



Archæologia Cambrensis,

THE

JOURNAL

OF THE

Cambrian Archæological Association.



VOL. IX. FIFTH SERIES.

LONDON:

PICKERING AND CHATTO, 66, HAYMARKET, S.W.

1892.

LONDON :

C. J. CLARK, 4, LINCOLN'S INN FIELDS, W.C.

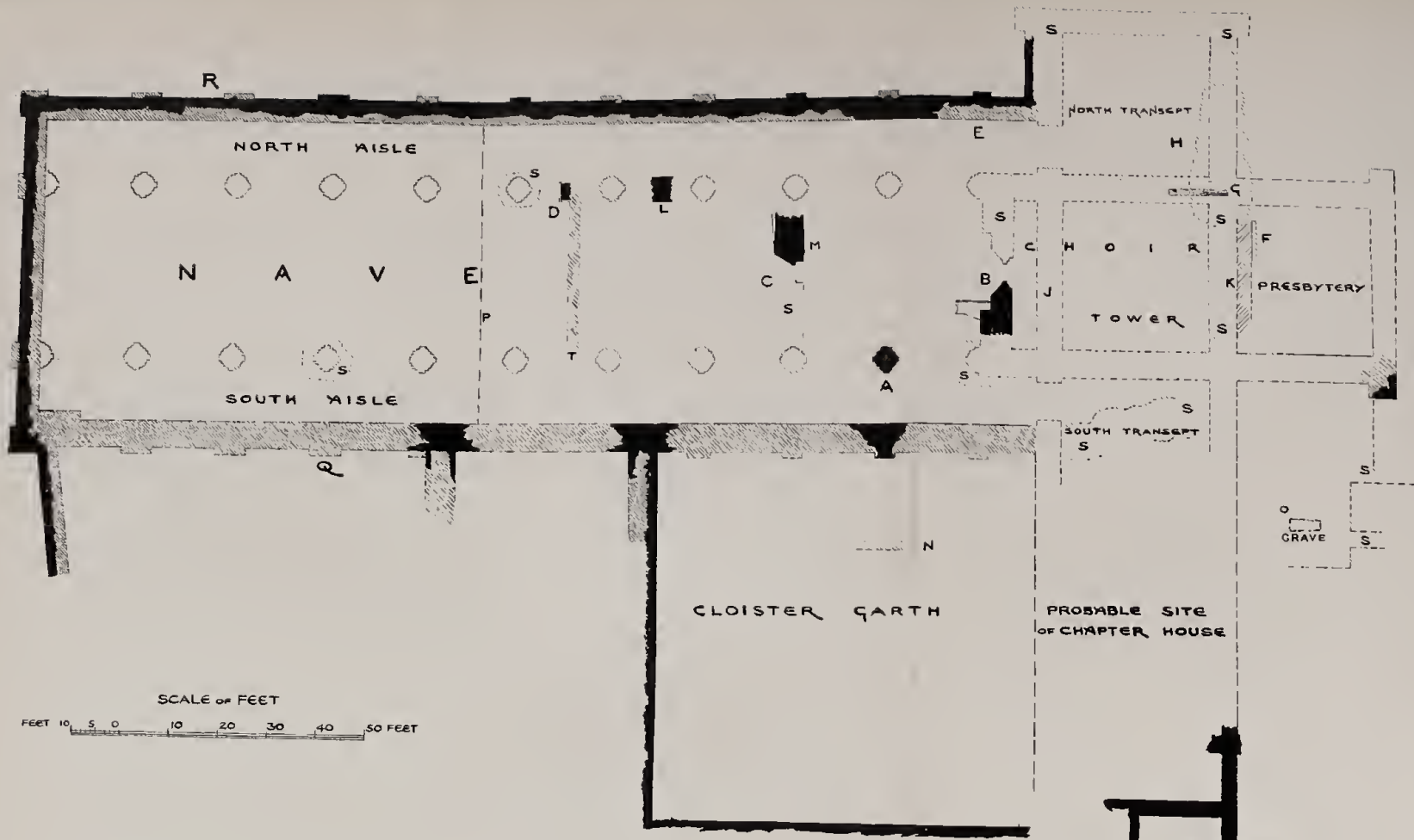
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SITE OF CONVENTUAL BUILDINGS

STRATA MARCELLA ABBEY

STEPHEN W. WILLIAMS . F.R.I.B.M.
RHAYADER - 1890 -

ELM TREES

Archæologia Cambrensis.

FIFTH SERIES.—VOL. IX, NO. XXXIII.

JANUARY 1892.

THE CISTERCIAN ABBEY OF STRATA MARCELLA, MONTGOMERYSHIRE.

BY STEPHEN W. WILLIAMS, ESQ., F.R.I.B.A.

IN May 1890 Mr. Morris Charles Jones, F.S.A., the Hon. Secretary of the Powysland Club, conceived the project of excavating the site of the ruined Abbey of Strata Marcella, situated upon the north bank of the river Severn, a short distance above Pool Quay Weir, and near to the main road leading from Welshpool to Oswestry. In 1871 he published in the *Montgomeryshire Collections* (see vols. iv, v, vi, and x) an account of this Abbey containing much of its history, and he spared no expense nor trouble in collecting the material then available; but it is believed that further documentary matter may be obtained by a careful search at the Record Office; and there are in the muniment room at Wynnstay one or two unpublished charters which it is hoped may some day be printed in the *Arch. Camb.*, when the issue of original documents in our quarterly Journal is resumed.

The author of this paper was invited to inspect the site of the Abbey, and on the 23rd of May 1890 he did so, and the Report which was then prepared appeared in "Archæological Notes and Queries", *Arch. Camb.*, July 1890 (5th Ser., vol. vii, p. 249). At that time not a vestige of the Abbey was visible above ground; the

site was marked by its being called the "Abbey Bank", and the only traces of any buildings having stood there were some slight ridges, like terraces, and a central depression, indicating, as it was then assumed, the position of the cloister-garth, which the subsequent excavations proved to be correct.

The Report having been submitted to the late Earl of Powis, upon whose property the Abbey is situated, he very generously placed half a dozen workmen for a week at the disposal of Mr. Jones, to enable us to make a preliminary excavation, which resulted in finding the line of wall near to the two elm-trees marked upon the plan. This wall we traced for a length of 91 ft., and found that it terminated at its southern end very near a deep drain which bounded the southern portion of the site, between it and the river Severn. Following the wall northwards we came upon another wall going westwards, and a little further on the foundations of a second wall having the same direction. Between these two walls fragments of encaustic tiles were found, and there were distinct traces of the bed of mortar in which the tiles had been laid. Among the *débris* pieces of stained glass still retaining traces of ornament were found.

We had now discovered a portion of the monastic buildings, and finding that the line of wall was due north and south, and fairly perfect for a height of from 1 ft. to 1 ft. 6 in., we hoped that by following it out we should eventually come upon the chapter-house and the east wall of the south transept. In this, however, we were disappointed. Beyond the point shown in black upon the plan we failed to find any foundations in continuation of those we had laid bare, and after cutting several cross-trenches we did not discover anything further at this point.

Masses of fallen stone on their edges, at the place marked "probable site of chapter-house" on the plan, appear to have formed part of a groined roof; but not a vestige of groin-moulding or foundations did we find.

Our next efforts were directed to ascertaining the situation of the church, and assuming that the depression in the surface of the ground about the centre of the site, indicated the position of the cloister-garth, a trench was driven northwards, commencing a little south of the dotted line of foundation marked N on plan. We first of all cut through the remains of a thin wall which had been built out of the ruins, and contained fragments of freestone mouldings. This was evidently built at some later period than the dissolution of the Monastery, and may have formed some portion of the farm-buildings and farmhouse which down to the close of the last century had existed on the site, but which had been as completely swept away as the buildings of the Abbey. It was, therefore, no wonder that under such circumstances but little remained to reward our exertions in making out the plan of the monastic buildings. However, we persevered in our endeavours to find some traces of the church, and a little further on came upon a mass of foundations of considerable thickness, but with no well-defined face; and yet a little further on, in the side of the trench, we discovered a fragment of freestone *in situ* (at A), which when laid bare turned out to be the only perfect base of one of the piers of the nave-arcade as yet discovered. This was a most welcome find. We were now satisfied that the church stood on the north side of the cloister-garth; and this was subsequently proved to be so when on continuing our trench northwards we came upon the line of the north wall, the foundations of which were less disturbed than on the south side.

Our next step was to follow the line of the external face of the north wall, east and west, so as to define the outline of the church in this direction. It resulted in our finding the bases of the buttresses *in situ*, and fairly perfect, at the points where shown on the plan in black. Those that are hatched with diagonal lines had disappeared, but by spacing out the intervals carefully their position was fixed, and the six eastward

ones were found to be most exactly divided from centre to centre ; the four to the westward were a trifle wider apart, and broader.

The preliminary excavations being finished, it was determined to make a complete exploration of the Abbey site, if sufficient funds could be raised, and it was thought that an expenditure of about £100 would be enough to clear the surface of the church, and also what remained of the conventual buildings. A committee was formed (thanks to the energy of Mr. Morris C. Jones), and a sum of a little over £75 was actually raised and expended, as shown in a statement of account published in *Montgomeryshire Collections*, vol. xxv, p. 152.

On the 12th of August 1890 work was again commenced, and continued until the 8th of October following, with the result that the tracing out of the plan of the church was resumed, and the north-western angle discovered buried beneath a great accumulation of soil, and also of the foundations of the west wall. There were indications of buttresses in the west wall, on the lines of the nave-arcade, and much clearer indications of the foundations of the buttresses at the north-western and south-western angles. At the latter point the face of a wall, pointing somewhat obliquely in a southerly direction, was found. The line of the south wall of the church was excavated eastwards, and no signs of buttresses could be found, except that at the point opposite to the pier (A) the foundation was wider than at the other points where the thickness of the wall could be defined, and where buttresses were not likely to exist. At two places in the south wall we discovered junctions of walls going southwards. The eastern one of these eventually proved to be the western boundary of the cloister-garth, and is in all probability the foundation of the east wall of the *cellarium* and *dorter* of the *conversi*.

In excavating the outer face of the north wall eastwards, a line of wall was discovered turning at right

angles northwards. This has been assumed to be, and is shown in the plan as, the western wall of the north transept. At s and s foundations of large flagstones were found, but no remains of walls. Every trace of the north transept had been cleared away, and nothing remained of the eastern portion of the church except the south-eastern angle of the presbytery, of which there was a small fragment left, sufficient to show that it was a portion of a buttress which had escaped the hands of the spoiler.

This, however, was valuable evidence so far as it went, as it enabled us to define the probable position of the presbytery, the central tower, and the north and south transepts, with some approach to accuracy, and to indicate the dimensions of the church of the Abbey of Strata Marcella.

The excavations having proceeded thus far, the next step was the clearing of the entire surface of the church to floor-level, provided the funds would admit of our doing so. Unfortunately there was a difficulty in disposing of the surplus soil, and as the excavations proceeded westwards the accumulated earth which covered the foundations became deeper, consequently the actual space cleared extends only to the dotted line marked P. Eastward of that line the entire area of the church has been excavated to the floor-level, and the interesting fragments of walls, bases of shafts, steps, and piers, marked A, B, C, D, F, G, L, and M on plan have been discovered.

The discovery of the base of a pier at A has been previously mentioned. When first uncovered it was fairly perfect. It is cased with fine red sandstone from the Shelvock or Grinshill Quarries, near Shrewsbury. The core was built of rubble-masonry of local stone. It is quite clear, from the plan of this base, that the nave-piers of Strata Marcella Abbey Church were of clustered shafts, and fragments of these, of various sizes and dimensions, were found among the *débris* which was excavated. Traces of foundations of some of the

other nave-arcade piers were found, but none in such perfect condition as this one; and it is most fortunate that so much was found intact, as it enables us to judge of the character of the piers when complete, and of the style of architecture of this part of the church, which probably dated from the latter part of the twelfth century to early in the thirteenth.

At B we discovered a portion of the *pulpitum*, the solid stone screen which divided the monks' choir from the choir of the *conversi*, part of the base-moulds of the shafts of the south side of the doorway being quite perfect, and *in situ*. Westwards of this was a large, flat, chamfered stone, in the centre of which was a round hole about 3 or 4 inches in diameter. The total length of the stone is 7 ft. 2 in., and at the end it is still 2 ft. wide; but a portion has been broken away. It appears to have been the base of a monument. To the right of this were some slabs and fragments of foundations, which might indicate the position of one of the altars in the choir of the *conversi*.

Westwards again, at c on plan, was a somewhat similar mass of masonry; but in addition to the base-mouldings, a short length of the jamb-mouldings remained; and instead of being on the south side of the centre line of the church, this fragment is on the north side. It presents many peculiarities: it has been built upon an inferior and irregular foundation, it does not occupy the original position for which the jamb and base-mouldings were worked, the jamb-mouldings do not fit the bases, and the latter are not continuous.

In the wall itself are fragments of mouldings built in; and when carefully examined it is seen that this is some later addition to the church. It looks remarkably like a portion of a western doorway inserted when the church was very considerably reduced in length, and at some period in the history of Strata Marcella when the eight western bays of the nave-arcade may have become dilapidated and fallen into

ruins ; not improbably at the time of the destruction of the Abbey by Owain Glyndwr.

The Chronicle of Adam of Usk thus refers to Glyndwr's raid into Montgomeryshire :—

“In this Autumn Owen Glyndower, all North Wales and Cardigan and Powis siding with him, sorely harried with fire and sword the English who dwelt in those parts, and their towns, and especially the town of Pool.”¹

It is, therefore, more than probable that Strata Marcella shared the fate of Cwmhir Abbey, was burnt and laid in ruins by Glyndwr, and that the Convent was never able to restore the church to its original dimensions.

At T were the foundations of a thin wall ; and at D, still *in situ*, the base of a pilaster or buttress, probably belonging to the screen separating the western portion of the nave from the choir of the *conversi*, which may have been erected at some later period than the part of the church where it is situated.

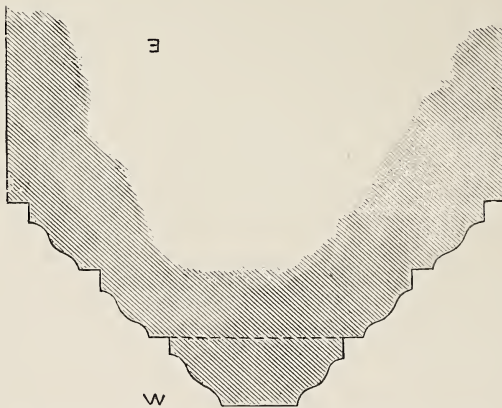
Unfortunately so little is left in each of these cases that it would be presumptuous on my part to state absolutely the purposes these fragments originally served, and to what they belonged. I think there can be no doubt about the *pulpitum* at B ; that is original masonry *in situ*, and untouched. The base-mouldings of the south jamb of the entrance-door to the choir are perfect, and the levels indicate a 4 in. step from the nave to the level of the floor of the choir.

At L we found a mass of foundations of a wall 5 ft. 3 in. thick, which may be the base of an altar-tomb. It comes exactly midway between the proper position of the two piers of the nave-arcade. It seems too thick for the wall which in some instances divides the aisles from the nave in Cistercian churches ; a notable instance of which is to be seen at Tintern Abbey, and of which I also found traces at Strata Florida.

¹ Chronicle of Adam de Usk, p. 191.

At G another very puzzling piece of masonry was unearthed, the foundations of a thin wall running east and west, and upon it a chamfered and rebated sill-stone, 5 ft. 8 in. long and 9 in. wide. This may be some later introduction; but there it was *in situ*, the top of the sill exactly 1 ft. above the floor of the choir, as ascertained from the door of the *pulpitum*, B.

Eastward of the wall just mentioned, at F, was a fragment of a stone step, which indicated the level of the presbytery floor, being exactly 1 ft. 4 in. above the floor of the choir, which would give four 4-inch steps from choir to presbytery. Here the principal mass of the fragments of the tile-pavements was found; and at K could be traced the foundation-walls which had carried the four steps. The front of the first step aligned with the eastern face of the eastern arch of the central tower, assuming the position of this feature to be correctly shown upon the plan. It was here that some



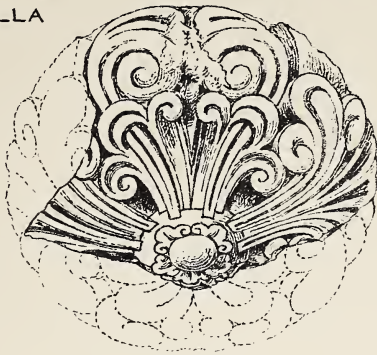
Moulding of Pier of Tower of Chester Cathedral.

large blocks of red sandstone were found, with an exactly similar moulding upon the angles to that of one of the piers of the tower of Chester Cathedral. I, therefore, think there can be no doubt that these formed part of one of the tower-piers.

STRATA MARCELLA



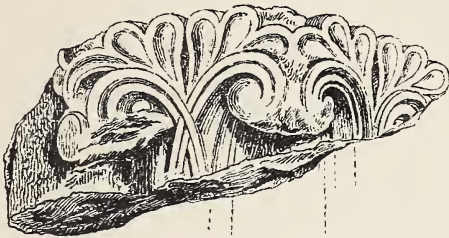
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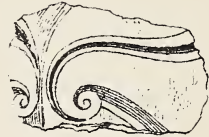
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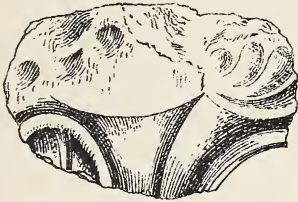
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No traces of transeptal chapels were found. The entire absence of any lines of foundations in this part of the church renders the plan of the eastern portion somewhat problematical.

At H on plan, Mr. Worthington G. Smith (who drew the plates with which the Report on the excavations in the *Montgomeryshire Collections* is so profusely illustrated) discovered some interments of very young children. This is an exceedingly curious fact. May it not tend to confirm the scandalous reports set forth in the letters of King Edward III to the Abbots of Clairvaux and Citeaux, charging the monks of Strata Marcella with "leading a fearfully dissolute life", and which are quoted in full at pp. 138-141 in vol. v, *Montgomeryshire Collections*, in the paper on the Abbey of Ystrad Marchell (Strata Marcella) by Mr. Morris C. Jones, F.S.A.?

It certainly does seem extraordinary to find infant interments in a Cistercian Abbey church, and one would be glad to know if anything similar has been observed elsewhere. Quantities of human remains were discovered scattered among the *débris*, but in no case did we light upon an interment *in situ*, except those of the children before described.

With reference to the above, Mr. Worthington G. Smith writes:—"Whilst measuring near the spot (H on plan) I picked up a humerus (upper arm-bone) and femur (thigh-bone) belonging to a child of about six years of age. On looking over the bone-fragments close by, several other infantile humeri and femora came to light; some broken, eight perfect. On calling the gardener's attention to these small bones, he produced what was to him a remarkable bone. It was the greater part of a child's skull curiously distorted and flattened by *post-mortem* pressure. Skulls of young people are often so distorted. As a garden-fork was at hand, I asked the gardener to carefully loosen some of the surface-soil. On this being done, other infantile interments were seen *in situ*, no infant being over seven

years. The young people were interred with adults, side by side."

In the presbytery and also on the site of the north transept a considerable quantity of encaustic and incised tiles were found, and also here and there portions of the mortar-bed in which they were laid. All the tiles were in fragments, and had been much disturbed. The patterns and make of the tiles exactly resemble those at Strata Florida, and only two fresh patterns were found. Both of these are heraldic tiles. One of them resembled in its device (a chevronel within a narrow bordure) a similar heraldic tile at Strata Florida.

The other example is much more interesting, and, so far as is known at present, peculiar to this Abbey, the armorial bearings being those of the Le Strange family. With reference to the Le Strange arms being found on tiles in this Abbey, we think light will be thrown upon it by the following sketch-pedigree:

Owen Cyfeiliog, founder of this Abbey = Gwentlian, dau. of
 in 1170, "having taken the habit of Owen Gwynnedd,
 religion, died in 1197, and was buried Prince of North
 at Ystrad Marchell" Wales

Wenwynwyn, Prince = Margaret, dau. of
 of Upper Powys, Robert Lord Corbet
 d. 1218

Griffin ap Wenwynwyn, = Hawyse, dau. of John Le Strange
 Prince of Upper Powys, d. *cir.* Nov. 1310
 d. *cir.* 1283

Hawyse, upon the death of her husband, Griffin ap Wenwynwyn, had for some time the guardianship of her son, Owen de la Pole, and charge of all his lands. She held also, as part of her dower, the manor of Buttington, which is only separated from the site of the Abbey by the river Severn. Under these circumstances

it is natural to suppose that she was a benefactress to the Abbey, and that her paternal arms, two lions passant, should be found there.



The Seal of Hawyse, the Wife of Griffin ap Wenwynwyn.

The reasons given, we conceive, are sufficient to account for the tiles bearing the Le Strange arms.¹

Similar tiles to those found were also discovered in the recent excavations at Old St. Chad's Church, Shrewsbury; and we thus trace the same patterns extending from Shropshire into Wales; and there seems little doubt that they were of Salopian manufacture, probably made at or near Broseley; and that many of the patterns were stock-designs in common use at the time. Even in the case of the heraldic tiles, we find the same patterns at places so far apart as Strata Florida and Strata Marcella; and more especially a tile which was largely used at both Abbeys, bearing the arms of the Despencer family, viz., quarterly, *ar.* and *gu.*, in the second and third quarters a fret *or*, over all a bend *sa*. The Despencer arms appear to be ubiquitous in the west, and probably had no local reference. We are not aware that the family had any connection with either of the two places.

¹ I am indebted to Mr. Morris C. Jones, F.S.A., for the above pedigree and notes upon the Le Strange arms.

These tiles date about the early part of the fourteenth century, and both the tiles and freestone used at Strata Marcella would be brought by barges up the river Severn, which is navigable to Pool Quay, near the site of the Abbey.

One of the most interesting discoveries we made was a grave formed of flags set on edge (at the point marked o on plan), some of which projected slightly above the turf, showing that the original surface had here been cleared away and lowered. It occupies the same position, with reference to the church, as the monks' graves, with their headstones and covering slabs, at Strata Florida; but in that case lying under something like 8 to 10 ft. of *débris*, which had preserved them. It had no cover, and contained only one small thigh-bone and some broken tiles. The graves on the site of Old St. Chad's Church, Shrewsbury, are somewhat similar, but not built with such rough, unworked stones.¹

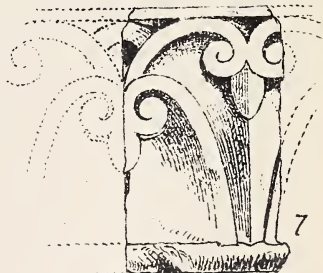
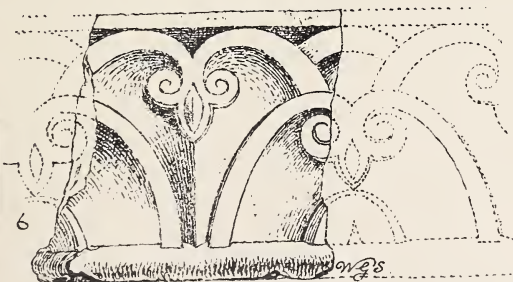
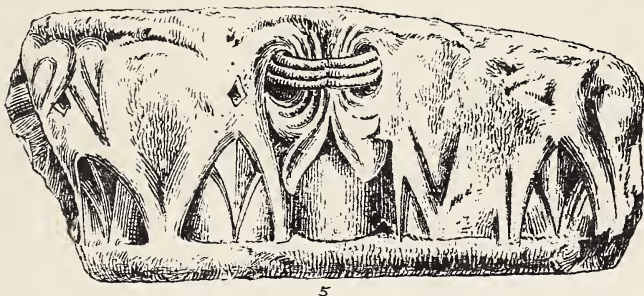
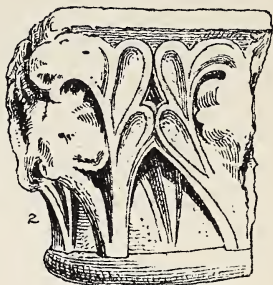
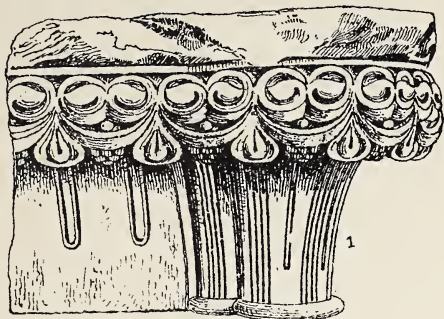
Between the grave just described and the church the ground was full of bones, which seemed as if they had been previously disturbed; but there was no other grave or headstone *in situ*.

One headstone was found in the soil removed, bearing upon its face, in relief, a Maltese cross pierced in the centre with a diamond-shaped ornament. It is probably of the thirteenth century. A fragment of a sepulchral slab, inscribed and ornamented, was found near the south wall of the church; but the lettering, with the exception of the word *HIC*, is illegible. It is illustrated upon the Plate opposite.

Some of the fragments of carved stonework from the excavations are shown on the two Plates here given, which were selected from a large number of others accompanying the Report in vol. xxv, *Montgomeryshire Collections*. The groin-boss (fig. 2) is a fragment of a very fine piece of work, probably of early

¹ *Transactions of Shropshire Archæological Society*, 2nd Series, vol. ii, p. 367.

STRATA MARCELLA



1/4 INCHES 12 9 6 3 1 FOOT

thirteenth century date. Figs. 1, 3, 5, 7, 8, 9, and 12 have all the characteristics of the carving at Strata Florida,—the fleur-de-lis ornament (fig. 12) being constantly repeated there; and the same remark applies to figs. 3, 5, and 7, upon the second Plate. Fig. 1 upon the second Plate was found at Pool Quay Vicarage, and is now in the Museum of the Powys-land Club. This exquisite specimen of Early English foliage apparently formed part of the capital of a detached shaft carrying the interior arch of a lancet-window. The circular portion had surmounted a slender shaft of quatrefoiled section.

At the same place was also found another fragment of a capital of early Transitional work, dating probably between 1170 and 1190, which apparently had formed part of a doorway, and had surmounted a nook-shaft. (See fig. 4, Plate 2.)

The capital shown on fig. 5 was found some time ago, and removed to the Coppy Farm. It is now in the Welshpool Museum. In this example we see a class of ornament introduced which is peculiarly characteristic of the Strata Florida carving, viz., the banding or looping together of the foliage.

In figs. 6 and 7 we have portions of a flat frieze, probably forming part of the capital of a square pier, of early Transitional work.

The font in Buttington Church is another interesting relic of the Abbey, being formed out of an Early English capital obtained from the ruins of Strata Marcella. It must have surmounted a single, detached shaft, and may have been the central pillar carrying the groined roof of the chapter-house. The sculpture of the capital possesses the peculiar characteristics of the Early English period, viz., with graceful, curling, conventional foliage springing from stiff, vertical stems. It is an extremely fine specimen of stone carving of that date, and a valuable illustration of the beauty of the work at Strata Marcella; and proves that here, as at Strata Florida, the workmanship displayed was in no way

inferior to that in the finest English abbeys of the same period.

There are a few fragments of capitals still preserved at Cwmhir Abbey, in Radnorshire, survivals of the utter destruction that overtook the once beautiful church. The sculpture upon them is very similar to that on the Buttington font, and they were executed certainly at the same period, and perhaps even by the same workmen.

During the course of the excavations many fragments of stained glass were found, and some in the original leading. Upon one piece there were a few thirteenth century characters. A number of masons' marks were observed, and many of them corresponded with those found at Strata Florida. The men who used such symbols to denote their handiwork upon the dressed stone probably were engaged at both places, as the works, during a long period, must have progressed simultaneously, Rhys ap Gruffydd refounding Strata Florida in 1164, and Owen Cyfeiliog founding Strata Marcella in 1170. In all probability Strata Florida was the sooner completed of the two. There is but little Early English work there, except in the chapter-house, whilst at Strata Marcella it predominates; and of the scanty fragments we have discovered, but little is of the early Transitional type. We, however, get it in the forms of the bases of the buttresses in the north wall, and a somewhat later type in the bases of the shafts of the doorway of the *pulpitum*.

So far as can be ascertained, it would appear that the work done subsequently to the foundation of Strata Marcella Abbey in 1170 must have progressed very slowly, and that the church could not have been finished until seventy or eighty years subsequent to the date of Owen Cyfeiliog's first charter; and it seems, from the fragments we have found, that the nave-arcades were of Early English work, dating about the beginning of the thirteenth century.

With reference to the dimensions of the church, the

following table will enable a comparison to be made with the more important ecclesiastical buildings in Wales:—

Name.	Total Length.		Length of Nave.		Breadth of Nave and Aisles.		Length of Transepts including Central Tower.		Breadth of Transepts.		Square of Lateral, Central Tower.		Length of Choir.		Breadth of Choir.	
	ft.	ins.	ft.	ins.	ft.	ins.	ft.	ins.	ft.	ins.	ft.	ins.	ft.	ins.	ft.	ins.
Strata Marcella Abbey ¹	273	0	201	0	62	0	96	0	30	0	30	0	72	0	31	0
Strata Florida Abbey...	213	0	132	6	61	0	117	3	28	0	28	0	52	6	23	0
Cwmhir Abbey ² ...	—	—	242	0	69	10	135	8	32	0	—	—	—	—	—	—
St. David's Cathedral ³	208	10	127	4	51	3	116	0	27	3	27	0	53	6	30	3
St. Asaph Cathedral ...	—	—	86	0	68	0	118	0	—	—	29	6	—	—	—	—
Bangor Cathedral ...	—	—	116	0	60	0	96	0	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Llandaff Cathedral ⁴ ...	—	—	107	0	70	0	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Brecon Priory Church	170	0	107	0	34	0	114	0	—	—	29	0	34	0	29	0
Neath Abbey ...	—	—	110	0	—	—	110	0	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

It will be seen, upon reference to the figures, that in point of length of nave, Strata Marcella takes rank after Cwmhir Abbey, and in other dimensions it exceeds in size most of the great churches of the Principality. I am inclined to think that the original design of the church was shorter, and that the four western bays of the nave-arcade were a later addition. The buttresses on the north wall, opposite the three western piers, are wider than those to the eastward, and are also spaced a little further apart.

The west front of a Cistercian church was generally aligned pretty nearly with the west wall of the *cellarium* and *dorter* of the *conversi*. In this case it extends exactly the length of the four bays westward of that line.

Of the conventual buildings but very little was excavated, and it is to be hoped that these, too, may be thoroughly explored. The expense of doing so would

¹ Some of these dimensions are approximate.

² Never completed.

³ As built by Bishop Peter de Leiã.

⁴ No transepts.

not be great ; and it would be most satisfactory if the remainder of the surface within the walls of the church was cleared to floor-level, and the site of the cloister-garth and domestic buildings of the Monastery laid bare. If this is done, the whole of the surplus soil and *débris* should be entirely cleared away. In a short time the surface would become covered with turf, the foundations of the various buildings, piers, buttresses, etc., would then be seen just above the surface, and if fenced in and properly preserved, it would rescue from oblivion what still remains of one of the great Cistercian houses of Wales.

In conclusion let me add that though what has been already discovered may appear but trifling as compared with the results of excavations at other monastic ruins in Wales and elsewhere, it must be remembered that even the site of Strata Marcella was doubtful, and that the little that has been done has enabled us to define the position of the Abbey, and to a large extent recover the plan and dimensions of its church, which, when it stood complete in all its beauty, was in all probability a magnificent specimen of Early English architecture, and in no way inferior to some of the greater English monastic churches.

If results so satisfactory have been obtained by excavating at Strata Marcella, where not a vestige remained above ground of the original structures, how much more encouraging is the prospect with regard to other monasteries in Wales ? At Basingwerk, for instance, we have still remaining much of the church and very considerable remains of the conventual buildings in very fair preservation. At Talley Abbey, which we hope to visit next year, the central tower is still standing ; and there will be no difficulty, if permission can be obtained, in ascertaining, by means of trial-holes (which, with a small staff of men, might be sunk in a week), the extent and position of the church and adjacent buildings. If this can be done prior to our Annual Meeting in 1892, it will add much to the interest of

our visit. Whitland, again, the great mother Cistercian Abbey of Wales, may also yield great results if excavated; and our knowledge of the monastic institutions of Wales can be largely increased by judicious and careful exploration. "Excavation", says *The Times* in a leading article on the 27th of May 1890, "is the modern method and the modern watchword of the scholar. . . . Since 1870, when Dr. Schliemann began his striking career as an excavator, the thing has been reduced to a science, and governments as well as private enthusiasts have taken up the practice of it."

A great work lies before us, and the Cambrian Archæological Association may well in this matter lead the way, and do what it can to encourage every well-directed effort towards exploring and excavating the Welsh monasteries.

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Rhayader, Sept. 2, 1891.

THE EARLY WELSH MONASTERIES.

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

(Continued from Vol. viii, p. 276.)

IN passing from the Irish to the Welsh Church, the points that are found in the Irish Church, and which, if the two were so closely related, as is usually supposed, traces would be found in the Welsh, are the following:

1. The assent of the chief, as the head of the tribe, to an ecclesiastical establishment being founded on tribal territory.
2. The establishment thus founded being monastical.
3. The division of churches into the mother church and subordinate churches of different degrees.
4. The tribal right of succession to the headship of the mother church.
5. The Church ruled by abbots, not by bishops.
6. The distinction between the tribe of the land and the tribe of the saint.

Although not in name, yet in fact, traces of all these are found in South Wales, and they serve to explain, in some degree, matters that have been sources of great difficulty to writers on Welsh Church history.

We do not find, and it is not to be expected that we should find, in the Welsh laws the same elaborate reference to the position of the Church that we do in the Irish. (1.) For the reasons already stated, the Welsh laws are a code of positive law, not a series of opinions on cases; and the code deals more with matters as to the relation of the Church and people than of Church government. It is a code for laymen, not for ecclesiastics. (2.) It was made much later, and in the four centuries that separated these laws the Welsh clergy had in some respects become open to Latin influence, and to the idea of the Church being a separate and

superior body to the laity. (3.) The episcopal order had begun to equal, if not supplant, the abbatical order.

In Hywel Dda's law there are three versions of the code, one for each of the three great tribes of Wales; the one mainly referred to hereafter is the Dimetian, that applicable to South Wales. The text of the Welsh laws, as we have them, is of a much later date than Hywel Dda, the earliest of the existing MSS. not being, it is said, before the twelfth century, and the mention of the law of Rome and the Pope obviously point to interpolations. Some of the manuscript Welsh laws (the *Cyvreithiau Cymru*) are of a still later time, and date from the thirteenth to the fifteenth centuries; so all we can hope to find are traces of the earlier state of things; and these traces, overlaid, it is true, by later ideas, are to be found.

1. First as to the assent of the chief of the tribe being required to a church being founded on tribal territory. This is shown by the broad distinction drawn between the rights possessed by a church that was founded with the King's assent, and those of a church not so founded, the King having, in the course of the four centuries, succeeded to the position of the chief. These rights are alluded to in two passages in the Dimetian Code:¹ "If a church be built by the permission of the King within a 'taeog trev' (villein township), and there be a priest offering mass in it, and it be a burying-place, such a 'trev' is to be free thenceforward."

This shows that without the King's (the local ruler) leave the church did not become free from civil rights and liabilities, but remained subject to them. In the same way as in Ireland, it required something more than founding a church (the gift of the chief as representing the tribe as well) to free the land; that is, to take it from the tribe of the land, and make it ecclesiastical property, the land of the tribe of the saint.

This view is borne out by another passage in the same Code: "Where a church is consecrated in a 'taeog

¹ Bk. ii, c. 22, 7.

trev' (a villein township), with the permission of the King, a man of that 'trev' (township), who might be a villein ('taeog') in the morning, becomes on that night a free man."¹

The royal assent to the church being established transfers the township in which the church was situated from the lay tribe to the ecclesiastical tribe; so the inhabitants become free of the temporal rulers, the tribe of the land, and passed under the control of the tribe of the saint.

This rule as to land applied also to persons, for another passage says: "A clerk who on the day before he receives the tonsure, being the son of a villein ('taeog'), on that night (of his ordination) becomes a free man."²

The ordination passed him from the lay tribe to the saint's tribe. To show he had passed he was marked just as a cow or a sheep that passes from one farm to another would be marked at the present day; and this mark, the symbol of property, when applied by the Church, was called tonsure.

These passages show that the mere fact of building a church, or consecrating a church, did not give that church any rights; that the church, *qua* church, acquired no rights; but that if the ruler consented to the establishment of the church, a transfer of property-rights followed. This being the same principle, the remains of the same idea, that the tribal land and property could only pass by express gift of the chief, and that gift was required before tribal territory passed from the tribe of the land to the tribe of the saint. The passages, it is true, speak of king, not of chief; but at the time the Welsh laws were compiled the chief had become king.

2. While most people will not raise any great objection to this point, the next, that the early Welsh churches were monastical establishments, may excite more controversy. To some extent it is generally ad-

¹ Bk. ii, c. viii, 28.

² *Ib.*

mitted: indeed, it could hardly be denied, with five great monastical establishments in South Wales, that to a very large extent that Church was monastical. The monasteries of Llantwit and Llancarvan existed before the sees of Llandaff, St. David's, or Llanbadarn were even heard of. How far the life at these monasteries corresponded to the modern idea of monastic life is very questionable, but in some way or another all the great religious establishments were originally monasteries. "In Wales (says Montalembert) every diocese had a monastery for its cradle." Some of the Welsh laws, when speaking of the church, clearly point to a monastical church, as, for instance, this passage in the Dimetian Code relating to fighting in churchyards:¹

"For fighting within the churchyard fourteen pounds are to be paid; if out of the churchyard, in the sanctuary, seven pounds are to be paid. The half of these sums belongs to the abbot if his privilege be judicial, ecclesiastical, and civil; and the other half belongs to the priest and the canons who shall be there serving God. A similar share shall accrue to the abbot and the canons for any fighting that may take place among the persons who take sanctuary from the priests and the abbot."

This passage goes to prove that when the laws were made the church was monastical, the fine being divided between the head of the monastical house and the members of the house. The passage is also interesting from another point of view, the recognition of a lay abbot presiding over clerics,—a state of things which however foreign to modern ecclesiastical ideas, and strongly opposed to the view of Latin ecclesiastics, would be in strict conformity with the rule of the Celtic Church, where Orders were not in any way an essential qualification for the headship of a monastic establishment. This is shown by the well-known passage in the Welsh laws relating to bishops' houses ("Escobity"), out of the seven bishops' houses mentioned in

¹ Bk. ii, c. vii, 3.

the Dimetian Code,¹ four only were required to have an ecclesiastical, and three might have a lay head. This seems to show that the bishops' houses were really monastical, not episcopal institutions, for a lay bishop is, so far as we know, neither a Celtic nor Latin functionary.²

3. We find among the Welsh Churches the division into mother and subordinate churches not in so marked or distinctive degree as among the Irish Churches, yet sufficiently to show the distinction existed. In the Welsh laws a difference is made between a mother church and a church not a mother church. Thus in the law against fighting in churchyards it is provided: "A dirw (a fine of twelve kine) is twofold in a church, if it be a mother church and paramount."³ Here the fine was larger than in a church other than a mother church, *i.e.*, a subordinate church.

Speaking of the bishop's house, the Dimetian Code says,⁴ "Whoever draws blood from an abbot of any one of those principal seats, the Escobty", the punishment is greater than for a man who assaulted an abbot not of the principal church.

Another instance appears in the number of chapelries that so often are found annexed to some of the larger Welsh parish churches. In some cases as many as four were dependent on one church. The term chapel is rather inaccurate, for it is a word used to describe a different state of things, and fails to show the real position of these dependent churches on the principal church. It seems more than probable, although it is difficult to find any direct trace in any account of the subordination of these churches, that the so-called chapelries are the representatives of the Irish Annoit, Dalta, Compariche, and other Celtic subdivisions of churches. Indeed, if it were not too rash

¹ Bk. ii, c. xxiv.

² This is, perhaps, too wide. The Duke of York was hereditary Bishop of Osnaburgh.

³ *Ib.*, c. vii, 2.

⁴ *Ib.*, c. xxiv, 12.

to attempt another definition of the different Welsh terms, "Llan", "Eglwys", "Capel", "Bettws", it might well be that in some way or other they represent the Welsh equivalents for those different kinds of churches that we know were found in the Irish Celtic Church. No explanation yet given of these terms is completely satisfactory. A careful comparison of the names with the circumstances and history of each locality might probably bring out some evidence to prove this identity. We have been too much inclined to base our explanations on Latin ideas, and try and adapt the meanings to Latin equivalents, instead of referring to the Celtic churches and their divisions as recorded in the Celtic law.

4. So far as I am aware, the Irish rule of succession to the headship of the mother church has no enactment expressly corresponding to it in the Welsh laws, yet some traces of it seem to exist there; for instance, in the distinction drawn in the *Cyvreithiau Cymru*¹ between the property of a bishop and the property of an abbot. In a twelfth century MS. the distinction is thus given: "When a bishop dies, the lord is to have his property, except the dress of the church, its books, its chalices, and its land, because every property without an owner is a waif to the king. From an abbot, however, the lord is to have only his heriot (*ebediw*); for when an abbot dies, the community and the canons are to have his property."

This passage shows the distinction, in Welsh ideas, between an abbot and a bishop. The abbot was the head of the religious tribe; he had no property in the goods; they belonged to the tribe, and at the death of the abbot went back to the tribe, and could not be alienated. But the bishop was the king's officer, having property of his own, to which on his death his feudal lord was entitled. The bishop was subject to a temporal chief, but the temporal chief had no jurisdiction over the tribe of the saint, and still less over the property of the head of that tribe. As the monastery

¹ Bk. iv, c. i, 27.

had the property, they had probably the right of naming the successor to it.

But although we have no specific law in the Code, the practice seems to establish that some rule of succession similar to that in force in the Irish Church prevailed. In the three great monasteries, Llandaff, St. David's, and Llanbadarn, it is fairly clear that the early abbots were all related to the founder. At Llandaff, Dubricius, the founder, became first Abbot, and the head of the tribe of the saint. Dubricius is said to have been the grandson of Brychan. He was succeeded by Teilo, the great-grandson of Cunedda, as Abbot of Llandaff, and by David, the grandson of Cunedda, in his so-called archiepiscopal functions; more properly in his headship of the tribe of the saint. It is worthy of note that both the successors of Dubricius were taken, not from the Brychan, but the Cunedda family, and the selection could hardly have been accidental. Why precisely it was made is difficult to say; but it is more than probable the succession came under some of the Celtic rules. The story of the so-called primacy of the Bishop of St. David's is an invention of a later date; but the headship of the tribe of the saint would have become vacant on Dubricius' retirement, and to that David succeeded.

If the Teilo who was the third Bishop of St. David's is the same person as St. Teilo, the second Bishop of Llandaff, the idea that the Celtic rule of succession prevailed receives strong confirmation; for David, grandson of Cunedda, was first Abbot of Menevia. At his death Cynog, who was Abbot of Llanbadarn, became Abbot of St. David's; and on his death, Teilo, great-grandson of Cendig, cousin of David, succeeded, it is said, to the archbishopric, but really to the headship of the tribe of the saint. The fact of the abbacies being kept in the same family seems to point to the existence of some rule of succession for the abbacy of the Welsh monasteries similar to that we find in the Irish Church.

5. It is difficult to point with anything like absolute certainty to the rule of the abbot in Wales as opposed to the rule of the bishop. In the interval between the fifth and tenth centuries (that is between the Irish and Welsh laws as we have them), the inroads the Latin Church had made into Wales had greatly affected the old Celtic element. The Welsh princes had begun to imitate the Latin ideas both in church and state, and the Latin ecclesiastics were wise or crafty enough to take advantage of this as well as of every other circumstance to push forward the ideas of the Latin Church as regards both government and ritual.

That originally the Church in Wales was monastic, ruled over by monks, seems fairly clear; that the Church in South Wales consisted of some four or five large monasteries is also clear; even that great champion of Rome, the historian of the monks of the west colony, in speaking of St. David, calls him "the Monk Bishop". It is, however, somewhat doubtful if his episcopal honours are not the creation of a later age. That he was a monk, the head of the monastery, is certain; that he was a Bishop, in our sense of the term, is very uncertain.

One of the great features of the Celtic Church is the subordinate position the bishops occupied. That this was so in Ireland, the absence of the mention of bishops from the Irish laws makes abundantly clear. In the interval of time between the Irish and Welsh laws the influence of the bishops had been increasing. It had equalled that of the abbots in the different places where abbots and bishops are both mentioned. If the Welsh laws are carefully examined it will be found that the abbots and bishops were on a footing of equality.

It should not be lost sight of that the three great Welsh Saints, the "three blessed visitors", David, Teilo, and Padarn, were all abbots. It is said they were also bishops; but the person who first made the assertion lived in a later age, and at a time when the idea of a great ecclesiastic was inseparably bound up

with the idea of a bishop. In the Latin Church the bishop was, in his diocese, supreme. It may well be that the idea that these three Welsh Saints were Bishops rests with later biographers, who to do them honour ascribed to them the highest rank they knew of in the Church. The story of the consecration of these three Saints as Bishops is admittedly legendary, and it is not an unfair inference that the fact of their being Bishops is of the same nature. If, instead of putting forward the claim of Menevia to the archbishopric of South Wales, Giraldus had put forward the claim of the Monastery of Menevia and its head to rule the monastic Church of South Wales, both history and evidence would have been more in his favour.

Against this view it will be said that the Celtic Church in Ireland and Scotland abounded in bishops (unattached bishops, if such a phrase is permissible) to a degree that the Welsh Church never knew. It is always said to be one of the great points of difference between the Welsh and Irish branches of the Celtic Church, that Wales never had the number of stray bishops the other Celtic Churches possessed. A passage from Haddan and Stubbs' book¹ is usually quoted as settling the question: "There is", it says, "no trace at any time, in that country (Wales), of any system resembling the Irish and Scotch (namely, of government by abbots, with bishops as subordinate officers, discharging episcopal functions, but without jurisdiction), or, indeed, of any other system whatever than that of a diocesan episcopate."

To this it may be replied that there is no evidence that David, Teilo, and Padarn, ruled over definite dioceses; and if this is denied, those who assert they did may be asked to state what those dioceses were,—a task of some difficulty when it is remembered it was not till after the Norman conquest that the limits of the dioceses of Llandaff and St. David were settled. David, Teilo, and Padarn, were each the head of great monas-

¹ I, 143.

tic institutions ; each has been called a bishop by their later biographers. But it would be a matter of great difficulty to say over what districts they or any of them exercised episcopal jurisdiction in the modern sense of the term. Rees, in his *Welsh Saints*,¹ states that in the early Welsh Church it was customary to make the abbots bishops, and the examples he gives are Paulinus at Whitland, and Cybi at Caergybi ; but there is no evidence to show that either Paulinus or Cybi were bishops in our sense of the word, or exercised episcopal jurisdiction. They were the heads of great monastic establishments, and as such far more powerful, and of far greater importance, than any bishop. The *Liber Landavensis* speaks of Samson, at Llantwit, as a bishop ; but here also Samson is being described by a Latin writer of later date, who would consider a person of Samson's importance must of necessity be a bishop ; yet even if Samson was a bishop, he was not consecrated until he left Wales and went to Dol, according to one writer, to York according to another.

It is not easy, by direct evidence, to settle the question one way or the other, but it adds greatly to the difficulties of the history of the Celtic Church in Wales if we accept blindly, and without question, the statements of Latin historians not contemporary with the subject of their biographies, and whose ideas and objects were opposed to everything Celtic. If reliance is to be placed upon tradition, there is the well-known passage in the *Catalogue of the Saints of Ireland according to their Different Periods*, a work usually attributed to Tirechan, a Celtic writer of the eighth century, who ascribes to a Welsh origin the Irish monasteries and monastic system :—“The second order of saints”, he says, “which lasted till 572, were said to have received a Mass from Bishops David, Gildas, and Docws”; evidently St. David, the historian Gildas, and St. Cadoc. They refused the service of women, separating them from the monasteries. And if the monastic

¹ Pp. 182 and 266.

Church in Ireland was really an offshoot of the Welsh monastic Church, it is by a study of the Irish Church that we shall ascertain the real features of the Welsh monasticism.

But tradition does not leave the matter here. St. Finian is said to have renewed and restored the Irish Church. He studied at Menevia and the Welsh monasteries, and returned to Ireland with "certain religious men to gather together people acceptable to the Lord". He was the founder of the celebrated Monastery of Clonard in Meath, the great cradle of Irish monasticism. From it proceeded the twelve apostles of Erin: among them Ciaran, the son of the artificer, the founder of Clonmacnois; Brendan, the founder of Clonfert; Columba, the founder of Iona. If it is true, as Irish writers say, that Finian introduced the Welsh monastic customs, and founded Clonfert on the Welsh model, it is but fair to suppose the position of the bishops in the Irish monasteries was the same as the position of the bishops in the Welsh. To all those Irish monasteries ruled over by abbots we find bishops attached, and in a subordinate position; it is, therefore, a fair inference that the bishops in the Welsh monasteries occupied no other.

What the precise position of an Irish bishop was is well shown by the story of the ordination of Columba. He wanted to be consecrated bishop, and went to the Monastery for that purpose. On asking a monk where the cleric (the expression is noteworthy) was, he was told ploughing in the field. Columba objected to being ordained by a ploughman, and proposed first to test his knowledge. The Bishop having satisfied Columba on this point, he told him what he wanted. The Bishop consented to do it, but by mistake ordained him priest instead of bishop, and a priest Columba remained till his death. The story is said to be a late invention to account for the fact that while a bishop was the highest rank in the Celtic Church, the greatest Celtic Saint was only a priest. Whether true or false it shows the

position the bishop occupied, and that the episcopate was not the highest office in the Celtic Church.

The subordination of the bishop to the abbot was not peculiar to the Irish Church. We find it in the Northumbrian Church. Bede, in his *Life of St. Cuthbert*, speaking of the Abbey of Lindisfarne, says: "Omnes presbyteri diaconi cantores lectores ceterique gradus ecclesiastici monachicam per omnia cum ipso episcopo regulam servant"; and speaking, in his *Ecclesiastical History*,¹ of Columba's great Monastery of Iona, he says: "Habere autem solet ipsa insula rectorem semper abbatem presbyterum cujus juri et omnis provincia et ipsi etiam episcopi ordine inusitato debeant esse subjecti". Thus pointing to the rule of an abbot in priest's orders not merely over the monastery itself, but also over the surrounding country.

If, then, in the Irish, Scotch, and English Celtic Churches the abbot and not the bishop was the superior, it is difficult to see why in the most Celtic of all, the Church in Wales, this very characteristic feature should be wanting.

It is true that it is most difficult for us to realise a system where the ecclesiastical head of the district was not the bishop. That such was the system that prevailed in the Celtic Church as a whole is clear. The only question is whether the Welsh Celtic Church was an exception to it. The Irish monastic records show clearly that in those establishments inferior monastic functionaries, such as the scribe and others, were sometimes bishops. The failure of the writers of the Latin Church to recognise this fact, and the consequent desire to exalt the office of bishop by representing that the ecclesiastical ruler of a district must of necessity be a bishop ruling over a definite diocese, has done more than anything else to produce the confusion and difficulties that abound in early Welsh ecclesiastical history.

One other point may be mentioned. It is difficult

¹ Bk. iii, c. v.

at first sight to understand the anger of the writers of the *Annales Cambriæ* and the *Brut y Tywysogion* at the appointment of Bernard as Bishop of St. David's; but the anger is easily accounted for, and it is only natural, if we consider that it is the expression of rage at the final stroke that did away with the Celtic idea of the rule of the abbot, and substituted the Norman idea of the rule of the bishop. It will be remembered that the see of St. David was becoming part of the hereditary patrimony of the family of Bishop Sulien when the appointment of Bernard did away with that principle, and finally substituted feudal for tribal rule.

6. So far as I am aware, the expressions, "tribe of the land" and "tribe of the saint" do not occur with reference to South Wales, yet they seem to give the key to much of its early ecclesiastical history. At the time when we first get any authentic account of the country, South Wales was in the hands of the descendants of Cunedda. This Prince is said to have had the titles of "Gwledig", "Dux Britanniarum". In some way, it is not very clear what, he held a sort of rule over South Wales. On his death his territory was divided among his sons. Cunedda was one of the stocks of the tribes of South Wales chiefs and South Wales saints. Part of the territory ruled by his son Ceredig was Cardiganshire and a part of Carmarthenshire and Pembrokeshire. One of his sons, eleven of his grandsons, and three of his great-grandsons, including St. Teilo, were saints.

When David began to preach he was related to the tribe of the land, the Cunedda family, so that in all places where chiefs of that family reigned he would have much influence, and also with chiefs who, although not actually descendants of Cunedda, were subject to his house. David, through his mother Non, the daughter of Gynyr of Caergawch, would be related to the chiefs of the tribe who ruled the rest of Pembrokeshire. These tribes ruled over what is a greater part of the

modern diocese of St. David, and would be the tribes of the land. It is usually admitted that Menevia was the first Monastery David founded, and like the fort in Derry, given to Columba, the Monastery of Menevia was the beginning of the tribe of the saint, the Monastery in time becoming the mother church, its abbot the head of the tribe. From the mother church a series of monastic establishments were founded, or, to quote Giraldus, "monasteries were built everywhere". The tribe of the saint grew and flourished. No less than nine of St. David's churches are found in Pembroke-shire. Of the rest, five in Cardiganshire, eight in Carmarthenshire, eight in Brecon, eight in Radnor, and one in Glamorgan, making up forty-one churches, bear his name, and which formed the territory of the tribe of the saint. Away from this district from the tribe of the land, from the territory of the Cunedda family, David's churches do not exist, the tribe of the saint did not extend. Most of these churches David never saw nor heard of; but none the less they were offshoots of his Monastery, portions of the possession of the tribe of the saint, over which, as head of the Monastery, he ruled as chief. The Monastery is now represented by the Dean and Chapter, and out of the forty-one churches the Dean and Chapter still have the right of presenting to a large number of them.

The dedication of the churches to particular saints probably came years afterwards; but long before the dedication they were known as David's churches; that is, part of the territory of the tribe of the saint.

It will be noticed that these churches lie in groups. Between the groups the tribe of the saint had no property. Its possessions were scattered about among the possessions of the tribe of the land. After a time it was felt that what was wanted was some authority to exercise jurisdiction over the intervening places, or rather to establish some ecclesiastical jurisdiction over the territory of the tribe of the land as well as the tribe of the saint. The idea that was prevalent in Eng-

land and the Latin Church, of a bishop having rule over a definite area, without reference to whom that area belonged, would be one that any ecclesiastic would favour; and in all probability in this way the idea of a diocesan episcopate having jurisdiction over the whole of a defined area would creep in. As intercourse with England increased, as the tribes of Wales became more united,—or, rather, as the country became more national and less tribal,—the idea that the bishop was the ecclesiastical ruler over the kingdom would increase. With the disappearance of tribal rule would disappear the idea of the tribe of the saint, and the rule of the bishop would consequently increase. The ecclesiastical history of South Wales is, therefore, the history, not of a diocese founded by an early saint, but how the old Celtic tribal idea became absorbed into the Latin national diocese. In theory the change took place at a very early date; in practice it was not fully carried out until Llandaff and St. David's had Norman bishops, till Urban and Bernard filled these sees.

One of the most striking, I had almost added unintelligible, features in the history of the early Church in South Wales is the dispute between the Bishops of Llandaff and St. David's as to the boundaries of their respective jurisdictions. In the *Liber Landavensis*¹ is a document said to be a deed of the Saxon King Edgar defining the limits of the diocese of Llandaff. This document is usually ascribed to the year 958. From that time till about 1130 this dispute as to the boundaries of the two sees was almost continuous. The idea of the tribe of the saint throws a light upon these disputes.

The Llandaff claim was at first to certain Teilo churches in what had become the diocese of St. David. As the St. David churches had been offshoots of Menevia, so the Teilo churches were offshoots of Llandaff, part of the possessions of the tribe of St. Teilo. The tribal idea was forgotten as soon as the territorial idea

¹ H. and S., i, 284.

prevailed, and a claim that was at first put forward merely for the Teilo churches, the land of the saint became a claim to the lands as part of the diocese of Llandaff, the existence of which at first was probably neither admitted nor recognised. The original claim was right, in accordance with the old tribal custom. St. David's diocese had included a part of the land of the tribe of St. Teilo; but the modern claim was wrong on the ground on which it was fought; and the necessity of bolstering up the claim of St. David's to churches that had clearly belonged to the Monastery of Llandaff may have furnished one of the grounds why the Bishop of St. David's put forward and urged so vigorously claims to exercise archiepiscopal rights over South Wales. No one who reads the documents but will be convinced that there is something more than appears on their face, and it is not an unreasonable explanation that Llandaff was originally right in claiming the possessions of the Monastery of St. Teilo, but wrong in claiming the places where they were situated as part of the diocese within the episcopal jurisdiction of the Bishops of Llandaff. The dispute furnishes some evidence of the existence in South Wales, whether under the same name or not is immaterial, of the division of property into the tribe of the land and the tribe of the saint.

The points on which the Irish and Welsh laws, so far as referred to in this paper, throw some light on the early Celtic Church, may be thus summarised:—

1. That the original monastic establishments in Ireland and Wales were presided over by an abbot, one of whose officials was in Ireland a bishop; and there is good reason for inferring that the same was the case in South Wales.

2. These religious establishments founded other colonies over the land of the tribe. These colonies were regarded as the property of the tribe of the saint. The family of the Monastery, the mother house, exercised over them some (it is not clear what) jurisdiction.

3. Later the abbot became the bishop, and exercised his authority as bishop, not as abbot.

4. The bishop exercised authority not merely over the houses that made up the territory of the tribe of the saint, but over the territory in which they were situate ; that is, over the land of the tribe.

5. The bishop became regarded as the territorial lord, the limits of his jurisdiction being the territory of the local chief or king.

6. The bishop became the feudal lord, holding under the Crown, having definite jurisdiction over a defined area, the diocese.

All these stages can be seen in the history of the Church in South Wales. The first is when the monastic churches were originally founded. St. David, St. Teilo, and St. Padarn, when we first see them, were abbots, not bishops. The second stage is reached when the colonies are said to belong to the mother church, and she exercises certain rights over them,—rights that imply some sort of possessory title, as in the dispute between Llandaff and St. David's. The date of the third stage cannot be fixed with certainty, but we find the abbots of St. David and Llandaff gradually becoming far more episcopal in their authority than abbatial. The passage from the *Liber Landavensis* recording Edgar fixing the limits of the diocese of Llandaff marks the next stage. It may be doubtful whether this document is genuine or not ; but it shows how the abbatial authority was being merged into the episcopal ; becoming not monastical, but territorial. The last stage shows the state of things the Norman conquest brought about. The King appointed his men, his vassals, to exercise his authority over certain defined limits, they doing homage to him, and being his servants ; a system of which Urban and Bernard are the first examples, and whose appointment marks the triumph of the Latin over the Celtic Church in South Wales.

The views put forward in this paper to some extent

explain certain of the difficulties as to the Celtic Church in South Wales, yet it is but right to say that they also suggest others which with the usually received account of the early Welsh Church do not arise. Whatever opinion may be taken of these views, it is fairly certain that to some extent they are correct. The real difficulty with the Welsh Church is to say when did the influence of the Latin Church begin to act on the Celtic, and to what extent did it modify it. Much has to be taken into account before these questions can be answered, even if they can now be satisfactorily answered. One thing should, however, be borne in mind while dealing with questions relating to the Welsh Church, that it is a waste of time and labour to endeavour, by reference to Latin customs and Latin authorities, to settle questions which relate neither to the Latin Church nor Latin Church government.

Treating the Celtic Church and Celtic Church government as distinct from the Latin may result in the destruction of many of our cherished ideas on Church matters and institutions, and tend to make us doubt much we have assumed to be absolute truth. It may necessitate revising some of the history of the early Welsh Church, but it has its compensations. It will give a fresh proof of the wonderful way the Latin Church extirpated rival Churches; it will show us that much which we have been accustomed to regard as of almost apostolic origin was wholly unknown to the early Churches of Western Christendom.

Cambrian Archaeological Association.

THE FORTY-SIXTH ANNUAL MEETING

HELD IN

KERRY, IRELAND,

DURING THE FORTNIGHT COMMENCING AUG. 11, 1891,
EXCURSIONS BEING MADE FROM KILLARNEY,
DINGLE, AND LIMERICK,

BY INVITATION OF, AND JOINTLY WITH, THE ROYAL SOCIETY
OF ANTIQUARIES OF IRELAND.

PRESIDENT.

JOHN RHYS, ESQ., M.A.,

PROFESSOR OF CELTIC AT OXFORD.

REPORT OF THE PROCEEDINGS AT THE MEETINGS AND EXCURSIONS.

IN response to an invitation from the President and Council of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland, a party of fifty members of the Cambrian Archæological Association visited Ireland, and were present at a joint Meeting of the two Societies held in the County Kerry during the fortnight commencing August 11, 1891. Amongst the Welsh archæologists were Prof. Rhys (President of the Association), the Ven. Archdeacon Thomas, F.S.A. (Chairman of the Committee), the Ven. Archdeacon Edmondson (Principal of St. David's College, Lampeter), together with many other members who have achieved distinction in various branches of science, amongst whom may be mentioned the Rev. Prof. A. H. Sayce, a scholar of European reputation: Mr. Sidney Hartland of Folk-Lore celebrity; Mr. Stephen Williams, F.R.I.B.A., the explorer of Strata Florida Abbey; Mr. A. W. Moore, M.A., the able projector of *The Manx Notebook*; and Mr. Worthington G. Smith, F.L.S., whose knowledge of palæolithic implements is only exceeded by his skill as a fungologist. We must not omit, either, to give the names of Mr. T. M. Franklen

and Mr. W. H. Banks, whose indefatigable labours with their photographic cameras have produced such valuable results in preserving a permanent record of the places visited.

The Fellows and Associates of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland, who took part in the Meeting, numbered quite one hundred, including such well known and learned archæologists as Lord James Wandesford Butler, D.L. (President); the Rev. Prof. Stokes, D.D.; Mr. Arthur B. E. Hill, the author of some of the best monographs that have appeared on ancient Irish architecture; Mr. W. F. Wakeman, whose beautiful drawings of Irish antiquities will be more and more highly prized as time goes on, and the objects represented have perished; Dr. William Frazer, M.R.I.A.; the Rev. D. Murphy, S.J., M.R.I.A.; the Rev. G. R. Buick, M.R.I.A., and many more.

The success of the Meeting was so largely due to the admirable arrangements devised and carried out with such care by Mr. Robert Cochrane, M.R.I.A., that the opportunity must not be missed of thanking him, in the name of the Cambrian Archæological Association, for his services.

A special feature in the arrangements prepared for the comfort of the visitors was the issuing (*gratis*) to every one of an "Illustrated Descriptive Guide to Killarney, West Kerry, Limerick, and other Places of Antiquarian Interest, to be visited in Connection with the Meeting", prepared under the direction of Mr. Cochrane, and containing upwards of 60 pages of letterpress, with numerous illustrations. This Guide was found so useful that it is to be hoped the Committee of our own Association will profit by the experience and endeavour to promote the publication of more extended programmes of the Meetings held in Wales.

On the evening of Monday, the 10th of August, the town of Killarney presented a scene of unusual bustle and excitement consequent on the arrival of the archæologists in full force. The capacity of the hotels was taxed to the uttermost in order to accommodate so many extra guests at the height of the tourist season; but the arrangements made previously by the Secretary were so excellent that every one was provided for as well as could possibly be wished. The members had quarters allotted to them at several different hotels, as it was quite impossible to find room for them all in one establishment. The Railway Hotel is the largest, and nearest to the Station. Most of the others are situated outside the town, some being two or three miles distant; but this may be considered rather an advantage than otherwise, as the environs of Killarney are infinitely preferable to the town, which has an air of squalor quite out of keeping with the lovely scenery on every side.

INAUGURAL MEETING, AUGUST 11TH.

The inaugural meeting took place in the Town Hall, at Killarney, at two o'clock in the afternoon. The President of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland, Lord James Wandesforde Butler, D.L., took the chair, and opened the proceedings by welcoming the Cambrian Archæological Association to Ireland in a few well-chosen words, which, in the absence of Prof. Rhys, were acknowledged by the Ven. Archdeacon Thomas.

After the business of the election of Fellows of the Irish Society was concluded, two exhibitions of the highest possible interest to lovers of early Christian art-metalwork were made. The first was by the Rev. Denis O'Donoghue, P.P., of an ancient Celtic crozier of most beautiful workmanship, the property of the Most Rev. Dr. Coffey, Bishop of the Roman Catholic diocese of Ardfert and Aghadoe; and the other was by the Rev. Denis Murphy, S.J., of photographs of an ancient Celtic reliquary, or shrine, belonging to Mr. Thomas Plunkett, M.R.I.A., of Enniskillen.

The crozier was found, in 1867, by a fisherman in the river Laune, not far from the Cathedral of Aghadoe, to which, in all probability, it once belonged. The relic is in a remarkably good state of preservation, and is a finer specimen than any to be found in the collection belonging to the Royal Irish Academy at Dublin. It is of the usual Celtic shape, with a horseshoe-crook at the top, and pointed ferrule at the bottom. The crozier is of bronze, with interlacing beasts and other ornaments characteristic of the ninth or tenth century Irish art chased upon it, and in some cases inlaid with thin sheets of gold. This priceless treasure is kept at the Bishop's Palace at Killarney; but from the reckless way in which it was handled whilst being passed round for inspection at the meeting, its great value and rarity seem to be hardly sufficiently appreciated. Its proper place should, of course, be in the Museum at Dublin. If it cannot be secured for this collection, care should be taken for its better preservation at Killarney, and its exquisitely beautiful details should be illustrated by means of photographs to a large scale.

The shrine was dredged up accidentally by a fisherman from the Lower Erne, in the north-west of Ireland, early in 1891, and is now on loan for exhibition in the Museum at Dublin. It is made of yew-wood covered with bronze plates, and is 7 in. long by 4 in. wide, by 6½ in. high. In shape it resembles the stone-roofed oratories which were erected in the eighth and ninth centuries. The ends of the roof are hipped, not gabled. There was a small bronze box inside the shrine, which possibly once contained a relic; but if so, all trace of it has now disappeared. The shrine is ornamented with bands and raised bosses covered with interlaced work not of

the best period, and probably not older than the eleventh century. Similar shrines are preserved at Monymusk Castle, Aberdeenshire, in the Edinburgh and Copenhagen Museums.

EXCURSION, TUESDAY, AUG. 11TH.

Route.—After the conclusion of the Meeting at the Town Hall the members made an excursion by carriage through Lord Kenmare's demesne to Ross Castle (a mile and a half south-west of Killarney), thence by boat to the Island of Innisfallen, on the Lower Lake (one mile north-west of Ross Castle), afterwards returning by the same route, and proceeding to Muckross Abbey, three miles south of Killarney.

Ross Castle.—Ross Castle is situated a mile and a half south-west of Killarney, on the north side of Ross Island, facing the Lower Lake. Ross Island is really more like a peninsula than an island, as it is only separated from the mainland by a narrow channel cutting through the neck of land between it and the shore. This channel is spanned by a bridge near its western entrance into the Lake, and Ross Castle stands close to it. The Castle is a picturesque, ivy-clad ruin, worth seeing more on account of the beauty of its well-wooded surroundings, and the charming views of the lakes to be obtained from its summit, than for any architectural or historical interest it possesses. The principal feature in the building is a lofty, quadrangular keep of several stories, approached by a circular staircase, rising above a courtyard surrounded by a wall flanked by round towers. It was built by one of the O'Donoghue Ross chieftains in the fourteenth century, and has been much altered and added to subsequently. Ross Castle was the last fortress to hold out against the Parliamentary forces.

Innisfallen.—The island called Innisfallen is situated about three miles west of Killarney, in a straight line, in the middle of the Lower Lake, near its northern end. The island is little more than a quarter of a mile long, and at the north-east extremity are the ruins of the monastery founded by St. Finan the Leper, and of a beautiful little Hiberno-Romanesque church. Here, in the delightful seclusion that the place affords, were compiled the *Annals of Innisfallen*, which Eugene O'Curry places second only to the *Annals of Tighernach*, in order of time and importance, amongst the historic MSS. of this class in the Irish language. Tighernach died in A.D. 1088. The *Annals of Innisfallen* were composed circa A.D. 1215; but there is good reason to suppose they were commenced two centuries earlier by Maelsuthain O'Cearbhaill (or Maelsoohan O'Carroll), who is styled "Chief Doctor of the Western World" in the entry in the *Annals of the Four Masters* recording his death in A.D. 1009.

A curious note in the *Book of Armagh* (fol. 16bb), written by

Maelsuthain's own hand, in A.D. 1002, in the presence of King Brian Borioimhé,¹ lends colour to the belief that this monarch of Ireland was educated under the care of Maelsuthain. Eugene O'Curry says that "there has always existed in the south of Ireland a tradition that the *Annals of Innisfallen* were originally composed by Maelsuthain. Taking into account the acknowledged learning of O'Carroll, the character of his mind, his own station, and the opportunities offered him by his association with the chief monarch of Erin, there is certainly no improbability in connecting him with the composition of these *Annals*; and, for my own part, I have no doubt that he was the original projector of them, or that he enlarged the more meagre outlines of the ecclesiastical events kept in the Monastery of Innisfallen, as probably in most others, into a general historical work."²

No genuine manuscript copy of the *Annals of Innisfallen* is now to be found in Ireland; but there is one on vellum, of quarto size, in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, of which Dr. C. O'Connor gives the following description:—"It contains 57 leaves, of which the three first are considerably damaged, and the fourth partly obliterated. Some leaves are also missing at the beginning. In its present state it first treats of Abraham and the patriarchs down to the sixth, where the title is, 'Hic incipit Regnum Græcorum'. At the end of this leaf another chapter begins thus, 'Hic incipit Sexta Ætas Mundi'. The leaves follow in due order from fol. 9 to the end of fol. 36; but unfortunately there are several blanks after this. On the 40th leaf two lines occur in Ogam characters, which have thus been deciphered: 'Nemo honoratur sine nummo, nullus amatur.' The latter part of this valuable MS., from fol. 36, where the division of each page into three columns ceases, and where a leaf is missing, appears to be written in a more recent hand; so that from inspection it might be argued that the real original ended with the year 1130, and that the remainder was added by different Abbots of Innisfallen."

Innes, who made the catalogue of the Duke of Chandos' library, gives the following particulars about the MS. when it was in that collection: "In the same Chandos library are the *Annals of Innisfallen* and Tighernach. These, indeed, want some leaves at the beginning and elsewhere, and begin only about the time of Alexander the Great; but till St. Patrick's time they treat chiefly of the history of the world. The *Annals of Innisfallen*, in the same library, contain a short account of the history of the world till the year 430, where the author properly begins (at fol. 9) a chronicle of Ireland thus, 'Laogairé Mac Neil regnavit annis xxiv', and thenceforward it contains a short chronicle of Innisfallen to 1318. These three chronicles, the Saltair of Cashel, Tighernach, and Innisfallen, are

¹ See Eugene O'Curry's *Lectures on the Manuscript Materials of Ancient Irish History*, p. 653, and fac-simile of entry at the end of the book.

² *Ibid.*, p. 79.

written in the Irish language intermixed with Latin. They were formerly collected, with many other valuable MSS. relating to Ireland, by Sir J. Ware, and came first to the Earl of Clarendon, and then to the Duke of Chandos." The text of the *Annals of Innisfallen* was published in 1814 by Dr. C. O'Connor in his *Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptores Veteres*.

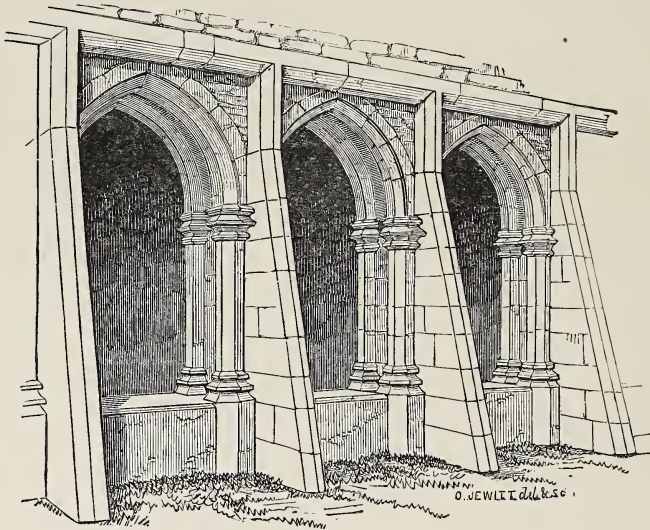
The ruins of the ancient Monastery founded by St. Finan stand near the landing-place, deeply embosomed in the luxuriant foliage which constitutes the chief beauty of the island. The remains are entirely devoid of features of architectural interest, and the arches over the doorways are of the rudest possible description.¹

A short distance from the Monastery, on the north side, is a remarkably good example of a small Hiberno-Romanesque church, built of pink sandstone sufficiently scarred by the weather to bring out those variations of surface-texture which are the delight of the artist, and yet not sufficiently decayed to have lost all its interest for the archæologist. The plan of the building consists of a single rectangular chamber, 16 ft. long by 11 ft. wide, inside, having walls 2 ft. 9 in. thick. The east and west gable-walls are tolerably perfect, but the north and south walls are hardly more than 4 ft. high at present. The east wall is built right on the edge of the low, rocky shore of the Lake. The only openings in the walls now remaining are a doorway at the west end, and a window at the east end. The doorway is round-headed, 6 ft. high by 2 ft. 6 in. wide, and has two orders of arch-mouldings and a hood-moulding. The arch-stones of the inner order are ornamented with moulded chevrons carved in low relief on the flat, vertical face. The arch-stones of the outer order are ridged like the roof of a house, on both faces, so as to form a zigzag-moulding in two directions. The hood-moulding is ornamented with grotesque beasts' heads, which are seldom, if ever, found in this position in Anglo-Romanesque architecture. The inner order of the jamb is a continuation of the arch, like an architrave round the opening, but is unornamented. The outer order of the jamb has a round column carved on the angle, in imitation of a detached nook-shaft, but more deeply cut in than is usual in Irish work of the period. The east window is round-headed, deeply splayed on the jambs, and having a round arch on the inside, and a square step, and then a roll-moulding on the outside. The window is 5 ft. 6 in. high on the inside, up to the springing of the arch, and 2 ft. 6 in. wide across the splay.

Muckross.—The ruins of Muckross Abbey, or more correctly speaking, of the Friary of Irrelagh, are situated within the demesne

¹ The late Mr. M. H. Bloxam, in his *Principles of Gothic Ecclesiastical Architecture* eleventh ed., vol. i, p. 38), illustrates one of the doorways, and gives his opinion that the ruins "appear, from their rudeness and peculiarity of construction, to have been those of the original structure founded by St. Finan in the sixth century, and are the earliest monastic remains he has met with." We are unable to agree with Mr. Bloxam's views as to the extreme age of the ruins on Innisfallen.

of Mr. Herbert, on the east side of the Lower Lake, three miles south of Killarney, and one mile north of the modern house of Muckross. It must be borne in mind that the Friary churches, which abound in Ireland, are always miscalled abbeys; and if we follow the custom of the natives, it is only for the sake of convenience. An excellent illustrated account of Muckross Abbey, by the late Mr. (afterwards Sir) J. H. Parker, will be found in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1864, Part I, p. 418, from which the illustrations here given have been borrowed, with the permission of Messrs. Parker of Oxford.



Cloisters, Muckross Abbey.

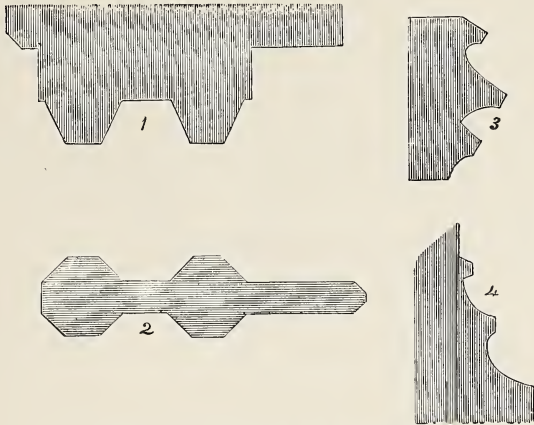
Mr. Parker says of the architecture of the Irish abbeys: "What may fairly be called the Irish style of the fifteenth century, evidently made out of the French, English, and Italian styles of the two previous centuries; but worked out in so singular a manner, with mouldings and details peculiar to Ireland, that it is quite entitled to rank as the national Irish style."

Muckross is of the same type as most of the other Franciscan abbeys of Ireland, of which examples were subsequently seen during the Meeting at Quin, Askeaton, and Adare, all possessing the same peculiarities in the details of the cloisters, the central towers, and the tracery of the windows. The cloisters are arranged round a square quadrangle; but instead of having a penthouse-roof covering the ambulatory (as in the English cathedrals), there is an upper story containing the conventual offices. A very foreign look is given to the cloisters by the rows of small pointed arches springing from double columns. The walls of the upper story rise perpendicularly above the arcading on all four sides of the quadrangle, shut-

ting out the light to a great extent, and forming a sort of deep, square well. The smallness of the apertures between the columns of the arcading increases the gloom to such an extent that even when the midday sun is at its brightest, the cloisters are shrouded in semi-darkness.

At Muckcross some beautiful effects of colour are produced by the green tinge given to such rays of light as are able to pierce through the branches of a gigantic yew-tree that almost entirely fills up the quadrangle.

The central towers of the Irish Franciscan abbeys did not form part of the original design of the building, but were inserted at a later period. There being no piers provided for the support of a



Details of Cloisters, Muckross Abbey.

tower in the original design, massive cross-walls were built for the purpose within the area of the church, leaving only a narrow opening of great height in the centre, instead of a wide chancel-arch. The architectural effect of the exterior is thus improved, but only at the expense of ruining the interior. The towers are generally rectangular, and not square. Their proportions are bad, and the details poor. The castellated parapet, made in several steps, and the flat, projecting stones that take the place of gargoyles, or ornamental spouts for throwing off the water from the roof, are features peculiar to Ireland. The tracery of the windows consists of vertical mullions curving off into intersecting arcs of circles at the top. The entire absence of cusping makes the whole look bald and unfinished. The dressings are of hard limestone, which preserves a remarkably sharp edge for centuries, so that any lack of beauty in the details becomes very apparent.

The foundation of Muckross Abbey is ascribed by the *Annals of the Four Masters* to the McCarthys in 1440, on the site of a much older establishment, and it remained in the possession of the Fran-

ciscan Order until the advent of Cromwell. The church became the chief burial-place of the McCarthys, the O'Sullivans, the McGil-lacuddies, and the O'Donoghues. In the chancel is the tombstone of McCarthy Mor, created Earl of Clancarty by Queen Elizabeth.



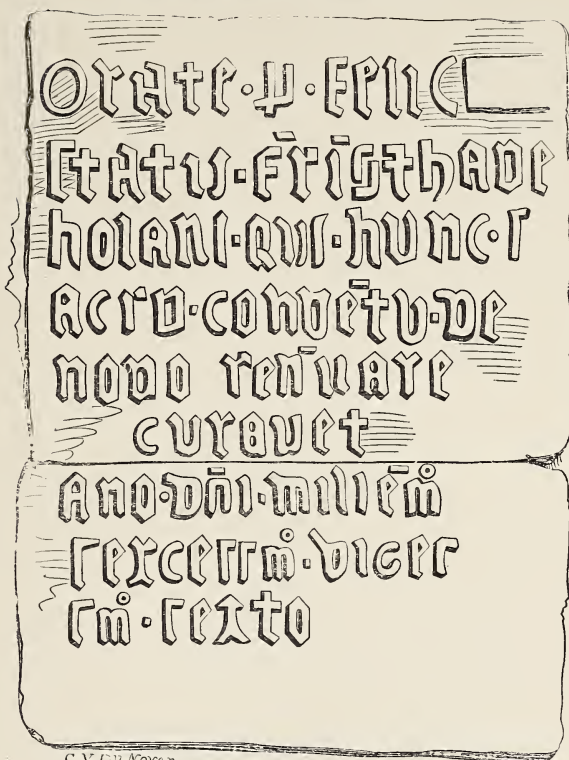
Ground-Plan of Muckross Abbey.

A, Abbot or Prior's House; B, South Transept; c, Cloisters; d, Kitchen; E, Entrance; F, Dormitory; s, Sacristy; T, Central Tower; v, Refectory; Y, Yew-Tree.

The plan of the Friary Church of Muckross consists of a nave and chancel of the same width, with a tower inserted in the way previously described, between the two, and a south transept. The cloisters are situated on the north side of the nave, and are surrounded by vaulted apartments, above which, on the second story, are the conventual offices; the abbot or prior's house occupying the west side, the refectory the north side, and the dormitory the east side. The kitchen is at the north-west corner; the garderobe is at the north-east corner, beyond the dormitory; and the sacristy is on the north side of the chancel. There are two entrances to the cloisters, one at the north-west corner, between the abbot's house and the kitchen, and another at the south-east corner, leading from the part of the church beneath the central tower. The chancel is in imitation of the style of the end of the thirteenth century, the nave and transept of the fourteenth, and the central tower of the fifteenth. An inscription on a tablet built into the north wall of the chancel, inside, shows that the church was restored in 1626. It reads as follows:—

“Orate pro felicitate fratris
Thadei Nolani qui hunc sacrum
Conventum de novo renovare

Curavit anno domini millesimo
Sexcentissimo vicesimo sexto.”



C. V. Du Noyer

Inscription, Muckross Abbey.

EVENING MEETING, TUESDAY, AUGUST 11TH.

The members of the Irish and Welsh Archæological Societies, to the number of 120, dined together at the Railway Hotel, Lord James Wandesford Butler, D.L., presiding. After the usual loyal toast, the President proposed the toast of "The Cambrian Archæological Association, coupled with the name of the Ven. Archdeacon Thomas, the Chairman of the Committee"; and the latter, in responding, proposed "The Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland, and its President, Lord James Butler." This toast was acknowledged by his Lordship, and he at the same time proposed the health of the Rev. Prof. Sayce, the eminent Egyptologist, and Member of the Cambrian Archæological Association, who made an appropriate speech in reply. The Rev. Prof. Stokes, D.D., then read his paper on "The Island Monasteries of Wales and Ireland" after which the proceedings terminated.

EXCURSION, WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 12TH.

Route.—This day's excursion was by carriage to Aghadoe Cathedral (three miles west of Killarney); thence past Killalee Church to Dunloe Castle (three miles further west); and through the Gap of Dunloe (eight miles south from Dunloe Castle) to the head of the Lakes, returning by boat through the three Lakes of Killarney.

Aghadoe Cathedral and Castle.—The Cathedral of Aghadoe, or Achad-dá-éó (the Field of the Two Yews) is situated three miles west of Killarney, on high ground, 405 feet above sea-level, from which, perhaps, a better general idea of the magnificence of the lake and mountain scenery of the district can be got than from any other point of vantage in the neighbourhood. The ground slopes up the whole way from the north shore of the Lower Lake to the Cathedral, a distance of about a mile. No one who has visited any considerable number of ancient ecclesiastical buildings can fail to have been struck by the care which the monks took in selecting sites where feelings of religious devotion might be intensified by the contemplation of all that is beautiful in nature. Sometimes the church stands beside a brawling stream, amidst the sylvan scenery of some secluded glen; or it is found by the banks of the broad river flowing through the rich meadows of the plain; or, as at Aghadoe, the charm lies in the extent of the landscape to be seen from an elevation, with its ever-changing effects of light and shade and variations of colour. The ecclesiastical remains at Aghadoe consist of the ruins of the Cathedral and the stump of a round tower, besides which are the mouldering walls of an old castle on the grassy hill-side sloping down towards the Lake.

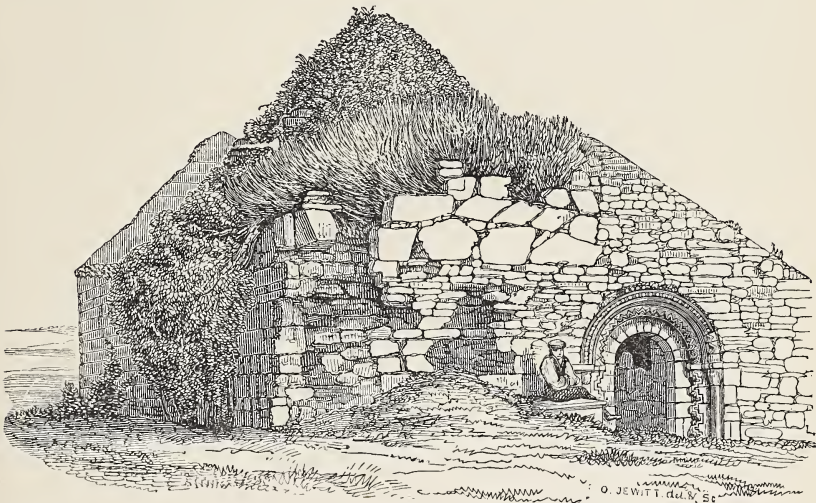
A church was founded here at a very early period by St. Finan, the Leper, who also founded the Monastery of Innisfallen, and whose festival is held on March 16th. Aghadoe afterwards became the site of a bishopric which was in later times joined to that of Ardfert. The earliest historical notice of the place is in the *Annals of Innisfallen*, under the year A.D. 992, and there is a subsequent entry, under A.D. 1044, where a stone church is specifically mentioned. Careful descriptions of the architectural features of the Cathedral and other buildings will be found amongst Mr. J. H. Parker's articles in the *Gentleman's Magazine* (1864, pt. i, p. 411) already referred to, and in Lord Dunraven's *Notes on Irish Architecture* (vol. ii, pp. 35 and 115). Lord Dunraven considers Aghadoe to be the least interesting of the cathedral churches he met with in Ireland. The plan consists of two chambers of equal width separated from each other by a cross wall, not bonded in with side-walls and not having a chancel-arch, and which Mr. Parker suggests was "probably erected when at some time a residence for the priest was needed". The western chamber, which we may call the nave for the sake of convenience, is 36 ft. 2 ins. long by

23 ft. 6 ins. wide inside, and the eastern chamber or chancel is 44 ft. 9 ins. long by 23 ft. 7 ins. wide inside, the walls being 3 ft. thick. The oldest part of the church is at the north-west corner, as shown by the large blocks of stone forming the masonry of the



Ground-Plan of Aghadoe Cathedral.

gable wall, which is quite different from that of the rest of the building. There is a single round-headed window in the north wall of the nave, three or four inches wide on the outside, with inclined jambs, and deeply splayed on the inside; and there is

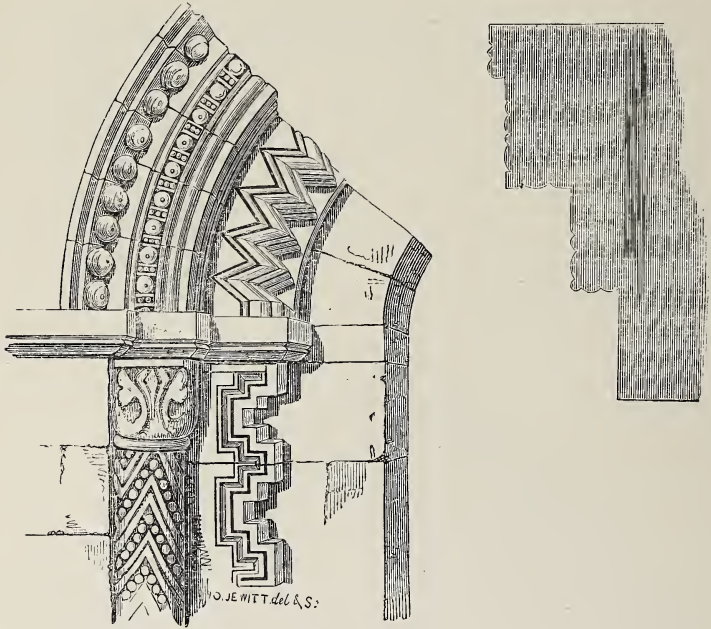


Western Gable and Doorway, Aghadoe Cathedral.

a similar window in the south wall opposite. This part of the building must therefore be of the early Hiberno-Romanesque period, and is perhaps all that now remains of the stone church of A.D. 1044 referred to in the *Annals of Innisfallen*. The church was subsequently lengthened in the thirteenth century, as the double

lancets in the east gable are of that date. These lancets are 9 ft. 6 ins. high and 6 ins. wide, splayed on the inside. There is a curious bit of detail on each side of the splays between the windows, at the top, consisting of a human head and an ornament¹ carved in relief. These double east windows are very characteristic of Irish architecture. In England the lancets are either single or in groups of three. The openings in the cross wall between the nave and chancel consist of a doorway on the north side, and a round-headed window splayed on the side facing west, on the south side.

The chief interest of Aghadoe Cathedral is concentrated in the



Details of Western Doorway, Aghadoe Cathedral.

highly-enriched round-headed Hiberno-Romanesque portal at the west end of the nave, which has unfortunately, however, been partially pulled down and rebuilt, many of the arch-stones having been misplaced. The aperture of the doorway is 5 ft. 3 ins. high by 2 ft. 7 ins. wide at the springing of the arch, and 2 ft. 9 ins. wide at the bottom.

