus Mewryk ap Oweyn pays twelve-pence; Jevan ap Elider, fourpence; Howel ap Lewelin, six-pence, and Griffit ap Kedyvor, one penny. It is clear from this document that Rhys ap Meredydd had not long ceased to have authority in the land, for Jerouarch ap Gryffit and Jevan ap Gryffit still held land called "Loderemayok", in Mathlaen, by lease from him at a rent of five shillings per annum. In Kenewel in Cayo [Cynfil-Cayo], toll was levied on strangers going through, and a total of two shillings extracted from such wayfarers, by law, as you may say. In Emelyn, Morgan ap Howel, like Jerouarch ap Gryffit elsewhere, was still holding land by commission of Rhys ap Meredydd, in this entry described as late lord of the commot. This little document also shows that in these remote times, if tenants did not pay their rents, they had to quit, and others took their places, just as in these modern prosaic days.

(M.A. Porto.
1158, No. 2)

(M.A. Portfo.
1218, No. 1)

If information of a more detailed character is required with reference to Carmarthenshire, it may be obtained from a roll, later in date, indeed, but not many years later, which is an account of William de Rogate, chamberlain of West Wales, for the twelve months between September, 1301, and the September following. This furnishes information of a very precise character. For example :—

Under Carnarthen, it is stated, among other things, that the prior of Carmarthen held a meadow called "John Loring's meadow", for a rent of half a pound of cummin and half a pound of pepper, which, converted into money, sold for fivepence halfpenny. And also that Thomas Bolpanne and the heirs of Andrew Spileman had a meadow at Redcors [Rhydygors] at a rent of two pounds of pepper, which, again converted into current coin of the realm, fetched twenty-pence. Then it appears that William Saunders was the tenant of Llanllwch mill, let to him by King Edward's brother, Edmund, at twenty shillings per annum. Then Master Peter Lorenze—not a Welshman clearly—sublet another mill near Carmarthen, called "Tewysmulle", taking it from Thomas Kingmon and Elena his sister, who had inherited the lease, and for the right of way to this mill through the middle of a moor belonging to the lord he paid an additional five shillings. Then one William Champondeis was tenant of another mill near Carmarthen, called "Alrenemulle", and the lease of this mill also had been inherited by Thomas Kyngmon and Elena his sister—the rent being fifteen shillings. A certain William de Canvill held another mill, or rather, three parts of it, called "Cocmulle", but he paid rent for three-quarters of a year only, because in the fourth quarter it was not let at all, on account of its ill state of repair and the want of water.

It is noted that the fourth part of this mill had been given in ancient times—"ancient", that is, not only from the standpoint of the present day, but also to the people then living at Carmarthen—as a free eleemosynary gift to the Church of St. Mary in the town, a church that now, if I remember aright, no longer exists. Will the present day land surveyors, I wonder, agree that the meadow above the Towy bridge at Carmarthen and the meadow below it, and the meadows of "Dochok" and Rhydygors (Redcors) contain altogether, "more or less", as the saying is, thirty-four acres? It was said so to be in the year I speak of, and the men who made and carried the hay there rendered three shillings and fourpence per acre for the privilege. Then we learn that horses were turned out on the moor immediately adjacent to this meadow, presumably for the season, at a penny per head. Again, the fishery above the bridge fetched seven shillings and sixpence for three-quarters of a year; below the bridge sixty shillings, the latter being in the hands of one man—Walter de Pederton. Then it is shown that there were in the town two classes of burgesses—those who had curtilages, and those who had neither burgages nor lands, but who, nevertheless, had the same privileges as those who had, these landless burgesses being denominated burgesses *de Vento*. There was, again, another class of residents, "men of another condition", as it is said, called *Chensarii*, who could buy and sell throughout the year, whether at market, or fair, or any other time, and who paid for the privilege. If we had the *particule* which accompanied this account we should possess the names of every one of these men, and of the men of the other conditions also, but it is to be feared that these *particule* have perished. Passing from Carmarthen this roll furnishes information as regards the hamlet of Llanllwch

also. And we discover that there was a separate court for the English and Welsh there. The roll furthermore contains accounts relating to the *patria* of Cantrefmawr [which "patria", it is stated, included the six commots of Ketheynok, Maynardeilou, Mathlahen, Cayo, Mabelveu, and Mabuderud, and the forests of Glyncothi and Pennent]; and not to Cantrefmawr only, but also other districts of Carmarthenshire and Cardiganshire.

Chiefly for the reason that the earliest in date of these ministers' accounts have reference to South Wales, I have occupied most of the time at my disposal with the circumstances of that part of the country, but, as I intimated at an early stage of my paper, the information available is not confined to it: it is abundant for the mid and northern parts as well. But any who have read Dr. Seeböhm's *Tribal Wales* will already have been made acquainted with some examples of it. There is, indeed, an extract from a "minister's account" printed in the appendix to that learned work. Permit me, however, to give you a few more examples of the sort of information which may be found up and down on the face of these rolls. Is knowledge of an economical character desired? It is here to be obtained. It has already been made evident that the prices of agricultural produce can be learned, and by a comparison of a series of years, the changes in prices may of course be set out; so of the rental value of land. In the twelfth year of King Edward I, for example, an account of the bailiff of the town discloses that at Beaumaris the best land fetched sixpence an acre; the next best, fourpence; mountain land, twopence; and *pastura in pendiciis*, or grazing land, one penny. Again, it is interesting to know that the "farmer" of the ferryboat there at this time paid fifteen shillings for his monopoly. Here is

an entry which would have made good copy for a newspaper paragraph if newspapers had been then in existence, as they were not. Sir John de Sapy, constable of Beaumaris Castle, had in his custody three prisoners of Welsh nationality, Ieuan Cutta and two companions. By their own cleverness, or through his neglect or want of strict oversight, or by some other contrivance or mischance, these prisoners of his made their escape. That escape cost Sir John de Sapy dear. Before Sir Roger de Mortimer, Justice of Wales, he was mulcted in a penalty of fifteen pounds for his default, and consequently that year the accounts of the bailiff of Beaumaris showed a better balance by this not inconsiderable sum. Then, during this twelve months, the enormous number of three boats, or vessels, put into Carnarvon laden with commodities for sale. The bailiff, with pardonable pride, no doubt, at the extent of the trade of the port, sets down a total of twelvecpence as having been received from this source, at the rate of fourpence from each boat. Another piece of information is, that in Carnarvonshire, Henry de Cheton, a burgess, built a chapel in honour of the Virgin Mary, and that the king, in appreciation of this service to the community, granted him a burgage, value sixpence per annum, to hold to him and his heirs for ever. Again, we learn that Maria Maunsel, from whose breast the great King Edward had drawn his first nutriment, was rewarded by her grateful foster child, in after years, with the grant of a burgage and seventy-three acres of land in Carnarvon for life, rent free, a holding which otherwise would have produced an annual sum of six shillings and sevenpence in augmentation of his royal revenue. It appears above that in Glamorgan, so far back as the year 1262, corn was bought at six shillings and eightpence the quarter, and oats at two shillings and sixpence. In Anglesey, in 1291,

twenty-nine years later, the price of corn is still given as six shillings and eightpence, but oats were here higher by the sum of sixpence, and sold at three shillings. The long connexion of the family of the Pulestons with the counties of Anglesey and Carnarvon is a matter of common knowledge. It is from an account of Roger de Pywelesdon, knight, who was sheriff of these counties then, that the facts last mentioned have been taken. A little strip of parchment sewn to the membrane of a later account tells us something more of the personal history of this ancient scion of the Puleston family, namely, that he was slain in the king's service in Wales somewhere between 1291 and 1295; that before this event he was in arrear to a large amount in the sums he ought to have paid into the king's exchequer from the proceeds of his shrievalty, and that he had been allowed to make an arrangement to pay off his debt by easy instalments of forty marks per annum. But not many of these payments had been made at the moment when he met his soldier's death, and the king then, in acknowledgment of the knight's good service, in August, 1295, wiped out the debt, and freed his heirs and executors from the burden of it, although it amounted to the large sum of two hundred and sixty-seven pounds.

A roll full of detailed information is the *Compotus* of Gruffi ap Rees, sheriff of Carnarvon, for the six months April to September, 1301, in the twenty-ninth of King Edward, the first year that Edward of Carnarvon, his son, held the principality of Wales. From this roll, however, I will take but one set of statements—of labourers' wages. Attention has already been called to similar facts for an earlier time and a different part of the country; but in Carnarvonshire in the first year of the fourteenth century wages ruled at the following rates:—

Haycutters, threepence a day; to the men—they are said to be men—who, coming after, tossed the hay to catch the drying breeze, three halfpence; the same to the men who turned it, a different lot apparently, at any rate a larger number working at a different time (perhaps the clouds of heaven had in the interval discharged abundant moisture); the same to the band of men who gathered it together; but one penny *per diem* only to another band who collected it; then came the fourteen men with the fourteen carts, who carried the hay, and they, like the cutters, took each threepence.

If I add just this one further item, that in Merionethshire, two or three years later, the justice of Wales, visiting Aberdovey, found—by uncomfortable experience possibly—that the boat at the ferry there was old and crazy and unseaworthy, and sternly ordered the person concerned to provide a new one, and that it cost the sheriff of the county thirty shillings to comply with the justice's commands, I shall probably have put before you enough to show you how varied is the information these records furnish, and what side-lights they throw upon the life and occupations of our Welsh ancestry in every rank of life. I have occupied you with the merest glance at the contents of a few of the earliest in date, but they exist in numbers for the centuries that follow, and I have no doubt that a minute study of them—which, while it would be tedious would yet be fascinating—would yield historical results of great value, social and economical.

APPENDIX.

TRANSCRIPT (*the abbreviations having been extended*) of
 "MINISTERS' ACCOUNT", Portfolio 1158, No. 1, pre-
 served in the Public Record Office, London.

[Membrane 1.]

COMPOTUS domini Rogeri de Meolis a festo Natalis Domini
 anno regni Regis Edwardi sexto usque Pascha proxime
 sequens anno eodem.

Idem reddit compotum de *iiij. li. ix. s. viij. d.* receptis de
 Madoco preposito de Generglin per *ij. tallias* Et de
iiij. li. iiij. s. viij. d. receptis de Ivor bedello de Comod
 Perveth per *ij. tallias* Et de *vj. li. xv. s. vj. d.* receptis de
 Madoco ap Griffit ballivo de Creurdyn Et de *xiiij. li.*
v. s. viij. d. receptis de Madoco Vauchan preposito de
 Mevenit Et de *viiij. li. xij. s. j. d.* receptis de Philippo Vau-
 chan preposito de Henninioch Et de *xxvj. s. ij. d.* receptis
 de Gilberto preposito burgi de Lampader.

Idem reddit compotum de *xl. s.* receptis de fine Morgan
 ab Eynon Et de *xxvj. s. viij. d.* receptis de hominibus de
 Lamdemeda pro meremio trahendo. Et de *xvj. s.* receptis
 de Oweno ap Griffit ap Morgan Et de *xx. s.* receptis de
 Madoco ap Troindon Et de *xiiij. s. iiij. d.* receptis de
 Oweno Du Et de *x. s.* receptis de Griffino ab David Et
 de *x. s.* receptis de Meillero Gouch Et de *xj. s.* receptis
 de Kedivor Gouch Et de *xxx. s.* receptis de Wyllim
 ap Joruard pro pace domini Regis habenda.

Summa *xlviij. li. v. s. ix. d.*

Idem Rogerus reddit compotum a Pascha anno regni
 Regis Edwardi sexto usque festum Sancti Petri in
 Cathedra anno Edwardi septimo.

Idem reddit compotum de *xxviij. s. x. d.* receptis de
 David preposito de Lampader de exitu ballive sui per
 predictum tempus per *iiij. tallias* Et de *xxj. li. vij. s.*
iiij. d. receptis de Madoco ballivo de Ginerglin per visum
 et testimonium Griffini ap Madoc per *xij. tallias* Et de
xl. li. iiij. s. ij. d. receptis de Ivor bedello de Comot
 Pervith per *viiij. tallias* Et de *xlj. li. xv. s. iiij. d.* quad.

receptis de Iuan preposito de Creurdin et de Griffino ap Madoc bedello ejusdem commoti per predictum tempus per xj. tallias Et de ciij. s. receptis de eisdem sine tallia Et xliij. li. xvj. s. viij. d. receptis de Madoco preposito de Mevenit et de Howel ap Willim ballivo ejusdem commoti per viij. tallias Et de xvij. s. receptis de David preposito de Lanhyllar et Kedivor ap Kedi ejusdem loci ballivo per ij. tallias Et de xxxvi. s. ij. d. receptis de Philippo preposito de Henhinioc et Philippo ap Haur ballivo ejusdem loci per predictum tempus per xj. tallias. Et de vij. s. iiij. d. receptis de Adam ap Andrew preposito de Lanrusti per j. talliam Et de xxxiiij. s. ix. d. receptis de Willelmo preposito de Trevileyn Et de viij. li. v. s. receptis de Gilberto preposito burgi de Lampader per ij. tallias Et de xiiij. s. iiiij. d. receptis de tolletis nundinarum de Strata Meyric sine tallia per visum procuratoris de Specerwestic Et de xvj. s. receptis de quodam bosco qui vocatur Gleys. Et est notandum quod ille boscus non est domini Regis sed cujusdam veri heredis ad dicti domini Regis pacem venientis Et de xl. s. receptis de Adam ap Howel et fratribus suis pro pace domini Regis habenda. Et de xl. s. receptis de iiij. hominibus de Generglin pro eodem Et de xiiij. s. iiiij. d. de iiiij. hominibus de Crewerdin pro eodem Et de xiii. s. iiiij. d. receptis de David ap Cadugan Du pro eodem Et de v. s. receptis de Cadugan Fol pro eodem Et de xiiij. s. iiiij. d. receptis de Griffit ap Howel pro eodem Et de xx. s. receptis de Res ap Eynon pro eodem Et de xiiij. s. iiiij. d. receptis de Meybon Gethin pro eodem Et de x. s. receptis de Wronou ap Iuwan pro eodem Et de xvj. li. xiiij. s. viiiij. d. receptis de Griffino preposito de Carwedros de redditibus placitis et perquisitis a festo Sancti Valentini anno regni Regis Edwardi sexto usque festum Sancti Martini anno eodem Et de xliij. s. viij. d. receptis de perquisitis sine tallia anno eodem Et de iiiij. li. receptis de Griffit preposito prenomi- nato de Keys sine tallia Et de viij. li. xiii. s. v. d. de Win bedello de Ganhunit de redditibus placitis et perquisitis Et de xl. s. receptis de eodem de Keys sine tallia. Et de lxvj. s. viij. d. receptis de quodam pro pace domini Regis habenda Et lxvj. s. viij. d. receptis de duobus doleis vini venditis.

Summa—cclxix. li. iiiij. s. xj. d. ob.

Idem Rogerus reddit comptum a Pascha anno regni Regis Edwardi septimo usque festum Sancti Petri in Cathedra anno octavo.

Idem reddit comptum de *xx. li. vij. s. vj. d.* receptis de Madoco bedello de Generglin et Griffino ap Madoc ejusdem commoti per predictum tempus ballivo per *x.* tallias Et de *lvj. s. viij. d.* receptis de eisdem sine tallia Et de *xij. s.* receptis de eisdem similiter sine tallia Et de *xvj. li. viij. s. iij. d.* receptis de Ivor ap Madoc et Griffit ap Madoc ballivis de commoto Perveth per *vij.* tallias Et de *xxi. j. li. xvij. s. v. d.* receptis de Iuwan preposito et Griffino bedello de Crewerdin per *ix.* tallias Et de *xxxvij. li. xvij. s. vij. d.* receptis de Madoco preposito de Mevenit et Howelo ballivo ejusdem per *vj.* tallias Et de *vj. li. iij. d.* receptis de eisdem sine tallia Et de *xiiij. s. vij. d.* receptis de David preposito de Lanhinar per *ij.* tallias Et de *xxvij. li. ij. d.* receptis de Philippo preposito de Heninioc et Philippo ap Heur bedello ejusdem commoti per *vij.* tallias Et de *x. s.* receptis de Adam ap Andreu preposito de Lanrusti per *ij.* tallias Et de *l. s. viij. d.* receptis de predictis ballivis de Heninioc sine tallia Et de *xxxv. s. ij. d.* receptis de Willelmo preposito de Trevelyen p. *vij.* tallias Et de *xxvij. s. viij. d.* ob. receptis de David preposito de dominico de Lampader Et de *lxix. s. iij. d.* receptis de Gilberto preposito burgi de Lampader Et de *xliij. s. vj. d.* receptis de nundinis de Stratameuric.

Summa—*cxlix. li. xiiij. s. x. d.* ob.

Summa summarum *iiij^cxlviij. li. iij. s. vij. d.*

Expensa inde. Idem dominus Rogerus computat liberata *clv. li. vij. s. j. d.* Radulpho clerico per *vj.* tallias. Sed memorandum quod Radulphus de Broucton non oneratur se de *j.* tallia in qua continentur *xv. li. xix. s. iij. d.* que in predicta summa comprehenduntur eo scilicet quod dictos denarios idem Radulphus de Griffin ap Madoc recepit tempore domini Pagani, videlicet, ante Nativitatem Domini anno regni Regis Edwardi sexto.

Summa—*clv. li. vij. s. j. d.*—Et sic debet *cciiij^{xx}. li. xvij. s. vj. d.* de quibus petit allocacionem de *xlviij. li. v. s. ix. d.* receptis infra Nativitatem Domini et Pascha anno regni Regis Edwardi sexto quas clamat habere de dono domini Regis, que non allocantur Item petit allocacionem de *vj^{xx}. li.* pro feodo suo, et allocantur Et de *xvij. li. ix. s. ij. d.* (et

allocantur) pro domibus in castro constructo de quibus si facta fuerit sibi allocacio adhuc tenetur de claro domino Rege in C et xliij. *li.* xxiiij. *d.* Et postea carcatur de xiiij. *li.* pro vij. doleis vini venientibus de wrecco Et sic debet de claro clxviiij. *li.* viij. *s.* et iiij. *d.*

Idem Rogerus reddit comptum de x. bobus receptis de quinque commotis pro meremio trahendo. Summa patet.

Recepta
Animalium

Idem Rogerus computat liberatos Radulpho de Broucton clerico x. boves unde respondet. Summa patet—et sic eque.

Liberata ini

Memorandum quod dominus Rogerus de Molis manucepit pro debito Madoci Vauchan super compoto suo de xx. *li.* xij. *s.* iiij. *d.* ob.

Item pro debito Philippi Vauchan prepositi de Hennioc de xiiij. *li.* viij. *d.* ob. et quad.

Item pro debito Iouan Vauchan prepositi de Crewdin de xix. *li.* xv. *s.* j. *d.* ob.

Item pro debito Ivoris Bedd prepositi de Commoto Pervetti de x. *li.* xiiij. *s.* viij. *d.*

In rotulo
nomine
Rogerii
de Moll
Somers

Item pro debito Madoci prepositi de Generglin de lxj. *s.* iiij. *d.*

Item pro debito Willelmi prepositi de Trevillan de ij. *s.* iiij. *d.*

Item pro debito Adami ap Andreu prepositi de Lanrusti de xliiij. *s.* viij. *d.*

Item Caduganus decanus debet super compoto suo xlj. *s.* ij. *d.* et est solvendo.

Summa lxxi. *li.* xj. *s.* v. *d.* ob. et quad.

[Membrane 2.]

Compotus Madoci Vauchan prepositi de Mevenith per visum et testimonium Howeli ap Wilim Raglou ejusdem commoti a die Mercurii in festo Sancti Thome Apostoli anno regni Regis Edwardi sexto usque diem Jovis in festo Sancti Petri in Cathedra anno regni ejusdem octavo.

Idem reddit comptum de v. *li.* v. *s.* j. *d.* de redditu assiso totius commoti predicti termini Natalis Domini anno regni Regis predicti sexto Et de v. *li.* v. *s.* j. *d.* de redditu ejusdem commoti termini Pasche anno predicto Et de v. *li.* v. *s.* j. *d.* de redditu ejusdem commoti termini Sancti Johannis Baptiste anno eodem Et de v. *li.* v. *s.* j. *d.* de redditu

Annus sext

ejusdem commoti termini Sancti Michaelis anno eodem—
Summa xxj. li. iij. d.

Redditus
Redditus de
Keis
Redditus pro
sustentacione
equorum
domini et
Raglou

Idem redditu computum de v. li. v. s. j. d. de redditu de West termini Natalis Domini anno predicto Et de v. li. v. s. j. d. de redditu de eadem termini Pasche anno eodem Et de v. li. v. s. j. d. de redditu de eadem termini Sancti Johannis Baptiste anno eodem Et de v. li. v. s. j. d. de redditu de eadem termini Sancti Michaelis anno eodem Et de ix. li. viij. s. viij. d. pro potura viij. servientium de Keys a dicto festo Sancti Thome Apostoli anno regni Regis Edwardi sexto usque festum Sancti Michaelis anno eodem, videlicet per ciiiij^{xx}. et iij. dies per minus centum quorum quilibet debuit cepisse in die j. d. primo die et ultimo computatis Et de xliij. s. viij. d. receptis pro sustentacione ij. equorum domini a dicto festo Sancti Thome Apostoli anno Edwardi sexto usque ad festum Sanctorum Philippi et Jacobi, illo die non computato, videlicet per C. et xxx. et j. diem per minus centum. Et sciendum quod solvunt pro garcione et equo per diem ij. d. Et de xxj. s. x. d. receptis pro sustentacione unius garcionis et equi Raglow per predictum tempus pro quibus solverunt ut superius pro predictis equis Et de ix. s. xj. d. receptis de cribris avene solvendis ad prebendam dextrarii domini per annum—Summa xxxiiij. li. iiiij. s. et v. d.

Fines et
Placita

Idem redditu computum de xvj. li. xvij. s. x. d. de placitis et perquisitis dicti commoti a festo Sancti Thome Apostoli anno Edwardi sexto usque festum Sancti Michaelis anno eodem Et de vj. li. iiiij. d. receptis de finibus diversorum hominum patrie pro pace habenda anno eodem Et de lx. xvij. s. viij. d. receptis de Cxviiij. hogastris venditis anno eodem videlicet per minus centum—Summa xxvj. li. xvj. s. x. d.

Summa summarum istius anni iiiij^{xx}ij. li. et xix. d.

Annus
septimus
Redditus
assensu

Idem redditu computum de v. li. v. s. j. d. de redditu assiso totius commoti predicti termini Natalis Domini anno regni Regis Edwardi septimo Et de v. li. v. s. j. d. de redditu ejusdem commoti termini Pasche anno eodem Et de v. li. v. s. j. d. de redditu ejusdem commoti termini Sancti Johannis Baptiste anno eodem Et de v. li. v. s. j. d. de redditu ejusdem commoti termini Sancti Michaelis anno eodem.—Summa xxj. li. et iiiij. d.