There are three orders of arch-mouldings, one recessed behind the other, and a hood-moulding round the outside. The inner moulding is plain; the second is ornamented with moulded chevrons; and the third has a pelleted band on the face, each pellet being

¹ This ornament is a square ring looped at the corners, and is quite incorrectly drawn in Lord Dunraven's book.



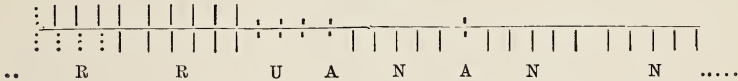
WEST DOORWAY, AGHADOE, KILLARNEY.

From a Photograph by W. H. Banks, Esq

separated from the next one by a cross-bar having smaller pellets. The hood moulding is decorated with projecting knobs or balls. Six of the arch-stones appear to have been taken from some other part of the building, as they exhibit two separate kinds of chevron mouldings quite different from those forming the rest of the arch. In the outer angles of the jambs is a nook-shaft on each side ornamented with chevrons and rows of pellets. The middle order of the jamb has a most beautiful step-pattern carved upon it, resembling the designs found on the enamelled bosses of the early Celtic metal-work.

There is a stone bearing an Ogam inscription built into the south wall of the chancel of Aghadoc Cathedral. It was found by Mr. Pelham in the north-west corner of the building, and is described in the *Vallancey Collections* (vol. v, p. 193); in Windele's *Cork and Killarney* (p. 337); by Lady Chatterton, in *Rambles in the South of Ireland* (vol. i, p. 231); and by Rolt Brash, in *Ogam Monuments* (p. 226). Mr. Brash says that the stone "is at present to be seen in the garden of Lord Headley's residence near Killarney". It is a rudely-shaped pillar 5 ft. 6 ins. long, by 10 ins. wide in the middle and 8 ins. at the ends, by 6 ins. thick, inscribed on one angle thus :

2 ft. 10 in.



In the churchyard are some late tombstones with Scripture subjects carved upon them in an extremely barbarous style. The most curious one represents the Crucifixion, with an angel presenting a chalice to the Blessed Virgin to receive the blood and water flowing from the wound.

The stump of the Round Tower is situated at the north-west corner of the churchyard, close to the road, and is about thirty yards from the west end of the Cathedral. It is 7 feet in diameter inside, the walls being 4 feet thick, built of large stones laid in courses of uneven thickness with sloping beds (not ashlar masonry, as stated by Lord Dunraven). When Dr. Petrie first saw the tower it was more than twenty feet high, and had a doorway twelve feet above the ground. (For illustrations, see Lord Dunraven's *Notes on Irish Architecture*, vol. ii, p. 35; and *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1864, Pt. 1, p. 411.)

The Castle or Military Tower is situated outside the churchyard, a little way down the hill to the south. It is a circular Norman keep of the thirteenth century, 21 ft. diameter inside, having walls about 6 ft. thick, rudely built of rounded water-worn boulders. A staircase in the thickness of the wall leads to the first floor, and there are indications of a second floor above. The doorway is on the east side, on a level with the ground. The tower stands within a square intrenchment, having projecting bastions on the

south side. (See Lord Dunraven's *Notes*, vol. ii, p. 35; and *Gent. Mag.* for 1864, Pt. 1, p. 416.)



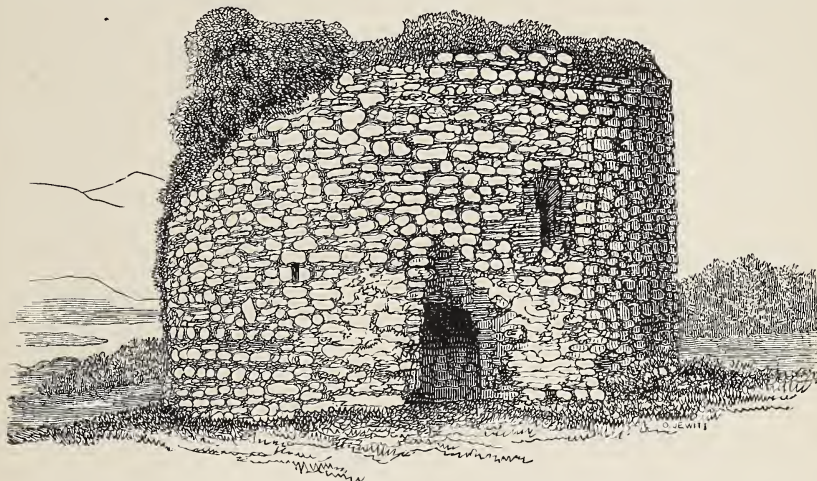
Round Tower, Aghadoe.

Dunloe Ogam Cave.—The celebrated Dunloe Ogam Cave is situated on a sandy knoll one mile south of Beaufort Bridge, and not quite half a mile west of Dunloe Castle. It is close to the west bank of the river Loe, about half a mile south of its junction with the river Laune. Beaufort Bridge is six miles west of Killarney, and crosses over the river Laune some two miles above the point where it enters the north-west corner of Lough Leane. The road from Killarney to Beaufort Bridge goes in a westerly direction parallel to the north shore of Lough Leane, and it is here that the excursionist turns southward to go through the Gap of Dunloe.

The cave was discovered in 1838 by some workmen engaged in the construction of a sunk fence in the demesne of Dunloe. Mr. Abell of Cork visited the place shortly after, and made copies of such inscriptions as were visible. Since that time it has been frequently examined by almost every ogam scholar of repute. The result of Mr. Windele's visit is given in his *Notices of Cork and Killarney* (p. 346); of Mr. Rolt Brash's visit in 1869, in his *Ogam Monuments* (p. 231). It has also been described by Sir S. Ferguson in his *Ogam Inscriptions* (p. 107); and in the *Journal of the Royal*

Society of Antiquaries of Ireland, by Mr. G. M. Atkinson (New Series, vol. v, p. 523); by Prof. Rhys (4th Series, vol. vi, p. 313); and by the Right Rev. Charles Graves, D.D. (4th Series, vol. vii, p. 606).

The Dunloe Ogam Cave belongs to a class of artificial souterrains usually found within the fortified areas of the Irish raths, and which were probably cellars, beneath structures above ground, intended for the storage of food or objects of value.¹ Similar underground structures are found in Cornwall,² and also in Scot-



Military Tower, Aghadoe.

land,³ where they are called “eirde” (*i.e.*, earth) houses or “weems” (caves). The rath caves of Ireland have supplied the largest collections of ogam monuments, the most notable instances being as follows:—Ballynock, co. Cork, 15; Drumlogan, co. Waterford, 9; Dunloe, co. Kerry, 7; Ballyhank, 6; Rockfield, 6; Monataggart, 4; Whitefield, 4; Aghacarrible, 3; Aghalisky, 3; Roovesmore, 3. Sir S. Ferguson⁴ rightly conjectures that the fact of the rath-caves yielding such large groups of inscribed stones may be accounted for by supposing that the roofing-stones of the caves were taken from a neighbouring “killeen”, or ancient burial-ground. The builders of the rath-caves would be sorely tempted by the sight of so many long stones exactly suited to their requirements to let their laziness get the better of their feelings of reverence for the memorials of the dead, and not waste time in going further afield

¹ See R. Brash's *Ogam Monuments*, p. 103.

² Borlase's *Nenia Cornubiae*; Blight's *Week at the Land's End*.

³ Dr. J. Anderson's *Scotland in Pagan Times*, and numerous papers in the *Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot.* by Sir Arthur Mitchell and others.

⁴ *Ogam Inscriptions*, p. 27.

for their building materials, but take what Providence had placed ready at hand.

A parallel might be drawn between the protective colours of animals which are evolved by the laws of the survival of the fittest and the various causes which have prevented ancient monuments from being destroyed, on account of their special adaptability to new uses undreamt of by the original erectors. An amusing case in point is that of an ogam-inscribed stone found in the townland of Deelish, co. Cork, and now in the British Museum, which was kept, not on account of any value attached to it as a relic of antiquity, but because it resembled a coffin in shape¹

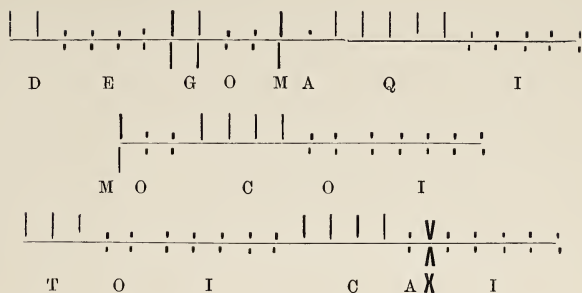
The entrance to the Dunloe Ogam cave is close to the hedge of the field in which it is situated, and some modern steps have been made there for the convenience of visitors. On the occasion of the visit of the Irish and Welsh archæologists, the inscriptions on the upper surfaces of the roofing slabs were exposed to view by the removal of the sandy soil to a depth of three or four feet. The cave consists of an underground passage, the first portion of which next the entrance goes in a southerly direction, and the second bends towards the east. The side-wall on the west, or left hand looking inwards, is curved throughout its whole length, whereas the opposite wall is in two straight sections, making an obtuse angle at the junction. The section nearest the entrance is 10 ft. long, and the one further in 8 ft. 6 ins. long. The width of the passage at the entrance is 7 ft. at the bottom, and 6 ft. 3 ins. at the top. At the angle where the passage bends to the east it is 4 ft. 6 ins. wide at the bottom; and at the end it is only 3 ft. 3 ins. wide. The height ranges from 4 ft. 6 ins. to 4 ft. The side-walls are built of rubble masonry put together without cement; and the top is roofed over with long slabs placed across from wall to wall, so as to form a series of lintels. Near the far end other slabs are placed longitudinally above the lintels. There are 9 lintel-stones, the longest of which measures 9 ft., averaging 10 to 12 ins. by 8 ins. thick. Beginning from the entrance and going inwards, the first two and the fourth, fifth, and sixth roofing-stones are inscribed; the third, seventh, eighth, and ninth being plain. The second lintel has a fracture in the middle, which necessitated in ancient times its support by a vertical prop or pillar. This support is 4 ft. 6 ins. high, by 1 ft. wide, by 4 ins. thick; and is also inscribed, making seven inscribed stones in all.

The following is a description of the inscribed stones, with Prof. Rhys' readings:—

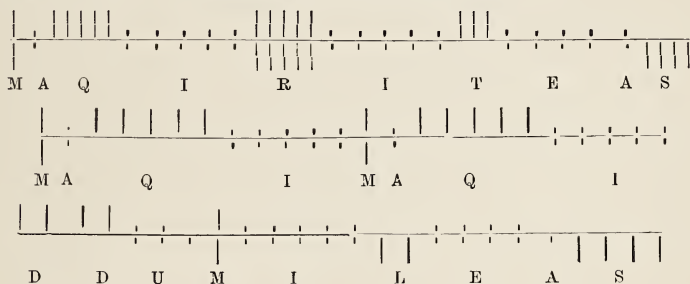
(No. 1.) The first lintel, next the entrance; 9 ft. long, by 1 ft. 7 ins. wide, by 8½ ins. thick; inscribed on the upper angle facing outwards, and reading from right to left, thus:

¹ Brash, p 122.

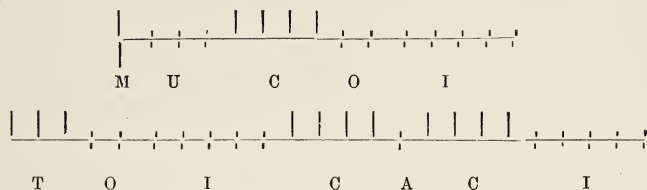




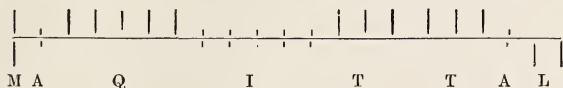
(No. 2.) The second lintel from the entrance ; 7 ft. 9 ins. long, by 1 ft. 5 ins. wide, by 6 ins. thick, inscribed on the upper angle facing inwards, and reading from left to right, thus :¹



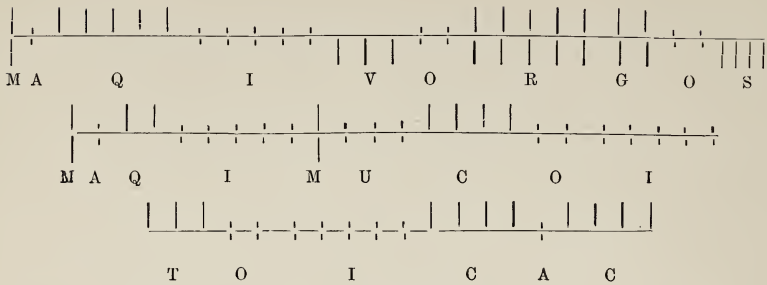
and on the upper angle facing outwards, and reading from left to right—



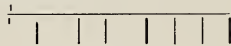
(No. 3.) The fourth lintel from the entrance ; inscribed on the lower angle facing outwards, and reading from left to right, thus :



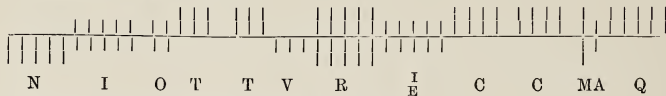
¹ With regard to Ddumileas and Riteas, Prof. Rhys writes to the Editor as follows: "These seem to be genitives feminine, and the *eas* appears to be a form of the *ias* of such genitives as Dovvini^as: in fact, one such, at least, occurs in both forms, namely Gosocteas and Gossucttias. Dovvini^as is represented in the Book of the Dun Cow, fol. 54^a, by the accusative Duibind, genitive Duibni; so the declension is that of the *i* stems given by Stokes at p. 18 of his *Celtic Declension*."



(No. 4.) The fifth lintel from the entrance; inscribed on the upper angle, facing outwards—



(No. 5.) The sixth lintel from the entrance; inscribed on the lower angle facing inwards,



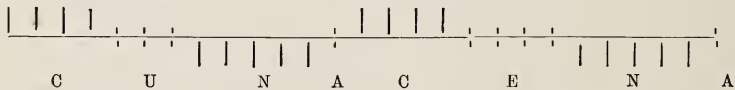
and on the upper angle facing inwards,



(No. 6.) A longitudinal stone above the fifth and sixth lintels,



(No. 7.) The vertical pillar supporting the second lintel; 5 ft. 1 in. long, by 1 ft. wide, by 4 or 5 ins. thick; inscribed on the left-hand angle facing outwards, and reading from top downwards, thus:



The illustration is from a photograph taken by Mr. T. M. Franklen (not Mr. F. M. Franklen, as printed on the title of the Plate), and gives a view looking down on the top of the roofing-stones after the earth was cleared away.

Dunloe Castle.—Here the party were hospitably entertained to luncheon by Dr. and Mrs. Stoker.

The Castle, which is now used as a modern dwelling-house, was erected in A.D. 1215 by an O'Sullivan Mor. In 1641 this stronghold was taken and dismantled by General Ludlow, one of Cromwell's chief officers. From the grounds in front of the Castle an

exquisite vista is presented to the eye of the last reach of the river Laune, about a mile long, before it flows into Lough Leane.

The Gap of Dunloe.—After leaving Dunloe Castle, no further objects of archæological interest were to be seen during the excursion, and the members gave themselves up unreservedly to the enjoyment of the splendid mountain scenery of the Gap of Dunloe, which in its way cannot be excelled even by the Pass of Llanberis in Wales, or of Glencoe in Scotland. The Gap of Dunloe is a rocky gorge running in a direction due north and south; bounded on the east by the Tomies and the Purple Mountains, and on the west by the Macgillycuddy's Reeks, the loftiest peak of which is a little over 3,000 ft. high. The river Loe runs at the bottom of the gorge, taking its rise near the south end, and forming small mountain tarus at intervals as it descends, the largest being Lough Dubh, or the Black Lake, where St. Patrick is believed to have destroyed the last demon-serpent left in Ireland. On reaching the Black Lake, two miles and a half south of Dunloe Castle, the carriages had to be left behind, as the road is not practicable for wheeled vehicles beyond this point, and the remainder of the excursion through the Gap was completed either on ponies or on foot, as anyone felt disposed. The only drawback to the thorough enjoyment of the beauties of nature was the incessant pestering of beggars to which all tourists are subjected. The firing off of small cannons to produce an echo and the everlasting demands for baksheesh quite destroy the solitude and silence so essential for the due appreciation of the wilder aspects of nature. Some of the syrens who try to tempt the unwary by offers of mountain dew are decidedly pretty, and fully understand the art of dropping the eyelids and then suddenly unmasking a battery of beautiful eyes upon the victim. If this can be successfully resisted, a softly-modulated wheedling "Ah, do, sorr!" generally completes the conquest. It is amusing also to observe the conventionality of the stage-laugh which is put on as a matter of business as each successive tourist passes by. From the Black Lake the road rises the whole way for a distance of three miles to the head of the Gap, where the summit-level is reached. From this point it is only about a mile and a half, as the crow flies, to the head of the Upper Lake, but the road has to make a zigzag nearly doubling the distance, in order to accomplish the descent at a reasonable gradient.

Having reached Lord Brandon's Cottage, at the west end of the Upper Lake, the party embarked in the excellently-manned boats belonging to the different hotels, and were conveyed by water back to Killarney. From the Upper Lake a long narrow channel leads into the Middle or Muckcross Lake, and just before entering it the rapids under the Old Weir Bridge have to be shot. Only one corner of Muckcross Lake is traversed to reach Brickeen Bridge, which spans the entrance to Lough Leane, the largest and lowest of the three Lakes of Killarney. The whole length of the voyage through the lakes is about twelve miles.

EVENING MEETING, WEDNESDAY, AUG. 12TH.

The evening meeting was held at 8 o'clock P.M., when Prof. Rhys delivered his Presidential Address. This was followed by the reading of Mr. J. Romilly Allen's paper on "Celtic Art in Wales and Ireland Compared", which will be printed in a future number of the Journal. Prof. Rhys' Address was as follows:—

THE IRISH INVASIONS OF WALES AND DUMNONIA.

The original Celtic settlement in Ireland, that is to say by the Aryans who introduced the Gaelic language, consisted probably of the ancient kingdom of Meath, which included not only the counties of Meath and Westmeath, but also most of those of Dublin, Longford, and King's County. Tradition at any rate gives us this hint when it represents Meath as carved out of the four divisions of the island. Add to this the claims of the ruler in possession of Tara, within Meath, to rule over the whole of Ireland. To my mind, these and other traditions about Meath indicate that it was the first Celtic, and, in fact, the first Aryan settlement in the island.

As to the people who possessed Meath previously, they probably belonged to a race widely spread in the west of Europe, a race which may, perhaps, be provisionally designated Ibero-Pictish; but they may be termed Ivernians in Ireland, and their nearest kindred were the Picts of Britain. Nay, the name Pict, in one of its forms, was probably their national designation, as I have elsewhere tried to show.¹ This race I suppose to have been here long before the Aryans came, possibly even before this country had become an island. By the time, however, when the Celts began to arrive in the British Isles, the Picts were, doubtless, in what is called the neolithic stage of civilisation, and they first became acquainted with bronze as wielded, probably to their detriment, by the brawny arm of the conquering Aryan.

But who, more exactly defined, was this conqueror, some of you may ask? The first Aryan invaders of the British Isles are supposed to have been the Celts; but there were at least two groups of Celts, and the evidence of language does not enable us to distinguish more than two. There were, first, those who introduced the Goidelic tongue, which has by this time branched into the Gaelic dialects of Ireland, Man, and the Highlands of Scotland with its Islands; and, secondly, those Celts who introduced the Brythonic tongue, which is represented now only by Welsh and Breton, but formerly also by old Cornish, no longer a spoken language. As the notions of many with regard to the mutual relation between these two groups of Celts are exceedingly hazy, I should advise some of

¹ *Scottish Review*, vol. xviii, pp. 124-142.

my fellow Cambrians to try the effect of a little Welsh on the Gaelic speaking peasant of this county of Kerry. Ask him, for example, a simple question,—*Beth yw d' enw di? Pa le 'r wyt ti 'n byw? Beth wyt ti 'n feddwl am y tywydd llaith -ma?* or the like. For the sake of any Cambrian who may happen to be unable to speak Welsh fluently, I may venture the statement that Welshmen and Irishmen are no more mutually intelligible as Celts, than a Dublin Irishman from Thomas Street would be under the Limes in Berlin. The distinction between Goidels and Brythons dates probably from very early times, though our archæologists mostly persist in ignoring it. Of course, it may be that their data do not yet suffice to show it: in any case it should be borne in mind.

Well, the only Celts of whose landing in Ireland in prehistoric times we have any proof, belonged to the Goidelic group. The other Celts, namely of the Brythonic group, are represented in this country mainly by the descendants of the Welsh soldiers who came over with or after Strongbow. But I have nothing to do with them, and I return to our prehistoric Celts. It is so much nicer not to be troubled with what our schoolmasters call facts.

The next question as to those prehistoric Celts is whence they came to Erin. Some, perhaps, would say that it was direct from Spain or Gaul; but probably more would say that, wherever they came from, they reached this country from the neighbouring island of Britain, and that is the view I should be inclined to take; for as a bad sailor I am readily persuaded that navigating the Bay of Biscay must have always been a serious undertaking for the mariners of early times. Nevertheless I have heard it said, that there are indubitable traces of direct connection between the west of Ireland and the Iberian peninsula. If there be proofs of intercourse between Erin and Spain in historic times, that does not touch the question of the prehistoric settlement of Aryan Celts in this country. On the other hand, similarity of race between the peasantry in Ireland and in Spain is just what you would expect in virtue of their both belonging, in a greater or less degree, to the same aboriginal race. It is known, I dare say, to most of you that where a village or small community of the ancient inhabitants appears to have preserved the darkness of their complexion and the blackness of their hair, especially in districts otherwise more or less occupied by fair-haired Aryans, the story is found to prevail, that the former are the descendants of the crew of some ship or other of the Spanish Armada. I have heard something like it in Lleyn, the peninsular portion of Carnarvonshire; and it is current, I believe, in one of the Orkneys or Shetlands.

The legend connecting Ireland with Spain is undoubtedly old; but it is of a learned and etymological origin, based, as I take it, on a misunderstanding of a passage of Orosius,¹ and partly on the similarity between the words *Hibernia* and *Iberia*: at any rate I

¹Book i, 2; for a discussion of the passage see the notes to the *Irish Nennius*, pp. 238-9.

see no reason to regard it as the expression of a genuine, popular tradition with its roots deeply fixed in the distant past of prehistoric times.

Now, if I am right in regarding Meath as the first tract of country occupied here by the Celts, this would imply the probability of their having come directly, not from the Continent, but from the nearest shores of the sister island of Britain. Ancient Meath comprised Mag Breg, or the plain from Dublin to Drogheda. In other words, Meath was a country with its front, so to say, turned to the Irish Sea, in the direction of which we have accordingly to look for its beginnings in the political or historical sense. It would, of course, be impossible to fix the date or the spot where the first contingent of Celts landed in the east of Ireland. The invasion probably took scores of years, possibly hundreds, and began, perhaps, somewhere about the mouth of the Liffey. Later arrivals had presumably to land more and more north and south of the original occupation. I mention this as I think it just possible to indicate the relative positions of the contingents making up the wings of the invading forces. Thus with the one to the south of the central position I should associate the name of Leinster. That vocable, stripped of its Scandinavian ending, is, in mediæval Irish Gaelic, *Lagin* or *Laigin*, a plural which meant literally "spears"; and secondarily, Leinstermen, or simply Leinster. So we are told in the Dinn-senchus in the *Book of Leinster*, that Leinster was called Lagin from the broad spears (*de na lágnib lethna*) which the soldiers of Labraid Longsech brought with him to conquer the country; and the story proceeds to mix itself with that of the Danish invasions, of which I need not speak. The chief sites identified with the Leinstermen or Lagenians, as their name is sometimes rendered, are those of Naas, their capital, in the county of Kildare; Dinnrigh, an ancient capital of theirs on the west bank of the Barrow, between Carlow and Leighlin; and Ard Brestine near Tullow, in the same county of Carlow. I may, perhaps, add Mount Leinster, between the counties of Carlow and Wexford. It is termed in Irish "Sliab Suide Laigen", or the Mountain of the Lagenians' Seat.

It is difficult to decide how they reached the district now represented by the county of Carlow. Did they come from the sea and round the northern spurs of the Wicklow Hills, so as to settle themselves at Naas before reaching Dinnrigh, or *vice versâ*? Or was it merely a southward conquest from Meath? I should imagine that their movements were from Naas towards Dinnrigh and Mount Leinster rather than the reverse, and it may have been an expansion of Meath; but the fact that the story represents Labraid as an exile introducing men with a new kind of weapon, would assuredly seem to imply the landing of warriors from Britain.

As to the other wing of the Celtic invasion, it extended northwards probably far enough to take in most of the flat country comprised in the present county of Louth. Now due east of Louth the level coast of Britain, now part of South Lancashire, was occu-

pied, according to the geographer Ptolemy, that is in the early part of the second century, by a people called the Setantii; and a harbour called after them is said to correspond to the mouth of the Ribble, while a river called by the cognate name of Seteia is supposed to have been the Dee. So we should probably be approximately right in supposing that they once inhabited the coast of South Lancashire. They have, however, no position given them by Ptolemy in his enumeration of the chief tribes of Britain; so they are probably to be regarded as forming a part of the great tribe of the Brigantes, or as subject to them, and enjoying the same state of culture. Some of these Brigantes were characterised by their use of iron war-chariots, as is abundantly proved by the remains of the chariots themselves and of the horses found buried with their owners in the East Riding of Yorkshire.

Now the use of war-chariots was well known to the heroes of one cycle, at least, of Irish story. Nay, perhaps Irish literature is the only modern literature—modern, I mean, as opposed to the writings of the classic authors of Greece and Rome—which gives a European account of the war-chariot. Unfortunately the language is very archaic and obscure; but such is the minuteness of the description and the elaboration of details that I have no manner of doubt that it emanates from a time when war-chariots were still in use in this country, and from men who knew intimately what a war-chariot meant, and how it was handled. Lug the Long-handed, however, is never mentioned riding in a chariot any more than Finn or Ossian or Diarmait. The use of chariots is confined to the heroes of the Ultonian Cycle, that is to say, Conchobar mac Nessa and his warriors, together with those with whom they had most immediately to do. Their chariots speed wildly over the plain from Emain Macha to Naas, and from Dundalk to Rathcroghan in Roscommon. The opening years of the Christian era are supposed to have been the time when these heroes of the Ultonian Cycle flourished, making things merry for themselves, and lively for their neighbours on all hands.

The man, of all others, who was most famous among them for his careering across the country was he who is known to the sagas of Erin as Cúchulainn. Hardly a character in Irish story is seemingly more mythical than Cúchulainn, but he is supposed by some to be historical. I have often been reproached with reducing the verities of history to the haze and mist of mythology; but I am going to turn over a new leaf. In fact, I propose now to make a brief search for the historical element in the stories about Cúchulainn. Well, one of the last things of historical import just mentioned was the location of the people called the Setantii on the coast of Lancashire; but what, you will ask, has that to do with Cúchulainn? More, perhaps, than one might imagine; for Cúchulainn's first name was Setanta Beg, which, as regards the name of the Setantii, must have meant as much as if we called him "the Little Setantian". But this Setantian was not born in Britain: his

reputed father, Sualda,¹ was in Ireland before him, and he belonged, like his son Setanta, to the court of Conchobar, whose sister, Dechtere, was, in fact, the mother of Little Setanta. Nevertheless, Sualda and his son Setanta were not racially identical with Conchobar and his braves; for the latter were all subject to the *cess noinden*, or the week's indisposition, which confined them every now and then to inactivity.

It would take too much time for me to tell you all that is known or guessed about this *cess* or *covade*; but the peculiarity of the *covade* of the men of Ulster is, that they were all affected at the same time. This was so well known that the warlike Queen Maive of Connaught once on a time determined to make a raid into Ulster during the days when the warriors of that realm were in their *covade*, all except Cúchulainn and his father. The epic story of the Táin Bó Cuailnge relates how Cúchulainn defended Ulster in the interval against the whole army of the west. Incidentally it relates also how the Druid of Conchobar's court came to give Little Setanta his name of Cúchulainn.

Here one may lay one's finger on the incomplete amalgamation of story and myth. Setanta was probably a historical character who somehow came to be identified by Irish literature with the older character of a more mythical personage named Cúchulainn. The name Setanta, with its combination *nt*, sounds anything but Goidelic, and suggests that the bearer of it may have been Brythonic in point of race. Be that as it may, Setanta and his father may, perhaps, be regarded as identified with the close of the Celtic immigration and the introduction to Ireland of the civilisation of the Brigantes generally, and the use of war-chariots in particular.

In the East Riding of Yorkshire the deceased warrior is found buried, as I said, with his chariot and chargers, and it is not unnatural to infer that he was borne to his last resting-place in the chariot from which he had fought during his lifetime. Some such a habit as this would serve to explain why the word for chariot became that for a bier or a hearse in the Goidelic dialects of to-day. In Old Irish a chariot was *carpat*, borrowed probably from an early Brythonic *carbanto-n*,² whose Continental reflex was stereotyped in Latin as *carpentum*. If this be correct, we have to suppose the word lost in Brythonic during the Roman occupation, and reintroduced from a Goidelic source afterwards, accounting for the present Welsh form, *cerbyd*, a chariot or carriage of any kind. But the history of these words is very difficult, as the consonants do not correspond in them in the way to be expected in words which are merely cognate.

Whatever the date of the first Celtic settlement here may have

¹ This name occurs also in the Nennian Genealogies: see the *Cymmrodor*, ix, 178.

² This in its Welsh form is *carfan*, and it means what is in English called the ripples of a cart, or wain-cops; Scotch, lead-trees: compare *carfan gwehydd*, "a weaver's beam", and *carfan gwely*, a bedstead.

been, and whatever the length of time it took to conquer ancient Meath, that conquest must eventually have acted as a sort of wedge driven into the trunk of Erinn. It must have sooner or later caused movements northwards and southwards, and those can be traced, to a certain extent, in Irish literature. The northward movement to which I would first allude is known as the conquest of Oriel, or southern Ulster, by the Three Collas. This had the effect, it is said, of driving the former possessors of Oriel, the Fir-ulaid or True Ultonians as they are called, into the peninsula east of the Bann and Lough Neagh; that is to say, approximately to the present counties of Down and Antrim. Irish annalists place this conquest about the year 331. How they arrive at that date I cannot exactly say, but I believe that they are not greatly mistaken, for about thirty years after the alleged crowding of the True Ultonians in the north-east corner of Ireland, a new nation appears by name in the history of the Roman province of Britain. I allude to the Scotti from this country,¹ who in the year 360 join with the Northern Picts in the first serious attack made from without on the Roman province. This, I take it, was one of the consequences of the aggressive movement which drove the True Ultonians of Oriel into the north-east of Ireland or Ulidia, as it is sometimes called to distinguish it from Ultonia, the whole of what is now called Ulster. Their only outlet was to Britain, to join in the raids carried on there by their kinsmen, the Picts of the North. Long afterwards, as you know, the emigration from the north-east of this country developed into a regular occupation of Argyle, and the establishment of a kingdom of Dalriad Scots in Alban.

Let us return to the conquest by the Three Collas of the country between Meath and the Bior or Moyola river flowing into the north-west corner of Lough Neagh and forming the northern boundary of the diocese of Armagh,² and between Lough Erne and Gleann Righe or the Vale of the Newry River. This became a very important realm of the Celts in Ireland, as is very clearly shown by the position of respect accorded to the king of Oriel by the king of Tara, as defined in the *Book of Rights*.³ Though Louth is represented as annexed by Oriel, it must have been Celtic long before Oriel; nay, the Celtic conquest of Oriel may have proceeded in the first instance from Louth rather than from Meath. The ancient name of Louth, Cúchulainn's special charge, was Mag Murthemni, or the Plain of Murthemne; but its people were sometimes known as *Conailli*, a designation clearly connected with a personal name yielding in the genitive the ancient form of *Cunovali*⁴ in an early inscription in Cornwall. The name *Conailli*

¹ Skene's *Celtic Scotland*, i, 97, where he cites *Ammianus Marcellinus*, xx, 1.

² See Reeves' *Adamnan*, p. 52.

³ See pp. 142-3, and O'Donovan's note on the text.

⁴ See Hübnér's *Insc. Brit. Chris.*, No. 2; also Rhys' *Lectures on Welsh Philology*, p. 86², where *Terra Conallea* should not have been confounded with Tírconnell in the north of the Island.

was purely Celtic, and belonged, no doubt, to the Celtic rulers of the district, which was accordingly known as Conaille Murthemne.¹

To discuss these and other things connected with the development of the Celtic conquest northward would take too much time at present, as I wish now to show that something similar proceeded on the south of Meath, something, in fact, which closely concerns the history of that part of Britain from which we hail, the Principality of Wales. For just as the northward working of the Celtic conquest drove displaced tribes over to Alban, so a southward advance of the Celts of Meath drove a wave of emigration from Munster and Leinster to the lands bordering on the Bristol Channel or Severn Sea.

The Three Collas were led to undertake the conquest of Oriel by the turbulence and violence of their lives. They were grandsons of Cormac mac Airt, one of the most celebrated of the early kings of Tara. He was succeeded by his son Cairbre Lifechair, and the latter had a son, Eochaid Doimlen, whose sons were the Three Collas. Now when Cairbre died he was succeeded by his son Fiacha Srabtene, against whom the Three Collas waged a war in which the king fell. The eldest of the three brothers, Colla Uais, then became king; but he was defeated, together with his brothers, by Muiredach, son of the late king, whereupon the Collas went to exile to Britain, where they seem, however, to have lacked congenial employment, for they came back and surrendered themselves to the king of Tara, their cousin, who forgave them, and directed them to turn their arms against Ulster, and carve themselves a position there.² That was the conquest of Oriel which I have already mentioned as supposed by Irish historians to date about the year 331 A.D.

A somewhat similar story of Aryan violence is the one to which I am going to call your attention next, and it happened in the time of the grandfather of the Three Collas, namely Cormac mac Airt: in fact, he was one of the first victims of it.

There was a Celtic people called the Déisi of Mag Breg, whose chief, called "Oengus of the Poisonous Spear", was a sort of avenger of wrongs in the realm. He was of kingly descent, being a lineal representative of Tuathal Techtmar; and Oengus was roused to anger by a spoilt son of Cormac carrying away a daughter of one of Oengus' brothers. So Oengus proceeded to Tara, and did not halt till he had slain him in the presence of his father, king Cormac, who himself lost one of his eyes, owing to the violence with which Oengus used his spear.³

As a maimed king could not remain at the head of affairs at Tara, Cormac retired in favour of his son, Cairbre Lifechair, already mentioned; and both made war on Oengus and his Déisi. Many battles were fought, which resulted in the Déisi having at last

¹ See the *Four Masters*, A.M. 2859, and note *u*.

² O'Curry's *Manuscript Materials*, p. 72.

³ *The Book of the Dun Cow*, fol. 53.

to leave Tara and move southwards. The story is called the Banishment of the Déisi to Munster, and this is explained by the fact that what is now the county of Waterford was taken possession of by the Déisi.¹ It is divided by a rising ground called The Drum or Ridge, into the Decies within Drum, and the Decies without Drum. There is no reason, however, to suppose that all the Déisi went to that district, for the story also gives them the Plain of Feimin, or the Barony of Iffa and Offa East, in the county of Tipperary, and it makes them contest Ossory.

A series of place-names is utilised in tracing the Déisi's course southwards in the story; suffice it, however, to say here, that from being the Déisi of Mag Breg they become the Déisi of Tara, and leave their name to the Barony of Deece, south of Tara. Then, after an interval of obscurity, they are found in possession of the extensive tract of country already described as comprising the county of Waterford. The bulk of the banished Déisi, doubtless, remained in Ireland, but one of their chiefs, Eochaid, brother to Oengus, went on sea, and died, as we are told, in the land of Dyved (*Crich Demeth*), and there his descendants remained, forming what is in Irish pedigrees called "the Race of Crimthann on the other Side". But the genealogy of their chiefs proves virtually identical with that of the Kings of Dyved as given in the pedigree of Owen, son of Howel the Good; for Howel's wife, Elen, the mother of Owen, was of that origin.

[NOTE ON THE MSS. OF THE PEDIGREES GIVEN ON PAGES 64, 65.]

Laud 610 and Rawlinson B. 502 are well-known Irish MSS. : the latter is supposed to be of the twelfth century, and the former is thought by Dr. Whitley Stokes to belong to the earlier half of the fourteenth century.

With regard to the remaining pedigrees, the following details will, I hope, suffice :—The portion of the Harl. MS. 3859, containing the Nennian Genealogies, is said to be in a hand of the early twelfth century, copied, however, from a compilation made probably not later than the year 954. It has been carefully edited by Mr. Egerton Phillimore in the *Cymmrodor*, whence the portion here given has been taken: see volume ix, 171. The pedigree from the Jesus College MS. 20 has been copied from the *Cymmrodor* (vol. viii, 86), where it has been also edited by Mr. Phillimore; the MS. is regarded by Mr. Gwenogvryn Evans as ranging in date from 1330 to 1340. Further, it is to Mr. Phillimore that I am indebted for the other two versions, and the following is his account of them: the

¹ The name Déisi seems to have no explanation in Irish, and, so far as I know, nothing stands in the way of deriving it from the same origin as the Welsh word *devis* "a choice". If this should prove well founded, the word *Déisi* should mean choice men or picked warriors, which they proved themselves to be by the obstinacy of their resistance to the whole power of Cormac mac Airt and his Sons.

pedigree here given from the *Hanesyn Hên* is from a paper manuscript in the Free Library of Cardiff, and that is a copy of part of the lost Hengwrt MS. 33, made from a transcript of the original by John Jones of Gelli Lyfdy in 1640. The other genealogy, namely that from Rawlinson B. 466, comes from a collection also traceable to the *Hanesyn Hên*: it seems to have been transcribed about the time of Queen Elizabeth, perhaps by William Cynwal.

Lastly it is to be observed, that the vacant spaces in the pedigree columns are not due to gaps in the genealogies, but to an attempt on my part to put the names common to the latter on a level, for the convenience of comparing the different versions.]

Bodleian MS., Laud 610,
fol. 100^{al}.

Taulodar
mac Rigind

mic Catien
mic Clothienn
mic Noé
mic Artúir
mic Petuir
mic Congair
mic Goirtiben
mic Alcon
mic Tresund
mic Æda
mic Brose
mic Corach
mic Echdach Allmair
mic Airt chuirp

Bodleian MS., Rawlinson, B. 502,
fol. 72^{bl}.

Tualodor
mac Rigin
mic Catacuind
mic Caittienn
mic Clotenn
mic Nee
mic Artuir
mic Rethoir
mic Congair
mic Gartbuir
mic Alchoil
mic Trestin
mic Æda brosc

mic Corath
mic Echach almuir
mic Arttchuirp

British Museum MS., Harl. 3859, fol. 195 ^b .	Cardiff Copy of the Hanesyn Hên, p. 77.	Bodleian MS., Rawlinson, B. 466 (unpaged).	Jesus College MS. 20, fol. 36 ^a .
Margetiut	Maredudd	Meredudd	Maredudd
map Teudos	ap	ap Tewdost	m. Teudos
map Regin			
map Catgocaun	ap Kadwg	ap Kadwgon ap Kynddelw	m. Gwgawn
map Cathen	ap Kadeu	ap Kadien	m. Cathen
map Cloten	ap Gw....		m. Eleothen
map Nougoy	ap Nowy	ap Nowy	m. Nennue
map Arthur	ap Arth	ap Arthen	m. Arthur
map Petr	ap Pedyr	ap Pedyr	m. Peder
map Cincar	ap Kyngar	ap Kyngar	m. Kyngar
map Guortepir	ap Gwerthefyr ap Erbin	ap Gwrthyfyr ap Erbin	m. Gwrdeber m. Erbin
map Aircol	ap Aergul ap Llawir	ap Avargvl ap Llawir	m. Aircol Lawhir
map Triphun	ap Tryffin	ap Tri usin ^l	m. Tryphun
map Clotri			

On the next page of the same manuscript he is called *Tristin Varfog*, or Tristin the Bearded.

Brit. Mus. MS.	Hanesyn Hên.	Bodleian MS.	Jesus Coll. MS.
	ap Ewein Vreisg	ap Owain Vraisg	m. Ewein Vreisc
	ap Kyndeyrn	ap Kyndeyrn	m. Cyndwr
	Vendigeit	Vendigaid	Bendigeit
	ap Ewein	ap Owain	m. Ewein
	ap Kyngar	ap Kyngar	m. Kyngar
			m. Prwtech
	ap Ewein	ap Owain	m. Ewein
	ap Gwledyr	ap Gwlydyr	
map Gloitguin	ferch Gletwin	verch Glewdwin	
map Nimet	ap Nyfedd		
map Dimet	ap Dofet	ap Dyueg	
map Maxim Gulecic			
map Protec			
map Protector			
map Ebiud	ap Ebynt	ap Ebynt	
map Eliud	ap Elynt	ap Elynt	
map Stater			
map Pincr misser			m. miser
	ap Amloyd	ap Amloed	
	ap Amweryd	ap Amwerid	
map Constans			
	ap Kwstennin	ap Kwstenin	m. Custennin
	ap Maxen	ap Maxgen	m. Maxen
	Wledig	Weledig	Wledic
			m. Maximianus
map Constantini			m. Constantinus
magni			Mawr
map Constantii et			m. Custenint o
Helen			Elen

Before calling your attention further to these pedigrees I should like, in passing, to make a remark on the symmetry, if I may so term it, of the Celtic conquests in early Ireland. First we have Meath with its central position, to which its name seems to testify: the Old Irish was *Mide*, which probably meant "middle". Then come Lagen or Leinster, on the southern side of it, and the Plain of Murthemne, or Louth, on the north. Next we have the forcible occupation of various territories towards the south by the *Déisi*; and these are matched on the northern side by the conquest of Oriel by the Three Collas and their followers. Lastly the movements in which the *Déisi* played a chief part led to the invasion of the coasts of the Severn Sea; and this has its pendant in the Scottic people of the *Fir-ulaid*, crowded by the conquerors of Oriel into *Ulidia*, and crossing to Britain to join with the *Picts* against the Roman Province.

To return to the pedigrees, the differences between the various versions form, it will be seen, a considerable difficulty; but there are two or three fixed points. Thus *Meredydd* died in 796, and his son *Owen* in 811, as we know from the *Annales Cambriæ*. Then *Guortepir* was the *Vortiporius* who was king of *Dyved* when *Gildas* wrote his *Increpation*. He describes *Vortiporius* as "pardo similis moribus, et nequitiis discolor, canescente jam capite"; from which *Vortiporius* would seem to have been then a middle-aged man.

Further, in the time of Triphun and his Sons, that is to say probably when Triphun himself was an old man, the birth of St. David took place, which the story of that saint's Life represents as dating thirty years after St. Patrick had undertaken his mission to Ireland. The phrase Triphun and his Sons, sounds like that of Cunedda and his Sons, and would seem to mark an era. We notice accordingly that from Triphun down the dynasty ceases to have, to such an extent, the very Irish names that it affected before. They become more Welsh, with an occasional Latin one, such as that of Triphun's own son, Aircol, whose name is but the Latin *Agricola* subjected to the rules of Brythonic phonology.

Beyond Triphun the Welsh versions of the pedigree differ greatly from the Irish one. Besides introducing Maximus, one of the Welsh versions seems to have too many Owains in that part of the genealogy, though it is quite a name to be expected as the equivalent of the Irish Eogan, which occurs borne by Eochaid's brother. Eochaid's own name is also duly translated into Welsh as Ebiud. Calculating, therefore, from him to Triphun, and taking a sort of average of the Irish and Welsh versions, I can discover no serious argument against accepting the conjectured date of the years 265-70 as that of the expulsion of the Déisi from Tara, and of the landing of Eochaid in Dyved.

It is needless to say that Eochaid's was not the last of those early settlements from Ireland in the lands bordering on the Severn Sea : they went on till the time of Gildas at least. Neither am I inclined to think that it was the first, though it falls, as you will observe, a little before the time when Carausius seized the reins of government in Britain. That took place, as you know, in the year 287, and this allusion to Britain will have suggested to you the question, how it is that Roman and Greek writers do not allude to these invasions from Ireland? That question I would answer by questioning the fact of their *not* mentioning them. Why should not Carausius himself have been the leader of the Irish invaders of west Britain? Let us see what is said of him. Well, he is called by Eumenius a "Menapiæ civis", which is otherwise expressed by Aurelius Victor as "Bataviæ alumnus", for you do not require to be told of the close connection between the Batavi and Menapii, living near the mouth of the Rhine; and he is also described as "vilissime natus", namely by Eutropius. We have, therefore, this fact to build upon: Carausius was a Menapian, and reckoned as of no illustrious descent.¹ But there were Menapii and Menapii. Turn to the pages of Ptolemy's Geography, and you will find that there was a *Μαναπία Πόλις* in Ireland, and just where we want it, namely somewhere in the county of Wicklow or Wexford. Ptolemy's figures fix it near his first river-mouth as you proceed northwards from Carnsore Point. So it ought to be Wexford or some site near Wexford Haven.

Then as to Carausius being of low origin, that need not have

¹ Hardy's *Mon. Hist. Britannica*, pp. lxxi, lxxii; also Smith's Gibbon's *Roman Empire*, ii, 70-2.

meant anything more than that he belonged—which is very possible—to a family of the ancient non-Celtic race here. Let us next see where the name of Carausius survives. So far as I know, *not* in the Netherlands nor anywhere else on the Continent, but in North Wales. I allude to the Christian monument at Penmachno, in a retired valley tributary to the Conwy. It reads, in barbarous Latin, “Carausius hic iacit in hoc congeries lapidum.” Then we have a later form of the name preserved by Nennius, who speaks, in his list of the Wonders of Britain, of a Vorago Cereus in the Menai Straits. This is known in modern Welsh as Pwll Cerys,¹ as in the following popular *englyn* current in the neighbourhood of the Menai :

“ Pwll Cerys, pwll dyrys drud—pwll yw hwn
 Sy'n gofyn cyfarwyddyd ;
 Pwll anwfn yw, pwll ynyfyd,
 Pella' o'i go' o'r pylla' i gyd.”

Pool of Kerys, bold intricate pool,
 A pool this for a pilot ;
 A pool of hell, a wanton pool,
 A pool the craziest of all pools.

Thus we have the forms *Cereus* and *Cerys*, which is now pronounced *Ceris*, lineally descended from the classical form *Carausius*, and going back possibly to a time when the great admiral and his doings had already entered the domain of mythology. Be that as it may, it countenances, to a certain extent, our claim to Carausius as against that of the Continent, which may have so readily sprung from the natural mistake of taking the Menapian state to which he belonged, to have been the better known one in the Low Countries.

When this view of Carausius first occurred to me, I felt the difficulty, that, if it was to be accepted, I must identify Carausius in old Irish literature. Now there is no lack of names given as those of men who had made conquests outside Ireland, some of them being described as having carried their arms as far as the region of the Alps, such as Dathi, Niall, Cúrói mac Dairi, and others. Well, I could make nothing of Dathi, nor much of Niall either ; but Cúrói seemed more promising, especially as he is the subject of a Welsh poem in the thirteenth century manuscript of the Book of Taliessin. It is entitled “Marónat. Corroi. m. Dayry” ; that is to say, “The Elegy or Death-wail of Cúrói, son of Daire.” Now one cannot help asking at once why a Welsh bard was called upon to sing the praises of this Irish prince more than those of other Irishmen, unless he had something special to do with the bard's own country.

It is very unfortunate that this short poem is written in very

¹ Since this address was given Mr. Phillimore has called my attention to a Polkerris, near Fowey in Cornwall and another in St. Keverne, likewise in the Duchy. Whether the river name Ceryst is of the same origin, I am unable to say. One river, so called, flows near Llanidloes, and another close to Dinas Mawddwy. Compare also *Cerist* or *Cerisy* as a man's name in the *Welsh Laws*, i, 342.

obscure Welsh. It consists of two stanzas of twelve lines each, and it is apparently complete: at any rate we have the last lines of it, since the bard concludes by touching on the felicity of the soul, which after this life lands in a safe city; a sentiment with which he seldom forgets to wind up, especially when he has just been singing anything with a suspicion of paganism about it. The opening lines recall the association of the famous admiral's name with a part of the Menai Straits; for the author of the elegy treats the sea as Corroi's wide well. He then proceeds to say how he has been startled by Corroi's death-wail, or the *keening* for him. Thereupon come two lines devoted, as I understand them, to the enormity of the crime of the assassin by whose hand Corroi fell. A reference follows to Corroi's early fame. The poet then closes the stanza by repeating, subject to a slight alteration, three of the previous lines, and this brings him to join, as it were, in the *keening* for Corroi, and to emphasise the crime to which he had fallen a victim. The whole has the ring of allusiveness characteristic of old Welsh poetry, and the first stanza runs as follows, so far as I can guess its meaning:—

“ *Dyffynhaón lydan dylleinó aches.
dydaó dy hebcyr dy bris dybrys.
Marónat corroy am kyffroes.
Oer deni gôr garó y aóbyten.
aoed voy y drwc nys maótr gicleu.
Mab dayry dalei lyó ar vor deheu.
dathyl oed y glot kyn noe adneu.
Dy ffynhaón lydan delleinó nonneu.
Dydaó dy hebcyr dy brys dybren.
Marónat corroy genhyf inheu.
Oer deni.*”²

Thy broad fountain replenishes the world :
It comes, it goes, it hurries to Dover.
The death-wail of Corroi has startled me :
Cold the deed of him of rugged passions,
Whose crime was one which few have heard of.
Dairé's son held a helm on the Southern Sea :
Sung was his fame before his burial.
Thy broad fountain replenishes Nonneu,
It comes, it goes, it hurries to Dover ;
But mine is the death-wail of Corroi.
Cold the deed of him of rugged passions,
Whose crime was one which few have heard of.

The next stanza is even more obscure, though it contains several of the same lines, substantially the same lines at any rate. It runs thus:—

¹ The text here given is copied from Skene's *Four Anc. Books of Wales*, ii, 198, but with some slight corrections which I noted years ago when Mr. Wynne kindly lent me the original manuscript.

² At first sight this looks like the usual catchword indicating the end of the poem; but here I take it to mean the repetition of lines 4 and 5.

“*Dyffynhawn lydan dylleinó dy llyr.
dy saeth dychyrch traeth diuóg dybyr.
Gór arverescyn m[á]ór y varaures.
Aweddy mynaó mynet trefyd.
A...ant óy...ffra wnyonyd.
Tra uu wudug re bore dugraó.
chwedleu am góydir o wir hyt laó.
kyfranc corrói a chocholyn.
Uiaós eu teruyse am eu teruyn.
Tardei pen amóern guerin goadubyn.
kaer yssy gulóyd ny góyd ny grin.
Góyn y vyt yr eneit ae harobryn.”*

Thy broad fountain fills the seas,
Thy arrow speeds for the strand of Dover.
Subjugator, vast is thy battle-front.
And after Man it is to the towns
They go of Gwinionydd.¹
Whilst victorious the space of morning.
News am I told of men on the ground,
The adventure of Corrói and Cúchulainn
Of many a turmoil on their frontier,
Whilst the head of a gentle host
The noble Fort that falls not nor quakes—
Blessed is the soul that merits it.

Here we have a sort of reference to the conflicts mentioned in Irish literature between Cúchulainn and Cúrói; but the most remarkable thing in the poem, perhaps, is the line, in perfectly intelligible Welsh,

“Mab dayry dalei lyó ar vor deheu.”

Dairé's son held a helm on the Southern Sea.

What sea is meant is another question; but I should be inclined to say that it alludes to the English Channel. This is corroborated by Dybrys (read *Dybres*), Dybreu, Dybyr, which I have ventured to regard as forms of the name *Portus Dubris*, or Dover, French *Douvres*; and I am inclined to think that Nonneu in the line,

Thy broad fountain replenishes Nonneu,

means the English Channel, as I find what I take to be the same word, though written *noueu*, in another poem in the Book of Taliessin,² in a prophecy about the return of Cadwaladr from the Continent to rescue his race from the dominion of the Angles of Northumbria. There the poet has the phrase, *dydranoueu*, “from beyond Noueu”; that is, as I would suggest, from beyond the English Channel. Now if Corrói was Carausius, this association of him with the English Channel is at once intelligible; not to mention the

¹ The name of a district in south Cardiganshire.

² Skene's *Four Anc. Books of Wales*, ii. 211.

evidence borne by existing inscriptions to the former presence of a Gaelic-speaking people on the southern coast of Devon and Cornwall.

Our Irish friends who are familiar with the name of Cúrói or Cúruí mac Dairi will have anticipated a difficulty. They would tell me, doubtless, that Cúrói mac Dairi's fortress is Caher Conree, on the top of a mountain called after it, and past the foot of which we shall be going on our way from Tralee to Dingle; and that Irish tradition does not represent its owner as a great sailor. They would also allude to the tragic story of his death at the hands of Cúchulainn, who was admitted on Halloween, through the treachery of Cúrói's wife, Bláthnat, after she had by agreement poured the milk of Cúrói's cows into the brook hurrying down the mountain. At the foot of it the Ultonian enemy is represented waiting for the stream to turn milky white. For that was the signal for ascending the mountain, since they had apparently no mind to do so in vain. This story explains, as it is supposed, the name of the brook, which is Finnghlais, or the White Burn. We shall be crossing it on the way to Dingle.

There is no Cúrói on the top of that mountain now, and I hope that some of our party will have the courage to go up there, and I will tell you why. It seems to me almost incredible that there should ever have been a fortress on so high a mountain; and I am not sure that Dr. O'Donovan did not think so too: at any rate he states in a note to his edition of the Battle of Magh Rath, p. 212, that "the feature called Caher Conree on this mountain is a natural ledge of rocks". On the other hand I have been assured by a member of the Royal Irish Society, so ably represented here this evening, that there are ample remains of a fortification there.¹ I for one should be glad to know whether these statements do not refer to somewhat different features of the mountain, and what the real state of things is in regard to it and the memory of its legendary owner.

This is all by the way, and I hope we may find it so; but I was going to remark that the mountain and the supposed fortifications on it are called not Caher Conroi, but Caher Conree. For my own countrymen I ought to explain that *con* is the genitive of *cú*, "hound or dog", the name being in the nominative Cú Rói, genitive Con Rói, while the other name was Cú Rí, genitive Con Rí. I said the "other" name, for Cú Rí is not to be equated with Cú Rói. In fact, this is a case of two utterly distinct names having been hopelessly confounded. We know, however, which was which, for in a field near the foot of the Caher Conree Mountain lies a low cromlech, which we hope to visit. It has the name on it of a man called Cú Rí in its early genitive form of Conu Rí. So the western hero was Cú Rí, and his liegemen were called

¹ At the end of this address, statements to the same effect were made to me by some of the Irish antiquaries present at the Meeting. It would, however, be to the credit of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland if they were to publish a detailed survey of the top of the mountain in their Journal, that is if it has not been done already.

Clanna Dedaid maic Sin. On the other hand we want the fortress of Cúrói in the east or south-east of the island; and an ancient epic story called the Feast of Bricriu, in the Book of the Dun Cow written before the end of the year 1106, makes it impossible to believe it to have been situated anywhere in Kerry. That story relates how the rivalry of the three Ultonian heroes, Cúchulainn, Conall Cernach, and Loegaire Buadach, gave trouble to the court of King Conchobar mac Nessa, and how they were sent to one giant or hero after another to have their relative positions settled. Among others they were recommended to Cúrói mac Dairi to see if he could decide which of the three was entitled to the champion's morsel at the feasts of the Ultonians.

Now Cúrói is described in the story¹ as a great magician who, when he was unable to be at home at night, uttered a charm over his fortress with the effect of making it turn, as it were on a pivot, faster than any millstone, so that nobody could approach the gates after sunset; but he seems to have allowed rest to the foundations of his city when the three Ultonian rivals arrived. For he knew that they were coming, and he remained purposely away; but gave orders to his wife to direct them to guard the city each for a night, according to the order of their seniority. On the night of Cúchulainn's watching it had been discovered by Cúrói that his fortress was to be attacked by various enemies bearing very mythic names; but among them one finds a triad called the Three Buagelltaig of Breg, which would seem to indicate that Cúrói's Cathair was much nearer Mag Breg than was Caher Conree in the Dingle Peninsula.

The three champions of the Ultonians appear to reach the abode of Cúrói in the course of a day's drive in their chariots, and they are said to set out from Emain Macha, the remains of which are, I understand, now known as the Navan Fort, near Armagh; and in the case of their return to Emain, they are distinctly said to reach it before the end of the day. However, their headquarters can hardly have been so far north, as Emain cannot well have been in Celtic territory till after the conquest of Oriel by the Three Collas. On the other hand, the hero's speed in the story must be supposed exaggerated. But in any case Cúrói's city is treated as being near the sea, and as having close by a loch, out of which a great beast rises to devour it with all its inhabitants. That catastrophe, however, is prevented by Cúchulainn's killing the dragon.

We have probably to look for the spot somewhere in the county of Wicklow or of Wexford. Wherever it was, Cúrói was used to travel eastwards from it; for the same story says that when Cúchulainn and his two rivals came, he had gone eastward to the lands of the Scythians, because, as it proceeds to tell us, he never reddened his sword in Erin from the day he took arms to that of his death. Neither did any food produced in Erin enter his mouth from the

¹ See Windish's *Ir. Texte*, especially pp. 294-301.

time when he was seven years of age. For his pride, we are told, and his comeliness, his chieftainship and greatness, his strength and prowess, found not room within Erinn. His wife, however, was there at his will, ready with a bath and washing for him, with intoxicating drinks for him and with sumptuous bedclothes. Such is the account which the epic story gives of him, and he is evidently our man. That is to say, Cúrói was Carausius, and the Taliessin poet has mixed the Irish story of Cúrói's death with that of Carausius.

This attempted identification is clenched by the fact that it can scarcely be an accident that the two names, Cúrói and Carausius, admit, according to the rules of Irish phonology, of being also regarded as forms of one and the same name. The *a* in the unaccented syllable of Carausius has taken the place of an *o* or *u*, as in *Kanovio* instead of *Conovio* on a milestone bearing the distance of eight miles from Conovium, a name which in its connection with the river is Conwy still in Welsh, with an *o*. On the other hand, the Rói of Cú-Rói is quite a regular representative of an early Goidelic form, *Rausi*, *Ravesi*, or the like. The name, I need not say, means the Hound of Rói, whosoever or whatsoever Rói was.

A great deal might be said on this dog-nomenclature in Irish; but I have already taken up too much of your time, so I will only express my surmise that Cúrói or Carausius was possibly associated with the people called on their ancient monuments Maqui Decceti. These have been found widely scattered about the south of Ireland. You will visit one at Ballintaggart, near Dingle; and one you will see to-morrow near here, in the Cave of Dunloe; but the nearest to the country which I have attempted to identify with Cúrói belongs to Killeen Cormac in the county of Kildare.

The Maqui Decceti are possibly to be identified with a people of later times called Ui Deaghaidh, located in the Barony of Gorey¹ in the northern portion of the county of Wexford. In the sister island you will find their monuments in the middle of Devon and in Anglesey. They possibly also gave its name to the old acropolis on the Llandudno peninsula, known in Welsh as Degauwy, and in the Latinity of the *Annales Cambrie* as *Decantorum Arx*.

But perhaps the latest piece of evidence is that supplied us by *Lleyn*, the name of the western part of Carnarvonshire; for though *Lleyn* is now pronounced as a monosyllable, it was formerly a dissyllable, *Llëyn*, which points to its being the exact equivalent of the Irish *Lagin*, "spears, Lagenians". Nay, I may say more: the fine natural harbour in *Lleyn*, which ought to have been used, instead of Holyhead, for the communication with Ireland, is *Porth Din Llaen*,² or the Haven of *Din Llaen*. Here we have *Llaen*

¹ See the *Four Masters*, A.D. 903, O'Donovan's note (ii, p. 569).

² The old name is *Din Llaen*, with *Porth* (now mostly superseded in this instance by the English *Port*) prefixed; but the map-makers insist on using their superior knowledge to improve it into *Porth Dinlleyn*, *Porth yn Lleyn*, *Port in Lleyn*, or similar inventions of the charlatans.

to be equated with Irish *Lagen*; but *Lagen* is the genitive plural corresponding to the nominative plural *Lagin*, in Welsh *Lleyn*. Thus Din Llaeu is a mere transforming into Welsh of an Irish *Dún Lagen*, “the Fort of the Lagenians”. The remains of the fortification are there still to be seen in the form of a deep cutting drawn across the narrow neck of the peninsula, which half encloses the harbour: the post admitted of being readily defended against an attack from the land side.

The scattered testimony to the connection between the south of Ireland and Wales is too large a subject for me to enter upon at present in detail; and I must leave untouched also the question of the probable attitude of the Romans towards the invaders from the west. Suffice it to say that though Carausius was assassinated, and his assassin conquered by the Romans, it does not seem to have made much difference with regard to the settlers from Ireland. They probably held their ground in their respective territories, as against the conquered inhabitants: at any rate it is a remarkable fact that when, towards the end of the Roman occupation, the *Notitia Dignitatum* was drawn up, everything must have been quiet among them, as there was not a single Roman soldier stationed anywhere in the west of southern Britain. They were all on or near the Roman Wall, or else in the south-east of the island, to defend it against the Saxons and their allies. The bulk of the western invaders probably came from Munster. It was a Munster or Momonian empire, and traces of it lasted possibly to the time of Edwin of Northumbria: at any rate this is my explanation of Bede’s calling Anglesey and the Isle of Man *Mevanias Brettonum Insulas*. We have only to substitute *o* for the *e* of *Mevani-as*, and we get the probable pronunciation of the Irish adjective meaning “Momonian”, or “belonging to Munster”, in Old Irish *Muma*, genitive *Muman*. The connection of Man with Wales early in the post-Roman period is otherwise attested, namely by the inscription¹ found in Man bearing the Latin name *Avitus* in the lettering usual in the Romano-British epigraphy of Wales and Cornwall.

Thus, whether the conquerors from the south of Ireland, from the time of Carausius² to that of St. Patrick and Gildas, were Celts or not Celts, they became in a measure the ancestors of the mixed peoples of Wales and Dumnomia. Thus, in accepting the generous invitation of our Irish friends to come here to Kerry, we were but going to visit the land of our ancestors, a land which is, I may add, dear to me in many other ways. *Érinn go bráth!*

¹ See Hübner’s *Inscr. Brit. Christ.*, No. 164; and for an improved reading see the *Arch. Camb.* for 1891, p. 41.

² I had almost forgotten that there have been more than one Carausius ruling in Britain: see the *Arch. Camb.* for 1888, pp. 138-163 (also p. 274), where a paper by Mr. Arthur Evans has been published “On a Coin of a Second Carausius, Cæsar in Britain in the Fifth Century.”

GENERAL ANNUAL BUSINESS MEETING.

The Annual Meeting for the election of officers, the reading of the Annual Report of the Association, and the selection of the place of meeting for the ensuing year, was held at Benner's Royal Hotel, Limerick, on Saturday, August 15th, at 8 P.M.

Llandeilo Fawr was chosen as the place of meeting for 1892.

The Report is as follows :—

REPORT OF THE ASSOCIATION FOR 1891.

Since our Meeting at Holywell, death has removed from our list of members not only one of our Patrons, the Right Hon. the Earl of Powis, President of our Association at its meeting at Welshpool in 1856, but also our Treasurer, Mr. R. W. Banks, who has discharged the duties of that office with great advantage to the Association, and for many years has contributed to the *Archæologia Cambrensis* papers of great value. Into his place it is necessary on the present occasion to appoint a successor, and your Committee recommend for that office J. Lloyd Griffith, Esq., M.A., Holyhead.

Your Committee have also to record the deaths of—

J. A. Corbett, Esq., the Society's representative on the Llantrissant Town Trust.

The Rev. Canon M. H. Lee, Local Sec. for Flintshire, and a member of your Committee.

The Rev. L. T. Rowland, Local Sec. for Cardiganshire.

J. Joseph, Esq., F.S.A., Treasurer of the Association from 1860-75.

The Rev. S. S. Lewis, Corpus Christi Coll., Cambridge.

R. W. Griffith, Esq., Llandaff.

F. R. Southern, Esq., Ludlow.

R. Roberts, Esq., Tuhwnt i'r bwlch, Carnarvonshire.

The Rev. Canon T. B. Ll. Browne, Bodfari Rectory.

W. H. Gladstone, Esq., Hawarden House, Chester.

Your Committee recommend that the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone, the Rev. A. H. Sayce, LL.D., and Professor W. Boyd Dawkins, F.R.S., F.S.A., be elected Vice-Presidents.

The retiring members of the Committee are the Rev. Hugh Prichard, William Trevor Parkins, Esq., and Ernest Hartland, Esq.; and your Committee recommend the re-election of these gentlemen, and that the Rev. Ll. Thomas be elected in the place of the late Canon Lee.

Your Committee also recommend the following appointments of Local Secretaries to be made in the respective counties to fill vacancies caused by death and retirement :—

Flintshire : The Rev. W. Ll. Nicholas, M.A., Flint Rectory,
vice the Rev. Canon Lee.

Carnarvonshire : D. Griffith Davies, Esq., Bangor; the Rev.
 Morgan Jones, Bangor.

Merionethshire : The Rev. D. Morgan, Penrhyn Deudraeth
 Vicarage.

The following names are submitted for election and confirma-
 tion :

ENGLAND, ETC.

William McLellan, Esq., Wigan.

The Rev. Joseph Jones, Wigan.

D. C. Lloyd-Owen, Esq., Claremont, Woodbourne Road, Edg-
 baston.

A. W. Moore, Esq., Douglas, Isle of Man.

Melbourne Public Library.

NORTH WALES.

The Rev. Henry Parry, Llanfairisgaer, Bangor.

Hugh Lewis, Esq., Mount Severn, Llanidloes.

R. J. Jones, Esq., Mona View, Llanfairfechan.

James Darlington, Esq., Black Park, Chirk.

A. Foulkes Roberts, Esq., Vale Street, Denbigh.

SOUTH WALES.

William Williams, Esq., Talbot House, Brecon.

Col. W. Gwynne Hughes, Glencothy, Carmarthenshire.

The Rev. T. H. Lloyd, Talley Vicarage.

T. H. Thomas, Esq., 45, The Walk, Cardiff.

C. H. Glascodine, Esq., Cae Parc, Swansea.

Herbert Allen, Esq., Norton, Tenby.

J. Bancroft, Esq., Tenby.

THE MARCHES.

H. Taylor, Esq., F.S.A., Chester.

The *Archæologia Cambrensis* has now reached the eighth volume of the 5th Series, or the forty-sixth volume since its commencement in 1846, and still continues successfully to carry out the object for which it was founded, namely, the promotion of the study of the history and antiquities of Wales. The bulk of the volume consists of papers out of which it would perhaps be invidious to single out any special one for praise at the expense of the others; but it will be found that they deal with a wide range of subjects, and that some of the articles are exceptionally valuable contributions to archæological science. Relating to the prehistoric period is Mr. J. P. Earwaker's interesting account of a series of bronze-age burials discovered at Penmaenmawr. The Roman period is repre-

sented by Mr. G. W. Shrubsole's attempt to trace the Roman road from Deva to Varis; an animated correspondence between Mr. Egerton Phillimore and Mr. Edward Owen about the pig of lead in the Chester Museum; and a note by Prof. Westwood on the Roman stones of the tyrant Pianonius Victorinus. Ogam and debased Latin inscriptions of the early Welsh period are treated of by Prof. Rhys, Prof. G. F. Browne, and others. To mediæval times belong Sir George Duckett's history of the Barri family of Manorbier in Pembrokeshire; Mr. Edward Owen's "Caerwys"; and Mr. Henry Taylor's "First Charters granted to the four senior Boroughs of Wales".

Amongst the recent literary works by members of the Association sent for review must be mentioned Prof. Rhys' *Studies in Arthurian Legend*, and Mr. E. Sidney Hartland's *Science of Fairy Tales and English Folk and Fairy Tales*.

The Archæological Notes and Queries have fallen off considerably in number and value. We must appeal to members, and more especially the Local Secretaries, to contribute more frequently to this part of the Journal notices of new discoveries, newspaper cuttings, and other suitable matter.

The Report of the Annual Meeting now occupies a good deal of space in the Journal; but it is desirable that the places visited should be described as fully as possible, so that these reports will in time form a useful archæological guide to most parts of Wales. In compiling the Holywell Report, the Editors have to acknowledge the valuable assistance received from Mr. Henry Taylor and Sir Henry Dryden.

The effect of holding the Annual Meeting on two occasions outside the limits of the Principality has been to deprive us of the papers which are usually read at the evening meetings. There has, however, been a certain amount of compensation in the opening up of fresh sources of information, and in bringing the Editors in contact with correspondents abroad.

The Association has sustained a severe loss by the lamented death of the late Mr. R. W. Banks, a loss that will be deeply felt by all his personal friends amongst the members, but by none more sincerely than the Editors. Mr. Banks has been a regular contributor to the Journal for many years. His communications were chiefly on the subject of monastic history, municipal records, and mediæval tenures;¹ the last being a paper in the July Number of the present year, on "Lingebrook Priory". The help he gave in keeping up the standard of the Journal, however, went a good deal further than this. He appeared to have the interest of the Association at heart at all times and in all places, being continually on the look-out for fresh facts that might elucidate the history of Wales and persons who would be willing to assist in furthering the aims of the body of which he was so distinguished a

¹ See list appended to Mr. Banks' obituary in *Arch. Camb*, 5th Ser., vol. viii, p. 298.

member. Mr. Banks' constant correspondence with the Editors and other officers of the Association has been a very powerful factor in keeping the Society together. He was also extremely generous in subscribing towards funds for the illustration of the Journal, or for any other object, such as the exploration of Strata Florida Abbey, or the publication of Lord Beaufort's *Progress through Wales*.

The illustrations of the present volume of the *Archæologia Cambrensis* are fewer in number and of less merit than in some previous years, but less money has been spent in their production. The new photographic processes are gradually taking the place of woodcuts. The process-blocks have the advantage of being cheaper than wood-blocks, although the results are often uncertain, and not so satisfactory.

The Editors recommend that some provision be made for storing the wood-blocks belonging to the Association in shallow drawers, so that they may be more safely kept, and be more easily accessible than they are at present. Mr. Le Keux of Durham should also be requested to transfer the plates belonging to the Association to Mr. Clark's office at Lincoln's Inn Fields.

The Index to the first four Series of the *Archæologia Cambrensis* is being printed, and will, it is hoped, be issued to subscribers shortly after Christmas.

(To be continued.)

Archaeological Notes and Queries.

DISCOVERY OF AN INSCRIBED STONE AT ST. DAVID'S.—The interesting memorial, here illustrated, of the interment of two sons of a Bishop of St. David's of the eleventh century, was recently discovered by Mr. Morgan, the leading mason of the works, during operations connected with the restoration of the two arches of entrance into the Lady Chapel. It had been employed as rubble to raise the wall preparatory to the erection by Bishop Vaughan (1509-23) of the vaulted roof of the cross-aisle or ante-chapel, some 5 ft. 6 in. above the corbels which supported the timbers of the original roof.

The stone is a slab of grey slate, rather more than $3\frac{1}{2}$ in. thick, measuring 7 in. from the centre of the cross to the unmutilated edge; thus giving 14 in. as its original width. Its original length probably exceeded 3 ft.; the present length is 2 ft. 7 in.

The sculpture is very well executed, the material having probably been softer when fresh from the quarry than at present. The obverse side bears in relief a cross similar in shape to that which surmounts the enriched cross on the other side.

Bishop Abraham succeeded to the see in 1076, on its abdication by Sulien, who resumed it two years later, on Abraham's death.¹ (Jones and Freeman's *History*, p. 268.)

THE DEAN OF ST. DAVID'S.

INSCRIBED STONE AT ST. DAVID'S.—The fortunate discovery—made on taking down some of the rubble of the western gable of the Lady Chapel of St. David's Cathedral, in order to insert a relieving arch above the twin arches of the entrance, now under repair—of the sepulchral stone of the two sons of Bishop Abraham of that see from 1076 to 1078, has added another very interesting relic to the series of sepulchral memorials which have already been found and preserved in the venerable structure which is so greatly indebted to the worthy Dean, to whose untiring exertions this discovery forms an excellent climax. Although the recently-discovered stone has had the whole length of its right side broken away, and also the base of the cross, the whole of the inscriptions and of the ornamental carving of the left side are entire; the latter being of an elegant character and carefully executed, representing a Maltese cross with equal arms, dilated at the ends into triangular knots, within a circle surmounted with a Latin cross, on either side of which are inscribed the letters Alpha and Omega, which so often accompany the monogram of the Saviour, IHS and XPS, whilst the upper left-hand portion of the stone bears the monumental inscription—

¹ 1078. "Menevia a gentilibus vastata est"; and from MS. C, "et Abraham a gentilibus occiditur. Sulgenus iterum episcopatum accepit." (*Annales Cambriæ*.)

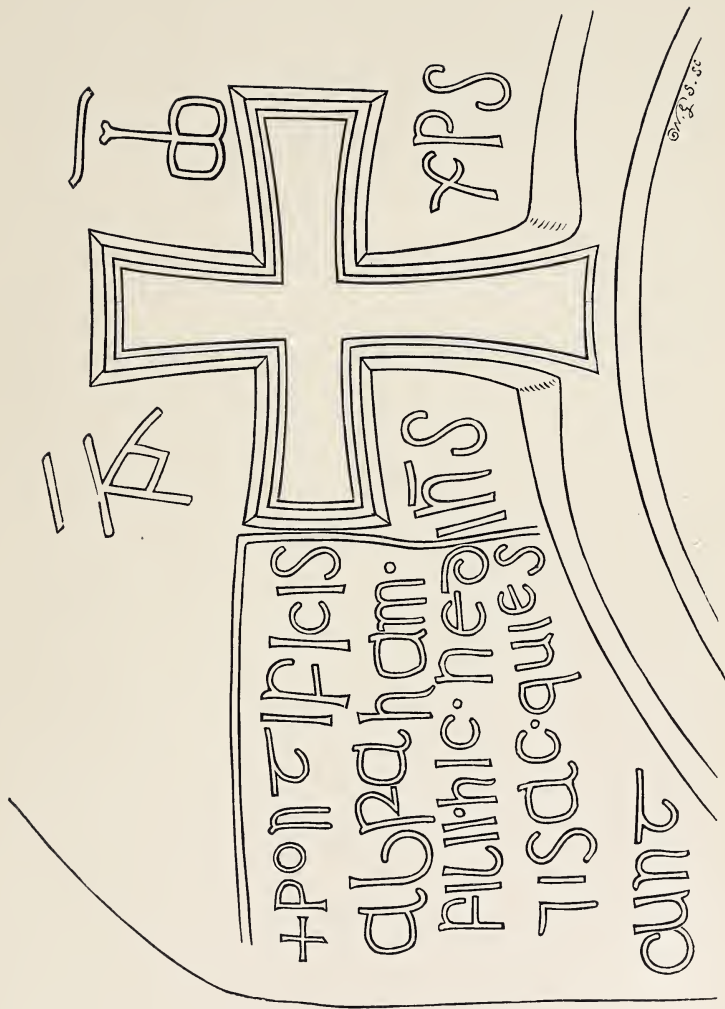
1076. "And then Sulien resigned his bishopric, and it was assumed by Abraham."

1078. "And Menevia was miserably devastated by the Pagans; and Abraham, Bishop of Menevia, died, and Sulien took the bishopric the second time, against his inclination." (*Brut y Tywysogion*, Rolls Edition.)



INSCRIBED CROSS-SLAB AT ST DAVIDS CATHEDRAL.

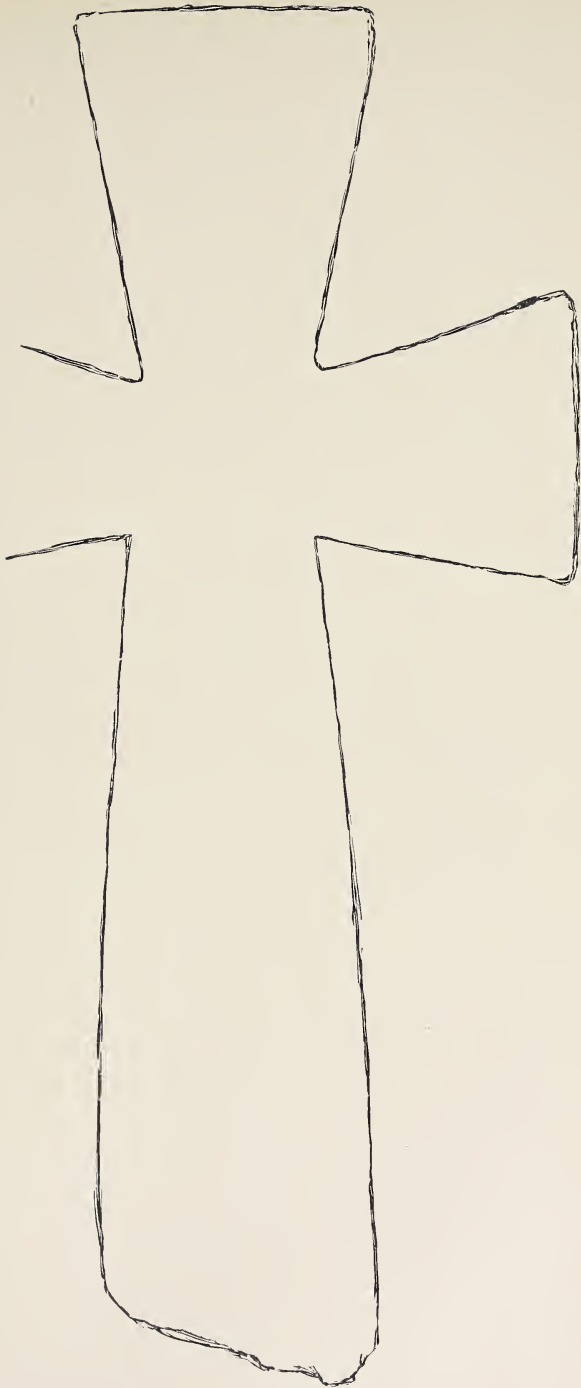
Scale 1/4 full size



INSCRIPTION ON CROSS-SLAB AT ST. DAVID'S CATHEDRAL.

Scale $\frac{1}{2}$ full size.





CROSS ON BACK OF INSCRIBED SLAB, AT ST. DAVID'S CATHEDRAL.

Scale, $\frac{1}{4}$ full size.

+ Pontificis .
 abraham .
 filii . hic . hed .
 7 isac . quies-
 -cunt.

(Here lie at rest Hed and Isac, the sons of bishop Abraham.)

With the exception of the monogram of the name of the Deity, the letters of this inscription are all minuscules, very irregular in size, and carelessly formed, the a's having the second stroke nearly straight, with the bottom slightly curved upwards, and the main stroke large and swollen; the b very obliterated; the c of the simple form; the d circular, with the second stroke formed into curve turned over to the left; the f with the top stroke deflected to right, and nearly meeting the second transverse stroke; the h, i, l, m, n, o, p, q, s, t, and u of the ordinary minuscule forms; and the r like a capital R, with the first straight stroke extending considerably below the line, and the lower portion of the second stroke extended in a straight line directed to the right. The t in the top line is peculiar, being evidently intended for a minuscule t of the usual form, the lower part forming an imperfect circle. The first letter above the arms of the cross is a capital A, with a nearly straight line resting on the top of the letter, and the middle cross-bar strongly angulated, as in early MSS. The Omega is quite unusual, its form being of the ω type, but nearly square, with the middle stroke extended upwards, with a short transverse terminal stroke, above which is a longer curved line indicating the contraction of the name.

The ornamental details are very interesting; the general form of the bars forming the circular cross are seen in the three Pen Arthur stones (*Lap. Wall.*, pl. 60), the curious step-pattern in figures 1 and 3, whilst the pretty central device of the four interlaced hearts is exactly copied in figure 3 of the same plate. It will be moreover noticed that the not unusual form of the conjunction "et" in the shape of the figure 7, often found in Anglo-Saxon MSS., occurs both in this new inscription and also in the "Gurmarc" stone from Pen Arthur, now in St. David's Cathedral (*Lap. Wall.*, pl. 60, fig. 2), corrected by the discovery of the top left-hand corner of the stone as represented in *Arch. Cambrensis*, July 1889 (5th Series, No. 23, p. 252), which shows the Alpha and Omega, the former of rare occurrence, as in the newly-found stone, followed by "7" and ω , and the *ihs* and $\chi\rho s$.

All these identifications clearly prove that the stones referred to must have been carved by the same artist and at the same time.¹ Further similarities occur in portions of the ornamental carving on the fragments of the crossed stone in the Chancellor's garden at St. David's (*Lap. Wall.*, pl. 65, figs. 1, 2). The two other stones

¹ The Dean of St. David's writes to say that he does not agree with this theory.

from St. David's, figured in *Lop. Wall.* pl. 61, fig. 6, and pl. 63, fig. 4, are evidently by other artists.

I. O. WESTWOOD.

HANMER TILES.—The specimens of encaustic tiles discovered at Hanmer, here illustrated from tracings kindly supplied by the Hon. Mrs. Bulkeley Owen, very much resemble, in their general character and appearance, some ancient tiles found during the restoration of Bangor Cathedral, of which I have a photograph from a drawing sent me by one of our members, Mr. D. Griffith Davies of Bangor.

The Hanmer tiles Nos. 1, 2, 3, and 4 are in each case one of a set of nine, which together complete the full pattern. Nos. 1 and 2 belong to the same set, so that the entire design, except the centre tile, can be reproduced. Nos. 3 and 4 only show a portion of the ornament, and it would be difficult to say what is required to complete the pattern; No. 3 would no doubt be repeated at each angle. Nos. 5 and 6 are new patterns to me, but are of the usual type of fourteenth-century incised and encaustic tiles.

Among the Bangor specimens are three sets of nine tiles with a circumscribing band of conventional ornament enclosing quaint and ill-drawn figures of animals, but it is difficult to make out the species to which they belong; in one case it is clearly a hare or rabbit that is sought to be represented, and, if the former animal, it may have some reference to the story of St. Monacella.

The Hanmer examples Nos. 3 and 4 present the same difficulty; No. 4 may be intended for a bull, and possibly representing the zodiacal sign *Taurus*, and No. 3 *Sagittarius*.

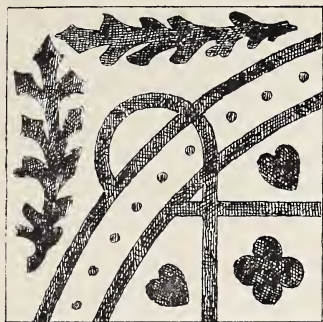
The representation of the signs of the zodiac was very common in the Middle Ages, and they are found in illuminated manuscripts, early printed books, Clog almanacks, in carved wood and stone work, as well as on incised and encaustic tiles; the other ornament, upon both these specimens, is simply conventional, and the same remark applies to the remaining tiles, except the "*fetterlock*" which appears on No. 2, and that may be an heraldic device. The "*fetterlock*" (a shackle and padlock) was borne by Edmond ("of Langley"), first Duke of York, and also by the latter's great-grandson, Edward IV, but conjoined with a falcon.

Nos. 5 and 6 are so similar in character and design to the Strata Florida tiles that we may pretty safely say that they are of fourteenth-century date, and probably of Shropshire manufacture; and if, as I assume is the case, that all the Hanmer specimens were found together, we may conclude that they are of the same period and from the same manufactory.

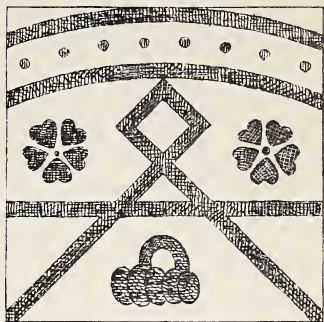
It is very interesting to have published from time to time in the pages of the *Arch. Camb.* examples of these ancient tiles, and it would be well if others would follow the example of the Hon. Mrs. Bulkeley Owen, and contribute drawings of any fragments of ancient pavements found, as they frequently are, in the restoration of our parish churches.

STEPHEN W. WILLIAMS, F.R.I.B.A.

Rhayader, Nov. 16, 1891.



1



2



3



4



5

on 2/5



6

TILES FROM HANMER, FLINTSHIRE.

Archaeologia Cambrensis.

FIFTH SERIES.—VOL. IX, NO. XXXIV.

APRIL 1892.

SIR RHYS AP THOMAS :

A STUDY IN FAMILY HISTORY AND TUDOR POLITICS.

BY THE LATE DAVID JONES, ESQ.¹

FOR Wales, quite as much as for England, the accession of Henry VII is an epoch-making event. The English historian, however, finds so much to engage his attention in English affairs—namely, the development of

¹ The following paper was handed to the Editor of this Journal a short time before its author's lamented death. Having learnt that I was collecting information as to the tragic fate of Sir Rhys ap Griffith, the late Mr. Jones was good enough to express a wish that I would look through the paper he had written, dealing with the same subject. He accordingly obtained the return of his manuscript, and read it to me at my house. I ventured to suggest some slight alterations, and supplied a few references to records that Mr. Jones had not consulted. He left me saying he would spend another week at the Public Record Office in the search after some additions to the scanty list of documents that have been preserved relative to the trial of Sir Rhys ap Griffith. I never saw him again. Shortly after our last interview he was seized with an illness which terminated fatally.

His extensive collection of drawings of South Wales antiquities, and his transcripts from the public records, Mr. Jones bequeathed to Mr. Ilyd Nicholl, F.S.A., The Ham, Cowbridge. Included amongst them was the following paper, which remained in the same state as when I had heard it read. By Mr. Nicholl's kindness it has been again placed in the hands of the Editor of the *Arch. Camb.*, and I have been requested to furnish a few notes. These are followed by my initials; the others were written by Mr. Jones. It will, I trust,

the "New Monarchy" rendered possible by the virtual extinction of feudalism at Towton field—that he leaves those of Wales to take care of themselves. Having once landed Henry at Milford Haven and got him safe on his march to Bosworth, he takes leave of Wales altogether. The reason of this is not far to seek. Welsh affairs, notwithstanding the important changes which they underwent—prepared for in this reign and completed in the next—were of a domestic character, and in no way affected the current of English history. Students of Welsh history then, may, with advantage, fix their eyes with more earnestness than they have hitherto done upon the reigns of the Tudor sovereigns. Let them mark the progress of the great transformation which then took place, and also how those changes were received and borne, not only by the common people, but by those who stood in the place of the old feudal nobility.

Material for this study will not be wanting. The modern history of Wales—or at least of South Wales—may be said to begin with the reign of Henry VII. Records there are, of course, of earlier periods, but they are disjointed and fragmentary. They do not tell a continuous story of the progress of events, or show, step by step, the development of a policy. Enough, indeed, is recorded, or remains of incidental record, to assist the imagination, but the imagination must be rather largely exercised before one can realise what must have taken place in the country from, say, the twelfth century to the latter half of the fifteenth, to have produced the condition of things which is found existing in 1485. With that year a new order of things begins. We are at the spring-head of what may be called continuous historical record.

be borne in mind that the author contemplated certain alterations and emendations in his paper; but I have not felt myself warranted in making the slightest change in the manuscript, even in those portions which I know would have been subjected to excision or correction had the author lived to effect them.—EDWARD OWEN.

No attempt will be made in this short study to define, or enlarge upon the effects which Henry's accession, or the advanced policy of his successor, had upon the affairs of the Principality. Something of both may probably be found in the chapter of family history which will presently be unfolded, and which had, as already is well known, so tragic—so pathetically tragic—an ending. What is not so well known is what the causes were which immediately led up to that tragedy; and these it will be the purpose of this paper to set forth.

In the story of the seventh Henry's adventurous landing at Milford—an adventure which savoured almost of romance—the most prominent figure next to the adventurer himself is that of Sir Rhys ap Thomas. Even the English historian, if he gives anything like a *résumé* of the events of the time, is obliged to notice him. For a few momentous days his is the most interesting personality, and his the most important influence of any man's in the kingdom. How anxiously his every movement must have been scanned, and his every word and action weighed, by those in the train of the Earl of Richmond! How different would the whole course of English history, from that day to this, have shaped itself had Sir Rhys at that critical moment elected to stand by and support the reigning sovereign! After Bosworth we pretty well lose sight of him from English history. This is a somewhat remarkable circumstance. Here is a man who has been the chief instrument in bringing about a change of dynasty; who has assisted an adventurer in putting his foot upon the first step of the ladder at the top of which is lodged the glittering prize of the crown; helping him with all his might until the topmost rung has been reached; and yet, when the prize has been won, remaining still the simple knight which that adventurer, now clothed in royal dignity, found him! Already the lord of eighteen hundred chief tenants, and able to bring into the

field four or five thousand horse fully equipped, it is not to be supposed that he hungered much for manors or lands as the reward of his services. The Patent Rolls for Nov. 1485¹ give us the measure of the new sovereign's gratitude, and reveal the modesty of Sir Rhys's demands and his indifference to reward. He is appointed (Nov. 3rd) Constable, Lieutenant, and Steward of the lordship of Breghnoc; and (Nov. 6th) Chamberlain of South Wales in the counties of Kermerden and Cardigan, and Steward of the lordship of Builth in Wales. The statement which may be met with that he was "immediately made governor of all Wales" is inaccurate. No such official existed. His name will be found on the Patent Rolls a few more times, but these are the only entries we need notice: the rest add nothing material to the sum of Henry's generosity. He is much about the person of the sovereign, and if the "Life" of him which was written in the reign of James I is to be accepted as an accurate record of facts, he was his monarch's most doughty champion. Wherever an enemy of the king appears, there is Sir Rhys sword in hand. He it is who defeats Lambert Simnel's followers; he it is who carries off the honours of the day at Blackheath, when the Cornish rebels are encountered, by capturing Lord Audley, their leader; and it is he who pursues Perkin Warbeck when that impostor flies for sanctuary to the Monastery of Beaulieu. However much of romance there may be in this wondrous piece of biography,² the exploit just mentioned is corroborated by its being recited in the preamble to his patent of knighthood of the Garter. This investiture came but late in the

¹ Campbell's *Materials for the Reign of Henry VII*, 2 vols., 1873-7.