Idem reddit computum de *v. li. v. s. j. d.* de redditu de Weest termini Natalis Domini anno septimo Et de *v. li. v. s. j. d.* de redditu de eadem termini Pasche anno eodem Et de *v. li. v. s. j. d.* de redditu de eadem termini Sancti Johannis Baptiste anno eodem Et de *v. li. v. s. j. d.* de redditu de eadem termini Sancti Michaelis anno eodem Et de *xij. li. iij. s. iiij. d.* pro potura viij. servientium de Keys a festo Sancti Michaelis anno Edwardi sexto usque idem festum Sancti Michaelis anno Edwardi septimo, ultimo die computato Et de *lx. s. iiij. d.* receptis pro sustentacione ij. garcionum et ij. equorum domini a festo Omnium Sanctorum anno Edwardi sexto usque festum Apostolorum Philippi et Jacobi anno Edwardi septimo per *ciiij^{xx}*. et j. diem per minus centum ultimo die non computato, qui debuerunt cepisse ut in anno precedenti Et de *xxx. s.* et *ij. d.* pro sustentacione j. garcionis et j. equi Raglow per predictum tempus anno eodem Et de *ix. s.* et *xj. d.* receptis de cribris avene solvendis ad prebendam dextrarii domini per annum anno eodem.—Summa *xxxviiij. li. iiij. s.* et *j. d.*

Idem reddit computum de *xiiij. li. vj. s. iiij. d.* de placitis et perquisitis curiarum dicti commoti anno Edwardi septimo Et de *xx. s.* de *xij.* porcis venditis anno eodem.—Summa *xiiij. li. vj. s. iiij. d.*

Summa summarum istius anni *lx. xiiij. li. x. s.* et *x. d.*

Idem reddit computum de *v. li. v. s. j. d.* de redditu assiso dicti commoti termini Natalis Domini anno regni Regis Edwardi octavo Et de *v. li. v. s. j. d.* de redditu de Weest termini ejusdem anno eodem Et de *iiij. li. xvij. s. iiij. d.* pro potura viij. servientium de Keys a festo Sancti Michaelis anno regni Regis Edwardi septimo usque in festo Sancti Petri in Cathedra anno Regis ejusdem octavo, videlicet per *C.* et *xl.* et *vj.* dies per minus *c.* ultimo die computato Et de *xxxviiij. s.* receptis pro sustentacione ij. garcionum et ij. equorum domini a festo Omnium Sanctorum anno Regis ejusdem septimo usque in festo Sancti Petri in Cathedra anno octavo, videlicet per *c.* et *xiiij.* dies per minus centum, primo die et ultimo computatis, et solvunt ut supra Et *xix. s.* pro sustentacione j. garcionis et j. equi Raglow per idem tempus anno eodem Et de *ix. li. xviiij. s. ij. d.* de placitis et perquisitis curiarum dicti commoti a festo Sancti Michaelis anno regni Regis pre-

Annus octavi

dicti septimo usque dictum festum Sancti Petri in Cathedra anno regni Regis ejusdem octavo Et sciendum quod non respondit de cribris avene in ista parte anni sed exigenda sunt in compoto subsequenti quia nondum venit terminus solvendo.

Summa xxviiij. *li.* ij. *s.* et viij. *d.*

Summa omnium summarum totius recepti per totum predictum tempus.—C. iiij.^{xx}. et iiij. *li.* et xv. *s.* et j. *d.*

Expensa Inde

Idem in decasu redditus assisi pro iiij. terminis prenomi-
natis anno sexto, videlicet Natalis Domini, Pasche et
Sancti Johannis Baptiste x. *s.* et hoc quia terra pro qua
debetur tantus redditus tunc fuit in manu uxoris Trahayrn
ap Madoc Item in decasu redditus terre que fuit in manu
Griffit ap Meredut ex balliva domini Pagani de Cadurciis
per iiij. terminos anni anno Edwardi sexto iiij. *s.* viij. *d.*
Item in decasu redditus de West pro terra que fuit in
manu uxoris Trahayrn predicti per iiij. terminos anno pre-
dicto x. *s.* Item in decasu redditus de West pro terra
que fuit in manu Griffit ap Meredut per iiij. terminos
anno predicto iiij. *s.* et viij. *d.* Item in decasu redditus de
Keys pro terris que fuerunt uxoris Trahayrn ap Madoc
Griffit ap Meredyt Howel ap Morgan et Owein ap Morgan
a festo Sancti Thome Apostoli anno Edwardi sexto usque
festum Sancti Johannis Baptiste anno eodem vij. *s.* Item
in decasu redditus de Keys pro dictis terris Griffit ap
Meredit et Howel ap Morgan a dicto festo Sancti Johannis
Baptiste anno Edwardi sexto usque festum Sancti Michaelis
anno eodem xix. *d.* ob. Item in decasu redditus de sus-
tentacione iiij. equorum predictorum de predictis terris
anno sexto xvj. *d.* ob.

Summa xxxix. *s.* et iiij. *d.*

Respondet

Liberata domino Rogero de Moels senescallo de Lam-
pader xliiiij. *li.* vj. *s.* vj. *d.* per viij. taillias unde respondet
Item liberata eidem Rogero de Moels vj. *li.* et iiij. *s.* sine
tallia unde respondet.

Summa L. *li.* vj. *s.* x. *d.*

Summa summarum istius anni Lij. *li.* vj. *s.* et ij. *d.*

[*Membrane 2, dorse.*]

Adhuc de compoto ejusdem Madoci Vachan prepositi de
Mevenith per visum et testimonium Howel ap Willim
Raglou ejusdem commoti a die Mercurii in festo Sancti

Thome Apostoli anno regni Regis Edwardi sexto usque diem Jovis in festo Sancti Petri in Cathedra anno Regis ejusdem octavo.

In decasu redditus de terris que fuit (*sic*) in manu Griffit ap Meredit per totum annum anno Edwardi septimo *iiij. s. viij. d.* Item in decasu redditus de Weest de dicta terra per predictum tempus *iiij. s. viij. d.* Item in decasu redditus de Keys de dicta terra et terra Howeli ap Morgan et Owein ap Morgan per predictum tempus anno eodem *vj. s. j. d.* Item in decasu redditus de sustentacione *ij. equorum domini et unius equi Raglou per predictum tempus anno eodem ij. s. iij. d.*

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Summa *xvij. s. viij. d.*

Liberata domino Rogero de Moels senecallo de Lampader *xxxviij. li. xix. s. viij. d.* per *vij. tallias* unde respondet.—Summa—*xxxviij. li. xix. s. et viij. d.*

Respondet

Summa summarum istius anni—*xxxix. li. xvij. s. iiij. d.*

In decasu redditus de terra que fuit in manu Griffit ap Meredit de termino Natalis Domini anno Edwardi octavo *xiiij. d.* Item in decasu redditus de Weest de eadem terra termini ejusdem anno eodem *xiiij. d.* Item in decasu redditus de Keys de dictis terris, videlicet de terris Griffit ap Meredit Howel ap Morgan et Owein ap Morgan a festo Sancti Michaelis anno Edwardi septimo usque ad festum Sancti Petri in Cathedra anno Regis ejusdem octavo *ij. s. v. d.* Item in decasu redditus de sustentacione *ij. equorum domini et unius equi Raglou per predictum tempus anno eodem xvj. d. ob.*—Summa *vj. s. j. d. et ob.*

Annus octavus

Liberata domino Rogero de Moels predicto *xiiij. li. xiiij. s. et x. d.* per *ij. tallias* unde respondet.—Summa—*xiiij. li. xiiij. s. et x. d.*

Respondet

Summa summarum istius anni—*xv. li. xj. d. et ob.*

Summa omnium summarum totius expensi per totum predictum tempus.—*Cvij. li. iiij. s. v. d. et ob. et sic debet domino lxxvj. li. x. s. vj. d. et ob. Et postea condonantur per dominum Regem ac vicecomitem xlvi. li. v. s. et iij. d. de West totius compoti hujus, et ix. li. xiiij. s. de sustentacione garcionum et equorum domini et Raglou per tempus compoti Et sic debet domino xx. li. xij. s. iij. d. ob.*

Computus ejusdem Madoci de instauro per predictum tempus.

Annus sextus Idem reddit computum de C. et xvij. bidentibus collectis in patria de gramine anno Edwardi sexto.—Summa cxvij. bidentes. De quibus in vendicione C. et xvij. bidentes de quorum denarii, etc. Summa C. et xvij. et sic inde quietus.

Annus septimus Idem reddit computum de xij. porcis provenientius de pannagio de consuetudine anno regni Regis Edwardi septimo.—Summa xij. porci. De quibus in vendicione xij. de quorum denarii etc.—Summa xij. et sic inde quietus.

Annus octavus Idem reddit computum de ix. porcis provenientius de pannagio de consuetudine anno regni Regis Edwardi octavo Et de j. porco de perquisito anno eodem.—Summa x. et remanentium etatis unius anni de sexsu nescit respondere.

[*Membrane 3.*]

Computus Philippi Vauchan prepositi de Heninioc infra manerium de Lampader a festo Sancti Thome Apostoli usque festum Sancti Petri in Cathedra Anno Regis ejusdem octavo.

Annus sextus Idem reddit computum de lxxvij. s. iiij. d. de redditu assiso dicti commoti de Enhinioc termini Natalis Domini anno regni Regis Edwardi sexto Et de Lxxvij. s. et iiij. d. de redditu ejusdem commoti termini Pasche anno eodem Et de lxxvij. s. et iiij. d. de redditu assiso ejusdem commoti termini Sancti Johannis Baptiste anno eodem Et de lxxvij. s. et iiij. d. de redditu assiso ejusdem commoti termini Sancti Michaelis anno eodem et non plus respondet de redditu quia prepositus de Lanrusti repondebit de j. Randir infra dictum commotum et respondet illud Randir de redditu assiso per annum de x. s. et viij. d. Hic tamen non oneratur.—Summa xv. li. ix. s. et iiij. d.

Idem reddit computum de Lxxvij. s. et iiij. d. de redditu de Weest predicti commoti termini Natalis Domini anno predicto Et de lxxvij. s. et iiij. d. de redditu de eadem termini Pasche anno eodem. Et de lxxvij. s. et iiij. d. de redditu de eadem termini Sancti Johannis Baptiste anno eodem Et de lxxvij. s. et iiij. d. de redditu de eadem termini Sancti Michaelis anno eodem, et non plus quia dictus prepositus de Lanrusti respondebit de j. Randir

infra dictum commotum de omnibus exitibus in posterum Et de *vj. li. xvj. s. ix. d.* et ob. pro potura *vj. servientium* de Keys a festo dicto Sancti Thome Apostoli anno regni Regis Edwardi sexto usque festum Sancti Michaelis anno eodem, videlicet per *C.C. iiij^{xx}.* et *iiij.* dies per minus centum, primo die et ultimo computatis, quorum quilibet debuit cepisse in die *j. d.* Et de *xl. ij. s. ij. d.* et ob. receptis pro sustentacione *ij. garcionum* et *ij. equorum* domini a dicto festo Sancti Thome Apostoli anno Edwardi sexto usque festum Apostolorum Philippi et Jacobi anno eodem, ultimo die non computato, videlicet per *cxxx.* et *j.* diem per minus centum Et sciendum quod solvunt pro garcione et equo in die *ij. d.* Et de *xxj. s. j. d.* et ob. receptis pro sustentacione unius equi et garcionis Raglow per predictum tempus anno eodem Et de *iiij. s. et vij. d.* receptis de cribris avene solvendis ad prebendam dextrarii domini per annum anno eodem.—Summa *xxv. li. xiiij. s. ob.*

Et de *xiiij. s. vj. d.* et ob. de firma unius molendini aquatici infra dictum commotum per totum predictum tempus anno sexto Et de *xij. li. xv. s. et iiij. d.* de placitis et perquisitis, heriettis lerewitis et relevis a dicto festo Sancti Thome Apostoli anno Edwardi sexto usque ad festum Sancti Michaelis anno eodem Et de *liiij. s. de iiij^{xx}.* et *j.* bidentibus venditis anno eodem.—Summa *xvj. li. ij. s. ix. d. ob.*

Idem reddit compositum de *lxxvij. s. iiij. d.* de redditu assiso dicti commoti de Enhinioc termini Natalis Domini anno regni Regis Edwardi septimo Et de *lxxvij. s. et iiij. d.* de redditu ejusdem commoti termini Pasche anno eodem. Et de *lxxvij. s. et iiij. d.* de redditu assiso ejusdem commoti termini Sancti Johannis Baptiste anno eodem. Et de *lxxvij. s. et iiij. d.* de redditu assiso ejusdem commoti termini Sancti Michaelis anno eodem et non plus respondet de redditu quia prepositus de Lanrusti respondebit de *j.* Randir infra dictum commotum et respondet illud Randir de redditu assiso per annum de *x. s. et viij. d.* Hic tamen non oneratur—Summa *xv. li. ix. s. et vij. d.*

Idem reddit compositum de *lxxvij. s. et iiij. d.* de redditu de Weest predicti commoti termini Natalis Domini anno predicto Et de *lxxvij. s. iiij. d.* de redditu de eadem termini Pasche anno eodem Et de *lxxvij. s. iiij. d.* de redditu

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de eadem termini Sancti Johannis Baptiste anno eodem Et de lxxvij. s. iiij. d. de redditu de eadem termini Sancti Michaelis anno eodem et non plus quia dictus prepositus de Lanrusti respondebit de j. Randir infra dictum commotum de omnibus exitibus in posterum Et de viij. li. xvj. s. et v. d. pro potura vj. servientium de Keys per totum annum anno eodem quorum quilibet debuit cepisse in die j. d. Et de iiij. li. vij. s. et vj. d. receptis pro sustentacione ij. garcionum et ij. equorum domini [et] unius garcionis et equi Raglou a festo Omnium Sanctorum anno Edwardi sexto usque festum Apostolorum Philippi et Jacobi anno Edwardi septimo illo die non computato, videlicet per C.iiij^{xx}. et j. diem per minus centum quorum quilibet garcio cum equo debuit cepisse in die ij. d. Et de iiij. s. et vij. d. receptis pro cribris avene que solebant solvi ad prebendam dextrarii domini—Summa xxvij. li. xvij. s. x. d.