² Woodward, noticing this *Life*, says "Wales must be the Gascony of England.....The allowed exaggerations of the bards had taken deep root in the people's minds, or it would have been impossible to turn Sir Rhys ap Thomas into a hero." (*History of Wales*, p. 575.) A piece of criticism with which, although I quote it, I do not agree.

day, and is the only personal distinction which Sir Rhys received at the hands of his sovereign. A simple knight he remained his whole life long.

One would have expected that Henry, who was primarily indebted to Sir Rhys for his throne, and who daily received from him the most solid proofs of his loyalty and devotion, would have bestowed upon him, and that at the earliest opportunity, some honour more signal than a vacant garter. Some reason there must have been for this singular omission; and, as Henry was a master of king-craft, this omission is significant. It has not escaped the notice of historians. Fuller, in his shrewd way, says: "Sir Rhys was never more than a knight, yet little less than a prince in his own country"; and Malkin, who touches on this subject, says:¹ "That the king ever afterwards called him familiarly 'Father Rice' is a poor argument, because his early adoption of the cause was sufficient to entitle him to such a compliment. Nor is it likely that Henry, sparing as he was of his rewards, would have contented himself with giving the garter for such a service"; and then he goes on to quote the anonymous biographer's opinion that Sir Rhys "considered knighthood as a soldier's highest honour, and wished his son to earn his own glory after the example afforded by himself". I do not think Malkin himself acquiesced in this opinion, but he does not carry the subject any further.

It is necessary, however, for the elucidation of matters presently to be referred to that an attempt should be made to discover what were the reasons which governed Henry's ambiguous conduct towards the man whom he kept so closely about his person and addressed with such affectionate familiarity as "Father Rice". This intercourse had warmth on the surface, but an icy coldness underneath. Great as the benefits were which had accrued to Henry from the betrayal by Sir Rhys of the trust which had been reposed in

¹ *South Wales*, vol. ii, p. 306, ed. 1807.

him by Richard, it may perhaps be said that Henry the King viewed it with different eyes from those of Henry Earl of Richmond. As king he silently resented the act which as adventurer it was all-important to him should be performed. It may be so; but this is not enough to account for all the circumstances we have already noted, and for those which follow. The times were troublous. Henry's title to the crown was none too good. Adventurers, in the shape of claimants to the crown, were springing up here and there in a manner quite unexpected. Sir Rhys was a powerful subject, and if high rank were conferred upon him, there would be the possible risk of his being turned into another "King-maker". Spite of Sir Rhys's energy and success in capturing such "claimants" as had arisen, this also had to be taken into account. But there may have been yet another reason. Gruffyth ap Nicholas, Sir Rhys's paternal grandfather, boasting of his descent from Urien Rheged, an ancient but somewhat mythical chieftain of "North Britain", reputed to have carved out for himself a petty sovereignty comprehending "all the land between the Tawy and Tivy", had, in the turbulent times of the "Wars of the Roses", attempted to assert a sort of independence within that territory. It came to nothing, for Gruffyth being drawn into the vortex of the prevailing strife, fell at Mortimer's Cross, fighting on the side of the Yorkists. Thomas, his son, who expatriated himself for a time and entered the service of the Duke of Burgundy, emphasised rather than renounced this shadowy claim by assuming the arms (so-called) of Urien Rheged. Besides this there was a pseudo-prophecy abroad, founded on a dream of Gruffyth's mother, the interpretation given to which was that her issue should "overshadow", that is, "rule", all the land between those distant rivers. The temper and superstition of the time were such that no ruler could afford to despise these things.

Prophecies were common enough. Everything of

moment that happened was found to have been foretold by some ancient seer or other. Henry's own cause had been materially strengthened, in Wales at least, by the wide-spread belief that his coming had been predicted ages before. After this the whole line of Tudors were strongly of opinion that prophecy should cease. That there should be the shadow of a revival of it, coupled with a claim to royal descent, in the family of Sir Rhys ap Thomas,¹ would probably operate as a sinister influence upon the mind of Henry, and become one of the causes of, even if it did not entirely account for, his very superficial friendship for dear "Father Rice"; and it would seem that whatever the influence was, it had been discussed in secret council of state, and transmitted from father to son. In Henry VIII it became more marked than it had been in Henry VII.

We might, from the point to which this analysis of motives has brought us, pass at one stride, if we felt so disposed, from the close of the reign of Henry VII to the twentieth of Henry VIII, when the events occurred which would subject the deductions arrived at to a final test. To do this we should have to dismiss Sir Rhys too hurriedly, and entirely pass over his son Griffith. Father and son demand some notice at our hands in these intervening years, and this notice we propose to give them, even at the risk of breaking the continuity of our study of Tudor statecraft.

Much of Sir Rhys's time must have been spent in attendance at court, or in carrying out the behests of his sovereign. Brought up at the Burgundian court, the atmosphere of the court would probably be that he loved best. The splendour and luxury to which he had been accustomed in youth, the return to courtly life in the robust period of his manhood, and the renaissance of art which he witnessed, must each

¹ Division II of the *Poetical Works of Lewis Glyn Cothi* is almost wholly made up of poems addressed to Sir Rhys ap Thomas or his brothers. They abound in allusions to the connection of the family with the house of Tudor.—E. O.

have contributed to develop in him a love of magnificence and ostentation which his large fortune amply allowed him to gratify. Carew Castle was transformed from a mediæval fortress into a sumptuous palace replete with all the conveniences and luxuries that the softer manners of the "new monarchy" could devise and the skill of the age produce. It stands, even now in ruin, a monument of the courtly tastes, the wealth, and the sumptuous requirements of the man who added to it its last and chiefest adornment. The splendours of Kenilworth did not reach their meridian until sixty or even more years later; and yet Kenilworth, the home of a royal favourite, and the very *beau idéal* of the magnificence of an Elizabethan noble, while it rivals, does not exceed, the splendour of Carew. Both Castles have certain features in common. Each shows in three stages, and in about equal degrees, the progress of architecture from the feudal to the semi-feudal, and developing finally into the untrammelled and purely domestic, which attained its stately inflorescence under the Tudors. Both were once the scene of a pageant upon which the eyes of all the chivalry and rank in the kingdom were for the time turned. The grand tournament held by Sir Rhys at Carew in 1507 had its parallel at Kenilworth in the reception there by Leicester of Queen Elizabeth in 1575, and in the splendid festivities which accompanied it. But while the brilliant spectacle at Kenilworth has been pictured for us by the wizard pen of Scott, and has received a colour and animation which no other pen could have given it, the description of the scarcely less brilliant, and even more picturesque and chivalrous, scene at Carew must be sought for in its most accessible form in the homely pages of Malkin.¹

¹ *South Wales*, vol. ii, p. 315 *et seq.* The connection of ideas brought about in this sentence leads one for the moment to reflect on the sorry condition of current imaginative literature connected with Wales. I speak of that which professes to delineate the manners and character of the people either from the historical or con-

We are informed by Dr. Malkin that this "is the only instance of such a solemnity on record in the Principality", and that it was an exceptional "liberty permitted to so great a favourite". Whether Sir Rhys could play the part of "hero" or not, it is placed beyond dispute that he could play the part of "prince" to perfection. A very prince he must have seemed those five days of the tournament, in the midst of his five hundred military guests, and surrounded by all the gorgeous panoply of holiday warfare. Henry "permitted" his "favourite" to indulge in this display of more than mere knightly wealth and influence; but depend upon it, careful note was taken on the King's behalf, by some of those present, as to how far that influence extended, that in the future an estimate might be formed of its power when exercised by one not so tried and trusted as the favourite.

Henry VII died in 1509. Sir Rhys retained his connection with the court for a few years longer. In 1513 he saw active service in the expedition into France, and notwithstanding his advancing years greatly distinguished himself in the field.¹ Having gathered these

temporary standpoint. The imaginative element in English literature is traced by more than one writer of eminence to a Cymric source; yet the modern literature of the Cymri of Wales is singularly deficient in this quality, at least as applied to modern recreative uses. If they were the original possessors of the artistic power over this faculty of the mind, now manifested in English literature, they seem to have given all of it to the Saxon, and kept none for themselves. After going through a considerable number of works of fiction, some of them meritorious enough in their way, of which the scenes are laid in Wales, and the characters ticketed with Welsh names, one is forced to the sad conclusion that the only writer who has drawn the Welsh man and woman with an appreciable amount of success is J. Llewelyn Prichard in *Twm Sion Catti*. Our "only novelist" met with the significant reward of being allowed to die in poverty, and was carried to a pauper's grave somewhere in Swansea.

¹ A letter of Henry VIII to the Earl of Shrewsbury, "given at oure Town of Calais, 8 July", relating to the ill-treatment of the Welsh, and to the "retynue of Lords Herbert and Sir Rice", was sold at Sotheby's on the 15th July last. It formed an item in the Middle Hill Collection.—F. O.

laurels he seems to have retired to Pembrokeshire, and spent the closing years of his life at Carew. He died in the early part of 1525. His will contains much matter of interest, and as it has not, I think, hitherto appeared in print, the opportunity may fittingly be seized to put an abstract of it in evidence.

[Bodfeld, xxxv.] Will of Sir Rice ap Thomas, Knight of the Garter. Dated 3rd Feby. 1524.

“Syke in body Soule unto almyghty god his meke mother Mary and to all the blessyd company of hevyn and body to be buried in the chauncell of the Grey Freres in Kermerdyn there as my mother lyeth and whensoever it shall please God to call my wife my will is that she be buryed by me. To the cathedral church of St. Davids *xxli*. To the Freres of Kaermerdyn *xxli*. To the priory of Karmerdyn *vjli. xiijs. iiijd*. To the Rode Church of Karmerdyn a vestment price *lijs. iiijd*. To Our Lady Church at Aberust’h a vestment and a chaes price *vli*. To S. Barbara chapel a vestment price *xls*. To S. John’s chapel a vestment *xls*. To S. Katherines chapel a vestment price *xls*. To Our Blessed Lady of Kardigan a vestment *lijs. iiijd*. To Our Lady Chapel at Aberustroth a vestment price *lijs. iiijd*. To S. Hilary Church in Vachayron a vestment price *xls*. To S. Rustyd a vestment price *xls*. To Our Lady Church of Landivason by Newton a vestment price *xls*. To the freres of Brecon *lijs. iiijd*. to buy a vestment before our Saviour Jesus. To the freres of Hav’ford West a vestment price *lijs. iiijd*. To the Abbey of Cūhere *viiijli*. in money to buy a pair of Organs to serve God with’n the said Abbey. To Our Lady Chapel at the Bridg End of Cothy a vestment price *xls*. A crosse of silver to be made to the parish church of Carowe as my wife shall think good. I will that my wife during her life naturall enjoy all my lands in New Kermerdyn, Old Kermerdyn with the franchises &c. To my wife in money £100 one of the best basyns with an ewer and standing cupp gilt with all the plate came to me from Maister John Griffith. Item, more to my wife, *xii* fetherbeds with appurt’s with *ij* hangings of silk *xij* paire of shets *xij* borde clothes *iiij* dozen napkyns and *xij* towells. I will that my wife enjoy the third parte of all my lordships and lands I had during her life except such lands as my daughter the lady havard hath for her joynture. I will that all my plate be weighed and valued to the uttermost except such plate as I have bequeathed to my wife. That my sonne Rys Griffith set

out as moch money as the plate will draw to to Mary his sister Elizab' and over that to give with her as moch as he shall think good yf she be well ordered by him. I give unto my Baase sons only my catall and oxen shepe and Rothes to be divided between them as by the overseers of this my will consider, trusting that those that be maryed (? *unmaryed*) shall have more to their portion than those that be maried and have portions already. To every household servant of myn the hole wages for oon yeere, and will that the horses and harnys remeyn with them and not to be taken from any of them. That fyve pounds lands be given to the freres of Karmerdyn for a chantry there to fynd two prests to pray for me and my wife for ever To the Overseers of my will for their labour *xxli*. The residue of my goods and catalls not bequeathed I give to my sonne Rees Griffith whom I doe ordeyn executor through the advice of the right honourable and mighty prince the duke of Norfolk grace, so as my said sonne may order and dispose of the same as he shall think good. Overseers of my will my hed prior of Kaermerdyn Doctor John Vaughan Maister Lloid chanter of St. Davids Maister Stradling Chancellor of the same Maister Lewis Griffith William John ap Thomas Thomas Johns Dd. Lloid Lewis Thomas ap John and Howell ap Ridderch. Witnesses being present at the making hereof Doctor Dd. Mothvey Wardeyn of the Greyfreres of Kermerdyn Maister John Lewis Treasurer of St. Davids John Lloyd ichyn Griffith higon Phil Davy with all the Overseers aforementioned and many others."

Probate granted at St. Paul's, London, to the executor, Rys ap Griffith, in person, 5 Dec. 1525.

Sir Rhys was, in accordance with the direction given in his will, buried in the "chauncell of the Grey Freres" at Carmarthen, where a tomb bearing the effigies of himself and Dame Jenett, his wife,¹ was erected. Dame Jenett was probably buried there with her husband;

¹ Sir Rhys had been twice married. His first wife was Mabley (or Eva according to Malkin), daughter and coheirress of Henry ap Gwilym, Esq., of Court Henry; by which marriage an ancient feud between the families was extinguished. His second wife was Dame Jenet mentioned in the will. She was the daughter of Thomas Mathew of Radyr, co. Glamorgan, and widow of Sir Thomas Stradling of St. Donat's Castle. Her first husband died before he was twenty-six years of age. She had by him two sons and two daughters. There is no issue mentioned in the pedigrees of her second marriage,

but the date of her death has not been ascertained, and she may possibly have survived the thirty-third year of Henry VIII, when the fraternity of the Grey Friars was suppressed, and the church secularised. Upon this taking place, the tomb, with the mortal remains which it guarded, was removed to St. Peter's Church, where it is still in being.

It is to be observed that the Rys Griffith mentioned in the will as "my son" was the *grandson* of the testator, not his son. Sir Rhys survived his only (legitimate) son Griffith by some four years. Griffith, like his father, was attached to the court. He would seem more particularly to have been in the *entourage* of Prince Arthur. His name is to be met with frequently in the State Papers of the time, in appointments to various services both in the field and at court. In 1514 and several succeeding years he is in the commission of the peace for the counties of Gloucester, Worcester, and Hereford, and the Marches of Wales. Some time before this he had received the honour of knighthood, and had married Catherine, daughter of Sir John St. John, Knight. His appointment to the commission of the peace for the English counties mentioned would bespeak his having a landed connection therein, but what it was has not been discovered. Probably he had a manor-house in the county of Worcester, for in 1521¹ he died, and was buried in the Dean's Chapel in Worcester Cathedral, where there is a monument to himself and his wife. It is doubtful, however, whether she is buried there, for in March 1527 she married Sir Piers Edgecombe, Knt., of Cuthale, Cornwall. Sir Piers, like her first husband, had been attached to the

¹ The date said to be upon the tomb is 1522. If so, it is an error. In the State Papers for 1521 (No. 1818) will be found the appointment of James Jenkin, Yeoman-Usher of the Chamber, to be "Ragler" in the county of Cardigan, "*vice Sir Griffith Rice, deceased.*" Dated 2nd Oct., 13 Henry VIII. Sir Griffith's will has been sought for at Somerset House, but has not been discovered. If he left one, there is the chance of its having been proved at Worcester.

court.¹ She survived her second husband, and died in 1553. Her will, dated the 4th, was proved the 12th Dec. in that year. ("Tashe 22".) Sir Piers died about 1538. His will is registered in "Dyngely 30".

Rice ap Griffith must have been in the flush of early manhood at the time of his grandfather's decease, but his exact age is uncertain. In Williams's *Biographical Dictionary* he is stated to have been but nineteen,—a statement hardly consistent with the fact of his being allowed to undertake the executorship of his grandfather's will.

Sole heir to extensive possessions, he must, doubtless, from the death of his father in 1521, have been entirely under the tutelage or guardianship of his grandfather. Fair as his prospects on entering life may seem at a first glance to our eyes, they were not, it is evident, completely satisfactory to the person who of all others was best able to judge of them, namely Sir Rhys himself. There was, we may be sure, something far more than a desire to see, ere he departed this life, the sole male heir of his house well married, which led Sir Rhys to seek an alliance for his youthful grandson among the daughters of the ducal house of Norfolk. This marriage had taken place before February 1524. It brought "yong Mr. Rice", as we shall find him called presently, into close alliance with those who were mightiest in the land.

Turn for a moment to Burke, the handiest reference I can think of, and see what a galaxy of rank, beauty, genius, and chivalry is formed by the immediate descendants of Thomas Earl of Surrey and second Duke of Norfolk! How much of the history of the time—and a stirring time it was—clusters round the names we find included there in two generations!² Yes; but the history is one written in blood; for when before did so

¹ The grant of an annual rent of fifty marks out of certain royal manors in the county of Cornwall, was made by way of dowry upon this marriage. See State Papers, 1527, No. 3008 (sub No. 23).

² Burke, to whom Welsh genealogy is a great mystery, habitually

many of such a group fall by the untimely stroke of the headsman's axe?

Protection and support for his youthful, possibly rash and headstrong, but certainly inexperienced, grandson must have been the guiding motive which led Sir Rhys to court the alliance of the Howards. Little does he say in his will on this point; but that little is pregnant with meaning. The Duke of Norfolk is certainly not appointed executor; but the direction that "my said soune shall order and dispose of" (the residue of the estate) "as *he*" (namely the Duke of Norfolk) "shall think good" is a very strong indication of Sir Rhys's hopes in regard to the benefit his descendant was to derive from the Howard alliance.

Prudence had ever guided Sir Rhys's course through life, and by her aid he had managed to keep his head on his shoulders when other heads were tumbling off. But it is vain for one man, however prudent he may be, to attempt to shape the course of another unless he himself is there to guide it through all its critical stages. It is often folly supreme for age, with all its wealth of experience (gathered, alas! in fields which are never to be traversed again), to lay the "dead hand" of its injunctions, or worse, its embarrassing pre-arrangements upon youth, which, burdened with these *impedimenta*, has to fight with the new and the unforeseen at every disadvantage. The ancient armour in which so much trust has been placed is utterly unsuited to the necessities of the hour, and is only so much rubbish. All that age can do for youth, after seeing that it gets such elementary training as the eternal round of youth must have, is to instil into its mind, as its higher training, certain principles of conduct which lie at the bottom of prudence in every age of the world, and leave the application of them to the discretion of the neophyte as time and circumstance

sets down Catherine, twelfth child of this second Duke, as having "married first Sir Rhese ap Thomas, K.G.", that is the grandfather of the man who really was her husband.

demand. This Sir Rhys hardly appears to have done. He safeguarded his grandson with the Howard alliance; and the Howard alliance, if the tradition preserved by the Rice family is to be accepted as founded on fact, proved to be a broken reed which pierced the hand which leaned on it.

Still further must we carry our examination of young Rhys ap Griffith's position in 1526. The insecure footing upon which Sir Rhys ap Thomas stood in the court of Henry VII, the superficial character of the King's friendship, the suspicion and dislike with which his extensive influence in his own country was regarded, his pretension to *quasi*-royal descent, have all been dwelt upon in an earlier part of this paper. Another cause of the dislike to Sir Rhys and his family latent in the breasts of the Tudors would be the great services which this Welsh Knight had rendered their house. It has passed into a proverb, common the world over, "from China to Peru", that to confer a great favour is to turn the recipient of it into your bitter enemy. This proverb applies indifferently to prince and peasant. The two Henrys, father and son, chafed under this sense of obligation. Time did not soften their feeling of smothered hatred. All that was desired and waited for was a decent pretext for removing the obnoxious person out of sight, and humbling the pride of the family. Time at last brought the opportunity of doing both these things, and with it the agent, or more correctly, the agents, willing to gratify the desires of the King. We shall presently see, from contemporary documents, who some of these were, and how they set to work; and contemporary opinion, also recorded, shall tell us who the others were considered to be.

For three years after July 1525 we lose sight of Rice ap Griffith. Much of this time must have been spent upon his estates in Pembroke and Carmarthen-shires. During this time the issue which he left must have been born. The office of Chamberlain of the

counties of Carmarthen and Cardigan, which had been conferred on his grandfather for life, by patent 1st Henry VII, and the reversion to which had been granted to Sir Griffith Rice, his father, by patent, 8th April 1511, became void by his grandfather's death, and had not been confirmed to him, but had been granted to Lord Ferrers. Some office in the local government of the Carew district in Pembrokeshire he must have held; probably it was that of Seneschal of Haverfordwest and Rowse. The State Papers of the time furnish ample evidence of the active discharge of the duties of his office. Thus we find him writing from Carmarthen, under date of 8th July 1528, to Wolsey (State Papers, vol. iv, No. 4485), "that 20,000 Irishmen have come, within these twelve months, into Pembrokeshire, the lordship of Haverfordwest, and along the sea to St. David's. They are, for the most part, rascals out of the dominions of the rebel Earl of Desmond, very few from the English pale. The town of Tenby is almost all Irish, rulers and commons, who disobey the King's processes issuing from the Exchequer of Pembroke, supposing their charter warrants them to do so. One of them, named Germyn Griffith, is owner of two great ships well appointed with ordnance. They will take no English nor Welsh into their service. Last year, hearing of a great number of them being landed, the writer made a privy watch, and in two little parishes took above 200, and sent them to sea again. They have since returned, with many more, all claiming kindred in the country; but he has expelled them, as before. Throughout the circuit there are four Irishmen to one English or Welsh. The Mayor and town of Tenby have committed great riots and unlawful assemblies, with divers extortions, as appears by indictments against them in the records of Pembroke. They have also aided and victualled the King's enemies at different times.—Addressed to my lord legatt's most noble grace."

There are three more letters to the Cardinal in the

same volume (Nos. 5,190, 5,372, 5,770).¹ All relate to matters connected with the civil administration, the arrest of a man who had spread the rumour of the King's death, pirates in the Channel, and the arrest of some who had landed at Milford, etc. Although the letters are official, there is a tone of friendliness in them indicating that writer and receiver held something more than a cold official esteem for each other. The relationship in which they stand to each other comes out strongly in the letter dated 3rd March 1529 (No. 5,345). It is so highly important a document in connection with the issues raised in this paper that I give it entire :—

“Pleasith it yo'r moost reverend fatherhod and my moost singular good Lorde and Maister, to call to your good and noble remembraunce howe it pleased the same yo'r moost noble grace of yo'r great goodnes & benigne favour to me shewed to gyf me Incomaundment, when I or anny my pouer s'unts or ten'nts shulde have anny wrong, to make relac'on therof to youre grace. Accordyngly pleasith it the same so it is, that my pouer ten'nts & s'unts by the light & malicious my'des of suche light p'sons that be deputies under my Lorde fferrers in these p'ties, be dayly without cause reasonable or good grounde put to vexac'on and trouble wrongfully. And some of my houshold s'unts kept under apparence from countie to countie, ffor thair pleasures only. And bicause that my Lorde fferrers hymself is verey good unto me, I were lothe to shewe the uttermost of thair demeano's towards me and myn. In considerac'on whereof I moost humbly beseche youre moost noble grace, that it may pleas the same to be so favorable goode lorde unto me as to directe yo'r honor'ble l'res to the said lorde ferrers, willing and desiring hym that I may be his deputie Justice & Chamberlayn in this p'ties the princypalitie of South Wales, ffyndyng sufficient sureties to discharge hym agenst the kings g'ce, and all other, conc'nyng thexcercysyng of the same his offices. And by cause the moost parte of my pouer levyng is in the same auctorities, and to have my pouer ten'nts & s'unts with other my fryndes in quiet and to leve in Rest my self, so that I & they mought be themore

¹ The Public Record Office system of date-classification for documents of this period is somewhat arbitrary. I am inclined to think that one of the letters here mentioned was not written in the year to which it has been assigned.

able to do yo'r grace s'vyce I wolde be contentyd so yt myght stand withe yo'r g'ces pleasure to gyf my lorde suche some or somes of money as youre g'ce shulde thinke cons'ou'nt ov' and above all the ffee and wags belongyng to the same his offices, to be unto hym payed, yerely without charge. And as I am bounden of verely duetie the uttermost since that eu' may lie in my litle power, your noble grace shalbe assuryd p' of as knoweth the blessed trinitie. Who eu' p's'ue yo'r most noble grace from all adu'sities. ffrom Cayrewe the iij day of this M'che.

“Your humbell s'uante

“R. Gruffith.”

Addressed : “To my Lord Legats good g'ce.”

Endorsed : “Yong Mr. Rice l're of the iij of March.”

Two things are noteworthy in the foregoing letter : first, that the heir of Sir Rhys ap Thomas, who was “little less than a prince in his native country”, should, within four years of his succeeding to his grandfather's possessions and influence, have to complain of being subjected, in this “his native country”, to the flouts and insults of the creatures of Lord Ferrers ; and, second, the tone of dependence upon the great Cardinal which pervades it. Surely in both these features the token of coming evil may be discerned. Evidently Rice Griffith did not know, what his ducal brother-in-law might have told him had he felt disposed, that the hour of the great Cardinal's downfall was on the point of striking, if it had not already struck. He and his young wife had been rustivating too long in Carmarthen and Pembroke shires to be fully aware of what was going on at Court, and of the plotting and scheming of which the Court was the centre. Something they must have known, for the story of the ascendancy which Ann Boleyn had gained over the King would be the common talk of the land. And Lady Catherine was the aunt of the future Queen. They had opinions of their own with regard to the wooing, which they expressed either now or later, and which gave mortal offence. Chapuys, the ambassador of the Emperor Charles V, mentions this, and his letter from the Vienna archives will presently be quoted. Rice, as I have said before, was inexpe-

rienced in the ways of the world, and neither he nor his wife could trim their sails to catch the breezes which were blowing. This on the one hand; and on the other the flouting openly given to Rice, through his tenants and dependents, by the deputy and officers of Lord Ferrers. People of that stamp do not show incivility to those above them without a *mot d'ordre*. Their doings in this respect were not, we may be quite sure, unknown to Lord Ferrers. Why should his lordship have thus put himself out of the way? The answer to this question must be gathered from a survey of the whole chain of circumstances which ended, as far as Rice himself was concerned, with the scene on Tower Hill. No distinct record would ever be made of those springs of action, any more than of those earlier discussions in secret council of which dear "Father Rice" was the subject.

What counsel Wolsey may have given to "yong Mr. Rice" does not appear. It is evident, however, that the feud between the two rival claimants for influence in Dimetia—the one upon territorial, the other upon official grounds—ripened fast. Matters were soon brought to an issue between them. The first we hear of it is from Lord Ferrers himself. Here is a *précis* of his letter to Wolsey, 16th June 1529. (State Papers 1529, No. 5682):—

"I have held the Sessions in Kermerden to the King's advantage, correcting thieves and malefactors. During the Sessions Rece Griffiths, Esq., encouraged the malefactors by causing proclamation to be made in divers churches to induce the people to attend upon him, and make quarrels in the town of Kermerden. On Tuesday, 15th June, he came into the Castle with his armed servants, where I was with other gentlemen, and picked a quarrel with me about Thomas ab Howen, his kinsman, whom I had committed to ward for various misdemeanours, and for hurting the people when they came to the Castle to demand remedy, for which he was forfeited to the King 650 marks, as appears by his recognizance and other bonds taken before the Prince's Council. When he drew his dagger on me I took it from him, and committed him to ward, and shall keep him there until I know your pleasure. His friends stir up the people to rebel-

lion, but he shall not be let out until he finds sufficient surety to answer for his misdemeanours. I beg an answer by my chaplain, the bearer, and to be informed how I shall act in this case.

“Kermarthen, 16th June.”

Beside this letter of Ferrers' must be placed that of “Lady Katherine Ryx” to Wolsey, written on the following day. It will be seen that Ferrers' *ex-parte* statement did not convey the whole truth. (State Papers 1529, No. 5686.) The *précis* of this letter also will be sufficient, for the original is in the writing of an amanuensis.

“His servant, Master Ryx Griffith, is in Caermarthen Castle, in the keeping of Lord Ferrers, on a false surmise of desiring one Tho. ap Owen, servant to the King, then in ward in the same Castle, to take out of the constable's hands one Jankyn, servant to the said Ryx; upon which the said Lord Ferrers drew his dagger, and Ryx in his defence did the same. There was no harm done, except that Ryx was hurt in his arm. On this he was commanded by Ferrers, on a penalty of £1,000, to remain in the Castle, at which the county is greatly discontented. The same Ryx, before he came to Caermarthen, sent his servants to take lodgings for him among his tenantry, and to set up his arms on certain doors, which were taken down by Ferrers. Great dissatisfaction has prevailed ever since Ferrers was officer in these parts, for he and his servants quarrel with Ryx's tenants. Ryx would have written, but is kept from pen and ink. Begs, for the great love between Wolsey and her father, that he will not allow them to have shame and rebuke.

“Caermarthen, 17 June.”

Ferrers again writes to Wolsey on the 18th June, thus (S. P., No. 5693):—

“Please it your noble grace to be adv'tysede notwithstanding my laste l're datyd and sente unto your said grace the xvij daye of Junij of the greate rebell' & Insurreccion of the pe'ple in thys p'tyes at the comandyme't of Rice Griffith and my lady haward as for a troth ther was not such insurrecc'on in Walys at any time a man can remembre. Albeit by reason of such dred p'clamac'ons that I made in the kyngs name and yo'r grace I was able to resyst them because that dy'us of the kyngs s'unts and of his true subgietts hering thesame dyd repayre unto me to thentent the kyngs peaxle myght be kept. Then the Cap-

tayns and Ry'gleders w't all other ther retynues in eu'y quarter retornyd home into their countreys and as now eu'y thyng is quyette. And hauyng no dowt yo'r gracious plesure knowen of this and other my l'res that I shall order every thyng accordyng to the kyngs highe comandyme't and yo'r grace as knoweth all myghty God to whom I do dayly pray for the p's'uac'on of yo'r moost noble and Royal estate long to endur'.

“ At Kerm'then the xvijth day of June.

“ Your mooste bounden Oratur

“ Water Deverix.”

(*To be continued.*)

THE FIRST WELSH MUNICIPAL CHARTERS.

BY HENRY TAYLOR, ESQ., F.S.A., TOWN CLERK OF FLINT,
AND DEPUTY CONSTABLE OF FLINT CASTLE.

(*Read at the Holywell Meeting, Aug. 18th, 1890.*)

THE recent legislative creation of County Councils, and the consequent infusion of municipal life into the government of county affairs, has suggested to me that a paper upon the first introduction of English municipal institutions into Wales might not be an uninteresting subject to the members of the Cambrian Archæological Association, particularly as I hope to prove that the first four royal charters to towns in Wales were made, dated, sealed, and witnessed at our county town of Flint. In England "those municipal institutions which have so large a place in the body politic of the country, and are the corner-stone upon which its liberties have arisen", were at first gradually and step by step acquired; but King Edward I, who has been justly called "the greatest of the Plantagenets", in the charters he granted at Flint on the 8th of September 1284 to the towns of Carnarvon, Conway, Rhuddlan, and Flint, at one swoop, as it were, conceded to these, the first of the boroughs in Wales, all those liberties which had been granted to the more favoured of the English boroughs after years of contention. It is true that the King had shortly before, viz., on the 12th of November 1278, given a gild merchant and certain other liberties to the burgesses of Rhuddlan; but until these charters were granted there was no appointment of a mayor or other borough officer, and I venture to think that these charters must be considered as the first real royal municipal charters granted to towns in Wales.

Before, however, we proceed to the consideration

of these municipal charters, let us for a moment review the position of affairs at the termination of the war between the Princes Llewelyn and David on the one side, and King Edward on the other side. The war ended in 1283, and Edward had still a great work before him, a work of the kind in which he most delighted. Wales had been finally and entirely united to England; but it was still in an almost barbarous condition. The whole country was a scene of wildness and disorder, and Edward knew well that the first step in the regeneration of a country (so far as human government can regenerate it) is the establishment of just and well-considered laws. To this work, therefore, he immediately addressed himself. He did not, however, proceed by rashly ordaining that the laws of England should be henceforth the laws of Wales. He saw the necessity for first acquainting himself with the whole subject. "He was at great pains to gain a perfect knowledge of its ancient constitution and laws, and of the manners of its inhabitants." He issued a Royal Commission (an early instance of such a commission) to the Bishop of St. David's and others to investigate these matters most carefully. No less than 172 intelligent persons were examined upon oath by these commissioners, who upon this evidence framed a report. Having thus obtained the necessary information, Edward held a Council, or, as some historians call it, a Parliament at Rhuddlan, at which the "Statutes of Wales" were passed. The preamble to these statutes is well worth perusal, and I regret I have not time to give it here in full. The paragraph in it, however, which relates to Welsh laws and customs runs thus: "We have abolished some of them, some we have allowed, and some we have corrected; and we have commanded and ordained certain others to be added thereto."

It was in this spirit also that the municipal charters the subject of this paper, were framed. Let us also for another moment consider what were King Edward's

movements in this neighbourhood during the year 1284. In the early part of the month of March he divided his time between Chester and Rhuddlan, thus frequently passing to and fro through the entire length of the present county of Flint. We find him at Rhuddlan on the 8th March. On the 24th he left for Conway, and on the 1st of April arrived at Carnarvon, which he made his headquarters until the 6th of June. On the 10th of April he was at Harlech; on the 23rd at Criccieth, and returned to Carnarvon on the 25th, the day on which his son "Edward of Carnarvon" is said to have been born there. On the 8th of June he was at Bala-deulyn, at the foot of Snowdon, and remained there until the 3rd of July. The whole of the remainder of the month of July he spent at Carnarvon. On the 2nd of August he visited the island of Bardsey and the harbour of Porth-yn-lleyn, by the town of Nevin. At Nevin he held a grand tournament, where were assembled, says Matthew of Westminster, "the great body of the knights of England, with many foreign nobles". From Nevin King Edward returned to Carnarvon. Subsequently he visited Aber, Conway, Flint, and Chester. He was at Flint, as we know from the municipal charters now under consideration, on the 8th of September, and it is equally well known that he reached Chester on the 10th of September, and remained there for a week. On the 8th of October he was at Conway for four days on his way to Carnarvon, which he reached on the 12th of that month, and remained there until the 24th, going thence by way of Criccieth and Harlech to South Wales. Having premised this much, let us now examine the municipal charters—the subject of this paper. Unfortunately the originals of

Charter Roll, 12 Edw. I, No. 13.

Wall'. P' Burgens' de Flynt de lib'tatib' suis.—Rex Archiep'is 'te sal't'm Sciatis q'd volum' 't concedim' p' nob' 't heredib' n'ris q'd villa n'ra de Flynt decet'o liber Burgus sit 't homines n'ri eiusdem ville lib'i sint Burgenses 't q'd Constabular'

these four charters are lost. That of Flint was in existence in October 1654, and was then in the custody of the Mayor, Mr. Thomas Salusbury of Leadbrook, as appears from a note by that accurate and learned antiquary, Mr. Randle Holme of Chester, who at that time made a copy of it, which will be found in No. 2,099 of the Harleian MSS., folio 440, at the British Museum: he also gives a drawing of the seal appendent to it, which, he says, was of green wax, with red, green and silver strings. The impression upon the wax is that of King Edward's "Great Seal". I have spent considerable time and money in endeavouring to find this Flint Charter, but hitherto without success; nevertheless, I live in hope of being some day able to recover it. Fortunately, however, these charters were always copied, or entered *in extenso*, at the time they were granted, upon the Royal or Court Rolls, and these four charters will be found entered together upon the Charter Roll of the 12th year of King Edward's reign (No. 13), which is at the Public Record Office in Fetter Lane, London. They are written in what is technically called "court hand", that is to say, in the contracted monkish or law Latin of the period. I have perused them, and under the advice of my learned friend, the late Mr. Walford D. Selby, of the Public Record Office, whose early death is greatly to be deplored, I have had that of Flint copied *verbatim et literatim*, and translated by Mr. John A. C. Vincent, an able specialist upon records of this kind. If the Cambrian Association think this paper worthy of a place in their *Journal* I shall be glad to place both the Latin copy and the translation, both of which I now exhibit, at their service to print. The following is a copy of the translation :—

Translation.

The King to the Archbishops, etc., greeting. Know ye that we will, and do grant for us and our heirs, that our town of Flynt shall be henceforth a free borough, and our men of the same town shall be free burgesses, and that the Constable of our

Castri n'ri de Flynt qui p' temp'e fu'it sit Maior Burgi illius iurat' tam nob' q'a eisdem Burgensib' qui p'ius p'stito sac'amento de iurib' n'ris conservandis eisdem Burgensib' iuret super s'ca dei Ewangelia q'd ip'e lib'tates eisdem Burgensib' a nob' concessas conservabit 't faciet fidelit' ea que ad officiu' Maiorie p'tine't in eodem Burgo Concedim' eciam q'd ip'i Burgenses singulis annis in festo s'c'i Mich'is duos Ballivos ydoneos 't sufficientes de semet ip'is eligant 't d'c'o Constabulario tanq'am Maiori suo p'sentent qui in p'sencia d'c'o' Maioris 't Burgensium iurent q'd officiu' Ballive sue fidelit' facient 't exequent' volum' eciam 't co'cedim' q'd d'c'i Burgenses h'eant lib'am p'isonam suam in Burgo p'd'co de om'ib' t'ansgressorib' ibidem exceptis casib' vite 't membro' in quib' casib' om'es tam Burgenses q'am alii imp'isonentur in castro n'ro ibidem verumpt'n si aliqui d'c'or' Burgens' rettati accusati v'l indictati fu'int sup' aliqua t'ansgressionem in hui'modi casib' nolum' q'd ea occa'one imp'isonentur q'amdiu bonam 't sufficiente' manucap'co'em inven'int ad stand' inde recto coram Capitali Justiciario n'ro v'l aliis Justic' n'ris ad hoc deputatis Concedim' insup' eisdem Burgens' q'd om'es t're eide' Burgo iam assignate dewarennate 't deafforestate sint omnino et q'd Judei in eodem Burgo aliquib' temp'ib' no' morentur Concedim' eciam p' nob' 't heredib' n'ris eisdem Burgensib' lib'tates subscriptas videl't q'd nullus vicecomitu' n'ro in aliquo se intromittat sup' eos de aliquo pl'to v'l querela v'l occa'one v'l aliq'a re alia ad p'd'c'am villam p'tinente Salvis tamen nob' 't heredib' n'ris placitis Corone n're sicut p'd'c'm est et q'd ip'i h'eant Gyldam M'catoriam cum hansa 't aliis co'suetudinib' 't lib'tatib' ad Gyldam illam p'tinentib' Ita q'd nullus qui no' sit de Gylda illa M'candisa' aliqua' faciat in eade' villa nisi de voluntate Burgensiu' p'd'c'o' Concedim' eciam eisdem q'd si aliquis natus alicui' in p'fata villa manserit 't terram in ea tenu'it 't fu'it in p'fata Gylda 't hansa 't loth 't shot cu' eisdem ho'ib' n'ris p' vnu' annu' 't vnu' diem sine calumpnia deinceps non possit repeti a d'no suo set in eadem villa liber p'maneat Pret'ea concedim' eisde' Burgensib' n'ris q'd h'eant sok' 't sak' Thol' 't Theam 't infangenetheof 't q'd quieti sint p' totam t'ram n'ram de Theoloneo lestagio passagio muragio pontagio 't stallagio 't de lene Danegeld' 't Gaywyte 't om'ib' aliis co'suetudinib' 't exaccionib' p' totam potestate' n'ram tam in Angl' q'a in om'ib' aliis t'ris n'ris et q'd ip'i v'l eo' bona vbicumq' loco' in t'ra v'l potestate' n'ra inventa no' arestent' p' aliquo debito de quo fidejussores aut p'incipales debitores no' extit'int Nisi forte ip'i debitores de eo' sint co'muna 't potestate' h'entes vnde de debitis suis in toto v'l in p'te satisfac'e possint et d'ci Burgenses n'ri creditorib' eo'dem debito' in iusticia defu'int 't de hoc rona-

Castle of Flynt for the time being shall be the mayor of that borough, sworn as well to us as to the said burgesses, who, having first taken the oath of preserving our rights, shall swear to the same burgesses, upon the Holy Gospels of God, that he will preserve the liberties granted by us to the same burgesses, and will faithfully do those things which appertain to the office of the mayoralty in the same borough. We grant also that they, the said burgesses, shall every year, on the Feast of St. Michael, elect from themselves, and present to the said Constable, as their mayor, two fit and sufficient bailiffs, who, in the presence of the said mayor and burgesses, shall swear that they will faithfully do and execute the office of their bailiwick. We will also and do grant that the said burgesses may have their free prison in the borough aforesaid for all trespassers there, except cases of life and limbs, in which cases all as well as burgesses as others, shall be imprisoned in our Castle there. Nevertheless, if any of the said burgesses shall be charged, accused, or indicted upon any trespass, in such cases we will not that for that cause they be imprisoned so long as they shall find good and sufficient mainprise to stand to right therein before our chief justice or other our justices deputed therefor. Moreover, we grant to the said burgesses, that all lands now assigned to the said borough shall be altogether de-warrened and deafforested, and that Jews shall not tarry at any time in the said borough. We grant also, for us and our heirs, to the said burgesses, the liberties underwritten, namely, that none of our sheriffs shall intermeddle in anything with them concerning any plea, or plaint, or cause, or any other thing, to the town aforesaid appertaining. Saving, nevertheless, unto us and our heirs the pleas of our crown as is aforesaid. And that they may have a merchants' gild, with hanse and other customs and liberties to that gild appertaining, so that no one who is not of that gild shall do any merchandise in the said town save by the will of the burgesses aforesaid. We grant also to the same, that if any bondman of any one shall dwell in the aforesaid town, and hold land in it, and be in the aforesaid gild and hanse, and loth and shot with the same, our men, for a year and a day, without challenge, he may not henceforth be redemanded by his lord, but remain free in the same town. Moreover, we grant to the said burgesses that they may have sok and sak, thol and theam, and infangenethef; and that they may be quit, throughout our whole land, of toll, lastage, passage, murage, pontage, and stallage, and of lene Danegeld and gaywite, and all other customs and exactions throughout our whole power, as well as in England as in all other our lands;

bilit' constare possit Et q'd iide' Burgenses n'ri p' t'ansgressionem seu forisf'c'ura s'vientu' suo' catalla t' bona sua in manib' ip'o inventa aut alicubi loco p' ip'os s'vientes depo'ita q'aten' sua esse sufficient' p'bare poterunt no' amittant Et eciam q'd si iidem Burgens' aut eo' aliqui inf'a t'ram aut potestate' n'ram testati decesserint v'l intestati nos v'l heredes n'ri bona ip'o confiscari no' faciem' quin eo' heredes ea integre h'eant q'aten' d'ca catella d'co' defuncto' fuisse 'stitit' dum tamen de d'c'is heredib' noticia aut fides sufficient' h'eatur et q'd Burgenses n'ri p'd'c'i non co'vincant' p' aliquos forinsecos sup' aliquib' appellis rectis iniuriis t'ansgressionib' criminib' calumpniis demandis eis impo'itis aut imponendis inf'a Com' de Flynt t' int' ripas de Coneweie t' Dee set solummodo p' Burgenses n'ros p'd'c'os nisi de aliq'a re tangente co'munitate' Burgi p'd'c'i t' tu'c in casu illo deducant' s'c'd'm lib'tates approbatas t' hacten' 'ronabilit' vsitatas in Civitate n'ra Hereford' Quare volum' t' firmit' p'cipim' p' nob' t' heredib' n'ris q'd villa n'ra de Flynt decet'o liber burgus sit t' homines n'ri eiusdem ville lib'i sint Burgens' Et q'd Constabulari' Castri n'ri de Flynt qui p' temp'e fu'it sit Maior Burgi illius iuratus tam nob' q'a eisdem Burgensib' qui p'ius p'stito sac'amento de iuribus n'ris 'servandis eisdem Burgensib' iuret sup' s'c'a dei Evangelia q'd ip'e lib'tates eisdem Burgensib' a nob' concessas conservabit t' fidelit' faciet ea que ad officiu' Maiorie p'tinet in eodem Burgo Concedim' eciam q'd ip'i Burgenses singulis annis in festo s'c'i Mich'is duos Ballivos ydoneos t' sufficientes de semet ip'is eligant t' d'c'o Constabulario tanq'am Maiori suo p'sentent qui in p'sencia d'c'o Maioris t' Burgens' iurent q'd officiu' Balli'e sue fidelit' faciend' t' exequent' Volum' eciam t' concedim' q'd d'c'i Burgenses h'eant lib'am p'isonam suam in Burgo p'd'c'o de om'ib' t'ansgressorib' ibidem exceptis casib' vite t' membro' in quib' casib' om'es tam Burgenses q'am alii imp'isonent' in castro n'ro ibide' verumpt'n si aliqui d'c'o Burgens' rettati accusati v'l indictati fu'int sup' aliq'a t'ansgressionem in hui'modi casib' nolum' q'd ea occa'one imp'isonent' q'amdiu bonam t' sufficiente' manucep'o'em invenint ad standu' inde recto coram Capitali Justic' n'ro v'l aliis Justic' n'ris ad hoc deputatis Concedimus insup' eisdem Burgensib' q'd om'es t're eidem Burgo iam assignate dewarennate t' deafforestate sint omnino t' q'd Judei in eodem Burgo aliquib' temp'ib' no' morent' Volum' eciam t' concedim' p' nob' t' heredib' n'ris q'd p'd'c'i Burgenses h'eant om'es alias lib'tates t' lib'as consuetudines sup'ius exp'ssas bene t' pacifice absq' occa'one v'l impedimento n'ri v'l heredu' n'ro' Justic' vic' t' alio' Ballio' seu Ministro' n'ro' quo'cumq' impepetuu' sicut p'd'c'm est Testib' t'c' vt sup'a T. t'c' vt sup'a."

and that they or their goods, found in what place soever in our land or power, shall not be arrested for any debt of which they shall not be sureties or principal debtors, unless perchance the said debtors be of their commune and power, having whereof they may satisfy for their debts in all or in part, and the said our burgesses fail in justice to the creditors of the said debtors; and hereof it may be reasonably evident. And that the same our burgesses, for trespass or forfeiture of their servants, shall not lose their own chattels and goods found in the hands of the same, or deposited by the said servants in any place else, so long as they shall be able to sufficiently prove them to be their own. And also, that if the said burgesses, or any of them, shall decease within our land or power, testate or intestate, we or our heirs will not cause their goods to be confiscated, but their heirs may have them entirely so long as it shall be plain that the said chattels were of the said deceased, while, nevertheless, knowledge or belief be sufficiently had concerning the said heirs. And that our burgesses aforesaid may not be convicted by any foreign persons upon any appeals, rights, injuries, trespasses, crimes, challenges [or] demands, laid or to be laid upon them within the county of Flint, and between the banks of Conweye and Dee; but only by our burgesses aforesaid, except of anything touching the commonalty of the borough aforesaid, and then in that case they shall be brought according to the liberties approved, and up to this time reasonably used, in our city of Hereford. Wherefore we will, and for us and our heirs do firmly command, that our town of Flynt be henceforth a free borough, and our men of the same town be free burgesses; and that the Constable of our Castle of Flynt, for the time being, be mayor of that borough, sworn as well to us as to the said burgesses, who having first taken the oath of preserving our rights, shall swear to the same burgesses, upon the Holy Gospels of God, that he will preserve the liberties granted by us to the same burgesses, and will faithfully do those things which appertain to the office of the mayoralty in the same borough. We grant also that they, the said burgesses, shall every year, on the Feast of St. Michael, elect from themselves, and present to the said Constable as their mayor, two fit and sufficient bailiffs, who in the presence of the said mayor and burgesses shall swear that they will faithfully do and execute the office of their bailiwick. We will also, and do grant, that the said burgesses may have their free prison in the borough aforesaid for all trespassers there, except cases of life and limbs, in which cases all, as well burgesses as others, shall be imprisoned in our Castle there. Nevertheless, if any of the said burgesses shall

By the charter granted to the burgesses of Aberconwey, the attestation-clause referred to as "ut supra" is as follows :

"Hiis testib' ven'abili p're R. Bathon' 't Wellen' Ep'o Cancellario n'ro, Ric'o de Burgo Com' Ulton', Thoma de Clare, Ric'o de Brus', Reginaldo de Grey, Nich'o de Seg'ave, Petro de Chaumpvent, Joh'e de Monte alto 't aliis Dat' p' manu' n'ram apud Flynt octavo die Septemb'r'."

The first sentences of these charters declare that each town shall be a free borough, and "our men of the same town shall be free burgesses", that is to say, that the borough was declared to be free from the exactions of the Sheriff of the County, and the burgesses exempt from those jurisdictions of the King's Ministers to which their country neighbours were amenable. It is then provided that the constable of the castle at each place for the time being "shall be the Mayor of that Borough", thus mingling, for good reasons, the civil with the military power in the constitution of the Municipal Government. The use of the word "Mayor" in these charters, to describe the head of a municipality, is a somewhat early one. At the ancient City of Chester the first borough officer styled Mayor was Sir Walter Lynnet, in 1247, and Stow fixes the date of 1189 as that when the first mayor was appointed to govern the City of London. The earlier name of the head of a municipality was Borough-reve or Port-reve, as distinguished from the Shire-reve (Sheriff) of the county. The charters then ordain that the burgesses, every year at Michaelmas, shall elect from among themselves two representatives, bearing the Norman name of "Bailiffs", and present them to the Mayor. Thus a kind of Municipal Houses of Lords and Commons were created, the Mayor representing the former and the Bailiffs the latter. The next privilege conceded to each borough was the right to have "a free prison", except with respect to cases of "life and limbs", when the persons charged were to be detained in the Castle. That

be charged, accused, or indicted, upon any trespass in such cases, we will not that for that cause they be imprisoned so long as they shall find good and sufficient mainprise to stand to right therein before our Chief Justice or other our justices deputed therefor. We grant, moreover, to the said burgesses that all lands now assigned to the said borough shall be altogether dewarrened and deafforested, and that Jews shall not tarry at any time in the said borough. We will also, and for us and our heirs do grant, that the aforesaid burgesses may have all other the liberties and free customs above expressed, well and peacefully, without hindrance or impediment of us or of our heirs, justices, sheriffs, and other our bailiffs or ministers whomsoever, for ever, as is aforesaid. These witnesses: the Venerable Father R[obert], Bishop of Bath and Wells, our Chancellor; Richard de Burgh, Earl of Ulster; Thomas de Clare, Richard de Brus, Reginald de Grey, Nicholas de Segrave, Peter de Chaumpvent, John de Montalt, and others. Given by our hand at Flynt, the eighth day of September. [A.D. 1284.]

is to say, each borough was entitled to have a prison of its own, in which persons charged with offences committed within the limits of the borough, and to be tried by the magistrates of such borough, might be detained, as contra-distinguished from the Crown gaol in the Castle at each place in which prisoners brought from the surrounding country were placed, as well as those from the borough itself who were charged with attempts against the lives or limbs of their fellow-creatures. In all cases, however, "any burgess charged, accused, or indicted" was, by these charters, entitled to claim to be bailed out of prison until his trial came on for hearing, whereas his more unfortunate country neighbour might "languish in gaol" for a considerable time before the itinerant justices reached the place of trial. The charters then proceed to declare that all lands assigned to each borough were thereby dewarrened and disafforested, or thrown open and reduced from the privileges of a warren and a forest to a state of a common ground. The Crown and powerful nobles, either by prescription or grant from the Crown, retained considerable tracts of land all over the kingdom, either as

warrens for beasts or fowls of game, or as forests for growing timber for profit or use, with very oppressive laws for their protection called "Forest Laws". The question of reducing their limits, particularly those of the Royal forest, was a burning one about this time. The grant of these free common lands to the burgesses was therefore an important one. Unfortunately, during the latter end of the last century and the beginning of the present one, the large neighbouring landowners were allowed to obtain certain "Inclosure Acts", which robbed the burgesses of the greater part of these common lands. As stated in the report of the Municipal Corporations' Commissioner of 1834, "this was an unjust sacrifice of the privileges of the burgesses". Speaking with respect to Flint alone, I may say that did the burgesses now possess those common lands which King Edward intended they should, the revenue the borough would derive from them would obviate the unpleasant necessity of the Corporation having to levy any rates whatever at the present time. The declaration which follows, that "Jews shall not tarry at any time in the said borough", has reference to another burning question of that day. This race, says Rapin, by their insatiable greediness of enriching themselves by unlawful means, such as usury, adulteration of the coin, and the like, "had so roused popular indignation against them that a few years afterwards, viz., in 1290, they were banished by Parliament out of the kingdom". By their clipping and adulteration of the coin they had affected the credit of the nation, raised the price of all the necessaries of life, and had almost ruined the foreign commerce of the country. The next privilege granted to the burgesses, and a very important one too, was the right to have their own courts of justice, the sheriffs being ordered "not to intermeddle in anything concerning any plea, plaint or cause, or any other thing in the town aforesaid appertaining", the pleas of the Crown excepted. As Bishop Stubbs, in his *Constitutional History of England*, says: "The right of ex-

cluding the Sheriff, and having their pleas decided on their own ground, involved their exemption from the ordinary sessions of the County Court. From the visitations of the itinerant justices, however, they were not exempted, but in their courts they obtained special privileges. The new Borough Courts were the old courts of the township, the hundred and the shire under new names." Independent exercise of jurisdiction in their own courts, and by their own customs, was no insignificant privilege to grant to these boroughs. But perhaps the most important grant made by these charters is this: "And that they may have a merchants' gild with hause and other customs and liberties to that gild appertaining, so that no one who is not of that gild shall do any merchandise in the said town, save by the will of the burgesses." The merchants' gild, says Bishop Stubbs, "was an institution as old as the Conquest. In mercantile towns all the lands and houses would be held by merchants and their dependants; from the merchant who had made three voyages over the sea at his own cost and so thriven to thegnright, to the mere retailer, everyone who was in the position of a freeholder was connected with trade, everyone who would have a claim on public office or magistracy would be a member of the guild." This was so in the case of Flint, undoubtedly, as many early deeds of the time of Edward I, which I have recently discovered, give evidence. Many of the merchants of Chester, and other old towns of that period, or their connections and dependents, such as those of the families of Doncaster, Bradford, Brichull, Macclesfield, etc., settled and held municipal office at each of these Welsh boroughs, and they were joined by members of some of the leading tribes of North Wales. The possession of a merchants' gild was the sign of municipal independence. It was, in fact, the governing body of the town in which it was allowed to exist. It is to these early merchants that this country owes its greatness. Mr. Green, in his *History of the English People*, when speaking of the

policy of Edward in building up the power of the towns in view of checking the lawless tendencies of the barons, says : "The bell which swung out from town tower gathered the burgesses to a common meeting, where they could exercise their rights of free speech and free deliberation on their own affairs. Their merchants' gild, over its ale feast, regulated trade, distributed the sums due from the different burgesses, looked to the repair of the gate and wall, and acted, in fact, pretty much the same part as a Town Council of to-day." Time does not permit of my describing to you the filial relation of the craft-gilds, or trade companies, to the merchants' gild, and many important liberties appertaining to the latter. I must, however, say a word on the subject of the word "hansa" in these charters. Professor E. A. Freeman pointed out to me at Chester, when he occupied the chair at the Historical Section of the Archæological Institute, that the grant of a hansa was a very ancient and important one. It originally was a league or union of merchants, and arose from the dangers of travelling. Merchants travelled together, and had a common depôt, or storehouse, for their merchandise, which eventually became the central point of the Hanse. Lubeck, Hamburg, and Bremen, the three free cities of Germany, are still often spoken of as the Hanse Towns. The charters then proceed to declare that if any bondman of anyone should dwell in the aforesaid town, and hold land in it (this was the qualification of a burgess) and be in the aforesaid gild and hanse, and loth and shot (*i.e.*, be a ratepayer) for a year and a day, he might not henceforth be redemanded by his lord, but remain free in the same town. It must be borne in mind that slavery, with its bondmen and freemen, then existed, under the feudal system, in this free land of ours, and that Britons who "Never, never shall be slaves" were then slaves *de jure* and *de facto*.

The next liberties granted are general ones, viz., the right to sok and sak, thol and theam, and infangenethef, which were of a judicial nature ; of freedom from toll,

lastage, passage, murage, pontage, and stallage, which were in the nature of tolls ; and of lene danegeld and gaywite, which were Crown dues, not only in their own borough, but throughout the whole kingdom. These were each, as you are doubtless aware, valuable liberties, and I regret I have not time to explain them in detail. There is also a grant of freedom from arrest, except for their own personal debts, or those of their own community. I fancy I hear someone say, "Surely that is enough to be responsible for," but then Britain was not at that time the free country it is now. Then follows a grant to the heirs of a deceased burgess of the right to administer his effects instead of their being forfeited to the crown, as was the case generally. The last clause of these charters ran thus :—" And that our burgesses aforesaid may not be convicted by any foreign persons upon any appeals, rights, injuries, trespasses, crimes, challenges, or demands laid, or to be laid upon within (here the area is defined, and is different in each charter), but only by our burgesses aforesaid, excepting anything touching the commonalty of the borough aforesaid, and then according to the liberties approved in our city of Hereford." This municipal right in the cases of Flint and Rhuddlan was to extend "between the banks of the Conweye and Dee", and in cases of Conway and Carnarvon, "between the banks of the Conweye and Dovey". Thus we see that upwards of six hundred years ago certain municipal privileges existed over the greater part of North Wales, and that the recent infusion of municipal life into that area by the establishment of County Councils is not altogether a novelty. Hereford is the typical constitution on the model of which these privileges were granted to these boroughs, just as London, Winchester, Oxford, and Norwich were to others.

And now for the final paragraph of these ancient charters, namely, the attestation clauses, which ran thus :—"These being witnesses, the Venerable Father Robert, Bishop of Bath and Wells, our chancellor ;

Richard de Burgh, Earl of Ulster ; Thomas de Clare, Richard de Brus, Reginald de Grey, Nicholas de Segrave, Peter de Chaumpvent, John de Montalt, and others." The first-named witness is Robert Burnell, of Acton Burnell, near to Shrewsbury, the then Chancellor of England, and the King's early, constant, and intimate friend. He was always with the King at this period, and was prominent as, at least, the mouthpiece and executor of the policy of Edward in the annexation and pacification of Wales. He was elected Bishop of Bath and Wells in 1275, but he had been a statesman and a legislator before he became a bishop, and a statesman and a legislator he remained still. This great man was one of those who laid the foundation of our present parliamentary and judicial systems, and was the first to establish the enactment of law by statute. He it was who framed the Statute of Westminster, which Lord Campbell describes as a code in itself. The Statutes of Mortmain, of Westminster the Second, of Winchester and De Mercatoribus, were from his pen, the latter being passed at his own house at Acton, where he entertained the King and Parliament. "It is, perhaps, the best proof of the perfect harmony which always existed between the King and his wise and able Chancellor that we find it difficult to separate the one from the other. We cannot tell when the King himself speaks and when we are listening to his Chancellor." Burnell was present at Rhuddlan when the "Statutes of Wales" were drawn out, and can we for a moment doubt that these charters were drafted by this illustrious statesman, when we find him present at Flint at the time they were granted, and he himself named as the first witness to them? He died in October 1292, and lies buried at Wells Cathedral. The second witness, Richard de Burgh, was the second Earl of Ulster. Being an orphan, he had, during his infancy, been brought up by the King at Woodstock, and had only recently attained his majority. He had been with the King during the war, and, having won his spurs, had

received the honour of knighthood. He was one of the principal combatants at the then recent tournament at Nevin. In the copy of the Chronicle of the Monastery of St. Werburgh, at Chester (now Chester Cathedral), which MS. copy is the property of his Lordship the President of this Meeting (Lord Mostyn), and has recently, through his kindness, been edited and printed, with a translation, by the Lancashire and Cheshire Record Society, is the following entry referring to this tournament: "1284. King Edward caused a tournament to be held at Nevin, in Wales, where the Earl of Lincoln, Henry de Lacy, was the leader on one side, and Richard de Burgh, Earl of Ulster, on the other." The third witness, Thomas de Clare, was also an intimate friend of the king from his youth. He was the second son of that Richard de Clare who was eighth Earl of Clare, sixth Earl of Hertford, and seventh Earl of Gloucester. The fourth witness, Richard de Brus, was of a knightly race. His cousin Robert was slain by Prince Llewelyn. The fifth witness, Reginald de Grey, was at the time filling the office of Constable of Flint Castle, and therefore became, by virtue of the charter, the first Mayor of Flint. He was the grandson of Henry de Grey of Essex, the first who bore that time-honoured name. This Reginald was the ancestor of that celebrated Reginald de Grey, Lord of Ruthin, whose disputes with Owen Glyndwr led to that brave Welsh chieftain appearing in open insurrection against the usurper Henry IV. From our first Mayor of Flint have sprung the Dukes of Kent and of Suffolk, the Earls of Kent, Wilton, and Stamford, and many other noble families. The sixth witness, Nicholas de Segrave, was a member of a distinguished family, and he himself was a valiant warrior and statesman. His sons, Nicholas and John, were with the king at the siege of the Castle of Caerlaverock, on the Solway Firth, in Scotland, in 1300; and in the celebrated contemporary poem which has been edited by the late Sir Harris Nicholas, and which describes the siege, Nicholas, the son, is thus

referred to : “ By nature adorned in body and enriched in heart. He had a valiant father who taught his children to imitate the brave and to associate with the nobles. The father had by his wife five sons, who were valiant, bold, and courageous knights.”

We find the name of the seventh witness, Peter de Chaumpvent, mentioned in the accounts for the building of Flint Castle, as making payments to the masons and others, and he is there described as a knight. I am inclined to think that this surname is synonymous with that of the modern Champneys. The last witness named is John de Monte Alto, Cheshire Palatinate, Baron of Hawarden, of a Norman family. His ancestor was created by his kinsman, Hugh Lupus, the Norman Earl of Chester, one of the Barons of that earldom, with the charge of the Castles of Hawarden and Mold, and thus he had the care of the eastern part of Flintshire. His mother was a daughter of the Earl of Arundel. The present Viscount Hawarden claims descent from him in the female line.

Now mark the last words of these charters : “ Given by our hand at Flynt, the eighth day of September, in the twelfth year of our reign.” Picture to your minds, my hearers, the tall, erect, and well-proportioned King, with his high, broad, and intelligent forehead, superintending the drafting and sealing of these charters. When his tomb in Westminster Abbey was opened in the presence of the Society of Antiquaries, in the middle of the last century, his body was found to measure 6 ft. 4 ins. in length. I have here a portrait of him, drawn by George Virtue, about 1640, which we have good reason to think is substantially a true representation of him. England possessed, in the days of Edward, good sculptors as well as architects, “ and it is tolerably certain that the artist employed to erect, at Carnarvon, a statue of the King would be a man competent to execute that work in a creditable manner. It is true that at the present moment the hand of time has nearly destroyed every feature, but a

century and a half ago the statue was doubtless in a better condition. An artist accustomed to detect, with a practised eye, not only what was, but what had been, might gather from the brow, from the mouth, from the chin, and from the general contour, a tolerably accurate idea of the general portraiture. George Virtue, in his researches for the illustration of Rapin's History, visited Carnarvon, believed that he had gained from the statue a just idea of what Edward had been, and brought away a drawing of it, which he carefully engraved."¹ From that portrait this is taken. Then imagine in our old castle of Flint this majestic King, in the full prime and vigour of life, surrounded by his learned Chancellor and his armour-clad noble warriors, the flower of the land, handing to the burgesses of these four favoured towns, these charters, conferring upon them the first real municipal liberties granted in Wales. Is not this a picture that our able young Flintshire artist, Mr. Leonard Hughes, could vividly depict, and when painted, might it not appropriately be placed in our little council-chamber at Flint?

In conclusion, from the evidences I have referred to in this paper, I claim for Flint the privilege of being the birthplace of municipal life in Wales.

¹ See *The Life and Reign of Edward I*, published by Messrs. Seeley and Co., Fleet Street.

FLINTSHIRE GENEALOGICAL NOTES.

BY ERNEST ARTHUR EBBLEWHITE, ESQ.

UNDER this heading will be given extracts from genealogical collections formed in North Wales since 1884, as well as abstracts of original evidences for the examination of which opportunities may occur from time to time.

I.—HOLYWELL.

The first volume of the Parish Registers of Holywell contains baptisms from 1677 to 1706, and from 1711 to 1713; marriages from 1677 to 1705, and from 1712 to 1713; and burials from 1677 to 1706, from 1708 to 1709, and from 1712 to 1714, all inclusive. It is evident that the records for the intervening years were omitted by the carelessness of Mr. Edward Parry, the Vicar, who was buried at Ruthin, co. Denbigh, on the 7th of September 1711.

With the assistance of the present Vicar, the Rev. Richard Owen Williams, M.A., I thoroughly examined the contents of the parish chest without finding any rough notes for the missing years. Between the years 1662 and 1710 the transcripts for the following dates have been preserved in the Diocesan Registry at St. Asaph: 1667, 1674 to 1676, 1678 to 1680, 1682, 1685 to 1688, 1690, 1693, 1696, 1698 to 1700, 1702, and 1704. The following extracts are from the first volume of the original Registers:—

Baptisms.

- 1679, Apr. 12, Margaret, dau. of Thomas Salisbury.
 1679, Nov. 25, Edward, son of John Humphreys, Vicar.
 1680, Nov. 15, Thomas, son of Thomas Salisbury.
 1680, Feb. 28, Roger, son of Edward Bellis; and Mary, dau. of Harry Hughes.
 1681, Nov. 16, Mary, dau. of Thomas Salisbury.

- 1683, Aug. 13, Margareta peregrini filia (*daughter of a stranger*).
 1684, Oct. 25, Jane, dau. of Thomas Salisbury of Bagillt.
 1684, Nov. 13, Alice, dau. of Thomas Kirk of Holywell (*i.e., the township*).
 1686, Feb. 2, Edward, son of Hugh Jones ; and Mary, dau. of Thomas Kirk of Holywell.
 1688, July 15, Elizabeth, dau. of Jane of Denbigh, born 14 (*probably the child of a tramp*).
 1689, Apr. 16, Elizabeth, dau. of Thomas Salisbury of Bagillt, and Mary his wife (born 7).
 1689, Dec. 15, Mary, dau. of Thomas Kirk of Holywell, and Elizabeth his wife (born 8).
 1689, Feb. 18, Edward, son of Henry Lloyd of Colesill, and Margaret his wife ; and Hamlett, son of Thomas Hughes of Bagillt, and Anne his wife.
 1691, Oct. 2, Catherine, dau. of Thomas Salisbury of Bagillt, and Mary his wife (born 22 Sep.).
 1692, Mar. 27, Thomas, son of Thomas Kirk and Elizabeth his wife, of Holywell.
 1695, Jan. 2, Joseph, son of Singeon (*i.e., St. John*) Jones of Coleshill.
 1698, Apr. 28, Dorothea Regina, dau. of Robert Stringfellow.
 1701, Oct. 21, Peter, son of — Houghton, a stranger.
 1704, Sep. 18, Mary, son of John Salisbury of Coleshill.
 1705 (*an error for 1706*), Apr. 9, Mary, dau. of John Salisbury of Coleshill.
 1712. On the 3rd September in this year a number of books left by Capt. Wenlock were distributed to poor children whose names are given.

Marriages.

- 1677, Dec. 28, Thomas Salisbury of Flint, and Jane Parry of Holywell.
 1682, Apr. 17, Edward Hughes of St. Asaph, and Ellen verch Hugh of Holywell.
 1682, July 30, John Newman and Grace Hughes of Holywell.
 1683, Feb. 2, Thomas Kirk and Elizabeth Parry of Holywell.
 1702, Oct. 29, John Salisbury and Mary Morris.
 1702, Dec. 23, Edward Davies and Margaret Salisbury.
 1712, Aug. 31, Edward Hughes of Flint Parish and Lucy Price of Holywell.
 1712, Oct. 5, John Hughes and Margaret Salusbury.
 1713, July 29, Robert Williams of Newmarket and Jane Hughes of Holywell.

Burials.

- 1680, Dec. 4, Thomas, son of Thomas Salisbury.
 1682, Mar. 22, Edward Salisbury of Bagillt.
 1684, Nov. 1, John Salisbury of Bagillt.
 1684, Dec. 14, Ursula, wife of James Yong of Bagillt.
 1686, Mar. 23, Jane, dau. of Roger Pyerce of Greenfield; and Penelope Hughes of Bagillt.
 1687, June 12, Mary, dau. of Thomas Kirk of Holywell.
 1689, Jan. 10, Elizabeth, dau. of Thomas Salisbury of Bagillt.
 1691, May 10, Edward Hughes of Holywell, and Thomas ap Edward of Bagillt.
 1693, June 3, Mary, wife of Thomas Salisbury of Bagillt.
 1694, May 22, Robert Edwards, Clerk, Rector of Halkin.
 1696, Apr. 23, Thomas, son of Thomas Kirk of Holywell.
 1696, Aug. 14, Katharine Salisbury of Bagillt.
 1696, Oct. 3, Thomas Salisbury of Bagillt.
 1698, Aug. 20, a strange, poor woman died at the Well.
 1699, Nov. 22, Jonett, wife of Thomas Salisbury of Bagillt.
 1705, May 20, Thomas Hughes, a poor, strange child.¹
 1712, Aug. 10, Rog'r Kinaston, pap. pon. (*a Roman Catholic*).
 1713-4, Feb. 2, Edward Owens, "a Roman", of Holywell.
 1713-4, Feb. 23, a poor, strange Frenchman (*who died at Holywell*).
 1714, Apr. 6, William Parry, "a Roman", of Holywell.
 1714, June 28, Aaron the fiddler.

The following list of entries of Roman Catholic baptisms, marriages, and burials, is copied *verbatim*, in its entirety, from the last pages of the first Holywell Register, and considering the dearth of such records for the period (1698 to 1714) its value cannot be too highly estimated:—

"ROMAN CATHOLICS married anno 1700:—

"Thomas Blunt Gen' et Maria Mostyn, May 21th.

"Bapt' {Joh'es fil' Edv'i Owens, Julij 29, 1701.
 {Maria fil' Carbery Ergan, Aug. 5, 1701.

"Baptizat' 1700:—

"Maria fil' Hugonis Lloyd, Sept. 4.

"Elizabeth fil' Thomæ Blunt Gen' et Mariae ux' baptizat' 6to die Augusti 1701.

¹ About this date a leaf has been cut out of the Register; and that there are some entries lost between 1706 and 1712 is proved by inscriptions on tombstones in the churchyard, *inter alia*, "Here lyeth the Bodys of 2 infants of Willm. Hughs the Smith's, Margaret & Elizabeth both died .. March 1708."

- “ Holl[*ywell*] Samuel fil' Edv'i Ed[*war*]ds, 10br. 17mo, 1701.
 “ Holl[*ywell*] Owenus fil' Thomae Parry, Feb. [*Feb.*] 1702.
 “ Holl[*ywell*] Joh's fil' Carbery Egan, Dec. 1703.
 “ Greenf[*ield*] Thomas fil' Thomas Blunt Gen', Julij 4, 1704.

“ Buried, 1700-1 :—

- “ Holl[*ywell*] Anna Trevor, feb. 3d.
 “ Holl[*ywell*] Morris Pugh, feb. 6.
 “ Holl[*ywell*] Petrus Williams Gen', 10br 1mo, 1701.
 “ Holl[*ywell*] Maria Wynn, 10br 8, 1701.
 “ Holl[*ywell*] Joh's Stanley, April 13.
 “ Elizabeth fil' Humphredi Griffith, May 30.
 “ Mrs. Martha Griffith, May 7, 1702.
 “ Mrs. Mariana Mostyn, March 18, 1703.
 “ Mrs. Frances Fitzherbert, Oct. 20.
 “ Gulielmus Conway sepult' feb. 14, 170 $\frac{3}{4}$.
 “ Mrs. Bruin, a stranger, was bury'd at Holywell, June ye 6th, 1713.
 “ Mr. Will' Wynne of Talacre was buryed ye 15 of July 1713.
 “ Holyw[*ell*] Mrs. Mary Roberts was buryed Feb. 2, 1714.

“ Roman Catholicks, 1697, baptiz':—

- “ Joh'is fil' Samueli Jones Gen', 13 [*January*].
 “ Catherina fil' Thomas Lloyd, Janry. ...
 “ Edv'us Rhock, March 25.
 “ Holl[*ywell*] Edv'us fil' Georgij Tuson, 10br 23, '98.
 “ Holl[*ywell*] Catherina fil' Rob'ti Savage, Jan. 8, '98.
 “ Edv'us fil' Thomae Parry, Janry 16, '98.

“ Bap' '99 :—

- “ Holl[*ywell*] Thcmas fil' Edvardi Edwards de Holywell.
 “ Buried Joh'es Rhock, March 14
 “ '98 :—
 “ Holl[*ywell*] Edv'us fil' Thomae Parry, Jary 27, '98.
 “ Holl[*ywell*] Vrsula Thomas, Spinster, feb. 2, '98.
 “ Holl[*ywell*], Thomas Parry, feb. 5, '98.
 “ Holl[*ywell*] Margaret Jones, feb. 10.

“ '99 :—

- “ Margaret Jones, Ap. 3.
 “ Thomas fil' Edv'i Ed[*war*]ds, feb. [*February*] 1mo.

“ Married :—

- “ David [*query*] Edwards et Maria ux' Martij 2.
 “ ... Blunt Gen' et Maria Masten [*erased*].

“ Buried, 1699 :—

“ Alexander Magdonell, Comes de Antrim Regn’ Hiberniae, June 11. [*Alexander Macdonnell, third Earl of Antrim, some time M.P. for Wigan, aged 84.*]

“ Holl[*ywell*] Roda [*query*] Peters, August 19.

“ Brinf[*ord*] Joan Evans, Aug. 13.

“ Roman Catholicicks, 1704 :—

“ Bapt’ Tho’ fil’ Thomae Clownsley, June 22.

“ ... fil’ Henry de Greenfield, Jul’ 10.

“ Elizabeth, fil’ Joh’is Rhodes, Jan. 29.

“ Charles fil’ Hugonis Lloyd, March 11, 17[0]4-5.

“ Sepult’ :—

“ Thomas fil’ Thomae Clownsley, July 6.

“ Anna Davies, July 9.

“ Edmund fil’ Carbury Fagan, 9br. 20, 1705.

“ Bapt’ :—

“ Joseph fil’ Griffith Griffith, May 13.

“ Greenf[*ield*] Joh’es fil’ Thomae Blunt Gen’, October 27.

“ Holl[*ywell*] Maria fil’ Joh’is Kenrick, Oct. 28.

“ Married :—

“ Sam’ Thorp et Luce Millington, May 4.

“ Buried :—

“ Ellin Conway, Oct. 4.

“ Holl[*ywell*] Gulielmus Christopher, Decemb. 23.

The second volume contains a complete record of the baptisms, marriages, and burials for the years 1714 to 1741 inclusive, and I append a few extracts :—

Marriages.

1715, Jan. 10, Hamlet Hughes and Margaret Price.

1716, Dec. 22, John Ames and

1717, Dec. 23, Robert Hughes and Elizabeth Bartley.

1718, Aug. 17, Robert Bellis and Mary Hughes.

1718-9, Jan. 17, Richard Roberts of Flint, and Elizabeth Hughes of Bagillt.

1719-20, Jan. 31, Hamnaid [*Hamned, alias Hamlet*] Hughes and Alice Williames.

1720, May 21, William Taylor and Catherine Hughes.

1720, Nov. 4, Charles Hughes of Northop, and Mary Humphreys of this parish.

- 1720, Aug. 24, Mr. John Wynne of Holywell and Mrs. Anne Hughes of Lligwy.
 1722, Mar. 31, Thos. Hughes and Elizabeth Gruffith of Bagillt.
 1722, Apr. 27, Thomas Hughes of Whitford and Blanche Edwards of Holywell.
 1722, Nov. 16, Hugh Wynne and Margaret Hughes.
 1724, Bagillt, Robert Davies and Margaret Salisbury.
 1725, July 10, Bagillt, William Jones and Mary Salusbray.
 1725, July 16, John Salusbray and ... Roberts.
 1725, Feb. 21, John Hughes of Whitford and Elizabeth Klownslley of Holywell.
 1738, May 7, Thomas Swetnom and Margaret Hughes.

Baptisms.

- 1714, Oct. 20, James, son of Ellis Price, Vicar.
 1720, Feb. 3, Charles Young, a Papist child.
 1723, Oct. 27, Martha, dau. of Thos. Hughes of Holywell, Esq.
 1724, Aug. 5, Thomas, son of Ignatius Blood of Greenfield.
 1724, Oct. 24, Edward, son of Mr. Thos. Hughes of Greenfield.
 1726, June 19, Jane, dau. of Andrew Hughes [*at first written Jones, and then altered*] of Coleshill.
 1726, Aug. 11, Elizabeth, dau. of John Salusbray of Coleshill.
 1728, Oct. 29, John, son of John Salisbury of Coleshill
 1731, Aug. 8, Anne, dau. of Hammond (*doubtless an error for Hamned*) Hughes.
 1732, Oct. 8, Thomas, son of Hamned Hughes of Holywell.
 1733, Apr. 15, Edward, son of John Salisbury of Coleshill.
 1733, June 4, John, son of Mr. Thomas Hughes of Greenfield.
 1735, Sept. 21, Edward, son of Mr. Thomas Hughes.
 1736, Mar. 24, Robert, son of John Salsbury.
 1737, July 31, Joseph, son of Hamned Hughes.
 1740, Apr. 7, Mary, dau. of John Salisbury.
 1740, July 20, Jane, dau. of John Hamlet.

Burials.

- 1716, Feb. 7, Mr. William Hughes. [*He left a widow, Catherine, but no children, and three sisters, Anne Cope, Dorothy Edwards, and Jane Wynne.*]
 1720, Oct. 30, Mr. Green, a reputed Popish priest.
 1720, Nov. 6, Water [*Walter*] Weighed [*Wade*] of Holywell.
 1722, Apr. 5, Mr. Edward Hughes of Greenfield.
 1722, Apr. 19, Owen Hughes of Holywell [*a saddler, who married Alice Alexander of Audley, Stafford*].
 1724, Mar. 11, Doctor Bool of Holywell.
 1728, Mar. 22, Mary Salusbury.

- 1729, Dec. 3, Margaret Salusbury.
 1730, Aug. 15, a girl of Ignatius Blood's.
 1730, Sept. 23, Jane Salusbury.
 1731, Sept. 20, Mary Salusbury.
 1737, Apr. 8, Griffith Hughes, a stranger.
 1739, June 10, Margaret Salusbury.
 1740, Jan. 14, Hamlet Hughes.

The third volume contains baptisms and burials between 1741 and 1772, and marriages between 1741 and 1754 ; but I have only examined the Register to 1750 :—

Baptisms.

- 1744, Mar. 6, Robert, a bastard son of Robert Hughes and Elizabeth Sheldon.
 1747, July 9, Jane and Margaret, daughters of Hugh Hughes and Jane his wife.
 1747, Aug. 2, John and Roger, sons of Hugh Hughes and Elizabeth his wife.
 1747, Oct. 25, Elizabeth, daughter of Peter Hughes and Liddia his wife.

Marriages.

- 1742, June 3, Thomas Edwards of Skeiviog, and Anne Hughes of Holywell.
 1743, Aug. 23, George Hughes and Catherine Wynne, both of Skeiviog.
 1745, Apr. 15, Foulk Hughes of St. Asaph, and Margaret Middleton of Holywell.
 1745, June 15, Samuel Shefton and Margaret Hughes, both of Nannerch.
 1747, June 30, George Chambers and Emma Hughes.

Burials.

- 1743, Feb. 21, Meredydd Hughes.
 1750, Nov. 17, John Salisbury.

While waiting in the church for my friend the Vicar, on the occasion of one of my visits in the autumn of 1886, I copied the following from a mural tablet :—

“By leave of Paul Panton, Esqr.,—Near this place is interred the remains of Mrs. Jane Hughes, widow of the Revd. Charles Hughes, Rector of Coln St. Denis, Gloucestershire ; Youngest Daughter and Coheirress of John Kirrill, Esq., of the County of Kent. She died Sepr. 1st, 1791, aged 63 Years.”

Her body was buried in Holywell Churchyard.

In June 1888 I again examined the parish registers for all entries of the name of Wynne (whether baptisms, marriages, or burials) between 1677 and 1735, and I here give the list from the original records, collated with the Bishop's transcripts at St. Asaph:—

- 1685, June 28, John Griffith of Llanelian, clerk, and Mary Wynne of Llanvairtalhaiarn, married.
- 1688, April 19, Henry Parry of Tywysog (*Twysoy*), Esquire, buried. [*Rose Parry of Twysoy was the mother of Mr. William Wynne of Mold, Clerk of the Peace for Flintshire.*]
- 1697, Aug. 23, Hollywell. John Wynne and Catherine Wynne, married.
- 1698, Oct. 18, William, son of John Wynne of Hollywell, gent., and Catherine his wife, bapt.
- 1703, Mar. 29, Jane, dau. of George Wynne, buried.
- 1704, April 30, Thomas, son of George Wynne of Bagillt, bapt.
- 1712, May 10, Edward, son of Edward Wynne of Twll and Catherine his wife, bapt.
- 1713, Nov. 18 Jo., a son of Jo. Wynne of Skiviog, bapt.
- 1716, Aug. 25, Thomas, son of Edward Wynne, bapt.
- 1720, May 30, Peter Wynne and Ellinor [*Ellin*] Pyerce, married.
- 1721, Aug. 23, Mrs. Hannah Wynne of Garyan Llynn, buried.
- 1722, Nov. 22, Mary Wynne of Bagillt, buried.
- 1723, April 24, John Roberts and Mary Wynne, married.
- 1723, Oct. 24, Elizabeth, dau. of Mr. John Wynne of Brynford, bapt.
- 1723, Oct. 26, Richard Davies and Mary Wynne, married.
- 1725, April 28, Mary, dau. of John Wynne of Holywell, bapt.
- 1725, May 13, Hugh Wynne of Holywell, buried.
- 1725, May 17, Thomas Wynne of Holywell, an infant, buried.
- 1725, July 14, John Wynne of Holywell, an infant, buried.
- 1725, Sept. 8, Robert Wynne of Bagillt, an infant, buried.
- 1726,¹ Feb. 18, Hanah, dau. of John Wynne of Holywell, bapt.
- 1727, June 20, Jane, dau. of Edward Wynne of Holywell, bapt.
- 1727[-8], Jan. 1, John, son of Mr. John Wynne, bapt.
- 1728, Dec. 14, John, son of John Wynne, bapt.
- 1729, Mar. 29, George Wynne and Edward Jones, buried. [*Entered on the Transcript Rolls for both 1728 and 1729.*]
- 1729, Oct. 12, Elizabeth, dau. of Edward Wynne, bapt.
- 1730, July 11, William, son of Mr. John Wynne, bapt. [*This was Mr. William Wynne of Mold, Clerk of the Peace for Flintshire, who died 26 March 1792, and was buried at Mold.*]

¹ The transcripts for this year are missing, as well as for the years 1731, 1732, and 1734.

1733, Sept. 2, Elizabeth Wynne, buried.

1733[-4], Feb. 24, Mary Wynne, buried.

1735, Aug, 15, William, son of Edward Wynne, bapt.

In addition to the above there are four entries as to Wynne on preceding pages of the present article.

The following are abstracts of all the probates of wills and letters of administration granted in the Probate Registry at St. Asaph from 1660 (when the calendars commence) to 1780, as to Wynne of Holywell :—

(a) 17 Feb. 1701-2. Letters of adm'on in the estate of Mary Wynne of Holywell, spinster (*who was buried 8th Dec. previous, vide p. 123 ante*), granted to Jane Edwards of the same, spinster, principal creditor, the sureties being Thomas Morris of Caerwys, yeoman, and John Footman of Holywell, yeoman. Seal used by administratrix,.....*a chevron erm. between three Saracens' heads.*

(b) 22nd May 1725. Probate of the will of Hugh Wynne of Holywell, barber [*who was buried 13th May previous, vide p. 127 ante*], which was dated 16th April previous, was granted to Margaret Wynne, formerly Hughes, widow, the executrix. [*They were married 16th Nov. 1722, vide p. 125 ante.*] The testator mentions his brothers and sisters, Thomas, John, Elizabeth, Mary, and Florence. The witnesses were Thomas Edwards, Thomas Totty, and Jeffrey Williams, clerk.

(c) 25th Nov. 1736. Letters of adm'on in the estate of Edward Wynne of Holywell, saddler, granted to Elizabeth Wynne of the same, widow, the relict, the sureties being George Colley, gent., and Andrew Edwards, blacksmith, both of Dyserth.

(d) Letters of adm'on in the estate of Peter Wynne of Holywell, gardener, 1739.

(e) 8th Dec. 1740. Letters of adm'on in the estate of Ellin Wynne of Holywell, widow [*late wife of Peter Wynne. See her marriage in 1720, at p. 127 ante*], granted to Roger Pierce of Holywell, tailor, the brother, and Barbara Pierce, otherwise Davies, the sister, the sureties (to the bond dated 24th Nov.) being Thomas Pierce, otherwise Pyers, of St. Asaph, gent., and Edward Davies of Holywell, millwright.

REPORT OF KERRY MEETING.

(Continued from p. 77.)

EXCURSION, THURSDAY, AUGUST 13TH.

Route.—It must be borne in mind that the chief object which the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland had in view when they invited their Welsh brethren to cross the St. George's Channel, was not to show them the most lovely scenery in the British Islands, but to afford a long-wished-for opportunity of comparing the early Christian remains of the two countries. In order to accomplish the main purpose for which the meeting was held, it was necessary to leave Killarney behind, with many regrets, and make for the western promontory of the County Kerry, occupied by the Barony of Corkaguiny, a district probably richer than any other throughout the whole of Ireland in the earliest forms of ecclesiastical structures and inscribed monuments.

A special train, starting at 7.30 A.M., on August 13, took the whole party from Killarney to Tralee (twenty miles northward), the distance being accomplished in three-quarters of an hour. The remaining portion of the journey was on the new light railway from Tralee to Dingle (thirty-eight miles south-westward), taking about three hours. The railway is constructed to a 3-ft. gauge, and follows the course of the high road almost the whole way, rising at the summit level to 800 ft. above the sea. The line takes a westerly direction from Tralee along the north shore of the promontory, as far as Camp, where it turns to the south-westward, crossing the range of hills diagonally to Anascaul, and then continues its westerly course along the southern shore of the promontory to Dingle, the whole distance being thirty-eight miles.

The train was brought to a standstill at a point eight miles west of Tralee, just before the line commences to ascend the pass through the mountains, to enable the members to inspect the ruins of Killelton Church, which lie a few hundred yards up the hillside, to the south of the railway.

Time did not allow of anything but the most cursory examination of Killelton Church, and getting once more into the train, the journey was continued up the tedious ascent. Unfortunately, a dense sea-fog came on, obscuring everything, to the great disappointment of most of the party. The last break in the journey was at

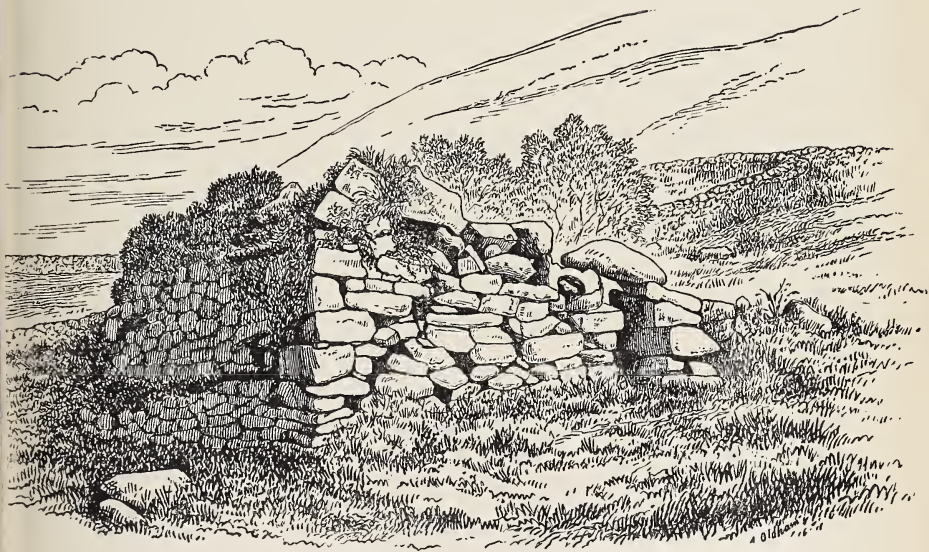
Ballintaggart, two miles south-east of Dingle, where the Societies were met by the reception committee, who accompanied them to the ancient burial-ground, with its wonderful collection of Ogam monuments. On arrival at Dingle, about 1 P.M., after inspecting the Ogam inscribed stone on the townland of Emlagh West, near the railway station, the members adjourned to Benner's and Lee's Hotels, where sleeping accommodation was provided for this and the succeeding night.

After luncheon an excursion was made by carriages to Kilmalkedar, five miles north-westward. The town of Dingle does not leave a favourable impression on the mind of the visitor, its streets being particularly filthy, and the houses having a wretched, tumble-down appearance, without the atoning merit of being picturesque. The most imposing public building is the police barracks, a red brick monstrosity, hideous enough to have been designed by Lord Grimthorpe himself, when in playful mood. The only redeeming point about Dingle is that excellent lobsters are to be bought there at a very low price. The first mile out of the town, to the west, is along the side of the harbour, now concealed by a deep pall of sea-fog, and its existence only to be guessed at from the pleasant odour of sea-weed. The next two miles is along a dreary stretch of perfectly straight road, going in a north-westerly direction across the boggy plain at the foot of the mountains. Beyond this the ridge of hills is crossed at a height of about 700 ft. above the sea, and the mist rolling away, discloses the sandy beach of Smerwick Harbour lying below in the distance. The landscape is very like that of Pembrokeshire or Cardiganshire, quite devoid of trees amongst the hedgerows or elsewhere, so that the divisions between the fields assume an undue prominence, looking like the reticulations on a surveyor's map; and were it not for the beautiful variations of colour, and the exquisite forms of the contours of the hills, the effect would be hardly less monotonous. The small group of houses constituting the village of Kilmalkedar is situated on a hill-side, overlooking Smerwick Harbour, and behind it, five miles to the north-east, Brandon Mountain rises to a height of over 3,000 ft. Almost at the top of Brandon Mountain is still to be seen the ruined oratory of St. Brendan, the navigator, about whose voyages almost as many marvellous stories are told in mediæval literature as about Sindbad the Sailor in the *Arabian Nights*.

That saints were more numerous in Corkaguiny in old days than at present is attested by the following legend, still firmly believed in the locality. Once upon a time there was a procession of saints from Kilmalkedar Church to St. Brendan's oratory, and the leader of the procession discovered to his great annoyance, on arriving at his destination, that he had left his service-book behind him; so the word was passed down the line to have it brought, and when it reached the last man it was found he was only just leaving Kilmalkedar. He, therefore, went into the church, fetched out the missing book, and it was then passed from hand to hand right up to the top

of Brandon Mountain. Now, whatever grain of truth there may be in this story, the fact remains that in and around Kilmalkedar there are a sufficiently large number of specimens of the handiwork of the early Celtic Christians to give colour to the belief that saints were as plentiful as blackberries, or—if treated after the fashion of the statistical fiend—to reach from Kilmalkedar to Brandon Hill.

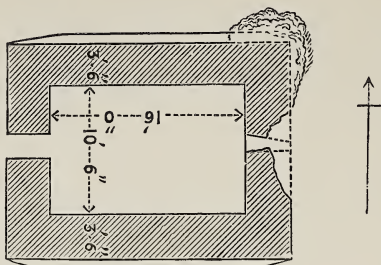
Just before reaching Kilmalkedar a halt was made for a short time to examine the circular stone fort of Caherdorgan and its beehive cells, close to the road on the west side. After seeing the Church and other antiquities at Kilmalkedar, a walk of a mile south-west brought the party to the Oratory of Gallerus, further down the hillside and nearer to Smerwick Harbour. Again ascending the hill the carriages were joined at a point on the highroad a mile nearer to Dingle, and the return journey made by the same route by which we had come. In spite of the late hour and the sea fog, which was still as dense as ever, some of the more adventurous spirits added two miles to an already long drive in order not to lose the opportunity of visiting the Oratory and Ogam pillar at Temple Managhan, three miles north-west of Dingle.



Ruins of Killelton Church.

Killelton Church.—The ruins of the ancient Church of Killelton are situated eight miles west of Tralee, on the northern slope of the Slieve Mish Mountains, facing Tralee Bay, a few hundred yards south of the narrow gauge railway, which here runs parallel with the high road, following the shore of the bay (Ordnance Map, 1-in. scale, Sheet 161). This interesting little building has been well described by Mr. J. P. Lynch, M.R.I.A., in the *Journal* of the Royal

Society of Antiquaries of Ireland. The accompanying illustrations have been kindly lent by that Society.

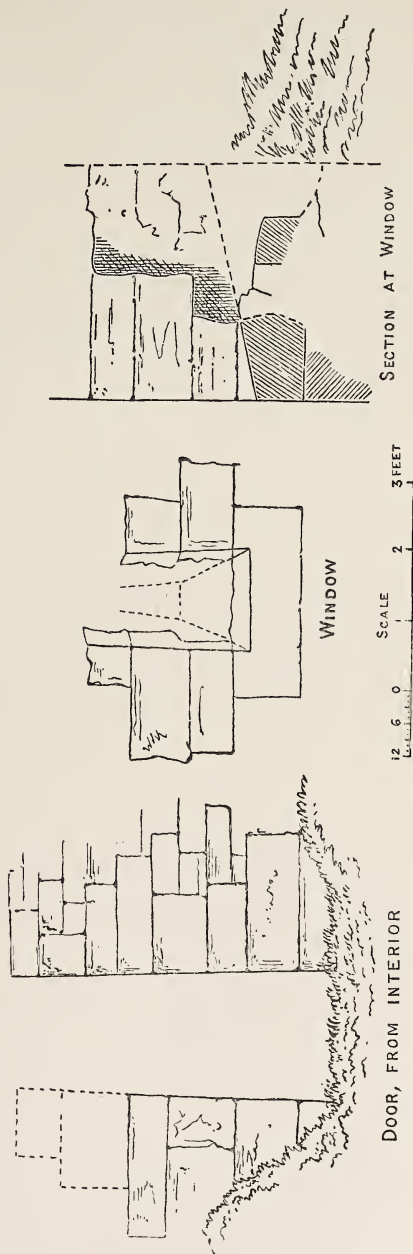


Plan of Killelton Church.

The plan of the church consists of a single rectangular chamber, 16 ft. long by 10 ft. 6 ins. wide, inside the walls being 3 ft. 6 ins. thick. The only openings in the walls are a door at the west end and a window opposite to it at the east end. Both door and window have inclined jambs. The shapes of the heads of the openings can only be guessed at, as the upper part of the wall is ruined. The structure is of a very early type, and is of dry rubble without cement. The hinge and socket, in which the door turned, are of stone, and can still be seen.

Ballintaggart Killeen and Ogam Inscribed Stones.—The ancient disused burial-ground, or Killeen, of Ballintaggart is situated a mile and a half south-east of Dingle, on some rising ground to the east of Dingle Harbour, and a few minutes' walk from the narrow gauge railway, on the south side (Ordnance Map, 1-in. scale, Sheet 171). This cemetery belongs to a class of which there are numerous examples in the south-west of Ireland. They are called "Keels", "Killeens", "Killenas", or "Kealuraghs", and are now used only for the burial of unbaptised infants and suicides.¹ Some difference of opinion exists amongst experts as to whether these cemeteries were, in the first instance, pagan or Christian. In the case of the one at Ballintaggart, the meaning of the name, *i.e.*, "Priests' town", would seem to indicate a Christian origin, although no trace of any church or other building now remains. The Killeen is an approximately circular enclosure, measuring 88 ft. in diameter one way and 98 ft. across in another direction at right angles to the former. The enclosing fence is a low stone wall with a ditch on the outside, and backed up with earth on the inside. The hedge on the top is composed chiefly of fuchsia bushes. The fence is comparatively modern, being not more than a hundred years old. The ground within the enclosure is higher in the centre than at the sides, and is covered with innumerable tiny graves, having small stones at the head and foot, marking the places where unbaptised infants have been interred from

¹ Brash's *Ogam Monuments*, p. 87, and Sir S. Ferguson's *Ogam Inscriptions*, p. 27.



Details of Killelton Church.

time to time. Strewn about at intervals on the uneven humpy surface of the ground are nine rounded, water-worn boulders of old red sandstone, inscribed on the edges with Ogams, and in three cases marked with an incised cross of early form on one of the broad faces. The first person who appears to have noticed these inscriptions was Mr. Henry Pelham, whose account was published in the *Vallancey Collections* (vol. vi, p. 219). They have since been copied by Mr. Windele, in 1838; by Mr. Hitchcock; by Mr. Rolt Brash,¹ in 1868; and by Sir S. Ferguson². The last-named archæologist gives the most correct versions. The following is a description of the Ogam-inscribed stones at Ballintaggart, with the latest readings and notes by Professor Rhys:³—

(No. 1) Brash No. 6; Ferguson A; 3 ft. 6 ins. long, by 1 ft. 4½ ins. wide, by 9½ ins. thick; having on one of the broad faces an incised cross, thus—

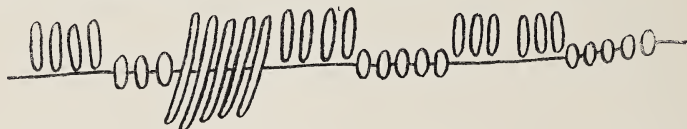


inscribed on the left edge, reading from the bottom, upwards—



T R I A M A Q A M A I L A G N I

and on the right edge, reading from the bottom, upwards—



C U R C I T T I

I construe the first line to mean Triam Maquam Mailagni=Trium Filiorum Mailagni, and Mailagn-i is the name which appears later as

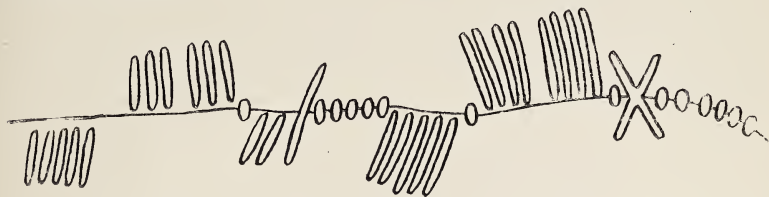
¹ *Ogam Monuments*, p. 200.

² *Ogam Inscriptions*, p. 31.

³ The dimensions were taken last summer with great care, and the illustrations are from rubbings reduced one-eighth linear by photography. The stones are taken in the order in which they lay on the ground, going round sunwise, from left to right. The illustrations were prepared quite independently of Prof. Rhys' readings, which accounts for a few discrepancies. The stem-line of the Ogams is an imaginary one, as the angles of the stones are rounded, and not square.

Maelán. The name *Curcitti* stands possibly for an older *Curcittii*, the genitive of a *Curcittios*; in that case its later form is *Cuircthe*, which occurs in Stokes' *Tripartite Life of Patrick* (p. 198). I take the *tii=thi* to be an affix, intended, perhaps, to make a diminutive, and *Curcitti* is, doubtless, derived from the simpler name, whose genitive is *Curci*. Other instances are *Callitti*, *Llotiti*, *Logitti*, and *Quigitti*.—J. R.

(No. 2) Brash No. 9; Ferguson B; 3 ft. 6 ins. long, by 1 ft. 1 in. wide, by 9½ ins. thick; inscribed on the left edge, reading from the bottom upwards—



N (E) T T A L M I N A C C A X O E

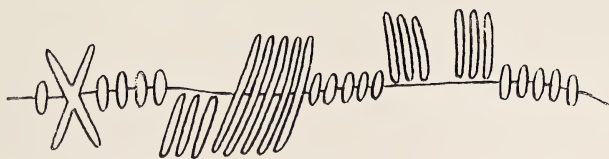
and continuing round the top and down the right edge—



M A Q Q I M U C O I D U

This stone is imperfect at both ends and obscure to me, and so is the name in No. 3.—J. R.

(No. 3) Brash No. 1; Ferguson C; 3 ft. 1 in. long, by 1 ft. 2 ins. wide, by 8 ins. thick; inscribed on the left edge, reading from the bottom upwards—

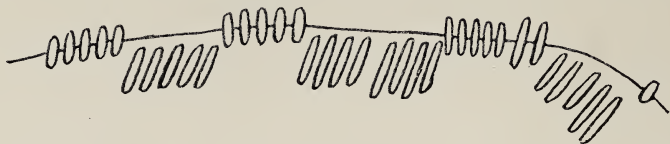


A X E V R I T T I

(No. 4) Brash No. 7; Ferguson D; 3 ft. 1 in. long, by 1 ft. 2 ins. wide, by 11 ins. thick; having on one of the broad faces an incised cross, thus—



and inscribed on the left edge, reading from the bottom upwards—



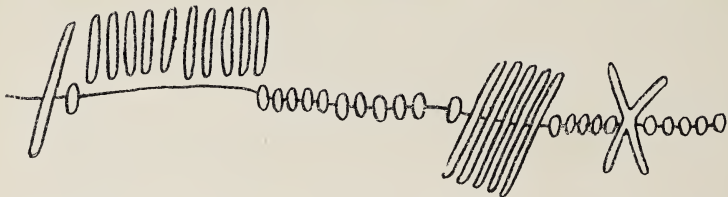
I N I S S I O N A S¹

The name Inission-as, occurs as *Inisian* in the Bodmin Manuscriptions (see the *Revue Celtique*, i, 337).—J. R.

(No. 5) Brash No. 2; Ferguson E; 3 ft. 6 ins. long, by 1 ft. 2 ins. wide, by 10 ins. thick; having on one of the broad faces an incised cross, thus—

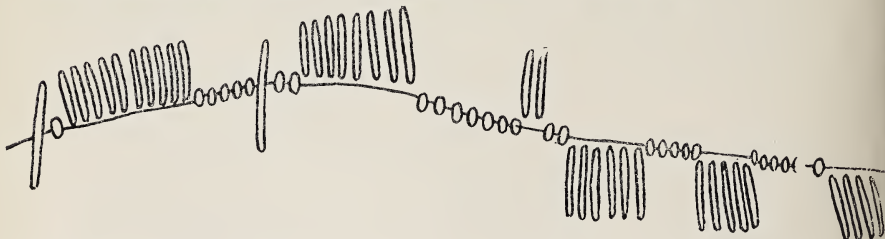


and inscribed on the left edge, reading from the bottom upwards—



M A Q Q I I A R I X I (?)

and continuing round the top and down the right edge—



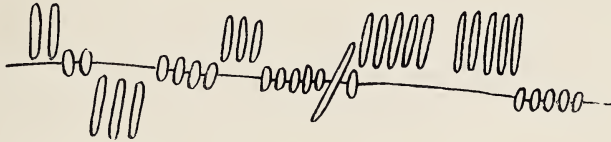
M A Q Q I M^o C C O I D O V V I N I A S

Iaripi, if that be the right transliteration, may perhaps be the name *Erp*, and I may cite the Bodleian MS., Laud 610, fol. 95b², where one finds a mention of a *Cathmol mc Hirp*. As to *Dovvinias*, see my note at p. 53 of this volume. The name occurs in the Dunmore Ogam as *Dovinia*, with *Mu* prefixed to it, possibly

¹ The four strokes of the final S are missing in my rubbing.—J. R. A.

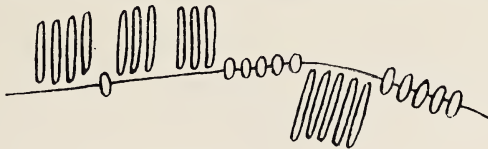
Mo. I took the trouble to revisit the stone this summer, as a friend had questioned my reading of the *Mu* or *Mo*; the result was that I was thoroughly convinced of the substantial correctness of my previous reading, though I am now inclined to read *Mu* rather than *Mo*, but not *mucoi* or *avi*. A third instance of *Dovinia* occurs on a stone at Lord Ventry's residence near Dingle. The inscription in question was shown me last summer for the first time. Two or three keen Ogmists spent some time in the rain with me trying to read it, but we failed to make out the middle portion. It begins with *Maqqi*, and ends with *Mucoe Dovinia*. Under more favourable circumstances I think the whole could be made out.—J. R.

(No. 6) Brash No. 3; Ferguson F; 3 ft. 2 ins. long, by 1 ft. 3 ins. wide, by 10 ins. thick; inscribed on the left edge, reading from the bottom upwards—



D O V E T I M A Q Q I

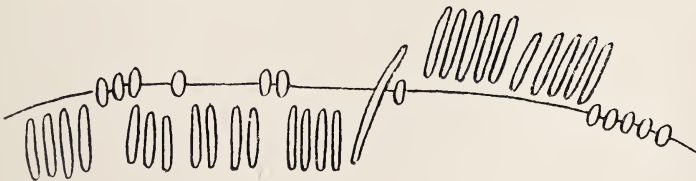
and continuing round the top and down the right edge—



C A T T I N I

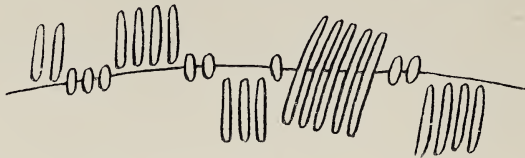
Both names are otherwise unknown to me, but I think I detect *Doveti* in the *Doid* of the name *Maeldoid*, of which *The Four Masters* give two instances from the seventh century, and a *Maeldoith* from the tenth; these should mean *Calvus Doveti*, "the tonsured man or slave of D." But who was *Dovet*? Can his name possibly be a form of the Biblical *David*? I have nothing to say of *Cattini* except that I do not recollect meeting with it elsewhere.—J. R.

(No. 7) Brash No. 4; Ferguson G; 2 ft. 10 ins. long, by 1 ft. 3 ins. wide, by 9 ins. thick; inscribed on the left edge, reading from the bottom upwards—



S U V A L L O S M A Q Q I

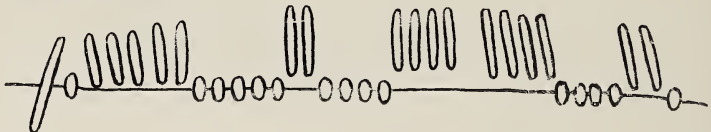
and continuing round the top and down the right edge—



D U C O V A R O S

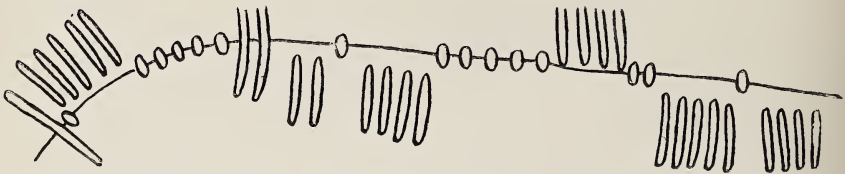
Much the same remark applies to this. The *a* of *Suwallos* forbids my equating it with the Welsh *Hywel*, *Howel*.—J. R.

(No. 8) Brash No. 5; Ferguson H; 4 ft. 2 ins. long by 1 ft. wide, by 1 ft. thick; inscribed on the left edge, reading from the bottom upwards—



M A Q I D E C C E D A

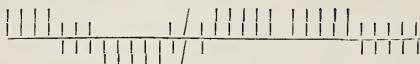
and continuing round the top and down the right edge—



M A Q I G L A S I C O N A S

Decceda is a well-known name, but *Glasiconas* was, to me, a new name when I examined the stone in 1883, for Brash (p. 203) had read it *Siconas*. It took me and Mrs. Rhys some time to make it out, and I am very glad to find that Mr. Allen has independently arrived at the same reading. It is the name which appears in later Irish as *Glasiuc* (see Stokes' *Tripartite Life of Patrick*, p. 162), which yields the genitive *Glascon*, the exact equivalent of the Ogmic form at Ballintaggart. (See *The Four Masters*, A.D. 920.)—J. R.

(No. 9) Brash No. 8; Ferguson I; 3 ft. 10 ins. long, by 1 ft. 6 ins. wide, by 9 ins. thick; inscribed on the left edge, reading from the bottom upwards—



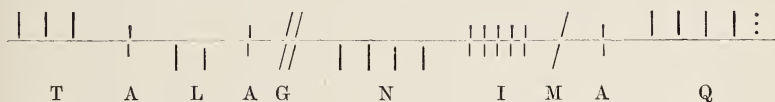
C U N A M A Q Q I

and continuing round the top and down the right edge—



No. 9. *Cunamaqqi avi Corbbi* would be, in later Irish, *Connmhaic ui Chorv* (the grave of Connmhac O'Corb). Queniloc-i on the Temple Gel stone I cannot identify, unless it be *Ceallaich*, Anglicised Kelley, corresponding to a nominative *Ceallach*. (Compare *Colla* for *Conla* or *Conla*.)

Emlagh West Ogam-inscribed Stone.—The townland of Emlagh West is situated half a mile from Dingle, near the railway station. (Ordnance Map, 1-in. scale, Sheet 171.) The Ogam-inscribed pillar stands against the fence of a field in the townland, and is stated to have been either a lintel or jamb of a rath-cave formerly existing on the same site, but now removed. It is an irregularly-shaped monolith of compact clay slate, 4 ft. 6 ins. long, by 1 ft. 3 ins. wide, by 9 ins. thick, inscribed with Ogams on one angle near the end, which is broken, as follows —



For descriptions see Rolt Brash's *Ogam Monuments*, p. 216; and Sir S. Ferguson's *Ogam Inscriptions*, p. 36. *Talagn-i* becomes later *Talán* (see Stokes' *Patrick*, p. 108).—J. R.

Kilmalkedar Church.—The Hiberno-Romanesque Church of Kilmalkedar, which is undoubtedly one of the most interesting of its kind in Ireland, is situated five miles north-west of Dingle, on a stony hillside overlooking Smerwick Harbour. The village, if such it can be called, consists of a few mean houses clustered round the church. The immediate neighbourhood is extraordinarily rich in ancient remains of all kinds, amongst which the following may be specified, beginning with the earliest:—(1) Several beehive cells, in ruins, in the fields to the north-west of the church; (2) a pagan fort, enclosing beehive cells, called Caherdorgan, close to the road to Dingle, on the west side of it, half a mile south of the church; (3) a stone-roofed cell or Oratory (?) amongst the cottages just behind the church; (4) the Oratory of Kilmalkedar, a quarter of a mile west of the church; (5) the oratory of Gallerus, one mile south-west of the church; (6) the Castle of Gallerus, between the Oratory of Gallerus and Smerwick Harbour, one mile south-west of the church; (7) the Chancellor's House, a quarter of a mile south of the church; and (8) some conventual buildings, close to the church, on the north side. In the churchyard at Kilmalkedar are several interesting memorials, consisting of a cross, a sundial ornamented with Celtic key

patterns, an Ogam-inscribed pillar, two stones with Irish minuscule inscriptions, and several holed stones. There is also another inscribed pillar close to the Oratory of Gallerus.

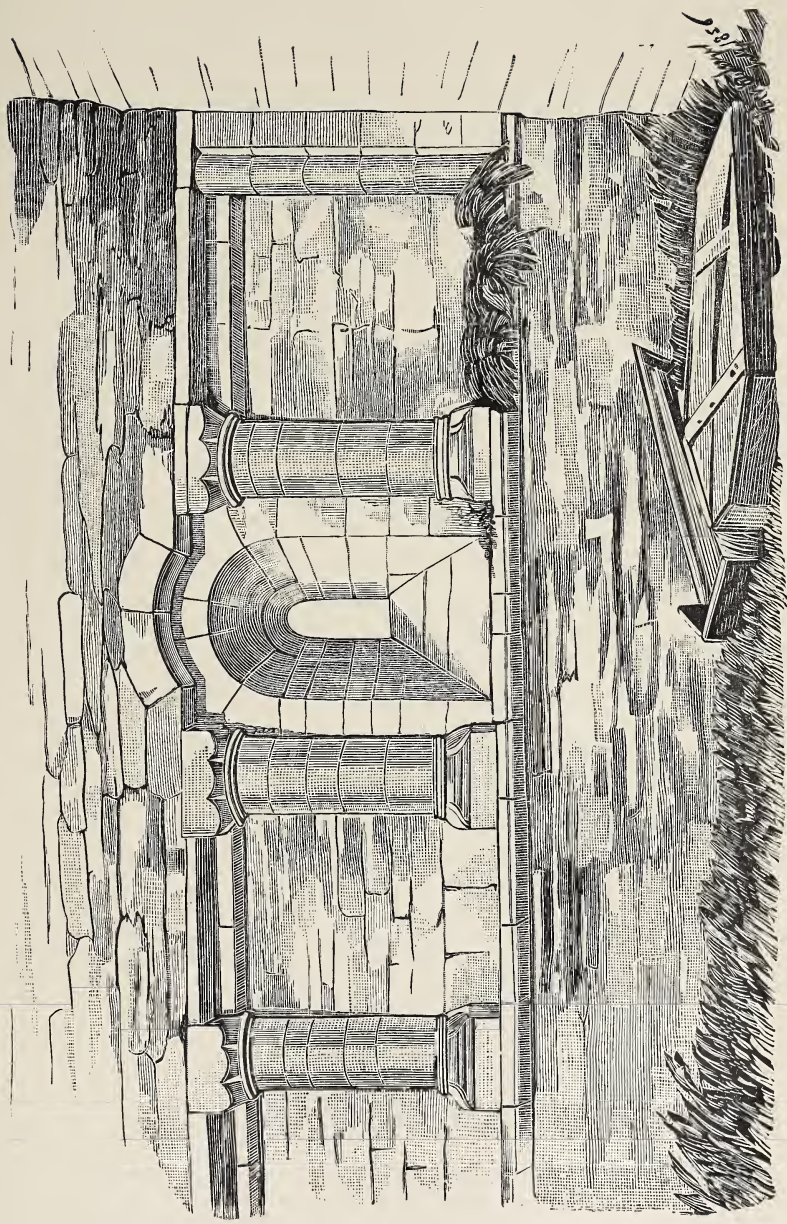
The original Church of Kilmalkedar appears to have been what is at present the nave, and it had a small sort of apsidal recess at the east end, not unlike the one at Cormac's Chapel, Cashel. The apse must have been pulled down soon after it was built to make room for a larger chancel. There are no historical data by which the age of the original structure or of this alteration can be definitely fixed, but the style of the nave corresponds with what would be called Norman in England, and the chancel is also of the round-arched period, although possibly somewhat later than the rest. The junction of the apse with the east wall of the nave is still to be seen.

The nave is 27 ft. 2 ins. long, by 17 ft. 3 ins. wide, and the chancel 14 ft. 4 ins. long by 11 ft. 4 ins. wide, inside dimensions. The nave has a highly enriched western doorway, and a single plain round-headed window of small size in the north and south walls; the chancel has one round-headed window in the east wall and another in the south wall, their length being greater as compared with their widths than in the case of the nave windows, showing a nearer approximation to the long slender lancets of the thirteenth century.

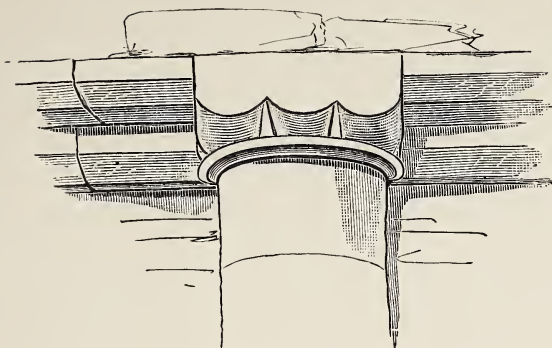
The chancel-arch is semicircular, 5 ft. 3 ins. wide at the level of the springing, and has two orders of mouldings, the inner one ornamented with chevrons, and the outer one with a bold roll and pelleted band. The soffit of the arch is enriched with beautifully carved diamond-shaped rosettes, similar to those on the north porch of Cormac's Chapel, Cashel.

The western doorway is a fine example of the Hiberno-Romanesque style, differing from Anglo-Norman doorways of the same period in having inclined jambs, a feature indicating a survival from the flat-headed openings of the early stone-roofed oratories, which always present this peculiarity. The doorway is 6 ft. 3 ins. high, by 3 ft. 1½ in. wide at the bottom, and 2 ft. 11 ins. wide at the top. It has a plain tympanum and a round arch with two orders of mouldings, both ornamented with chevrons, but having the zigzags in different planes. The hood moulding is decorated with a row of small projecting knobs, or bosses, like those on the Aghadoe doorway, and terminates in a beast's head at each side. There is also a human head in the centre of the hood moulding, at the top of the arch, and another worked on the tympanum on the interior.

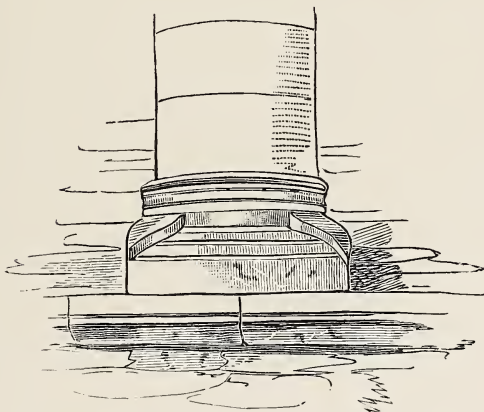
The north and south walls of the nave have on each side a row of five projecting half-round columns, with cushion capitals, dividing the wall-space immediately below the springing of the roof into rectangular panels, and giving the effect of arcading, but without the arches. (See illustrations from the late Mr. G. V. du Noyer's drawings.)



KILMALKEDAR CHURCH, ARCADE INSIDE.



Capital of Arcade Column, Kilmalkedar.



Base of Arcade Column, Kilmalkedar.

Both the nave and chancel had stone roofs laid in horizontal courses, with the stones overlapping one another, so as gradually to converge from the side-walls towards the central ridge, and thus cover the span without the aid of an arch of any kind. Portions of this roof are still to be seen next the eaves and against the gables, but the whole of the rest has fallen in, owing to the inherent weakness of its method of construction. A similar fate has overtaken the roof of St. Macdara's Church, illustrated in Petrie's *Ecclesiastical Architecture of Ireland* (p. 190).

The early buildings at Kilmalkedar are most instructive, as enabling us to trace the gradual development of the Christian stone-roofed church from the pagan beehive cell. The stages of this development seem to be as follows :—(1) We have the beehive cell, circular in plan inside and outside, with dry-built walls converging

towards the top, the courses being laid horizontally, each one overlapping the one below it; (2) a similar structure, but rectangular in plan inside and circular outside, as in the case of the cells on Skellig Michael; (3) a similar structure, rectangular in plan inside and outside, the walls having a straight sloping batter at the bottom to form the side-walls, and a convex curved batter at the top to form the roof, as in the case of the oratories at Kilmalkedar, Gallerus, and Temple Gèl; (4) a mortar-built stone-roofed church, having vertical walls and sloping roof, the whole being laid in horizontal courses, as in the case of Kilmalkedar Church. In looking at a cross-section of the latter, the weak point in the construction will at once be apparent. When the side walls were given separate existence, independent from the roof, by making them vertical, instead of sloping inwards the whole way from the ground up to the ridge, the span of the roof was thereby increased and the masonry of the side-walls was unduly weakened at the point where the side walls end and the roof begins. In consequence of this defect the roofs of all the churches constructed on this principle have fallen in. As soon as the use of the arch became familiar to the Irish builders an obvious remedy suggested itself, namely, to support the roof on a barrel vault, leaving a small chamber between the top of the vault and the underside of the roof. Thus an entirely new and original type of structure was evolved, consisting of two chambers, one above the other. In the later and more perfect examples, like Cormac's Chapel, on the Rock of Cashel, the upper chamber was considerably enlarged, and roofed with a pointed barrel vault, but the horizontal courses were still preserved on the outside, as the last remnant of what was derived from the pagan style of building.

In looking at the exterior of the nave of Kilmalkedar Church, a remarkable feature, peculiar to Irish architecture of the twelfth century, will be observed, namely, the prolongation of the side-walls so as to form pilaster-like projections beyond the gable-walls. The stone roof projects in the same way, but not quite so far, and the junction at the level of the string-course at the eaves of the roof presents a very curious bit of detail, ornamented with a carved head. Another purely Irish feature is the winged finial, which formerly adorned the apex of the gable, but is now placed on the floor within the nave.

Kilmalkedar Church has been described and illustrated by Lord Dunraven in his *Notes on Irish Architecture* (vol. ii, p. 52); by Mr. Rolt Brash, in his *Ecclesiastical Architecture of Ireland* (p. 98); and by Mr. Arthur Hill in his admirable monograph on the building. Mr. Hill formed one of the party who visited Kilmalkedar on this occasion.

Monuments at Kilmalkedar Church.—The sun-dial stands at the west end of Kilmalkedar Churchyard, near the entrance gateway. It is cut out of a single stone, and is placed in a socket which conceals some of the ornament at the bottom. It belongs to the class of pedestal sun-dials, as it stands by itself and is not attached to any

building. Unlike the modern pedestal sun-dial, however, it has the face on which the hour angles are marked in a vertical instead of horizontal plane. The face of the dial is semicircular, with the diameter of the semicircle placed horizontally at the top. It is divided by radial lines into four equal quarters, or angles of 45 degrees, each intended to represent three hours, although they do not do so correctly. The hole for the gnomon, which probably projected at right angles to the face, is in the centre of the semicircle. The pedestal forms part of the same stone as the face. It is rectangular in cross-section, tapering towards the bottom. The whole is 3 ft. 8 ins. high, 1 ft. 6 ins. wide across the semicircular face, 11 ins. across the top of the pedestal, and 10 ins. across the bottom, and 5 ins. thick. The back of the face is ornamented with intersecting arcs of circles, and the sides and pedestal with incised lines, terminating in a Greek fret pattern. This sundial has been described by the late Mr. G. V. du Noyer in the *Archæological Journal* (vol. xxv, p. 207), and by Mr. G. M. Atkinson, in the *Journal of the Royal Historical and Archæological Association of Ireland* (4th Ser., vol. viii, p. 249). Other sun-dials of the same kind, but not so highly ornamented, exist in Monasterboice, co. Louth; Clone, co. Wexford; Innis Cealtra, on Lough Derg; and Saul, co. Down. They all show the same ignorance of the true geometrical principles of setting out the hour angles as the Saxon sun-dials found in different parts of England, especially in Yorkshire.¹

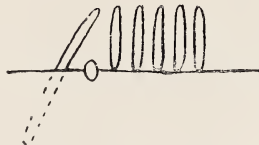
The cross at Kilmalkedar stands opposite the western doorway of the church. It is of the Latin shape, quite plain except for two squares in relief, one within the other, in the centre of the cross. It is 7 ft. 3 ins. high, and 4 ft. 6 ins. across the arms.

The Ogam-inscribed pillar at Kilmalkedar stands in the churchyard, near the cross, on the north side of it. The stone is 5 ft. 6 ins. high, having four sides, measuring respectively 5, 9, 8, and 6 ins. wide. It is inscribed on three of the vertical angles thus:—

(1.) On the left edge of one face, reading from the top downwards— M A C I B R O C A N N

(2.) On the right edge of the same face, reading from the bottom upwards— M A I L X I N B I R I

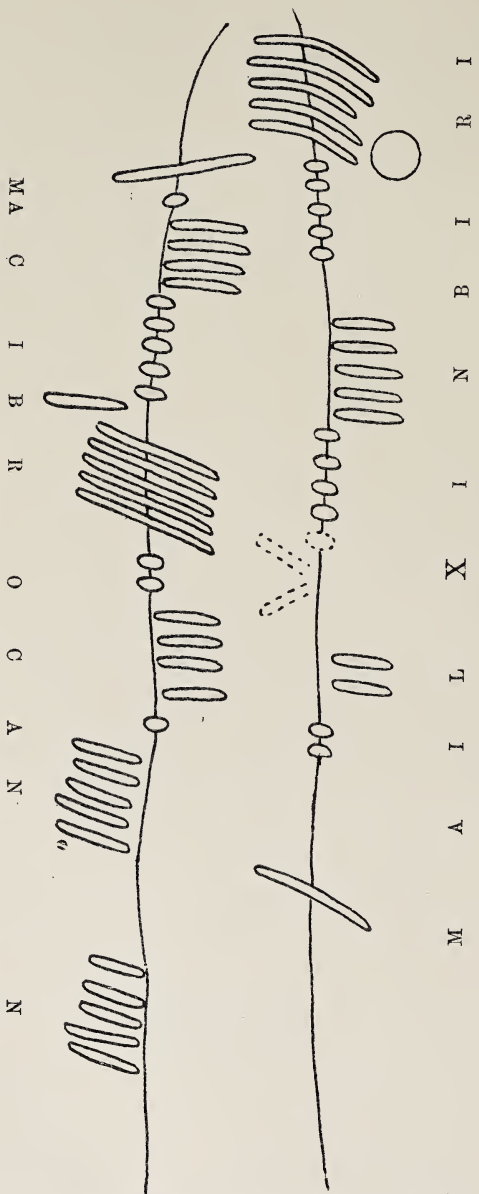
(3.) On the back, reading from the bottom upwards—



M A Q (I)

There is a hole perforated through the pillar close to the top.

¹ J. R. Allen's *Monumental History of the Early British Church*, p. 201.

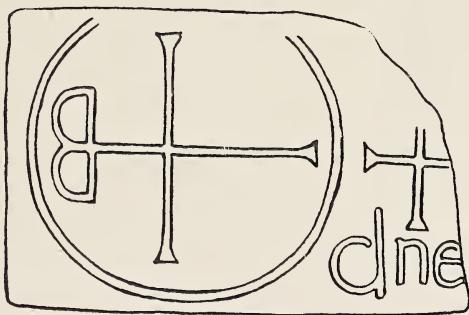


Several of the Ogam on the right edge are worn away. Mr. G. V. du Noyer noticed the B of the name INBIRI when he made his sketch in 1856; but it does not come out in my rubbing.—J. R. A.

Ogam Inscription at Kilmalkedar.

The inscription was noticed by Mr. Henry Pelham as far back as 1796, and was described by him in the *Vallancey Collections* (vol. vi, p. 182). It has subsequently been copied by Mr. Windele, Mr. Hitchcock, and by Mr. G. V. du Noyer, and readings are given by Mr. Brash in his *Ogam Monuments* (p. 243), and by Sir S. Ferguson in his *Ogam Inscriptions* (p. 45).

Prof. Rhys sends the following note upon the inscription:—The Kilmalkedar stone is very difficult to read. It seems to end with the name Brocan, followed by a gap and another *n*, with the commencement of some other letter. The *maci* on it seems to show that we have not here to do with one of the earliest Ogmic inscriptions, and so doubtless, does the character ><. If we are to read this as *e*, the name will be *Maile-Inbiri*, which is preceded by some scorings hard to make out. But what could *Maile-Inbiri* be? Now *nb* must, I think, mean *nv* or *nw*, as in *Sdanbi*, the genitive of a name written later *Sanbh*,¹ so I cannot help regarding *Inbiri* as the genitive of a word which is now represented in O'Reilly's *Dictionary* by *inbhir* and *ainnir*, meaning "a young woman", or "maid", Scotch Gaelic, *ainnir*, "a virgin". Thus I should conclude that *Maile-Inbiri* is a genitive of a name meaning *Calvus Virginis*, "the tonsured Man or Slave of the Virgin", otherwise expressed by *Mail-Maire*, Latinised "*Marianus*", but literally meaning "*Calvus Mariæ*". The *maci* on the back probably belongs to an older inscription.



Inscribed Stone at Kilmalkedar.

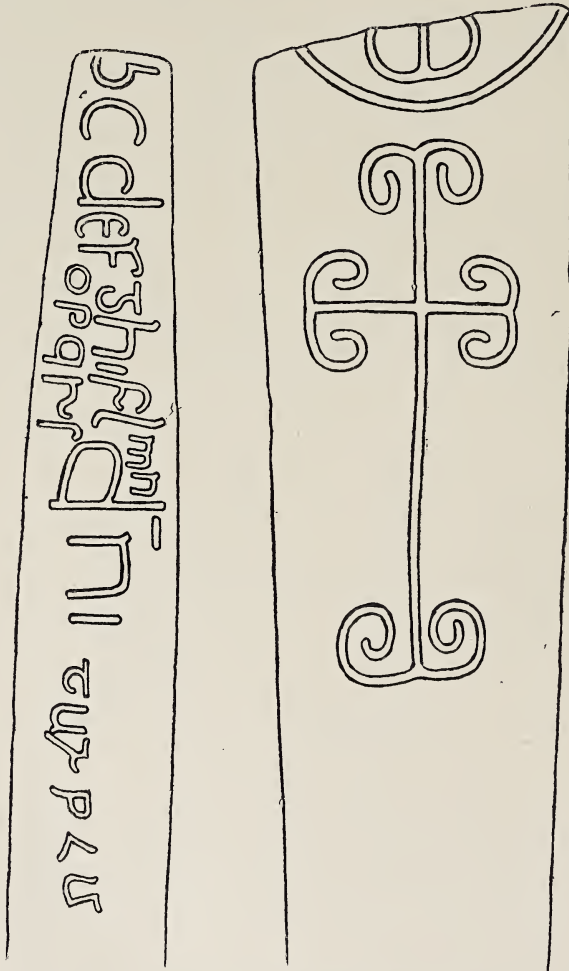
There are two other inscribed stones lying about in the churchyard at Kilmalkedar utterly uncared for, and likely to be destroyed at any time. This is hardly creditable to the guardians of our ancient monuments. The larger of the two stones is 5 ft. 6 ins. long, by 1 ft. 1 in. wide, by 5 ins. thick, bearing on one of the wide

¹ My friend Father Barry, who first published the *Sdanbi Ogam* (*Proc. R.I.A.*, 1877, pp. 485-489), has rightly identified *Sdanbi* with the genitive of a name *Stanuib* in the pedigrees in the *Book of Leinster*; but the scribe of that MS. was copying from so old a source that he did not recognise the name, which is an undesigned proof of the great antiquity of the pedigrees. The oldest manuscript Irish shows no initial *sd* as far as I know.

spaces an incised cross, and inscribed in early Irish minuscules on the right side as follows—

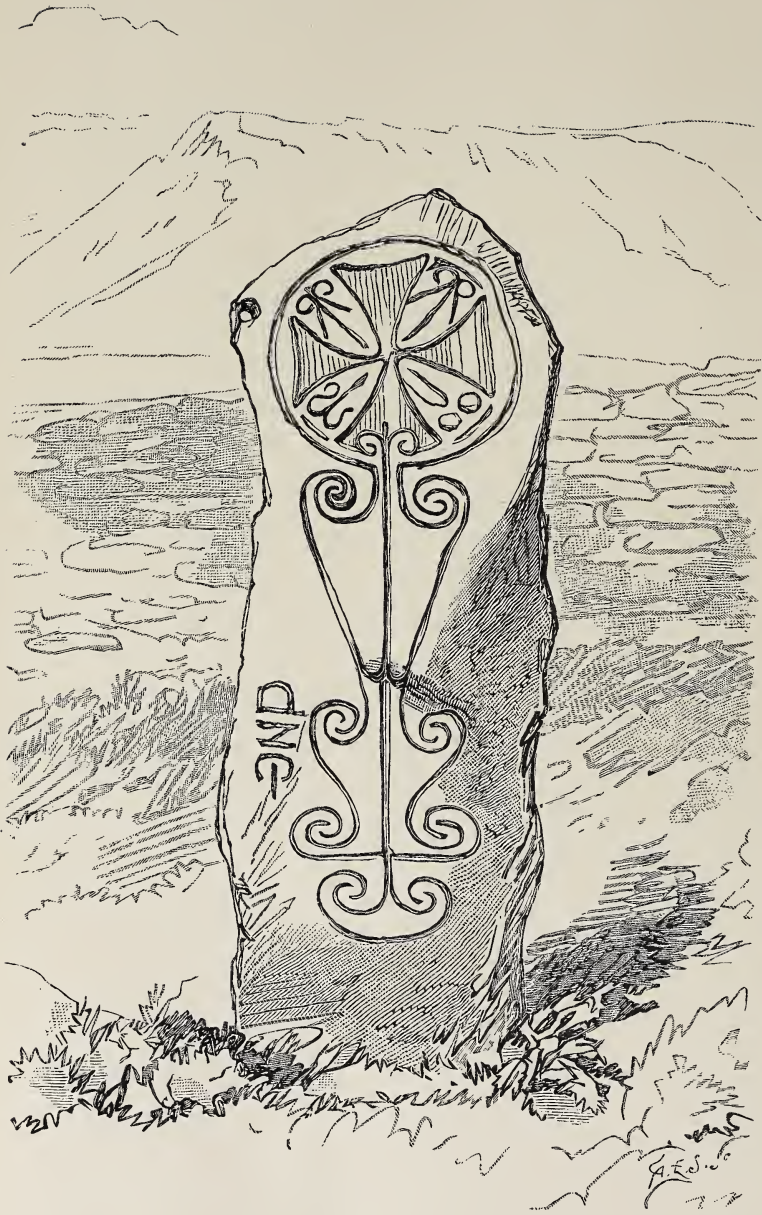
a b c d e f g h i k l m o p q r s d'ni t u x y z (?)

The invocation *d'ni*, the contracted form of the word *Domini*, was probably placed on the stone at an earlier date than the alphabet, as otherwise it is hardly likely that the letters would be so unevenly distributed.



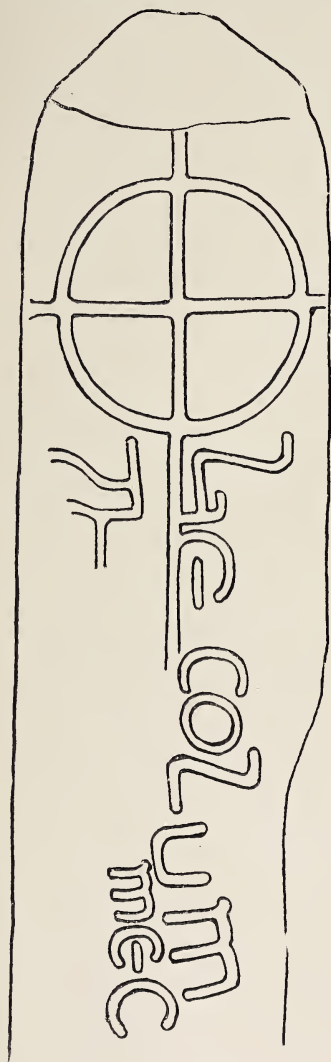
Inscribed Stone at Kilmalkedar.

The second, or smaller inscribed stone, is the fragment of a slab, 1 ft. 6 ins. long, by 1 ft. wide, by 4 ins. thick, bearing two incised



INSCRIBED STONE AT REASK, CO. KERRY.

crosses, one within a circle and the other with expanded ends, and inscribed with early Irish minuscules, the invocation, *d'ne*, the contracted form of *Domine*.



Inscribed Stone at Gallerus.

For comparison an illustration, from one of the late G. V. du Noyer's beautiful drawings, is given of the stone at Reask, co. Kerry, which has a similar invocation upon it.

Caherdorgan Fort and Cells.—

The ruins of Caherdorgan Fort are situated on the west side of the road from Dingle to Kilmalkedar, half a mile south of the latter place. (Ordnance Map, 1-in. scale, Sheet 171.)

The remains consist of a circular fort, 75 ft. in diameter inside, and four bee-hive cells in various stages of decay. The largest and most perfect of the cells is 12 ft. in diameter inside, and is complete up to the level of the springing of the domed roof. It has a flat-headed doorway, the lintel of which is still in place. Adjoining the cells are some structures having a semi-domed roof built against the side walls of the larger buildings. They probably served the purpose of cupboards, store-houses, or cellars. These remains are all built without cement and are of the pagan period.

Oratory of Kilmalkedar.— The ruined Oratory of Kilmalkedar is situated a quarter of a mile north-west of Kilmalkedar Church, on the hillside sloping down towards Smerwick Harbour, but at a much greater elevation than the Oratory of Gallerus, which lies below to the southward. (Ordnance Map, 1-in. scale, Sheet 171.) The plan of the building consists of a single rectangular chamber, 17 ft. 6 ins. long by 9 ft. 3 ins. wide inside, and 24 ft. 2 ins.

by 16 ft. 2 ins. outside. The north and south walls are 3 ft. 6 ins. thick at the bottom, the east wall 3 ft., and the west wall 3 ft. 9 ins. thick. The only two openings are a doorway in the west wall, and a

window opposite to it in the east wall. The doorway has a flat head and inclining jambs. It is 4 ft. 8 ins. high, by 1 ft. 10 ins. wide at the top, and 2 ft. 5 ins. wide at the bottom, dimensions taken on the inside. The lintel stone projects beyond the wall on the interior, and has a hole 4 ins. square at each end for fastening a wooden door frame in its place.¹ The ground outside is a little higher than on the inside, and there is a descent of three steps on entering the oratory. The east window has a flat head, and is splayed on the jambs both internally and externally. The narrow slit in the centre of the wall, through which the light is admitted, is only 6 ins. wide. The window is 3 ft. high, by 1 ft. 10 ins. wide inside, and 2 ft. 4 ins. high, by 1 ft. 2 ins. at the top, and 1 ft. 6 ins. wide at the bottom, outside. It has a projecting sill on the exterior 3 ft. long. At the east end of the oratory there is a plinth, just above the ground level, projecting 8 ins. beyond the wall. When perfect the roof must have been just like that of the Oratory of Gallerus, being formed by inclining the side and end walls towards each other, with a curved batter both inside and out, until they meet at the ridge. The stones are laid in horizontal courses, without cement, and the walls gradually get thinner towards the top. When perfect the building must have been about 13 ft. high inside and 15 ft. 6 ins. outside, allowing for the difference of a foot between the level of the ground inside and out. At present the highest part of the wall, which is at the south-west corner, is 12 ft. above the ground; the lowest part, on the north side, is only 6 ft. high. In the north wall, 2 ft. 9 ins. from the east end and 5 ft. above the ground, is a small square hole, 8 ins. high, by 6 ins. wide, not going right through the wall, the use of which is not quite apparent. The Oratory of Kilmalkedar belongs to the oldest type of Christian structure in Great Britain, except, perhaps, the oratories on Skellig Michael, which are somewhat ruder, having the corners slightly rounded instead of square, and are thus one step nearer the pagan bee-hive cells.

The only historical reference to Kilmalkedar is in the *Martyrology of Donegal*, under May 14th, as follows:—

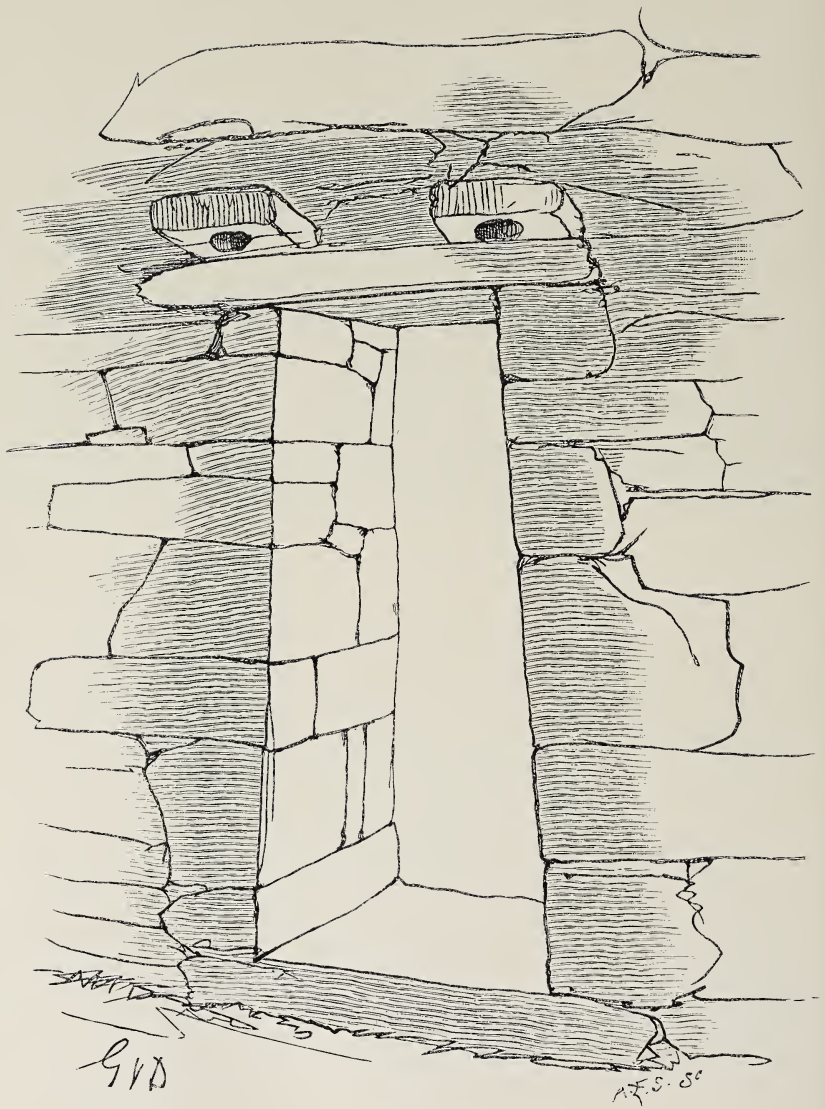
“Maolcethair, son of Ronan, son of King Uladh, of Cill Melchedair, near the shore of the sea, to the west of Brandon Hill. He was of the race of Fiatach Finn, Monarch of Erin.”

Oratory of Gallerus and Inscribed Stone.—The stone-roofed Oratory of Gallerus is situated five miles north-west of Dingle, and one mile south-west of Kilmalkedar Church, near the foot of the hill sloping down towards Smerwick Harbour. (Ordnance Map, 1-in. scale, Sheet 171.) This structure shows a slight advance in style on the Oratory of Kilmalkedar, the masonry being better and the head of the east window round instead of flat. Otherwise the general design is much the same. The plan consists of a single

¹ Similar projecting lintels, but without the holes, exist at St. Caimin's Church, on the South Island of Arran; at Agha, co. Carlow; Killeslin, co. Carlow.



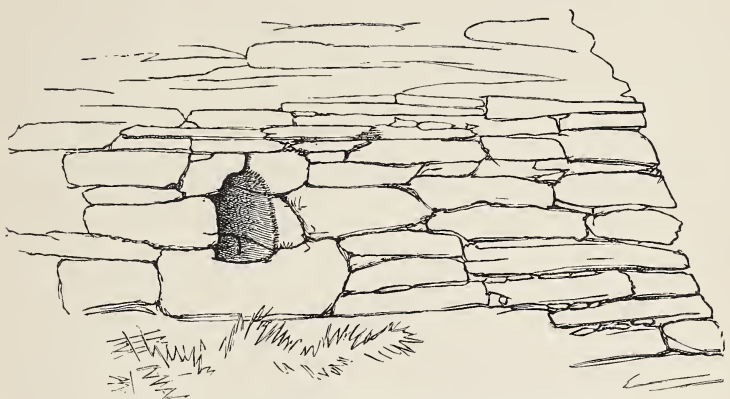
ORATORY OF GALLERUS.



DOORWAY OF ORATORY OF GALLERUS.

Interior View.

rectangular chamber 15 ft. 3 ins. long, by 10 ft. to 10 ft. 3 ins. wide inside, and 22 ft. 1 in. by 18 ft. 7 ins. outside. It has a flat-headed western doorway with inclining jambs, 5 ft. 10 ins. high, by 1 ft. 11 ins. wide at the top, and 2 ft. 5 ins. wide at the bottom, inside ; and 5 ft. 6 ins. high, by 1 ft. 9 ins. at the top, and 2 ft. 3 ins. at the bottom, outside. The only other opening is a round-headed window in the east wall, deeply splayed on the inside. The outside aperture is 1 ft. 3 ins. high, by 9½ ins. wide at the top, and 10 ins. at the bottom. The window measures on the inside 3 ft. 3 ins. high, by 1 ft. 6 ins. wide at the top, and 1 ft. 9 ins. wide at the bottom. On the inside of the doorway, at a height of 8 ins. above the bottom of the lintel, is a projecting stone on each side, with a hole 3 ins. square through it to receive the door frame.¹ Above the east window are three projecting stone pegs, at different levels near the roof, for the suspension of lamps, book satchels, or reliquaries over

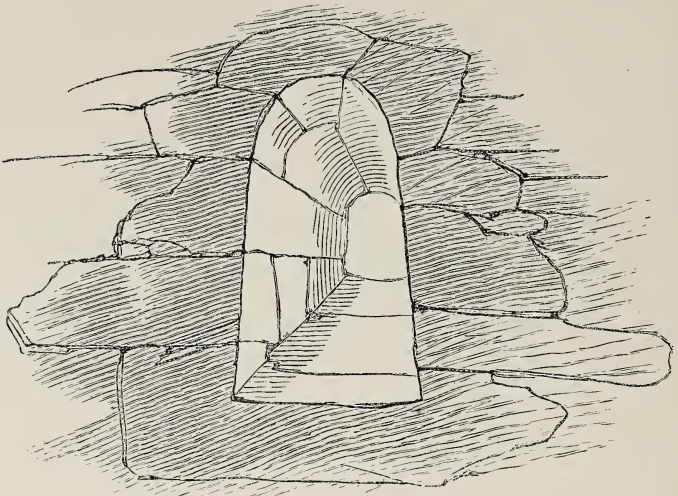


Oratory of Gallerus, East Window, Exterior View.

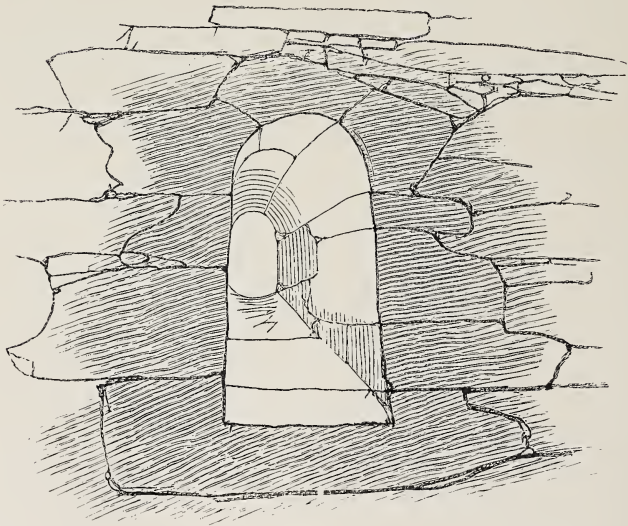
the altar. The roof is constructed entirely of stone laid in flat courses, without cement, in the same manner as the roof of the Oratory of Kilmalkedar. Up to the level of the lintel of the doorway the batter of the side walls is nearly straight, but above this it curves round gracefully, giving an outline like that of a pointed Gothic arch. The end walls have much less batter than the side walls, and are slightly curved outwards, so as to be convex at the middle of the height.

The ridge is 17 ft. 4 ins. long on the top outside, and is 17 ft. 6 ins. above the floor of the building. It is 17 ft. 2 ins. above the ground at the west end, and only 13 ft. 9 ins. above it at the east end, showing a rise in the ground of 3 ft. 5 ins. The height inside is 13 ft. 1 in. to 13 ft. 3 ins. The Oratory has a projecting plinth on the north and south sides. A mutilated gable cross is still to be

¹ Single stones at one side of the doorway only exist at St. Brendan's Church, Innisglora, and at Oughtmama, co. Clare,



Oratory of Gallerus, East Window, Interior View.



Oratory of Gallerus, East Window, Interior View.

seen in its socket at the apex of the eastern gable. The present ridge stones are restorations by the Board of Works; the flags below these are 1 ft. 4 ins. wide. The Oratory is built of the purple grit-stones, of the old red sandstone formation of the district, and not of greenstone. as stated by Dr. Petrie.

As a specimen of the most perfect workmanship in dry rubble masonry the Oratory of Gallerus excels anything of its kind to be found in Ireland, or, indeed, elsewhere. After exposure to the tempests of over a thousand years it remains as watertight as when first erected, showing how admirably adapted the stone roof invented by the pagan Celts is to resist every onslaught of the elements in the wet climate of Ireland. No better instance could be found of suitability to what scientists delight to call the "environment". The stones on the inside of the oratory seem to have been set in place with their rough surfaces projecting, and then the whole was afterwards dressed flat, as the tool-marks can still be seen where the inequalities were removed. The views of the east end of the oratory and of the west doorway are from photographs by Dr. George Norman, of Bath, who has kindly allowed them to be reproduced here.

Standing close to the Oratory of Gallerus, on the north-east side, is a slab 3 ft. 6 ins. high, by 1 ft. 1 in. wide, bearing an incised cross within a circle on one of the broad faces, and an inscription below it in early Irish minuscules, reading from the top downwards—

lie colum
mec
gr.....

The Oratory of Gallerus is described and illustrated in Petrie's *Ecclesiastical Architecture of Ireland* (p. 132); in Lord Dunraven's *Notes on Irish Architecture* (vol. i. p. 59); and in Rolt Brash's *Ecclesiastical Irish Architecture* (p. 10).

Oratory of Temple Managhan and Ogam-inscribed Pillar.—The ruins of the Oratory of Temple Managhan, or Temple Gel, are situated three miles north-west of Dingle, and one mile south-west of the highroad from Dingle to Kilmalkedar, on the hill side sloping down towards the tract of marshy ground lying between this place and Dingle Harbour. (Ordnance Map, 1-in. scale, Sheet 171.) The construction of this Oratory seems to have been like that of the Oratories of Gallerus and Kilmalkedar, the only difference being that the batter of the walls is straight instead of being curved. All that now remains of the building is the lower part of the west gable wall and about one half of the north and south walls; the east wall has entirely disappeared. The plan of the oratory consisted of a single rectangular chamber, 10 ft. 3 ins. wide inside, and 20 ft. wide outside, the length not now capable of being defined. The north wall is 5 ft. thick, the south wall 4 ft. 9 ins. thick, and the west wall 4 ft. 6 ins. thick. The highest part of the gable wall is now 6 ft. above the ground. The western doorway, which is perfect,

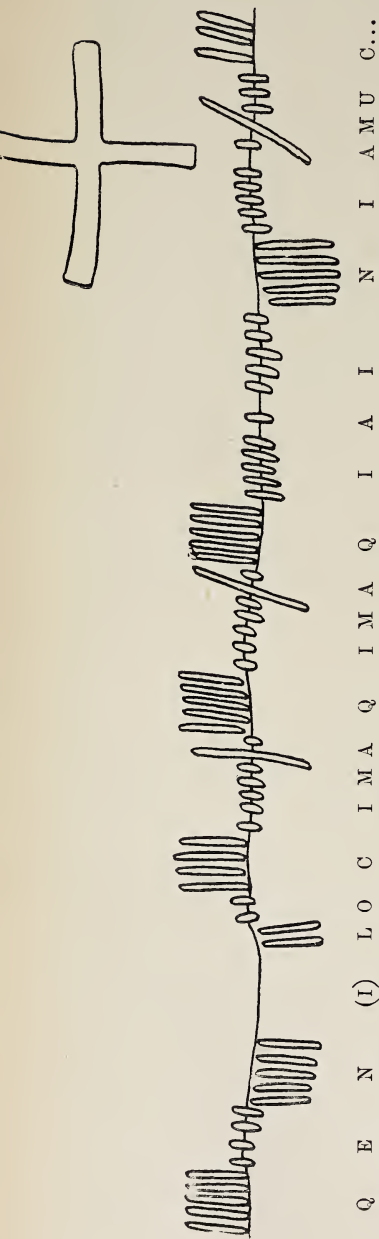
has a flat head and inclining jambs. It is 3 ft. 2 ins. high, by 1 ft. 6 ins. wide at the top, and 2 ft. at the bottom. The hillside on which the Oratory is built slopes down rapidly from north to south. There were formerly several small buildings, possibly bee-hive cells, round the Oratory, but they were all removed by a Scotch tenant,¹ who would have destroyed the church as well, had he not been prevented by the natives. The Oratory stands in an open field without any enclosure.

Thirty feet to the west of the building is an erect pillar, bearing a plain incised Latin cross on the front and back, and on the right vertical angle of the side facing the Oratory, an Ogam inscription, reading, from the bottom upwards, as follows—

The strokes are finely cut, and very distinct. The cross-section of the pillar is not rectangular, but a rhombus, the Ogam inscription being on one of the obtuse angles. The stone is 5 ft. 2 ins. high by 1 ft. 8 ins. wide, by 11 ins. thick. The length of the inscription is 4 ft. 1 in., but it is broken away at the top. The monument was discovered by Dr. Petrie, and is engraved in his well-known work on the *Ancient Architecture of Ireland* (p. 133), the block having been reproduced in *Archæologia Cambrensis* (Vol. i, p. 414). It is also described by R. Brash in his *Ogam Monuments* (p. 206), and by Sir S. Ferguson, in his *Ogam Inscriptions* (p. 40).

Prof. Rhys identifies *Queniloci* with the modern *Ceallaigh*, better known as *Kelly*.

On the north side of the Oratory is an ancient "Killeen", in which unbaptised infants are buried, and amongst the tiny graves are three low stones, having crosses of very early forms enclosed within circles, incised upon them. One of the stones has crosses on both back and front. It is the custom at this and other Killeens



Ogam Inscription at Temple Managhan.

¹ Lord Dunraven's *Notes on Irish Architecture*, vol. i, p. 57, where illustrations of the Oratory will also be found.



SKELLIG MICHAEL.



SKELLIG MICHAEL.

in the district, on particular days in the year, either the anniversary of the saint to whom the church is dedicated, or Christmas Day, or Easter Sunday, to “pay rounds”, *i.e.*, to walk in procession from the Saint’s Well several times round the church, sunwise. A complete investigation of these ancient customs might be the means of throwing much light on the founders of the various churches. In the neighbourhood of Dingle, St. Manchan, St. Molaga, St. Kieran, St. Gobnet, St. Finan, and St. Flannan receive special reverence. The well of St. Manchan is situated near the Oratory.

EXCURSION, FRIDAY, 14TH AUGUST.

A DAY AT SKELLIG MICHAEL.¹

A trip to Skellig Michael is only possible under the most favourable circumstances, partly on account of the difficulty in obtaining suitable means of transport to so inaccessible a spot, and also because the landing on the rock cannot be attempted except when the sea is quite calm. By the courtesy of the Rear-Admiral commanding, H.M. gunboat *Banterer* was placed at the disposal of the Archæological Societies, besides which the Commissioners of Northern Lights were kind enough to allow their s.s. *Alert* to assist in carrying the excursionists to the Skellig. Much uncertainty existed, even up to the last moment, as to whether the day would prove fine enough to make the attempt, for when many an anxious face peered out from the windows of Benner’s Hotel, at Dingle, on the morning of Friday, the sea-fog was still to be seen hanging round the tops of the neighbouring hills, making the prospect sufficiently gloomy to depress the spirits of all but the most enthusiastic antiquaries. However, every one was up in time for an early breakfast, but at 8 o’clock A.M., the time fixed on the programme for starting, there was no sign of the vessels that were to convey the party to the rock. Just as we were beginning to give up all hope, the joyful tidings was brought that H.M.S. *Banterer* had arrived in the harbour, and its boats were ready to take the party on board. The *Banterer* had left Bantry the day before, and the delay was caused by the fog, which necessitated putting into Ventry harbour for the night, instead of going straight on to Dingle. The members, sixty in number, soon assembled on the beach, and were rapidly rowed across the harbour to the ship, which was lying close to the entrance, nearly a mile off. Here a terrible disappointment awaited the ladies, for the Commander, Lieut. Hugh B. Rooper, declined to undertake the responsibility of risking their valuable lives by taking them on the voyage, and so they were sent ashore without more ado.

¹ An interesting account of this day’s excursion is given in a paper by Mr. W. Law Bros on “Early Christian Architecture in Ireland”, read before the Society of Architects, March 8th, 1892 (see *Proceedings*, iv, No. 8, p. 123).

At 9 A.M. the *Banterer* steamed out of the narrow entrance of Dingle Harbour, and soon encountered the heavy swell in the bay outside. As the sea fog began to lift, the outlines of the perpendicular cliffs on the west side of the harbour could be distinguished, although the tops of the mountains were still enshrouded in mist. The rocks are of the old red sandstone formation, the colour of which varies so much according to the locality. Here the tint is a delicate pink. By the time the gunboat had got halfway across Dingle Bay, a decided improvement in the weather took place, and the magnificent scenery of the west coast of Kerry could be seen to advantage.

To the north was the long line of cliffs of the promontory of Corkaguiny stretching out far to the westward, broken only by the wide gap forming the entrance to Ventry harbour, and terminating in Slea Head, beyond which again was the Great Blasket Island, sometimes called "the next parish to America". To the south there were the dark masses of rock near Douglas Head, Valentia Island, with its meteorological station perched on the edge of the cliff, and a glorious background of mountains extending away inland as far as the Magillicuddy's Reeks above Killarney.

The sun now shone forth brilliantly, and the Skellig for the first time became visible, although on a fine day it can be seen from Dingle, from which place it is twenty-eight miles distant, in a straight line to the south-west.

The first impression from afar off is of an isolated rock rising out of the sea in a single cone, like a miniature Peak of Teneriffe; but on nearer approach the Skellig is seen to consist of two pyramidal masses of rock, joined together at the base. The sides of the pyramids in reality make an angle of about 45 degrees with the horizon, but, owing to a well-known tendency of the mind to over-estimate the steepness of upward slopes, the cliffs appear to be almost perpendicular. One peak is higher than the other, and much more pointed. The lower peak is slightly rounded on one side, and has a projecting shoulder about halfway down. Those who had seen the illustration of Skellig Michael in Lord Dunraven's *Notes on Irish Architecture* were inclined to think that the artist had exaggerated the height and rugged features of the rock; but this is not the case, as the reality is far more impressive than any picture could possibly make it. The dedication to St. Michael, the patron saint of high places, at once calls to mind the somewhat similar isolated rocks in Normandy and Cornwall bearing the same name. These, however, sink into utter insignificance beside the wild grandeur of the Skellig. By one o'clock the *Banterer* had arrived at its destination, after a passage of four hours, and the excursionists were soon safely landed in the ship's boats. As not a moment was to be lost of the precious time allowed for the exploration of the rock, the party at once commenced the arduous ascent to the summit, resting only for a few minutes to take in the beauty of the situation. The Great Skellig, or Skellig Michael, lies to the south-

west of Valentia Island, opposite to St. Finan's Bay, and is $8\frac{1}{4}$ miles from Bolus Head, the nearest point on the mainland of Kerry.

The Little Skellig, an islet of brilliant purple colour, with jagged outline, the favourite haunt of the gannet, is situated a mile and a quarter to the north-east, and between it and Puffin Island is Lemon Rock. The Great Shellig is about half a mile long, from north-east to south-west, and a quarter of a mile from north-west to south-west, across the widest part. The southern peak rises to a height of 714 ft., and the northern one to a height of 611 ft. above the sea. The landing-place is close to the mouth of a cave at the north extremity of the island, just round the east side. There are two lighthouses on the island, the lower one at the south point, and the upper one on the west side of the higher of the two peaks. A zigzag road, cut in the face of the cliff, and protected on the seaward side by a strong parapet wall, leads from the landing-place at the north end of the island, the whole way along the east side to the lower lighthouse at the south point, and is continued round the west side to the upper lighthouse (see map enlarged from the six-inch Ordnance).

This road was constructed at great expense by the Trinity Board, and the landing-place at the same time considerably improved by widening the ledge of rock and cutting steps. Even now boats find it almost impossible to approach when there is any swell on from the Atlantic, as the waves rise and fall as much as twenty feet at a time.

The ancient Celtic monastic settlement on Skellig Michael is situated at the north end of the rock, just below the summit of the lower of the two peaks, at a height of 545 ft. above the sea, and almost immediately above the landing-place. The old approach to it was straight up the nearly perpendicular face of the cliff on the north-east side. The lower part of this route was cut away when the new road to the lighthouse was made, but a flight of 620 steps still remains from a point about 120 ft. above the sea, up to the monastery. The path can be seen following a winding course over the inequalities of the cliff above the landing-place. In places the ground has been levelled up, with retaining walls of dry-built rubble-work to support the steps. The ascent must have been almost as perilous as that to the Convent of Meteora, in the Levant.¹

The present approach to the monastery is partly new and partly old. From the landing-place the party followed the new road along the east side of the rock, in a southerly direction nearly as far as the lower lighthouse, but before reaching it they left the road, and, turning westwards, commenced to climb the grassy slope leading up to "Christ's Saddle", the name given to the saddle-shaped part of the island between the two peaks. The flight of steps up to "Christ's Saddle" is old, except near the bottom. From this valley

¹ See Curzon's *Monasteries of the Levant*,

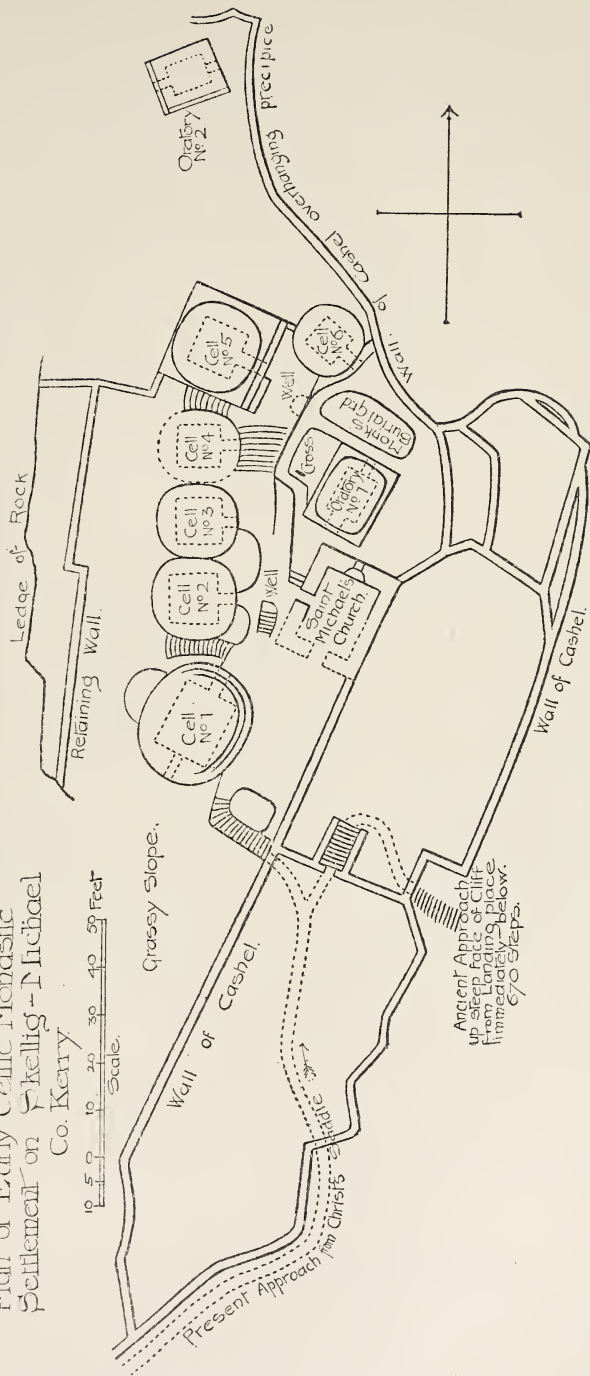
between two hills, which is 422 ft. above the sea, the steps branch off in opposite directions, one path going north-east, towards the monastery, and the other south-west, to the summit of the highest peak. The ascent of the stairs to the monastery is steep enough, but to climb to the highest peak is positively dangerous. The latter was successfully reached by some of the more adventurous, but the majority of the party contented themselves with the less perilous adventure.

Having arrived at the top of the stairs the monastery was entered by a passage through the wall by which it is surrounded, at the south end of the enclosure.

The strata of the rock composing the lower peak of the island dips at an angle of about 45 degrees downwards towards the east, leaving a precipitous cliff facing the west, with a broad, slightly convex ledge at the top. Below this ledge, to the east, is the plateau on which the monastic settlement stands. The plateau has been artificially levelled up in a series of steps by building retaining walls on the sloping face of the cliff. The area enclosed within the surrounding wall measures about 300 ft. long by 100 ft. wide, and the buildings within it occupy a space of 150 ft. by 50 ft. The remains consist of six beehive cells, two oratories, two wells, five ancient burial grounds, several rude crosses, all belonging to the early period, and the later Church of St. Michael. The settlement is protected at the back by the rounded ridge of rock, sloping up towards the top of the cliff on the west. There is a step down from the lower end of the ledge behind to the level of the plateau on which the buildings stand, and this is faced with a dry-built retaining wall, running north and south.

Parallel to the retaining wall, at a short distance from it, is a row of five beehive cells, close together, having an eastern aspect, and in a line with them, at the extreme north end of the enclosure, a small oratory overhanging the cliff. The remainder of the buildings, namely, the Church of St. Michael, the second Oratory, and the sixth beehive cell, are situated at a rather lower level, in a row, also nearly parallel to the retaining wall at the back. A ground plan is given in Lord Dunraven's *Notes on Irish Architecture* (vol. i, p. 30), showing the position of the various buildings, but the different levels are not clearly indicated, and, in fact, they could hardly be explained intelligibly except by means of a model. The plan here given is taken from Lord Dunraven's, with corrections made on the spot last August. It has appeared already in *The Builder*. The ground next the retaining wall at the back is the highest, and is on a level with the springing of the domes of the beehive cells. A flight of eight steps leads from this level to that of the ground in front of the doorway of the cell at the north end of the first row, and a flight of fourteen steps leads to the level of the ground in front of the four other cells in this row. The Oratory, with the burial-places round it, and the remaining cells, are at the lowest level of all.

Plan of Early Celtic Monastic Settlement on Skellig Michael
Co. Kerry



The whole of the structures are built of dry rubble masonry, except the Church of St. Michael. The cells are rectangular in plan inside, and round or oval outside; except in one case, where the outside is rectangular at the bottom. The roofs are domed, and formed with horizontal overlapping courses, as in the pagan "Clochauns". The only openings are the door, which has inclined jambs and a flat head, and a small rectangular hole to allow the smoke to escape. The Oratories are constructed like the cells, but they have a window opposite the door, and are rectangular in plan both inside and out. Over the doorway of one of the cells, and also of one of the Oratories, is a cross formed in white quartz pebbles, which contrasts with the dark-coloured slate of which the rest of the wall is built. The door of the largest cell has a double lintel, like the entrance to Staigue Fort, co. Kerry. The masonry of the surrounding wall is also very similar in character to that of Staigue Fort. The position of the Oratory at the north end of the enclosure is most perilous, being perched on a spit of rock so as literally to overhang the sea, which breaks into white foam hundreds of feet below. This is clearly shown in Dr. G. Norman's photographic view. Plans and sections of the oratory taken from *The Builder* are also given.

Skellig Michael "has been the scene of annual pilgrimages for many centuries, and the service of the Way of the Cross is still celebrated here, though with some perfectly traditional forms of prayer and customs, such as are only found to exist among the islanders along the west coast of Ireland." (See Lord Dunraven's *Notes on Irish Architecture*.)

Mr. Lecky refers to the pilgrimages made here and to Lough Derg, and Dr. Smith, in his *History of Kerry* (1754), gives a remarkable description of the custom existing in his day:—"When the pilgrims have visited the cell and chapels they ascend the top of the rock, part of which is performed by squeezing through a hollow part, resembling the funnel or shaft of a chimney, which they term the Needle's Eye. This ascent, although there are holes and steps cut into the rock to climb by, is far from being gained without trouble, but when this obstacle is surmounted the pilgrim is at a small flat place, about a yard broad, which slopes away down both sides of the rock to the ocean. On the further side of this flat, which, from its narrowness on the top, is a kind of isthmus, the ascent is gained by climbing up a smooth, sloping rock that only leans out a very little, and this they call the Stone of Pain, from the difficulty of its ascent. There are a few shallow holes cut into it where they fix their hands and feet, and by which they scramble up. This kind of a sloping wall is about 12 ft. high, and the danger of mounting it seems terrible, for if a person should slip he might tumble on either side of the isthmus down a precipice headlong many fathoms into the sea.

"When this difficult passage is surmounted the remaining part of the way up to the highest summit is much less difficult. On the

top are two stations to visit, where there are also some stone crosses. The first is called the Eagle's Nest, probably from its extreme height, for here a person seems to have got into the upper regions of the air, and it is ascended by the help of some steps cut into the rock with much difficulty. If the reader can conceive a person poised, as it were, or, rather, perched on the summit of this pinnacle, beholding the vast expanse of the ocean all around him, except towards the east, where the lofty mountains on the shore appear like so many low houses overlooked from the lofty dome of some cathedral, he may be able to form some idea of the tremendousness and awfulness of such a prospect.

"The second station which the devotees have to visit on this height, and which is attended with the utmost horror and peril, is by some called the Spindle, and by others the Spit, which is a long narrow fragment of the rock, projecting from the summit of this frightful place, over a raging sea, and this is walked to by a narrow path of only 2 ft. in width and several steps in length. Here the devotees, women as well as men, get astride of the rock, and so edge forward until they arrive at a stone cross, which some bold adventurer cut formerly on its extreme end; and here, having repeated a Pater Noster, returning from this concludes the penance."

It has been generally supposed that the ancient Celtic monks chose the most inaccessible spots (such as the Skellig) for the sites of their monasteries, in order to avoid contact with the outer world as much as possible. We throw out the suggestion that during a period when travelling by land was attended with considerable danger, owing to the unsettled state of the country, the sea offered a safer means of transit, and these island monasteries may have served the purpose not only of "deserts in the ocean", but may also have formed a chain of stations round the coast for assisting monks and their friends in making their voyages, for warning ships against being wrecked, for rescuing drowning persons, and, in fact, taking the place of the modern Trinity Board and Lifeboat Service in rendering navigation less perilous.

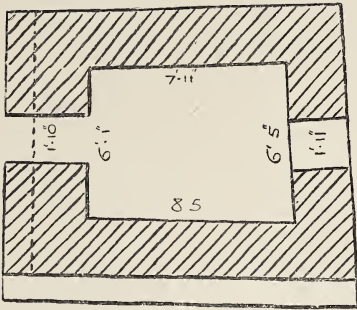
There are very few historical notes connected with the Skellig, but a lurid light is thrown on the terrible sufferings that the Danish invasions must have caused to the monks by the following brief entry in the *Annals of Ulster*, under the year A.D. 823:—"Eitgal, of Scelig, was carried away by the strangers, and soon died of hunger and thirst."

At five o'clock the party embarked on board the *Alert*, which had arrived to take the place of the *Banterer*, and were safely brought back to Dingle by 9 P.M.

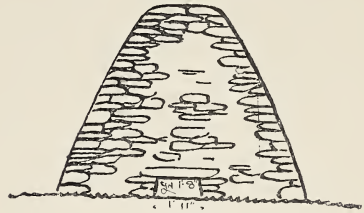
We cannot conclude this account without protesting strongly against the way in which repairs are being carried on at Skellig Michael by the Board of Works. At the time of the visit of the Cambrian and Irish archæologists an ordinary mason was seen calmly tinkering away at the ruins, pulling down a bit here and building up a bit there in imitation of the old style of work, without

Skellig-Michael
Oratory N^o 2

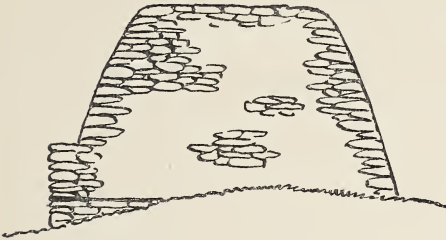
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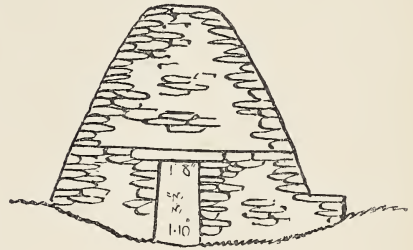
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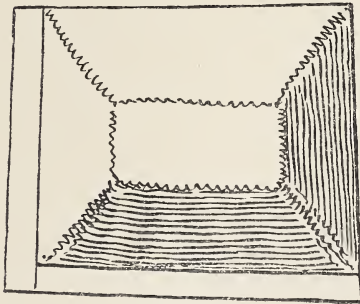
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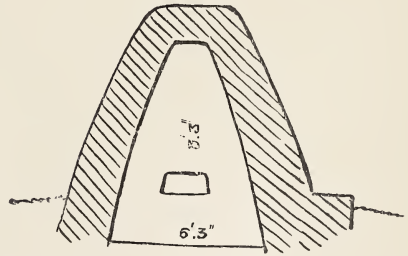
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Plan



Cross Section

any kind of superintendence whatever. The vandalism perpetrated some time ago by the same authorities, at Innis Murray, is being repeated here with a vengeance.

This concludes the account of the usual four days' excursions made during our annual meetings, but, before leaving Ireland, extra days were arranged for, Limerick being the place chosen as headquarters. From thence excursions were made, on Saturday, August 15th, to the Dominican Abbey of Kilmallock; on Monday the 16th, to Bunratty Castle and Quin Abbey; on Tuesday the 17th, to Askeaton and Adare; on Wednesday the 18th, down the Shannon to Scattery Island; and on the return journey from Limerick to Dublin, on Thursday the 19th, visits were made to the Rock of Cashel and Holy Cross Abbey. On Friday the 20th, a very enjoyable and instructive day was spent in Dublin seeing the unrivalled antiquities and MSS. in the collections at the Museum and Library of the Royal Irish Academy, and in the Library of Trinity College. On the following day, Saturday the 20th, most of the party returned home, taking with them the pleasantest possible recollections of Irish hospitality and good fellowship.

Archaeological Notes and Queries.

EXCAVATIONS AT TALLEY ABBEY, CARMARTHENSHIRE.—On the main road from Llandilo to Lampeter, about seven miles from the former place, stands the village of Talley, situated in a narrow valley on the watershed of two small streams, one flowing into the Cothi, northwards, and the other southwards into the Towy. In the churchyard are the ruins of what is left above ground of the church of the important Abbey of Talley, a Premonstratensian monastery, dedicated to the Blessed Virgin and St. John the Baptist, said to have been founded by Rhys ap Gruffydd, titular Prince of South Wales, who died 1196. It flourished till the dissolution of the monasteries by Henry VIII, at which time it had eight canons, and its revenue was estimated at £153 1s. 4d.

Until the year 1772 the abbey church, or some part of it, was used as the parish church of Talley, but being found too large for the purpose, and having become much dilapidated, the parishioners took down the greater portion of the building, and, with the materials, erected the present church, which stands on the north side of the site of the monastery. The demolition of the church resulted in the entire structure falling into decay, and, as in nearly every similar case, it became a quarry from whence the neighbouring buildings were erected. Wherever there was a bit of freestone in buttress, angle, pier, or arch, there the crowbar was at work wrenching it away, and gradually piece by piece the entire fabric, with the exception of a portion of the central tower and two of its arches, has disappeared.

On Tuesday, the 23rd of February 1892, the writer visited Talley, by the kind invitation of the Vicar, the Rev. J. H. Lloyd, and the two churchwardens, Sir James Drummond of Edwingsford and D. Long Price, Esq., of Talley House. To these gentlemen great credit is due for having taken the initiative in the exploration of the ruins. On the morning of the 24th operations were commenced, a staff of workmen having been supplied by Sir James Drummond and Mr. Long Price, with Mr. L. Bowen, the Edwingsford Farm steward, as foreman.

Our operations were confined to the site and ruins of the abbey church, which, with a portion of the cloister garth, are, as at Strata Florida, situated within the area of the churchyard, but the southern boundary wall cuts off the south-eastern angle of the presbytery and a greater portion of the south transept. The whole of the conventual buildings are therefore outside the churchyard, and the site of these being occupied by a modern farmhouse and homestead, they have entirely disappeared.

We first of all traced the line of the north transept, and found that from 5 ft. to 8 ft. in height of the walls still remained covered up with the fallen *débris* of the building. The total length of the transept, inside, north of the tower, is 36 ft. 9 ins.; its width 29 ft. East of this we found the external walls of the transeptal chapels, which are probably two in number in each transept. The springing of the arch of the southern of these two chapels still remains, and a fragment of the plain barrel vaulting with which they were covered. In tracing the north wall of the north transept we found the north door, with plain chamfered external jambs, nearly 4 ft. wide in the clear, and a little further on we came upon the staircase leading up in the thickness of the wall, and a passage over the chapels to the tower, of which seven steps are still *in situ*.

In the internal angle of the northern chapel we found a pavement of plain red, buff, and blue glazed tiles, but it was thought advisable not to uncover any portion of the floors of the chapels until systematic excavations were commenced, when they will be carefully laid bare, and thus any damage to the tile-pavements which apparently exist here will be prevented.

At the north-eastern angle of the tower the excavations were also carried down to the floor level, with the result that the jambs of the tower piers were found to be moulded at the angles, and that there was a plain chamfered base of early Transitional work, probably of the middle of the twelfth century. The builders had only carried up the external angles of the piers of the tower in moulded freestone as far as the springing of the pointed arches; all above that is plain rubble masonry, which has been plastered. This points to the fact that the earliest builders were unable to carry on the work so expensively as they had commenced, and from the absence, so far, of any carved stonework in the *débris*, the Abbey of Talley seems to have been a structure of great plainness and simplicity. The windows appear to have been filled in with stained glass, as several small fragments were found, one of exquisite ruby tint.