Et de xiiij. s. et v. d. de firma unius molendini aquatici per totum annum anno Edwardi septimo Et de xiiij. li. et xvij. s. de finibus placitis et perquisitis lerewitis et heriettis per totum annum anno eodem Et de xj. s. et viij. d. de vij. porcis venditis de pannagio customariorum de consuetudine anno eodem—Summa xv. li. iiij. s. j. d.

Summa summarum istius anni lix. li. xj. s. et iiij. d.

Annus octavus Idem redditu compotum de lxxvij. s. et iiij. d. de redditu assiso dicti commoti termini Natalis Domini anno regni Regis Edwardi octavo Et de lxxvij. s. et iiij. d. de redditu de Weest dicti commoti termini ejusdem anno eodem Et de lxx. s. vij. d. receptis pro potura vj. servientium de Keys a festo Sancti Michaelis anno Edwardi septimo usque in festo Sancti Petri in Cathedra anno Regis ejusdem octavo, videlicet per Cxl. et vj. dies per minus centum ultimo die computato Et de lx. s. j. d. et quad. pro sustentacione ij. garcionum et ij. equorum domini [et] unius garcionis et unius equi Raglou a festo Omnium Sanctorum anno regni Regis predicti septimo usque in dicto festo Sancti Petri in Cathedra anno regni ejusdem octavo, videlicet, per cxiiij. dies per minus centum, primo die et ultimo computatis, qui debuerunt cepisse ut supra—Summa xiiij. li. iiij. d. quad.

Idem redditu compotum de vij. s. vj. d. et ob. de firma dicti molendini a dicto festo Sancti Michaelis anno Edwardi septimo usque in festo Sancti Petri in Cathedra

anno Regis ejusdem octavo Et lxxix. s. et x. d. de finibus placitis et perquisitis lerewitis et heriettis per idem tempus anno eodem.—Summa lxxvij. s. iiij. d. ob.

Summa summarum istius anni xvij. li. xvij. s. viij. d. ob. quad.

Summa omnium totius recepti cxxxiiij. li. xv. s. j. d. ob. quad.

In decasu redditus assisi de iiij. terminis prenotatis anno regni Regis Edwardi sexto, videlicet Natalis Domini, Pasche, Sancti Johannis Baptiste et Sancti Michaelis vj. s. et x. d. et hoc quia terra de Kadivan Goch et Hewin Oud pro qua tantus redditus dedebatur est in manu Regis Item in decasu redditus de West per iiij. terminos predictos anno predicto vj. s. et x. d. et hoc racione qua prius Item in decasu de Keys ij. s. xj. d. et quad. per predictum tempus et hoc racione qua prius Item in decasu sustentacione equorum domini et Raglou per predictum tempus xv. d. ob. et quad. et hoc racione qua prius.—Summa xvij. s. viij. d. quad.

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Expensa inc

Liberata domino Rogero de Moels senescallo predicto xxxiiij. li. ix. s. v. d. et ob. per ix. tallias unde respondet.—Summa xxxiiij. li. ix. s. v. d. ob.

Respondet

Summa summarum istius anni xxxv. li. vj. s. ob. quad.

[*Membrane 3, dorse.*]

Adhuc de compoto Philippi Vauchan prepositi Enhinioc infra manerium de Lampader a festo Sancti Thome Apostoli anno regni Regis Edwardi sexto usque festum Sancti Petri in Cathedra anno Regis ejusdem octavo.

In decasu redditus assisi per iiij. terminos anni anno Edwardi septimo vj. s. et x. d. racione qua superius Item in decasu redditus de West per predictos iiij. terminos anno eodem vj. s. et x. d. racione qua prius Item in decasu de Keys anno eodem iiij. s. ix. d. et ob. racione qua prius Item in decasu sustentacione predictorum equorum anno eodem xxj. d. et ob. racione qua prius.—Summa xix. s. iiij. d.

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septimus

Liberata domino Rogero de Molis senescallo predicto xxxiiij. li. v. s. et ix. d. per viij. tallias unde respondet.—Summa xxxiiij. li. v. s. ix. d.

Respondet

Summa summarum istius anni xxxiiij. li. v. s.

In decasu redditus assisi per j. terminum scilicet Natalis

- Annus septimus (sic.)** Domini anno Edwardi octavo *xx.d.* et ob. racione qua prius Item in decasu redditus de Weest ad eundem terminum anno eodem *xx.d.* et ob. racione qua prius Item in decasu redditus de Keys a festo Sancti Michaelis anno Edwardi septimo usque festum Sancti Petri in Cathedra anno Edwardi octavo *xviij.d.* et quad. racione qua prius Item in decasu sustentacione *iiij. garcionum* et *iiij. equorum predictorum* per idem tempus *xiiij.d.* ob. et quad.—Summa *vj. s.* et *j. d.*
- Respondet** Liberata domino Rogero de Molis senescallo predicto *vij. li. x. s. viij.d.* et ob. per *iiij. tallias* unde respondet.—Summa *vij. li. x. s. viij.d.* ob.
- Summa summarum istius anni *vij. li. xvij. s. ix. d.* ob.
Summa omnium summarum totius expensi *Lxxvij. li. vij. s. x. d.* et quad. Et sic domino *lvij. li. vij. s. iiij.d.* ob. Et postea condonantur per dominum Regem ac Vicecomitem de gratia speciali *xxxiiij. li. vij.d.* et ob. de Weest totius hujus compoti et *cx. li. v. s. xj.d.* quad. de sustentacione garcionum et equorum domini et Raglou per idem tempus Et sic debet domino *xiiij. li. viij. d.* ob. quad.
- Computus ejusdem Philippi Vauchan prepositi de Enhinioc de instauro per predictum tempus.
- Annus sextus** Idem reddit compotum de *iiij^{xx}.* et *j.* bidentibus collectis in patria et dominio collectis anno Edwardi sexto.—Summa *iiij^{xx}.* et *j.*
- Oves** De quibus in vendicione *iiij^{xx}.* et *j.*, de quorum denarii etc.—Summa *iiij^{xx}.* et *j.* et sic inde quietus.
- Porci Annus septimus** Idem reddit compotum de *vij.* porcis provenientiibus de pannagio de consuetudine anno Edwardi septimo—Summa *vij.*
- Annus octavus Porci** De quibus in vendicione *vij.* porci, de quorum denarii etc.—Summa *vij.* et sic inde quietus.
- Remanentes** Idem reddit compotum de *xj.* porcis provenientiibus de pannagio ex consuetudine anno regni Regis Edwardi octavo.—Summa *xj.* et remanentium de etate et sexu nescit respondere.

Computus Jouan Vachan prepositi de Crewdyn infra manerium de Lampader per visum et testimonium Griffit ap Madoc a festo Sancti Thome Apostoli anno regni Regis

Edwardi sexto usque in festo Sancti Petri in Cathedra anno Regni ejusdem octavo.

Idem reddit computum de lxxviiij. s. et viij. d. de redditu assiso ejusdem commoti de Crewrdyn termini Natalis Domini anno regni ejusdem sexto Et de lxxviiij. s. et viij. d. de redditu ejusdem commoti termini Pasche anno eodem Et de lxxviiij. s. et viij. d. de redditu ejusdem commoti termini Sancti Johannis Baptiste anno eodem Et de lxxviiij. s. et viij. d. de redditu ejusdem commoti termini Sancti Michaelis anno eodem et non plus quia Magister Hospitalis tenet dimidium Randir infra dictum commotum libere de quo nichil domino respondit nec debet ut dicitur.—Summa xvj. li. iiij. s. et xviiij. d.

Idem reddit computum de lxxviiij. s. et viij. d. de redditu de West ejusdem commoti termini Natalis Domini anno Edwardi sexto Et de lxxviiij. s. et viij. d. de redditu de eadem termini Pasche anno eodem Et de lxxviiij. s. et viij. d. de redditu ejusdem commoti termini Sancti Johannis Baptiste anno eodem Et de lxxviiij. s. et viij. d. de redditu de eadem termini Sancti Michaelis anno eodem Et de vij. li. et xviiij. d. receptis pro potura vj. serviencium de Keys a dicto festo Sancti Thome Apostoli anno regni Regis Edwardi sexto usque ad festum Sancti Michaelis anno eodem videlicet, per CC. iiij. s. et iij. dies per minus centum primo die et ultimo computatis quorum quilibet debuit cepisse in die j. d. Et de iiij. li. viij. s. et iiij. d. receptis pro sustentacione iiij. garcionum et iij. equorum domini unius garcionis et unius equi Raglou a dicto festo Sancti Thome Apostoli anno Edwardi sexto usque festum Apostolorum Philippi et Jacobi anno eodem, illo die non computato, videlicet per cxxx. et j. diem per minus centum. Et sciendum quod solvunt pro garcione et equo in die ij. d. ut superius Et de xv. s. et vj. d. receptis pro cribris avene debitis ad prebendam dextrarii domini per annum anno eodem Et de xiiij. s. et v. d. et ob.—Summa xxviiij. li. xij. s. v. d.

Et de vj. li. vj. s. et viij. d. receptis de finibus quorundam hominum ejusdem commoti pro pace habenda anno eodem. Et de xiiij. li. xv. s. et viij. d. de placitis et perquisitis heriētis releviis et lerewitis a dicto festo Sancti Thome Apostoli anno Edwardi sexto usque ad festum Sancti Michaelis anno eodem Et de iiij. li. de vj. s. bidentibus venditis anno eodem—Summa xxiiiij. li. ij. s. et iiij. d.

Summa summarum istius anni lxxvij. *li. ix. s. v. d.*Annus
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Idem reddit computum de lxxvij. *s.* et viij. *d.* de redditu assiso ejusdem commoti de Crewdin termini Natalis Domini anno regni Regis Edwardi septimo Et de lxxvij. *s.* et viij. *d.* de redditu ejusdem commoti termini Pasche anno eodem Et de lxxvij. *s.* et viij. *d.* de redditu ejusdem commoti termini Sancti Johannis Baptiste anno eodem. Et de lxxvij. *s.* et viij. *d.* de redditu ejusdem commoti termini Sancti Michaelis anno eodem et non plus quia Magister Hospitalis tenet dimidium Randir infra dictum commotum libere de quo nichil respondit nec debet ut dicitur—Summa xv. *li. xvij. s. et viij. d.*

Idem reddit computum de lxxvij. *s.* et viij. *d.* de redditu de Weest ejusdem commoti termini Natalis Domini anno Edwardi septimo Et de lxxvij. *s.* et viij. *d.* de redditu de eadem termini Pasche anno eodem Et de lxxvij. *s.* et viij. *d.* de redditu de eadem termini Sancti Johannis Baptiste anno eodem Et de lxxvij. *s.* et viij. *d.* de redditu de eadem termini Sancti Michaelis anno eodem Et de xij. *s.* et viij. *d.* de redditu cottareorum cujusdam ville que dicitur Lanmihangel infra limites ejusdem commoti per totum annum anno eodem Et de ix. *li. ij. s. vj. d.* pro potura sex serviencium de Keys a dicto festo Sancti Michaelis anno Edwardi sexto usque ad idem festum Sancti Michaelis anno regni ejusdem septimo, videlicet per totum annum integrum Et de vj. *li. et viij. d.* pro sustentacione iij. garcionum et iij. equorum domini unius garcionis et unius equi Raglou a festo Omnium Sanctorum anno regni Regis Edwardi sexto usque festum Apostolorum Philippi et Jacobi anno regni ejusdem septimo per C. iij.^{xx}. et j. diem per minus centum ultimo die non computato quorum quilibet garcio cum equo debuit cepisse in die ij. *d.* Et de xv. *s.* et vj. *d.* receptis pro cribris avene debitis ad prebendam dextrarii domini per annum anno eodem.—Summa xxxij. *li. vj. s.*

Idem reddit computum de xiiij. *li. iij. s. et x. d.* de finibus placitis et perquisitis heriettis relevis et lerewitis per totum annum anno eodem.—Summa xl. *li. x. s. et vij. d.*

Summa summarum istius anni lxiiij. *li. xj. s. iij. d.*

[Membrane 4.]