The line of the presbytery was defined internally; it is 44 ft. 9 ins. long, by 29 ft. wide; the latter dimension is also the size of the inside of the tower, which is perfectly square, and, it may be noted, is two feet larger than the tower of St. David's Cathedral, one foot more than at Strata Florida Abbey, and is only exceeded by the central tower of St. Asaph Cathedral, which is 29 ft. 6 ins. Talley therefore possessed a central tower equal in dimensions to any of the greater Welsh churches.

Our attention was then directed to the nave and aisles, and with very little difficulty we traced the line of the north arcade for a distance of 75 ft. In this length we found four of the piers, which are still standing above the original floor level about 6 ft., though now at the level of, and just below, the turf of the churchyard, thus indicating that the ruins generally are covered with about 6 ft. to 8 ft. of *débris*, and when excavated the walls now underground will, in most places, be found still standing to that height. Between

the piers of the north arcade is a thinner wall, which I am inclined to think was the screen wall dividing the north aisle from the nave. Time did not admit of our tracing whether a similar screen exists in the south arcade.

Of the north wall of the church no trace could be found, but its point of junction with the bond stones in the west wall of the north transept is still apparent. Whether it was ever built, and whether, if built, it was pulled down at some later period, cannot now be determined. Further excavations are necessary to settle this point.

A trench, driven at right angles to the south wall in the cloister garth, established its position, and it was traced westward to a point where it leaves the churchyard, and after following it for a distance of eight feet or so into an adjoining garden, we came upon the base of the massive buttress of the south-west angle of the west front, where our labours terminated on Saturday morning, the 27th.

Thus, after three days' work with a staff of eight men, we were enabled to define the general outline of the church of Talley Abbey, and the following comparative figures will show that in point of size it exceeds the dimensions, in most particulars, of the great Abbey Church of Strata Florida, being in total length 5 ft. 3 ins. longer, and, in width of nave and aisles, exceeding it by 1 ft. 6 ins.

Name.	Total Length.		Length of Nave.		Breadth of Nave and Aisles.		Length of Transepts, including Central Tower.		Breadth of Transepts.		Square of Lan-tern of Tower.		Length of Presbytery.	
	ft.	ins.	ft.	ins.	ft.	ins.	ft.	ins.	ft.	ins.	ft.	ins.		
Strata Florida Abbey	213	0	132	6	61	0	117	3	28	0	28	0	48	4
Talley Abbey ...	228	3	145	0	62	6	112	0	29	0	29	0	44	9

The nave arcades at Strata Florida consisted of seven arches, at Talley there appear to have been eight. The result of the explorations during our three days' work was so encouraging that an impromptu meeting of those interested was held at Mr. Long Price's house on Friday evening the 26th of March, when the following were constituted a Provisional Committee for the further exploration and complete excavation of Talley Abbey:—

The Vicar, the Rev. J. H. Lloyd; Sir James Drummond, Bart., and Mr. Long Price, churchwardens; the Ven. Archdeacon Edmondson, Lampeter; the Rev. C. Chidlow, Caio, Secretary for South Wales of the Cambrian Archæological Association; and Mr. S. W. Williams, F.S.A., with power to add to their number. Sir James Drummond was elected chairman and treasurer, Mrs. Long Price and Rev. J. H. Lloyd, joint secretaries. Sir James Drummond kindly offered to continue the preliminary excavations, and expend the sum of £20 thereon in labour, and it is hoped that

ere the Cambrian Archæological Association visit Talley next August that the entire site of the abbey church will be cleared to the floor level.

If this is done very interesting discoveries will most probably be made, and much of the history of Talley Abbey may be elucidated thereby.

S. W. WILLIAMS, F.S.A.

Rhayader, March 9th, 1892.

RESTORATION OF LLANFERRES CHURCH, NEAR MOLD.—This church is being restored under the direction of Mr. Douglas, architect, Chester. The shell is left undisturbed, but the walls, internally, are being relieved of a thick coating of mortar which disfigured them, and the stones are now left exposed to view. On removing the high seats, to make room for better, it was seen that the floor was literally filled with bones right to the surface, entire skulls being found within a few inches of the floor. The process of scraping the walls revealed the existence of two archways, nearly opposite each other, one of which probably formed the arch of the south door, and the other that of the north door. Underneath the modern altar-table was discovered a stone to the memory of a late rector, somewhat mutilated, to make place for the Communion-table; and in this place was also found an ancient sepulchral slab, considerably damaged and broken in parts to form a proper support for the altar. The restoration seems to be conducted on excellent principles.

ELIAS OWEN.

THE OGAM INSCRIPTIONS AT BALLYKNOCK.—In October 1889 an underground passage connected with a *rath*, or earthen fort, on a farm at Ballyknock, in the county of Cork, was opened by the sons of the farmer's widow. They found in it a pillar-stone scored with Ogam. They also found Ogam on many of the slabs of stone with which the passage was roofed. Hearing, in April 1890, of this discovery, the Rev. Edmond Barry, parish priest of Rathcormack, repeatedly visited Ballyknock, and made rubbings and photographs of all the inscribed stones, fifteen in number. The new number of the *Journal* published by the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland contains Father Barry's readings of these inscriptions. They are accompanied by a careful and learned commentary, and are followed by notes, which contain some corrections made by Professor Rhys, who visited Ballyknock and examined the Ogam in August 1891. Speaking roughly, the dialect in which most of these inscriptions are written bears the same relation to Gaelic—even the Gaelic of the ninth century—that Latin does to French. Philologists will, therefore, welcome the following fifteen documents, although, like most Ogam inscriptions, they contain little but proper names in the genitive singular. It will be understood that on the stones the words are not divided:—

1. MAILAGURO MAQ.....LILA. (There is a blank space after *maq.*)

2. LAMA DE LICCI MAC MAIC BROCC. (At the beginning there is a fracture, in which a few scores may have been lost.)

3. ERACOBİ MAQI ERAQETAI.

4. GRILAGNI MAQI SCILAGNI.

5. CLIUCOANUS MAQI MAQI TRENI.

6. DRUTIQULI MAQI MAQI : : RODAGNI. (For the last word Father Barry gives *rrrodagni*, the triple *r* of which can hardly be right.)

7. BRANAN MAQI OQOLI. (For *Branan* we should have expected *Branagni*, "Corvuli." The Ogam writer here was obviously using a dialect not spoken by him, but handed down by tradition.)

8. BOGAI MAQI BIRACO. (Prof. Rhys, says Father Barry, doubted whether this inscription is not *Mogai maqi Biracci*, the first and last letters being, apparently, obscure.)

9. CLONUN MAC BAIT.

10. BLAT EGSŁ.

11. ACTO MAQI M . . . MAGO.

12. ERCAI DANA. (Father Barry divides thus : *Erca Idana* ; but cf. No. 10.)

13. DOMMO MAQU VIDUCURI. (For *Viducuri* Father Barry gives *Feducuri*, but, in an inscription of this date the sign III should be read *v*, and there seem to be five, not four, notches before the *d*. *Maqu* seems = the indeclinable *maccu*, *mocu* of the Book of Armagh, and *Adamnán's Life of Columba*.)

14. ANM MEDDUGINI. (Here *anm*, which occurs on twelve or thirteen other Ogams, is an abbreviation of **aneme* = Ir. *ainm*, "name.")

15. COSALOTI. (The second letter is doubtful. The sixth is read *o* (i.e., *ó*) by Prof. Rhys, *u* by Father Barry. If the name be for *cosaloutí*, the primeval form of gen. sg. of *cosluath*, "swift-footed", preference must be given to Prof. Rhys's reading.)

From the linguistic point of view these inscriptions fall into two groups. Nos. 1, 2, 9, 10, and 12, belong to the Old-Irish period, say from A.D. 600 to A.D. 900. The rest are in a primeval Celtic dialect, which, so far as regards its declensional endings, stands on the same level as the Gaulish inscriptions. Thus *maqi* (O. Ir. *maic*, (filii), and the names *Eracobi*, *Grilagni*, *Rodagni*, *Scilagni*, *Treni*, *Drutiquili*, *Oqoli*, *Viducuri*, *Meddugini*, and *Cosalóti*, *Eragetái*, and *Bogái*, are genitives sg. of the *o* declension. In *Clíu-coanas* (No. 5) we probably have the gen. sg. of a stem in *n* = Gr. *κνός*, Skr. *çínas*, the *oa* apparently expressing the fraction of *u* by the following *a* (*o*). The *clíu-* (rectius *cleo-*?) may be cognate with Gr. *κλέφος* and the second element of the Galatian name which Strabo gives as *Δομνέκλειος*. In *Meddugini*, which Father Barry rightly connects with the Celtic *Medugenos* (*C. I. L.*, ii, 162) the *dd* represents the intervocalic spirant dental. So in Ogmíic writing *ch* and *th* are represented respectively by *cc* and *tt*. In *Grilagni*, *Oqoli*, and *Scilagni*, the *l* (for *ll*) seems an instance of "singling."—

THE CHESTER PIGS OF LEAD.—The following is an abstract of a communication of mine, dated April 10, 1891, to the Chester and North Wales Archæological and Historical Society. I am persuaded that the principal point of my letter would interest some of the readers of the *Academy*, and that must be my excuse for troubling you.

In consequence of hearing that a member of the Cambrian Archæological Association,¹ on the occasion of their visit to Chester last year, had read DECEANGL on the pigs of lead in the Grosvenor Museum instead of the usual reading DECEANGLI, I made it a point to look at them, and I am happy to say that I agree with my brother Cambrian. I have no doubt as to the L on both pigs, but I am not so sure as to the G; though I am strongly inclined to think that it is the reading, I must admit that it may possibly be a C. But granted the reading DECANGL, I should regard it as an abbreviation of a longer word, with which I would identify *Tegeingl*, the name of a district embracing the coast from Cheshire to the River Clwyd.

Here it will be noticed first that the old name began with *d*, whereas the modern one has *t*; but this has its parallel elsewhere, as, for example, in Deganwy, near Llandudno, which is now more commonly called Teganwy, and in some instances of Welsh *din*, as in Tindaethwy in Anglesey, and other place-names which I could mention.

The next question is, What was the full name of the people alluded to on the pigs? One could hardly be far wrong, I think, in giving it as Deceangli or Deceanglii; and, if so, their country was probably *Deceanglia* or *Deceanglion*, according as the word was feminine or neuter. The point of importance, phonologically speaking, is that the *i* was a consonant or a semi-vowel, like *y* in the English words "yet" and "yes." Setting out from an early form *Deceanglion*, one can tell with an approach to certainty what it must become as a Brythonic word in later times; the semi-vowel would cause the *a* of the previous syllable to be modulated into *ei*, which would yield a form *Deceeinglion*. Later, the termination would drop off, and leave the word in the form of *Deceeingl*. That was accented most probably *Decëeingl*; but the accentuation *Decëeingl* would make no difference, as in either case the contraction likely to follow could only be *Decëeingl*. This explains a fact for which I see no other possible explanation, namely, that *Tegeingl* is still accented on the ultima, which is contrary to the rule obtaining in modern Welsh, except where the ultima is a contraction of two syllables. In other words, the *a* of *Deceangl*, which was at first my stumbling-block, becomes the means of clenching the argument for the connection between *Tegeingl* and the *Deceangl* of the pigs. It also disposes of all uncertainty as to whether the *de* was, in this case, the Latin preposition or a part of the name, and it strengthens the arguments of the antiquaries who trace the pigs of lead to the neighbourhood of Flint in *Tegeingl*. On the other hand, it leaves the passage in

¹ The member referred to was Archdeacon Thomas.

the Annals of Tacitus doubtful as before; for whether one reads *in Decangos* or *inde Cangos*, neither has anything to do with *Deceangli*, unless one has the courage to go further and adopt some such an emendation as *in Deceanglos*, which seems to me reasonable.

There are two other questions to which I should like to call attention, namely, what were the boundaries of ancient Tegeingl? and what is the actual application of the English name Englefield: when did it first appear, and how is it first used in connection with Tegeingl?

Lastly, I ought to have said that this is by no means the first time the name of Tegeingl has been connected with that inscribed on the Chester pigs, but the strength of the linguistic argument has never, so far as I know, been shown before.

JOHN RHYS.

The Academy, Oct. 31, 1891.

RUINED CHAPELS IN CARMARTHENSHIRE.—The following communication will explain itself. I am unable to help Mr. Tierney, but I agree with him in supposing *Begewdin* to be a personal name, though I can say nothing more about it except that I am not inclined to think it Welsh. This is not the first time Mr. Tierney has interested himself in Welsh Antiquities, and I hope that some of our South-walian antiquaries will favour you and him with a detailed account of the old chapels to which he calls attention; that is to say, unless they have been described on our *Journal* already.

October 19, 1891.

JOHN RHYS.

I have discovered (?) three ruined churches, or chapels of ease, almost in a straight line, running along the side of Mynyddygarreg, nearly east and west, named (1) Capel Herbach, one and a half miles from Porthyrbyd; (2) Capel Begawdin (sometimes spelled and always pronounced Begewdin), about two miles from Llanddarog; and (3) Capel Duddgan, possibly two miles, or more, from Llangendeirne. All these are, or lately have been, surrounded by little groves. Are all these, or any of them, do you think, known to archæologists, or have they been described in the *Archæologia Cambrensis*? I cannot find that they have, and Mr. Alwyn Evans does not remember. The only one I have had an opportunity of speaking to the country people about, or of inspecting with any care, is Capel Begawdin, and most of what I have to say about that can, I have reason to think, be said of the two others.

In the first place the people call it a Catholic chapel, and no one seems to suppose that it has ever been used in post-Reformation times. It is a small building, with a pretty large door (mouldings well preserved) at the west end. Close to the door is a large well, with a continual and plentiful outflow. The trees around the chapel have recently been cut down, and the bowl of the holy-water stoup was broken off not long ago by some country fellow, who, I suppose, carried it away. There are a few openings in the wall inside, one

of which at the west end was evidently a niche for a statuette of considerable size. The opening where the east window was is quite square and small. I should think there would have been mullions ending at the top in lancet form, etc., in so small an opening. I daresay something could be found if the rubbish covering the floor some feet deep were removed. The place must have been long roofless. I do not know at what rate an oak grows, but it grows slowly, I believe, and there is a gnarled, twisted little oak, about 20 or 25 ft. high, growing up out of the middle of the north wall. I expect it is a long time since the acorn was deposited there—probably by being dropped, I should think, from a bird's beak. A little belfry still crowns the west end.

It is some time since I saw the place, and as I don't understand ecclesiastical architecture, I can give you no better description. As even this may contain something to interest you I thought I might include it in my letter. My chief object in writing is to ask if you could kindly tell me something about the word "Begawdin" or, rather, "Begewdin." I know little of Welsh myself, and have consulted the best Welshmen I could find. A few have made attempts to solve it, but it is only too plain that the nut is more than any of them can crack. My own impression is that it is a proper name, in fact, a personal name, but the little I know of Celtic saints' names, either in their Welsh or Latin form, does not enable me to connect "Begewdin" with any historical personage.

H. C. TIERNEY.

THE LIBER LANDAVENSIS.—It has been decided that a fund raised to provide a memorial to the late Mr. J. A. Corbett of Cardiff shall be applied in support of the publication of a diplomatic reproduction of the *Liber Landavensis*, a work in which he had been actively interested prior to his last illness. By this means a large number of autotype *facsimiles* will be introduced into the edition from the original MSS., which are now in the possession of Mr. P. Davies-Cooke of Llanerch, and also from the MS. Book of St. Chad, now preserved in Lichfield Cathedral. A few years ago Mr. Corbett had brought out a carefully annotated edition of Merrick's *Book of Glamorganshire Antiquities*, a topographical work of great value.—*Athenæum*, Jan. 30, 1891.

LOCAL SECRETARIES.—The editorial reference, in the report of the Annual Meeting held in Kerry, in the last number of the *Journal*, respecting the falling off of the "Archæological Notes and Queries", coupled, as it is, with the appeal to the local secretaries, will, it is to be hoped, have some real effect in inducing the officials of our society, who hold those responsible positions, to exert themselves more than they have hitherto done. But, on the other hand, one may fairly ask who is to blame for the apathy complained of in the report? I fear that the system under which the affairs of the C.A.A. is managed has the effect of paralysing their energies. Local

secretaries, on their appointment, should be informed that the accepting of this office means something more than merely having their names printed on the covers of the *Journal*. It should be made clear to them that it involves a certain responsibility, and that, in fact, the vitality of the society depends, in a great measure, upon their energetic action and hearty co-operation with the other officers of the society. Still, I feel bound to say something in defence of the local secretary, being one myself. Should he, in his archæological zeal, and the enthusiasm begotten of his first year of office, display a little more than the usual activity, he too often meets a reception which is calculated to cool his ardour, and force him to assume that lethargic state which has called forth this editorial rebuke. I would suggest as a remedy that an official circular¹ be sent to each local secretary, every quarter, about a month before the issue of the *Journal*, with an urgent request that it be filled up with any matter that may have been discovered, collected, or noted during that period. This, in itself, would afford valuable assistance to the editor in preparing the *Journal*. Besides, it would make the local secretary's position a reality; as it is, their duties are completely undefined; I look in vain in the rules of the Association for guidance on the point. The local secretary *cannot*, therefore, be blamed for leaving unperformed an unspecified duty. It should be understood that they are the official representatives of the Society in their several localities. Such a recognition would act as a sort of passport in allowing them free access to various places, to view and make notes of any "find", where otherwise a difficulty might have arisen, through the secretary being, perhaps, a stranger to the finder. This has often been the case when any important discovery is made by persons who are not members, and perhaps ignorant of the very existence of the C.A.A., one's actions being often regarded with a certain amount of undue suspicion, and hindrances put in one's way, which not only prevents but also discourages one from doing a bounden duty. If any of our members or local secretaries agree with a proposal of this nature, I leave it to those who are more experienced than myself to draw up a form or circular, which could be suggested at the next Committee Meeting. I feel confident that a step in this direction must result in benefiting as well as extending the usefulness of our Society. I trust I may be pardoned for appearing to dictate in this manner to a Society that reckons amongst its members some of the most distinguished archæologists of the age.

D. GRIFFITH DAVIES,

Local Secretary for Carnarvonshire.

LLANALLGO, ANGLESEY.—I was invited by Mr. Lloyd Griffith of Holyhead, one of our local secretaries for Anglesey, to accompany him on a visit to Llanallgo Church, in order to see if there might

¹ A circular of the kind suggested was not long ago sent to all the Local Secretaries without producing any result whatever; but, perhaps, if sent periodically it might have a more beneficial effect, on the principle that "Gutta cavat lapidem, non vi sed sæpe cadendo."—ED.

be anything of archæological interest in this little structure worthy of preservation, as the church is shortly to be restored. The building has been described and illustrated in *Arch. Camb.* (vol. v, Ser. 3, pp. 121-3). We found that the stalls and screen shown in the illustration had entirely disappeared. The chapel at the west end of the nave is another feature of the building we found missing. It seems strange that no reference was made, in this account, to a large mural tablet on the north side of the chancel, on which is represented, in high relief, the figure of a knight kneeling before a low desk, clad in the costume of, apparently, the latter part of the sixteenth or the earlier part of the seventeenth century, wearing a cuirass, his helmet, with vizor open, placed on the ground in front of him. The whole thing, we found, was made of plaster, and is gradually crumbling away. With a view to its preservation, the monument has been *literally plastered* over with lime-wash, so that the detail of the ornament, which, from the faint indications now visible, must have been fairly good, have, in a great measure, disappeared. We could get no information from either the present incumbent, or from those who had lived here in the past, about its history, so we came to the conclusion that it must have been erected to the memory of Sir John Bodvel, a celebrated Anglesey Royalist, who lived at Parciau, in the adjoining parish. The east window, though small, is a good example of the third period of the Pointed style, and contains in its upper traceries some choice bits of old glass, which, we were informed, would be well taken care of. In this remote little Anglesey churchyard are buried the unclaimed bodies of those who lost their lives in that terrible catastrophe, the wreck of the *Royal Charter*; and one of the chief objects of this restoration is to extend the nave outwards, in order to include the spot where the bodies have been buried, thus making the nave of this little country church a sort of memorial chapel; and those interested in the matter intend also to erect within the building the obelisk now standing outside over the grave, which will be a most unsightly object in a church of this size, so it is to be hoped that this intention may be abandoned.

D. GRIFFITH DAVIES,

Local Secretary for Carnarvonshire.

LLANARTH, CARDIGANSHIRE.—I want to call attention to the neglect of the valuable relics in the parish,—the inscribed pillar-stone and the font. The Llanarth stone is one of the few monuments in Cardiganshire that has Ogams upon it. It is already so worn that the inscription is almost illegible. This stone is figured in the *Lapidarium Walliæ* (plate 64, fig. 3). It used to stand inside the church, under the tower; but the restorer found his way to Llanarth, and the result was the stone was taken out and set up in the churchyard. A further scaling off of the inscription has followed; so now it is almost impossible to make anything out. Not content with turning out the stone, the restorer also turned out the font, replacing it

in the church by a modern uninteresting affair, that no doubt is thought an improvement. The old font I was told was offered for sale, only one of the churchwardens, to his honour, refused to allow it to go out of the parish. It is a very remarkable specimen, a pyramidal block resting on four lions. It has had an iron band put round it, but the lions are by no means improving by the action of the weather. The Welsh County Councils say they are going to take steps to preserve the national monuments of Wales. It would be well if they would begin by compelling the Llanarth authorities to take care of these remarkable ecclesiastical monuments.

J. W. WILLIS-BUND.

[We hope that Mr. Willis-Bund's timely protest against these two very flagrant acts of Vandalism will have the desired effect of causing the font and Ogam stone to be again placed in the church.—ED.]

WILLIAM SALESBURY AND BISHOP RICHARD DAVIES.—Through the kindness and courtesy of Mr. Davies-Cooke of Gwysaney, near Mold, I have been able to examine a MS. volume of intense interest, containing three important documents :—

1. A Bond entered into by Mr. "William Salesbury of Llan-sannan" (the translator of most of the New Testament, and editor both of it and the Prayer Book), and bearing his autograph signature.

2. A portion of the original Commission to the Bishops to "translate the booke of the Lorde's Testament into the Vulgar Walsh tong".

3. The autograph Translation into Welsh of the two Epistles to Timothy, and those to Titus and Philemon. Attested on the authority of W. S. (Salesbury) to be the work of Bishop Richard Davies.

D. R. THOMAS.

BISHOP WILLIAM MORGAN OF ST. ASAPH.—Three autograph letters of great interest have recently been presented to the Cathedral Library of St. Asaph by the Rev. D. J. Davies, Rector of North Benfleet, Essex, viz. :—

1. Bishop William Morgan to Sir John Gwynne of Goyder.

2. The same to Mr. Martin.

3. Sir John Wynne to Mr. Martyn.

They are the same as were printed in Yorke's *Royal Tribes of Wales*; and they have now found a fitting resting-place in the Cathedral of the diocese, in whose history they describe, from opposite sides, an important episode.

D. R. THOMAS.

CARDIGANSHIRE INSCRIBED STONES.—I beg to apologise to Professor Westwood for venturing to write anything on the inscribed stones of Wales, as I am aware it is little less than heresy to doubt

the absolute accuracy of everything in the *Lapidarium Walliæ*; but in this, as well as other things, I am a heretic. This is why I fail to see the reason why Professor Westwood, speaking of my note, says "I object to be thus criticised." My object was, as I stated, to show how the photograph varied from the published description. I had no desire to take credit for discovering an undescribed stone. What I wanted to do was to ascertain if there were two inscribed stones at Pontfaen; and, as I could only find one, I was anxious to know if it was or was not the one described. I gave the substance of Professor Westwood's description. I did not pretend to quote it. I admit at once I have used the term "field", while the word in the *Lapidarium* is "enclosure". I have now Professor Westwood's authority for saying the stone I mentioned has not been described; and an addition to the list of stones repays one for even professorial criticism. I may add that, notwithstanding the "short but careful description", I could not find or hear of any other stone at Pontfaen. I am also charged with misquoting the description, in stating that the stone is broken through the middle. I stated nothing of the kind. I said—and if it is worth any one's while to look at the engraving on p. 328 they will see I am right—"The plate represents a stone broken through the middle."

The "Idnerth" Stone.—I apologise at once for a mistake, and am obliged for its correction. It was wrong to state that the letter I follows a mark; it should be "is followed by". Professor Westwood says I have added nothing to his description. I do not know if he insinuates that I have simply taken his description. I state that there are only two fragments, the larger portion of it. I give the words on each fragment, and describe the place of each. If, like Professor Westwood, I was to be very critical, I might take exception to his description, and say that only *a* portion, not portions, is in the north-west angle; that the fragment is further to the south.

I might also add, if extreme accuracy is required, that the HIC has disappeared entirely. It is the JACET, not the HIC JACET, that is broken through. With regard to the other stone, the plate in the *Lapidarium* is copied from a drawing made before the 1874 restoration. I can only say that if it correctly represented the stone then, it does not do so now. The cross-bar at the top is omitted, and one or two other details.

I much regret being led into any controversy with one who has done so much for Welsh archæology as Professor Westwood; and, on the principle that every cow thinks its own calf the finest, I quite understand that he should object to anything being said about the expurgation of his book; but no one who has given any attention to the inscribed stones of Wales but will admit that there is need, if only on the ground of the large number of stones not mentioned in it, for a revised edition.

INSCRIBED STONE AT SOUTHILL, CORNWALL.—The discovery of an inscribed stone at Southill, Cornwall, by Mr. S. J. Wills, was announced in the quarterly number of the *Arch. Camb.* for October, 1891. The stone has recently been visited by the Rev. W. Jago who reads the inscription :—

CUMREGNI
FILI MAUCI

In removing the earth which concealed the end of the stone it was found that the Chi-Rho Monogram of Christ was carved at what must have been originally the top of the pillar. The total length of the stone is 8 ft. 2 ins. We hope to give a more accurate drawing of the inscription in a future number. J. R. A.

THE CELTIC INCISED STONES AT GLAMORGAN.—At a meeting of the Cardiff Naturalists' Society, under the presidency of Dr. C. T. Vachell, on Thursday evening, Mr. Thomas Henry Thomas, R.C.A., read a paper on the "Pre-Norman, Inscribed, and Decorated Monumental Stones of Glamorganshire", being explanatory notes on the series of magnificent photographs by Mr. T. Mansel Franklen, lately deposited for the use of the public in Cardiff Free Library. Lantern slides have been made for the Natural History Society from a portion of the larger series of the Glamorgan photographic survey, for which the gold medal, offered by the Library, was awarded to Mr. Franklen. Amongst the slides the stones of the Roman period did not come within the purview, there being very few Roman stones in the county.

The earliest were of the period immediately succeeding the Roman, and some of them, being marked with a cross, showed that the persons whom they commemorated were Christian. The only view of a Roman stone shown was that found at Port Talbot, and it bore the name of the Emperor Maximian. Three gave an idea of the Roman-British period. They had simple inscriptions, without ornament, and bore the names of the persons commemorated in the genitive case. The larger number of the examples consisted of pedestals, shafts, and bases intended to support crosses, and a few crosses almost complete, all of which were decorated, and most of them had inscriptions as well, the decorations in all being of that twisted and plaited ribbon or knot-work long known as Anglo-Saxon ornament, but which have been proved by the researches of Professor Westwood to be Celtic. Mr. Thomas said he had been indebted for the matter chiefly to the works of Professor Westwood, and of Mr. J. Romilly Allen, who has been carrying out a most elaborate critical analysis of Celtic art generally, in which he fully treats of the Glamorganshire examples. As to the peculiar shapes of the crosses and their decorations, he mentioned the fact that upon them are to be found instances of Eastern and pagan symbolism, and that the crosses themselves in hardly any instance represented the cross of crucifixion, but were wheel crosses based upon the Greek

monogram I.X. Some slides were shown giving the alphabets found upon the stones, these being of three kinds, namely, Roman, Ogam, and Irish small lettering. The dates of the decorated monuments were generally from the eighth to the tenth centuries. In explanation of the decorations, he followed Mr. Romilly Allen's classification of the elements of the geometric and knot ornaments used. The very early inscribed stones, such as the Carantorius and Bodnoc, he stated, were standing, the former near Kenfig and the latter on Margam Mountain. The Carantorius was the only one inscribed in Ogam character, and was the first Ogam inscription in Wales. Both of these were probably of not later date than the sixth century. Amongst the stones of the later periods (the seventh to the tenth centuries) there were a few which had traces upon them of sculptures of the human figure and animals of the rudest possible character, and the lecturer remarked that, with all their power over ornament, the Celtic artists were unable to draw the human or animal forms. Of this class, the carving upon the cross in the churchyard of Llangan was the most interesting. Another instance was the base of the monument in Llandough Churchyard, near Cardiff. The greater number of the monuments were to be found in two groups, one at Margam and the other at Llantwit Major. At Margam the most celebrated was the great wheel cross, upon which was the name of Cunbelin. The sculptures on this were interlacements, remarkable for the intricacy with which the knot-work was carried. A small stemmed cross, incised upon a block, at the same place, was of special beauty. The crosses of Ilci and Ilquici were very peculiar instances of an eight-rayed cross, whilst there was an instance at the same place of a six-rayed one. At Llantwit Major the most interesting were the Pillar of Sampson, the Cross of Sampson, and the Cross of Howelt, the latter being elaborately carved with geometrical patterns. Other crosses at Merthyr Mawr, Coy-Church, and the great pedestal at Llandough, were described. In conclusion, Mr. Thomas explained that the object of his paper was to endeavour to enlist interest in the condition of these venerable monuments, which had been erected to the memory of kings and saints in the earlier periods of the British Church, in order that some means might be devised for their better preservation, and a collection might be made of casts which should be accessible to students of archæology and of the fine arts. Mr. Harrison, of the University College, manipulated the lantern for showing the slides.

A hearty vote of thanks was accorded to Mr. Thomas and Mr. Harrison.—*South Wales Daily News*, March 25, 1892.

Obituary.

EDWARD AUGUSTUS FREEMAN.

As so much has appeared in the public prints on the heavy loss sustained by the death of the Regius Professor of Modern History at Oxford, who died at Alicante, on March 16th, of small-pox, which he unconsciously brought from Tarragona, our notice will be chiefly confined to what our Association owes to his memory. His name appears in the long list of members contained in the volume for 1847, in which year the first annual meeting was held at Aberystwyth, under the presidency of Sir Stephen Glynne. For several years Mr. Freeman very frequently attended our meetings, giving interesting and instructive lectures on the churches, and other architectural antiquities met with in the excursions. He would occasionally, before a meeting, visit the neighbourhood and prepare descriptive papers to be read at the meeting, which afterwards appeared in the *Journal*, illustrated by engravings after sketches by his own pen.

Of these we may instance the paper on South Pembrokeshire, in the volume for 1852, containing sketches of the churches of Manorbier, Monkton, Rhoscrowther, Castlemartin, Coshleston, Warren, and Johnston, and the castles of Carew and Upton. This paper was read at Tenby in 1851, the Earl of Cawdor being President. At the close of the meeting Mr. Basil Jones, Mr. Freeman, Sir Stephen Glynne, and a few other members visited St. David's. They found the cathedral in a very different condition from that in which it now is, although some important repairs had been effected a few years previously, under the direction of Mr. Butterfield. All these works, except the great window in the north transept, are mentioned in the volume for 1849, p. 140, the cost, as we believe, being borne by persons not officially connected either with the Cathedral or the diocese. The accomplished authors of the *History and Antiquities of St. David's*, and their friends, were liberal contributors.

In the volume for 1849, at the meeting held at Cardiff, under the presidency of Dean Conybeare, we find Mr. Freeman speaking on Llandaff Cathedral, on the architecture of which church his remarks appeared in an attractive little volume in the following year.

The volume of the *Journal* for 1853 contains a paper of Mr. Freeman's on Leominster Priory Church, which was read at Ludlow in 1852; also, at p. 180, results of excavations at Leominster, followed by criticisms of Parker's *Domestic Architecture of the Middle Ages*, so far as relates to South Wales. The volume for 1854 contains his third paper on Monmouthshire, the first and second having appeared in 1851; also a paper on the churches of St. John's Priory, of St.

Mary's, and of Christ's College, Brecon, with brief notices of Llanddew and Crickhowell, read at Brecon in 1853; and a paper on St. Asaph Cathedral, read at Ruthin in the same year. The volume for 1855 contains his paper on Ruthin Church and Hospital, read in 1854 at Ruthin; and a paper on Llanthony Priory, which he visited with the Association in 1876. In the volume for 1856 is a paper on the ecclesiastical architecture of Wales and the Marches, with drawings of the following churches: Crickhowell, Llanrhystid, Whitchurch near Denbigh, Talgarth, Cathedin, Llanilar, Llanaber, and Llanfihangel Talyllyn.

The volume for 1857 contains Mr. Freeman's notes on the churches of Coyty, Coychurch, and Ewenny, which were visited under his guidance, from Bridgend, in 1869; also his notes on St. Mellon's, Monmouthshire. In the volume for 1858 is his description of Llan-twit Major, also visited by the Association from Bridgend, under the presidency of Lord Dunraven. In 1875, during the Carmarthen meeting, Mr. Freeman lectured on Kidwelly Castle and Church. At the Abergavenny meeting, in 1876, he was President. In his inaugural address he paid a well merited tribute to the Bishop of St. David's, the President of the previous year, and made some learned and interesting remarks on the language and history of Wales.

[We hope to publish a portrait of the late Prof. E. A. Freeman in the July Number of the Journal.—ED.]

THOMAS ALLEN.

By the lamented death of Mr. Thomas Allen, which took place on the 26th of March, the Cambrian Archæological Association loses an old and valued member. Mr. Allen was born on the 17th of February 1813, and educated at Shrewsbury School, which has sent so many other distinguished classical scholars to the Universities.

After having taken a good degree at Oxford he joined the South Wales circuit, and he held, some years before his decease, the appointments of Revising Barrister and Deputy Clerk of Arraigus. Amongst Mr. Allen's public services, not the least was the energetic interest he exhibited in promoting the objects of the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals.

With regard to our own Society, although he did not contribute any great number of papers to the Journal, he was a very regular attendant at the Annual Meetings, and took a sympathetic interest in everything connected with the study of antiquities. He was a thoroughgoing opponent of the Dryasdust type of archæologist, and when occasion demanded it he did not scruple to remind the reader of a paper, not unkindly, yet with a touch of grim humour peculiarly his own, that the audience were going to sleep.

Mr. Allen was an ardent sportsman, and his genial presence will be as much missed on the Exmoor hunting-field as at our annual gatherings.



PROFESSOR E. A. FREEMAN, D.C.L.

From a Photograph by Messrs. ELLIOTT & FRY.

Archæologia Cambrensis.

FIFTH SERIES.—VOL. IX, NO. XXXV.

JULY 1892.

DISCOVERY OF
BISHOP RICHARD DAVIES' MS. WELSH
VERSION OF THE PASTORAL EPISTLES
AND OTHER DOCUMENTS.

BY THE VEN. ARCHDEACON THOMAS, F.S.A.

IN the Ecclesiastical Art Exhibition, held in connection with the Church Congress at Rhyl, in October, last year, there was "lent by P. B. Davies-Cooke, Esq., of Gwysaney, Mold" (among other objects), this, "91 MS. in Welsh, Epistles of St. Paul," etc.

By Mr. Davies-Cooke's kind permission I was allowed to have it out of its glass case and look more closely at it. Time did not admit of a minute examination, but it sufficed to show that the volume was one of rare interest and value. Since then Mr. Davies-Cooke has very courteously enabled me to inspect it with greater leisure and minuteness, and I now write down the results.

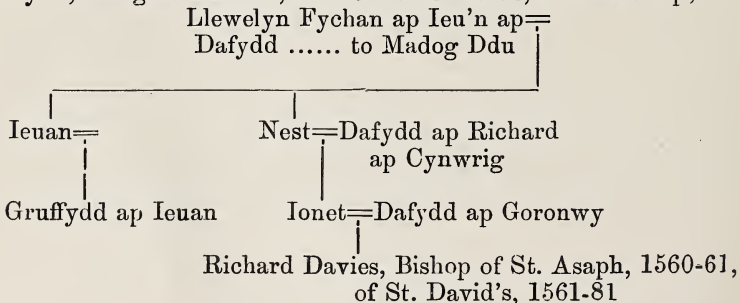
The volume has been half-bound (1891) in red morocco, under the direction of Mr. Maunde Thompson of the British Museum, and is a folio 12 ins. by 8 ins., with the title "The First Epistle to Timothy; Welsh." This was no doubt taken from that on the old parchment cover, but it is by no means an adequate index to the contents. The old title ran, "St. Paul's First Epistle to Timothy and 2 d^o", beneath which was

written in a later hand, "That to Titus and Philemon, No. 87." Below this was another number in brackets [25], with this explanatory note: "No. 25 on old cover refers to catalogue of library of Robert Davies, Esq., of Llanerch Park, near St. Asaph, and Gwysaney, near Mold." This note is important as it gives the clue to the history of the MS. contents; for Mr. Robert Davies was not only a learned antiquary and a great collector of books, but he was descended from that earlier owner of Llanerch who was an uncle of Bishop Richard Davies, and to whom the Bishop refers in his "Epistol at y Cembu" (Letter to the Welsh), prefixed to the New Testament of 1567, as the possessor of the Pentateuch in Welsh, the only portion of the Holy Scriptures he had ever seen in that language:—

"Yn lle gwir ni ffynnodd cenyfi irioet gael gwelet y Bibl yn gymraeg: eithr pan oeddwn yn fachcen cof yw cenyf welet pump llyfr Moysen yn gymraeg o fewn tuy ewythyrl¹ ym oedd wr dyscedig."

The contents of the volume comprise three different documents, each of singular interest, and all bearing on the same matter, viz.: (1) a bond for one hundred pounds signed by William Salesbury; (2) A fragment of a petition for the translation of the New Testament into Welsh; (3) the version of St. Paul's Epistles to Timothy, Titus, and Philemon, in the MS. of Bishop

¹ "Cyffelip mae Gruff. ap Ieun ap Lln. Vachan y mae ef yn ei veddwl." Nest, the daughter of Llewelyn Vychan ap Ieuan ap Davydd, was grandmother, on the mother's side, of the Bishop; thus



Richard Davies, co-translator with Salesbury and Huet of the first Welsh New Testament, 1567.

I. THE BOND.—This is written on parchment, and formed the old cover of the MS. translation. The first portion is in Latin, and gives the names of the several parties, with the residence and status of the borrower and his guarantors. The lender was “Thomas ap Rice Wyn, Gen’osus”, the borrower, “Will’m Salesbury de Llansannan, Gen’osus”. His guarantors were eight in number, and all of them neighbours, living within the same parish of Llansannan: *e.g.*, Petrus Salesbury de Penyglogor in com. p’dict. geno’s; Ieuan ap John Pygot de Chwybren in com. p’dict. gen’os; Robertus ap John ap Llew. de Deynant in com. p’dict. yoman; Ludowicus ap Medd. Penenalet in com. p’dict. yoman; Lodowicus Vaughan ap Tudder de Deynant in com. p’dict. yoman; Meredd. ap Thomas de eadem in com. p’dict. yoman; Thomas ap Grono de eadem in com. p’dict. yoman; Hugo ap David ap John de eadem in com. p’dict. yoman. The last portion gives the conditions in English, and provides that “if the said William Salesbury pay and discharge the aforesaid one hundred pounds, then this obligation to be void.”

Although there is abundance of room there is only one signature attached, that of “William Salesbury”, and there are no seals whatever. On the back, just below the old title, with its note, are given the names of the witnesses, “Sigillat et de’bat’ in presentia”:—William Mestyn; Thomas ap Robert; Robert Middleton, Junr.; Gruff. ap dd. ap Engion; Will’m ap Ieu’n Lloyd; Et alior.; Mydd... Mr.; Gau. ap.”

There are many points in this document that deserve notice, but the chief interest, of course, centres round William Salesbury. This eminent man was the grandson of Robert Salesbury (the fifth son of Thomas Salesbury Hen, and brother of Foulk Salesbury, Dean of St. Asaph, 1511-1543, of the powerful sept of Lleweni), who married Gwenhwyfar, the daughter of Rhys ap Einion Vychan, and heiress of Plas Isa in Llanrwst.

From a remark in his book on Botany, he must have been born at Caedu in Llansannan, for, speaking of a certain plant, he notes that he had "seen it growing in the meadow below the Hall of Meredydd ap Gronow, in Llansannan, the parish in which he was born."¹

He was educated at Oxford, and took to the law as a profession, but it is as a scholar and writer that he has won our admiration. Skilled in no less than nine languages, he has written largely on rhetoric and philology. His *Dictionary in Englyshe and Welshe* (A.D. 1547) was both the first book of its kind and the first of his own publications. In 1551 he published in Welsh *The Epistles and Gospels for the Sundays and Holy Days of the Year*; and when the Bishops of the Welsh sees and Hereford were looking out for a competent editor for the New Testament they selected him for the post, and he appears to have occupied the same position with regard to the Welsh Prayer-Book. Both the books were published in the same year, 1567. He was, however, not only the editor, but the chief translator also of the New Testament, the portions attributed to him in the marginal notes comprising from the beginning of St. Matthew's Gospel to the end of the Second Epistle to the Thessalonians, the Second Epistle to Timothy, those to Titus and Philemon, the three general Epistles of St. John, and that of St. Jude.

Although he has written so many books of such different kinds, I am not aware of any other autograph signature than the one here given, as traced from the bond:



The handwriting is peculiar. The Christian name resembles a monogram curiously devised, but the surname is written in a clear, well-finished hand, but with some of the letters stiff and angular.

¹ *Enwogion y Ffydd*, vol. i, p. 43. The Hall was that of Dyffryn Aled.

The amount of the bond may seem to some out of all proportion to the number and position of the guarantors, but it is necessary to bear in mind that it represents probably fifteen times the present value of that amount, and that ready money was a scarce commodity in those days. The readiness of so many neighbours to join in incurring such a liability argues well for the popularity of Salesbury and his work, especially when we remember that the date of the bond was "the 2nd of April, 7th Elizabeth", *i.e.*, 1565, just two years before the publication of the Prayer Book and the New Testament; and from the date, combined with the subsequent use of the bond as a cover for the MS., we cannot doubt that it was incurred in connection with the expenses entailed by one or both of those undertakings. It is certain, however, that this could not have covered the whole expense of either book; and, indeed, it is stated at the end of each of them that it was "Imprinted at London, by Henry Denham, at the *costes and charges of Humphrey Toye*, dwelling in Paule's Churchyarde, at the signe of Helmet"; and in the Register of the Stationers' Company there occur, under the year July 22, 1566, to July 22, 1567, these two entries:—

"Toye. Recevyd of humffre Toye for his lycense for pryntinge of the servis boke in Welshe auctorysshed by my lorde of London iij*s.* iiij*d.*

"Toye. Recevyd of humffrey Toye for his lycense for pryntinge of the newe testament in Welshe xij*d.*"¹

The colophon in both cases states that the licence conferred a monopoly "Cum privilegio ad imprimendum solum". But while it specifies, with regard to the "Book of Common Prayer", that it was to be "sold at his shop at the sygne of the Helmet, in Paule's Churchyarde", and therefore we may conclude he was to refund himself by the sale of the book, there is no such provision with respect to the New Testament, and that therefore the five bishops (and perhaps William Sales-

¹ Ashton's *Bywyd ac Amserau yr Esgob Morgan*, 71.

bury), who were to fix the price of the book and see to its dissemination, were to be responsible to him for his outlay. The same rule applied later on to the publishing of the Bible in 1588.

It will have been observed that "William Salesbury" is described as of "Llansannan". "Caedu", in that parish, was part of the family inheritance, and probably fell to the lot of William as the second son, while his elder brother Robert succeeded to the larger mansion of Plas Isa in Llanrwst. The old house has been down for some years. It is said that there was in it a secret chamber that could only be approached through the chimney, and tradition has it that he was obliged to flee into this hiding-place to finish his work of translation, because of the persecution under Queen Mary. That there was such a secret chamber is in full accord with what existed in the houses of many, if not most of the gentry in that unsettled and troublous age, and that he used this chamber for the sake of its quiet and freedom from disturbance, for that purpose, is most likely. But that he was obliged to flee there to avoid the Marian persecution is untenable, inasmuch as his translation of the New Testament did not commence until some five years after that danger had been removed by the death of Mary and the accession of Elizabeth.

II. THE PETITION.—This is only a fragment, written on a large sheet of paper in a current, sprawling hand, in places difficult to decipher. It is not a commission ordering the thing to be done, as it seemed at first to be, but rather a petition urgently appealing that steps should be taken to consider the necessity, and suggesting a method of "trading the boke of the Lorde's Testament into the vulgar Walsh tong". Unfortunately, the first part is missing, and there is nothing to indicate at what date or by whom it was written, or whether it was addressed to the Welsh Bishops in general or to Bishop Richard Davies, as the ablest Welsh scholar among them, and the one who showed the strongest

personal interest in the cause. It clearly had nothing to do with the order of Parliament, and it has no reference to the Old Testament. Indeed, from the composition one might conclude that it was a rough draft of an appeal rather than the actual petition. Nevertheless, it is of great interest for the grounds it alleges, for the suggestions it offers, and for the earnestness of its tone. It begins :—

“Agayne ther be a few other y^t wold sincerely pray and wth their hart to the uttermost of their ... power teache preach and declare Goddes Holy Worde unto the people in the vulgar Walsh tong that the prince of darknes might not altogether be like of his possession in every p’cell of Christ’s Church.”

It proceeds :—

“In consyderacon wherof it may please your good and graciouse lordship of your Christian love and godly pytifulnes whom your good lordships ow and beare unto al the com’onwealthe of all those that professe the name of Jesus Christ to provide not at the¹ godly reformacon in the premysses either by sendyng and callyng for *the godlyest and best learned men in divinitie or knowledge of y^e holy scriptures of the Walsh tong* w’all whersoever in y^e whole Realme their habitacon or abydyng shall hap to be that the same at your good lordships wyll and com’andment may consult together what may be thought most expedient and what remedie most present for the expulsemēt of both miserable darknes² of sooch miserable darknes for the lack of the shynyng lyght of Christes Gospell as yet styll remayneth among the inhabitantes of the same principalitie.”

It concludes with the petition that—

“So if it shalbe thought requisite necessarie or convenient the said inhabitants ministered taught or preached unto in their vulgar understood tong to their better edificac’on then it may please your good lordships to wyll and require and com’and the learned men to *traduct the boke of the Lordes Testamente into the vulgar Walsh tong* so by such means as well the preachers themselves as also the multitude may be the together in dew knowledge of their Lordes good wyll.”

¹ These three words, “not at the”, should evidently be omitted.—D. R. T.

² Omit “of both miserable darknes”,—D. R. T.

The points that chiefly strike one in the above are (1) the evidence it supplies of the great desire for a "vernacular version" of the Holy Word, and the great difficulty in the way of earnest, devoted ministers arising from the absence of such version; (2) the wise and practical course suggested—first to summon the most learned Welsh divines to consult together, and then, after deliberation, proceed to action; and (3) the greater facilities for preachers to fulfil their duty, and the "better edification" of the people, which resulted from carrying out this object by the Bishop and Salesbury in 1567, and still more by the subsequent edition of the whole Bible by Dr. William Morgan in 1588.

III. THE WELSH VERSION OF THE FOUR EPISTLES.—This forms the body of the volume, and is its most important feature. It consists of ten folios of stout paper, and is written on both sides in a clear, strong, and well-formed hand. The heading runs "Y Pistyl Ky'taf i Pawl at Tymothiws"; and just above it, in a larger and more recent hand, the note, "Tyniad a llaw Doctor Ric. Davies, Esgop Mynyw"; that is, "The translation and hand of Dr. Richard Davies, Bishop of St. David's." This, again, is repeated more definitely in the same handwriting, at the bottom of the page, thus:—

"Tro yr ddalen a darllen rhiagot	}	Cembreigiad ac escrive Llaw Esgob Dav... yw'r dec Dalen hyn ys.. yma iso rhac Llaw medd W. Salesbury."
--	---	--

"Turn over the leaf and read forwards	}	These ten leaves that follow on here are the Welsh translation and handwriting of Bishop Davies Saith W. Salesbury."
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This is probably not the handwriting of Salesbury, as may be seen by comparing the *facsimile* with his signature above, but only the assertion of the fact on his authority.

The MS. is written in the same hand throughout, even to the corrections, though these are in smaller letters. The attestation is important, inasmuch as it assigns the four Epistles to the same authorship, but it involves an awkward dilemma. This version does not

2 y mad a llaw dooter Ru. Davies Egoth / My nyw
y 7 ystfel hysaf i pawl at tymofnwd
y kystpen hysaf

Dawl apofol i esu grif: Druop naudd dmo eyn keidwad anon
Barghwedd i esu grif eyn gobairth: at tymofnwd en hwr fab yn
y ffydd. Brab frugarchd. a ffengbefedd i can dmo fab ar
arghwedd i esu grif eyn barghwedd m

2 ro yr } Cembreigiad ac escrip llaw Egoth
ddalen. } Dawt. yw r. dec Dalen hyn ys...
a dalen } yma yo rhac llaw medd w Saleb...
rhagoi }

agree with any known one. It is not the same with that of Salesbury's New Testament, 1567; or of Morgan's revision, 1588; or of the standard version of Bishop Parry, 1620. And it does not tally with the information given in the margin of Salesbury's edition as to the translators of these Epistles. At the end of the Second Epistle to the Thessalonians we have this marginal note: "O Lyver cenhedleth, etc., yd y van hyn W. S. a'r Epistol iso D. R. D. M. ei translattod", *i.e.*, "From the Book of the Generation, etc., to this place, W[illiam] S[alesbury]; and the following Epistle, D[ominus] R[icardus] D[avies] M[enevensis] of St. David's, translated"; so that there is no ambiguity about the First Epistle to Timothy. But at the beginning of the Second Epistle we have this marginal note: "W. S. yr un hwn a'r ddau iso"; *i.e.*, W[illiam] S[alesbury] this one and the two next." Now we cannot suppose that these marginal notes were erroneous, or that they could have been inserted without the knowledge of W. S., and at the same time we have no reason to doubt the attestation of this version as Bishop Davies'. Can the two statements be in any way reconciled? I venture to think they can, by regarding this as an independent version made by the Bishop, either before that printed in the New Testament, or possibly after it, by way of revision, with a view to another edition. This, however, is a point we have no sufficient materials at hand for settling.

The following comparative table of readings in the three versions of (1) this MS., (2) Salesbury's New Testament, 1567, and (3) Dr. Morgan's Bible, 1588, will enable their several peculiarities, and their common relation, to be seen at a glance. I do not include Bishop Parry's version, 1620, as that is the one still in use, and for the present I limit myself to the First Epistle to Timothy, which is admittedly the Bishop's work. It will be noticed that neither of the first two are divided into verses, but the third supplies that aid to reference. Alternate renderings are given as in the MS., sometimes above the word, sometimes in brackets

MS.

Y KYTPEN KYTAF

Mal i gellych wahardd i rai na
 chalyant ymrafael addysg nac
 Estyriaeth

Y maraefl chwedlay ag achau diorffen
 Gwir yw'r ymadrodd hwn ag ymhob modd
 a haydday gymeriad

Eithri i frenin yr oysoeodd, difarwol

anolwgabl unig prywlog dduw, urddas

Y ddydwy yn ei gymmunaw
 Y gorchymyn hwn rydw y fi yni ddoddi i tydi
 mal i'r ymwenyt ynddynt wy flwraeth

ag a dorrasant eu llong ynghylch y ffydd
 O'r kyfri hyn y mae
 myfi ac kymunais hwynt
 Y rhain a gymunais i Sattan

YR AIL KYTPEN

Kynghori i ddydwy am hyn
 Bid gweddiau yfolygon
 paw a osodet mewn uchelder
 yr hwn a chwenych fod holl ddyinion yn gad-
 wedig
 un duw sydd ag un dyddiwr rhwng dyw a
 dyn
 i'r hwn ym ordeinwyd inau yn bregethwr
 ag yn abostol
 Y gwir a ddooya ynghrist ac nid gau
 lledneisrwydd
 a chymmesurwydd
 margarite
 aur neu gemmau neu wisg werthfawr
 nid Adda hefyd a stomed

SALESBURY'S N. T.

PEN I

mal i gellych rybuddio rrai na
 ddysoent amryw ddyскеidiaeth ag nad
 ystyriant chwedlay ag achau anorffen

Gair gwir yw hwn ag ym pob modd
 yn heuddu cymeriad

Weithian i'r brenin tragwyddol difarwol
 anweledigol unig synhwyrol Ddyw urddas

Y Gorchymyn hwn, iddwyf yn y roddi attaati
 mal i gellech fiwyddynt wy ymdrechu yr
 ymdrechriad ta

ac a wnaythont longyfergoll am y ffydd
 o rrai hyn y mae
 rrain a ddyroddais i Sattan

PEN II

Cynghori ddwy am hynn
 fod yfolygon, gweddiau
 flawb' or a osodet mewn audurdod
 wyllysa
 rrw'n a fyynn fod pob rryw ddyinion yn cadwe-
 dig
 ac un Canolydd (cyfryngwr)
 ar yr hyn im dodwyd yn pregethwr
 ac yn abostol
 y gwir a ddoydaf yn Christ heb gelwydd
 y gwragedd lledneisrwydd
 a chymmesurwydd
 aur neu gemmau (berleu) neu ddillad
 dwyllwyd

MORGAN'S BIBLE.

3. fel y gellych rybuddio rhai na ddyscant
 amryw ddyскеidiaeth ac nad ystyriant
 chwedlau ac achau annhorphen

15. Gair gwir ac ym mhob modd yn heuddu
 ei dderbyn (yw) dyfod

17. Ac i'r Brenhin tragwyddol, anfarwol
 anweledig unig synhwyrol Dduw y byddo
 anrhydedd

18. Y gorchymyn hwn yr ydwyf yn ei roddi
 .. filwrio o honot flwriaeth dda

19. ac a wnaethant longddrylliad am y ffydd
 20. O ba rai y mae ..
 y rhai a roddais i Sattan

PEN II.

1. Cynghori yr ydwyf am hynny
 fod ymbil, gweddiau
 2. a phawb a osodwyd mewn awdurdod
 4. yr hwn a fyynn fod pob dyn yn gadwedig
 5. ac un cyfryngwr rhwng Duw a dyn
 7. or hyn ym gosodwyd yn bregeth-wr
 ac yn Apostol
 (gwir yr wyf yn ei ddywedyd yng-Hrist heb
 gelwydd)
 9. i wragedd gyda lledneisrwydd
 a chymmesurwydd
 neu aur neu gemmau neu wisc werthfawr
 14. Nid Adda a dwyllwyd

MORGAN'S BIBLE.

PEN III.

1. ymadrodd g wir yw hwn
od y wneb yn ewyllysu swydd escob
y mae yn chwennyachu gwaith da
2. Yn wr un wraig, yn wiliadwrus, yn gym-
hesur
3. Nid yn wingar
yn athrawaidd.
4. Yn ymladdgar, yn ddiogybudd
5. Yn llywodraethu ei dy ei hun yn dda
6. Nid yn ysgolhaig ieu. nge
8. Y diaconiaid

yn dala dirgelwech y ffydd

15. Os taraf yn hir

16. Mawr ydyw dirgelwech duwfoldeb

PEN IIII.

1. Ar Yspryd sydd yn dyweled yn eglur yr
ymedu
rhaf yn yr amseroedd diweddaff o'r ffydd, gan
roddi
- coel i ysprydion cyfeiliornus ac i athrawl-
aethau
2. Y rhaf ydynt yn dywedyd celywydd
mewn rhagrith a'u cydwybod wedi ei llosgi a
haiarn brwd
6. Yr hwn i'th fagwyd mewn geiriau'r ffydd
ac athrawiaeth dda yr hon a ddilynaist
14. Nae ysaclusa y dawn sydd ynot ti, yr
hwn a
rodded i ti brwy brophwydoliaeth, gan ar-
ddodiad
dwylo yr henuriaeth
15. Arfer y pethau hyn, a pharha yn hyn fely
byldo dy gynnydd yn eglur ym mhilith pawb
16. Gwilia arnat dy hun ac ar athrawiaeth,
parha yn hyn

SALESBURY'S N. T.

PEN III

- Ymaddrod gwir yw hwn
O bydd neb yn wollysy swydd escob
ys da waith a chwennyeh
- gwr un wraig, gwiliadwr, pwylog
athrawys nid gwingar
- nid yn ymladdgar, nid cybydd
un a wr reoli y dy i hun
nid ysgolhaig ieuanc (Gr. neophyton)
- Felly helfyd bot y deoniaid
dirgelwech
- yn dala cyfrinach y ffydd
o taraf yn hir
mawr ydyw cyfrinach dy wyoliaeth

PEN IIII

- A'r yspryd syn doedyt yn eglur i'r ymedy
rraf yn y, amseroedd diwaytha o'r ffydd yr
dydro, crwydroc
- ystyrio ysprydoedd cyfeiliornus a dyseidiay-
thay
(hyoorisei, ffluant, rhagrith)
- cehrueliad yn dywedyd celywydd trwy druth
rrafn sy ai cydwybod wedi ei llosgi gan hayarn-
brwd
- rrwn i'th fagwyd mewn geiriau 'r ffydd ac
athrawaeth da rrwn a ddilynaist yn astud
- dawn
- Nae esceulusa y rrodd sydd ynotti rron a ro-
dded
- i ti profedoliaythy gan osodiad dwylo
yr Henafiaeth (presbyteri)
- ac ymddyro yddynt mal i gallo dy
lysaad ti fod yn eglur ym plith pawb
- Gwilia arnat tyhun ac ar athrawaeth
parhaa yn hyn

MS.—YR ALL KYTPEN.

III CYTPEN

- Ymadrodd diamman' yw hwn
Os rhybucha dyn fod yn escob
ys ta waith a rybucha
diwid kymen
- gwr un wraig gotalus pruddaidd
athroleithus, nid rheibiwr gwin
iddaw a chybyddtra
- y mbell iddaw ym wan, ymbell kybyddtra
un a rollo endy
nid nofis fydd efo
- A'r deoniaid y kyffelyb fodd
yn kymnal kyfrinachedd y ffydd
os gwnaf hir daring
hyn sydd fawr gyfrinachwedd duwoliaeth

IV CYTPEN

- Yr yspryd sydd yn doedyd yn olau i'r ymedy
rhaf a'r ffydd amser addaw : ai gwgr ar
- ysprydoedd hudoliaidd : ag addisg
- diawlaidd hwynt rhaf drwy ymgo wremio
a ddoydant gelwyddau, ag iddynt
- gydwybod wedi ei markio a hayarn brwd
- ty ly a fagwyd y fewn geiriau y ffydd ag
addysod daionus yr hwn a gylhynaist yn ystic
- Nag esceulusa y rhodd, sydd ynotti rron a ddo-
ded y y broff wydo drwy roddi dwylo ai-
nat
- trwy awdurdod effeiriadaeth
- ac ym llydro i hyn : mal i bo golau
eu barw [y gwelldha taŋ] dy fod yn gwellhau
ym mhob peth
- Gwilia arnat tyhun ag ar ddyse a
bydd ystic yn hynny

MS.—YR KYTPEN.

PEN V.

ar gwagedd oydiawg fel mamau
 urdasa yrhaf gweddwlwon
 disgant rhol eu teulu eu hun
 mal i bothont digerydd
 gwaeth yw na'r anfyddlon [Difedydd]
 daublyg urddas a haeddant
 na ffwryna yr ych a ddwm yr yyd...
 yr enghylion dewisedig
 heb prysur farn na gwneuthur dim yn haner-
 awg

win er mwyn dy stwmoc ath fynych glwy-
 fau

Y VI CYTPEN

Y gwasanaethwyr pa rai bynag a font tan yr
 iau

hwnw gwag falch yw

questiwne ag [anghynganedd] geiriau

yn tybied mai elw yw duwioledd

Duwioledd elw mawr ydyw gidag a wasan-
 aytlio

nafnyn trwy gaffael lluniaeth a chydachau
 byddwn foddlon
 magylv kythrel ag i lawer o drachwant an-
 rhesymol briwiedig: rhaina fawdd dy-
 nion i ddistryw

chwant arian [monev]

ar grwydr oddiar y ffydd

llonyddweh [ruffyddtra] ymwan ddayonus
 ymwanniad ffydd

hyd appirans yr Arglwydd Iesu Grist

ddedwdaw! ag unig alluys brenim breninodd

anserteinrwydd kyfoeth

yn ddiandlawd yw meddhiannu

yn storiaw vdynt enhun sailfan da rochel...
 a possiadau a fals henw kellyddydd arnynt

SALESBURY'S N. T.

PEN V.

Yr hen wragedd mal mamau
 Anrwydddar gwagedd gweddwlwon
 dyscant dddangos gwaredd tuag at at dy hun
 mal i gallont fod yn ddrifens
 gwaeth yw, nag yn diffydd
 daublyg urddas hayddant
 na wvslia safu yr ych syn durnu'r yd
 a'r etholedig angylion
 heb ragori neb mwy noi giildd na gwn-
 euthur dim

ir mwyn dy gylla ath fynych wendide (les-
 cedde
 o gydpartieth (yn bartiol)

PEN VI.

Cynifer ac y sydd o wasanaythwyr tann yr
 iau

chwyrddo i mae heb wybod dim

questiwnay a dadl-geiriau (ymddadlau am air-
 ieu)

yn tybiaid taw elw yw duwioledd

(mae dywioledd yw elw)

Elw mawr eusys yw duwioledd drwy ym-
 vodloni
 o ddyn a'r hyn vo cantho

Am hynny o cawn ymberth a dillad ymfod-
 lonwn ar hynny

i vagle ac i lawer o drachwantau ffolion a

ni weidus, rrain, syn boddli dynion i gollledig

aeth ac i ddistryw

Chwant mwnws (bath, mwnel)

hwy a wyrasonot o'r ffydd (gyfeillionnesont,
 aethont ar didro)

lledneisrwydd, ymladd ymladdiad

gorchestol (teg, claeu, prydfwrth, bybyrly ffydd

gorchestol)

irwn sy fendigedig eyn Arglwydd Iesu Christ

yr Brenhinoedd

gollud anwadal (cyvoeth)

.. yn ddiagonawl i wwynhan

yn storio vdynt i hunain sail da rag llaw

gan ochel aniyaralidd (afian) oherioniadwy

a gwrthosodiadaw camenwedig celfyddyd

MORGAN'S BIBLE.

PEN V.

2. Yr hen wragedd megis mamau
 3. Anrhydedd a'r gwagedd gweddwlwon
 4. dyscant... llywodraethu eu ty enhun
 5. fel y byddant ddiarysioedd
 6. gwaeth yw nag yn diffydd
 7. ydynt yn haeddud parch daubdyblyg:
 17. Na chae safu yr ych yr hwn sydd yn dyr-
 nu yr yd:

21. A'r etholedig angelion
 yn ddi-duedd na gwneuthur dim o gyd-part-
 iaeth

23. win yr mwyn dy gylla a'th fynych wen-
 did

PEN VI.

1. Cynifer ac sydd wasanaethwyr tann yr
 iau

4. Chwyrddo y mae heb wybod dim

Cwestiwnau a dadl eiriau

5. yn tybied mai elw yw duwioledd

6. Elw mawr eusys yw duwioledd drwy ym-
 fodloni o ddyn a'r hyn fyddo ganddo

8. Am hynny o cawn ymberth a dillad ni a
 ymfodlonwn ar hynny

9. ac i fagleu ac i lawer o drachwantau

angall a ni weidus y rhai sy yn boddli

dynion i gollledigaeth ac i ddistryw

10. Chwant arian

hwy a gyfeillionnesant o'r ffydd

11. addfwindra

12. .. Ymdrecha orchestol ymdrechriad

14. hyd ymddangosiad ein Harglwydd Iesu

Grist

15. yr hwn sydd fendigedig ac unig ben-
 naeth

17. Gollud anwadal

.. yn ddiagonol i wwynhan

19. yn byssoru iddynt eu hunain sail dda

20. gan droi oddiwrth halogedig otersain a

wybyodaeth

yr hyn a gamelwir yn

wybyodaeth

It will at once be seen from the above table that the version is important not only as a translation of a portion of Holy Scripture, but also for the light it throws on the condition of the Welsh language at that day. Among its peculiarities are the following words and expressions:—

“Kytpen”, chapter, nowhere else met with, and it is hard to say whether it is intended as simply another form of *pennod*, or a formative from *capitulum*; “alluys” (*alluog*), powerful; “athroleithus” (*athrawidd*), apt to teach; “anolwgabl” (*anweledig*), invisible; “cydachau” (*dillad*), clothing; “cymen” (*pruddaidd*, *pwyllog*), sober-minded; “cymmuno”, to commend; “deoniaid”, *deconiaid* (W. S.), *diaconiaid* (W. M.); “dyddiwr” (*cyfryngwr*), daysman, mediator; “daring”, to tarry; “effeiriadaeth” = *henafiaeth* (*presbyteri*) (W. S.), = *henuriaeth* (W. M.); “estwmoc” (*cylla*), stomach; “gwagfalch”, vain, proud; “nofis” (*ysgolhaig ieuange*), novice; “rolo”, to rule; “rhybuchu”, to desire; “ystig”, instant, earnest. “Yn ystig ac yn wastad” (W. M.).

Then we have such words as “margarite” and “monei” put in brackets to explain “gemmau” and “arian”; and the prefix “di” where Salesbury and all later writers use “an”, as in “diorffen”, “difedydd”, “difarwol”, and in one case both combined, as in “di-andlawd”. The letter “i” largely occupies the place of the later “y”, as “mal *i* gellych”, “*i*r ymedy”, “*id*dydyf” which is, moreover, curious for its disconnection. We should write “ydd ydyf”. We have “ys” also before an adjective, as “ysta”, and the pronoun “tau” is frequent, as in “gwellhad tau”. The sentence to “fight the good fight” of faith, is differently turned in each, being “Ymwan ymwanniad” in Bishop Davies; “Ymladd ymladdiad” in William Salesbury; “Ymdrech ymdrechiad” in William Morgan.

Some Welsh scholars have found great fault with Salesbury’s version because of the many English and Latin words introduced, when there were corresponding Welsh words already in existence; especially in the old poems. It is easy to say so now, with printed books

at our elbows, but at that time they lay in MS., and the first translators may well be excused for not having been able to recall them to mind. Besides which, the very nature of their work rendered accuracy of idea more important than elegance of expression, and poetry has always enjoyed a licence which is denied to prose. This consideration deserves all the more weight from its present application to the "Word of God" and the souls of men. And, indeed, it is one to which Salesbury has himself given very strong expression on the very title-page of the volume. "Testament Newydd ein Arglwydd Jesu Christ Gwedy ei dynnu, *yd y gadei yr encyfiaeth, 'air ynei gylydd o'r Groec a'r Llatin, gan newidio ffurf llythyreu y gairiae-dodi*", i.e., "The New Testament of Our Lord Jesus Christ, translated, as far as the difference of the language will admit, *word for word* from the Greek and Latin, by changing the form (or arrangement) of the letters in their composition." And it is a further confirmation of this to read that when the Bishop and Salesbury had afterwards laboured together for two years in the translation of the Old Testament, they quarrelled so keenly over one particular word that they both gave over the work thenceforward. Others have found in the New Testament strong evidence of a South-Walian influence, whereas the two chief translators were North Walians. This, however, was but natural, for almost all the *prose* compositions then available were in that dialect, and it was moreover a special care to render it as intelligible as possible to all parts of the Principality, as is so strongly emphasised in the continuation of the title: "Eb law hynny y mae pop gair a dybiwyt y vot yn andeallus, ai o ran llediaith y'wlat, ai o anynfinder y deunydd, wedy ei noti a'i eglurhau ar 'ledemyl y tudalen gydrychiol", that is to say, "Every word which was thought to be unintelligible, either from local usage or because of the peculiarity of the matter, has been noted and explained on the corresponding margin."

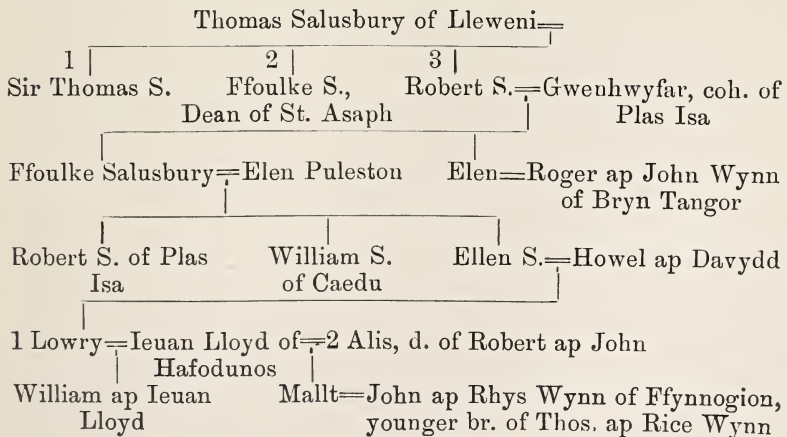
Another reason, not hitherto noticed, for some of Salesbury's awkward-looking formations may be disco-

vered in his desire to make each word tell its own story and be its own interpreter, which he effected by printing in different type such syllables as served to accentuate the original shade of meaning, but were seldom used in common speech, and need not be pronounced in the reading. Thus he wrote "anweledigol", "dyroddais", "difaiedic", "henafgwr", "ymarfer", "longgyfergoll".

I might add more on the subject of the orthography and the condition of the language at the time, but I have written already sufficient, I trust, to show the exceeding interest and value of the volume of which this MS. forms a principal part.

This is not, however, the only important MS. volume in Mr. Davies-Cooke's library. He is the fortunate owner of the original *Liber Landavensis*. This MS. was published some years ago (from seventeenth century transcripts, not from the original) in the series of the Welsh MSS. Society, under the editorship of the Rev. W. J. Rees; but it appears not to have been altogether accurately done, and through Mr. Davies-Cooke's courtesy it has been most carefully copied and collated, and will be immediately issued under the supervision of Professor Rhys and Mr. Gwenogfryn Evans, in the Welsh Text Series.

The following table will show the relation of some of the persons mentioned in the Bond :



SIR RHYS AP THOMAS :

A STUDY IN FAMILY HISTORY AND TUDOR POLITICS.

(Continued from p. 101.)

FOR the continuation of the story we must for a time quit the "State Paper" series of documents and turn to the Star Chamber proceedings) Henry VIII, Bund. 18, No. 234). Here we find that a Bill of Indictment was preferred against Rice Griffith, by Lord Ferrers, upon the charges indicated in the preceding letters. The document is long, but I am reluctant to cut it down very close, as there are particulars in it which deserve to be known as part of the history of the Dimetian land.

"Information to the Kynges Highnes and Council of the misdemeano'rs of Rice Gruffith, Esquire, against the Lord Ferrars, the kinge's Chiff Justice and Chamberlayn of South Wales.

"That the said lord, being chyff justice ther, came to Kerm'dyn the Saturday being the vj June, xx Henry VIII, for the keeping of the Kynges Great Sessions enhoyre [in eyre] there, and ministering of justice his Deputie James le'ch whent to the Mayor of the said town to take lodging for the said lord's servants which mayor by his servants did appoint certen houses there and did deliver bylletts to the said James for the same who did deliver the said bylletts to Thomas Here who was sent before and made lodgyng for the said servants. The said Ryce Gruffith without assignment of the mayor or any other officer not regarding the lodging to be taken for the said justice upon a wylful mynde and maliciously disposed to make quarrels sent Thomas ap Morgan his servant with his bayges [badges] upon papers peynted and sett them upon the doores of ev'ry of the asyd houses that were appointed ... to thentent that none of the said Justices servants shuld be lodged there which he hath not byn feyn hertofore and to maintayne his misdeman'ors had p'veuelye causyd his frynds and adherents to be warnyd as well in the countie of Kerm'dyn as in the Lshp. of Kidwelly who in

ryettous man'r well wepuny'd assymblyd them thesame nyght to a great nombre and came towards Kerm'dyn entending to have morderyd and destroyed the said justice and his servants.

"*Item.*—On Sondag beynge the vij day of same month of June the sayd Ryce Gruffith sent to dyu's places in the counties of Kerm'dyn, Cardigan, and Kidwelly to rease the Kyng's subbjects wyllng and commandyng them to make proclamaciones opynlye in the churches that such that wher his kynesmen lou's [lovers] and ffrynds and wold do anything for hym shuld come well apoynted and wepened to the kyng's toune of Kerm'dyn on Monday next after being the viij June for the purpose before rehersed and for profe thereof David ap Rice baes [? Bach] unckyll to the said Rice Gruffith by his nephew is commaunde-mente caused p'clamacyon to be made in the churches of llansadorne and llanwoorda confessyd the same in the chancery of Kerm'dyn as appered as well by the same confession as by confession of Sir Walter ap Dauyd prist and curate ther who publyshed p'clamacyons in church of llanwoorda af's'd.

"*Item.*—Upon Twesdaye being xvij day of sayd moneth of June the same Ryce Gruffith accompany'd with ffortye and more of his s'vants well armyd and wepyned came unto the Kyngs Castell of Kerm'dyn and knockyd at the Chamb'r dore of the said Justice where he was accompany'd with Dyvers gentylnen of the s'd county in the sayd chamb'r and mad quarrel with the said Justice why he shuld kepe in ward on' Thomas ap Howen his kynesman wh' is a mysruled person and oon of the chefe berers and maynteno'rs of all evil disposed men and naughty matters in this p'tes and hath forfeited fyve hundred markes to the kyngs use for the same and utering forder his p'pensed malis made assault there upon the sayd Justice and drew his dagger and therwith wuld have foyned and strycken him in presens of dyv's gentylnen and other as well sp'uall and temporall and for proff therof his dagger was taken owt of his hand by lewis Thomas ap John gentylnan the kyng is sworne s'vante who was sore hurt and wounded w't'in his right hand by the sayd Rice in takyng awaye the said dagger and thereupon the said Justice commandyd him in the kyngs name that he shuld kepe the kyngs peace and not departe out of the castell ther upon payne of a thousand pounds which he wold nothing regard if he could otherwise have don. Notwithstanding that the said Justice com'aundyd all his s'vants upon payne of deth that they shuld do him and his s'vants no bodilye harm (but to kepe the peace) and seeing his malicious and wilful demeanor kepte hym in warde without doing him any hurte untyll such tyme that he was afterwards discharged by the kyngs most honorable letters from the prince's counsell to the said Justice.

“*Item.*—The said Rice Gruffith and the lady Katherine Haward his wiff upon Wednesday the xvij daie of s’d moneth of June sent their messengers and servants by nyght and daye to all partyes of the counties of Kern’dyn Cardygan and Pembrok and to all other lordships from Bilth to Saint Davys wh’ is nere an hundred myles wt’ au’ov’yn outcrye to rease and asymble the kyngs subgietts in rebell man’ to thentente that they myght have taken the sayd Rice Gruffith owt of the said Castell of Kern’dyn by force and also for thentent aforesaid, and for proff those persons whose names are in a sedule herunto annexed being the Captaynes and Ry’gleders of all the people that wer so reased aproched the Kyngs towne and Castell of Kern’dyn upon every quarter of the said toun by nyght In as moche as Rice rede Lewis powell ap Phyllyp and Owen Morgan w’th dyv’s other accompanyed w’th vij score p’sons and more entryd on the west syde of the said toun and came in the raye of battell as far as the dark gate sending messages unto the said Justice ther such like messages as hath byn rehersed before for wh’ ryotous mysdem’ors the said Rice Gruffith and other to the nomb’r of six score of the Capytayns and Ryngleders ar indyted as Rebellyoues at the counties holden at Kern’dyn and by the boks and processes in the said counties remaynyng more at large doth apere.

“*Item.*—When the said Justice to his great danger and coste had kepte the sayd Ryce in ward and freyd and pacyfied the countrey and also upon commandyment of the King had enlarged the said Rice to be forth comyng before the prince’s counsell in the M’ches where the said Justice was bounden before the said Councell by oon obligation in oon thousand pounds that he himself his servants &c shulde observe and kepe the Kyngs peace ag’st the said Rice Gruffith his servants fryndes and part takers and the said Rice in likewise bounden (*in like sum to kepe the peace towards the said Justice*) until the qu’m of Saint Mighell and both to appear then in the Star Chamber That bonds notwithstanding too of the household s’vants of the s’d Rice Gr’oon is caulyd Gruffith ap Morgan usser of his haule and the other caulyd Gruffith ap John his fauk’no’r upon thursdaye being the vith day of August in the yere of our Sou’an lord aforesaid about ix of the cloke in the night laye in wayte in the toun of Kern’dyn for oon Reynold ap Morgan gentylman lernyd in the lawe lieften’nte to the sayd lord fferrers the kings Justice ther and also the kyngs bayliff and officer of the same toun for the yere where the same Reynold was in godds peace and the Kyngs setting watch in dyu’s p’tys of the towne for good rule to be hade the said

Gruffith ap Morga' and Gruffith ap John feloniously the oon with a greyve and the other with a swerd and buckler ther assawted the sayd Reygnold geving him many cruell wounds in dyv's places of his body and so hayneously murderyd hym ther and after the sayd cruell morder the said too p'sones wer opynly resettyd in the offices Romcs and auctorities of the said Rice Gruffith and dyv's and many times seen as well in the towne of tenbye as dyv's other places w't'in the said Rice auctorities and so daylye maynteyned and fauoryd by hym and his.

“*Prayer*—that he be convicted of treason for attempting to procure the death of the King's Justice.

“Here foloweth the names of them that assembled reased and gatheryd the Kyng Subgietts w't' open owterye in South Wales and brought them towards the Kyngs towne of Kerm'dyn to thentente to have destroyed the lord fferrers the Kyngs Chiff Justice ther.

“Of the countie of Kerm'dyn—Isthethe.

Rys Rede — Lewis ap Howell Phillip—Owen Morgan, gentylnen.

“Of the Countie of Pembrok :—

John Oggan—Henry Wryyott, Esquiers.

William ap howen lernyd in the lawe } gentylnen
Willyam Dauyd Willia' }

John ap Evan ap Gl'in of the lordship of Narbarth.

“Of Emlyn lordship :—

Sir Hugh Gwyn, clerk :—Gitto ap Eva' ap ll'en—Dauyd ap Rees, yeoman.

“Kydwelly is Lordship :—

Dauyd Vachg'n—Roger Vachg'n—Thomas Vachg'n—Morgan Vachg'n, gentylnen.

“Of the Countie of Kerm'dyn—Vuchcothe :—

Evan ap Henrye—John Gr. ap Morga'—William John Dee—John Lloyd—William ap Evan ap Rothereche—Phillip William—John ap Gl'in Thomas—John ll'n Dee the Young'r—Owen Ryce—William ap Rs ap Eynon, gentylnen.

“Hugh ap Jencken leder of the Abbot of talleys ten'nts.

“William Thomas Goze leder of the ten'nts of the bysshops lands in the counties of Kerm'dyn and Cardigan w't' many others.”

The document just quoted has many points of interest which might well receive attention if the limited

character of this inquiry permitted of such a digression. There is material there, for instance, which throws much light upon the manners and customs of the time, upon the high-born English lady's devotion to the cause of her Welsh husband, and upon the stateliness of Rice Griffith's household. These I leave ; but I cannot pass over the grave charges contained in this formal legal document without subjecting them to very strict scrutiny.

If the charges contained in it were but true, and reasonable proof afforded thereof, then Rice Griffith, according to the laws and ordinances of the Tudor sovereigns, deserved to be and would have been sent to the block forthwith. But they were grossly exaggerated, and that the document itself bears proof. To take two examples only. See how formidable it reads when we are gravely told that on "Sunday the 7th" Rice Griffith sent to divers places in the counties of Carmarthen, Cardigan, and Kidwelly, willing rebellious proclamations to be made in the churches. The idea conveyed to the mind is that three whole counties were being stirred up to sedition, but when the *proof* of this is tendered, it turns out that proclamation (of some kind) had been requested in the two churches nearest to Rice Griffith's principal Carmarthenshire residence, but had only actually been made in *one*. Of the seditious character of the "proclamations" no evidence at all is given. Was there ever before, in a grave charge of this kind, such an infinite quantity of *sack* allotted to so small a piece of *bread* ?

Again, with regard to the schedule at the end of the Bill, giving the names of those who raised the King's subjects with open outcry. After all the beating about for information by Lord Ferrers' myrmidons, it is only a beggarly array of twenty-seven names that can be strung together as the total force of the disaffected. And this is Assize time at Carmarthen, when men of local position would be gathered there from three counties. Remember, too, that the person who, ac-

According to Ferrers' showing, had been making gigantic efforts to bring all this "force" together, is he who is the sole inheritor of the wealth, position, and influence of the man who, less than forty-five years before, was the "lord of eighteen hundred chief tenants, and able to bring into the field just on five thousand horse, fully equipped."

As far as we know to the contrary, Rice Griffith's possessions and influence were co-extensive with those of his grandfather's. Henry of Richmond would have fared very badly indeed, in July and August 1485, if Sir Rhys ap Thomas had only been able to get twenty-seven gentlemen and clergymen with their servants to follow him in the march from Pembrokeshire to Bosworth.

Thus far, upon the evidence offered, it must be dismissed as flimsy in the extreme. For a man to be convicted upon evidence of this kind would mean that his conviction had been determined upon beforehand. What actually took place is to me unknown, for beyond the Bill no other record of these proceedings has been discovered. It is probable that he was heavily fined. Rice evidently was not high in favour at Court; the royal purse constantly wanted replenishing, and when we next find Rice he is spoken of as "young and gentle", but the tone of his mind is soured, and he is brooding under some sense of wrong inflicted upon him by the King.

What I would emphasise in the points brought out from the Bill is the testimony they bear to the animus of Lord Ferrers against Rice Griffith. As to the noble lord himself, we will take his character as it stands, self-depicted in the Bill before us. Therein he exhibits himself to us as possessing the manners, the apprehensions, and the cast of mind of a "waiting gentleman". Had it been possible for Shakespeare to have known him, I should have said without hesitation that in Lord Ferrers we had the original of that creature of his class who has been handed down to all time, famous for

his mortal fear of "villainous saltpetre", his delicate handling of the pouncet-box, and a dread of anything offensive "coming betwixt the wind and his nobility". To complete the likeness between them, both of them possessed (it must be an inseparable part of the character) an innate propensity for mischief-making, and both also the arts of ingratiating themselves into royal favour.

The last stage of our inquiry is now reached, and there remains for us but to investigate the causes and lay bare the circumstances which led and attended Rice Griffith to the scaffold. These are complex and involved in no small degree. Indeed, when we get to the bottom of the evidence which remains, and which professes to tell us all about the matter, all, that is, which the Tudor king and his ministers thought fit should be recorded—there will be found more than one subject of mystery which must be solved, as I think they may be, by a careful study of circumstances, contemporary and antecedent, by which the case was surrounded, and from which it cannot be detached. Recorded contemporary opinion from outside observers will also be pressed into service. The task, I am aware, will be tedious; nevertheless, I do not consider myself called upon to apologise to Cambrian archæologists for the infliction upon them which this attempt involves. If I succeed, then, I clear up a dark episode in national history; if I fail, I stimulate others to undertake the study of the history of a neglected period.

How much or how little the influence of Wolsey may have served Rice Griffith to escape from the Star Chamber as well as he did, it is impossible, in the absence of dates, to judge. The period was that of the crisis in Wolsey's career. At Michaelmas, 1529, the great Cardinal—the first great statesman (*qua* statesman) which we can point to in England—was tottering to his fall. Chapuys, writing from London to his master, on 25th October, says, "The Cardinal was disevangellised on the day of St. Luke the Evangelist" (18th October).

In the same letter he says, "As the administration has fallen principally into the hands of the Duke of NorfolkI hastened to visit him." How came the Duke of Norfolk to be placed at the head of affairs, and what had he to support him there? What were the antecedents of the Duke and his family? No one for a moment will attribute to Norfolk the possession of statesmanship any way comparable to that of Wolsey; how was it that he preserved the favour of the King—I will not say the direction of State policy—for eighteen years? We must look for the answer to these questions in the position, character, and principles of Henry VIII, and compare them with those of his father.

The popular view of the Tudor dynasty is that it was the union of the Houses of York and Lancaster. In a certain limited sense this is quite right, but a little study will show that the fusion was not in equal proportions of red and white. Mr. Froude, whose history begins but with the fall of Wolsey, unfortunately takes but a rapid glance over preceding events, and the *résumé* which he gives is sketchy and incomplete, to his own manifest loss and disadvantage. He notices, however, that Henry VII inherited Lancastrian sympathies, and that among these was a tendency to conciliate the Church. He also says that experience soon convinced Henry that the war (of the Roses) had "ceased only with exhaustion, and not because there was no will to continue it. He breathed an atmosphere of suspended insurrection." His chief introductory remark upon Henry VIII is that he was "a mere boy on his accession, and was carried with the prevailing stream".

Dr. Brewer's masterly preface to the *Calendar of State Papers, Henry VIII*, contains a comparative analysis of the characters and position of the two Henrys, which may be consulted with advantage by those who may wish to pursue the subject further than it can be carried here. He dwells on the splendour and ostentation of the court of Henry VIII, attributing these partly to the youth of the King and partly to his

secure position on the throne. Dr. Brewer has, I think, failed here in accurately tracing these regal qualities of Henry VIII to their true source. They were his, not by mere virtue of his youth, but by inheritance. They were Yorkist qualities, with others not to be thought of without shuddering, which came to him from his mother. He was a true grandson of Edward IV as well as grand-nephew of Richard III. In this fact we have the key to his character and his position. There was no equal fusion in him of the two Houses; in whatever related to the throne and to his dignity he was a Yorkist out and out. As "a mere boy" he went with the stream of the policy of his father's reign, but when time, aided marvellously by the guiding genius of Wolsey, had brought about the development of his own character, his inherent qualities came forth, both for good and evil. And these qualities were those of the House of York. His secure seat on the throne was his chiefly in right of his mother. This he must have recognised, and there came a change—a change, if not of domestic policy, at least in the choice of those who were to carry out his behests, and of a very marked kind. When Wolsey fell, who were those who rose into favour? Chiefly, I take it, the descendants of those who had fought against the House of Lancaster. The head of the family of Howard, and also that of Ferrers, had both fallen at Bosworth, fighting on the side of Richard. The descendants or kinsmen of neither of these noblemen, nor yet of any other prominent Yorkist, would have been entrusted with power by Henry VII. A steady alteration had taken place under Henry VIII, and by the time that Wolsey's fall had been brought about, the change was complete: the Yorkist faction was predominant. To quote Dr. Brewer: "Howards, Brandons, Jerninghams, Sydneys, Plantagenets, Sherbornes, Fitzwilliams, Marneys, were, or had been, all squires or knights of the body." Several of these names are those of pronounced Yorkist families, and the selection leads one to suppose that they all were. If this simply meant

that under Henry VIII all rivalry or bitterness of feeling between the descendants of the old partisans of the red and white roses had been buried in oblivion, it would be the realization of all the hopes which Henry VII's marriage had raised. But faction still smouldered. What had undergone a change was not so much the feeling of one section of the partisans as their mode of warfare, now that they basked in court favour. Fanatics, indeed, might still take the field, but there was now a surer mode of crushing a Lancastrian, and that with the King's favour, by invoking the aid of the Courts of Law.

Thus the elevation of one party meant the depression of the other; and depression, if the obnoxious person had great possessions, meant ruin. Norfolk's talents for statesmanship were but mediocre. They would never have elevated him into the vacant seat from whence Wolsey had dazzled the world. But the traditional partisanship which he had inherited was a passage to the King's favour, and he was, besides, willing to purchase place by becoming the instrument of gratifying Henry's lust for blood, which was part of his Yorkist nature.

By the changes which had thus been brought about it had come to pass that to be the representative of a Lancastrian family was, in some measure, a mark of obloquy at Court. Rice Griffith came of Lancastrian stock, and he had great possessions. There was also entertained against him, as there had been entertained against his grandfather, a doubt as to his loyalty. All that this doubt or suspicion rested upon was the jealousy, common in kings, of a powerful subject. In each case it was groundless. No matter for that—his ruin was determined on. After the Ferrers episode, ending in the appearance in the Star Chamber, there is evidence of his mind being soured. The Star Chamber business seems to have detained him some time in or near London, and for that, or the watching of other interests imperilled, he must have taken a house at Islington. Here, at this

time, talking to one of his neighbours, he is reported to have said, in relation to the Court, "that Welshmen and priests were sore disdained nowadays". The favour in which both were held in the Court of Henry VII could only be a tradition to "young Sir Rice", as he was called, but it would seem that even he could remember their receiving better treatment than they then had at the hands of the reigning sovereign.

What happened between the close of 1529 and the early autumn of 1531 does not appear. That he must have been watched by those who had marked him for a prey, and harassed by imprisonment, is evident.¹ For what information there is on this point we are indebted to Chapuys, who, writing to Charles V, on 26th September, says: "Five days ago the Seigneur Ris,

¹ For a considerable time within this period Rhys ap Gruffydd was a prisoner in the Tower, but for what reason is unknown. It is probable that he had been engaged in, or was thought to have had a hand in, some disturbances in which a James ap Gruffydd ap Howell, who now appears upon the scene for the first time, bore a considerable part. On the 7th of October 1530 a warrant was addressed to Lord Ferrers to apprehend this individual, who was reported to have fortified himself in the Castle of Emlyn, one of the castles of Rhys ap Gruffydd. He was taken and sent to the Tower, where he remained until June 1531, when he was released on payment of a fine of £526:13:4. In his pardon he is described as "James Gryffyth ap Howel of Castell Malgon, *alias* of the lordship of Spyttye in the lordship of St. John, *alias* of the lordship of Emlyn, *alias* of Llanddewibrevi in the lordship of the Bishop of St. David's, *alias* of the lordships of Rustely and Cavillog [Arwystli and Cyveiliog] in Powys lande, gent." For his subsequent adventures see p. 208. Whether Rhys ap Gruffydd had been embroiled in this outbreak or not, he was arrested about this time, and committed to the Tower. In the British Museum (Cott., Titus B. I, fo. 155) is a list of prisoners confined at different times in the Tower, and the cost of their maintenance. Amongst them we find "Rys ap Gryffyth, for his bed and board for 11 months", charged at the rate of 10s. per week. If Rhys was released because of ill health about the end of August or early part of September 1531 (he being *again* arrested on the 21st of September, as we learn from Chapuys' letter quoted above), after an imprisonment of eleven months, this would bring his capture to September or October 1530, just the time when some disturbances did undoubtedly break out amongst his retainers.—E. O.

brother-in-law of the Duke of Norfolk, was again seized and put in the Tower, from which he had been liberated on security in consequence of his indisposition. It is said he was trying to escape either to your Majesty or to Scotland, and would find means of getting up some enterprise by his influence in Wales."¹

Out of the gaoler's hands he never got again. Charges of some kind were trumped up against him. What they were no one of the outer public exactly knew, they were not even distinctly set forth in the Bill of Attainder, to be presently quoted, but such as they were they formed the basis of the charge upon which he was arraigned and convicted of treason in the Court of King's Bench. Proofs there could have been none; but as to proof, Hume, speaking of the execution of the Earl of Surrey, Norfolk's only son, in 1547, says "that neither parliaments nor juries seem to have given the least attention to them in any case of the Crown during this whole reign". The trial took place on "the Mondaye next after the xvth St. Marten", and the execution swiftly followed. Nothing is to be got out of the English State Papers, and our authority for the closing scene is that of the ever-watchful Chapuys, whose letter to his master, dated London, 4th December 1531, appears amongst the English State Papers of that year (No. 563), as a transcript from the original in the Vienna Archives. He says: "You will have learned the condemnation of Seigneur Ris, Norfolk's brother-in-law, whose father was formerly Governor of Wales, and his grandfather also, and one of those who did great service to Henry VII

¹ A letter of Chapuys, dated 15th Oct. 1530, informs the Emperor that the King had sent to the Tower a Welsh gentleman named Ris, because (as report goes) not satisfied with his wife having, some months ago, besieged the Governor of Wales in his castle for several days, and had some of his attendants killed, he himself has threatened to finish what his wife had begun. (*Venetian State Papers.*) It would appear from this letter that Lady Katharine had been actively engaged in the disturbances of the preceding August.—E. O.

in his early necessities and the conquest of the kingdom. The sentence was put in execution this morning, and Ris was beheaded in the same place as the Duke of Buckingham.¹ The reason alleged is that he had not discovered how that one of his servants had requested him, in order to be avenged of the wrongs that were done him, to retire into Scotland, and persuade the King of Scots to undertake the conquest of this kingdom, wherein he would find no difficulty through the favour of the Welsh and the trouble caused by the divorce; and though the said Ris neither accepted nor approved this, yet because he did not reveal the said words he has been punished, notwithstanding the many excuses that he alleged; and it is a common report that had it not been for the King's lady, of whom Ris and his wife had spoken, he never would have come to this miserable end."

The "common report" mentioned above may or may not have been true, but, true or false, it shows what was currently believed to have been the animus of the Howard family towards Rice. It shows, too, that Rice, whatever his faults, had the Lancastrian virtue of siding with the Church, or, as it may be better expressed, the priestly party, in the matter of the divorce. As to the accusation of "treason", nothing could well be more strained and flimsy. This is borne out by the Act of Attainder, of which certain portions have been extracted. Of the "William Hughes, gentleman", nothing more is known than what appears in the Bill. His name is nowhere met with in the State Papers of these years. He probably had not the "honour" of being beheaded on Tower Hill, but met with an unrecorded, commoner, and more cruel death by being hanged, drawn, and quartered at Tyburn.²

¹ Tower Hill.

² This was the case. It is mentioned in a despatch of Seigneur Carlo Capello (*Venetian State Papers*).—F. O.

Rolls of Parliament, 23 Henry VIII. State Papers,
153-720 (No. 14).

<p>An Acte conc'nyng the Atteynder of Rychard ap Gruffyth & Wyllyam Hughes</p>	<p>“ Memorandum q'd quedam billa formam ejusdem actus con- vice'o'is & atteince'onis Rici ap Gryffyth Will'i Hughes in se continens exhibita fuit p'fato d'no Regi in parlamento p'd'c'o cum certis p'uisionib' eodem annexis cuius tenor sequentur in hec verba</p>
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“ Forasmuch as Rychard ap Gruffyth late of London Esquyre otherwise called Rice ap Gryffith late of Carewe in Wales Esquyre and William Hughes late of London gentylman otherwise called William Hughes of Carewe aforesayd gentylman in the xxviiij day of August in this instant xxiiijth year of the kyngs most noble reign and dyvers tymes after at Iseldon in the county of Midd. & in other places in the same county ymagyned trayterously & unnaturally the dethe & destrucc'on of the most royall p'son of oure sayde Sou'eign lorde & the subu's'on of this his realme & ensuyng the same then trayterously com'ytted and dyd in the said countye of Midd. dyv's actes beyng highe treason ageynst oure said sou'eign Lorde the Kyng cont'ry to theyre allegyaunce of the whyche treasons & offences the sayde Rice and Wyllyam at Westm. in the sayd countye of Midd. in the terme of Seynt Michell last past in the kyngs most honorable Courtt co'enly called the Kyngs Benche before the Justyc there of that Courte then were indited & theruppon of the sayde treasons were arreynd & afterward that is to saye in the Monday next after the xvth of Seynt Marten last past in the sayde xxiiijth yere by v'tue of a lawfull Inquest were there ffounde gytye & thereof by Judgement of the sayde Courte accordyng to the lawes of the realme of Englonde were atteynted of highe treason as by the records of the same Courte more evydently apperyth Wherefore be it Enacted by Authoritye of this p'sent p'lyament that the sayd Rice ap Gruffith and Wyllyam Hughes & eu'y of them for theyr offenses before rehercyd stonde & be convycted adiuaged atteynted of highe treason and also forfett to oure sayde Lorde the Kynge & to his heyres for eu' all & singler castells manours lordships hundreds franchises lib'tyes pryvelges advowsons no'i'acions patronages knyghts fees londs ten'ts s'vyces reu'syons remaynders portions annuyties penc'ons posseysons & all other heredytaments and rights of entre and eu'y possessions whatso euer & where so euer they be in Englonde Irelande Wales Caleys or Marches of the same and in the towne of Berwicke or Elsewhere wherof the same Rice and William or

eu'y of them or eny p'son or p'sons to the use of them or eny of them be or was seased

“And furthermore be yt enacted by auctoritie of this p'sent p'liament that the estate and possessyons of all and singler the sayde castells man's lordshippes londs ten'ts & other the p'mysse by v'tue of this acte shalbe & be vestyd actually & really in the demeane ffrehold & possession of oure sayde sou'eign lorde the kyng & of his heyres & assignes accordyng to the tenour & effect of this p'sent acte as fully & effectually as yf true & p'fytt effice before or after the makyng of this p'sent acte were therof found for the kyng & seasures therof made into the kyngs hands accordyng to the lawes of this realme

“*Provided* alwaies that this acte nor eny thing therin conteyned be not in eny wise p'iudicyall or hurtfull to the lady Kateryn wydowe late the wyffe of the said Rice ap Gruffith for or concernyng such right interest &c. as the said lady Kateryn hath or had for term of her lyff out of sayd lordshippes &c. at eny tyme before the seyde xxvijth August in the sayd xxv yere &c.

“*Provided* alwayes &c. be not in eny wise p'iudicyall or hurtfull to Roger Corbett nor his heyres in respect to the right of the manors londs ten'ts &c. in hoggyston the advowson of the free chapel there Burton Owanston Wyllyamston howton Westfield & Baron lake in co. Pembroke or elsewhere in St. Davys land.

“*Provyded* &c. nothing hurtfull nor preiudycial to Dame Jenet late wyff to Sir Rice ap Thomas Knt. grandfather of the said Ryce ap Gruffyth of or for such anuytie &c. as the same Jenet has or ought to have for term of her lyff out of sayd lordshippes &c.

“*Provyded* alwayes &c. nothing preiudyciall to Sir Piers Eggecombe nor to Dame Katheryn his wyff late wyff to Sir Gryffyth Rice Knt. father to the said Rice ap Gruffyth concerning such right &c. as the same Sir Piers and Dame Kateryn in the right of the same Dame Kateryn hath for term of her lyff out of said lordshippes &c.”¹

¹ The jointures of the three ladies protected by special provisions in the Bill of Attainder were as follow:—Lady Jenett Res, widow of Sir Res ap Thomas, rents in Carmarthen and Emlyn, £45 : 16 : 10, besides £45 : 11 : 1, parcel of the Manor of Narbeth; Lady Katherine Eggecombe, widow of Sir Griffith ap Res, rents in Wybley, Landemore, Abergwille, Elnett, Sainteler, Ewthcothe, and Llannenynthe, and the town of Carmarthen, £72 : 5 : 7½; Lady Katherine Howard, widow of Res ap Griffith, the Lordship of Carew, Sandyhaven, Franches, Kylsane, and Pyboure, £177 : 4 : 9, besides £18 : 18 : 4 in Narbart.

When this act of attainder was being passed Rice's head was bleaching in the frost and snow on London Bridge, or wherever else it may have been that this particular evidence of the exercise of the royal prerogative of tyranny was exposed to view. No record seems to have been made of his place of burial, but it was probably in the chapel of the Tower. His tragic fate seems to have been viewed in his own country with indifference; one small fact tells its own tale on this point—no bardic lament seems to have been called forth by his untimely end.¹ The times were all out of joint. Ever since Christianity had supplanted Druidism, bardism, the offshoot of the latter religion, had allied itself to the former. And now bardism and Christianity, allied for a thousand years, but each vastly changed from the form of their first contact, had become alike effete. The older cult died of sheer inanition, the younger lived on, but had to pass through the drastic

¹ So far as I am aware there is not a single poem upon Rhys ap Gruffudd in the manuscript collections of the British Museum; but there is a Cywydd on Sir Rhys ap Thomas by Iorwerth Fynglwyd, and another Cywydd Marwnad by Lewis Morganwg, neither of which have been printed. It is clear from the State Papers that Wales was discontented with the King and his advisers. The imperial Consul at Venice, writing to Charles V on the 4th of August 1534, says he has been informed that on account of the Welsh people's love for the Princess (Mary), and the death of Don Ris, who was beheaded three years ago, the whole province was alienated from the King. A few months later Chapuys confirms this intelligence. He understands the Welsh are very angry at the ill treatment of the Queen and Princess, and also at what is done against the faith, for they have always been good Christians. Not long ago there was in the district a mutiny against the government of the country on account of a certain execution, when the government was very nearly undone, and it is said the people only wait for a chief to take the field.

Had Mr. Jones lived to revise this paper, the few sentences immediately following this point would have been materially altered or altogether omitted. He believed there was an esoteric element in Bardism, and entertained an idea of writing a paper upon the subject; but the above remarks not being very relevant to the subject in hand, he expressed his intention of remodelling or omitting them.—E. O.

ordeal of the Reformation. From this period the mysteries of bardism, such as they were, or perhaps it would be better to say into such a low state as they had fallen, became utterly lost, and when, fifty years later, an attempt was made to revive the bardic traditions, nothing could be got together but a lifeless congeries of fragments. More might be said on this subject, even on so small a portion of its aspect as that just glanced at, but I pass on. Lamented he must have been in his own country, but it was in such strains as linger in tradition. In England he was lamented also. Hale, the parish priest of Isleworth, and one Feron, are, 26 Henry VIII,¹ arraigned on a charge of high treason, part of their heinous treachery being that one had spoken to the other of the "noble and gentle ap Ryce, cruelly put to death, and he innocent, as they say, in the cause". For these and other words of disaffection they speedily found their way to Tyburn.

To get at all who suffered either in life or fortune in connection with this unhappy case would be impossible. Henry VII so managed it that "treason" became his best source of revenue. His son rather bettered this arrangement. In 1531² we have John ap Owen, late prisoner in the Tower, "who sometime was toward Rice Griffyth", released on payment of £26 13s. 4d. He must have been some small retainer of the lord of Carew, one of many, possibly, of whose contributions to the royal exchequer we know nothing; but there is James Griffith ap Howell mentioned in the same document, who has to obtain his pardon only on payment of £526 13s. 4d. He seems to have been previously mulcted in other large sums. They make out this gentleman to be an uncle of Rice Griffith's,³ and within

¹ *State Papers*, vol. viii, No. 609.

² *Ibid.*, vol. v, No. 657.

³ Froude, *History*, ii, p. 214. The following is Mr. Froude's note: "The conspiracy of young Rice or Richard ap Griffyth is one of the most obscure passages in the history of this reign. It was a Welsh plot conducted at Islington. The particulars of it I am unable to discover further than that it was a desperate undertaking, encouraged by the uncertainty of the succession and by a faith in pro-

the next two or three years we find his name again and again in the State Papers. He must have been a person of some consequence, for his movements are closely watched and reported to the Executive. In July 1533, he, with his wife and daughter and a retinue of ten persons, have made their way into Scotland, and the king of Scots appoints "a castle south-west of Edinburgh" as their temporary residence. Several of Cromwell's myrmidons keep their eye upon this personage. In May 1534, he and his are not far from Lübeck, in the dominions of the Duke of Holste. They are in Flanders or thereabout at Christmas in that year. One Stephen Vaughan, writing to Cromwell from Antwerp on Christmas Eve, speaking of them, says: "The knave sent his wife to the Queen of Hungary with an interpreter to show her grief. The Queen gave her one hundred guilder." Chapuys mentions him to Charles V (September 1534) as a Welsh gentleman who was a fugitive in Scotland and crossed to Ireland, hinting that he had gone there to stir up trouble. For once Chapuys' information seems to have been wrong; his personal estimate of him is of more value. He styles him "a man of courage and good sense, and of the principal lineage in Wales, who could put the King to terrible confusion by his partisans".

In 1535 the report is made that he had been "twice with the Regent in Flanders"; and an attempt is made by the Secret Service agents at Calais to implicate David Lloyd ap Owen, dwelling at "Maigham Cloyth, in Powezland", and "one of the richest men in Wales", and a sympathiser with, and abettor of, the obnoxious fugitive. The agent sketches out a plot for catching them both,¹ but his amiable suggestions appear to have fallen through.

phacies, to murder the King. Rice was tried in Michaelmas term, 1531, and executed. His uncle, who passed under the name of Brancetor, was an active revolutionary agent on the Continent in the later years of Henry's reign."—E. O.

¹ *S. P.*, vol. ix, No. 319.

The next year's State Papers contain several documents on the same subject.¹ Henry is so irate with the traitor, and so anxious to get him again within his clutches, that he writes three letters with his own royal hand, all in one day, to: (1) an agent; (2) the Consul and Senate at Nuremburg; (3) the Emperor Charles V, requesting the speedy arrest and extradition of this criminal, who, with one Henry Phillips, is travelling through Germany on his way to Italy. He describes him as "of low birth, and guilty of treason, robbery, manslaughter, and sacrilege". The king's interposition does not appear to have been attended with any great success, for the State Papers, as far as published (at this time there are none later than 1536), do not carry the story of James ap Griffith further than is here set forth. I am sorry that I am not able to identify this much persecuted gentleman, and fix his place in Welsh genealogy.²

An attainted person leaves little family record behind

¹ *S. P.*, vol. x, 1536, Nos. 254, 529-30-35, and 764.

² In the State Papers he is styled son of Sir Rhys ap Thomas' sister, but he is not amongst the list of Rhys ap Gruffuth's relatives scheduled to the papers concerning the latter's estate. He has been confused with an individual called Brancetor. Both were objects of suspicion, and their identity seems to have been mixed up by some of Henry's agents on the Continent. The last I can find of him is in a letter of the 6th of April 1537, from the celebrated Melancthon, of which this is an abstract:—

"I have given these letters to an Englishman (James Griffith ap Howell), who asked me to commend him to you (Vitus Theodorus). He formerly held land of his own in which he could raise 12,000 soldiers, and was, moreover, Governor of Wales; but spoke rather freely against the Divorce. To him was particularly commended the daughter of the Queen [the Princess Mary], because she had the title of Princess of Wales; and therefore he grieved at the contumelies put upon her. He was afterwards put in prison, from which, after a year and three months, he escaped by making a rope out of cloth. I beg you to receive and console him; his exile is long, his misfortunes long, and he seems a modest man. Here he has asked for nothing." (*Letters*, xii, No. 845.)

It is plain that James ap Griffith had been romancing to the great Reformer.—E. O.

him. His confiscated estates are distributed amongst royal favourites,¹ or sold to the highest bidder, and his line disappears. In this case the royal clemency was so far exercised that the smallest and poorest of Rice Griffith's five residences, Newton, and the lands that went therewith, was restored to the attainted man's son, Griffith Rice, and by this means we learn that he had a son. If there was other issue it has not been recorded. With Griffith Rice the family name became fixed as "Rice". He, too, in some sort, was an inheritor of the family misfortunes. The pedigree preserved in the *Dale MSS.* informs us that "by killing a gentleman (though slaine at Boloigne) he forfeited a great part of his father's estate". But it appears to have been subsequently re-granted to him. Lady Katherine Howard,

¹ The entire possessions of Rhys ap Gruffudd fell to the Crown in virtue of the act of attainder; but they had already been in the royal possession, for No. 448, *Letters and Papers*, vol. v, is a *comptous* of William Brabazon of the issues thereof from Michaelmas, 22 Hen. VIII (September 1530), for one year ensuing. There is a letter from this William Brabazon and a Hugh Whalley to Cromwell, written from Carew the 26th of March, which has unquestionably been assigned to the wrong year in the *Rolls Calendar*. The *précis* is as follows: These worthies report that they are at Carew preparing for the safe conducting of the King's stuff. A chaplain of my Lady Howard's came with the King's command for her jointure, and asked leave to lie in the Castle that he might have the chambers wherein the stuff was cleaned. Suspected him, and searched his room where he lay. Found in an old bedstraw four boxes of evidences belonging to Narberth, Carew, and Kidwelly. In his coffer two pairs of fine sheets and a diaper tablecloth; in his bedstraw, four bowls of silver, double-gilt, a broken chalice, a silver parcel-gilt box, one gilt cover of a standing pot, a dozen silver spoons, and a silver raven, worth by estimate £40. Do not think any one knew of it but he. Accused him of his craft against the King, but he little regarded it.

This is calendared under the year 1529, which must be wrong, for its authors are proved by other documents to have been fully engaged in the eastern counties in the March of that year, ransacking the contents of the monasteries that had been suppressed in order to found Wolsey's new college at Oxford. It should be assigned to either 1530 or 1531.—E, O,

or Rys, as she is indifferently styled, remarried Henry, Earl of Bridgwater.¹

Walter Devereux, Baron Ferrers of Chartley, eminent in many things wherein eminence in any age but that of the Tudors would be undesirable, steered his course with marked success till the year 1558, when he died.¹

Of Norfolk's complicity in the judicial murder of his hapless brother-in-law there cannot reasonably be two opinions. It is not the purpose of this paper to review the position he held as a Tudor minister, but this much must be said—Henry VII had honestly tried to conciliate both factions over which he governed, and several Yorkists, the Howards among them, had been received into such qualified favour as the cautious character of the King permitted him to display. They had pretty well a free hand in the earlier years of Henry VIII, but the instant a difficult situation arose their utter deficiency in statesmanship and ability was at once manifest. This situation was brought about by them in the spring of 1512. It is not too much to say that if Henry had not, at that crisis, discovered in his almoner (whom the Howard party doubtless, at that time, as heartily despised as they afterwards heartily hated) an adviser competent to retrieve the disasters which had befallen the English arms abroad, his reign would probably have been brought to an abrupt termination. There was plenty of material there ready for conflagration. But Wolsey's genius saved it from ignition, and at the same time laid the foundation of his own great and deserved power. The Yorkist nobility were relegated to the shade, and had no share in the splendours of Wolsey's administration. How distasteful this was to them may, if all other evidence

¹ A hiatus in the MS. occurs at each of these points, the author's intention having been to work out the careers of Lady Katherine Rys and Lord Ferrers at greater length. I believe also that, had he lived, he would have modified his condemnation of Norfolk, in the direction of regarding him as dragged along a course he did not approve by the imperious will of the King, rather than as an accomplice in the death of his brother-in-law.—E. O.

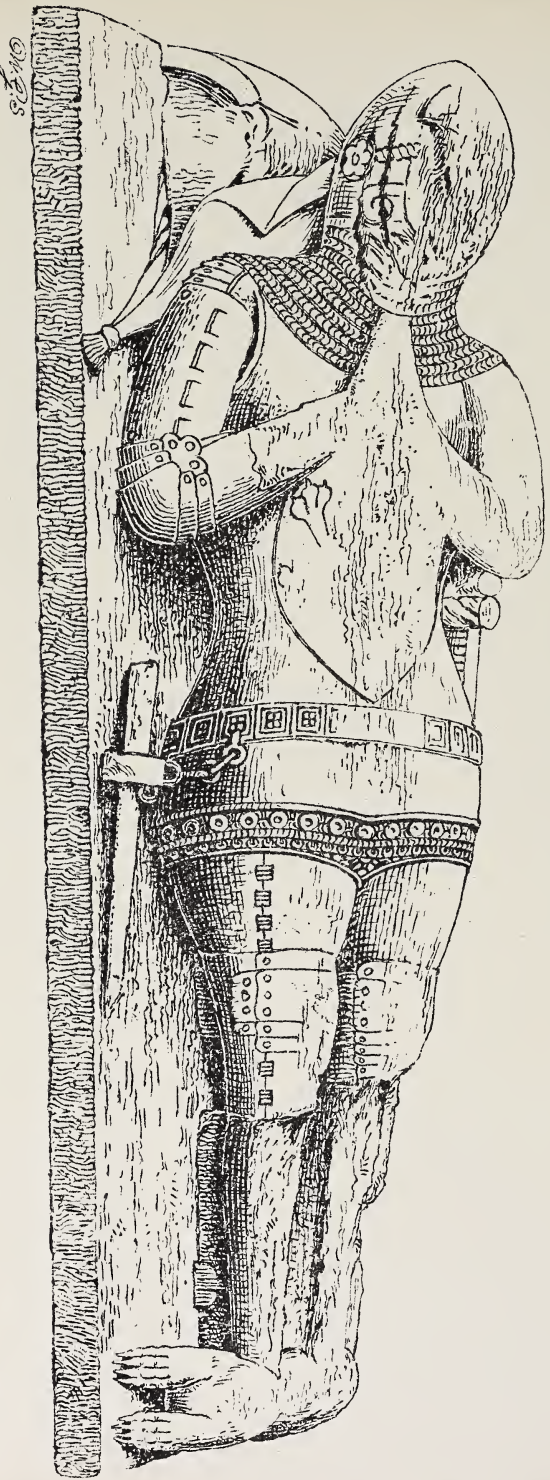
were obliterated, be gathered from Chapuys' letter to Charles V.¹

The plotting for the Cardinal's fall had persistently been carried on, and Norfolk was at the head of it. Between these noble conspirators there was a common agreement as to the price to be paid for having the chief administration of the kingdom in their hands—they were prepared to become the willing instruments of the King, and do his utmost bidding. No second "butcher's son", whatever his genius might be, should, if they could help it, become chief minister of England. To translate their doings into modern parlance, they "formed a syndicate" for the government of king and kingdom, and Norfolk was at the head of it. Once in the seat of honour, his ears were stopped to the cry of humanity and justice if the passions and caprices of the King demanded that these should be outraged. Family ties were all unloosened, and thrown by him to the winds. The man who could afterwards sit in judgment upon his own niece, the discarded wife of the King, and pass sentence of death upon her—the righteousness of which judgment posterity refuses to believe—was not likely to be much concerned over the distresses, merited or unmerited, of a brother-in-law. I accept as substantially true the statement in the *Dale MSS.*, based, as I take it, upon the Rice family tradition, that Rice Griffith fell "through the treacherous malice of his brother-in-law, the Duke of Norfolk". Immediately, he was, perhaps, but the callous agent of the hatred of the King; but secondarily there would be the gratification of seeing the descendant of a Lancastrian, and one who had been foisted upon him as a family connection by some combination of circumstances which he could not control, sent to the scaffold. It was quite as well to get rid of an intractable brother-in-law and an opponent of the views of the "syndicate" at one blow. Anne Boleyn's resentment, the King's hatred, and Norfolk's dislike, all converged to one

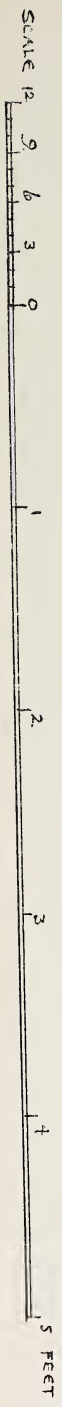
¹ *S. P.*, Henry VIII, vol. iv, No. 6026.

point ; they were welded together—and the axe fell. How long it had been in the headsman's hands, so to speak, I leave it to those who have carefully followed the evidence here brought forward to determine.

This "Study of Family History and Tudor Politics" has now reached its close. Strictly "Cambrian" in its character, there are yet interwoven with it, and inseparable from it, questions of far larger range. To all of these, the narrowly Cymric and the widely imperial, I have attempted to work out the answer. In setting forth my case I may have committed many errors—its arrangement may be faulty, many points may have been overlooked, and of those discerned the skill of the writer may have been unequal to the task of making them as clear to other eyes as they are to his own. But whatever be the disadvantages under which the case labours in this presentation it still has palpably its own inherent and intrinsic interest from its high associations and its partial revelations, as well as from its complexities and obscurities, to render it one of the most important historical problems to which the Cambrian student has ever directed his attention.



O.P.S.



EFFICACY. NORTHOP CH.

AS SMITH PHOTOGRAPHY 40 QUEEN ST. E.C. 4.

SOME MONUMENTAL EFFIGIES IN WALES.

BY STEPHEN W. WILLIAMS, ESQ., F.S.A.

IN continuation of my paper on this subject, which was published in *Archæologia Cambrensis*, July 1890, I propose now to deal with those monuments which were seen during the Holywell meeting of that year.

Among the most interesting of these are the effigies in Northop Church, near Holywell, of which there are four, inserted for their better preservation in niches in the north wall, and placed there at the time of a former restoration. Of these, Pennant, in his *Tours in Wales*, describes three, and the fourth was discovered in digging a grave in the chancel in 1798.

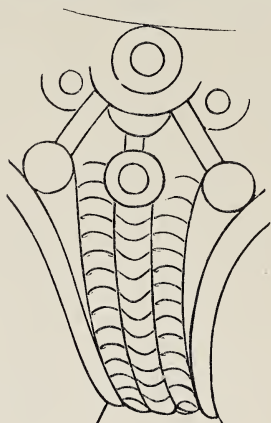
The last-mentioned monument is somewhat mutilated, the face having disappeared, the upper parts of the arms, hands, and the legs below the knees are broken away. A portion of the animal upon which the feet rested (probably "a lion couchant") has also been destroyed.

The figure is that of a recumbent knight, the hands conjoined upon the breast in the attitude of prayer. He wears on his head a bascinet, acutely pointed, and somewhat wedge-shaped; on this is an orle, or wreath of twisted silk ornamented with roses, which were probably of metal; and the loops to which the vizor was attached are also to be seen. From the bascinet depends the tippet, or camail of mail, and the mode of attaching it by laces to the bascinet is clearly shown.

The head rests on a tilting helm, which has a long mantling with a tassel, and is surmounted by an heraldic crest, *the head and shoulders of a man issuing out of a coronet*. This does not appear in the illustration, but is very perfect on the effigy.

The body armour is concealed by the jupon; the knight probably wore a breastplate under a mail hauberk, which appears beneath the jupon with a fringe of

rings, and beneath the hauberk is seen the haketon, which was a quilted garment ornamented with fringe; the quilting was arranged in vertical, parallel lines, and is just seen beneath the bottom row of rings of the hauberk. The upper part of the thighs and the lower part of the body were protected by a breech of mail, a somewhat uncommon arrangement, illustrated in the wood-



cut, which indicates the mode of fastening it below the hauberk. The *cuisse*s which encase the thighs are remarkably short, and show a rim which forms the upper extremity. The *genouillières*, or coverings for the knees, of laminated plates ornamented with studs or rivets, are very simple in form; the legs are covered with hinged jambs of plate, and the spurs, which have large circular rowels, are fastened on the small part of the leg, just above the ankle.

The shoulders are protected by *épaulières* of overlapping plates, the arms are encased in *brassarts*, and the fore-arms in *vambraces*, all of plates and hinged; the *coudières*, or elbow caps, are very plain and simple in design, and were attached by means of straps. The *jupon* with which this knight appears clothed was introduced about the middle of the reign of Edward III. It was a species of surcoat without sleeves, which fitted tight to the figure, and was somewhat shorter than the skirt of the hauberk. It succeeded to the surcoat

and cyclas, differing from both in this, that it fitted tight to the body. It was made of silk, velvet, or other rich materials, and was almost invariably emblazoned with the armorial ensigns of the wearer, and at the bottom it was usually scalloped, or cut into some rich open-work pattern. It was laced at the sides, and in some cases quilted. The belt at this period was remarkable both for its splendour and for the singular method by which it was adjusted about the hips, so that it appeared immediately above the lower edge of the jupon. The belts were probably of leather, covered with embossed, enamelled, and jewelled metal plaques, fastened either with a rich clasp in front or by a buckle, in which case the end of the belt was adjusted in the same manner as prevails in the Garter of the Order.

From the hip-belt was suspended, on the left side, the long sword, with cross-guard, rich hilt, pommel (generally octagonal), and decorated scabbard; while on the left side, attached to the belt by a cord, strap, or chain, hung the *miserericorde*, or dagger. From about the middle of the first half of the fourteenth century the *miserericorde* is constantly represented in English effigies, whether sculptured or engraven, and, like the sword itself, it is shown sometimes secured to the person of the wearer by a chain fixed to the hilt. (See Brass of Ralph de Knevynton, A.D. 1370, 43 Edward III, in Alveley Church, Essex, illustrated in Waller's *Brasses*.)

Before 1380 the bascinet was very tall, but afterwards, though still acutely pointed, it was reduced in height. The bascinet was worn both with and without a vizor, but the camail was universal, and until about 1390 the lace or cord by which it was usually attached to the bascinet was without covering, and therefore visible. Later in the century, and until the camail itself ceased to be worn, the camail lace or other mode of attachment was covered by a plate, generally enriched, which formed a part of the bascinet. We have

an illustration of this method of attaching the camail in the very beautiful Mortimer effigy in Montgomery Church.

During the latter part of the fourteenth century effigies of warriors were no longer represented with shields. The great helm continued to be worn over the bascinet, but only when actual combat was imminent, either in the field or the lists.

Heraldic crests began to be worn a little before the first half of the fourteenth century had been completed, and as the second half of the century advanced they gradually were adopted by all warriors of high rank, and also somewhat later by all men of knightly degree. A flowing scarf, or *contoise*, was worn, with the earliest crests attached to the helm; but this gave way to the mantling, a very small mantle of some rich material, attached with the crest to the helm or bascinet, which was worn hanging down behind upon the shoulders. It generally ended in tassels, and had its edges jagged or scalloped. There can be very little doubt that its first intention was to protect the head and back of the neck from the heat caused by the rays of the sun beating down upon the polished steel helm or bascinet.

Upon reference to the illustration (No. 1) it will be seen that the above general remarks are peculiarly applicable to the effigy of the unknown knight in Northop Church. We have the jupon still showing traces of the heraldic emblazon on the breast, apparently, from fragments of the paws that remain, "*a lion rampant within an inescutcheon*". The sword passes through a loop in the belt, and the miserericorde is attached on the right side by means of a chain and swivel.

The late Mr. Bloxam once remarked "that the military effigies in Wales of the fourteenth century are many of them very different from those of the same period in England, and we are in want of some Welsh MS. of the period describing the details of armour, etc." This

is undoubtedly so, and in the effigy we are now considering there are several peculiarities not observable in English effigies of the same date, the short *cuisse*s for the thighs, the breech of mail, the very simple and somewhat rude defences for the knees, and the peculiar position of the spurs, worn so high up above the ankles.

In many respects this monument resembles the sepulchral effigy of a knight in the chancel of Llanfair Caereinion Church, Montgomeryshire, illustrated and described in *Montgomeryshire Collections* (vol. x, p. 133), the date of which is about A.D. 1405. The armour of the Northop effigy probably dates about 1395 to 1405; the mutilation of some of the more important features increases the difficulty of assigning a date to it, but I think we may pretty safely assume that it belongs to the latter part of the fourteenth century, or very early in the fifteenth.

The identification of the individual who is represented may possibly be ascertained by means of the crest on the helm, and I trust some of our members who are adepts at Welsh heraldry will undertake the task of finding out what family in this part of Wales bore the crest I have described, and whose shield bore a lion rampant within an inescutcheon, for there is little doubt that such was the emblazon on the jupon.

In the south aisle of Llanasa church, which was also visited during the Holywell Meeting, is a well-carved sepulchral slab, bearing a leopard or lion rampant on a shield, and inscribed, in Lombardic capitals, HIC . IACET . GRVFDYD VACHAN. Here we have another clue, perhaps not very satisfactory, but one that I trust may hereafter be worked out. Pennant also mentions four stone coffin-lids dug up in the churchyard of Bangor Iscoed. One of these has a lion rampant on a shield, inscribed HIC . JACET . ITHEL . CADWGAN. The "*man's head couped at the shoulders*" is an heraldic cognisance of the Vachan or Vaughan family.

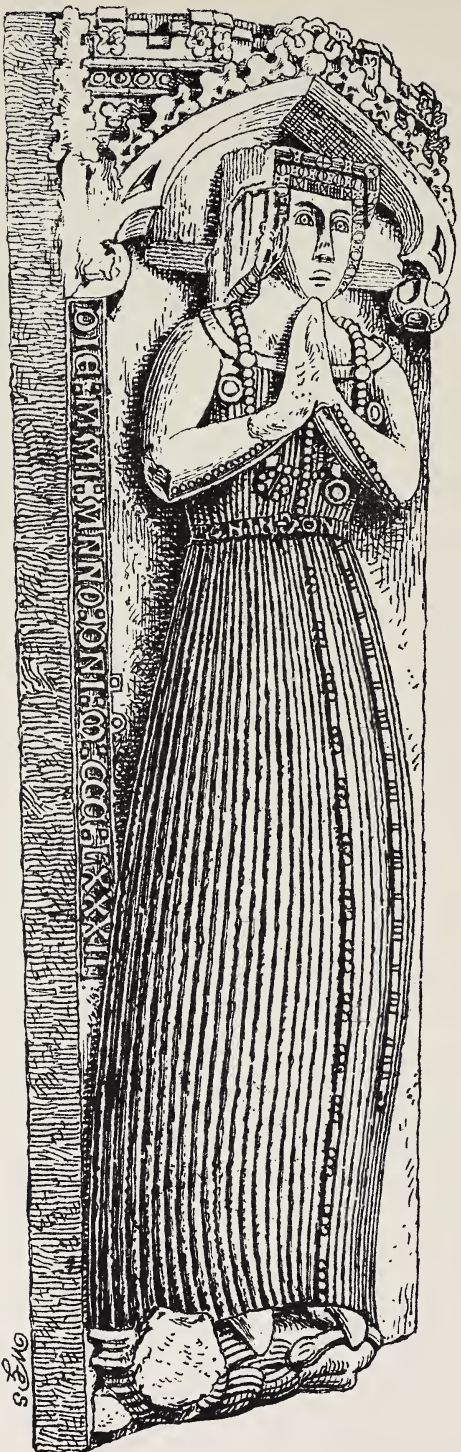
The other effigies in Northop Church were thus

described by Pennant in his *Tour in Wales*, 1770, ed. 1778, p. 84.

“NORTHOP.—The church is dedicated to St. Peter. The body is long and embattled, the tower lofty and handsome. Within are three effigiated tombs, one of a fat knight whose name is lost and figure much injured by time. Another, of a short warrior, completely armed, and in good preservation; on his shield is a *cross pattée*, charged in the middle with a mullet between four others. The inscription is thus: *Hic jacet Ith. Vach. ap Bledd. Vach.* I suspect him to be a captain of *Englefield*, mentioned in the pedigree of the Humphreyses of Bodlewyddan, and said to have been interred here. The third is of a lady, inscribed *Llew...*, and *Anno Domini*, 1402. According to tradition her name, *Lleuci Lloyd*, a celebrated beauty of that period, perhaps the same who was beloved by a noted bard, who, coming to visit her after long absence, met with the same shock as the Chevalier de Rancé did, for each found their beloved in her coffin. The bard fainted at the sight, revived, and composed an elegy on her. The Chevalier retired from the world and founded the Abbey of La Trappe, famous for its religious austerities.”

The effigy of the lady is in very fair preservation, and is a good example of the costume worn by ladies (whose husbands were of knightly rank), at the close of the fourteenth century and during the reign of Richard II. It resembles, in some respects, the brass of Margaret, widow of Sir Fulke Pennebrygg, in Shottesbrooke Church, Berkshire, who died in 1401. (See vol. i, Fairholt's *Costumes in England*, p. 160, edited by Hon. H. A. Dillon, F.S.A.)

Pennant, in his first edition of the *Tours in Wales*, makes the date of this monument 1402, in the second edition it becomes 1482, and in the report upon the Holywell meeting (*Arch. Camb.*, 5th Ser., vol. viii, p. 60) it is stated to be 1472; upon the drawing by Mr. W. G. Smith, from which the illustration has been



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GRIPCY . NORTHOP CH .

photo-lithographed, it appears very clearly to be 1382. This latter date was obtained from a rubbing of the inscription, and it was also carefully measured and drawn by Mr. W. G. Smith, and is therefore no doubt correct.

The headdress of the lady and the manner in which the hair is arranged exactly corresponds with the fashion prevailing in 1382; it may well be compared with the effigy of Elinora, wife of Sir Arthur Basset, in Atherington Church, Devon, illustrated in Stothard's *Monumental Effigies* (ed. 1832, Plate 100, p. 78). The hair at this period was worn in a gold fret, or caul of network, surmounted frequently by a chaplet of goldsmith's work, a coronet, or a veil, according to the wearer's rank or fancy, as we see in this case, where it assumes the square form. The dress appears to consist of a close-fitting kirtle, with tight sleeves, closed by numerous little buttons to the wrist, worn underneath a sleeveless surcoat or long gown, fastened over the shoulders by a broad band, from which it depends in front, falling in narrow plaits to the feet, which are covered with pointed shoes. The gown is confined at the waist by means of a girdle with a long pendent strap, and is buttoned down the front with small buttons in sets of three, set at regular intervals below the waist, and above in a close row, as on the arms. Round the neck, and hanging nearly to the waist, is a rosary of large beads with pendent ornaments attached thereto.

The head rests upon a square cushion beneath an elaborate canopy of late Decorated work, richly carved; the arch, springing from a peculiar form of ball flower, is crocketed, and in the four-centred arch we trace the commencement of the Perpendicular period of architecture. The feet rest upon a lion couchant, similar to the effigy of the knight first described.

This monument is especially interesting as a study of costume, as we have here a dated effigy, which enables us to see what was the apparel of a Welsh lady of rank

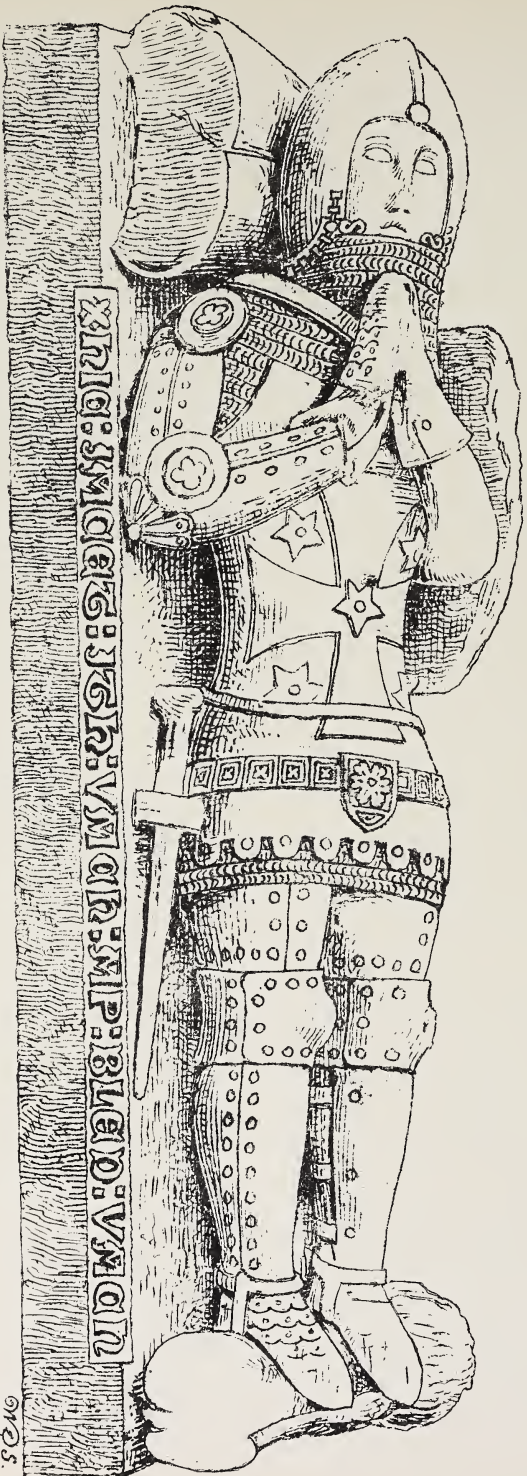
at the close of the fourteenth century, and I am not aware of any other monument in Wales which gives us so complete an example of the national dress of the Welsh ladies at that period. We see that in the fashion of wearing the hair they approximated closely to the style of their English sisters, but in the matter of dress they did not adhere to the prevailing habit at that time; the outer garment, with its square-cut body and close plaits, reminds me very much of some of the dresses we saw in Brittany during our excursion there in 1889.

Pennant does not attempt to identify the lady whose monument we have been describing, but states that, "according to tradition, her name was *Lleuci Lloyd*, a celebrated beauty of that period". To Mr. Edward Owen, who has very kindly promised to contribute some notes upon the Northop effigies, I leave the task of identifying not only this lady, but also the other two knights. As to Pennant's "fat knight", any attempt to identify him would, I fear, be impossible, on account of his battered condition.

Of the third effigy, Pennant says that "the inscription is thus: *Hic jacet. Ith. Vach. ap Bledd Vach.*" The letters are late Lombardic capitals, and appear on the monument as "HIC : JACET : ITH : VACH : AP : BLED : VACH.", which has been rendered, "Here lies Ithel Vychan ap Bleddyn Vychan."

Mr. Edward Owen has furnished some notes and a pedigree of the family of Ithel Vychan ap Bleddyn Vychan, which will be published in the next number of the Journal. He ascribes this monument to an Ithel ap Bleddyn who flourished between 1350 and 1395.

In an article upon Ewloe Castle, in the *Arch. Camb.*, January 1891, Mr. T. B. Davies-Cooke mentions that Ithel ap Bleddyn was living A.D. 1329; that it was his grandfather, Ithel Anwyl ap Bleddyn, to whom Prince Llewelyn gave the castle to hold for him, as well as the manor, and "who is said to have lived



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in the castle, and to have been buried in Northop Church, where, it is added, is his tomb. He was one of the Captains of Teg Eingl, whose duty it was to keep the English off. He bore for his arms, party per pale, *gules* and *or*, two lions rampant, adorsed, counter-changed in pale, an armed sword pointing downwards, *argent*, hilted and pomelled *or*."

If these are the armorial bearings of the grandfather they were not borne by the Ithel ap Bleddyn who is represented in the Northop effigy. Let us now see how far the style of the effigy and the characteristics of the armour will agree with the dates given above, and upon the assumption that we are dealing with a period comprised between 1354 and 1386.

This effigy is in fairly good preservation, and possesses several features in common with the first described monument, more especially in the knightly belt, identical in design and pattern, the metal plaques with which it is ornamented being exactly the same. The effigy, however, is of earlier date, and presents types of armour that are peculiar to the earlier as well as the latter half of the fourteenth century.

The head is covered with a bascinet, wedge-shaped, and with a peculiar mid-rib, not unlike that seen upon the unnamed effigy in Ash Church, Kent, illustrated in Stothard's *Monumental Effigies* (1st ed., 1832, p. 54), and also seen, but not so much developed, in the effigy of Sir Roger de Kerdeston, A.D. 1337, in Reepham Church, Norfolk; and also of the type worn by Sir Robert du Bois, A.D. 1311, as seen in his effigy in Fersfield Church, Norfolk. (See Stothard, p. 52.) The mail attached to the bascinet, as shown in the illustration (No. 3), descends as low as the bottom of the forearm.

The appearance of the upper part of the jupon is very peculiar, there being apparently no means whereby it was secured over the shoulders, and it so far resembles that of Sir Oliver Ingham, A.D. 1343, illustrated by Stothard (see p. 55, ed. 1832), inasmuch as in that case the camail, falling over the shoulders, hides

the upper part of the jupon, but the falling over of the camail is very clearly shown. In the Northop effigy there is apparently on the drawing no appearance of anything of the kind, or of the camail of the bascinet being a distinct piece of mail from the hauberk. This, however, may be an error in the drawing, or may not be clearly defined upon the effigy. Upon the jupon are emblazoned the wearer's armorial ensigns, *a cross paté charged in the middle with a mullet, between four others*, the hauberk of mail descends below the bottom of the jupon, which is cut out, or escalloped in an ornamental pattern.

The knightly belt is, in design, exactly the same as the one worn by the later effigy, first described, and if the theory is correct that the unknown knight is the husband of the lady who died in 1382, and that he was a kinsman of Ithel ap Bleddyn, he may have inherited this knight's suit of armour and probably his belt. The clasp of the belt is in the form of a shield decorated with a rose—in the later effigy this portion is broken away. From it depends, on the right side, his miserericorde, which apparently is very similar in both effigies; the sword is suspended from a separate narrow belt worn round the waist. This is typical of the middle part of the fourteenth century. (See the effigy of Sir Humphry Littlebury, Stothard, ed. 1832, p. 59.)

The engraving in Pennant's *Tours in Wales* shows this effigy on the opposite side to the illustration which accompanies this paper, and in it the sword and shield are both seen; the latter is hung over the right shoulder by a broad strap called the *guige*, and is emblazoned with the same arms as on the jupon. We know that after the middle of the fourteenth century the fashion of wearing shields was discontinued, and they cease to appear upon the monuments of the latter part of this century.

The head is laid upon a tilting helm, which is crested with a lion's head; and the feet, resting upon a lion couchant, are covered with laminated sollerets of plate

with pointed toes; the overlapping plates are scalloped.

The gussets of mail under the armpits are protected by circular plates or roundels of ornamental design, and a similar protection covers the junction of the *demi-brassarts* and *vambraces* at the elbows, which are covered by *coudières* of very elegant form and uncommon pattern. The roundels are similar to those on the Blanchfront effigy, A.D. 1346, and on those of the effigy of Sir Roger de Kerdeston, A.D. 1337. (See Stothard, ed. 1832, pp. 38 and 54.)

The hands are covered with gauntlets of plate of very distinctly middle fourteenth century type, and have a somewhat later look than the portions of the armour above described. The thighs are encased in plate, and the *genouillières* are, as in the first effigy, peculiar and evidently of a Welsh type; nothing exactly like them is seen in English effigies of this period. The legs are apparently covered with *chausses* of mail, and further protected by *jambes* of plate covering the front and outside of the leg, and secured by straps.

It will be observed that the coverings of the arms, thighs, and legs are ornamented with rivets or studs running in parallel lines along the joints, and also indicating how the plates were hinged; this is another local peculiarity. They may also indicate that the plates were of very thin steel, and padded underneath with leather or other material, fastened to the back of the plates by the studs. Studded armour prevailed about the middle of the fourteenth century, as may be seen in many of the effigies and brasses of that period. There is, in the Powys-land Museum at Welshpool, a suit of Persian armour which admirably illustrates the studded *pourpointerie* seen in early fourteenth century effigies; the thigh pieces are of very thin steel, padded at the back, the padding fastened to the metal by rivets passing through to the front and secured with rosettes of gilded brass, exactly as we see in many of our English effigies.

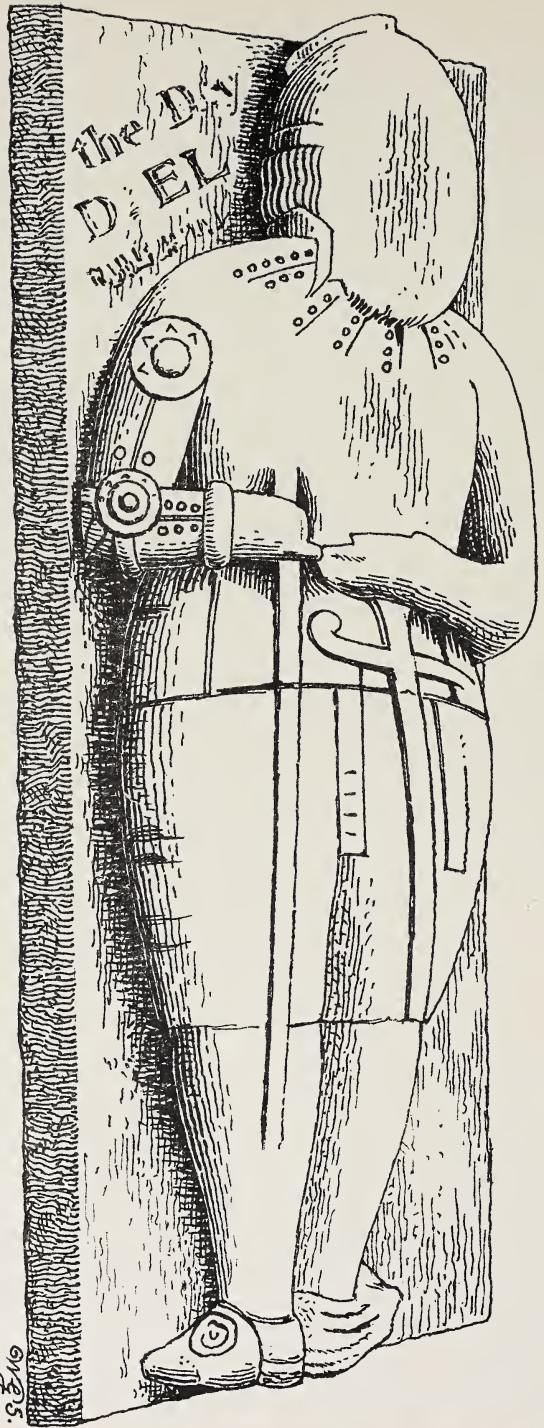
If this were an English effigy I should be disposed to date it not later than 1365, but assuming that it is intended for the Ithel ap Bleddyn who lived until 1386, and possibly a few years later, we have here an instance of a man being represented on his tomb in the armour which he had worn in the earlier part of his life, or that living, as he did, in a remote part of the country, and during a transitional period of armour, he was too conservative in his ideas, or perhaps not wealthy enough to change it in accordance with the prevailing fashion at the end of his life.

The monument may have been erected during his lifetime; the inscription is not dated. It probably would have been, if carved after his death. It cannot be doubted that in very many cases, possibly with but few exceptions, the individual is represented exactly in the armour and costume that he had habitually worn, and where, as in this case, there were specialities of detail, it may be assumed that this was so. It is also possible that Ithel ap Bleddyn inherited part of his armour from his father or some other immediate ancestor, and, looking at the illustration, one cannot help feeling that there is a certain appearance of incongruity about it when compared with an English effigy, which bears out the late Mr. Bloxam's view that the armour in Wales in the fourteenth century differed considerably from that worn in England at the same period.

Armour at all periods was very expensive to purchase, and was always looked upon as a valuable possession, to be handed down from father to son. In all probability the gentry of North Wales who were of knightly rank were not so rich as the same class in England, and instead of purchasing from time to time an entirely new panoply as the fashion changed, they would have their ancestral suits altered and improved by the local armourers, Wrexham and Chester being probably the places where such artificers would be found in the Middle Ages.¹

¹ "There are two poems, in MSS., by Gutto 'r Glyn, who wrote between the years 1430 and 1460, addressed to 'Abad Davydd', or

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In *Arch. Camb.* (vol. xiv, Ser. 4, pp. 127-129) is an illustration, with description by the late Mr. Bloxam, of an effigy in Bettws y Coed Church; and in vol. ii, 5th Series, pp. 192-193, of one in Llanwchllyn Church, also illustrated and described by him; and in this latter case we fortunately have a dated monument, viz., A.D. 1370, and in both cases they are identical in details with the Northop effigy, and they most undoubtedly prove that in ascribing this monument to the latter part of the fourteenth century we have fixed a date when armour of the type described was worn by at least three North Wales gentlemen of knightly rank, whose tombs still remain.

As for the effigy called by Pennant "the fat knight", it is almost impossible to say what it is intended to represent, or through what vicissitudes it has passed. It has been cut into three pieces, and shortened, the legs and feet turned outwards. The latter appear to be covered with a pair of Elizabethan shoes with rosettes. The thighs look as if they were once intended to represent the huge, bombasted breeches of Queen Elizabeth's reign; the staff carried in the right hand and the sword under the left appear to be later additions; the radiating lines and dots on the neck and shoulders look like an attempt to show the ruff of that period.

The only feature that is fairly perfect is the right arm, and here we get a brassart and vambrace of plate with rivets, roundels, and a *coudière* like an early fourteenth-century effigy, but utterly out of proportion and impossible in form. It is just possible that part of this monument was originally the effigy of Ithel Anwyl ap Bleddyn, who, it is stated, was buried in Northop Church, and that in the reign of Queen Elizabeth it was altered into "the portraiture in stone" of some neighbouring magnate by a local monumental sculptor,

David the Abbot. The object of them seems to be to thank him for a sword and buckler, of exquisite workmanship, manufactured at a shop in Wrexham."—*Arch. Camb.*, vol. i, 1846, p. 25.

who may have either utilised some portion of an early fourteenth-century figure, or attempted to copy the other monuments in the church, and succeeded in producing the very ugly object which "the fat knight" now presents.

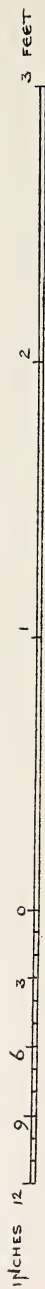
At Holywell Church, Flintshire, there is a mutilated effigy of a priest, with a maniple, holding a chalice against his breast, which is illustrated in this number of *Archæologia Cambrensis*. It has been very well drawn by Mr. W. G. Smith; for although the effigy has lost its head, and the feet have disappeared, sufficient of the details of the eucharistic vestments remain, enabling us to form some idea of the probable date of this monument.

Bloxham, in his *Companion to Gothic Architecture* (p. 9), says, "It is to Durandus, Bishop of Mende, who flourished in the thirteenth century (he died A.D. 1296), that we are indebted for a work upon the vestments of the Church, known as *Rationale Divinorum Officiorum Gulielmi Minacensis Ecclesie Episcopi*."

"The first published edition of this work is one of the earliest printed books of the fifteenth century, and several editions of it have since been published. As a ritualistic work it is perhaps the most complete and valuable we possess written on that subject in the middle ages. In the third book he treats of the vestments, with their mystical signification. An archbishop, *Pontifex*, about to celebrate, put off his ordinary garments and put on those which were clean and sacred. And first he put on his sandals; 2nd, the amice; 3rd, the alb, reaching to the ankles; 4th, the girdle; 5th, the stole; 6th, the tunic; 7th, the dalmatic; 8th, the gloves; 9th, the ring; 10th, the chesible; 11th, the maniple; 12th, the pall; 13th, the mitre; 14th, the pastoral staff, *Baculum*. These the writer likens to the spiritual armour spoken of by the apostle. He tells us that six of the above were common alike to priests and bishops, namely, the amice, alb, girdle, stole, the maniple, and chesible; and that nine were specially



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worn by those of episcopal rank ; namely, stockings, sandals, the episcopal girdle, *succinctorium*, the tunic, dalmatic, gloves, the mitre, ring, and pastoral staff.

“Then he treats of the six sacerdotal vestments severally and at length with regard to their mystical significations, and first of the *amice*, worn about the neck and over the shoulders, called also the *super-humerale* : this was fastened in front of the breast by two bands or cords. After the *amice* came the *alb*, a linen garment or tunic fitting close to the body, reaching to the ankles, and girt about the body with a *girdle*, *zona seu cingulum*. Over the *alb* was worn the *stole*, *orarium sive stola*, hanging down from the neck, right and left, crossed in front of the body, and fastened beneath the *girdle*. This was worn in a different fashion by a deacon to what it was by a priest. Next came the *maniple*, anciently carried in the left hand, but subsequently worn over the left wrist ; this was also called the *fanon* and *sudarium*. Over all these the chesible was worn (*casula seu planeta*) ; this was the principal vestment, and without this no celebration could take place.”

In the Holywell effigy the eucharistic vestments are worn over a cassock, *toga talaris*. This is seen in the close-fitting sleeves which are visible beneath the folds of the chesible, which is long and pointed in front, but apparently short and cut square behind. There are traces of the *amice*, with a fragment of its parure, round the neck.

The *alb* appears to be quite plain, falling to the level of the feet, and devoid of any parure in front of the skirt.

The *stole* is not seen ; it is concealed by the length of the chesible, which is acutely pointed, and much longer than in ecclesiastical effigies of a later period.

The *maniple*, which is worn over the left arm, is quite plain ; the hands grasp a chalice of early form, indicated by the shallow cup, but very long in the stem. The outline of the chalice may well be compared

with the one lately found near Dolgelly, and illustrated in *Arch. Camb.*, vol. vii, 5th Ser., p. 245.

There is a very interesting incised effigy of a priest lying beneath a semicircular arch in the north wall of Corwen Church, Denbighshire, illustrated in *Arch. Camb.*, vol. ii, p. 241, representing him holding a chalice, the upper part of which is like the Holywell example, but it is not so long in the stem, as may be seen by the position of the hands, which, instead of being one above the other as at Holywell, are conjoined round the stem. The outline of the chalice in the thirteenth and early part of the fourteenth centuries appears, from the way it is represented upon the incised slabs that so frequently were used as memorials of ecclesiastics, to have gradually developed from a shallow to a deeper cup-like form, and on an incised slab at Clixby, in Lincolnshire, illustrated in Boutell's *Christian Monuments in England and Wales*, p. 62, we have depicted a chalice of the very same outline, with a long, slender stem, as in the Holywell effigy.

Taking into consideration, therefore, the plainness of the vestments, the freedom of design in the arrangement of the drapery, and the peculiar form of the chalice, I believe we shall be perfectly safe in assigning this effigy to the thirteenth century, probably in the latter part of it; and in assuming that it represents a priest of Holywell of that period.

(To be continued.)

Reviews and Notices of Books.

ARCHITECTURAL STUDIES IN FRANCE. By the Rev. J. L. PETIT. New edition, revised by EDWARD BELL. London : George Bell and Sons, 1890. Small 4to., pp. 402, with numerous illustrations.

FEW writers have done more to make the true principles of Gothic architecture generally understood than the late Mr. J. L. Petit, and we cannot therefore be too grateful to Mr. Edward Bell for having issued a revised edition of his work on the churches of France, which was originally published as far back as 1854, and has been for a long time out of print. Mr. Petit's merits as a pioneer in the study of our national style of architecture are rather under- than over-estimated in the concluding passage of the editor's introduction. Mr. Bell says : "No one appreciated more fully than he did the truth so often ignored by popular writers, that the history of English architecture cannot be properly understood without a knowledge of the foreign sources from which it was derived. In this respect he is a worthy follower of the able men who first systematised the study of mediæval building. He, perhaps, was the first to detect, as we may observe both in this work and in that on Church architecture, the peculiar position occupied by Norman architecture, and its actual historical connection with complete Gothic, into which it was merged. A satisfactory account of mediæval architecture, based on a rational and historical conception of the subject, has yet to be written. When it is undertaken Mr. Petit's works will be found to abound in useful material, and it is hardly too much to expect that he will rank with Hope, Rickman, Whewell, and Willis as one of the pioneers in the history of art."

The Author's Preface contains a pretty full exposition of his views on the subject of architecture, and the relations between the different phases of Gothic in this country and on the Continent. Mr. Petit very justly gives credit jointly to the English and the French for having evolved the Gothic style of the thirteenth century out of the Romanesque style which preceded it. He says : "The Italian never did reach to Northern Gothic, which I must always consider as the true Gothic, however fully I may admit the great beauty and interest of the Southern Pointed styles. The German transition appears to me to be scarcely more than a peculiar form of Romanesque, having little or no tendency to further progress, and unlikely, unless under some external impulse, to pass away without developing any decided style. Those which have, at the time I refer to, any life or movement, at least in the direction of Northern Gothic, are the French and the English, and these, I think, may be shown to have an inherent

and independent vitality of their own—either would have lived and advanced to perfection without the aid of external influence. Whatever connection may have existed between them undoubtedly strengthened and advanced both, but the germ of progress was in each independently, and showed itself by movements in a great measure independent of each other. The comparison between the two styles shows this: the similarity shows the identity of their aim; their difference, the independence of their action.”

There is, indeed, so much worth quoting in the Author's Preface that we hardly know where to stop. Mr. Petit seems to have had a wonderful insight into the first principles which underlie all great art, and nearly half a century ago he told us that as long as we remained mere servile imitators of dead styles there could be no real progress. He was bold enough to say that the better the imitation was the worse the art, and that “our object is not, or ought not to be, to produce a building which might be mistaken by the antiquary for a specimen of a particular period or country, but one fitted in every respect, in reality as well as appearance, for its purpose, and sound and correct in its design, its construction, and its ornamentation.” This was written as far back as the time of the Crimean War, yet it is only a week ago that the Society of Antiquaries had to protest against an eminent architect, who is also a Royal Academician, being allowed to pull down a building of Sir Christopher Wren's, at Lincoln Cathedral, in order to substitute for it a sham fourteenth-century Gothic cloister.

The bulk of the volume is taken up with careful, appreciative, and critical descriptions of the various churches in France visited by the author, but there are also chapters on “Variety of French Styles”, “Geometry of Vaulting”, “Roman Work”, and “Modern Style”. The whole is copiously illustrated from drawings by the author and Mr. P. Delamotte. It is undoubtedly a great advantage when an author is not only possessed of a pleasant style of writing, but can use the pencil as well as the pen. Mr. Petit had a peculiar style of drawing with thick, bold lines that once seen could not be mistaken. Those who have the back volumes of the *Illam Anastatic Society's* publications will doubtless be familiar with the appearance of his sketches. Small details are merely indicated, but Mr. Petit has few rivals in the art of representing a building by its general mass, and the grouping of its component parts. He was a man who could think in a space of three dimensions, a rare quality in a student of architecture.

The only matter for regret is that in Mr. Petit's observations of the churches which he saw he appears to have been so absorbed in the constructive problems presented by the different buildings that he neglects to take note of the sculptured details, or ecclesiastical features of any kind.

The great constructive problem, to the different solutions of which most of the beauties of Gothic are due, is how to roof over the area enclosed by the walls. Compared with this every other problem is of

minor importance. The Church of St. Ours, at Loches, near Tours, which is described at considerable length, is roofed over in a way that is perhaps unique. The nave is covered by two octagonal stone pyramids, like an ordinary church spire, producing a very cavernous appearance in the interior. Another solution of the problem is to divide the ground-plan of the church into squares, and cover each with a dome supported at the corners of the square on four enormous clustered piers of masonry. Of this method the Church of St. Front, at Périgeux, is perhaps the best known example. The chapter on vaulting, which Mr. Petit seems to have thought necessary to make his subsequent descriptions intelligible, is rather too mathematical for the general reader, and more suitable for an appendix. He thinks, and no doubt rightly, that the designer of a building should aim at the greatest accuracy that is scientifically attainable, and leave any inexactness to the workman who carries it out. He says: "In the works of nature, the highest, as well as those nearest our reach, we perceive the law of exact design and inexact execution. The latter term I must be understood to use in no irreverent sense, but to apply it to deviations from the more prominent plan, themselves also being designed by a wise Providence, and for great and salutary purposes."

A description is given in chapter iv of the Church of St. Michael, in the Puy de Dom, which occupies a most remarkable position on the summit of a pinnacle of rock, reminding one of similar dedications to St. Michael at Glastonbury Tor, Skellig Michael, and the St. Michael's Mounts in Cornwall and Brittany.

Mr. Petit's *Architectural Studies in France* is valuable principally on account of the number of suggestive ideas it contains. It is a book that stimulates thought, and will help towards the formation of a new style of architecture, developed out of past styles, but not copied from them.

HISTORY OF SLIGO. By Col. W. G. WOOD-MARTIN. Dublin: Hodges, Figgis & Co., 1892; 8vo. pp. 510, with numerous illustrations.

Col. Wood-Martin is already favourably known to archæologists by his valuable works on *The Lake Dwellings of Ireland*, and on *The Rude Stone Monuments of Ireland*. He now claims a place amongst the county historians of Ireland, of which there are none too many, the third and concluding volume of his *History of Sligo* having just been issued from the press. It deals with the period from 1688 to the present time.

In a journal devoted exclusively to Welsh subjects any extended notice of the purely local part of the work would be quite out of place. The chapters on the "Manners and Customs", and on the "Superstitions and Legends", and also the Appendix, containing extracts from the "Field Name Books" of the Ordnance Survey, are of more general interest. Rush-lights appear to have been in use

in the county of Sligo during the last century, and Col. Wood-Martin gives an engraving of one of these now obsolete appliances on p. 344. Students of folk-lore will find variants of many well-known beliefs that exist elsewhere related in the chapter on superstition, such as the following: "If you dream three times in succession that gold lies buried in a certain locality, you should there excavate, but the work must be carried on at night, and when you go in the morning to inspect your treasure, lo! it is withered leaves or poor mouldering bones. The only way to avoid the spell of the 'good people' is, before commencing operations, to sacrifice a black cat, or a black cock, on the site of the proposed exploration, and the gold, if found, retains its true characteristics." Misfortune is believed to pursue anyone who digs into an ancient rath, and it is not considered safe to venture too far into the underground passages connected with it. It is a great pity such a useful superstition is not more generally prevalent throughout Great Britain. Several instances of the existence of trees and bushes covered with pieces of rag, close to holy wells, are mentioned by Col. Wood-Martin. He also says that some of the wells contained trout, which were considered sacred.

The Christianity of Ireland still contains a very considerable admixture of paganism, and many extraordinary customs illustrating this are practised in the county Sligo. On the island of Innismurray and elsewhere are to be seen altars surmounted by a motley assemblage of round stones of various sizes, which are believed to possess miraculous healing properties, and are used also for swearing on, and for the purpose of cursing. In the latter case the superstitious rite is performed in the following manner: "During ordinary pilgrimages, whether at holy wells or altars, the 'round' described as being taken is from left to right, following the course of the sun; but when vengeance is to be invoked against an enemy the opposite course is adopted. The supplicant commences from right to left, turning the stones thrice, an imprecation against his enemy being previously, each time, uttered; but if his adversary be innocent, then the imprecations recoil upon the individual uttering them." Col. Wood-Martin gives illustrations of the altars and of some of the cursing-stones that are ornamented with crosses.

In connection with the subject of the legends of Sligo it is interesting to learn that the memory of the old Celtic romance of *The Pursuit of Dermot and Grania* is still preserved in the names of some of the rude stone monuments of Ireland, which are called by the peasantry the "beds of Dermot and Grania".

It will be seen from the few points on which we have been able to touch how much there is to interest the archæologist in Col. Wood-Martin's latest contribution to Irish county history. We wish the work all the success it deserves, and, if we may venture to prophesy, the success it is sure to attain.

BYE-GONES RELATING TO WALES AND THE BORDER COUNTIES, Vol i.
Second Series. Oswestry and Wrexham: Woodhall, Minshall,
and Co.

This is an old friend determined to renew its youth by blossoming out into a second series. For twenty years it has pursued the path of usefulness which it was designed to follow by its founder, the late Mr. Askew Roberts, and it is not too much to say that the aims and intentions with which it set forth upon its career have been more than realised. The volumes comprising the first series are amongst the most prized possessions of the antiquary, while the eagerness with which a set is snatched up in the book-market is a good evidence of their lasting popularity.

The new series inaugurated with the present volume promises a continuance of the useful and attractive features that make its predecessor a necessity to the Welsh and border archæologist. *Bye-Gones* has always been honourably distinguished from other works of its class, especially those relating to Wales, for the quantity of perfectly fresh information it contains, and the same excellent policy continues to prevail. Probably the most valuable contributions in the present volume are those of Mr. Egerton Phillimore on "Race-Names in English Mairor". Though directed against derivations and meanings that have appeared in the pages of this *Journal*, we recognise the astonishing fulness and accuracy of Mr. Phillimore's topographical knowledge, and the admirably lucid explanations of difficult Welsh place-names. Another feature worthy of particular mention is the excellently condensed reports of papers read before the different societies upon Welsh history and antiquities. *Bye-Gones* has long ago justified its existence by the law of the survival of the fittest, which prevails as much in the intellectual as in the natural sphere, and, as a worthy handmaiden to our own *Journal*, we can only express the hope that it may, in the future, command an ever-widening sphere.

THE SCIENCE OF FAIRY TALES. By E. SIDNEY HARTLAND, F.S.A. (The Contemporary Science Series.) London: Walter Scott, 1891. Crown 8vo., pp. 372. Price 3s. 6d.

ENGLISH FAIRY AND OTHER FOLK-TALES, selected and edited by E. SIDNEY HARTLAND, F.S.A. (The Camelot Series). London: Walter Scott, 1891. 8vo., pp. 282. Price 1s.

It is, perhaps, hardly worth while wasting powder and shot on showing up the detestable system of bringing out in the form of a series, with a catch-penny title, a number of small books containing homœopathic doses of knowledge on every conceivable subject under the sun, compiled by authors good, bad, and indifferent. The object of adopting this method of publication seems to be that the un-

suspecting general reader may be gulled into purchasing the works of inferior writers in order to complete a series containing at most one or two contributions of value towards contemporary science. Setting aside the fact that Mr. Sidney Hartland has so far given his approval to the odious system complained of as to allow each of his books to form one of a series, we have little else but praise for his own work, as distinguished from that of his colleagues.

The beliefs of our childhood have received many a rude shock at the hands of the critical historian. Of William Tell shooting at an apple neatly balanced on his son's head, as of King Alfred burning the cakes, we can only say, quoting Hans Breitmann's *Ballads*, "Where is dat barty now?" Nevertheless, we thought that at least the domain of Fairyland was safe from the intrusion of the ubiquitous man of science. Quite recently one of our most *fin de siècle* mythologists solemnly told us he was not quite sure whether King Arthur was a sun god, or a culture hero, or a Roman governor, or something entirely different, in which latter case it might be necessary for him, in the light of new facts, to reconsider all that he had previously said about him. Surely this was bad enough, but now Mr. Hartland has added the last straw required to break the camel's back by making fairy tales a subject for scientific investigation, in the course of which he upsets for good and all our most cherished belief in what he is pleased to call the Lady Godiva *legend*, forsooth!

However, having once admitted the necessity of treating fairy tales scientifically, no one could be better fitted for the task than Mr. Hartland. He is able to illustrate his theories from apparently inexhaustible stores of knowledge of the folk-tales of all countries; sometimes, indeed, although not often, one becomes almost bewildered by the number of variants of different tales that are brought forward to throw light on a particular point. Unless the reader adopts the favourite plan pursued by ladies when anxious to find out the plot of a novel, and reads the last chapter first, he will not always be able to understand the drift of the author's argument clearly.

Mr. Hartland's conclusions, as stated in his last chapter, are, "that the fairies of the Celtic and Teutonic races are of the same kind as the supernatural beings celebrated in the traditions of other nations, and that all superstitions of supernatural beings are explicable by reference to the conceptions of savages." The ascertained facts of savage thought and savage life, upon which Mr. Hartland founds his theories, are (1) the doctrine of spirits, *i.e.*, "that it is possible for the spirit to quit the body and roam at will in different shapes about the world, returning to the body as to its natural home; that in the spirit's absence the body sleeps, and that it dies if the spirit return not; further, that the universe swarms with spirits, embodied and disembodied, because everything in the world has a spirit, and all these spirits are analogues of the human spirit, having the same will and acting from the same motives, and

that if by chance one of these spirits be ejected from its body it may continue to exist without a body, or it may find and enter a new body—not necessarily such an one as it occupied before, but one quite different; (2) the doctrine of transformation, *i.e.*, the belief held by savages in the possibility of a change of form while preserving the same identity; and (3) the belief in witchcraft, or the power of certain persons to cause the transformations just mentioned, and to perform, by means of spells or symbolic actions and mystical words, various other feats beyond ordinary human power." These beliefs, originating when all mankind was in a savage state, have, in the different stages of the evolution of civilisation, "everywhere left their mark on the tales and songs, the sayings and superstitions, the social, religious, and political institutions—in other words, on the belief and practice of mankind."

Mr. Hartland goes on to say: "We have found Fairyland very human in its organisation. Its inhabitants marry sometimes among themselves, sometimes into mankind. They have children born to them, and they require at such time female assistance. They steal children from men and leave their own miserable brats in exchange; they steal women, and sometimes leave in their stead blocks of wood animated by magical art, or sometimes one of themselves. In the former case the animation does not usually last very long, and the woman is then supposed to die. Their females sometimes in turn become captive to men. Unions thus formed are, however, not lasting until the husband has followed the wife to her own home, and conquered his right to her afresh by some great adventure. This is not always in the story, presumably, therefore, not always possible. On the other hand, he who enters Fairyland and partakes of fairy food is spell-bound—he cannot return at least for a number of years, perhaps for ever, to the land of men. Fairies are grateful to men for benefits conferred, and resentful of injuries. They never fail to reward those who do them a kindness, but their gifts usually have conditions attached, which detract from their value and sometimes become a source of loss and misery. Nor do they forget to revenge themselves on those who offend them; and to watch them when they do not desire to be manifest is a mortal offence. Their chief distinction from men is in their unbounded magical powers, whereof we have had several illustrations. They make things other than they are, they appear and disappear at will, they make long time seem short or short time long, they change their own forms, they cast spells over mortals and keep them spell-bound for ages."

Mr. Hartland does not agree with the rival theory of Mr. MacRitchie, "that the fairies of the Celtic and Teutonic races are neither more nor less than the prehistoric tribes whom they conquered and drove back, and whose lands they now possess."

The speculations contained in chapter iv of the *Science of Fairy Tales*, as to the probable origin of what the author believes to be the Lady Godiva myth, are extremely ingenious, and no doubt the arguments brought forward to show that the legend and procession of

Lady Godiva are merely survivals of a pagan belief and worship located in Coventry, will be convincing to many. The evidence upon which the author's conclusions rest are as follows :

"1. The absence for historical foundation for the tradition.

"2. The close resemblance between the tradition and other stories and superstitions which unquestionably deal with heathen goddesses, such as Berchta and Hertha.

"3. The equally close analogy between the procession and that described in Eastern stories.

"4. The occurrence of a similar procession at Southam.

"5. The connection between the analogous legend of St. Briavel's."

In chapter vi a great deal of extremely interesting information has been brought together relating to the legends attaching to many ancient drinking-horns, cups, and chalices, which declared that they were robbed from Fairyland. Amongst the most celebrated of these is the "Luck of Edenhall", belonging to Sir George Musgrave of Edenhall in Cumberland.

The story of the Lady of the Van Pool in Carmarthenshire, and many other Celtic traditions referred to in this excellent little book, will be read with great interest by all Welshmen. Archæology by itself cannot hope to solve the numerous problems that it has to face every day, but by the help of such able workers in kindred branches of science as Mr. Sidney Hartland, it will be able to achieve much that was previously impossible.

The other volume under review, *English Fairy and other Folk Tales*, is not so intimately connected with archæological studies as the *Science of Fairy Tales*, although some of the stories bear indirectly upon them. Everyone should read the "Legend of the Rollright Stones", which relates the misfortunes that befell a farmer who was wicked enough to remove one of the stones forming this well-known megalithic circle, in Oxfordshire. The nursery tale of "Tom Tit Tot" is perhaps the most cheerfully amusing one in the book, and if a sufficiently weird and gruesome antidote is required, we can turn to the legend of "The Demon Tregeagle", who is still expiating his crimes by endeavouring to perform the impossible and endless tasks set before him in the roar of the sea as it breaks on the wild iron-bound coast of Cornwall.

Archaeological Notes and Queries.

FREE LIBRARIES AND THE PHOTOGRAPHIC SURVEY OF COUNTIES. A paper read before the Library Association at Nottingham, 18th January 1891, by JOHN BALLINGER.—

The immense reduction in the cost of photographic apparatus, consequent upon the discovery of better and easier methods, has led to a rapid increase in the number of people who choose photography as a recreation, and now, wherever we go, the amateur photographer is either present or very near. The pursuit is a pleasant one to those who follow it, and seems to exercise a fascination over its devotees, if we may draw a conclusion from the number of amateurs who attain to excellence.

This spread of photography has been followed, as might be expected, by the establishment of photographic societies in many towns, and I suppose there is hardly a county in England which does not contain one or more societies. Several of these societies are now engaged in making systematic pictorial representations by means of photography of the districts in which they are located; and the object of this paper is to direct the attention of librarians to the value of these surveys, and to urge the desirability of securing prints from the negatives taken for preservation in the public libraries.

First as to the value of the surveys. This will be best indicated by an outline of the work attempted. In the photographic survey with which I am most familiar an attempt is made to secure photographs of all prehistoric, early British, and Roman remains, such as camps, cromlechs, early crosses, inscribed stones, and Roman roads; of all buildings and places of interest likely to be removed or altered, the interior and exterior of cathedrals, parish churches, chapels, abbeys, or other ecclesiastical buildings, together with photographs of any special features, such as rood-screens, carved chests, monuments, and crosses, or any special architectural features; likewise of castles, manor houses, and other dwellings, and the contents of such buildings, such as family portraits, or portraits of celebrities, old furniture, carvings, documents, etc.; views, too, of the coast line, docks, shipping, the streets, and principal buildings in towns, and any other objects typical of the county, or associated with local history or the history of the greater world beyond. Particular attention is given to places and objects liable to decay or removal. I do not mention the scientific side of the question, such as the photographing of geological strata, boulders, and other phenomena, because in the survey which has come under my notice this is a separate department, under the direction of the curator of the museum.

Secondly : Where should the results be deposited ?

The value of such a set of photographs, both to the present and future generations, will, I think, be at once apparent, and the question arises : How can the work of different photographers be best brought together and be made available for use now, and be at the same time preserved for use in the future ? To allow the photographs to remain in the sole possession of those by whom they were taken, to be exchanged about amongst themselves and their friends, would be to defeat almost entirely the object of the survey. The societies may say, and I believe some societies have said, that the results should belong to the society. But this is not satisfactory, because except by grace of the members the very man who might make important use of the prints might not be able to get access to them, *and*, unless the society be a very strong one, it will *not attract that co-operation from outside photographers, amateur and professional*, which will be necessary for success.

These remarks point to some public institution, easily accessible, and with a reasonable prospect of *permanent existence*, as the most desirable depository for the results of a photographic survey, and if the institution selected possesses an officer who is capable of appreciating, and therefore properly caring for the prints, so much the better.

All things considered, therefore, I think that the reference department of a free public library is probably the safest and most convenient place for depositing the survey record. The principal library in the district will probably be selected as a *central* depository, but the other libraries in the county should not be overlooked, and, supposing copies of all the prints cannot be sent to each, then the special *pictures relating to the district* should be supplied, and also the most important photographs of historical objects and places in the county.

Thirdly, the method of securing the survey. If a survey is already in progress the library committee or the town council might make an application to the society or individuals engaged in its promotion, pointing out the advantages of having a safe and permanent dépôt. But where a survey is not commenced the subject should be at once brought to the notice of photographers by the library committee or the librarian, and the importance of the undertaking pointed out. And it will be a good thing, if possible, to secure the interest of some ardent photographer or antiquary who will make the survey a hobby, and determine to carry it out, or at any rate to begin even in the face of discouragements. Every effort should be made to enlist the help of professional photographers and of amateurs who work independently. It is important to hunt up old and forgotten negatives of places perhaps equally forgotten or only dimly remembered, and to get prints from them—if necessary, defraying the cost of printing.

After a year or two of work it would be well to try an exhibition of the results, and perhaps even to offer prizes for the best collections. Here is a schedule of classes from such an exhibition :

1. Gold, silver, and bronze medals respectively for collections of photographs illustrating Glamorganshire past and present.

One silver and one bronze medal in each of the following classes :

a. Collections illustrating that portion of Monmouthshire (Newport included) within twelve miles of Cardiff.

b. Collections illustrating the churches and chapels of Glamorganshire.

c. Collections illustrating Cardiff, past and present.

d. Collections illustrating Glamorganshire castles, mansions, religious houses, and crosses.

e. Collections of lantern slides, illustrating the county of Glamorgan.

f. Collections of lantern slides, illustrating Cardiff, past and present.

This competition attracted 787 prints, many of them of great excellence, and all of value for the survey. It has put the survey work on a sound basis, by showing the importance and interest of the photographic record, by enlisting the interest of the public, and securing the assistance of many photographers who had hitherto not been attracted, and last, but equally important, by encouraging those already engaged in the work. On all hands surprise has been expressed at the revelation made by the pictures as to the number of places and things of historical interest in the county, and many items unknown or overlooked have been pointed out. The lantern slides were used during the exhibition for evening demonstrations, with limelight, and greatly added to the attractiveness of the exhibition. They will be available, subject to certain regulations as to security, for lectures and entertainments.

And now for a few words as to the arrangement and preservation of the collection.

It is undesirable to have any stipulated size for the prints, but a standard size for the mounts should be adopted and adhered to as closely as possible. We use 17 ins. by 15 ins. mounts.

Cards are preferable for mounting, but cartridge paper may be used.

Small prints may be placed two or more on one mount.

Contributors should be allowed to mount their own prints, adhering to the standard mount where possible, or to supply unmounted copies.

The subject, date when taken, and name of the photographer should be supplied in writing with each print, and notes, such as "*removed 18* ", "*rebuilt 18* ", or other facts, where necessary, should be added.

While not excluding silver prints, an effort should be made to secure all prints in a more permanent process, such as carbon or platinotype.

The collection may be bound either in districts and sub-districts, with special volumes for particular subjects, such as a cathedral or abbey, or the work of extensive contributors may be kept together,

with "miscellaneous" volumes for the smaller contributors, a subject index being provided.

Whichever method be adopted, a copy of the 6.-in. Ordnance Maps of the county should be obtained and the objects numbered in red ink, a corresponding number being placed in red on or against the print.

Any printed references to the subjects should be noted either on the mounts or on interleaves, and original information should be carefully collected and added from time to time.

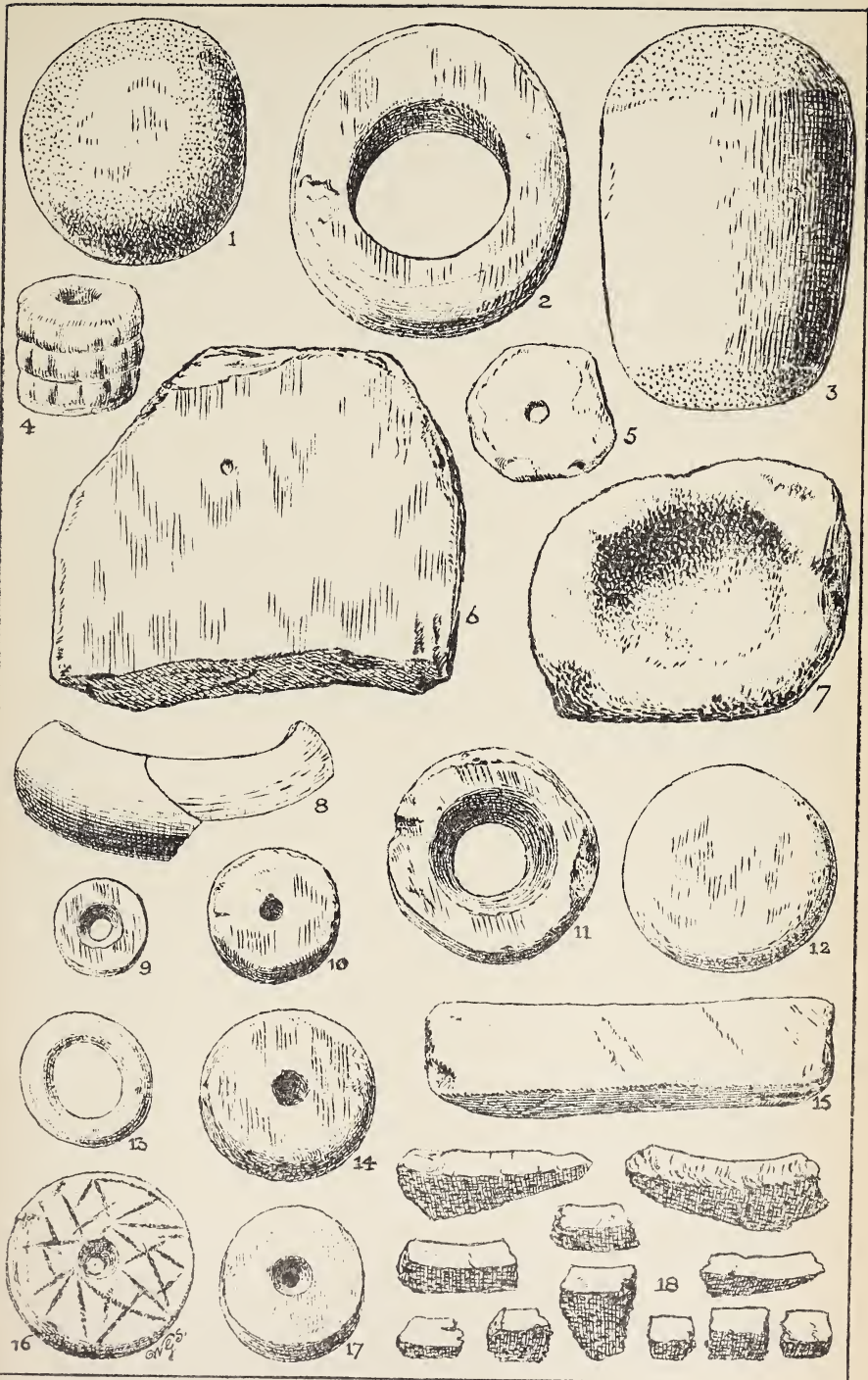
Descriptive readings should be prepared to accompany the lantern slides.

Many developments of the value of such a survey will ensue once the work is fairly in hand. I have brought the subject before you with a view to encouraging immediate action in the interests of libraries and of historical research.

(A paper read before the Library Association at Nottingham, by JOHN BALLINGER.)

BRITISH ANTIQUITIES FOUND AT PLAS-BACH, NEAR CERRIG CEINWEN, ANGLESEY.—The farm of Plas-Bach is situated a mile and a half south-west of Cerrig Ceinwen, and about the same distance north-east of Bodorgan Station, on the Bangor and Holyhead Railway. I was spending a day there in the spring of 1889, and as I was walking along one of the fields I was astonished to find a quantity of spindle-whorls, pieces of pottery, crucibles, teeth, etc., scattered all over the field, and on inquiring of the tenant of the farm how these things came there, he told me his men had been top-dressing the land with a material they had found near at hand. Upon digging from 1 ft. to 1½ft. deep they had come upon a quantity of black stuff which he showed me, and which I at once recognised to be charcoal. I obtained the tenant's permission to dig in the same spot, and he kindly allowed two of his men to assist in the work. We reached the charcoal at the depth of about a foot and a half, and this was resting on what must have been the floor of a hut dwelling. It was quite hard and black, and covered with stones scattered in every direction, having probably been deposited here when the field was levelled a long time ago. Amongst these stones I found the antiquities shown on the Plate. These are as follows:

1. Stone muller, abraded.
- 2, 11, and 13. Stone rings.
3. Hammer-stone, abraded at both ends and slightly polished by contact with the hand of the user.
4. Clay bead.
5. Piece of Samian ware perforated, probably for use as a spindle whorl.
6. Fragment of a hone, or grinding-stone.
7. Crucible.
8. Fragment of an armlet of jet.