Computus Iouan Vouchan prepositi de Crewdin infra

manerium de Lampader per visum et testimonium Griffit ap Madoc a festo Sancti Thome Apostoli anno regni Regis Edwardi sexto usque in festo Sancti Petri in Cathedra anno regni ejusdem octavo.

Idem redditu ^{Annus octav} comptum de lxxviii. s. et viii. d. de redditu assiso ejusdem commoti de Crewdin termini Natalis Domini anno regni Regis predicti octavo. Et de lxxviii. s. et viii. d. de redditu de Weest ejusdem commoti ad eundem terminum anno eodem. Et de lxxiiij. s. pro potura vj. serviencium de Keys a festo Sancti Michaelis anno regni Regis Edwardi septimo usque in festo Sancti Petri in Cathedra anno regni ejusdem octavo, videlicet per C. et xliij. dies per minus centum ultimo die computato Et de lxxvj. s. receptis pro sustentacione iiij. garcionum et iiij. equorum Domini j. garcionis et j. equi Raglou a festo Omnium Sanctorum anno regni Regis predicti septimo usque in dicto festo Sancti Petri in Cathedra anno regni Regis predicti octavo videlicet per C. et xiiij. dies per minus centum primo die et ultimo computatis et solvunt ut supra—Summa xv. li. vj. s. iiiij. d.

Et de v. li. xij. s. ij. d. de finibus placitis et perquisitis heriētis releviis et lerewitis a dicto festo Sancti Michaelis anno regni Regis Edwardi septimo usque ad festum Sancti Petri in Cathedra anno regni Regis ejusdem octavo.—Summa v. li. xij. s. ij. d.

Summa summarum istius anni xx. li. xviii. s. vj. d.

Summa omnium summarum totius recepti clij. li. xix. s. ij. d.

In decasu redditus assisi predicti commoti de Creudin <sup>Annus sextu
Expensa</sup> a dicto festo Sancti Thome Apostoli anno Edwardi sexto usque festum Sancti Michaelis anno eodem, videlicet ad quatuor terminos anni scilicet Natalis Domini Pasche Sancti Johannis Baptiste et Sancti Michaelis xlviii. s. et viij. d. Et hoc quia j. Randir de Kevene Meuric que solebat reddere per annum ad iiiij. predictos terminos pro equali porcione x. s. et viij. d. Et quia j. Randir de Kevene Grug exceptis ij. solidatis redditibus per annum que solebat reddere ad terminos predictos viij. s. et viij. d. Et dimidium Randir apud Yweloc v. s. et iiiij. d. Et dimidium Randir apud Glasgrug v. s. et viij. d. Et quarta pars et octava pars j. Randir apud Grugbenoc iiiij. s. Et quarta pars et sexta decima pars j. Randir apud Castelou

iiij. s. et iiiij. d. Et quarta pars j. Randir apud Mayskan-
herein ij. s. et viij. d. Et quarta pars unius Randir apud
Mananam ij. s. viij. d. Et octava pars unius Randir apud
Vandu xvj. d. Et octava pars unius Randir apud Oisres-
tend xvj. d. Et octava pars unius Randir David ap Howel
xvj. d. Et octava pars unius Randir apud Kiwarchin
xvj. d. Et sexta decima pars unius Randir quondam ad
Velin viij. d. Sunt omnes in manu Regis Item in decasu
redditus de Weest per predictos iiiij. terminos anno pre-
dicto xlviij. s. et viij. d. racione qua prius Item in decasu
poture serviencium de Keys anno eodem xxiiij. s. x. d. et
ob. racione qua prius Item in decasu sustentacionis pre-
dictorum iiiij. garcionum et iiiij. equorum xiiij. s. vj. d. et
ob. racione qua prius.—Summa vj. li. xv. s. ix. d.

Respondet

Liberata domino Rogero de Molis senescallo predicto
xxxiiij. li. xix. s. et v. d. ob. per ix. tallias unde respondet
Item liberata eidem v. li. iiij. s. sine tallia unde respondet.

Summa xxxiiij. li. xix. s. v. d. ob.

Summa summarum istius anni xl. li. xv. s. ij. d. ob.

Annus
septimus

In decasu redditus predicti commoti de Creudin a dicto
festo Sancti Michaelis anno Edwardi sexto usque ad idem
festum Sancti Michaelis anno Edwardi septimo videlicet
ad iiiij. terminos anni xlviij. s. et viij. d. racione qua
superius in anno sexto Item in decasu redditus de Weest
per predictos iiiij. terminos anno eodem xlviij. [s.] et viij. d.
racione qua superius Item in decasu poture serviencium
de Keys per totum annum anno eodem xxx. s. ix. d. et ob.
racione qua prius Item in decasu sustentacionis predic-
torum iiiij. garcionum et equorum anno eodem xx. s. j. d.
quad. racione qua prius.—Summa vij. li. viij. s. ij. d. ob.
quad.

Respondet

Liberata domino Rogero de Molis senescallo predicto
xxx. li. viij. s. iiij. d. per ix. tallias unde respondet.—
Summa xxx. li. viij. s. iiij. d.

Summa summarum istius anni xxxvij. li. xv. s. v. d. ob.
quad.

Annus octavus

In decasu redditus predicti commoti de Creudin a dicto
festo Sancti Michaelis anno regni Regis Edwardi septimo
usque festum Sancti Petri in Cathedra anno regni ejusdem
octavo, videlicet ad terminum Natalis Domini xij. s. et
ij. d. racione qua superius in anno sexto Item in de-

casu redditus de Weest ad eundem terminum xij. s. et ij. d. racione qua superius Item in decasu poture serviencium de Keys per idem tempus anno eodem xij. s. iij. d. ob. et quad. racione qua prius Item in decasu sustentacionis predictorum iij. garcionum et equorum per predictum tempus anno eodem vij. s. et viij. d. racione qua prius.—Summa xlix. s. iij. d. ob. quad.

Liberata domino Rogero de Molis senescallo predicto viij. li. et vj. d. per ij. tallias unde respondet.—Summa viij. li. vj. s. Respon

Summa summarum istius anni x. li. ix. s. ix. d. ob. quad. Summa omnium summarum totius expensi iij. s. xi. li. et vj. d. Et sic debet lxij. li. xvij. s. et viij. d. Et postea condonantur per dominum Regem ac vicecomitem de gratia speciali xxix. li. xvij. s. et vj. d. de West totius hujus compoti et xiiij. li. v. s. et ob. de sustentacione garcionum et equorum domini et Raglou per idem tempus Et sic debet domino xix. li. xv. s. j. d. ob.

Compotus ejusdem Iouan Vauchan de Creudin de instauro per supradictum tempus.

Idem reddit compotum de vj. s. bidentibus collectis in patria et domino collatis—Summa patet. De quibus in vendicione vj. s. de quorum denarii etc.—Summa vj. s. et sic inde quietus. Annus s
Ovei

Idem reddit compotum de xv. porcis provenientius de pannagio consuetudine anno Edwardi septimo.—Summa xv. De quibus in vendicione xv. de quorum denarii, etc.—Summa xv. et sic inde quietus. Anni
septim
Porc

Idem reddit compotum de xxij. porcis provenientius de pannagio consuetudinis anno regni Regis predicti octavo—Summa xxij. et remanentium de sexu et etate nescit respondere. Annus oc
Remane

[*Membrane 4, dorse.*]

Compotus Ivoris Bedel prepositi de Commoto Pervith infra manerium de Lampader a festo Sancti Thome Apostoli anno regni Regis Edwardi sexto usque in festo Sancti Petri in cathedra anno regni ejusdem octavo.

Idem reddit compotum de xlix. s. et x. d. de redditu assiso dicti commoti de Perveth termini Natalis Domini Annus s
Reddi

anno regni Regis predicti sexto Et de *xlix. s. et x. d.* de redditu assiso ejusdem commoti termini Pasche anno eodem Et de *xlix. s. et x. d.* de redditu assiso ejusdem commoti termini Sancti Johannis Baptiste anno eodem Et de *xlix. s. et x. d.* de redditu assiso ejusdem commoti termini Sancti Michaelis anno eodem et non plus eo quod quedam terra que dicitur Ranbran que solebat reddere per annum *x. s. viij. d.* ad *iiij.* terminos data est in excambeum pro situ ville et castri de Lampader Et quia quedam alia terra que solebat reddere *iiij. s. et iiij. d.* per annum data est in escambeum pro quadam parte prati de Claran per Rogerum de Molis—Summa *ix. li. xix. s. et iiij. d.*

De redditu de
Weest

Idem redditu computum de *xlix. s. et x. d.* de redditu de Weest dicti commoti termini Natalis Domini anno regni Regis predicti sexto Et de *xlix. s. et x. d.* de redditu de West termini Pasche anno eodem Et de *xlix. s. et x. d.* de redditu de West termini Sancti Johannis Baptiste anno eodem Et de *xlix. s. et x. d.* de redditu de West termini Sancti Michaelis anno eodem et non plus racione qua prius Et de *iiij. li. viij. s. j. d.* ob. quad. pro potura *iiij.* servencium de Keys a dicto festo Sancti Thome Apostoli anno sexto usque ad festum Sancti Michaelis anno eodem videlicet per *CC. iiij.* et *iiij.* dies per minus centum primo die et ultimo computatis quorum quilibet debuit cepisse in die *j. d.* Et de *lxj. s. et v. d.* receptis pro sustentacione *ij.* garcionum et *ij.* equorum domini unius garcionis et unius equi Raglou a dicto festo Sancti Thome Apostoli anno Edwardi sexto usque festum Apostolorum Philippi et Jacobi anno eodem illo die non computato videlicet per *C. xxx. et j.* diem per minus centum Et sciendum quod solvunt pro garcione et equo in die *ij. d.* ut superius Et de *x. s. et x. d.* de cribris avene debitis ad prebendam dextrarii domini per annum anno eodem—Summa *xvij. li. xix. s. viij. d.*

Idem redditu computum de *vj. li. et iiij. s.* de finibus placitis et perquisitis heriettis releviis et lerewitis a festo Sancti Thome Apostoli anno Edwardi sexto usque ad festum Sancti Michaelis anno eodem Et de *lvij. s.* receptis de *iiij.* et *vij.* bidentibus venditis anno eodem.—Summa *ix. li. xij. d.*

Summa summarum istius anni *xxxvij. li. ob. quad.*

Idem redditu computum de *xliij. s. et iiij. d.* de redditu

assiso ejusdem commoti termini Natalis Domini anno regni Regis predicti septimo Et de xliiij. s. et iiiij. d. de redditu ejusdem commoti termini Pasche anno eodem Et de xliiij. s. et iiiij. d. de redditu ejusdem commoti termini Sancti Johannis Baptiste anno eodem Et de xliiij. s. et iiiij. d. de redditu ejusdem commoti termini Sancti Michaelis anno eodem et non plus racione qua prius Et racione qua Howel ap Gronou recuperavit terram suam per breve domini Regis que solebat reddere pro equali porcione ad iiiij. terminos predictos xxij. s. scilicet ad quemlibet terminum v. s. et vj. d.—Summa viij. li. xvij. s. et iiiij. d.