ANTIQUITIES FROM HUT-CIRCLES IN ANGLESEY.

9, 10, 14, 16, 17. Spindle-whorls.

12. Stone disc.

15. Small hone.

18. Fragments of a cup of Kimmeridge shale.

Mr. C. H. Read, of the British Museum, has kindly examined the objects, and expresses his opinion that they are a "mixed lot", consisting partly of things undoubtedly Roman, such as the jet armlet and some of the pottery, and partly of native British things, like the hammer-stones and sharpening stones.

In addition to the antiquities illustrated I found two whole mullers, four broken ones, half of a saddle-quern, several spindle-whorls, stone balls, polishers, whetstones, a pounder, and some copper slag. About twenty yards from the place just described I picked up an adder bead, the smallest I ever saw, of a light green-coloured glass.

J. E. GRIFFITH, F.L.S.

Upper Bangor.

WREXHAM CHURCH.—(*To the Editor of the "Wrexham Advertiser".*)

SIR,—I am glad to find that the alterations proposed in the parish church will not involve so much destruction as rumour at first gave forth. Nevertheless, I most sincerely regret that it should have been thought needful to touch the structure itself. Of course, whatever is necessary to keep the fabric in repair should be done, and I do not deny the advantage which would result from opening out fully the chancel arch, and removing the western gallery. But if this advantage can only be secured by spoiling the chancel, I would myself rather, a hundred times over, see the organ remain where it is. That the proposed alterations will spoil the chancel, as seen from the outside, and involve other deplorable results, is to my mind quite clear. Cannot the east end of one of the aisles be utilised as a place for the organ, if the latter *must* be removed? In any case, I hope the Wrexham people will not allow anything to be done to the parish church which they will hereafter regret. The woful havoc wrought at the so-called "restoration" in 1867 ought to be a lesson for all time.—I am, etc.,

19, King Street.

ALFRED NEOBARD PALMER.

SIR,—The project for enlarging the old parish church by putting a new chamber on each side of the chancel deserves special attention.

The building is an architectural ornament to the kingdom, and should not be altered in design and appearance without the most urgent necessity. The disfigurement and discordance caused by attaching new pieces of stonework will be irretrievable. We shall be abolishing a portion of the glory of our town. An ancient church is unmanufacturable and unrestorable. The rich Americans can beat us in big modern erections, but they come over to the old

country to gratify their instinctive longings to see the handiwork of their great ancestors, covered with the bloom that only the hand of Time can produce; this bloom being unpurchaseable, they cannot get it at home. On landing at Liverpool many of them proceed first to Chester to slake their thirst for the beauties of antiquity. Here they are disappointed to find that the old Cathedral has been patched all over, wherever an excuse could be found for taking out an old stone and putting in a new one. Some of them decide on coming a dozen miles further to see our famous church tower and the grave of Elihu Yale. Why should we commit the folly of abolishing the old, which they venerate, and replacing it with new, which they don't care about, and which money can produce anywhere?

The reason usually given for movements of the sort is that more room is required in the church. It is remarkable that in Wrexham this reason is not mentioned. All that is wanted is a rearrangement of the position of the organ and the choir. Therefore it logically follows that no additional chambers are required as long as only the same number of people are to be accommodated. The church is large enough, and too large for an average voice to reach all the congregation. On this subject it will be well to call attention to the position of the pulpit. Formerly it was in a more forward situation, but at "the restoration" it was placed close to the chancel. It ought to be brought forward at least as far as the first pillar. It must be painful to keep the voice highly strained to fill the place, and it must be painful to those at the west end to listen, especially as most preachers have an aggravating way of dropping the voice at the close of emphatic passages.

It may be remarked also that the church need not be enlarged in anticipation of increased congregations. The population of the centre of Wrexham, like that of "the City" portion of London, is probably decreasing. The magnates of High Street, whose predecessors slept over the shops, now live in the outskirts, where there is new church accommodation.

The architect's report says: "A single narrow passage to the altar is an almost intolerable arrangement where there is a large number of communicants." This is not obvious, as there is sufficient room for two streams of people, one inwards and the other outwards, and they need never walk in more than single file.

By adopting the proposed scheme we shall be tampering with the architectural proportions as left by the grand old designers when the chancel was erected three to four hundred years ago. The church and tower are now in unison, but when the two recesses are filled up with conspicuous new work at the east end, the effect on the eye will be to alter the balance, and to increase the apparent bulk of the church in relation to the tower, as well as to destroy the harmonious proportion of the chancel, leaving only a stumpy apse. Repose will give place to discord, like that produced by a new ribbon on an old bonnet, but whereas the ribbon may become

antiquated in a month, the stonework will require a century, and then will look 300 years newer than the old walls.

The following extract from Ruskin's *Seven Lamps of Architecture* is worth reading :—

“ Watch an old building with anxious care, guard it as best you may, and at any cost, from every influence of dilapidation. Count its stones as you would the jewels of a crown, set watches about it as if at the gates of a besieged city, bind it together with iron where it loosens, stay it with timber where it declines, do not care about the unsightliness of the aid—better a crutch than a lost limb, and do this tenderly and reverently and continually, and many a general tion will still be born and pass away beneath its shadow. Its evil day must come at last, but let it come declaredly and openly, and let no dishonouring and false substitute deprive it of the funeral offices of memory. I must not leave the truth unstated, that it is no question of expediency or feeling whether we shall preserve the buildings of past times or not. *We have no right whatever to touch them.* They are not ours. They belong partly to those who built them and partly to all the generations of mankind who are to follow us. The dead have still their right in them : that which they laboured for, the praise of achievement, or the expression of religious feeling, or whatsoever else it might be which in those buildings they intended to be permanent, we have no right to obliterate. . . . They are *vested* in us only, and belong to all their successors.”—
I am, etc., J.

Wrexham, April 11th, 1892.

THE VICARAGE OF HALOWELL.—I recently met with the annexed documents. They relate, as will be seen, to a dispute between Robert Pygot, *clerk*, Vicar of the parish church of Halowell (Holywell), and one Robert, Prior of the Monastery of Basingwerk, Thomas—— (blank in the original), a monk of the said house, Griffith Vaughan, John Pennant, David Pennant, Thomas ap Ryce, Henry ap Kynck ap Penned, Howell ap John Tona Elys Baghe, and Griffith Mone, who had been instigated by Nicholas Abbot of the said Monastery, to commit the offences with which the vicar charged them. The documents are a Bill and Answer, filed in the Star Chamber in the reign of Henry VIII ; there is no year mentioned, but the offence appears to have been committed on the 16th day of August preceding the date when the petition was filed. Doubtless some of your readers, from their more intimate acquaintance with the locality and the families of the persons named, than the writer is, will be able to fix the date, or an approximate date.

The complainant does not appear to have been known to the Ven. Arch. Thomas, M.A., when he published his valuable *History of the Diocese of St. Asaph*, as a vicar of Holywell. There are a good many other papers which relate to Wales in this Star Chamber series, which would be interesting if published in the pages of the

Journal of the Society, and, it may be added, others relating to the border counties, notably Shropshire. E. ROWLEY-MORRIS.

Warren House, Tufnell Park, N.

*Star Chamber Proceedings (Bundle 18, No. 45),
Anno Hen. VIII.*

“To the Kyng e o’r Sou’raigne lorde. In hys most humbly wyse sheweth and complayneth unto y’r most excellent highnes yo’r true and ffaithfull orato’r Rob’te Pygott Clerke Vicar of the p’ishe Church of Halowell yn yo’r Countye of ffient in the dyocese of seynt Asse in the p’ties [parts] of North Wales that where yo’r said orator beinge lawfull Vicare of the said Church by lawfull & juste p’sentac’on instituc’on and inducc’on of the reverend ffather in god Henrye nowe byshop of seint asse ordinary of the seid Dyocess and veray true patron of the seid church by vertue whereof your seid orator was possessed and seased in hys Demeane as of ffee of and in the seid Veycarege in the right of his seid church and the profets thereof pesably toke most gracious Sov’raigne Lord unto the xvj day of August last past that one Robert pryor of the monasterye of basingwerke in your seid Countre Thomas — a monke of the seid house Griffith Vaughan, John Pennant, David Pennant, Thomas ap Ryce, Henry ap Kynck ap Pened, Howell ap John Tona, Elys Baghe, and Griffith Mone by the abbettements styrrings and Comaundments of Nycholas abbot of the seid monastery of Basingwerke accompaned with diurse oder riottous and evyll disposed p’sons to the nomber of xxj p’sons and aboue having Bylles Bowes Stubbes & Swerdes and Bucklers savinge that the seid pryor and the oder monke hadd twoe grett quarter staffes assaulted yo’r seid orator comynge home towarde his seid vycarege brynginge wyth hym such tythes of ottes as yo’r seid orator hadd to hym assigned by the p’ysheng’s of the seid church and which of right appertayned unto hym in the rights of his seid Church which seid riottous p’sons the seid tythes with force of armys in Riottous man’r toke from yo’r seid orator and hym chased to a house where he had be slayne and murdered hadd not the well disposed pe’ple of the said p’yshe ayded and rescowed yo’r seid orat’r from the hands and danger of the seid riottous persons and the seid Riottous p’sons with the seid Riottous Demeano’r and behaviour not contentyd & pleasid most drade Sou’aigne lorde have of their funder malyce with force entred into the seid Vicarage whych they eu’r syns have kepte and yett Daily doo keep With force and strenght and daily takyth the tithe oblac’ons and all other p’fettes & advantages belonging unto the seid Church to their owen uses by unlawfull abettement comandement and p’curement of the seid Abbott which Abbott saithe and openly reportyd in this Countreye that he wyll kepe the seid benyfyce in his owne handes whosoe’er say to the contrary unto as his fader being abbot ther dyd before such tyme as hys bastard son shalbe able to possesse and occupye and onioye the seid vicarage to the Werse & evyll example

that of late Dayes hath ben seene in those p'tyes and to the most worse and p'ilous boldeness of all yo'r true and well demeanyd subietts ther abydinge if speedy remedy and reformac'on be [not] p'vyded in this behalfe In considera'ion whereof myght yt please yo'r highness of yo'r most aboundaing grace the p'mysse consider yt to graunte seu'rall wryttes of Suppena dyrectyd as well unto the seid Aboot, Gryffith Vaugh'n, John Pennant, D'd Pennant, Thomas ap Ryce, Henry ap Kynck ap Pennedd, Howell John T'ona, and Elys Baghe, as all oder the above named riotous p'sons com'anding them and eu'ry of them p'sonally to apper before yo'r Highness and the lords of yo'r most honorable Councell in the Starr Chamber at Westm' at a certen day and under a certen payne by yo'r Highness to be lymytted ther to make answer to the p'mysse and further to abyde all such Orders as then by yo'r Highness shalbe taken in the p'mysse and yo'r seid Subgiett shall dayly pray."

*"Th'answer of Gryffyth Vaghan to the byll of Co'playnte
of Robert Pygott, Clerik.*

"The seid Gryfth seyth that the seid byll of Co'playnte ys incerten & insuffycient in the lawe to be Aunsweryd unto—And untruly Imagyned of Mallyce, to the Intent to put the seid Defendant to Injust repa'cyon, Costs and expenses—And for Aunswer the Seid Gryffyth Seyth, that as to any ryott, unlawful assembly, assaute, Baterye, procurement or com'aundement to the same, or any other matter or thyng Surmysed by the Seid byll of Co'playnte to be Commytted or done by the seid defend'nt, agenst the peace or Lawes of oure Sov'eygne Lord the Kyng, thereunto the Seyd defend'unt Seyth that he ys not thereof ne of any p'te therof Gyilty—And as Concernyng the spolyacyon of the seid vycarage, thereunto the seid defend'ant seyth that yf yt were trew as yt ys not, yet yt ys matter det'mynable and ought to be determyned in the Courte Spyrtyuall by the Order of the spyrtyuall Law, within the Cuntre of North Wales, & not in thys honorable Courte, Whereunto the seid defend'ant prayeth to be remytted, and as to all the resydew of the surmyses Conteyned in the seid surmysed byll, yf they were trew as they be not, yet they, and eu'y of theym, ben matt'rs Det'mynable and owght to be det'myned by the order of the Com'on Law within the same Cuntre of North Wales; thereunto the said Defendant prayeth to be remytted, All whych matters the seid Griffith Vaghan ys reddey to prove as thys honorable Courte Wyll awarde, and prayeth to be dysmysyd oute of the same w'th hys reasonable Costs & expences for his Wrongfull reparacyon and troble Susteyned in hys behalff."

DISCOVERY OF ROMAN COINS NEAR ST. MELLON'S.—One day during the third week in May 1892, Mr. Thomas Evans, of Coed y Clorian, whilst ploughing in one of the fields on his farm, was fortunate enough to turn up an earthenware crock containing about eight

hundred coins of Roman Emperors of the third century A.D., amongst them being those of Valerianus (A.D. 254), Gallienus (A.D. 260), Claudius (A.D. 268), and Aurelianus (A.D. 270). Coed y Clorian is situated in Glamorganshire, two miles west of St. Mellon's¹ and 3½ miles north of Cardiff, on the west bank of a small stream called Nant Dulas, which runs into the Rumney River just below the farm. The crock was imbedded in the breast of a hill, just on the line of an old watercourse, and it is probable that the water had washed away a great part of the soil, bringing the crock near the surface. The top of the vessel had been ploughed away on some previous occasion, and only the lower part was now found perfect, what remained of it measuring about 6 ins. in diameter at the top, 3 ins. at the bottom, and 5 ins. high. The vessel was of black ware unornamented.

The coins are what are technically known as "third brass", and were of the current value of one-fourteenth of the Roman *denarius*, or penny. Only about three hundred of the coins are in a good state of preservation. There appears to be a good chance that this remarkable find will be secured for the Cardiff Museum.—*Condensed from the Western Mail of May 27th and 31st.*

BRITISH SAINTS. (*To the Editor of the "Archæologia Cambrensis."*)
—SIR,—I have thought that a list of British saints that appear in old Welsh almanacks would not be uninteresting to your readers. Awhile ago I was staying with my friend, the Rev. Evan Evans, M.A., Rector of Llanfihangel-yng-nghwnfa, Montgomeryshire, and he had just discovered among his effects several old Welsh almanacks, which he called my attention to. I saw that they contained much curious matter, and Mr. Evans kindly copied out for my use every part that I expressed a wish to possess, and he went to the great trouble of copying the various lists of saints in these almanacks, and so important do I consider this list to be that I transcribe it and send it to you for publication.

My friend heads his list with the following remarks: "Rhestr o'r Hen Seintiau Cymreig wedi ei chodi o Hen Almanacau am y Blynnyddoedd 1690, 1701, 1709. Nid oes yr un o honynt yn gyflawn ond rhyngddynt maent yn cynnwys holl Fisoedd y Flwyddyn." These words rendered into English read thus:

"A list of the old Welsh saints taken out of old almanacks for the years 1690, 1701, and 1709. Not one of these almanacks is perfect, but between them they contain all the months in the year."

Mr. Evans states that the almanack for 1690 contains September, October, November, and December; that for 1701, March, April, May, June, July, August, September, October, November, and December; whilst that for 1709 contains January, February, March, May, June, July, August, and September.

I will give the names of the saints in three columns, as this plan will be useful for comparison.

¹ St. Mellon's is in Monmouthshire, on the opposite side of the Rumney River.

Almanack, 1709.

Ionawr (January)Dydd y mis (day of
the month)

- 2 Bodfan
- 3 Erech
- 7 Ced, Esgob
- 12 Llwlchaern
- 13 Gwyl Ælian
- 14 Ilar
- 24 Cattwng
- 31 Mihangel

Chwefror (February)

- 1 Sanffraid
- 28 Libio

Mawrth (March)

- 1 Gwyl Dewi
- 3 Non fam Dewi
(Non, David's mother)
- 5 Caron
- 7 Sonan
- 14 Caudyn, Merthyr
(Caudyn, martyr)
- 17 Padric Wyddel
- 29 Aeldred, g.

Ebrill yn eisiau
(April lacking)*Mai* (May)

- 4 G. felangell
- 13 Mael a Sulien
(Mael and Sulien)
- 16 Granog
- 21 Collen
- 27 Mihangel

Mehefin (June)

- 1 Tecla
- 15 Trillo
- 16 Cwrig a Elidr
(Cwrig and Elidr)
- 17 Mylling

Gorphenaf (July)

- 4 Peblig
- 6 Erful, Sanctus
- 14 Garmon
- 16 Cynllo

Almanack, 1701.

Mawrth

- 1 Dewi
- 7 Sannan
- 13 Tudur
- 15 Wynebog
- 17 Padrig Wyddel
(Patrick Irishman)

Ebrill

- 6 Llywelyn
- 7 Gwrnerth
- 16 Padarn
- 21 Beuno, Dyfnog
- 30 Pedro (? Pedrog)

Mai

- 16 Granog
- 21 Collen
- 27 Melangell, Garmon

Mehefin

- 4 Hedrog (?)
- 21 Alban
- 27 Armon, Mihangel

Gorphenaf

- 11 Gower, Bened
- 14 Garmon
- 17 Cynllo
- 31 Germon

Almanack, 1709.	Almanack, 1701.	Almanack, 1690.
<i>Aust</i> (August)	<i>Awst</i>	
8 Illog o hirniant		
22 Gwyddelan	22 Gwyddelan	
29 Teila for.* (virgin)		
	<i>Medi</i>	<i>Medi</i>
<i>Medi</i> (September)	1 Silin	1 Silin
1 Silin	2 Sulien	2 Sulien
2 Sulien	4 Erddulad	4 Erddul
5 Marchell	5 Marchell	5 Marchell
6 Idlos		6 Idlos
9 Delwfyw	9 Delwfyw	9 Delwfyw
19 Gwenfrewy	19 Gwenfrewy	13 Telemog
22 Morus	22 Morus	
24 Tecla forwyn (Tecla Virgin)	24 Tecla	24 Tecla forwyn
30 Nidan	25 Meugan	
	30 Nidam	30 Nidan
	<i>Hydref</i> (October)	<i>Hydref</i>
	7 Marchell	1 Germon
	10 Treffon	6 Flydd
	14 Talemoc	7 Marcell
	16 Mihangel fach	8 Cynon, Cammar
	24 Cadfarch	10 Triffon
	31 Dogfach	14 Tudur
		15 Mihangel fechan
		20 Gwendolina
		23 Gwynog, Maethan
		24 Cadfarch
		31 Dogfael
	<i>Tachwedd</i> (November)	<i>Tachwedd</i>
	12 Cadwalad, Padarn	3 Crisiolus, Clydog
	14 Cadfael Meilic	6 Cyngor, Cynfar
	15 Marchudd	7 Tysilio
	17 Huw, Afan	12 Cadwalad, padarn
	27 Allgof	14 Cadfrael
		15 Neilog
		21 Digain
		22 Dyniolen
		27 Allgof
		29 Sadwrnyn
	<i>Rhagfyr</i> (December)	<i>Rhagfyr</i>
	1 Grwst, Llechid	1 Grwst
	2 Llechid	2 Llechid
		5 Gawrda
	12 Llewelyn	12 Llewelyn
		15 Annan, Asar
	17 Tydecho	17 Tydecho

Such are the names given in these old almanacks. In sending them to you for publication I have done all that I intended to do, but the fact cannot be hidden that there are certain interesting questions which may be raised from a perusal of these lists.

I am, etc.,

ELIAS OWEN,

Efenechtyd Rectory, Ruthin.





OGAM-INScribed STONE AT LEWANNICK, CORNWALL.
Scale $\frac{1}{2}$ full size.

AN OGAM STONE AT LEWANNICK, IN CORNWALL.—It has always been a matter of some surprise that no monument bearing an Ogam inscription has hitherto been found in Cornwall, as in the adjoining county of Devon there are two; one from Fardel, now in the British Museum, and another from Buckland Monachorum, now at Tavistock.¹ I am therefore now extremely glad to be able to report the discovery of such a stone in the churchyard of Lewannick. This place is situated about five miles south-west of Launceston. The stone stands on the south side of the churchyard, near a large tree. No doubt the readers of this *Journal* will recollect that the church was destroyed by fire in January 1890, and although since its rebuilding it has been visited by numbers of people, it is remarkable that no person has observed the characters on the stone. Even the old sexton informed me that he had never heard that it had attracted the notice of anyone.

The stone is a rectangular block of granite, which is apparently deeply buried. The front is curved slightly inwards from top to bottom, and a portion of the back is split off in a similar manner to the "Other Half Stone" at St. Cleer,² and there is also a vertical fracture at the top. With the assistance of the sexton and a friend who accompanied me, I dug out the earth to a depth of 18 ins.—a matter of some difficulty, owing to the roots of the tree—but no further traces of Ogams were found lower than about 9 ins. below the surface. The height of the stone above the ground is 4 ft., the width varies from 1 ft. 3 ins. to 1 ft. 5 ins., the greatest width being in the middle. Where the size of the upper portion of the stone is reduced by the piece being broken off it is 5½ ins. thick; the remainder is 9 ins. thick.

In addition to the Ogams there is an inscription in Latin capitals which is quite distinct. It is cut in four horizontal lines, and reads thus :

INCEN
VI
MEM
ORIA

The Ogams are cut on the right-hand angle of the stone, and appear to read from the bottom upwards, as follows :

I G E N A V I M E M O R

This is merely a repetition of the Latin legend.³ There is no difficulty about the reading as far as AVI, but after this it becomes more obscure. The unusual position of the first two strokes of the final R

¹ Hübner's *Inscriptiones Britannæ Christianæ*, Nos. 24 and 25.

² *Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, vol. xlvi, p. 325.

³ The only differences being that the Ogam inscription begins IG instead of INC, the A of AVI is missing in the Latin version, and the final IA in the Ogams.

may be explained by the necessity of avoiding cutting the initial I of the Latin inscription. The remaining strokes slope the right way after this difficulty had been got over. It is to be hoped that Prof. Rhys will give some notes on the inscriptions in the October number of the *Journal*.

ARTHUR G. LANGDON.

[It is, perhaps, hardly necessary to point out that Mr. Langdon's discovery is the most important of its kind that has been made for many years.—ED.]

CELTIC BELL FROM LLANGYSTENYN.—There is a cast bronze bell in the Powys-land Museum to which considerable interest attaches, as it possesses all the typical features of an ancient Celtic bell. The



bell is represented in the above outline sketch, quarter-size. It is 8 in. high, inclusive of the stumps or remains of the handle, which is broken off, and which stumps rise about half an inch above the top of the bell. The body of the bell is thus $7\frac{1}{2}$ in. in height, and $5\frac{3}{4}$ in. by $5\frac{3}{8}$ in. across the mouth, tapering to 4 in. by $2\frac{3}{4}$ in. across the top. The thickness of the metal is about a quarter of an inch; but at the mouth there is a thickening in the form of a slight bevel of the outer edge. The stumps, or remains of the handle, rise almost straight from the two narrow sides of the bell.

The loop, represented in the sketch by dotted lines, is of iron, and is attached to the bell by an iron rod, which passes through the bell, and to which is hung an iron tongue. This and the iron loop are evidently modern additions.

There are two holes pierced through the top of the bell, by which probably the original clapper was hung. There is a crack running up about $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. from one of the narrow sides of the bottom of the bell. In other respects it seems in perfect condition. When struck by the tongue it produces a deep sound.

On the 27th of January 1891 this bell was offered for sale to the Secretary of the Powys-land Club. He replied stating what he was prepared to give on behalf of the Powys-land Museum. On the 14th of March his offer was accepted. The purchase-money was provided by a small subscription, to which our late much lamented President¹ (the Earl of Powis), Mr. A. C. Humphreys Owen, Mr. Richard Williams, Mr. Murray Brown, and Mr. M. C. Jones contributed.

The following letter from the Rev. Elias Owen gives an account of the finding of the bell :—

“Efenechtyd Rectory, Ruthin, 27th June 1891.

“My dear Sir,—You ask me to give you an account of the finding of Llangystenyn Bell. I have not much to say on the matter. On my first visit to the parish school, which is a new building, I was struck by the bell, which was suspended halfway up the gable end of the school, and from its appearance I knew that its date was from the earliest times of Christianity.

“Upon inquiry, the Rev. Rees Jones, then Curate of that parish, but at present Vicar of Llansantffraid, near Corwen, informed me that the bell at one time belonged to the old parish church, which has been supplanted by another building, and that on the erection of the school the old, unused bell was placed where I saw it, not for protection, but to avoid the expense of a new bell to call the children to school. The rope, however, broke, or otherwise there was a mishap, and consequently the bell was used only for a short time in its new home, and to this fact it owes its preservation.

“Knowing the value of this relic of former days, I there and then endeavoured to take such steps as would lead to its safe custody ; but the attempt failed, and ever since the erection of the school, some twelve years ago, the bell was uncared for, and ran great risks of being cracked, if not broken, by being made a target for the stones of the school-children.

“I heartily congratulate you on at last finding, in the Powys-land Museum at Welshpool, a fitting resting-place for this church bell, which carries the mind back upwards of a thousand years.

“I am, with kind regards, yours very truly,

“ELIAS OWEN.”

¹ The cheque was received from the Earl of Powis on the 16th of April, and on the same day was verbally acknowledged by the Secretary to his Lordship whilst in the train in Shrewsbury Station, just twenty-two days before his lamented death on the 8th of May.

The Vicar of the parish, the Rev. William Davies, wrote that he was not able to give much information respecting the old bell. He adds :

“Our Parish Clerk says that it was the church bell up to the rebuilding of the church in 1843. It was afterwards kept at the Rectory until it was put up as a school bell when the schoolroom was built—about fourteen years ago. If I can find any further facts concerning it I will let you know. It is hardly likely that it was originally a church bell, but a handbell for some special purpose. I thank you for the cheque.”

The Rev. Rees Jones, in reply to our inquiries, wrote the following letter, which gives the oral tradition, and although all his conclusions may not be concurred in, will afford a record, not without value, of what was said fifty years ago.

“Rectory, Carrog, Corwen, 7 July 1891.

“Dear Sir,—I heard, when I was curate of Llangystenyn, that the old church was the smallest and oldest in North Wales, giving accommodation to about forty. That was pulled down in 1843, and a much larger church built on the same foundation, with a new bell; the old bell was taken to the Rectory, from thence it was taken by me and hung up at the end of the new schoolroom. At that time there was a good deal of talk in the neighbourhood about the old church and the old bell; and the church and the bell, I was informed, were coeval, the foundation-stone of the former having been laid by a Welsh princess, who married one of the Constantines. So far I believe that oral tradition in this case, though not supported, so far as I know, by written evidence; it is quite reliable, but whether this Constantine was the son of the *great* first Christian Emperor, part of whose dominion was Great Britain, about the beginning of the fourth century, who supported his pretensions by many victories in Great Britain, is not at all certain.

“The general belief is that the old church was built about 338 A.D. If so, then the foundation stone was laid by the second Christian Emperor.

“The bell was quite sound when I first saw it. It got cracked by ill-usage at the school. It may be asked, and it ought to be asked, Why did a great Emperor alight on an outlandish locality like that at Llangystenyn? It is so now, but not so then, for just above the church there was then a very large monastery. The evidence in support of this theory or supposition is, I think, very strong.

“1. There are about thirty very old yew-trees in the wood just behind the church.

“2. A few hundred yards off there is a village called Mochdre (in full, Mynach-dre), *i.e.*, Monks' town. It is also said, I think on good ground, that just above Llangystenyn Church is the warmest little nook in North Wales in winter. If so, the monks would be there without fail, and the Emperor coming from abroad to this

country would of course pay them a visit, which, in my opinion, fully accounts for the fact that the church is called after his name.

"The bell was given by the Princess, not by the Emperor, so it is supposed.

"I shall be glad to answer any further questions.

"I remain, yours very truly,

(Signed) "REES JONES.

"M. C. Jones, Esq., Gungrog Hall."

In a subsequent letter of 10th July 1891, the Rev. Rees Jones further states:

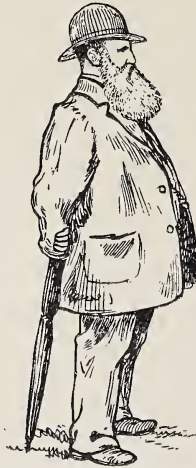
"I believe the tradition I have given you is of value, for I had it from old people, about the year 1874, who are now dead. . . . I would sooner accept simple oral tradition of any locality on a subject like this as truth, than any written statement, however old, for it would probably be varnished with a colour of the writer's choice. You can find out which of the Christian Emperors did marry a Welsh princess. There is the ruin of a military camp on the top of a hill (Dinas), within half-a-mile of the Church. . . . The old monastery on one side and the camp on the other are living monuments, bearing testimony to the truthfulness of the tradition that one of the great Constantines was there, and the church dedicated to him in memory of his visit."

(From a paper by Mr. M. C. Jones, F.S.A., in the *Montgomeryshire Collections*, vol. xxv, p. 327.)

A BRACE of literary treasures of the first importance to Welsh antiquaries were disposed of the other day in a London sale-room. They comprised no less a gem than an account of the lands and rents of the bishopric of St. David's, made in the year 1516, and entitled *The Black Booke of St. David's*. Not long ago inquiries were made in the columns of that indispensable compilation, *Bye-Gones*, by one of our most active Welsh antiquaries, about the existence of what seems to be this identical document, but with no result. We believe a large number of documents connected with the see of St. David's were handed over to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners upon the formation of that body, and that amongst them is a *compotus*, or account, of much the same character as that already described, but of an earlier date. The year 1516 comes within the episcopate of Bishop Edward Vaughan, of whom the historians of the see have found very little to relate. Accompanying the MS. of St. David's was a similar account of the possessions of the bishopric of St. Asaph. This bore no date, but was of the sixteenth century, and probably of about the same period as its fellow. In the same lot were two other MSS., apparently having no relation to Wales, one bearing a fine autograph signature of Henry VIII. The whole fell to the bid of the leviathan purchaser, Mr. Bernard Quaritch,

at the considerable figure of £28 10s. We understand Mr. Quaritch was acting for a client, and we are informed that the MSS. have already passed out of his possession. This is a fair specimen of the vicissitudes through which valuable MSS. frequently pass. They disappear for, perhaps, hundreds of years, until their very existence becomes unknown. They then make a hurried appearance in an auction-room, only to return to obscurity, unless they are so fortunate as to become the property of some public institution. We regret that this fate has not befallen these unique and important MSS., but we trust that their new place of abode will become known, and that their contents will soon be placed beyond possibility of loss by their reproduction through the permanent, though prosaic, medium of the printer. We present the idea to the consideration of the Cymmrodorion Records Committee.—*Western Mail*.

THE LATE PROFESSOR E. A. FREEMAN.—We publish, as the frontispiece to the present number of the *Journal*, a portrait of the late Professor E. A. Freeman, D.C.L., reproduced from an excellent photograph by Messrs. Elliott and Fry, who have very kindly given us permission to use it. The sketch below was taken by Mr. Worthington Smith during the Abergavenny meeting of the Cambrian Archæological Association. The artist has succeeded in catching the Professor's characteristic attitude when delivering one of his admirably lucid addresses on Gothic architecture.



The Historian of the Norman Conquest
at Castle Monmouthshire
W. J. Smith del Aug. 18. 1874

Archæologia Cambrensis.

FIFTH SERIES.—VOL. IX, NO. XXXVI.

OCTOBER 1892.

THE COURSE OF THE ROMAN ROAD FROM DEVA TO VARIS.

BY GEORGE W. SHRUBSOLE, ESQ., F.G.S.

(Read at Holywell, August 20, 1890.)

§ I.—*The Roman Road from Deva to Varis not yet Discovered. Cause of Failure.*

FOR fifty years or more the course of the Roman road between Deva and Varis has been diligently sought for by antiquaries, as the volumes of the *Archæologia Cambrensis* bear ample witness. So little success has rewarded the search that a writer, in 1854, expressed the opinion that in Flintshire all trace of the road in question was unknown.¹ Judge Wynne-Ffoulkes thus summarises the position: "The course of the Roman road from Chester to Bodfari has often occupied my thoughts, and in the localities intervening I have in vain sought for its trace: I say in vain, for I have found nothing positive among them. The first difficulty is the loss of its egress from Chester. I can find nothing which gives any clue to this; and next, we are not yet quite sure as to the site of Varis."²

Since this was written discoveries have been made in various parts of the county, which tend to throw

¹ *Arch. Cambrensis*, 1854, p. 189.

² *Ibid.*, p. 272.

some light on the subject in hand. To these points attention will be called. A retrospective view of the question is not without its advantages. Failures can teach lessons as well as success. A word, then, as to the probable cause of failure in the past to find traces of this road.

One main cause I take to be is that the physical features prevailing 1,800 years ago in this district, and along the supposed direction of the street, have not been duly estimated and allowed for; hence the road has been sought for in unlikely and impossible places. A little knowledge of the past physical geography of certain parts of Flintshire will at least tell us where not to look for the Roman street, and in that way limit the lines of our inquiry.

First of all let us think of the surroundings of Deva on the arrival of the Roman legions. The change in the physical condition of our country in the last 1,800 years has been very great; but nowhere more so than in the district around Chester, and particularly between it and the hill-country of Wales. Deva, in the early times of the Roman occupation, possessed a river whose tidal waters (a mile broad) flowed past its walls and gates, and offered a secure haven for the Roman navy. The bed of the river, over which passed the commerce with North Wales, now lies buried beneath 23 ft. of silt, as on the Roodeye for instance;¹ and the modern representative of the river is a canal cut on the Flintshire side, while on the Cheshire side we have Sealand with its thousands of acres of reclaimed land.

On the western bank of the river, seaward, its overflowing covered the country from Chester to Hawarden, converting it into an impassable marsh, eight or ten miles in length, which is now the site of a busy manufacturing population. Again, the drainage from the Welsh uplands settled down upon the low-lying ground which extends from Holt to Saltney, which became an

¹ *Trans. Chester Archæological Society*, N. S., vol. i, p. 77.

impassable morass, and treacherous for all kinds of traffic. This district is still liable to be flooded. It is scarcely necessary to add that this area has yielded no Roman remains.¹

Of Deva, then, it was true that on its south and west (the Welsh side, as we may term it) there was in existence a natural barrier of either marsh, or bog, or inundated land, connecting, in fact, the upper waters of the Dee, including the Alyn, with the more estuarine part of the river. This, while it afforded considerable immunity of attack to the garrison of Deva, rendered the approach into North Wales one of no ordinary difficulty. The difficulties attendant upon what we may term the direct route to North Wales had not been surmounted in the time of Edward I, for we find him in 1277 crossing the ford from Shotwick to the Flintshire side, to avoid the risk of the route over Saltney Marsh.²

Now it is important to notice that nearly all the suggested lines for the Roman street have been taken across some portion or other of the district under review, which we have endeavoured to show was, at the time of the Roman occupation, unfit for traffic. In addition to the physical obstacles in the neighbourhood of Deva, there were no less serious difficulties to be encountered after the hill-country had been reached. Several of the suggested routes take the direction of Mold and the valley between the Clwydian and Hal-kyn Range.³ The search here must be fruitless, since the condition of things hereabouts, in the past, altogether forbids the idea being entertained of the Roman street proceeding in this direction.

Let us glance at some of these difficulties. A river has to be forded, of which, as regards its size, the present river Alyn is but a shadow, whilst along the sides of the Silurian range of Moel Fammau bogs and morasses everywhere abounded. On the opposite side of

¹ *Arch. Camb.*, 1850, p. 11.

² Taylor's *Historic Notices of Flint*, p. 15.

³ *Arch. Camb.*, 1854, p. 272; 1850, p. 239.

the river, at all the lower levels, the kindlier soil of the mountain-limestone provided for the growth of an almost impenetrable forest of trees and undergrowth, with which mingled the fallen blocks of stone from the cliffs above ; similar to what may be seen along the picturesque banks of the Alyn to-day.

From this it is obvious that the obstacles to be encountered in the process of road-making in this valley were sufficient to forbid the attempt not only on the part of the Romans, but of succeeding races. As a matter of fact, it was not until the beginning of the present century that the state of the valley allowed of a highway passing through it. The route to Denbigh, prior to that time, passed over the north side of the Halkyn range.¹ The idea, therefore, that the Roman road passed over Saltney Marsh, and along the valley of the Alyn, or over the Clwydian Mountains, is not one that can be entertained.

It will be as well here to mention another source of error in the past in seeking for the line of the Roman road into North Wales. Following the precedent of Roman ways in England, in proceeding from point to point in a more or less direct course, the same principle has been applied to the North Wales route, as we have seen, with unfortunate results. Its physical features demanded special treatment. The Romans were not without the skilled engineers who could have constructed the road over a difficult country, but who wisely preferred a circuitous, if the more favourable route. Mr. Longueville Jones, many years ago, with remarkable prescience, called attention to this point as follows : "Roman roads in Wales deviated considerably from the rectilinear direction which they have been commonly asserted to maintain ; and their deviations are to be attributed to the physical difficulties and exigencies of the country, or to the state of the uncleared forests lying in their course, or to some cause of local attraction, as mines, ports, etc."²

¹ Paterson's *Road-Book*, ed. 1772.

² *Arch. Camb.*, 1854, p. 78.

§ II.—*Conjectured Routes for the Roman Road.*

It may be interesting here to mention some of the routes which have been suggested as the probable course of the Roman street :

1. From Chester by Saltney, Buckley, Mold, Moel Fenlli, and Bodvari.

2. From Chester by Saltney, Hawarden, Moel y Gaer, Moel y Crio, Caerwys, and Bodvari.

3. From Chester by Eaton, Pulford, Caergwrle, Mold, Moel Fenlli, and Bodvari.

4. From Chester by Eaton, Caergwrle, Treuddyn, Nerquis, Cilcaen, Nannerch, Caerwys, and Bodvari.¹

5. From Chester by Saltney, Hawarden, Northop, Moel y Gaer, Ysceiviog, and Denbigh.²

6. From Chester, Eccleston, Belgrave Avenue, Broughton, Cold Harbour, Mold, and Bodvari.³

The first five routes are taken from the pages of the *Archæologia Cambrensis*; the last is a suggestion of Mr. Thompson Watkin.⁴

This variety in the direction of the suggested routes (in some cases to the extent of several miles) is in part explained by the circumstance that two Roman streets started from Deva for North Wales: the one for Bala went by Caergwrle and Nant y Ffrith; the other, the *Itinerary* route to Caernarvon, or the coast-line, took the direction of Hawarden, Flint, and Caerwys, as I hope later on to show. Fragments of both of these roads have been found in various parts of Flintshire, and the attempt has been made to connect these parts of distinct roads, and regard them as one, the *Itinerary* route. The result is confusing. For the present our attention is limited to tracing the *Itinerary* route. It will be noticed that in each case the

¹ *Arch. Camb.*, 1854, pp. 273, 274.

² Williams' *Ancient and Modern Denbigh*, pp. 269, 270.

³ *Arch. Camb.*, 1850, p. 239.

⁴ *Roman Cheshire*, p. 54.

iter is made to terminate at Bodvari for Varis.¹ This I shall show is a wrong assignment.

In analysing these suggested routes more closely, it will be observed that all of them propose to take the road over ground which at some point or other is impracticable for the purpose. Another objection is that as regards distance they are all eight or ten miles less than the mileage mentioned in the *Itinerary*, namely thirty-two. In a straight line from Chester to Bodvari the distance is only twenty-one miles. Horsley proposed to consider it as twenty-two miles.² There are not wanting writers who, failing to find a road covering thirty-two miles of ground, are disposed to think that an error has in some way arisen, and that the thirty-two miles should be taken as intended for twenty-two.³ Seeing that in this case we know so little of the actual route followed, and that at present it rests wholly upon conjecture, I do not think that we are justified in regarding the mileage of the *Itinerary* as erroneous. I propose, then, to accept the *Itinerary* record as correct. By so doing we get additional evidence that the several suggested routes, from their shorter mileage, cannot be the course followed by the Roman road, and also that the Roman street between Deva and Varis was a circuitous one, covering a distance of thirty-two miles as against twenty-two for the more direct route. This I take to be an important factor to be borne in mind in this inquiry. We must dismiss previously suggested routes as too short, and look out for one ten miles longer in its course.

This fact, too, is suggestive, and points at once to the higher land skirting the coast-line as fulfilling the conditions of a longer route. A further *détour* inland would have encountered similar difficulties to those which beset the road by Mold.

¹ Or, to be more definite as to the site, it was the opinion of the late Mr. Aneurin Owen that Varis should be placed within the grounds of Pont Ruffydd, near Bodfari.

² Horsley, *Brit. Romana*, p. 456.

³ *Arch. Camb.*, 1850, pp. 238-9.

As to the existence of this road between Deva and Flint, Judge Wynne Ffoulkes expressed the opinion, but without indicating the route, that "there is every reason to think that there was a Roman road to Flint. This was their mineral line for the transport of lead, etc., produced along the coast."¹

§ III.—*The Course of the Roman Street influenced by the Lead-Mines in the Neighbourhood of Flint.*

The long distance of thirty-two miles between Deva and Varis calls for some remark. The distance is exceptional, and only occurs a few times in the British *Itinerary* record. We may be sure of this, that in a hilly country like Wales a journey of thirty-two miles would not be accomplished without sundry breaks or stations for shelter and refreshment; yet of such we have no record. There ought to be some traces of them as towns or fortified posts. Let us see. Turning to the anonymous geographer of Ravenna, he mentions after Deva, and before Conovium (Caer Hen), a town, Sandonium or Saudonium, which we may assume to have been near (possibly between) the two places. In trying to localise it we recall the fact that the Romans were in the habit of stamping pigs of lead with the name of the town or station at which it was produced. Thus, in an inscription on a pig from Derbyshire there occur the words MET. LVTVD, that is, from the mines of Lutudæ. In a similar way we have a pig of lead in Chester (assuredly from the Flintshire mines) on which the word SANDON is to be traced, and naturally enough we recall Sandonium as the proper rendering of the word.

The next thing is, can we find a lead-producing town as existing between Deva and Caer Hen? In seeking to localise Sandonium we are in no difficulty. There have been in the past lead-industries at Caergwrlé, Nant y Ffrith, and Minera; but only, as the remains

¹ Williams' *Ancient and Modern Denbigh*, p. 270.

show, on the most limited scale; while at Flint the remains of old furnaces have been found for a full mile along the shore,¹ together with hypocausts and innumerable Roman relics, all evidence of a considerable Roman settlement. Its former character is well expressed by the name for the locality, *Pentre-ffwrndan*, the hamlet of the burning furnace. Pigs of lead produced here also bore the stamp *DECEANGI* (the tribute of the *Ceangi*). These, it can be shown, were distributed both by sea and land. Twenty pigs were found, in Camden's time, on the banks of the Mersey, and lately in the old bed of the river Dee,² besides others in the Midlands. In this way we have not only recovered a Roman settlement of considerable size, but one busily engaged in the production of lead. Can we use this information in any way to assist in finding the Roman street? I think so.

Let us glance for a moment, and consider what was the imperial policy towards North Wales after the Romans became located at *Deva*. Unquestionably it was to obtain the possession of the known mineral wealth of the country, to which as conquerors they would claim to be entitled. There was gold to be had from *Merioneth*, copper from *Anglesey*, and, not least, the well-known lead deposits around *Flint*. *Pliny* tells us that at this time the supply of lead from the Spanish mines was falling short. Being near at hand we may believe that the production of lead, so essential in many ways to the building of the various *castra*, would early receive attention. One circumstance may be quoted as an instance of the eagerness of the Romans to possess a supply of lead. A pig of lead is extant from the British mines, with a stamp which synchronises with the year 49. It is important to bear in mind that *Claudius* invaded England in A.D. 43,

¹ Pennant's *Tours in Wales*, vol. i, pp. 68-77; Pennant's *History of Whiteford and Holywell*, p. 281; Taylor's *Historic Notices of Flint*, pp. 8, 9.

² *Trans. Chester Archaeological Society*, N. S., vol. i, p. 76.

so that within six years of his arrival the production of lead was in active progress in the west of England. In a similar way the lead mines of this district would early receive attention.

Now to develop the lead industry at Flint would necessitate a road being made, and in this way we come to the conclusion that the Roman street into North Wales would, in the first instance, be made to connect Flint with Deva ; and that this somewhat circuitous route, continued along lines which I shall proceed to mention, became the *Itinerary* road into North Wales. A much shorter route would have been through Northop, Halkyn, and Holywell, to Caerwys. On the other hand, the route by Flint traversed the ore-producing and lead-smelting districts, and brought the whole into direct communication with Deva ; the one road answering the double purpose of a trade as well as itinerary route.

In speaking of Flint, mention only has been made of lead, but cannel-coal, of a kind found at Flint, has freely occurred with Roman remains at Chester.¹ Limestone, if not fireclay, might be added to the list of economic commodities to be obtained hereabouts, all articles of prime importance in the construction of a station of the size of Deva ; so that, whatever other roads were made, the one which brought Flint and its industrial products into communication with Deva would be one of the first to be made.

§ IV.—*Course of the Roman Road to Varis.*
First Section, to Hawarden.

We have spoken of the physical difficulties in the way of road-making in this district. In Roman times the only possible exit out of Deva was on the south side. By carefully observing the physical features of the neighbourhood it will be found that over the twenty miles of what was then marsh and bog-land,

¹ *Trans. Chester Archæological Society*, N. S., vol. i, pp. 85, 86.

existing between the upper and lower waters of the Dee, there is a narrow ridge of elevated ground which, with a few breaks in its continuity, made an approach to the Welsh highlands from Deva practicable. It exists as a rib of sandstone-rock, which may be traced from Chester, and beyond, to Handbridge, through Eccleston to Eaton, where it disappears.

Now from the Hawarden range of hills we have a spur projecting into the plain beneath, by Broughton, Dodleston, and Pulford. It terminates about the latter place, a mile away from Eaton. Now if these two lines of higher ground, forming the watershed of the district, are connected, a possible way out of Deva, for the coast of North Wales, is at once established. This we shall see was done, and the route, which is in every sense a natural highway, became the Roman road to Varis.

Then, as showing the antiquity of this road, we have rude earthworks every few miles along its course. They occur at Eccleston, in Eaton Park, at Pulford, and the entrenchments (enclosing an acre of ground) at Dodleston. Broughton, too, along the line, is suggestive of a fortified spot. The same may be said of several moated houses ; and lastly, Hawarden (or, as I would suggest, Caerdin¹), for in the earthworks of the Castle there yet remain traces of earlier fortifications than the present.²

We need not stay to inquire minutely who originally fortified this way. The Romans probably, while Saxons, Danes, and Normans, subsequently modified the works to their own ideas of fortifications.

The first part of the Roman road along this line, that is from Chester to the Ford by Eaton (a distance of four miles), is well authenticated, and appears on the Ordnance Survey of the district. For hundreds of yards, at various points, its pavement has been exposed on the Eccleston Road, and the stones of the Ford may

¹ *Arch. Camb.*, 1854, p. 274.

² Clark's *Mediæval Military Architecture*, vol. ii, p. 97.

still be traced in the bed of the river at low water.¹ Its course was direct south from Chester to the present gardens of Eaton Hall, where it bifurcates.

Thus far we are on sure ground, for in addition to what has been stated as to finding the pavement, one of the fields which now form part of the Eaton grounds was, two hundred years ago, known as "Pavement Hey". Also, in excavating for the artificial lake in front of the Hall, there were discovered the piles which carried the street across the low-lying ground to the Ford over the river.² The street continued a straight course from Chester until it reached the gardens in front of the stately palace at Eaton, where it divided in an easterly and a westerly direction. To the east it crossed the lake for the Ford, making for South Wales by Malpas and Uriconium; and on the west it struck off for Poulton Hall, Pulford, Dodleston, and Hawarden. We may call this the Eaton junction for North and South Wales.

We now turn our attention to the road from this point to North Wales. We are able to connect Eaton with the natural highway from Hawarden to the Dee Ford, in the name of a field north of Belgrave Avenue, called "The Strettons".³ It points for Pulford, and as its name would imply, was the course of the street. Along this highway to Hawarden everything attests its Roman origin, the nature of its course, the rude earthworks, and the fact that as long as Saltney Marsh was impassable this road was a necessity, and the only road into North Wales from Chester.

The road bears evidence of continuous use from Roman times. It appears on our earliest road-map, and is still used. The road remains, but the traffic, owing to altered surroundings, has disappeared. The road traced out from Chester to Hawarden has the usual characteristics of a Roman street. In its course it describes a rude semicircle, which is done by a series of

¹ Ormerod's *History of Cheshire*, 2nd edition, p. 584.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Arch. Camb.*, 1850, p. 241.

straight lines, two or three miles long, diverging at certain angles. The weak point is, that the pavement has been found in only a few places. Still the wear and tear of eighteen hundred years may well have obliterated the material signs of the road without altogether destroying its course.

I have spoken of the directness of the road. There is one exception, namely at Hawarden, where the present high-road, for the space of a mile, diverges considerably to the right, and takes in the present village. It is obvious that the Roman street passed through the Hawarden grounds, by the Castle. Commencing at the Broughton Lodge entrance, its course may be traced for several hundred yards, pointing for the upper part of the village. The diversion of the road was clearly for the purpose of enclosing the present grounds of Hawarden Park. The same thing occurs, only on a smaller scale, at the village of Eccleston. The Roman street passed by the site of the present church, and through the Vicarage grounds. The diversion of the road in this case was, doubtless, due to the Roman street falling into disrepair. The vacant place was afterwards selected by the Saxons to build a church at Eccles-ton, or Ecclesia-ton.

§ V.—*Second Stage of the Road to Varis.
Hawarden to Flint.*

Hawarden, at the end of the first stage from Chester, must of necessity have been a place of some importance. An up-hill journey of thirteen miles from Deva would need a halting-place and something more. That it was fortified in some way is evident from its name, "Caer-din". Its elevated position, commanding both sides of the estuary of the Dee and the Cheshire plains, would commend it as an out-look station. It was the first of a series of Roman military posts established in North Wales. Besides, at this point the Roman street for Bala and Mid-Wales branched off, going by way of Caergwile, Nant-y-Ffrith, and Minera. It was the

Hawarden junction of the Roman street. In commencing the next section of the road its traces are not so obvious. Still there are such.

The present road leading out of the village of Hawarden continues a straight course for some distance, and we follow on. Soon after leaving it we pass another circular mound (Truman's Hill), once fortified. Continuing our progress we pass Ewloe Castle, and we halt.

The course of the Roman road, we endeavoured to show, would be in the direction of Flint. The question for the moment is, at what point is the descent from the higher ground to the coast-line to be made? The direction comes to us in a piece of paved road near to Kelsterton, pointing for Northop. Shortly after passing Northop Hall an old road is seen leading direct to Kelsterton. We proceed. Arrived at Kelsterton we are no longer on debatable ground, since between this and Greenfield, seven miles distant, in a straight line, we are in touch with Roman remains all along the course. The existence of a road between the points mentioned can scarcely be doubted. The relics suggest the line of the road, which is not far removed from the present highway, perhaps a little more inland.

Leaving Kelsterton (the home of the Keelsters, the boat-builders of Danish times), one mile further brings us to Croes Ati and Pentre-ffwrn-dan, which well describes the nature of the operations carried on by the Romans,—the hamlet of the burning furnace. The present extensive alkali works occupy in part the site of wide-spreading lead-smelting works, carried on with open hearths and the free use of wood and coal, so well described in the Welsh name for the place. Near the shore, by the rock, were a sheltered haven and wharf, from which the coal and lead and other merchandise produced here were shipped for various Roman settlements, and notably Deva.

Another mile along the coast-line, and we reach Flint, the Castron of *Domesday*. In Saxon times there

remained standing enough of the Roman camp for them to recognise it as a fortified spot, a *caestre*, or modernised Chester. The earthworks, even if nothing else, would be there. These, later on, Edward I repaired in his own fashion, erecting the Castle as an additional defence. Elsewhere¹ I have endeavoured to show that the name of this Roman town or station was Sandonium. Of its ancient importance there can be no doubt. Previously a British settlement, under the Romans it became a busy centre of the lead-producing industry, with smelting works on either side, and a shipping port close by. Being on the *Itinerary* road,—and, indeed, the only coast-road into North Wales,—the traffic would be considerable.

§ VI.—*Third Section of the Roman Road.*
Flint to Caerwys.

The further course of the Roman street, after leaving Flint, is not so apparent as in the earlier portions. In various ways, however, we get material guidance for our judgment. The configuration of the ground hereabouts is such as to point to the coast-line, for some miles, as the only likely route. For the next few miles we are not in much doubt, for at Greenfield (four miles distant), on the site of the Copper-Works of Messrs. Newton, Keats, and Co., in digging out foundations, a Roman hypocaust was discovered in the last century.² Whatever may have been the nature of the superstructure, we may take it to have been a building of some kind on the line of the street.

The destination of this street, it is well to remark, is Caernarvon, which from this point lies due west. Further progress in that direction, from our position at Greenfield, will, in a few miles, be impossible, for right ahead is the Morfa Rhuddlan with a seaward front of ten miles, extending inland six more. This was an impassable area in Roman times. The street must

¹ *Arch. Camb.*, 5th Ser., vol. viii (1891), p. 18.

² Pennant's *History of Whiteford and Holywell*, p. 207

compass this by a *détour* to the south, for, as Mr. Longueville Jones truly remarks, "The Morfa Rhuddlan, at its northern extremity, was, like the wild marsh beyond Marathon, in old Hellas, impassable to an invading army."¹

The important question is, from what point did the coast-line break away? The historian of this district of Holywell and Whiteford comes to our aid. Pennant tells us that prior to the introduction of the present highways the traffic from Caerwys to Flint came past Downing, Llanerch-y-mor, and Bagillt; the course, evidently, of a very ancient road,² and in a country which did not admit of a very great choice of roads, owing to the steep gradient of the hills. In that respect the route is well chosen. I see no objection to regarding it, in the main, as the course of the Roman street. It is a singular fact, and one that will guide us as to the probable course of the road, that Roman workings in mines and quarries, so far as they have come to light, evidenced by the finding of mining tools of various kinds, lead lamps, and coins, have all, or nearly all, occurred within the limits of Pennant's parish of Whiteford.³ It was, so far as we know, the district whence the bulk of the lead was raised, and in consequence just the place in which we should expect to find a road.

Now the ancient road we spoke of passes through the parish of Whiteford from north to south. On the extreme west side of the parish, six miles from the road in question, we find Roman workings at Meliden, and coins under the washing-floor of the Talar Goch Mine.⁴ We are able to connect this mineral district with the street, and ultimately with the smelting-works at Flint, by a fragment of the old road still existent, and known as the Sarn Hwlcin.⁵ It is in a true

¹ *Arch. Camb.*, 1854, p. 269.

² Pennant's *History of Whiteford and Holywell*, p. 53.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 122, 123.

⁴ *Trans. Chester Archæological Society*, N. S., vol. i, pp. 136-7.

⁵ *Arch. Camb.*, 1854, p. 84.

line between the Mines and the junction with the street at Whiteford. We also get evidence of an ancient road along this track from the *Itinerary* of Giraldus in the twelfth century.¹ In company with Archbishop Baldwin he followed a road from Basingwerk, by Flint, Ewloe, Hawarden, to Chester. So far, at least, along the line of the Roman street.

Such are the circumstances which we have to guide us in recovering the direction of the lost street. In addition to what has been advanced, there is along the route the recurrence of earth-mounds, tumuli, and works of uncertain age, pointing to the struggles of the early races. These indications are very apparent as we approach Caerwys, in the numerous scattered tumuli.

§ VII.—*Varis of the Itinerary identified with Caerwys rather than Bodfari.*

The site of Varis is a very important question. In discussing the claims of the two localities, Bodfari and Caerwys, it should be borne in mind that Varis was an *Itinerary* station, distant from Deva thirty-two miles. That its position, considering its isolation and the character of the surrounding tribes, would be well chosen is certain. It would possess natural capabilities for defence, as Deva, or Segontium. The site of Bodfari has none of these requisites. The suggestion came originally from Camden, owing to a similarity in the sound of the last syllable of the word, Bod-vari. It is the view usually taken by antiquaries. All the suggested routes I have mentioned adopt it. Its situation, in a valley dominated by surrounding hills, altogether unfits it for the purpose of a Roman station. Nothing that has been found there justifies the claim in the least degree. Pennant says that he could find no trace of Roman occupation.² Bodvari is but the mansion of Varis, and would point to the possible ex-

¹ Hoare's *Giraldus*, vol. ii, p. 399.

² Pennant's *Tours in Wales*, vol. ii, p. 139.

istence on the spot of a Roman villa, not very far away from the line of the Roman street.

While the claims of Bodvari to the *Itinerary* station have been over-estimated, those of Caerwys have been strangely overlooked. We find Caerwys mentioned in *Domesday*, showing that eight hundred years ago it had the repute of having been a fortified site or *caer*. Nor are we altogether in doubt as to the origin of the *caer*. Its situation is characteristic of a Roman rather than British fortification. The latter sought the mountain top, as in so many instances in the Vale of Clwyd; the other preferred a level but commanding site, with a natural defence of rock or river on one or more of the sides of the *castrum*. The town of Caerwys is protected on its east and west flank by a rugged ravine, affording considerable security. It is worthy of notice that the streets of Caerwys run north and south, as in the case of Chester and other Roman *castra*. A mile or so north of the town is a straight piece of road pointing for the main thoroughfare. It is in the right direction for the *Itinerary* road which I have mentioned as coming from Flint. Besides, the town itself has the impress remaining of a Roman station, in the direction of its streets, parallel with the probable outer entrenchments, and at right angles with one another. These features, it is but right to remark, have, in the case of Flint, been used as an argument for an Edwardian date.¹ But the same argument has been used, and used successfully I think, in the case of Chester, to prove its Roman origin.

Seeing, then, that the four stations in and around Flintshire—Chester, Caergwrle, Caerwys, and Flint—have all certain distinguishing features in common in the arrangement of their streets, and that of the most important, viz., Chester, it can be shown that the arrangement of its streets agrees with the Roman *via*, there is, at any rate, a presumption that they are all Roman stations.

¹ *Arch. Camb.*, 1854, p. 272.

There is something suggestive in the name Caerwys. The second syllable of the word is obscure. Its meaning is a *crux* with Welsh scholars. The suggestion I have to make is that in "wys" we have the shortened form of Varis. Caer-varis would naturally, in time, resolve itself into Caerwys. If I am correct in this surmise, this strengthens the evidence that Caerwys is the Varis of the *Itinerary* route.

Again, as to the comparative absence of Roman remains found at Caerwys. It is true that the record is scanty, but it is yet sufficient for proving the existence on the spot of a Roman settlement. As to absence of walls, this fact is not surprising seeing that so many other Roman defensive works have perished. When the old Roman camp became an inhabited town there would be a free use of old material, which would go a long way towards accounting for the disappearance of Roman walls and buildings.

In the matter of distance (a crucial item), Caerwys exactly fulfils the mileage of the *Itinerary*, viz., thirty-two miles; that is, twenty-nine or twenty-nine and a half English miles, equivalent to thirty-two Roman miles. Now following the route taken from Chester, at times along the Roman street, at others over ancient roads with equally old fortifications, or along a line for miles strewn with Roman relics, and finally emerging into the street leading to Caerwys, we have, all along the course, been more or less in touch with objects of contemporary age. I therefore, on these grounds, regard Caerwys as the Varis of the *Itinerary*.

SOME MONUMENTAL EFFIGIES IN WALES.

BY STEPHEN W. WILLIAMS, ESQ., F.S.A.

(Continued from p. 230.)

ONE of the interesting effigies noted and drawn at the Holywell Meeting is in Caerwys Church; it lies in an arched recess, moulded and cusped, enriched with foliage, and of the Decorated period, beneath a window in the south side of the chancel.

It is the effigy of a lady, deeply incised upon a thick slab, which was probably used as the lid of a coffin. The figure is carved in low relief, and is much mutilated; enough, however, of the details of the costume can be made out to indicate that it was intended to represent a nun, and apparently of the Cistercian or Gilbertine Order. The head rests on a tasselled cushion within a trefoiled recess; the hair is hidden by a broad linen band, frontlet, or forehead cloth, and on the effigy itself may be traced the long veil, or hood, falling over the shoulders. The hands are folded in prayer over the breast; the robe, which is worn over an undergarment fitting closely to the arms, has long, falling sleeves, somewhat voluminous, and is bound round the waist with a plain girdle.

There is a local tradition that this is the monument of the daughter of David, the last Prince of Wales, who was consigned to the nunnery of Sempringham after the execution of her father at Shrewsbury. At Sempringham it is supposed that she lived and died, and that after her death her body was brought to Caerwys for burial in the parish and church which had been part of the private patrimony of her father and his brother, Prince Llewelyn ap Gruffydd.

The two sons of Prince David, Llewelyn and Owen, were transferred from the custody of the Chief Justice

of Chester to the care of Peter de la Mare, Constable of Bristol Castle. There is an account, on the same record, of the charge for their joint maintenance at 3*d.* a day each, from the feast of St. James, in the twelfth year of Edward I, to that of St. Michael, the year following, being £10 15*s.*, together with £2 3*s.* 4*d.* which he had expended for them in robes, linen, shoes, and other necessaries, besides £10 15*s.* paid for wages of three servants guarding them, at 2*d.* per day each.¹

In the two following years there are similar entries for their maintenance, but on the Liberate Roll of the 16th Edward I, the tenor of the contents is changed, and we are informed that on the feast of St. Gregory the Pope, Llewelyn died in his confinement. The notices thenceforward continue, in the former manner, relative to the weekly expenses of the surviving brother's incarceration. We have the cost of his maintenance given with the same regularity, and that of his clothing, even down to 1*s.* for a pair of shoes.² He outlived in prison his first keeper, and was still detained in solitary restraint, probably till death itself ended a state of misery even less supportable than this final termination of his sufferings. It is certain that he languished in his dungeon for one and twenty years, as a memorandum on the Clause Rolls, after this lapse of time (33 Edward I) orders the Constable of Bristol Castle "to keep Owen, son of David ap Griffith, more secure for the future, and to cause a wood cage, bound with iron, to be made to put him in at night".

We may hope that the fate of the sister was a happier one, and that her life passed peacefully and quietly with the good nuns of Sempringham in the cloistered seclusion of the Monastery, and that when she died they carried her to Caerwys and buried her in the land of her forefathers.

The three following effigies, at Wrexham, Llanarmon in Yale, and Gresford, were not among those seen

¹ Liberate Roll, 13 Edward I.

² *Ibid.*, 20 Edward I.



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EFFICY
WREXHAM CH.

during the Holywell Meeting, but as they were drawn by Mr. W. G. Smith at that time, and the plates have been prepared, they may now be conveniently described in this paper, more especially as they present very marked peculiarities, are all about the same period and type, and are not improbably the work of the same sculptor.

The Wrexham effigy is mentioned by Pennant in his *Tours in Wales* (vol. i, p. 309, ed. 1810). He says of Wrexham Church: "The tombs are numerous. The most antient is of a knight all armed; at his feet is a dog, and beyond that a dragon, whose tail terminates in a serpent's head. On his shield is a lion rampant; around, an inscription, but all I could make out was 'Hic jacet ap Howell'. This had been dug up, and is now reared against the steeple."

There is a foot-note in Pennant's work referring to the above paragraph, thus: "The letters are REH (or R) EVEHIRE."

There is a reference to the effigy in the report of the Wrexham Meeting in 1874, but it is there incorrectly described as a "coffin-lid". The report is as follows: "There are several monuments of interest. The oldest is a coffin-lid, probably of the same time as those in Gresford Church. All that can be made out is HIC JACET AP HOWELL. The shield bears a lion rampant. This was found in the churchyard."

Archdeacon Thomas, in his *History of the Diocese of St. Asaph*, p. 852, much more fully describes the effigy. He says: "Above the door of the porch at the west end of the north aisle there is also still standing an image of the Virgin and Child, and inside the porch two memorials of the long past, a monumental effigy of a mailed knight, whose shield is distinguished by a lion rampant, with the legend, *Hic jacet Keneverike ap Hovel*." In a foot-note Archdeacon Thomas says: "Is this the one noticed by John Erddig of Erddig, Esquire, in 1660, in the churchyard wall, with the lion rampant sculptured on his shield, and the inscription, *Hic jacet*

Cynwrig ap Rhiwallon, and of which Pennant notes that it had been dug up and is now reared against the steeple? ”¹

It seems pretty clear that the words “Hic jacet” occupied the entire space at the top of the shield, and there would appear to be room for two letters in addition to those which Pennant reads as REHEVEHIRE, but which Archdeacon Thomas makes out to be KENEVERIKE. It is most probable that the correct reading is that given by the Archdeacon, “Hic jacet Keneverike (or *Cynwrig*) ap Howel.”

This effigy is also illustrated in Lloyd Williams and Underwood’s *Village Churches of Denbighshire*. Their drawing, however, is not of much assistance, except that they indicate very conventionally that those portions of the figure left bare by Mr. W. G. Smith in his drawing are of mail. This was probably the case, but the action of the weather upon the stone has caused much of the detail to disappear.

There is one peculiarity about this monument—that the figure is represented bare-headed. This is unusual in the monumental effigies of persons of knightly rank at the period to which this belongs, viz., the latter part of the thirteenth or early in the fourteenth century.

¹ In *Arch. Camb.*, vol. v, 4th Series, p. 137, “History of Lordship of Maelor Gymraeg”, by J. Y. W. Lloyd, it is stated, “Cynwrig ab Rhiwallon had great possessions in Maelor Saesneg and Whittington. From him the township of Cristionydd Cynwrig takes its name. He bore, *ermine*, a lion rampant *sable*, armed and langued *gules*, and was slain in battle against the Saxons and Danes, who had invaded Maelor in A.D. 1073, and was buried in Wrexham Church. The stone lid of his coffin, on which he was represented recumbent, in armour, with a lion rampant on his shield, and the inscription, ‘Hic jacet Cynwrig ap Rhiwallon’, round the verge, was seen affixed to the churchyard-wall at Wrexham by Mr. John Erddig of Erddig.” (Salesbury MSS. at Plas Madog.)

As the effigy now in Wrexham Church cannot be earlier than the latter part of the thirteenth, and very probably belongs to the commencement of the fourteenth century, it certainly could not be intended for that of Cynwrig ap Rhiwallon, who was slain in 1073; but it is not in the least unlikely that the person commemorated may have been one of his descendants.—S. W. W.

Armed knights at this period are almost invariably represented with the head covered by a hood of mail worn over a steel skull-cap, or wearing a *cervilière*, as in the Llanarmon effigy ; an instance of which is also seen in the incised coffin-lid of Johan le Botiler, in St. Bride's Church, Glamorganshire. (See *Arch. Camb.*, 5th Ser., vol vii, p. 195.)

The feet resting on the dragon, with a snake's head at the end of the tail, is also a peculiar but not unusual adjunct to monuments of this period. The Botiler effigy referred to above has a dragon under the feet, and around the Cantilupe shrine in Hereford Cathedral are fifteen figures of Knights Templars in various attitudes, placed in the recesses of a foliated arcade. All are fully armed, with surcoat, shield, and sword, and tread on various monsters, among which are dragons, and swine muzzled. The date of the Cantilupe shrine is 1286.

The sword is held in the right hand, and though the upper half of the blade is represented sheathed, the sheath is not continuous, and the naked blade is seen piercing the dragon's mouth.

The rings round the ankles may be an exaggerated representation of the spur-straps. It is difficult to see what else they can be, unless they are intended for fetters, and to show that the person commemorated by this monument died a prisoner of war. Over the hauberk of mail, which does not appear below the knee, is worn a surcoat, the skirt of which is quilted in narrow, vertical folds ; the portion covering the body is quilted horizontally.

The shield is heater-shaped, and suspended over the shoulders by a broad strap or guige ; it is carried across the body, covering the left arm. The hand appears to be clothed in gloves of chain mail, with divided fingers, and is grasping what seems to be a portion of the straps of the shield, in this respect resembling the effigy of Sir Robert de Shurland, in Minster Church, in the Isle of Sheppy.

About the middle of the thirteenth century the fingers of the mail gloves were occasionally separated; and in 1296 we see in the monument of William de Valence, in Westminster Abbey, a very fine specimen of the mail glove with separated fingers. Both the de Shurland and de Valence effigies are illustrated in Stothard's *Monumental Effigies*. (See 1st ed., pp. 38 and 41.)

The inscription surrounding the shield is peculiarly a Welsh characteristic. It is seen not only upon most of the Welsh effigies, but more especially so upon the sepulchral slabs of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, of which so many examples have been illustrated in the pages of *Arch. Camb.*, the majority of them having swords and shields with inscriptions round the edge.

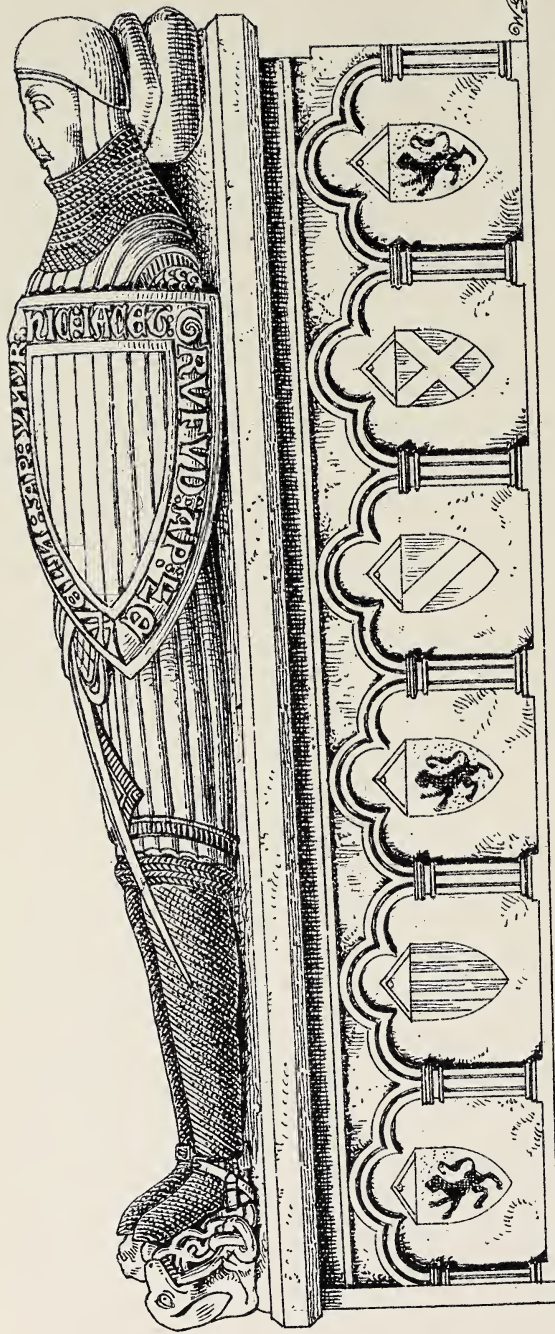
The custom of carving the sword and shield upon the tombstone is mentioned in a poem of Gutto r' Glyn, previously referred to, which was written between the years 1430 and 1460, where, speaking of Valle Crucis Abbey, he says :

“Where Adda Vras is, who belongs to heaven above,
May I lie in the same bed, in Yale,
With my buckler and sharp sword
Carved as arms on my tombstone.”¹

The late Mr. Bloxham refers to this effigy in the “Proceedings” of the British Archæological Association as follows: “The armour was not well defined, but there was a shield in front of the body. This was peculiar to the effigies of the Welsh knights; for whilst effigies of English knights of the fourteenth century had the shield on the left of the body, the Welsh effigies generally had it in front.” He ascribed this monument to the early part of the fourteenth century.

In the south aisle of the Church of Llanarmon in Yale, is one of the most interesting monumental effigies in Wales. It is in excellent preservation, and retains

¹ *Arch. Camb.*, vol. i, 1846, p. 26.



SCALE OF 12 9 6 3 0 1 2 3 4 5 FEET
 INCHES

EFFIGY LLANARMON IN YALE

much of its original colouring. It has been very carefully drawn by Mr. W. G. Smith, and the two plates which illustrate it give us an admirable idea of the martial equipment of a Welsh knight about the end of the thirteenth century.

Archdeacon Thomas, in his *History of the Diocese of St. Asaph*, p. 621, says : " In the middle of the twelfth century, Bodidris was the residence of Llewelyn ap Ynyr, who so distinguished himself at the battle of Crogen, in 1163, that he received from his prince a grant of Gelligynan also. The effigy of his son, Gruffydd ap Llewelyn, who was buried at Valle Crucis, was transferred at the dissolution to this church, where it now lies against the south wall. Probably it was he who made a grant of lands here to that Abbey, as we early find among the lands belonging to that establishment the names Alchun (Alt-Kymbyd) Butugre, and Creaccauc vel Kreugnant (Creigiog).¹

In 1247 a controversy arose between the sons of Ieuf ap Meredydd and the Abbot and Convent, concerning the boundaries of their respective lands between "Crevauc" and "Alhdkenbeber", which was settled by the abbey paying five pounds, and the other resigning all further rights.²

In *Arch. Camb.*, 3rd Ser., vol. v, pp. 202-207, there is a paper upon "Llanarmon in Yale, Denbighshire", and an engraving of this effigy by Le Keux, after a drawing by the Rev. H. Longueville Jones. This illustration, though very clear and accurate so far as it goes, is not so correct in details as the drawings by Mr. W. G. Smith. The paper states that "Llewelyn ab Ynyr, for his services at the battle of Crogen, had a grant of the township of Gelligynan, and on the same occasion new armorial bearings were conferred upon him. For, while in conversation after the battle, with

¹ *Llyfr Coch*, 65B.

² See deed in *Arch. Camb.*, 1848, p. 228, copied by W. W. E. Wynne, Esq., from the Hengwrt MSS. A Llewelyn ap Ynyr of Yale is one of the witnesses.

his Prince, he accidentally drew his left hand, smeared with gore, across his sword, and impressed the marks of his four bloody fingers on the blade, which the Prince observing, ordained that he should carry similar marks on his shield, viz., ‘Paly of eight *argent* and *gules*.’” This story is also told in the *History of Powys Fadog*, by J. Y. W. Lloyd (vol. i, p. 152), as follows : “ Amongst those who greatly distinguished themselves at the battle of Crogen was Ynyr, the son of Hywel ab Moreuddig ab Sanddef Hardd, or the Handsome, lord of Mostyn, or Burton and Llai, in the Parish of Gresford, and as a reward for his bravery his Prince, Gruffudd Maelawr, drew his four bloody fingers over the shield of Ynyr from top to bottom, and told him to bear that as his coat-of-arms, which thus became *argent*, four pales *gules*, and at the same time conferred upon him the township of Gelli Gynan in Iâl. This coat was afterwards changed to *gules*, three pales *or*, in a border of the second, charged with eight ogresses.”

We thus see that there is a considerable discrepancy between the various accounts and name of the man who fought at the battle of Crogen, and the error appears to have arisen in assuming that the name of the man who fought at Crogen was “Llewelyn ap Ynyr”, whereas he was really, according to the *History of Powys Fadog*, “Ynyr ab Hywel”. It would, therefore, in all probability be his son, Llewelyn ab Ynyr, who witnessed the Valle Crucis deed in 1247, and the effigy now in Llanarmon Church is no doubt that of the grandson of the hero of Crogen, and he is thereon called Gruffydd ap Llewelyn ap Ynyr, and this would bring him down to the period with which his armour corresponds, viz., late in the thirteenth or early in the fourteenth century.

Gruffydd ap Llewelyn ap Ynyr was a brother of Llewelyn who was Bishop of St. Asaph from 1293-1314, commonly called Leoline de Bromfield, and also called Llewelyn ap Ynyr. This again enables us to fix approximately the date of his monument. He was

evidently contemporary with his brother the Bishop, and the sculptor has attempted to depict the features of a man of advanced years.

With reference to the question whether effigies on tombs are to be considered as portraits, it seems certain that this was the case with the regal monuments, and also all of the tombs of important personages after the thirteenth century; but before that time the effigies were, as a rule, rude attempts at portraiture, but that each was intended as a likeness of the person represented cannot be denied; and in this case there can be little doubt that the effigy represents the features of Gruffydd ap Llewelyn, and most certainly his dress and armour when fully equipped for war.

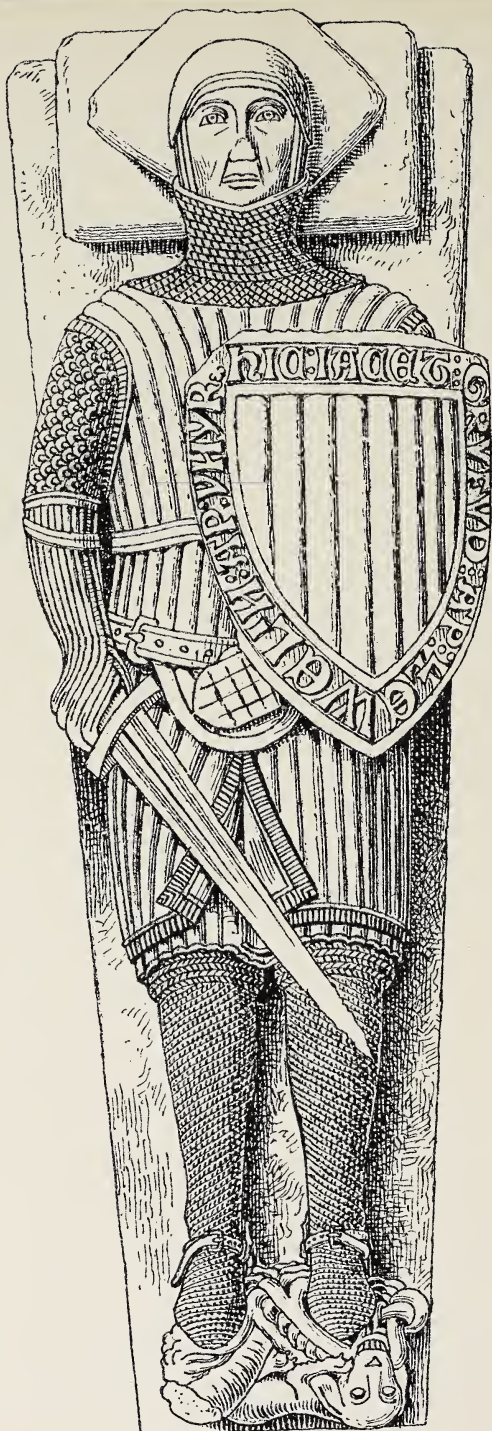
With reference to the tinctures on the shield, they are *or* and *gules*, and this corresponds with the escutcheon on the tomb of Sir Evan Lloyd of Bodidris, in Llanarmon Church. He was a direct descendant of Gruffydd ap Llewelyn ap Ynyr, and it therefore appears that unless the colouring was altered at a later period, and after the re-erection of the tomb on its removal from Valle Crucis Abbey, Gruffydd ap Llewelyn's shield was not *argent* and *gules*, but *or* and *gules*.¹

¹ Pennant gives *or* and *gules* as the arms of "*Llewelyn ap Ynyr ap Howel ap Moriddig ap Sandde Hardd*, who by his valour in battle obtained from his Prince, *Gryffydd ap Madoc*, lord of *Dinas Bran*, this honourable distinction." Pennant also says that at the same time he bestowed on him the township of *Gellygynan*, and in a footnote states, "by grant dated in Yale on the vigil of St. Egidius in 1256 (Salesbury Pedigree, p. 51)." Surely there must be some confusion of dates here, for the battle of Crogen was in 1163. Pennant is also responsible for stating that the effigy of the knight at Llanarmon is the *son* of the man who had the grant of arms and the township of Gelligynan from Gryffydd ap Madoc, lord of Dinas Bran, who died in 1190. The arms of Gryffydd ap Madoc, as illustrated in the *History of Powys Fadog*, are, *argent*, four pales *gules*, a lion salient *sable*. It would, therefore, appear that the paly of *argent* and *gules* were borne on the shield of the Princes of Powys Fadog, and that the grant to Ynyr ap Howel, after the battle of Crogen, was a right to bear the same arms as on the shield of his Prince, but of different tinctures. But is not this Welsh heraldry as doubtful as some of the pedigrees? And may not grave doubts

In the first volume of *Arch. Camb.*, 1846, p. 25, in an article on Valle Crucis Abbey, by the Rev. John Williams (Ab Ithel), it is stated that "some time in the thirteenth century Gruffydd ap Llewelyn ap Ynyr of Yale, and brother of Llewelyn Bishop of St. Asaph, having been engaged in the Holy War, died, and was interred in this Abbey; but at the dissolution his monumental effigy was removed to the Church of Llanarmon in Yale" (*Gwyliedydd*, vol. ix, p. 258). This fact of his having served as a soldier in the Crusades is also mentioned in the paper before referred to in *Arch. Camb.*, 3rd Ser., vol. v, p. 203, thus: "The local tradition about whom is that, having gone to Palestine during the Crusades, and when engaged in storming a town he had his feet on the walls, when he was terribly wounded in the abdomen, and his bowels fell down between his legs. He still continued to fight for some time, when a dog seized his bowels and began to devour them. At the foot of this tomb, as will be noticed further on, this incident is supposed to be commemorated. A similar tradition exists with regard to other knights of the Middle Ages. In the Church of Overton-Longueville, Huntingdonshire, there is a recumbent figure of a knight of the Longueville family (who were settled there soon after the Conquest), with a dog at his feet, devouring his bowels. It would be worth while to collect instances of this truly sanguinary incident from other localities."

We have in this effigy several peculiarities which render it an exceedingly interesting example of knightly equipment about the end of the thirteenth century. We get first of all the *cervillière*, or skull-cap, of plate, worn over the coif of mail, in this respect much resembling another Welsh effigy, that of Sir John de Botiler, in St. Bride's Church, Glamorganshire, illus-

arise as to the authenticity of that story of the battle of Crogen? The one only fact upon which we can rely is that the Gruffydd ap Llewelyn of the effigy is the son of the Llewelyn ap Ynyr who signed the Valle Crucis document in 1247.—S. W. W.



W.S.

EFFIGY LLANARMON IN YALE

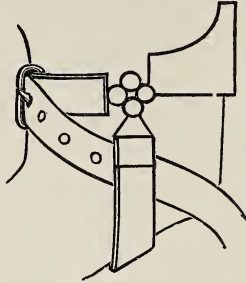
trated in *Arch Camb.*, vol. vii, 5th Ser., p. 195. The coif of mail is seen at the side of the face, and there is apparently a close-fitting cap of some material, probably leather or quilted linen, intended to protect the head from the pressure of the mail, and worn under the coif; this can be seen on the forehead, and the cervillière fits down over it.

Round the neck is seen a standard of mail, which appears by the drawing to rest upon and over the camail. The quilted surcoat is bound round the waist by a strap or girdle, the fastening of which is hid by the shield, which is borne in front of the body, as in the Wrexham effigy. The surcoat, or gambeson, is strongly quilted in broad parallel folds. It is ornamented with fringe round the opening for the arms, the edge of the skirt, and where it opens in front; the skirts are thrown back to show the undergarment, or haketon, and this peculiarity is observed in the Wrexham and Gresford effigies, and is evidence in support of the theory that these three effigies were probably the work of the same artist, though not perhaps all of the same date.

In this instance, as in the Wrexham effigy, no trace is seen of the hauberk of mail below the skirt of the surcoat, but we have sleeves of what Sir Samuel Rush Meyrick calls "rustred armour", and which was probably of leather, and of Eastern origin, and not unlikely to have been derived from the Saracens.

The haketon is very clearly shown below the skirt of the surcoat, and beneath that is seen the mail protection for the knees, which appears to be padded out in some way, and in appearance is very much like an effigy in Whitworth Churchyard, Durham, illustrated in Stothard's *Monumental Effigies*, where the same fulness round the knee is represented, and supported by straps. These do not appear in the Llanarmon effigy; they are possibly hidden by the folding over of the padded portion protecting the knee. The legs and feet are encased in tight-fitting chausses of mail; the spurs are

probably of the early form, a single goad, such as is illustrated in vol. ii, p. 377, Fairholt's *Costume in England*, edited by the Hon. H. A. Dillon,¹ F.S.A.



Detail of Spur-Straps, Llanarmon in Yale Effigy.

The gauntlets are apparently of mail, and are fastened just below the elbow by means of a strap or band of some kind. They cover the forearm to above the elbow, and pass under the sleeve of the hauberk, which is fringed.

This type of gauntlet is seen in the Gresford effigy, and is evidently a local peculiarity, as I am not aware of any English effigy that displays this particular form of covering for the hands and forearm.

The shield, which is large and incurved, is somewhat of the heater shape, but much larger than the shields of a similar period shown upon English effigies and brasses. The size of the shield may perhaps have been somewhat exaggerated by the sculptor, so as to enable him to introduce the inscription round the verge, which, as before stated, is also a characteristic of Welsh effigies and sepulchral slabs.

The sword-belt, which is worn low down over the hips, is broad and well defined, with a bold, plain buckle. The pendent portion has a shield-like ornament at the end, and it is looped up, the end falling in front. We get this terminal metal ornament to the sword-belt in effigies of the thirteenth and fourteenth

¹ Now Viscount Dillon.

centuries. (See the effigies, illustrated in Stothard, of Ed. Crouchback, Earl of Lancaster, 1296, and Sir Richard Whatton, before referred to, 1320.)

The buff leather waist-belts worn by some of the Breton peasants have these broad, shield-like terminals of pierced brass laid over scarlet cloth. They are possibly a survival among that peculiarly conservative people of a fashion dating from mediæval times.

The sword, which is grasped in the right hand, and is carried across the lower part of the body, pointing downwards, is a somewhat clumsy-looking weapon, with plain pommel, straight guard, slightly curved, very broad in the blade near the hilt, double-edged, and somewhat short, apparently not more than 30 inches long from pommel to point.

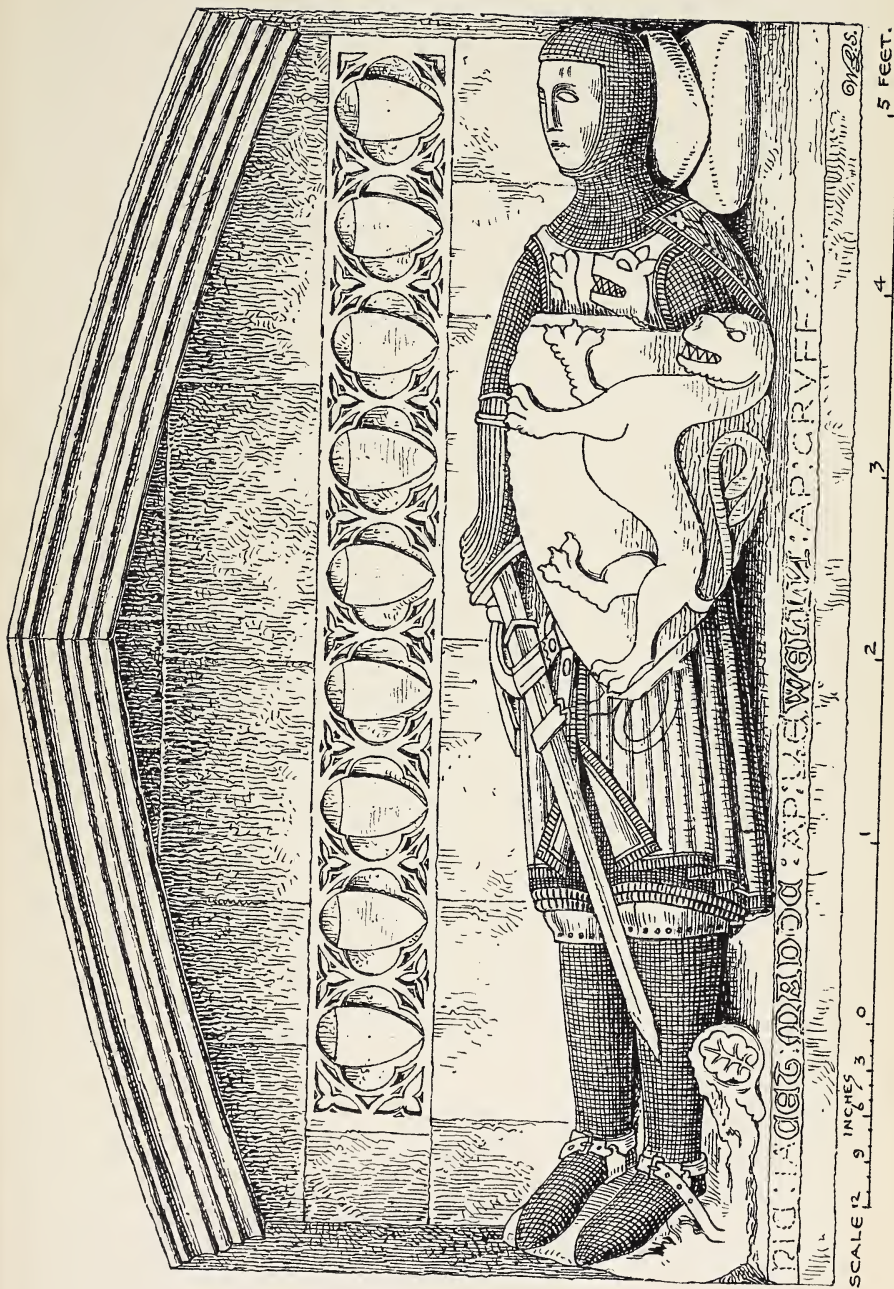
In the paper upon Llanarmon in Yale, in vol. v, 3rd Ser., *Arch. Camb.*, p. 205, it is stated that this effigy "is painted all over by modern hands, and no value can therefore be attached to the colours." I am somewhat inclined to differ with this theory, as I am assured by Mr. W. G. Smith, who made the drawings, that the painting is by no means modern, and if a restoration, it has evidently been copied from the original colouring. It may have been restored when the effigy was removed from Valle Crucis Abbey to Llanarmon Church, at the time of the dissolution of the Monastery.