Idem redditu computum de xliiij. s. et iiiij. d. de redditu de West dicti commoti termini Natalis Domini anno regni Regis Edwardi septimo Et de xliiij. s. et iiiij. d. de redditu de West termini Pasche anno eodem Et de xliiij. s. et iiiij. d. de redditu de West termini Sancti Johannis Baptiste anno eodem Et de xliiij. s. et iiiij. d. de redditu de Weest termini Sancti Michaelis anno eodem et non plus racione qua prius Et de v. li. vij. s. et v. d. pro potura iiiij. serviencium de Keys a festo Sancti Michaelis anno regni Regis Edwardi sexto usque idem festum Sancti Michaelis anno regni ejusdem septimo ultimo die computato Et de iiiij. li. iiiij. s. et vij. d. pro sustentacione ij. garcionum et ij. equorum domini j. garcionis et j. equi Raglou a festo Omnium Sanctorum anno Edwardi sexto usque ad festum Apostolorum Philippi et Jacobi anno Edwardi septimo per C. iiiij^{xx}. et j. diem per minus centum ultimo die non computato qui debuerunt cepisse ut in anno precedenti Et de x. s. et x. d. de cribris avene debitis ad prebendam dextrarii domini per annum anno eodem—Summa xix. li. et ij. s.

Idem redditu computum de xxvj. li. et ij. d. de finibus placitis et perquisitis heriettis relevis et lerewitis ejusdem commoti per totum annum anno eodem Et de xxv. s. de xv. porcis venditis anno eodem Et de iiij. s. et ix. d. de xv. bussellis avene venditis anno eodem—Summa xxvij. li. viij. s. xi. d.

Summa summarum istius anni lv. li. vj. s. v. d.

Idem redditu computum de xliiij. s. et iiiij. d. de redditu assiso ejusdem commoti termini Natalis Domini anno regni Regis predicti octavo Et de xliiij. s. et iiiij. d. de

redditu de Weest ejusdem commoti termini ejusdem anno eodem Et de *xl. s. v. d.* et ob. receptis pro potura *iiij. serviencium* de Keys a festo Sancti Michaelis anno regni Regis predicti septimo usque in dicto festo Sancti Petri in Cathedra anno regni ejusdem octavo, videlicet per *C.* et *xlvj.* dies per minus centum primo die et ultimo computatis et solvunt ut supra ut in anno precedenti Et de *xlj. s.* et *ij. d.* de finibus placitis et perquisitis heriettis releviis et lerewitis a dicto festo Sancti Michaelis anno regni Regis Edwardi septimo usque festum Sancti Petri in Cathedra anno regni ejusdem octavo Et de *lxviij. s.* *ij. d.* et ob. pro sustentacione *ij. garcionum* et *ij. equorum* domini unius garcionis et unius equi Raglou a festo Omnium Sanctorum anno regni Regis Edwardi septimo usque festum Sancti Petri in Cathedra anno regni ejusdem octavo.—Summa *xj. li. xviiij. s.* et *vj. d.*—Summa omnium summarum totius recepti *Ciiij. li. iiij. [s.] xjd.* ob. quad.

Annus sextus
Expensa inde

In decasu redditus assisi ad *iiij.* terminos predictos anno regni Regis Edwardi sexto *iiij. s.* et *ij. d.* videlicet de terra Taluc que solebat reddere *ix. d.* per annum Et terra filii Gronou Vouchan *v. d.* Et terra filli Roberti *ij. d.* Et terra Madoc ap Howel *iiij. d.* Et terra Ithel Vauchan *xiiij. d.* Et terra Pendu et fratrum suorum *xij. d.* Et terra filie Madoc Gochel *iiij. d.* que terre sunt in manu domini Regis. Item in decasu redditus de Weest ad predictos *iiij.* terminos anno eodem *iiij. s.* et *ij. d.* racione qua prius Item in decasu redditus de Keys anno eodem *xx. d.* et quad. racione qua prius Item in decasu sustentacionis equorum anno eodem *xiiij. d.* et ob.—Summa *xj. s. ij. d.* ob. quad.

Respondet

Liberata domino Rogero de Molis senescallo predicto *xix. li. xv. s.* et *viiij. d.* per *vij.* tallias unde respondet.—Summa *ix. li. xv. s. viij. d.*

Summa summarum istius anni *xx. li. vj. s. x. d.* ob. quad.

Annus
septimus

In decasu redditus assisi ad *iiij.* terminos predictos anno regni Regis Edwardi septimo *iiij. s.* et *ij. d.* racione qua superius in anno sexto Item in decasu redditus de Weest ad eosdem terminos anno eodem *iiij. s.* et *ij. d.* racione qua superius etc. Item in decasu de Keys anno eodem *ij. s. iiij. d.* et quad. racione qua prius. Item in decasu sustentacionis equorum anno eodem *xix. d.* ob. et quad. racione qua prius—Summa *xij. s. iiij. d.*

Liberata domino Rogero de Molis senescallo de Lampader xxxvij. *li.* iiij. *s.* et j. *d.* per viij. tallias unde respondet.—Summa xxxvij. *li.* iiij. *s.* et j. *d.*

Res

Summa summarum istius anni xxxvij. *li.* xvj. *s.* v. *d.*

[Membrane 5.]

Adhuc de compoto Ivoris Bedelli prepositi de Commoto Pervith infra manerium de Lampader a festo Sancti Thome Apostoli anno regni Regis Edwardi sexto usque in festo Sancti Petri in Cathedra anno regni ejusdem octavo.

In decasu redditus assisi de termino Natalis Domini anno regni Regis Edwardi octavo xij. *d.* et ob. racione qua superius in anno sexto Item in decasu redditus de Weest de eodem termino anno eodem xij. *d.* et ob. racione qua superius Item in decasu redditus de Keys xj. *d.* racione qua superius Item in decasu sustentacionis equorum domini et Raglou anno eodem xiiij. *d.* et quad. racione qua prius—Summa iiij. *s.* j. *d.* quad.

Annus octavu
Expensa

Liberata domino Rogero de Molis senescallo predicto lxxvij. *s.* et iiij. *d.* per ij. tallias unde respondet—Summa lxxvij. *s.* et iiij. *d.*

Res.

Summa summarum istius anni iiij. *li.* xvij. *d.* quad.

Summa omnium summarum totius expensi lxiij. *li.* iiij. *s.* viij. *d.* ob. quad. Et sic debet domino xliij. *li.* et iij. *d.*

Et postea condonantur per dominum Regem ac vicecomitem de gratia speciali xx. *li.* xj. *s.* vij. *d.* et ob. de West totius hujus compoti Et x. *li.* xiiij. *s.* iij. *d.* ob. de sustentacione garcionum et equorum domini et Raglou per idem tempus Et sic debet domino x. *li.* xiiij. *s.* et iiij. *d.*

Compotus ejusdem Ivoris Bedelli prepositi de Commoto Pervith de instauro a festo Sancti Thome Apostoli anno regni Regis Edwardi sexto usque in festo Sancti Petri in Cathedra anno regni ejusdem octavo.

Idem reddit compotum de iiij^{xx}. et vij. bidentibus collectis in patria domino collatis anno regni Regis Edwardi sexto—Summa iiij^{xx}. et vij. De quibus in vendicione vij. de quorum denarii etc.—Summa iiij^{xx}. et vij. et sic inde quietus.

Annus sextu

Quietus

Idem reddit compotum de xv. buscellis avene—Summa xv. buscelli—unde in vendicione xv. buscelli—de quorum denarii etc.—Summa xv. et sic eque.

Avena

Annus
septimus

Idem reddit computum de xv. porcis provenientiibus de pannagio de consuetudine.—Summa xv. de quibus in vendicione xv. de quorum denarii etc.—Summa xv. et sic inde quietus.

Annus octavus

Idem reddit computum de xiiij. porcis provenientiibus de pannagio de consuetudine anno regni Regis Edwardi octavo.—Summa xiiij. porci et remanentium de sexsu et etate nescit respondere.

Remanentes

Computus Madoci prepositi de Generglin infra manerium de Lampader per visum et testimonium Griffini ap Madoc Raglou ejusdem commoti a festo Sancti Thome Apostoli anno regni Regis Edwardi sexto usque festum Sancti Petri in Cathedra anno regni ejusdem octavo.

Annus sextus
redditus

Idem reddit computum de lviiij. s. et viij. d. de redditu assiso dicti commoti de Generglin termini Natalis Domini anno regni Regis predicti sexto Et de lviiij. s. et viij. d. de redditu ejusdem commoti termini Pasche anno eodem Et de ij. s. et vj. d. de redditu Lamyhangel Castel Walter ad eundem terminum anno eodem, videlicet de Chensaria Et de lviiij. s. et viij. d. de redditu ejusdem commoti termini Sancti Johannis Baptiste anno eodem Et de lviiij. s. et viij. d. de redditu ejusdem commoti termini Sancti Michaelis anno eodem Et de iij. s. de Chensaria de Lami-hangel [per] eundem terminum anno eodem—Summa xij. li. ij. d.

Idem reddit computum de lviiij. s. et viij. d. de redditu de Weest ejusdem commoti termini Natalis Domini anno regni Regis predicti sexto Et de lviiij. s. et viij. d. de redditu de Weest termini Pasche anno eodem. Et de lviiij. s. et viij. d. de redditu de Weest termini Sancti Johannis Baptiste anno eodem Et de lviiij. s. et viij. d. de redditu de West termini Sancti Michaelis anno eodem Et de iiiij. li. xiiij. s. et iiiij. d. receptis pro potura iiiij. servien-cium de Keys a dicto festo Sancti Thome Apostoli anno regni Regis Edwardi sexto usque festum Sancti Michaelis anno eodem, videlicet per CC. iiiij^{xx}. et iij. dies per minus centum primo die et ultimo computatis quorum quilibet debuit cepisse in die j. d. Et de lxxv. s. et vj. d. receptis pro sustentacione ij. garcionum et ij. equorum Domini unius garcionis et unius equi Raglou a dicto festo Sancti Thome Apostoli anno Edwardi sexto usque festum Apos-

tolorum Philippi et Jacobi illo die non computato videlicet per Cxxx. et unum diem per minus centum Et sciendum quod solvunt pro garcione et equo in die ij. d. Et de vj. s. et xj. d. de cribris avene debitis ad prebendam dextrarii domini de eodem commoto anno eodem—Summa xx. li. xj. s. v. d.

Et de xxxij. s. et iiij. d. receptis de finibus prisonum anno eodem Et de vj. li. xvij. s. et ij. d. de placitis et perquisitis heriettis relevis et lerewitis per predictum tempus anno eodem Et de xv. li. xix. s. et iiij. d. receptis de fine quorundam hominum pro pace domini Regis habenda Et sciendum quod dicta finis facta fuit antequam dictus Rogerus de Molis recepit ballivam de Lampader.

Idem reddit compotum de xxvj. s. et viij. d. de xl. bidentibus venditis anno eodem Et de xl. s. de feno vendito anno eodem Et de iij. s. et iiij. d. de iiij. lagenis mellis venditis anno eodem—Summa xxvij. li. x. d.

Summa summarum istius anni lx. li. xij. s. et v. d.

Idem reddit compotum de lvij. s. et viij. d. de redditu assiso dicti commoti termini Natalis anno regni Regis Edwardi septimo Et de lvij. s. et viij. d. de redditu ejusdem commoti termini Pasche anno eodem Et de lvij. s. et viij. d. de redditu ejusdem commoti termini Sancti Johannis Baptiste anno eodem Et de lvij. s. et viij. d. de redditu ejusdem commoti termini Sancti Michaelis anno eodem Et de vj. li. xx. d. receptis pro potura iiij. serviencium de Keys per totum annum anno eodem quorum quilibet debuit cepisse ut in anno sexto Et de iiij. li. x. s. et vj. d. receptis pro sustentacione ij. garcionum et ij. equorum domini unius garcionis et unius equi Raglou a festo Omnium Sanctorum anno regni Regis Edwardi sexto usque festum Apostolorum Philippi et Jacobi anno vij.º.

Idem reddit compotum de lvij. s. et viij. d. de redditu de Weest ejusdem commoti termini Natalis anno Edwardi septimo Et de lvij. s. et viij. d. de redditu de Weest termini Pasche anno eodem Et de lvij. s. et viij. d. de redditu de Weest termini Sancti Johannis Baptiste anno eodem Et de lvij. s. et viij. d. de redditu de Weest termini Sancti Michaelis anno eodem Et de vj. li. et xx. d. receptis pro potura iiij. serviencium de Keys per totum annum anno Edwardi septimo quorum quilibet debuit cepisse ut in anno sexto Et de iiij. li. x. s. et vj. d.

Annus
septimus
Redditus

receptis pro sustentacione ij. garcionum et ij. equorum domini unius garcionis et unius equi Raglou a festo Omnium Sanctorum anno regni Regis Edwardi sexto usque festum Apostolorum Philippi et Jacobi anno septimo per ciiij^{xx}. et j. diem per minus centum quorum quilibet garcio cum equo debuit cepisse in die ij. d. Et de vj. s. et xj. d. pro cribris avene debitis ad prebendam dextrarii domini anno eodem Et de ij. s. et vj. d. de Chenseria de Lamihangel Castel Walteri termini Pasche anno Edwardi septimo Et de iij. s. de Chenseria de eadem termini Sancti Michaelis anno eodem Et de vj. s. et iij. d. receptis de vj. acris terre conductis de dominico domini anno eodem—Summa xxxv. li. iij. d.

Idem reddit compotum de x. li. xiiij. s. et iij. d. receptis de finibus placitis et perquisitis, heriētis releviis et lerewitis per totum annum anno eodem Et de x. s. de vj. porcis venditis anno eodem Et de xj. s. et ij. d. receptis de vij. busscellis silliginis, ij. quarteriis et dimidio avene venditis anno eodem Et de xl. s. receptis de feno vendito anno eodem—Summa xij. li. xv. s. et ix. d.

Summa summarum istius anni xlviij. li. xv. s. et ix. d.

Annus octavus

Idem reddit compotum de lvij. s. et viij. d. de redditu assiso dicti commoti termini Natalis Domini anno Edwardi octavo Et de lvij. s. et viij. d. de redditu de Weest ad eundem terminum anno eodem Et de xlviij. s. et viij. d. receptis pro potura iij. serviencium de Keys a festo Sancti Michaelis anno Edwardi septimo usque in festum Sancti Petri in Cathedra anno ejusdem octavo, videlicet per C. xlvj. dies per minus centum ultimo die computato Et de lvij. s. receptis pro sustentacione ij. garcionum et ij. equorum domini unius garcionis et unius equi Raglou a festo Omnium Sanctorum anno Edwardi septimo usque festum Sancti Petri in Cathedra anno regni ejusdem octavo, videlicet per C et xiiij. dies per minus centum primo die et ultimo computatis qui debuerunt cepisse ut supra—Summa xj. li. iij. s.

Idem reddit compotum de vj. li. xiiij. s. et iij. d. de finibus placitis et perquisitis heriētis releviis et lerewitis a festo Sancti Michaelis anno regni Regis Edwardi septimo usque festum Sancti Petri in Cathedra anno regni ejusdem octavo Et de xij. s. de ix. bidentibus venditis anno eodem—Summa vij. li. vj. s. iij. d.

Summa summarum istius anni xvij. li. ix. s. iij. d.

Summa omnium summarum totius recepti C et xxvij. li. xvij. s. vj. d.

[*Membrane 5, dorse.*]

Adhuc de compoto Madoci prepositi de Generglin infra manerium de Lampader per visum et testimonium Griffini ap Madoc Raglou ejusdem Commoti a festo Sancti Thome Apostoli anno regni Regis Edwardi sexto usque festum Sancti Petri in Cathedra anno regni ejusdem octavo.

In decasu redditus assisi per iiij. terminos anni anno Edwardi sexto v. li. xij. s. pro equali porcione ad quemlibet terminum eo quod terra de Erglan que solebat reddere per annum x. s. et viij. d. et terra Leysecoyt que solebat reddere per annum vij. s. et terra Stratgilion v. s. et iiij. d. Et terra de Weleyrok que solebat reddere per annum vij. s. Et terra de Strathuorin que solebat reddere per annum viij. s. et quarta pars j. Randir apud Portuherac que solebat reddere per annum ij. s. viij. d. et terra Hamani fab Howel ap Eynon Lewelini ap Eynon Keynewrek ap Joruard duorum filiorum Madoci ap Priuid et Meyleri Voil que solebat reddere per annum viij. s. Et terra Howeli ap Madoc ap Joruard parsons xij. s. et terra Kadugani ap Eynon filii . . . Nutricis David ap Meuric Madoc ap Joruard que solebat reddere per annum vij. s. et terra duorum filiorum Madoc Gochel que solebat reddere per annum ij. s. et viij. d. Et terra duorum filiorum Kedivor Heen que solebat reddere per annum xxvij. d. Et terra David ap Howel que solebat reddere per annum iiij. s. et terra filiorum Philippi ap Griffit que solebat reddere per annum iij. s. et vj. d. Et terra Merdic ap Madoc que solebat reddere per annum ij. s. Et terra heredis Kenewrec Voyl que solebat reddere per annum ij. s. Et terra Howel ap Lewelin que solebat reddere per annum ij. s. et viij. d. Et quedam pars terre de Arcoyt que solebat reddere per annum ij. s. Et terra Moylhukes map Griffit Du que solebat reddere per annum ij. s. et viij. d. Et terra Howel ap Iuaf que solebat reddere per annum ij. s. et viij. d. Et terra trium filiorum Griffit ap Eynon que solebat reddere per annum xvj. d. Et terra map Cadugan ap Ithel que solebat reddere per annum viij. d. Et terra Howel ap Gorgennon que solebat reddere per annum viij. d. Et terra filii Philippi clerici que solebat reddere per annum viij. d. Et terra Heylin

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filiu Howeli que solebat reddere per annum viij. *d.* Et terra filii Madoc ap Eynon que solebat reddere per annum viij. *d.* Et terra Meylir Cran et Adami ap Griffit que solebat reddere per annum xiiij. *d.* Et terra Eynon ap Gronou que solebat reddere per annum xiiij. *d.* Et terra filii Resi et Gronou que solebat reddere per annum iiij. *d.* Et terra Kenewrec Du que solebat reddere per annum xx. *d.* Et terra filii Gronou Vauchan que solebat reddere per annum xij. *d.* Et terra Cadugan ap Madoc que solebat reddere per annum xij. *d.* Et terra filii Joruard ap Meuric que solebat reddere per annum xiiij. *d.* Et terra Win Gou que solebat reddere per annum viij. *d.* Et terra Griffit Gou que solebat reddere per annum xiiij. *d.* Et terra Poete que solebat reddere per annum viij. *d.* Et terra Pengil que solebat reddere per annum xij. *d.* Et terra filii Blethin que solebat reddere per annum xiiij. *d.* Et terra Madoc Du que solebat reddere per annum iiij. *d.* Et terra Iouan ap David que solebat reddere per annum ij. *d.* que omnes terre predictae sunt in manu domini Regis—Summa C. et xij. *s.*

In decasu de Weest ad predictos iiij. terminos anno Edwardi sexto v. *li.* et xij. *s.* pro equali porcione ad quemlibet terminum racione qua superius in redditu assiso Item in decasu de Keys a festo Sancti Thome Apostoli anno regni Regis Edwardi sexto usque festum Sancti Michaelis anno eodem xlviij. *s.* et ij. *d.* Item in decasu sustentacionis iiij. garcionum et iiij. equorum predictorum per idem tempus xxviij. *s.* et ix. *d.* racione qua prius—Summa ix. *li.* xvij. *s.* xj. *d.*

Respondet

Liberata domino Rogero de Molis senescallo predicto xvij. *li.* xviiij. *s.* et vij. *d.* per xj. tallias unde respondet. Liberata domino Edwardo de Broucton xv. *li.* xix. *s.* et iiij. *d.* per j. talliam unde respondet—Summa summarum istius anni xlix. *li.* vij. *s.* x. *d.*

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In decasu redditus assisi per iiij. terminos anni anno Edwardi septimo v. *li.* xij. *s.* pro equali porcione ad quemlibet terminum racione qua superius in anno Edwardi sexto Item in decasu de Weest ad predictos iiij. terminos v. *li.* xij. *s.* pro equali porcione ad quemlibet terminum racione qua superius Item in decasu de Keys per totum annum anno Edwardi septimo lx. *s.* et x. *d.* Item in decasu sustentacionis iiij. garcionum et iiij. equorum predictorum a

• festo Omnium Sanctorum anno Edwardi sexto usque festum Apostolorum Philippi et Jacobi anno Edwardi septimo *xlv. s. et iij. d.*—Summa *xvj. li. x. s. j. d.*

Liberata eidem domino Rogero senescallo predicto *xxj. li. vij. s. viij. d.* per *xj. tallias* unde respondet.

Respondet

Liberata eidem Rogero *lvj. s. et viij. d.* sine tallia unde respondet—Summa *xxiiij. li. iiij. s. et iij. d.*

Summa summarum istius anni *xl. li. viij. s. v. d.*

In decasu redditus assisi termini Natalis Domini anno Edwardi octavo *xxviiij. s.* racione qua superius in anno Edwardi sexto Item in decasu de Weest ad eundem terminum *xxviiij. s.* Item in decasu de Keys a festo Sancti Michaelis anno Edwardi sexto usque festum Sancti Petri in Cathedra anno Edwardi octavo *xxiiij. s. et iij. d.* Item in decasu sustentacionis *iiij. garcionum et iij. equorum* predictorum a festo omnium Sanctorum anno Edwardi septimo *xxviiij. s. et vj. d.*—Summa *v. li. viij. s. x. d.*

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Liberata domino Rogero senescallo predicto *vj. li. xvij. s. et ij. d.* per *ij. tallias* unde respondet. Liberata eidem *xij. s.* sine tallia unde respondet—Summa *vij. li. ix. s. ij. d.*—Summa istius anni *xij. li. xviiij. s.*

Respondet

Summa omnium summarum totius expensi *C. iij. li. iiij. d.* Et sic debet *xxvij. li. xvij. s. vj. d.* Et postea condonantur per dominum Regem ac vicecomitem de gratia speciali *xiiij. li. xvi. s.* de Weest totius hujus compoti Et *xj. li. iiij. d.* de sustentacione garcionum et equorum domini et Raglou per idem tempus Et sic debet domino *lvj. s. et iij. d.*

Compotus Willelmi prepositi de Trevileyn a festo Sancti Thome Apostoli anno regni Regis Edwardi sexto usque festum Sancti Petri in Cathedra anno regni Regis Edwardi octavo.

Idem redditu compotum de *x. s. et viij. d.* de redditu assiso ejusdem ville de Trevillan per *iiij. terminos* anni anno Edwardi sexto Et de *ij. s. et ix. d.* de chenseria termini Pasche anno eodem Et de *iiij. s. et viij. d.* de chenseria termini Sancti Michaelis anno eodem Et de *viiij. s.* de firma molendini de eadem per totum annum anno eodem Et de *vj. s. et viij. d.* de *iiij. porcis* venditis anno eodem Et de *ij. s. et viij. d.* de feno vendito anno eodem—Summa *xxxiiij. s. et v. d.*

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Idem redditu computum de x. s. et viij. d. de redditu assiso ejusdem ville de Trevilan per iiij. terminos anni anno Edwardi septimo Et de viij. s. et vj. d. de chenseria anno eodem Et de viij. s. de terra locata. Et de iij. s. et iiij. d. de iiij. lagenis mellis venditis anno eodem Et de ij. s. et viij. d. de feno vendito anno eodem—Summa xxxiij. s. et ij. d.

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Idem redditu computum de ij. s. et viij. d. de redditu de Trevillan termini Natalis Domini anno Edwardi octavo Et de xij. d. de herietto Gronou Vauchan anno eodem—Summa iij. s. et vij. s.

Summa summarum totius recepti lxxv. s. et iiij. d.

[Membrane 6.]

Adhuc de compoto Willelmi prepositi de Trevillan infra manerium de Lampader a festo Sancti Thome Apostoli anno regni Regis Edwardi sexto usque in festo Sancti Petri in Cathedra anno regni ejusdem octavo.

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Liberata domino Rogero de Molis senescallo de Lampader xxxiij. s. et ix. d. per vij. tallias unde respondet.

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respondet

Liberata domino Rogero de Molis senescallo predicto xxx. s. per vij. tallias unde respondet.

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respondet

Liberata domino Rogero de Molis senescallo predicto v. s. et ij. d. per ij. tallias unde respondet.

Summa totius expensi—lxviiij. s. et v. d. Et sic debet domino ij. s. et iiij. d.

Computus David ap Hiecoke prepositi de Lanhilar a festo Sancti Thome Apostoli anno regni Regis Edwardi sexto.

Idem redditu computum de ix. s. de advocacione quorundam hominum patrie et pro mercandis faciendis in dicta villa de licencia domini Rogeri de Molis anno regni Regis Edwardi sexto Et de viij. s. de advocacione quorundam hominum patrie et pro mercandis faciendis termini Sancti Michaelis anno eodem—Summa xvij. s.

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Idem redditu computum de xiiij. s. et vij. d. pro advocacione quorundam hominum et pro mercandis faciendis etc per totum annum anno Edwardi septimo—Summa xiiij. s. et vij. d. Summa summarum xxx. s. et vij. d.

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Expensa inde
respondet

Liberata domino Rogero de Molis senescallo predicto xvij. s. per ij. tallias unde respondet.

Liberata domino Rogero senescallo predicto xiiij. s. vij. d. per ij. tallias unde respondet.—Summa summarum xxx. s. vij. d. et sic eque. Annus septimus respondet

Compotus David prepositi de dominico de Lampader a festo Sancti Thome Apostoli anno regni Regis Edwardi sexto usque festum Sancti Michaelis anno regni ejusdem septimo.

Idem reddit compotum de ij. s. et ij. d. de redditu cottariorum de terminis Pasche et Beati Michaelis anno Edwardi sexto Et de xx. s. et ij. d. de xxxij. acris locatis de dominico domini Regis Et de iiiij. s. de piscaria ibidem vendita Et de ij. s. et vj. d. de x. bocellis avene venditis.—Summa xxviiij. s. et x. d. Annus sextus

Idem reddit compotum de ij. s. et ij. d. de redditu cottariorum de terminis Pasche et Sancti Michaelis anno Edwardi septimo Et de xx. s. et ij. d. de xxxij. acris locatis de dominico domini Regis anno eodem Et de iiij. s. et iiiij. d. de piscaria vendita Et de iiij. s. et ob. de j. bocello et dimidio frumenti et vij. bocellis et dimidio avene venditis anno eodem—Summa xxviiij. s. viij. d. ob. Annus septimus

Summa summarum totius recepti lvij. s. vj. d. ob.

Liberata domino Rogero de Molis senescallo predicto xxviiij. s. et x. d. per ij. tallias unde respondet. Expensa inde respondet

Liberata domino Rogero de Molis senescallo supradicto xxviiij. s. viij. d. et ob. per ij. tallias unde respondet.

Summa summarum totius expensi lvij. s. vj. d. ob. et sic eque. Annus septimus respondet

Compotus ejusdem de grangia per supradictum tempus.

Idem reddit compotum de x. bocellis avene receptis de exitu grangie per annum anno Edwardi sexto—Summa x. bocelli unde in vendicione x. bocelli prout patet supra in denariis—Summa x. bocelli et sic eque. Grangia per supra Annus sextus eque

Idem reddit compotum de j. bocello et dimidio trumenti de exitu grangee anno Edwardi septimo—Summa j. bocellus et dimidium unde in vendicione j. bocellus et dimidium. Sic eque. Annus septimus eque

Idem reddit compotum de vij. bocellis et dimidium de avena de exitu grangie anno Edwardi sexto—Summa vij. bocelli et dimidium unde in vendicione vij. bocelli et

dimidium prout patet ut supra—Summa vij. bocelli et dimidium et sic eque.

Computus Gilberti prepositi ville de Lampader a festo Pasche anno Edwardi sexto usque festum Sancti Petri in Cathedra anno regni ejusdem octavo.

Annus sextus

Idem reddit compotum de xxxij. s. et iiij. d. de placitis et perquisitis a festo Pasche anno regni Regis Edwardi sexto usque festum Sancti Michaelis anno eodem Et de xij. s. de prisa cervisie per supradictum tempus—Summa xlv. s. iiij. d.

Annus septimus

Idem reddit compotum de lix. s. j. d. de placitis et perquisitis hundredi de Lampader per totum annum anno Edwardi septimo Et de xxx. s. de prisa cervisie per supradictum tempus—Summa lxxvij. s. j. d.

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Annus sextus
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Expensa

Idem reddit compotum de xxiiij. s. xj. d. de placitis et perquisitis et de viij. s. de prisa cervisie per supradictum tempus.

Summa summarum tocuis recepti vij. li. xvj. s. et iiij. d.

Liberata domino Rogero de Molis senescallo predicto xlv. s. et iiij. d. per ij. tallias unde respondet—Summa patet.

Annus septimus
respondet

Liberata eidem domino Rogero senescallo predicto anno Edwardi septimo lxxvij. s. et j. d. per ij. tallias unde respondet—Summa patet.

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respondet

Liberata eidem domino Rogero anno Edwardi octavo xxxij. s. et xj. d. per ij. tallias unde respondet—Summa patet.

Summa summarum tocuis expensi xxj. li. xvj. s. iiij. d. et sic eque.

[*Membrane 6, dorse.*]

Computus Add. ap Andreu prepositi de Lanrusti a festo Sancti Thome Apostoli anno regni Regis Edwardi sexto usque festum Sancti Petri in Cathedra anno regni Edwardi octavo.

Annus sextus

Idem reddit compotum de x. s. et viij. d. de redditu assiso per iiij. terminos anni anno Edwardi sexto, videlicet pro equali porcione ad quemlibet terminum Et de x. s. et viij. d. de redditu de Weest ad predictos terminos anni anno eodem pro equali porcione etc. Et de iiij. s. viij. d.

et ob. pro potura serviencium de Keys a festo Sancti Thome Apostoli anno regni Regis Edwardi sexto usque festum Sancti Michaelis anno eodem Et de ij. s. et ij. d. pro sustentacione ij. garcionum et ij. equorum domini unius garcionis et unius equi Raglou per idem tempus anno eodem Et de vij. s. et iij. d. de advocacione anno eodem.—Summa xxxv. s. v. d.

Idem redditu computum de x. s. et viij. [d.] de redditu assiso de Lanrusti ad iij. terminos anni anno Edwardi septimo videlicet pro equali porcione etc. Et de x. s. et viij. d. de redditu de Weest ad eosdem terminos anno eodem Et de vj. s. et j. d. pro potura serviencium de Keys anno eodem Et de iij. s. pro sustentacione ij. garcionum et ij. equorum domini et unius equi Raglou anno eodem Et de x. s. de advocacione anno eodem Et de v. s. de placitis et perquisitis anno eodem.

Annus
septimus

Idem redditu computum de ij. s. et viij. d. de redditu assiso termini Natalis Domini anno regni Regis Edwardi octavo Et de ij. s. et viij. d. de Weest ad eundem terminum anno eodem Et de ij. s. et v. d. pro potura serviencium de Keys a festo Sancti Thome Apostoli anno regni Regis Edwardi octavo usque in festum Sancti Petri in Cathedra anno Edwardi eodem Et de xxij. d. ob. et quad. pro sustentacione ij. equorum domini et unius equi Raglou per idem tempus anno eodem—Summa ix. s. vij. d. ob. quad.

Annus octavus

Summa summarum totius recepti iij. li. x. s. vj. d. quad.

Liberata domino Rogero de Molis senescallo de Lampader vij. s. et iij. [d.] per j. talliam unde respondet—Summa patet.

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Expensa
Respondet

Liberata domino Rogero de Molis predicto x. s. per talliam et v. s. sine talliam unde respondet—Summa patet.

Annus
septimus
Respondet

Summa summarum totius expensi xxij. s. iij. d. Et sic debet domino lxvij. s. iij. d. Et postea condonantur per dominum Regem ac vicecomitem de gratia speciali xxiiij. s. per tempus hujus compoti. Et sic debet domino xliij. s. et iij. d.

[Membrane 7.]

Computus ballivorum prepositorum et bedellorum de Lampader et ejusdem patrie a festo Sancti Michaelis

anno regni Regis Edwardo quinto de omnibus suis receptis et misis usque ad festum Sancti Petri in cathedra.

Caduganus decanus redditu suum de omnibus suis receptis et misis de Mevenit et Heninioc a festo Sancti Michaelis anno regni Regis Edwardi quinto illo die computato usque ad festum Sancti Thome Apostoli anno regni ejusdem sexto.

Idem redditu suum de *cvj. s. viij. d.* receptis de redditu assiso de Mevenit Et de *iiij. li.* receptis de Heninioc per predictum tempus de redditu assiso Et memorandum quod non recepit aliquid de West neque de equis domini vel de equo Raglow cum sustentacione *iiij. garcionum* nec de sustentacione *serviencium* que dicuntur Keys eo scilicet quod pax in partibus illis fuerit tunc temporis tenerrima et fere singuli de vicinis Commotis de gwerra fuerant. Idem redditu suum de *ix. s. v. d.* de placitis et perquisitis per supradictum tempus et non plus. Idem redditu suum de *ix. s. v. d.* de placitis et perquisitis per supradictum tempus et non plus predicta racione—Summa *ix. li. xvj. s. j. d.*

Expensa inde

Idem computat *xxx. s. iiij. d.* in decasu redditus de terris diversorum hominum qui nondum venerunt ad pacem Et de *vj. s. viij. d.* expenditis pro diversis hominibus conductis ad amputandum passus de Trevileyn per preceptum domini Pagani de Cadurciis Et computat *cxviij. li.* Radulpho clerico.—Summa *vij. li. xiiij. s. xj. d.* et sic debet domino Regi *xlj. s. ij. d.*

Et memorandum quod nullus respondet de exitibus trium commotorum videlicet Generglin commoti Pervith et Crewrdin per totum tempus predictum.

Madocus prepositus de Generglin redditu suum a festo Nativitatis Domini anno regni Regis Edwardi sexto usque festum Pasche proxime sequens per visum et testimonium Griffini ap Madoc Raglow ejusdem Commoti.

Idem redditu suum de *lxxviij. s. viij. d.* de redditu assiso que vocatur Westwa de termino Natali predicto Et de *lviiij. s. viij. d.* de West Et de *xxxviij. s. viij. d.* pro sustentacione duorum equorum domini cum *ij. garcionibus* qui capiunt pro se et pro *ij. equis* predictis per diem *iiij. d.* Et de *ix. s. v. d.* pro sustentacione eque Raglow et cum garcione qui capiunt per diem *ij. d.* Et de *xviij. s. x. d.* pro sustentacione *ij. hominum* qui dicuntur Keys Et

de lxxvj. s. iiij. d. receptis de placitis et perquisitis per predictum tempus—Summa xij. li. ix. s. vij. d.

Idem Madocus reddit comptum suum a Pascha anno regni Regis Edwardi sexto usque Pascha anno regni Regis Edwardi septimo per annum integrum de omnibus suis receptis.

Idem Madocus reddit comptum de xj. li. xiiij. s. viij. d. receptis de redditu assiso de terminis Pasche Beati Johannis Baptiste Sancti Michaelis et Natalis Domini anno Edwardi septimo Et de xj. li. xiiij. s. viij. d. de West per predictum tempus Et de vj. li. xx. d. de Keys. Et de lx. s. x. d.

[*The Roll Endorsed*].—Primus comptus West Wallie liberatus ad Scaccarium per Ricardum de Meestrie anno octavo Regis Edwardi.