The colouring of the shield is, according to the correct heraldic tinctures, *or* and *gules*. The surcoat also corresponds with the colours upon the shield, the fringe being gold, the cervillière or skull-cap is gilded, the mail painted black, the straps of the spurs, the sword-belt, and girdle of the surcoat, are likewise black, the buckles gilded. The gambeson or haketon is coloured a blue green. Stothard shows a similar colour upon the same garment on a monumental effigy in Ifield Church, Sussex, ascribed to Sir John de Ifield, who died in 1317; and black straps appear on his illustration of the effigy of William Longespee, Earl of Salisbury.

Therefore, even supposing that the painting of the effigy was restored at the period suggested, it is more than probable that the original colouring was followed, and consequently we have here depicted the dress and equipment in their proper colours, as well as a fair representation of the decidedly Welsh type of features of Gruffydd ap Llewelyn ap Ynyr as he appeared in his warlike panoply at the close of the thirteenth century.

In the Report of the Wrexham Meeting in 1874, published in *Arch. Camb.* (4th Ser., vol. v, p. 356), "Gresford Church", there are two monuments referred to which must have been removed from the earlier church and replaced in the present one, which dates from the latter part of the fifteenth century. The one in the north aisle is an incised coffin-lid, with the inscription, HIC JACET GRONOW AP JORWERTH AP DAFYDD. This has been well illustrated in Lloyd Williams and Underwood's *Village Churches of Denbighshire*. On the south side is the one here illustrated, and described in the report as an effigy of a knight in *studded* armour. It is thus referred to by Pennant in *Tours in Wales* (vol. i, p. 408, ed. 1810): "In the *north* aisle is a tomb of a warrior armed in mail. On his shield is a lion rampant, and round the verge, HIC JACET MADOC. AP. LLEWELLIN. AP. GRUFF. He was of *Eyton, Erlisham, and Rhiwabon*. He was buried on *St. Mathias's* day, 1331."

This knight was a descendant of Madog ap Gruffydd Maelawr, Prince of Powys Fadog, who died in the year 1236, and was buried at Valle Crucis Abbey. He succeeded his father, Gruffydd ap Madog Maelawr, who died in 1190. He had four sons: (1) Gruffydd, his successor; (2) Maredudd, lord of Rhiwabon, where he resided at a place subsequently called Watstay, and now Wynnstay. He married the Princess Catherine, daughter of Gruffydd ap Llewelyn ap Jorwerth Drwyn Dwn, Prince of Wales, by whom he had issue an only daughter and heiress, Angharad, who married Llewelyn



SCALE IN INCHES 0 1 2 3 4 5 FEET.

EFFICY · GRESFORD CH .

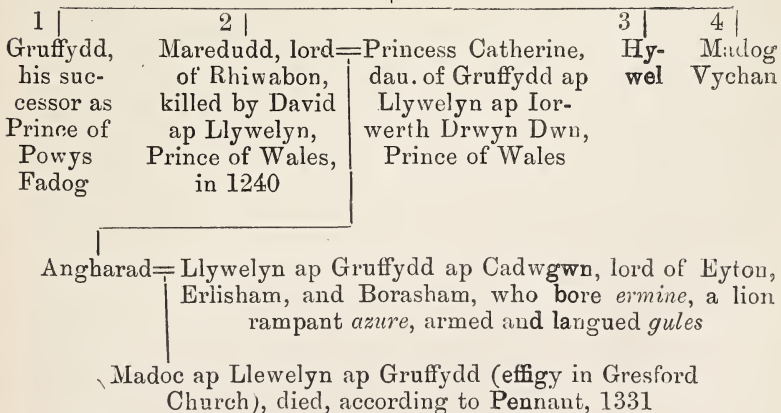
ap Gruffydd ap Cadwgn, lord of Eyton, Erlisham, and Borasham, whose armorial bearings were *ermine*, a lion rampant *azure*, armed and langued *gules*. She had the landed estate of Rhiwabon and the ancient camp of Y Gaerddin for her portion, which through her came into the Eyton family. Maredudd ap Madog was killed by David ap Llewelyn, Prince of Wales, in 1240. (See *History of Powys Fadog*, vol. i, p. 163.)

Therefore we can, without much difficulty, identify the knight represented in the Gresford effigy as the son of Llewelyn ap Gruffydd ap Cadwgn and Angharad, the daughter and heiress of Maredudd ap Madoc; his shield being charged the same as his father's, with a lion rampant.

It is not unlikely that to this family also belongs the knight whose effigy at Wrexham Church has already been described; he also bears a lion rampant on his shield, and was probably some connection of Llewelyn ap Gruffydd ap Cadwgn, and at the same time not improbably a descendant of Cynwrig ap Rhiwallon, lord of Maelor Gymraeg from 1040-73.

The pedigree of the Gresford knight, Madoc ap Llewelyn ap Gruffydd, would be as follows:

Madog ap Gruffydd Maelawr, Prince of Powys Fadog,
and founder of Valle Crucis Abbey, died 1236,
had issue



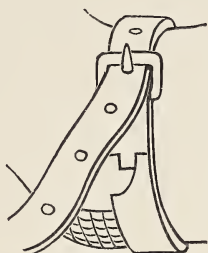
It would appear from the above that the date 1331, fixed by Pennant, is rather late for the death of Madoc ap Llewelyn ap Gruffydd if he was the grandson of Maredudd, who was killed by David ap Llewelyn in 1240. It is, of course, not impossible under the circumstances, and we shall see, upon carefully working out the details of this effigy, how far the armour and other characteristics of the monument bear out the date assigned by Pennant.

This knight is represented wearing those curious appendages, worn upon the shoulders, called *ailettes*, and which prevailed from the latter part of the reign of Edward I to that of Edward III. The only *effigies* in England on which they are seen are at Ash-by-Sandwich, Clehonger, and Great Tew; to this list may be added Gresford. The Clehonger effigy is illustrated in Hollis's *Monumental Effigies*, and is dated 1330, and therefore this confirms Pennant's date for the Gresford monument.

On the other hand, there is an absence of defences of plate for the arms and legs, which in 1331 had become general in England. The only protection, except mail, visible upon the Gresford effigy are the genouillières, or coverings for the knees, which, with the elbow-caps, were the first commencement of the coverings of plates with which knights ultimately encased themselves. The character of these correspond with those upon the effigy of Sir Robert du Bois in Fersfield Church, Norfolk, who died in 1311, and his effigy represents him entirely clad in mail, with the exception that he wears on his head a bascinet, and has genouillières which may have been of plate or *cuir bouilli*. The hands are covered with gauntlets apparently of leather. We have, therefore, an English effigy, dated as late as 1311, in some respects resembling the Gresford one.

It will be observed that the gauntlets in the Gresford effigy resemble those worn by the Llanarmon knight, and correspond therewith in every particular. He wears a hauberk of mail, the sleeves of which terminate at the

elbow ; the skirt is seen below the folds of the surcoat ; the head is covered with a hood or coif of mail ; and in this case the skull-cap is worn underneath, and not above, as in the Llanarmon and St. Bride's examples. The legs and feet are covered with chausses of mail, the spur-straps are long. It cannot be seen whether the spurs have goads or rowels—both were in fashion at this period.



Detail of Spur-Strap, Gresford Effigy.

The edge of the skirt of the haketon is seen below the mail hauberk, and over all he wears a surcoat, embroidered with his armorial bearings, corresponding with the device upon his shield, a lion rampant ; the same heraldic device is seen on the shoulder, upon the ailette. The surcoat and ailettes are ornamented with fringe. The sword, which is shown partially withdrawn from the scabbard, is not so broad in the blade near the hilt as in the Llanarmon effigy, and is of the ordinary type of that period, but certainly shorter than is generally depicted on English effigies. The slings and sword-belt are seen, and a portion of the guige, or strap for slinging the shield over the shoulder, is seen depending below it. The shield, though similar in type, is not so large as in the Llanarmon example. It is carried, however, over the left arm, well covering the body.

It will be noticed that the skirts of the surcoat are, in this case, thrown back, and that there are several other details of the sculpture which resemble both the Wrexham and Llanarmon figures. We may, therefore, suppose that these are the work of some local

artist at Wrexham or Chester, and it would be very interesting if these effigies in North Wales could be compared with any that are still in existence in Cheshire. If they do not resemble any Cheshire examples, the probability would be that they were sculptured at Wrexham, which then, as now, was one of the most important towns in North Wales.

Mr. Edward Owen has kindly furnished me with an extract from the *Wrexham Guardian* for September 1874, which gives particulars of two monumental effigies in Ruabon Churchyard. At that time they attracted the attention of Mr. Bloxam, and he wrote as follows: "Two sepulchral effigies, probably removed from the church, lying under two stone slabs of the seventeenth century, resting on imposts placed at each corner as supporters. Of these effigies, which are of the fourteenth century, I had but a momentary glance, hoping at some future time to revisit Ruabon. They are of a type to be found in Wales, but not in England. One is particularly interesting. It is the effigy of a knight with his sword by his side, his shield in front, and his right hand grasping a spear or lance. I have met with no English sepulchral effigy thus represented." Archdeacon Thomas, in his *History of the Diocese of St. Asaph*, says that "these early sepulchral effigies were removed from the church, and represent members of the family of Lloyd of Plas Madoc and of Clochfaen in Llangwrig." He also states that there were considerable alterations made in the church in 1772. It is, therefore, not improbable that they were then removed into the churchyard.

Pennant does not refer to them, but he mentions an altar-tomb erected in memory of John ap Elis Eyton, who died in 1526, and of his wife, Elizabeth Calfley, who died in 1524. This tomb, upon which are the recumbent effigies of the persons commemorated, is still in fair preservation, and will, we hope, with the effigies in the churchyard, be illustrated and described at some future time in the pages of *Archæologia Cambrensis*.

NOTES ON THE NORTHOP EFFIGIES.

BY EDWARD OWEN, ESQ.

THE following notes comprise the small modicum of information which I have been able to collect in identification of the personages whose monuments are described by Mr. S. W. Williams in the last Number of the Journal.

ITHEL VYCHAN AP BLEDDYN VYCHAN.

It has been usual to identify this personage with an individual of the same name and lineage, who is said to have flourished in the opening years of the fourteenth century. "I suspect him", says Pennant, "to have been a captain of Englefield, mentioned in the pedigree of the Humphreyses of Bodlwyddan, and said to have been interred here (Northop)."¹

Pennant's allusion is, no doubt, to Ithel Anwyl ap Bleddyn ap Ithel Llwyd ap Ithel Gam, who is stated to have lived at Ewloe Castle, and to have been "one of the captains of Englefield, to keep the English from invading them; he layeth buried in Northop, in a monument vixit temp. Ed. I."²

Another pedigree in the same collection³ describes him thus: "Ithel Anwell, sonne of Blethyn ap Ithael Lloyd dwelt and was lord of Northope in Flintshire, and lived 29th of Ed. I, lieth buried in a toumbe at Northop Church; he⁶² did homage to Edward prince of Wales at Chester, 29th Ed. I."

Lewis Dwnn describes the captain of Englefield, who lived at Ewloe Castle and performed the act of homage to the Prince of Wales, as Ithel Vychan ap Ithel Llwyd, etc.⁴

¹ *Tours*, 1st ed., p. 84.

² *Harl.* 1977. One of the Randle Holmes MSS.

³ *Harl.* 1969.

⁴ *Heraldic Visitations*, ii, 325.

Setting aside the difficulty occasioned by the knocking out of Bleddyn altogether, it is not internally improbable that Ithel Anwyl may also have been known as Ithel Vychan (the lesser or junior). However that may be, they figure in the pedigrees as totally distinct individuals proceeding from the same stock, but having quite a different set of descendants.

A notice of this tomb and of its occupant will be found in a History of the parish of Northop which appeared in the *Cambrian Quarterly Magazine*, vol. iv, p. 190. Had brief extracts from that paper been annexed to the programme of the Holywell excursions, visitors to Northop would have been in a position to verify several of the statements made therein, and would not have forgotten to inquire the fate of some stained glass bearing the date 1520, or to look up an interesting distich which gives the date of the erection of the church tower.

In the *Arch. Camb.* (3rd Series, vol. ix, p. 244) is an "Account of an Ancient Seal found near St. Beuno's College, St. Asaph", accompanied by a drawing. The inscription upon the seal is said to run, in an unabbreviated form, "Sigillum Ithel filii Kun[v]rici"; and to assist in the identification of the individual thus commemorated two pedigrees are appended, the first of Ithel ap Cynwrig of Sychdin, the second of Ithel Fychan ap Cynwrig of Northop and Ysceifog. In the former of these, the source of which is not indicated, Ithel Anwyl and Ithel Vychan appear contemporaneously, the latter (styled "of Mostyn") being made the son of Ithel Llwyd, and nephew of Ithel Anwyl.

The Holmes collection of pedigrees in the British Museum contains the most contradictory notices respecting this great Flintshire family, from all of which it is clear that the pedigree makers have fallen into a fine state of confusion by reason of the embarrassing number of Ithels with which they had to deal. Any attempt to reconcile their discrepancies would probably

make the confusion worse confounded, in the absence of trustworthy corroboration.

It having been demonstrated by Mr. S. W. Williams that the effigy under consideration cannot possibly be that of the Ithel Vychan (whether he be identical with Ithel Anwyl or not) who is said to have done homage in 1301, the question arises, What Ithel Vychan is there to whom it can with greater propriety be ascribed? The entries upon the Chancery Rolls of the Palatinate of Chester afford us data wherewith to give a tolerably confident reply. It is more than probable that the Ithel Vychan ap Bleddyn Vychan who lies in Northop Church was the Ithel ap Bleddyn who, we learn from those unimpeachable official sources, in 1354 received a lease of the sea-coal mine in the land held by him of the Earl of Chester in Ewloe, for one year, at a rent of four marks. At the expiration of that period the lease was continued to him for a further term of six years, and again prolonged for a second term of six years.

In 1354 Ithel, with Kynwrig his brother, and two others, were recognizances for the payment of twenty marks, the amount of fine levied upon him and Gwenhonor (Gwenhwyfar), his wife, for the acquisition and alienation of ten carucates of land in Northope, Wepir, etc., without permission. In 1366 he was a witness to a grant by the Prince of Wales to the Dean and Chapter of St. Asaph. In 1386 the troubles of Richard II with his barons having entered on an acute stage, Ithel ap Bleddyn received an order of protection on his departure towards the coast, there to stay for the defence of the realm. The danger probably was of a descent upon the Castle of Flint, then under the charge of Roger de Cogshall. In this royal order Ithel is described as "of Wepir", a township of the parish of Northop, where his patrimonial property appears to have lain.¹ He seems to have died before December

¹ In a lease (dated 12 April 1335) to another Ithel of the bailiwick of the ringild (*sic*), in the commote of Colshull, our Ithel's

1395, at which date we find the enrolment of a lease to John de Ewloe of the coal-mines in Ewloe, "excepting those which the heirs of Ithel ap Blethin held on their own land." Mr. Davies-Cooke has observed¹ that Ithel was living in 1329, which is not only possible, but highly probable, but at that date he could have been no more than a youth.²

No other Ithel ap Bleddyn occupied an important place in Flintshire society during the latter half of the fourteenth century. The period assigned by Mr. S. W. Williams to the individual represented upon the monument in Northop Church, solely from the peculiarities of the dress and armour, synchronises so closely with the official notices of the similarly named personage whose career we have followed, that there can be no doubt we are justified in regarding them as one and the same. The Rolls of the Chancery of Chester do not commence at a sufficiently early date to allow of our tracing him in a direct line to Ithel Anwyl.

A few words may be said upon the heraldry. The arms ascribed by some heralds to Ithel Vychan of Northop are a lion passant *argent* on a field *azure*; by others the lion is described as statant. Ithel Anwyl's arms are said to have been party per pale *gules* and *or*, two lions rampant addorsed, counterchanged, in pale a sword pointed downwards, *argent*.

As Mr. Williams has already observed, these do not

father, Blethin "of Wepre", appears as a surety. Blethin also held a lease of the coal-mines of Ewloe, and it was, no doubt, at his death continued to his son, as above detailed.

¹ *Arch. Camb.*, 5th Series, vol. viii, p. 5.

² If Mr. Cooke is correct in saying (*loc. cit.*) that Ithel's grandfather, Ithel Anwyl, "was son of an older Bleddyn", the pedigree-makers have fallen into another blunder, for they generally agree in making Ithel Anwyl's father to have been Ithel Gam ap Meredydd. Harl. 1977 (which was probably Mr. Cooke's authority) certainly styles Ithel Anwyl "sonne of Blethyn", but again makes the latter "son of Ithel Lloyd", which will not do at all. An Ithel ap Bleddyn is mentioned in an inquisition of 4th Edward II (*Arch. Camb.*, 5th Ser., vol. viii, p. 171), and may be identical with our Ithel, though the date is somewhat opposed to this suggestion.

accord with the armorial bearings of the Ithel Vychan ap Bleddyn Vychan who is represented upon the Northop monument. I believe the heraldry of the *arwyddfeyrdd* to be as defective as their genealogies. This Ithel Vychan bears a coat which, strange to say, is not given in any of the ordinary lists of Welsh armorial insignia. The bearings of the principal families of North Wales are roughly delineated in *Harl.* 1976 ; but a cross paté, charged in the centre with a mullet between four others (the unmistakable escutcheon of one of the first men of Flintshire), is nowhere figured therein. But in a pedigree in *Harl.* 1971 (folio 171, pencil folio 169) we come across the identical blazon correctly ascribed to Ithel Vychan "buried in Northop". His father Bleddyn is here described as "of Edenhout and Llandirne", and his grandfather is given as another Bleddyn ; so that we find ourselves in the region of uncertainties once more.

A connection may exist between the arms of Ithel Vychan and those ascribed to the highly mythical personage Edwin ap Goronwy, Prince of Tegeingl, from whom he is said to have descended ; Edwin's bearings being gravely given as a cross flory engrailed *sable*, inter four Cornish choughs. Of course this eponymous chieftain never possessed such a coat of arms ; but it may point to the fact that Ithel Vychan, buried at Northop, was a descendant of one of the noblest Flintshire families, and preserved the general character of his ancestor's coat, with differences adopted by a descending branch.

There is no historic evidence that any formal act of homage to Edward I, or to his son the Prince of Wales, was performed at Chester in the twenty-ninth year of that monarch, A.D. 1301. It was certainly not done to the King in person, for he paid his last visit to that city in 1295 ; and the Prince of Wales is not recorded to have been there in 1301, or to have delegated to commissioners the duty of receiving the homage of his Welsh feudatories. One of the MSS. at the Record

Office¹ contains submissions, homages, etc., relating to Wales during the reigns of Henry III and Edward I, but it is silent upon the supposed ceremony at Chester. The circumstance is mentioned in Powell's *History of Wales* (ed. 1584), but it now seems to be impossible to discover the ultimate authority.

LLEUCU——AND THE UNNAMED KNIGHT.

The identification of this lady, of whom our positive knowledge is confined to a few letters of her Christian name, and to the period of her decease, is a much more difficult matter. The tomb of Ithel Vychan ap Bleddyn bears an easily recognised name, though his date has to be approximated by study of his dress and armour. That of the lady, while giving only the less identifiable portion of her name, preserves the date of her death. It is curious that this date, about which there should apparently never have been any doubt, has been incorrectly given by all who have hitherto referred to this monument. Pennant, in the first edition of the *Tours*, started with 1402, which is so manifestly wrong that it is difficult to conceive he could ever have examined the tomb for himself, unless it be regarded as a printer's error. In the second edition (published after Pennant's death) the date is altered to 1482. Sometimes the one and sometimes the other of these equally incorrect dates has been adopted by every successive writer who has had occasion to mention the effigy, according to the edition of Pennant which he happened to have at hand. The writer of the Report of the Holywell Meeting read MCCCCLXXII, being one c too many, and one x too few,—an instance of the difficulty of reading an inscription directly off the stone without the aid of a rubbing. The letters UC U, though not shown in the drawing, are still traceable, and in

¹ The *Registrum Munimentorum*, Liber A.

Pennant's time the name LLEUCU may have been complete. He suggests the lady may have been a celebrated beauty of the period (1402 or 1482), and has connected her with a pretty story told of a lady beloved of a bard, who, coming to visit her after long absence, finds her laid in her coffin. The bard fainted at the sight, revived, and composed an elegy on his lost love.

Now, the Lleucu whose untimely end forms the subject of the *Cywydd* by Llywelyn Goch ab Meurig Hen is said to have dwelt at Pennal, near Aberdovey, and the bard himself is supposed to have died before the close of the fourteenth century. Llywelyn Goch's poem is printed in *Y Brython*, vol. ii, p. 170. It is there compared with Burns' "Highland Mary", and though unequal to that beautiful lyric, is a decidedly fine poem.

The writer in that publication, after pointing out that the lady who was the subject of the *Cywydd* was probably not the same as she who lay buried at Northop, asserts the latter to have been the daughter of Rhys ap Robert of Cinmael, and wife of Hywel ap Tudur of Llys, in the parish of Northop, one of the ancestors of the Mostyn family, and, according to the pedigrees, grandson to the Ithel Fychan who is said to have lived at Ewloe Castle in 1301, and whom we have already met with.

That Rhys ap Rotpert of Cinmael (*hodie* Kimmael) had a daughter named Lleucu, and that this daughter was married to Hywel ap Tudur, is agreed to by all the Welsh genealogists; though whether this agreement proceeds from each copying the other, or all a single original, it is impossible to say. However, the suggestion that the lady of the effigy was the daughter of Rhys ap Rotpert, and wife of Hywel ap Tudur, is feasible, and best accords with the circumstances; but it is manifest that where we have neither family name nor armorial bearing it is impossible to fix with any certainty upon a particular lady possess-

ing the very common Flintshire name of Lleucu (*Anglice* Lucy).

Harl. 1977 states that Rhys of Cynmael was living in 1400, which, if correct, would show that his daughter had predeceased him about twenty years, and that she must have died at a comparatively early age. If Rhys did survive to the opening years of the fifteenth century he had probably attained to a great age, for the last time I meet with his name in the Chester Recognizance Rolls is in 1360.¹

Howel ap Tudur, her husband, was kinsman to Ithel Vychan ap Bleddyn Vychan, and was associated with him in the defence of the Flintshire coast in 1386. In 1390 he became Sheriff of the county. He joined Owain Glyndwr in his revolt against Henry IV, but in 1399 petitioned for pardon, and no doubt obtained it. In 1403 he was one of a commission appointed to watch for the expected appearance of the Glyndwr rebels on the borders of Flintshire, and this is the last we hear of him. He is said to have left an only daughter, Angharad, who married (1), Ieuan Vychan of Pengwern, near Llangollen, from whom are the Mostyns of Mostyn Hall; and (2), Edmund Stanley, second son of Sir William Stanley of Hooton.

There is, however, another lady of this name, Lleucu, to whom the monument at Northop may, from her social position, belong.

Mr. Williams, from the peculiarities of the armour, suggests a connection between the unnamed knight and Ithel Vychan ap Bleddyn Vychan. This would be strengthened if we could regard the lady Lleucu as wife to the former (instead of to Howel ap Tudur, as we have already conjectured). Now, a Lleucu is said to have been the wife of Ithel ap Cynwrig ap Bleddyn,

¹ In 1357 he obtained a lease from the Black Prince of the office of Constable of the Castle and Sheriff of the town of Flint for three years, on the condition that he appointed an Englishman as his deputy, the Prince not wishing the Castle to be kept by any other than an Englishman.

the last named being the father of the Ithel Fychan of effigy No. 3 (*ante*, p. 223). Ithel ap Bleddyn would, therefore, be the uncle of our unnamed knight, and the lady, Lleucu would be his wife. The main drawback to this scheme, which would closely connect the commemorated individuals, is that it seems to throw the Lleucu who married Ithel, grandson of Bleddyn (living in 1341), rather too late to be the same as the Lleucu buried at Northop in 1372.

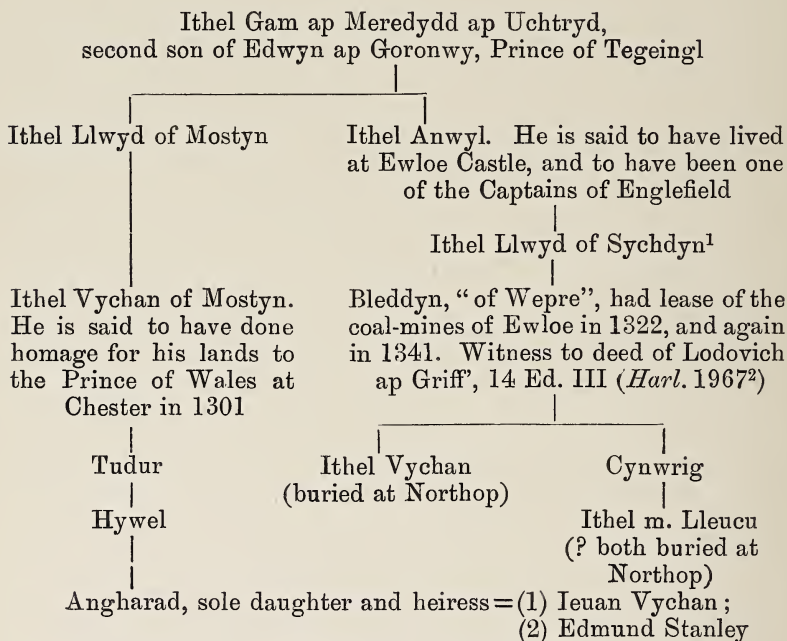
As usual, the pedigrees are not in accord as to her ancestors, some describing her as the daughter of Jevan ap Grono ap Madoc, etc. (*Harl.* 1969), while others give the descent as Ior[werth] ap Grono ap Madoc (*Harl.* 1977); and in this latter pedigree the name "Grono" has either been struck out, and "Gruff" inserted, or it is intended to insert another generation by adding Gruff" either before or after Grono; which, it would puzzle even Randle Holmes himself to tell.

Now, in the Chancery Rolls of Chester, under date 1454, we come upon an important entry. In that year Richard Castell, Clerk of the Signet, received a grant for life of the Hospital or Chantry of St. John, in Rotheland, and all the lands and tenements which were of Lleug' vx' Ior' ap Gruff' Vychan in the towns of Whitfordllan, Tresdyneowen, Whitford-Garn, Tre-frabot, Merton, and Cayrus, in the King's hands by the alienation of the same to Res ap Ithel ap Grono by the said Lleug', etc. In 1467 the same estates were bestowed upon a Res ap Llywelyn ap Res, and re-granted to him in 1474; while in 1484, and again in 1503, they were given to his son David.

Why Lleucu alienated her lands to Rees ap Ithel ap Grono it is impossible to tell, but it must have been long before the grant to Richard Castell in 1454. There may have been earlier grants, now lost, or the lands may have been kept in hand by the royal officials. The wide area over which her possessions were spread bespeak the wealth and importance of this lady, and she would, when gathered to her fathers, be appropriately

laid in the principal church of the district. It will be observed that she is not described as "wife"; but if she survived her husband, she would be known only by her family name. I can trace no other of the name who occupied so important a position in the neighbourhood of Northop, though it was very common throughout the county.

The following table will serve to denote the relationship between the individuals whom we have been discussing.



¹ Ithel Llwyd of Sychdyn is omitted from some of the pedigrees. He may have been confounded with his kinsman, Ithel Llwyd of Mostyn.

² The Chester Recognizance Rolls, under date 1341, have an entry of a recognizance entered into by Master Lodewicus ap Griff, parson of the church of Hopeston.

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES

TO

“THE LATER HISTORY OF THE PARISH OF
BANGOR IS Y COED.”

BY ALFRED NEOBARD PALMER, ESQ.

SOME deeds I have recently seen enable me to add a few details to the article on “The Later History of the Parish of Bangor is y Coed” which appeared in the Number of *Archæologia Cambrensis* for April 1890.

First of all, I have ascertained which one of the several estates called “Parkey”, in Pickhill, was occupied by the well-known Captain Taylor and his descendants. It was that estate, the house of which lies close to the Clywedog, which is called on the 6-inch Ordnance Map “Parkey Hall”, and which now belongs to Sir Robert A. Cunliffe. The house is a half-timbered and still picturesque one, but evidently smaller than it formerly was.

The area of the estate appears originally to have been about 81 acres. John Taylor, gent. (probably the grandson of Capt. Taylor), owned it certainly in 1732, and apparently also in 1749. At any rate, in the last named year John Taylor sold a portion of his estate (comprised in three fields containing 20 acres) to John Puleston, Esq., of Pickhill Hall. On a part of these fields was subsequently built what is now called “Parkey Lodge”, which in 1764 the Rev. Philip Puleston of Worthenbury (son of John Puleston, Esq.) sold to Thomas Boycott, Esq., of Rudge, the house being then in the tenure of Roger Finch, Esq., who is mentioned in the above-named article. Mr. Boycott (the baptism of two of whose children is recorded in the article) himself afterwards lived there; but in 1789 sold the house and land to Owen Dodd, gent., of Sutton Green, who occupied them for a time, but after-

wards let them to Lieutenant Johnson Butler Carruthers,¹ who was living there in 1801 and 1805. Mr. Dodd mortgaged and remortgaged Parkey Lodge, and in 1818 Edward Edwards, Esq. (of whom hereafter), then of Parkey Hall, bought it of the mortgagee, and it was again attached, with the land belonging to it, to the old estate of the Taylors, now, however, dispossessed of it.

The Edward Edwards, Esq., who has just been mentioned was living in 1811, and again afterwards, at the important house called "Y Fron", in the parish of Bangor. He, perhaps, acquired The Fron through being related to the "Weston Hassall of y^e Vron gent.", who was buried at Bangor, Feb. 24, 173^o₁. At any rate one of Mr. Edwards' sons was called John Hassall Edwards. Mr. Edward Edwards had by his wife Margaretta (daughter of Mr. John Dod), who died July 15, 1821 or 1820, and was buried at Duddleston, a son, Edward Edwards the younger; another son, John Hassall Edwards, who died, without offspring, Dec. 5, 1803; and a daughter, Caroline, who married, at Farn-don, Nov. 29, 1821, Samuel Thomas, yeoman, of Sutton Green; which latter died June 6, 1826, aged thirty-two, and was buried at Marchwiel.

On his daughter Caroline Mr. Edwards settled the sum of £800. He had also another, and I think an elder daughter, Margaretta Anne, who married Lawrence Brock Hollinshead, Esq., and who died April 24, 1808, leaving one son, Edward Brock Hollinshead, Esq. Edward Edwards, the younger, was buried at Overton in May 1816, and his father, who long survived him, at Duddleston, Feb. 19, 1841, being in the Register there described as "of Gadlas", and as aged eighty-two. In June 1827 his daughter, Mrs. Caroline Thomas,

¹ Of Lient. Carruthers I have said something in my *History of the Town of Wrexham, its Streets, Houses, Fields, and Families*, p. 108. His children,—Johnson, born Feb. 15, 1801; Elizabeth, born March 10, 1803; and Edwin Montague, were baptized at Bangor on the same day, June 9, 1805.

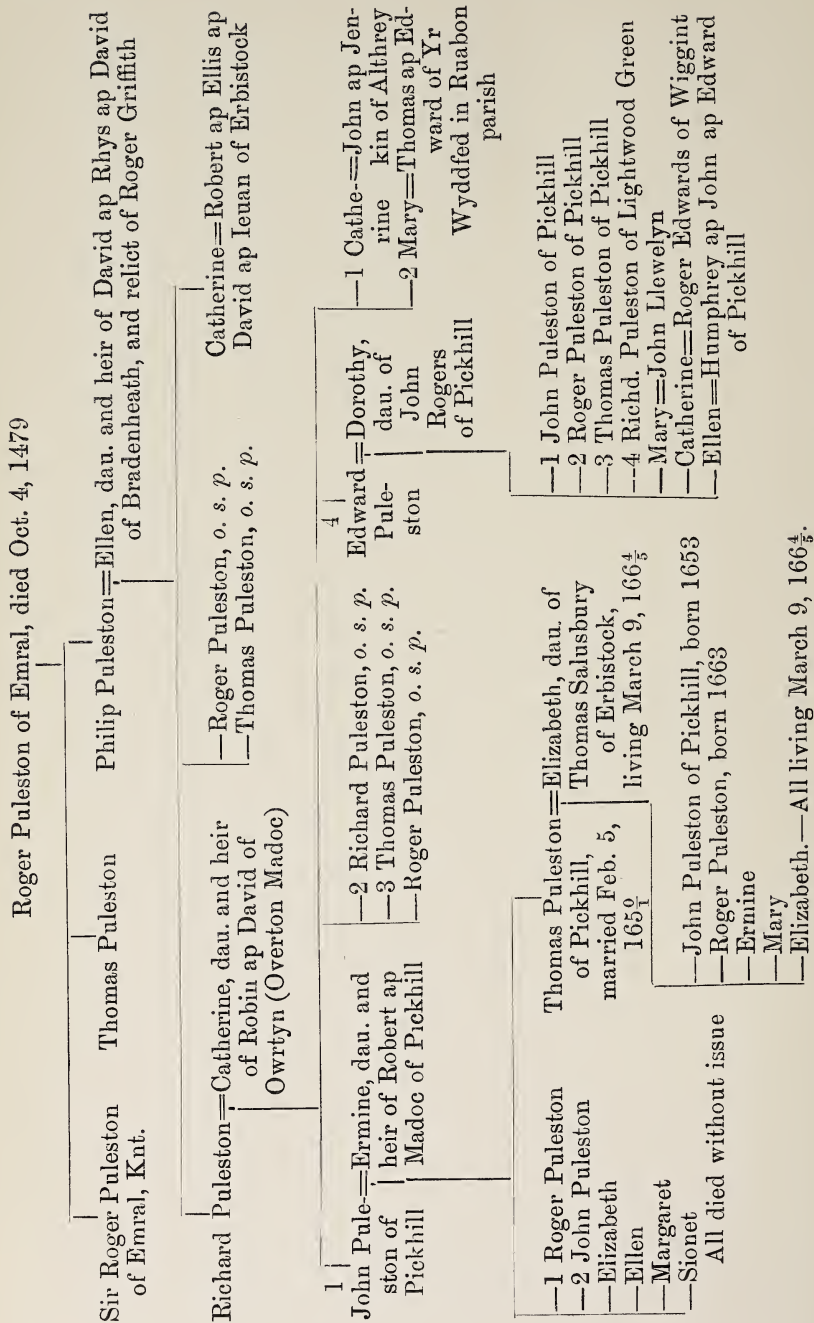
sold to Edward Lewis, Esq., of St. Alban's, subject to the life-estate of her father, Parkey Hall; and when Mr. Edwards died in 1841, Mr. Lewis sold it to Sir Robert H. Cunliffe, Bart., of Acton, and in the same year sold Parkey Lodge to him also.

Something may now with advantage be said of the Lewises (one of whom has just been mentioned), a notable family, of Ty'n Rhuddallt, or Rhuddallt Issa, in the township of Ruabon.

Lewis Lewis, gent., of Rhuddallt, appears to have been the heir of Roger and Ruth Lewis. On Jan. 8, 1754, Mr. Lewis Lewis married, at Ruabon, Bennette, the youngest daughter of Edward Lloyd, Esq., of Plas Madoc in the same parish, and settled on her trustees, among other property, Parkey Hall. He died intestate, Jan. 7, 1777, leaving several children, namely, Ann (wife of John Rogers), Bennette Lewis, Ruth Lewis, Edward Lewis (baptized at Ruabon, Jan. 18, 1760), Roger Lewis, Robert Lewis, and Godfrey Lewis, whereof all but the last were living in 1792.

Edward Lewis, the eldest son, paid £800 to his brothers and sisters to bar all claims upon their father's estate. He married, at Chiswick, July 3, 1788, Augusta Beauvais of that parish, he himself being described in the Register as of Queenhithe, and elsewhere as of Thames Street. Edward, his eldest son (afterwards of St. Alban's, Bayford, and Hertingfordbury), who subsequently sold The Parkey, was born Nov. 28, 1794, and was baptized at St. Michael's, Queenhithe, on Dec. 30 of the same year. His father, Edward Lewis the elder, was buried, about the year 1808, at Pentonville Chapel, in the parish of St. James, Clerkenwell, at the age of forty-eight, being described in the Pentonville Register as of Rodney Street. The name of the wife of Edward Lewis the younger was Eleanor.

By an unfortunate accident, in my pedigree of the Pulestons of Pickhill, between Philip Puleston (son of Roger Puleston of Emral) and John Puleston of Braden-



For particulars as to later members of the family, see the former pedigree.

heath and Pickhill, a whole generation was left out. For this reason, and because I have obtained further information as to the brothers and sisters of the last named John Puleston, it may be well to give the accompanying additional pedigree, compiled by permission of Philip Bryan Davies Cooke, from the pedigree at Gwysaney, which was drawn up in the year 1665.

Wrexham.

CHARTERS CONNECTED WITH LAMPETER AND LLANBADARN FAWR.¹

BY THE REV. PREB. W. H. DAVEY.

WEEKLY MARKET AND YEARLY FAIR.

Rot. Chart., 13 Edw. I, No. 65.

“P’ Reso filio Mereduci.—R’x Archiepis’ etc. sal’t’m Sciatis nos concessisse et hac charta n’ra confirmasse dil’c’o et fid’ n’ro Reso fil’ Mereduci q’d ip’e et hered’ sui imp’p’tuu’ h’eant unu’ Mercatu singul’ septim’ p’ diem Jovis apud Maneriu’ suum de Lampeter in Comitatu de Cardigan et unam feriam ibide’ singul’ annis p’ tres dies duratur’ videl’t in Vigilia et in die et in crastino S’c’i Dyonisii Martiris Nisi mercatu’ illud et feria illa sint ad nocumetu’ vicinor’ m’cator’ et vicinar’ feriar’ Quare volum’ et firmit’r precipimus pro nob’ et heredib’ n’ris q’d p’d’c’us Resus et hered’ sui imp’p’tuu’ h’eant p’d’c’a Mercatu’ et feriam apud Man’ium suu’ p’d’c’m cu’ omnib’ lib’tatib’ et liberis consuetudinib’ ad hujusmodi mercatu’ et feriam p’tinentib’ Nisi mercatu’ illud et feria illa sint ad nocumentu’ vicinor’ mercator’ et vicinar’ feriar’ sicut p’d’c’m est Hiis testib’ ven’abilib’ p’rib’ R. Bathon’ et Wellen’ W. Norwyc’ A. Dunolm’ et W. Sar’ Ep’is Joh’i de Warenna Comite Surr’ Joh’e de Vesey Ottone de Grandi Sono Regin’ de Grey Rob’to fil’ Joh’is Petro de Chau’pment Ric’o de Bosco et aliis

“Dat’ p’ manu’ n’ram ap’d Westm’ xij die Jun’.”

GRANT TO EDMUND HAKELUT.²

Pat. 4, Edw. III, p. 1, m. 7.

“P’ Edm’o Hakelut.—R’x om’ib’ ad quos etc. sal’t’m Sciatis q’d cum D’n’s E. nup’ Rex Angl’ pat’ n’r dedisset et concessisset Reso ap Griffith villam de Lampeder Calaponte Stevene cum p’tin’ in Suth Wall’ h’end’ et tenend’ ad totam vitam suam Ita q’d post mortem ip’ius Resi villa p’d’c’a cum p’tin’ ad ip’m p’rem n’r’m et her’ suos rev’teret’r que quidam villa p’ forisf’c’uram ip’ius Resi ad manus n’ras jam devenit Nos p’ bono s’vicio quod dil’c’us et fidelis n’r Ed’s Hakelut nob’ impendit dedim’ et

¹ Taken from the copy made by the late Rev. W. Edmunds of Lampeter, and referred to, *Arch. Camb.*, Oct. 1878, No. 36, p. 293.

² *Ibid.*

concessimus eidem Ed'o villam p'd'c'am cum p'tin' h'end' et tenend' sibi et her' suis de nobis et her' n'ris p' s'vicia inde debita et consueta imp'p't'm In cujus etc.

“T” R'x apud Kyngesclife vj die Aug'

“P” bre' de p'vato sigillo.”

MANOR OF LESWEN.¹

Inq. ad quod damn., 5 Edw. III, No. 13.

“Edwardus Dei gra' Rex Angl' D'n's Hib'n' et Dux Aquit' dil'e'o et fideli suo Rog'o de Mortuo Mari Justic' Wall' sal't'm

“Mandam' vobis q'd p' sacr'm p'bor' et leg' honn' de balliva v'ra p' quos rei veritas melius sciri pot'rit diligent' inquiratis si sit ad dampnu' vel prejudiciu' n'r'm aut alior' si concedam' Will'o de Knovill' q'd ip'e man'riu' suu' de Leswen cum p'tin' in Com' Cardigan' quod de nobis tenet'r in capite ut dicit dare possit et concedere Joh'i de Coumbe et Isabelle ux'i ejus h'end' et tenend' eidem Joh'i et Isabelle et heredib' suis de corporib' suis exeuntibus de nobis et heredibus n'ris p' servicia inde debita et consueta imp'p'tu' necne Et si sit ad dampnu' vel p'judiciu' n'r'm et ad quod dampnu' et quod p'judiciu' alior' et quor' 't qualit' et quo modo et si idem man'riu' teneat' de nobis in capite ut p'd'c'm est an de alio et si de nobis tunc p' quod s'v'ciu' et qualit' et quo modo et si de alio tunc de quo vel de quib' et p' quod serviciu' et qualit' et quo modo et quantum man'riu' illud valeat p' annu' in om'ib' exitib' et si que t're 't que ten' eidem Will'o remaneant ult'a manerium pred'c'm tunc que t're et que ten' et de quo vel de quib' teneant'r et p' quod s'r'vicu' et quantu' valeant p' annu' in om'ib' exitib' Et inquisic'o'em inde distincte et ap'te f'c'am nobis sub sigillo v're et sigillis eor' p' quos f'c'a fu'rit sine dil'one mittatis et hoc br'e

“T” me ip'o apud Ebor' xv. die Marcii Anno r' n' quinto

“Haliwell

“In dorso

“P” Consiliu'

“Execuc'om isti' bre's feci p'ut patet in Inquisic'one et huic br'i consuta.”

“Inqui'c'o capta apud Kerm'dyn die Satu' p'xi'a post festu' Ann'ciac'o'is B'e Marie Anno regni Reg' Edwardi Quinto cora' Rog'o de Mortuo Mari Justiciar' Wall' si sit ad dampnu' v'l p'judi'u' d'ni Regis aut alior' si concedat' Will'o de Knovyle q'd ip'e man'rium suu' de Leswen' cu' pertinenc' in Com' de Cardigan quod de d'no Rege tenet'r in capite ut dicit'r dare possit et co'cedere Joh'i de Coumbe et Isabelle ux'i ejus h'nd' et tenend'

¹ Referred to, *Arch. Camb.*, Oct. 1878, p. 299.

eisdem Joh'i et Isabelle et heredib' suis de corp'ibus suis exeuntib' de d'no Rege et heredib' suis p' s'vicia inde debita et co'sueta i'p'p'tuu' nec ne p' Ph'm Laundry Joh'ni Wynter Rob'tum de Malros Steph'm Baret Galfr'm Randolfe David' ap Ph' Voyt Henri'u' Austyn Joh'em Taylor Lewelinu' Vagha'n Lewelin' ap Walt' Will'm ap Ph' ap David' et Will'm ap Kenewr' Qui d'nt p' sacr'm suu' q'd no' est ad dampnu' v'l p' judiciu' D'ni Reg' nec alior' si d'n's Rex co'cedat p'd'c'o Will'o q'd possit dare et co'cedere d'cis Joh'i de Coumba et Isabelle ux'i ejus d'c'm man'riu' de Leswen' cu' p'tinenc' tenend' sibi et heredib' suis de corp'ib' suis exeuntib' de D'no Rege 't heredib' suis i' forma p'd'c'a dicu't et q'd d'c'm man'rium tenet'r de d'no Rege i' capite ut p'd'c'm est et no' de alio p' s'vicium uni' equi coop'ti ad Cast'm D'ni Regis de Lampad'n temp'e Gwerre Wall' vid't p' tres p'mos dies a t'p'e sumonic'o'is ad d'c'm s'vicium faciend' su'p'tib' suis p'p'riis de inde ad vadia ipsi' D'ni Regis du' d'no Regi placu'rit ip'a gwerra durante Et valet d'c'm man'riu' p' annu' in o'ib' exitib' decem marc' Dicu't 't q'd nulle terre n'c tenem'ta eidem Will'o remanent ult'a man'riu' p'd'c'm In cuj' rei testimon' huic inq'isico'i sigilla p'd'cor' Jurator' s'nt appo'ita

“Dat' apud Kerm'rdin die et anno sup'a d'cis.”

MANOR OF KELLAN, ETC.¹

Pat. 15, Ric. II, p. 2, m. 38.

“P' Rothergh ap Jev'an.—R'x Om'ib' ad quos etc. salt'm Scia'tis q'd de gra' n'ra sp'ali de assensu consilii n'ri et p' ducentis libris quas dil'c'us nob' Rothergh' ad Jev'an Lloyd ad opus n'r'm ad scc'm n'r'm de Cardigan solvet concessim' ei totam hereditatem que fit Theoderici ap Gronow in Com' de Cardigan videl't d'nium de Kellan cu' lib'tatib' curiis et om'ib' aliis comoditatib' et p't'm ad d'c'm d'nium spectantib' in Com'oto de Mab Wynyon ac om'ia t'ras et ten' que fuerunt ipsius Theoderici in Reddounen in Com'oto de P'neth ac om'ia t'ras et ten' que fuerunt ejus Theoderici in Lloyth Wthlleyvan in Com'oto de Cru-thyn cu' lib'tatib' franchisesiis curiis et aliis p'tin' quibuscumq' ad eadem t'ras et ten' spectantib' que quidem d'nium t're et ten' cu' lib'tatib' 't aliis p'tin' p' eo q'd p'fatus Theodericus sine herede de corpore suo p'creato obiit ad nos tanq'm escaeta n'ra p'tinebant h'end' et tenend' de nob' et heredib' n'ris s'c'd'm leges et consuetudines p'ciu' illar' p' s'vicia inde debita et consueta adeo lib'e 't integre sicut p'd'c'us Theodericus eo h'uit et tenuit du' vivebat sub tali condic'o'e q'd si d'c'a t're et ten' aut aliqua

¹ Referred to, *Arch. Camb.*, No. 36, p. 300.

p'cella eor'dem ve'sus p'fatu' Rothergh' vel heredes suos recuperent'r seu recuperent'r ita q'd titulus n'r' inde adnullet'r tunc idem Rothergh' vel heredes sui d'c'a msum'am ducentar' librar' vel ratam ejusdem reh'eant de th'ro n'ro juxta valorem p'celle t'rar' ten' p'd'c'or' sic recupate una cu' soluc'o'e p' custub' quos ip'e seu heredes sui ibidem apponent sup' manutenc'o'e tituli n'ri sup'a d'c'i p'viso semp' q'd d'c'a sum'a sic resolvenda ac custus p'd'c'i in p'ficiis et revenc'o'ib' p'venientib' et debitis de t'ris et ten' p'd'c'is usq' ad tempus d'c'e recup'ac'o'is deducant'r Ita q'd de sup'plusagio eor'dem p'ficuor' et revencionu' si quod fuit nob' respondeant'r intenc'o'is tamen n're non existit aliquos custus ult'a valorem revencionu' et p'ficuor' p'd'c'or' allocare r'one manutenc'o'is juris n'ri sup'ad'c'i In cuj' etc.

“T' R' apud Westm' primo die Decembr'

“P' bre' de privato sigillo.”

LLANBADARN VAWR.¹

Pat. 12, Edw. IV, p. 2, m. 17.

“D' confirmac'o'e p' Burgensib' Ville de Lanbadar.—R'x om'ib' ad quos etc. salt'm Inspexim' cartam d'ni R' nup' Regis Angl' s'c'di post conquestum f'c'am in hec v'ba Ric'us dei gra' Rex Angl' et Franc' et D'n's Hib'nie Archiepis' Ep'is' Abb'ib' Priorib' Ducib' Comitib' Baronib' Justic' Vicecomitib' p'positis Ministris et om'ib' Ballivis et fidelib' salt'm Inspexim' cartam quam clare memorie d'n's Edwardus nup' Rex Angl' Avus n'r carissimus fecit in hec v'ba Edwardus Dei gra' Rex Angl' D'n's Hib'n' et Dux Aquit' Archiepis' Ep'is' Abb'ib' Priorib' Comitib' Baronib' Justic' Vicecomitib' p'positis Ministris et om'ibus Ballivis et fidelib' suis salt'm Inspexim' cartam celebris memorie d'ni E. nup' Regis Angl' avi n'ri in hec verba Edwardus dei gra' Rex Angl. D'n's Hib'n' et Dux Aquit' Archiep'is Ep'is' Abb'ib' Priorib' Comitib' Baronib' Justic' Vicecomitib' p'positis Ministris et om'ibus Ballivis et fidelib' suis salt'm Sciatis q'd volum' et concessim' q'd Villa n'ra de Lanbadar sit lib' Burgis imp'p'm Concessim' eciam Burgensib' n'ris ejusdem Burgi et heredib' eor' q'd Villam suam de Lanbadar claudant fossata et muro et q'd h'eant gildam m'catoriam cum hansa et aliis consuetudinib' et lib'tatib' ad gildam illam p'tinen' et q'd nullus qui non sit de gilda illa m'andisam aliquam fac' in p'd'c'o Burgo nisi de voluntate eor'dem Burgensiu' concessim' eciam eis et eor' heredib' q'd si aliquis natus alicujus in p'fato Burgo manserit et t'ram in eodem tenu'rit et fu'rit in p'fata gilda et hansa et loth et scoth cum eisdem Burgensib' n'ris p' unu' annu' et unu' diem sine

¹ Referred to, *Arch. Camb.*, Oct, 1878, No. 36, p. 301.

calumpnia deinceps non possit repeti a d'no suo sed in eodem Burgo lib' p'maneat p't'ea concessim' p'fatis Burgensib' n'ris de Lanbadar et heredib' eor' q'd h'eant soc' et sac' et thol et theam et Infangenethef et q'd quieti sint p' totam t'ram n'ram de theolonia lastagio passagio pontagio et stallagio et de lene et denegeld et Taywite et om'ib' aliis consuetudinib' et exacc'o'ib' p' totam potestatem n'ram tam in Angl' q'am in om'ib' aliis t'ris n'ris Et concedim' q'd p'd'c'i Burgenses n'ri de Lanbadar h'eant imp'p'm om'es alias lib'tates 't quietancias p' totam t'ram n'ram quas h'ent Burgenses n'ri Montis Gom'ri Volum' eciam 't concedim' p'd'c'is Burgensib' n'ris de Lanbadar q'd h'eant singulis annis imp'p'm duas ferias in p'd'c'o Burgo scil't unam ad Pentecosten p' quatuor dies duratur scil't in vigilia et die et duob' dieb' sequentib' et aliam ad festum S'c'i Mich'is p' octo dies duratur scil't in vigilia et die S'c'i Mich'is et sex dieb' sequentib' et unu' m'catum ibidem p' diem lune singulis septimanis cum om'ib' lib'tatib' et lib'is consuetudinib' ad hujusmodi ferias 't m'catu' p'tinen' volum' insup' q'd om'es mercatores t'rar' n'rar' et mercatores aliar' t'rar' qui sunt ad pacem n'ram et eor' mercandise ad p'd'c'm Burgum venientes et ibidem morantes et inde recedentes h'eant lib'um venire stare 't recedere tam p' aquas q'am p' t'ram et q'd h'eant lib'os introitus in t'ram n'ram et lib'os exitus a t'ra n'ra sine om'i impedimento Ballivor' n'ror' et alior' faciendo debit' et rectas consuetudines quare volum' et firmit' p'cipim' q'd p'd'ct' Villa de Lanbadar sit lib' Burgus et q'd p'd'c'i Burgenses h'eant gildam m'catoriam cum hansa et aliis lib'tatib' et lib'is consuetudinib' ad gildam illam p'tinen' et q'd h'eant duas ferias p' annu' ad Pentecosten et ad festum S'c'i Mich'is et unu' m'catum singulis septimanis p' diem lune et q'd h'eant lib'ates et quietancias p'd'c'as imp'p'm bene et in pace lib'e et quiete plenarie et integre sicut p'd'c'm est salva lib'tate Civitatis n're London' hiis testib' ven'rabilib' p'rib' R. Bathon et Wellens' et Th. Hereforden' Ep'is Will'o de Valencia Avunculo n'ro Henr' de Lacy Comite Lincoln' Rog'o de Mortuo Mari Antonio Bek Archidiacono Dunolm' Hugone fil' Ottonis Walt'ro de Helyun Ric'o de Bosco et aliis Dat' p' manu' n'ram apud Westm' vicesimo octavo die Decembr' anno regni n'ri sexto Nos autem concessimus p'd'c'as ratas h'entes et q'a'tas eas p' nob' et heredib' n'ris quantum in nob' est p'fatis Burgensib' de Lanbadar 't eor' heredib' et successorib' concedim' confirmam' Sicut carta p'd'c'a ro'nabilit' testat' et p'ut iidem Burgenses et p'decessores sui lib'tatib' et quietancias in p'd'c'a carta contentis haecenus ro'nabilit' usi sunt et gavisi hiis testib' venerabilib' pri'b' J. Wynton' Ep'o Cancellario n'ro J. Elien' et W. Norwicen' Ep'is Thoma Wake Henr' de Percy et aliis Dat' p' manum n'ram apud Eltham vicesimo octavo die Marcii Anno regni n'ri

quinto Inspexim' eciam cartam D'ni Edwardi quondam Principis Wallie p'avi n'ri fact' in hec v'ba Edwardus illustris Regis Angl' fil' Princeps Wall' Comes¹ *Crestr'* pontum 't mont' Trollii om'ib' Ballivis et Ministris suis de sup'a Ayron sal't'm Quia ad petic'o'em Burgensiu' n'ror' de Lamp' in gene'ali consilio n'ro apud London' nup' p'positam que sub privato sigillo n'ram signatam Justic' n'ro Suth Wall' misim' p'clamand' ordinavim' q'd m'catum teneat' apud Lamp' singulis septimanis p' diem lune s'e'd'm tenorem carte d'c'or' Burgensiu' p' d'nn' Regem p'rem n'r'm concessit Et q'd om'es empc'o'es vendic'o'es ab aqua de Ayron' usq' ad aquam de Den' fiant in d'c'o Burgo n'ro de Lamp' vob' mandam' q'd m'catu' p'd'c'm publice p'clamari fac' et firmit' inhiberi ex parte n'ra ne quis sup'a g'vem foris'c'uram n'ram de aliquib' m'candisis in d'c'a t'ra n'ra negociant' p't'q'am de pane et c'rvs et aliis victualib' in d'c'o Burgo n'ro in grosso empt' qui postmodum in pr'ia p'ementes licite vendi possunt Dat' p' Walt'rum Hakelut Justic' n'r'm apud Kermerdyn sub sigillo n'ro Cancellar' Suth Wall' 't West Wall' quarto die Augusti anno regni R' E. patri n'ri tricesimo t'cio Nos autem d'c'as concessiones 't confirmac'o'es tam Abavi et p'avi q'm avi n'ror' p'd'c'or' ratas h'entes et g'atas eas de gra' n'ra sp'ali et de assensu consilii n'ri p' nob' et heredib' n'ris quantu' in nob' est acceptam' approbam' ratificam' 't eas Dil'c'is nob' Burgensib' Ville p'd'c'e et eor' heredib' et successorib' concedim' 't confirmam' p'ut carte p'd'c'e ron'abilit' testant'r p't'ea volentes p'fatis Burgensib' gra'm fac're ampliorem concessim' eis p' nob' et heredib' n'ris quantu' in nob' est q'd licet ip'i vel p'decessores sui Burgenses Ville p'd'c'e aliqua vel aliquib' lib'tatu' vel quietanciar' in d'c'is cartis contentar' aliquo casu em'gent' hactenus usi non fu'rint Ip'i tamen et eor' heredes et successores Burgenses d'c'e ville lib'tatib' et quietanciis illis et ear' qual't de cet'o plene gaudeant et utant' sine occ'o'ne vel impedimento n'ri vel hered' n'ror' Justic' Esceator' Vice Comitu' aut alior' Ballivor' seu Ministror' n'ror' quor'cumque et insup' de ub'iori gra' n'ra concessim' p' nob' et heredib' n'ris quantu' in nob' est p'fatis Burgensib' Burgi n'ri p'd'c'i qui est in Com' de Cardigan' in Suth Wall' q'd nec ip'i nec eor' heredes aut successores aliquo tempore comm'cant' p' aliquos forinsecos sup' aliquib' appellis retis injuriis t'angressi-onib' criminib' calumpniis aut demand' quibuscumq' sibi impositis aut imponend' infra Com' p'd'c'm seu Com' de Kermerden' set p' Burgenses Burgi p'd'c'i aut p' Burgenses Anglicos eor' de Com' et q'd iidem Burgenses et eor' heredes et successores h'eant returnu' briu' n'ror' et hered' n'ror' de om'ib' tangentib' Burgenses ejusdem Ville p' tempore existen' t' que infra eandem Villam

¹ So in the copy, but there is evidently some corruption or mistake in the text.

em'gent' Ita q'd nullus Vicecomes Ballivus aut alius ministr' n'r vel heredum n'ror' intret Villam illam ad execu'c'o'em alicujus briu' eor'demi bide[m] faciend' nisi ob defectum Ballivor' ejusdem Ville et q'd iidem Burgenses et eor' heredes et successores imp'p't'm h'eant com'unam pasture ad a'ialia sua necnon ron'abilia estov'ia de housbote et haybote cum ho'ib' patrie circa Villam p'd'c'am in eor'dem ho'i'm pasturis et boscis p'ut iidem Burgenses 't p'decessores sui com'unam et estov'ia p'd'c'a in pasturis et boscis illis h'ere debent' et a tempore conquestus Wall' p'd'c'm Abav'm n'r'm f'c'i com'unam et estov'ia ip'a h'ere consueverunt

“Quare volum' et firmit' p'cipim' p' nob' et heredib' n'ris q'd nec p'd'c'i Burgenses nec eor' heredes aut successores aliquo tempore convincant' p' aliquos forinsecos sup' aliquib' appellis rettis injuriis t'gressionib' criminib' calumpniis aut demand' quibuscumq' sibi impositis aut imponend' infra Com' p'd'c'os set p' Burgenses Burgi p'd'c'i aut p' Burgenses Anglicos eor'dem Com' et q'd iidem Burgenses et eor' heredes et successores h'eant return' briu' n'ror' et heredum n'ror' de om'ib' tangentib' Burgenses ejusdem Ville p' tempore existen' et que infra eandem Villam em'gent' Ita q'd nullus Vicecomes Ballivus aut alius ministr' n'r vel heredum n'ror' intret Villam illam ad execu'c'o'em alicujus briu' eor'dem ibidem faciend' nisi ob defectu Ballivor' ejusdem Ville et q'd iidem Burgenses et eor' heredes et successores imp'p't'm h'eant com'unam pasture ad a'ialia sua necnon ron'abilia estov'ia de housbote et haybote cum ho'ib' p'rie circa Villam p'd'c'am in eor'dem ho'i'm pasturis et boscis p'ut iidem Burgenses et p'decessores sui com'unam et estov'ia p'd'c'a in pasturis et boscis illis h'ere debent' et a tempore conquestus Wall' p'd'cu' Abavi' n'r'm f'c'i com'unam et estov'ia ip'a h'ere consueverunt sicut p'd'c'm est hiis testib' ven'abilib' p'rib' et Archiep'o Cantuar' totius Angl' primate Cancellario n'ro Thoma' Exon' Ep'o Thes' n'ro Joh'e Rege Castelle 't legionis Duce Lancastr' Edmundo Comite Cantabr' Thoma de Wodestoke Comite Buk avunculis n'ris carissimis Ric'o Arundell' Thoma de Bello Campo Warr' Comitib' Will'o de Bello Campo Cam'ario n'ro Hugone de Segrave Senescallo hospicii n'ri Joh'e de Fordham Custode privati Sigilli n'ri et aliis Dat' p' manu' n'ram apud Westm' duodecimo die Junii Anno regni n'ri t'cio Nos autem concessionones et confirmac'o'es p'd'c'as ac om'ia et singula in cartis et l'ris p'd'c'is contenta rata h'entes et g'ata ea p' nob' et heredib' n'ris quantu' in nob' est acceptam' 't approbam' ac nunc Burgensib' Burgi p'd'c'i et eor' heredib' et successoribus tenore p'senciu' ratificatam' et confirmam' p'ut carte et l're p'd'c' r'onabilit' testant'

“In cujus etc. T. R. apud Westm' xix die Februarii

“P' centum solidis solut' in hanap'io.”

FLINTSHIRE GENEALOGICAL NOTES.

BY ERNEST ARTHUR EBBLEWHITE, ESQ.

(Continued from p. 128.)

II. NORTHOP.

I AM indebted to Mr. Henry Taylor, F.S.A., for the following seven abstracts from original deeds belonging to Lord Mostyn, which have never yet been printed.

I. Northop, Sunday next after the Feast of the Epiphany, 1315. Lease for ten years from Kynwric Koch, son of Pledyn, son of Kynwric, of Keldrystun [*Kelsterton*], to Kynwric Vachan, son of Kynric, son of Rawlf, of Helygen [*Halkyn*], of lands called Yren roft and Y Wern Gron [*Lygen y Wern, near Halkyn*], in Keldrystun aforesaid, at the yearly rent of ten shillings. Witnesses: Madoc ap Bledyn, Lewelyn ap Goronw, Bledyn ap Ithel ap Bledyn, Lewelyn ap Ithel Grye, David ap Goronw ap Iorwerth, Gruffith his brother, Madoc Seis, and many others.

II. Palm Sunday, 1316. Lease for twelve years of land, etc., in Helygen Wern in Engylfild [*Englefield*] from Bledyn ap Iorwerth ap David of Helygen Wern to Tudor, son of Ithel Vychan of Helygen, at the yearly rent of twenty-five shillings. Witnesses: Ithel Vychan, Bledyn his son, David Chwith, David ap Gor ap Gurgew [*query*], Bledyn ap Ithel ap Bledyn, Kynwric ap Iorwerth Vychan, David Dû ap Ithel ap Madoc, and many others. (*Seal.*)

III. Northop, Sunday after Feast of St. Michael, 1316. Grant from David Chuith ap Kynwric Seis, of Wep in Tegeingl [*Englefield*], to Tudor Rirffo, son of Ithel Vychan, of all his right in the vill of Helygen Wern [*Lygen y Wern as before*] in Tegeingl. Witnesses: Madoc ap Pled' ap Kynwric, Eyvan his

brother, Bled' ap Ithel, David Llwyt his brother, Ithel ap Kynwric Seis, Bledyn Goch ap Ithel Vychan, Gruffith ap Bledyn ap Kynwric, Iorwerth Wydel, and many others. (*Seal of white wax, broken and illegible.*)

iv. Ryt Vudur, Wednesday after Feast of St. Martin the Bishop, 1317. Grant from Ithel, son of Kynwric Seis, of Gwep' and Helygen in Tegeingl, to Tudur Goch, son of Ithel Vychan of Helygen aforesaid of all his right at Helygen Werun [*Lygen y Wern as before*] in Tegeingl. Witnesses: Madoc son of Bledyn, Gruffud his brother, Bledyn Goch, David Cwith, Bledyn son of Ithel, Madoc son of Ednyvet, Gruffud son of Ithel Gryc and many others. (*Seal of white wax, broken and illegible.*)

v. Llaneurgern, Sunday in the Vigil of St. Mark the Evangelist, 1317. Lease for twelve years of land at Nant Brynford from Bledyn ap Iorwerth ap David of Helygen in Tegeingl to Ithel Vychan, son of Ithel Vychan, son of Ithel Garn of Helygen in Tegeingl, at the yearly rent of twenty shillings. Witnesses: Madoc ap Pled' ap Kynrick, Symon, Kynrick Koch (*and*) Gruffith, his brothers, Bledyn ap Ithel, Iorwerth Wydel, David Wych, Bledyn ap Meuric, and many others. (*Seal gone.*)

vi. Helygen, Wednesday next after the Feast of St. Ambrose, 1333. Conveyance of a messuage and twelve acres of land in Orwydvid [*"Yrwidvit" in a duplicate of this deed, from which the seal has disappeared*] in Helygen Wern, from Kenwrick, son of Bledyn ap Iorwerth of Helygen Wern in Tegeingl, to Tudor, son of Ithel Vychan of Helygen in Tegeingl. Witnesses: Bledyn and Kenrick, sons of Ithel Vychan, Bledyn son of Kenrick ap Bledyn, Ithel, son of Bledyn ap Iorwerth, Bledyn and Iorwerth, sons of Robert ap Rorit [*query*] with others. (*Seal.*)

vii. Yrryt Vudyr, Wednesday after the Feasts of the Apostles Philip and James, 1333. Grant from Gruffud, son of Bledyn ap Iorwerth of Helygen Wern, in Cwussyll in Engylfield [*Lordship of Englefield*], to

Tudor, son of Ithel Vychan, of his portion of certain lands in Helygen Wern. Witnesses : Bledin and Ieu' sons of Ithel Vychan, Ieuan and Bledyn, sons of Kynric Duy, David ap Madoc Duy, Ywern Vychan, and others. (*Seal gone.*)

The parish of Northop, which is in the Deanery of Mold and in the Lordship of Englefield, has the following registers prior to 1710:—(1) Baptisms, Marriages, and Burials, 1590 to 1640, 1641 to 1643 (deficient), 1644 to 1655; (2) 1656 to 1710. Within the same period there are Bishop's Transcripts at St. Asaph for the following years :—1662 (the earliest date of any of the existing Register Rolls there) to 1664, 1666, 1667, 1670, 1673, 1678, 1680 to 1685, 1688 to 1691, 1695, 1696, 1698 to 1704, 1706, 1708 to 1710, and I have made the following extracts :—

“1662. Joannes filius Petri ap William Bellis et Lowriae Hughes uxoris (ut fertur) ejus baptizatus fuit vicesimo die Martii.

“1662. Cēnuphrius Hughes de Monte alto viduus et Katharina Price de Northope vidua matrimonio legitime conjuncti fuere secundo die Julii.

“1663. Thomas Hughes viduus et Catharina Piers vidua ambo (Northopiensis matrimonio conjuncti) decimo quarto die Decembris per sponsal' (*i.e.*, following betrothal).

“1666. Thomas Edwards cœlebs et Jana Hughes spinster ambo Northopiensis matrimonio legitime in ecclesia parochiali de Northope conjuncti fuere 3'o die Julii.

“1666-7. Northop. Joannis filius Richardi Williams et Margaretæ Hughes uxoris ejus baptizatus fuit 7'o die Januarii.

“1666-7. Northop. Jana filia Ithelis Price et Jane Hughes uxoris (ut fertur) ejus baptizata fuit 13'o die Januarii.

“1666-7. Edwardus filius Thome Edwards et Janæ Hughes uxoris ejus legitime genitus baptizatus fuit 3'o March.

“1684. Johannes Prichard et Elizabetha Hughes matrimonio juncti fuere Januarii 11'o.

“1695. Evansus filius Joannis Hughes de Carfallwch mol' [inarii=*miller*] et Mariæ uxoris ejus baptizatus Novembris 10'mo, natus 1'mo.

“1696. Edwardus Lloyd de Kilken et Lettice Hughes de Llanyfydd conjugati fuere Januarii 2'do.

“1698. Joannes Parry et Elizabetha Hughes parochia de Northop conjugati fuere 4 Julii.

“1702. Joannes Parry de Soughton [labourer] et Catherina Hughes conjugati fuere 3^o Augusti.

“1704. Thomas Hughes de Llanrhaiadr et Maria Bythell de Northop conjugati fuere Octobris 21^omo.

“1708. Joannes Hughes parochia de Halkyn et Gwen Jones de Northope conjugati fuere Maii 25^oo.”

Richard ap Hugh of this parish, by will dated 8th December 1580, desired to be buried here, and died in the following year, his will being proved at St. Asaph on the 3rd July. By Jane verch Kynricke, his wife, he left four children, one of whom was Thomas ap Richard, and he appointed as residuary legatees and executors John ap Richard, Ellen, or Elyn, verch Richard, and Katherine verch Richard. The testator also bequeathed to Thomas ap Hugh and Lewis ap Hugh, probably his brothers. There were present, at the execution of the will, Thomas ap John ap Edward, “my cousin” Kynrick Thomas, and “Sir” Gruffyth Davies. Richard ap Hugh’s mother was living in 1581.

Ithel Price (whose daughter Jane was baptised in 1666-7) and James Bythell (whose son David was living in 1661) were friends and neighbours of Margaret, verch Edward, widow of Thomas Hughes of Wepra, and attended with her before the Consistory Court to give evidence, on the 14th April 1662. The other witnesses were Richard Yonge, David Evans, and Edward John Raphe ap Evan. It was shown that the deceased Thomas Hughes had twonephews, Thomas and Edward, sons of Gruffith Peeters of Northop.

The following is a copy of an original letter kept at the Probate Registry, St. Asaph, with the wills for 1634 :—

“ Good Co. Hughes,

“ I desire the favour of you to help the Bearer hereof to a Licence. He is my Tenant & his son David Jones & Barbara Thelwall are to be married by the free Consent of all parties, for the marriage settlement was draw’d by me ; there-

fore be pleased to dispatch them as soon as you can, and therein you'll infinitely oblige

“Yo'r Relac'on & Servant,

“David Lloyd.

“November the 7th, 1716. Denbigh.

“ffor Mr. Hugh Hughes, one of the Proctors
att St. Asaph pr'sent.”

The back of this letter was used by the Proctor for certain notes of a Northop search he made in 1716, and this was the only reason for its having been preserved. These are the notes in question :—

“Memorandum to search for the will of Ales Hughès, widow of John Hughes, Esqre., deceased. She was buried in the year 1619.

“Search for the will of Edward Hughes, late of Skeiviog parish. He was buried 1633.

“Ditto. Edward Hughes of the parish of Northop was buried the 17th of July 1623, in the Church or Churchyard of Skeiviog, Galchog.

“Ditto. Thomas Powell, late of the parish of Skeiviog, was buried in the year 1633.”

In certain proceedings before the Consistory Court, 26th December 1711, several parishioners of Northop are mentioned : Edward Conway of Soughton, Esquire, Mr. Whittmore Conway, his son, Mr. Edward Lewis of Soughton, Mrs. Mary Lewis, his wife, Mr. Roger Lewis, son of the said Edward, Hester Lewis, sister of the said Roger, Kenerick Parry and Peter Griffith of Northop.

On the 8th May 1716, Edward Piers of Coed y Cray, in the township of Caerfallwch, Northop, bachelor, “John Doe”,¹ Roger Parry, and Ralph Evans were

¹ “John Doe” and “Richard Roe” (brothers-*in-law*, according to Tom Hood) were fictitious names used in the courts of law when all the required sureties were not forthcoming. In one administration-bond I found “John Doe of St. Asaph, yeoman” (!), though there was no attempt to complete the description by forging a signature against the seal which the Proctor had placed in readiness at the foot of the bond, fearing that his friend “John Doe” had no heraldic seal. This absurd practice was discontinued some forty years ago.

sureties for Elizabeth Kenrick, otherwise Hughes, widow, in a grant of probate.

In 1723, David Parry of Caervallough, gent., and John Lloyd of Pentruffydd, gent., held certain lands at Golftyn, in this parish, as trustees for Henry Hughes of Celyn Farm, in this parish. A deed in connection with this was witnessed by Benjamin Conway, Vicar of Northop, Edward Butler of Cornist [*Cornist, near Flint, then in the parish of Holywell*], and Edward Pritchard of Celyn, gardener.

On the 9th November 1669, letters of administration were granted by the Consistory Court of St. Asaph, with the will nuncupative of Alice Edwards, of Northop, spinster, dated 28th September previous, to Elizabeth Edwards, otherwise Hughes (wife of John Hughes of Mold), the sister and executrix.

24th May 1671. Probate of the will of Mary Price of Northop, widow, was granted to Katherine, wife of Humphrey Hughes.

20th July 1671. Will of Thomas Jones of Soughton, gent.

10th January 1678. Will of Anne Conway of Caervallwch, widow, mentions her daughter Elizabeth Hughes, her (the testatrix's) late husband, Samuel Hughes, deceased, her son Owen Hughes, her grand-daughters Margaret Hughes and Anne Hughes, then under age (daughters of the said Owen by his first wife, who died prior to 1677), Mr. Josiah Jones, of Okenholl, in the parish of Northop, uncle to her said grand-daughters, her son-in-law David Parry, her grand-children, Henry Parry and Samuel Parry, her god-daughter, Benedicta Conway, and her grandchild, Ursula Parry, the executrix.

1692. Will of John Powell of Soughton, gent.

The Rev. David Lloyd was Vicar of Northop in 1679, when he signed the Register Rolls, as did his predecessor, the Rev. Archibald Spark, from 1662 to 1670.

Soughton, in this parish, was a manor with a Court Leet, but I have not yet been able to discover the Court

Rolls. The Lordship now belongs to Lord Hanmer's representatives. In the old Enclosure Acts I find that "the King's Most Excellent Majesty is entitled to the Seigniories of a tract of common or waste land called Soughton Common, in the Township of Soughton and Parish of Northop."

III. LLANASA.

In 1885, I saw at the Vicarage a silver paten and chalice, well preserved and simple in design, both marked "1576. Llanassa"; while the silver flagon was inscribed "Llan Asaph, 1699". The Vicar also showed me a broken oak panel, from the church, on which were the initials "P. H., 1704", and the arms *a chevron between three boars' heads couped*

The Parish Registers of Llanasaph (as it was more correctly called) date from 1629, and I examined them to 1690. At the commencement of the first volume was a loose slip of paper marked "Captn. Potter Hughes", giving genealogical data as to his family between 1677 and 1783.

1629. Reginald Salusburie, Incumbent.

1632, Mar. 3. Reginaldus Salusburie cl'icus Vic' de Llanasaph, &c., inhumatus.

1634, Feb. 19. Owen Jones of Henllan and Elizabeth Hughes of Llanasaph, married.

1638, Oct. 21. John Hughes of Whitford and Catherine Conway, of this parish, spinster, married.

Charles the First (being King of Great Britain, fraunce and Ireland) was beheaded at London, in the White Hall, the 30th day of Januarie, about two of y^e Clocke in the euening, 1648. [*This entry is in its proper place in the Record*].

1650, Feb. 12. Thomas, the son of William Smyth, clerke, the present Incumbent of Lanhasa, was baptized in Llandurnock, in the County of Denbigh.

1652, July 4. William, the second son of the above-named William, was baptized.

1655, Nov. 13. Peter ffoulks, Esq., Sheriff of the shire, was buried.

1656, 1657. *Marriages in these years were before Mr. Ralph Hughes, of Lleverllyd, and other local magistrates.*

1657, Jan. 1. Ellen, daughter of John Hughes, alias Tock of Axton, baptized.

1657, Feb. 2. [*Ellen, daughter of*] John Hughes, nicknamed Tock of Axton, buried.

1658, Aug. 20. Theophilus, the son of Everard Buckworth, passenger, was buried.

1660, Nov. 2. Thomas ap John ap Mredith, the Aqua-vitæ-wr¹ of Wesbury [*Westbury, co. Salop*], was buried.

1664, Apr. 7. Jane Hughes, widow, late wife of Edward Lloyd of Henfryn, Rhelofnyd [= *Newmrket*], buried.

1664, Apr. 20. Grace Hughes, daughter of Peter Hughes, late of Axton, gentleman, who was wife of John Thomas, of Gwespyr, mariner, buried.

1664(-5), Mar. 19. Mwyndeg, son of "Sir" Robert ffoulkes, of Rhelofnyd, clerk, and Jane his wife, baptized.

1664, Nov. 2. Thomas Edwards of Cro . . . ferrys, co. Carnarvon, gentleman, and Catherine Hughes of Greenfield, co. Flint, married.

"Anno D'n'i 1666. Hereby be it knowne to all, y^t Peter Parrye of Brynglas, in y^e parish of Llan Asaph and County of Flint, for his extravagant and uncivill language to John Hughes of Gwespyr, given publiqly before y^e Congregac'on then and there assembled, did aske God and y^e party offended (whom he called illegitimate) forgiveness, w^{ch} in memoriall thereof and example to others, y^t they demeane themselves soberly and civilly, was by approbac'on registered by me, Ed'd Broughall, Clerke, Curate of Llanasaph."

1664, June 2. Robert ffoulkes of Rhelofnyd, clerk, and Jane Hughes, of Gwesbyr, married.

¹ A dealer in the cordial, "aqua vitæ" or "aquavity", made from beer.

1707, July 16. Edward Hughes of Bagillt, gentleman, grants permission to a schoolmaster to sit in his pew, in his absence.

1675, July 18. Simon, *daughter* of Henry Hughes of Gronant, and Jane Simonds his wife, baptized.

1675, Oct. 9. Thomas, base son of Thomas Hughes of Axton, mariner, and Catherine Roberts his concubine, baptized.

There are transcripts in the Diocesan Registry, St. Asaph, for the following years:—1663 to 1665, 1667, 1668, 1670 to 1673, 1675, 1677, 1679 to 1682, 1684 to 1695, 1698 to 1700, 1702 to 1704, 1708 to 1710, *et seq.*

“1668-9. Henricus filius Edvardi Parry de Trelogan et Margaretæ Hughes uxoris ejus baptizatus fuit 26^o die Januarii.

“1670. Robertus filius Edvardi Parry de Trelogan et Margaretæ Hughes uxoris ejus baptizatus fuit 25^o Aprilis.

“1677. Ellena filia Petri Parry de Trelogan et Gwervillæ Hughes uxoris ejus baptizata fuit 21^o Aprilis.

“1681. Mwyndegus filius Hugonis Edwards de Garth, Picton et Catherinæ Hughes uxoris ejus baptizatus fuit ultimo Maii.

“1681. Maria filia Thomas Roberts de Picton et Janæ Hughes uxoris ejus baptizata fuit 5^o Junii.

“1681. Johannes filius Johannis Griffith de Axton et Gweniffridæ Hughes uxoris ejus baptizatus fuit eodem die.

“1681. Anna et Elizabetha filiae gemellæ Hugonis David de Picton et Dorotheæ Hughes uxoris ejus bapt' fuere 25^o Septembris.

“1684. Maria filia Hugonis David de Picton navitæ et Dorotheæ Hughes ejus uxoris bapt'a 1^{mo} Maii.

“1684. Thomas Parry et Jana Hughes de Picton matrimonio juncti fuere 13^{tio} die Septembris.

“1685. Ellis Jones de Gwesp' et Jana Hughes de Picton connubio juncti sunt 1^o Maii.

“1686. Robertus Davies de Gwesp' et Maria Hughes de Picton matr' &c. 19 Octobris.

“1686. Gulielmus Parry et Maria Hughes de Gronant nupti sunt 29 Januarii.

“1690. Thomas filius illegitimat' Thomæ Hughes de Trelofnyç et Kathrina Cadwalad'r de Axton nat' et bapt' 28^o Martii.

“1699. Johannes Griffith de Gronant et Ellenora Hughes de Picton matrimonio conjuncti fuere 26^o Junii.

“1700. Johannes Hughes et Magdalena Jones de Gwespyr ut dicunt tunc conjuncti apud Hollywell 21 May.

“1709. Johannes Roberts et Jana Hughes matrimonio conjuncti 11'o Augusti.

“1710. Johannes Conway et Maria Hughes de Gwesbyr matrimonio conjuncti 29'o Octobris.

“1710. Edwardus Davies et Maria Hughes de Gronant matrimonio conjuncti 3'o Novembris.”

Jeffrey Moulding of Bron yr whylfa, St. Asaph, gentleman, Notary Public practising in the Bishop's Court, married a lady of this parish, and they were both living in Queen Anne's reign. Mrs. Moulding's brother, Thomas Edwards of Llanasa, was living in 1707 as the father of the following children :—(1) Jeffrey Edwards of Gwaenyscor, “in the parish of Llanhasaph,” who died a bachelor in 1707-8; (2) David Edwards; (3) Moyndeg Edwards of Gwespyr, gentleman, who died at the end of 1711, leaving a widow, Catherine Jones, the daughter of John Rogers, gentleman; and an only daughter, Hester.

Mrs. Moulding had a sister Ellin verch Richard, who succeeded in 1712 to lands in the townships of Picton, and Axton in this parish, and of Tre'rcastell in the parish of Dyserth, on the death of her husband, Peter Hughes of Bryn in Gwespyr, in this parish, gentleman. They had two children—(1) Margaret, married in December 1697 to John Browne of Gronant, mariner, by whom she had issue Andrew; and (2) Anne, wife of Piers (*Piers*) Brown of Picton, yeoman, by whom she had issue Elizabeth Brown. Mr. Jeffrey Moulding and Edward Ellis of Lees, in the parish of Meliden, gentleman, were trustees for Ellin verch Richard, in 1712.

The will of Hugh Jones of Maes Axton, in this parish, dated 17th August 1676, and proved at St. Asaph, 19th June 1678, is sealed with *a chevron . . . between three roses . . . barbed and seeded . . . in the centre chief point a crescent for cadency.* His widow, Margaret verch Thomas, died at Gwespyr, and her will (dated 22nd January 1704-5) was proved 29th

March, 1707. They had issue five sons and two daughters :—(1) John Hughes, of Liverpool, who had a youngest son, Thomas Hughes ; (2) Andrew Hughes, of Kelstan, who married and had, with other issue, a youngest son, Peter Hughes ; (3) Thomas Hughes ; (4) Edward Hughes ; (5) Peter Hughes, of Llan, in this parish, whose daughter, Margaret Hughes, was living there in 1705 ; (1) Mary, Mrs. Whitley, of Shotton, whose daughters, Ann and Catherine Whitley, were the executrixes to their maternal grandmother, Margaret verch Thomas ; and (2) Catherine Hughes of Llûgan, who married and had issue Hannah and Dorothy, both living with their mother in 1705.

Leonard Browne, of Axton, who died before 16th May, 1685, in the lifetime of his mother, Elizabeth Hughes, otherwise Browne, of Axton, widow, had married and left issue John, Thomas, Hugh, Andrew, Katherine, Margaret and Grace, all called by the surname of Browne.

Foulke ap Hugh of Gwespyr, died in this parish in 1663, leaving a widow, Margaret Jones, two brothers, William ap Hugh and Lewis ap Hugh, and a sister, Mrs. Williams, the mother of Foulke Williams, Elizabeth and Ellin.

The following abstracts of Marriage Licence Bonds are from the St. Asaph Registry :—

2nd Feb., 1698. Ralph Bostock, of Llanasa, gardener, bachelor, and Mary Hughes, of Llanasa, spinster.

15th Feb., 1698-9. John Browne, of Llanasa, joiner, and Elizabeth Hughes, of Llanasa, spinster.

The Rev. David Maurice, D.D., was Vicar of Llanasa between 1667 and 1679, and his signature occurs on the Register Rolls.

The Manor or Lordship of Picton with Axton is held by Sir Pyers William Mostyn, of Talacre, Baronet. I have not yet found the early Court Rolls.

Reviews and Notices of Books.

“THE DESCRIPTION OF PENBROKESHIRE”, by GEORGE OWEN of Henllys, Lord of Kemes. Edited, with Notes and Appendix, by HENRY OWEN, B.G.L. London: C. J. Clark. 1892. Part I. Cymmrodorion Record Series, No. I. 8vo., pp. 286. Price 21s., with Part II.

MR. HENRY OWEN'S annotated edition of *The Description of Pembrokeshire*, by George Owen, of Henllys, Lord of Kemes, will prove a boon not only to West Welshmen, topographers, and ethnologists, but to that much more numerous section of society who are lovers of Elizabethan literature. This quaint author has been most unduly neglected. He was born at the Manor House of Henllys, North Pembrokeshire, in 1552, and died there in 1613. George Owen traced his pedigree on the spindle side back to the old filibuster Martin de Turribus, who, in the days of the Red King, carved out for himself a “Lordshippe of the March”, which, however, seems in time to have been so overshadowed by the great earldom of Pembroke, that the Lords of Kemes were unable to maintain their independence though they fought fiercely for their rights. Our author himself was in constant conflict with the Council of the Marches as to his rights of wardship and imprisonment. Commissions sat in Newport, Pembrokeshire, in 1588 and 1599 to take evidence on the subject, and the Lord of Kemes was at one time placed under arrest in his own Castle of Newport.

But though shorn of its powers the Lordship of Kemes still exists, and the 24th lord, Sir Martine Owen Lloyd, enjoys the unique privilege of selecting a fit and proper person to serve as mayor of the ancient borough of Newport.

There is no record of the place of our author's education, and in truth but little is known of his life.

Mr. Henry Owen points out that during the wonderful Elizabethan era the revival of learning had extended in a marked degree to Wales, there were statesmen like Sir John Perrot and Sir Edward Carns, soldiers like Sir Gelly Meyrick (and he might have added Sir Gelly's master, Robert Devereux, 2nd Earl of Essex, who was born and bred at Lamphey near Pembroke), merchant princes like Sir Hugh Myddleton and Sir Richard Clough, and lawyers like Sir William Jones, Lord Chief Justice of Ireland. Among ecclesiastics were John Williams, Dean of Westminster and Archbishop of York, Hugh Price, founder of Jesus College, Oxford, William Morgan and Richard Davies, translators, to say nothing of John Perry Martin (Marprelate). In the various departments of literature are to be found the famous names of Edward, Lord of Cherbury, and his brother George Herbert, James Howell, Humphrey Lhwyd, David

Powell, Sir John Price, Sir John Gwyn, William Salisbury, John Owen, the epigrammatist, and Robert Vaughan, of Hengwrt. These worthies, without exception, were either Englishmen or Welshmen who had enjoyed the advantages of an English education, so it is, perhaps, not assuming too much if we take it for granted that George Owen was also educated in England.

It is scarcely possible to believe that he could have acquired such a command of English current literature and classical lore in a remote district like Kemes, even under the tutelage of his venerable father. For Kemes then, as now, was in the Welsheries of Pembrokeshire, and what sort of English the untravelled Elizabethan Welshman used we may study in the writings of Lewis Dwnn, herald and poet, of Bettws Cydwain, Montgomeryshire. In this marvellous tongue, "Dus tus o pies an Corwen," stands for Justice of the Peace and Quorum, "Mikar" takes the place of Vicar, "Domas" of Thomas, "Macivr" means Mayor, and M.D. is rendered "Doctor o Ffussig". Such was not the language used by our George Owen, whose wording is always clear, to the point, and redolent of the Elizabethan period, while his matter sparkles now and again with good-natured humour and happy comparison. The author's history and geology is naturally faulty, being that of the period in which he lived; but what is of much more importance to his readers, he brings Elizabethan Pembrokeshire before them; in his pages we can almost see those "three thowsand yonge people brought up contynuallye in hearing of cattle within this shere, who are putt to this idell education, when they are first come to be ten or twelve yeares of age, and turned to the open fieldes to followe their cattle, when they are forced to endure the heate of the sunne in his greatest extremitie, to parch and burne their faces, handes, leggs, feet and breastes in such sorte as they seeme more like tawney Moores than people of this lande, and then with the coulde, frost, snowe, hayle, raine, and winde, they are soe tormented, haueing the skine of their leggs, handes, face and feete all in chinks and chappes (lyke chinkes of an elephante, wherewith he is wonte to take the flies that come thither to sucke his bloude), the poore soules they may well hold opynion with the papistes that there is a purgatorye, and beinge thus tanned with the heate of the sunne, and dryed upp with the heate and cold, as the fishermen doe the stocke fishe (coal fish) in the froste, and poore Johnns (hake) with the sommer's heate."

"Comon sorte of people of the countrey, beinge the greatest number, and not of the gentlemen, servin men, or townsmen, I finde to be verye mean and simple, short of growth, broade and shrubbye, unacceptable in sight for their personal service howsoever they prove in action, when they are put to yt, soe that of all the countreys of Wales I finde and speake by experience Penbrokshire to be the worst manred" (the state of being a man, in the sense of vassal,—compare "kinred", the old form of kindred), "and hardest to finde personable and serviceable men, soe that lieutenantes and

comissioners for musters, are more toyled in seeking 30 or 40 personable men than their neighbour shires are to find 100."

"The gentlemen, serving men and townsmen of this countrey are not so unserviceable but very personable, comely and tall men, which conformith my former assertion, that the hard labour, parchinge of the sunne, and starveinge with the cold is a cheefe cause of the unseemliness of the comon people of the countrey."

This unseemliness, at all events, did not arise from poor living, for "in one thinge these our fleminges have altered their stomackes from the rest over the sea, for in that excesse with which the Dutchmen are taxed, for drinkinge are then their kinsmen for excessive eatinge, for of custome at certeine seasons and labors they will haue fyve meales a daie, and if you will bestowe the sixt on them they will accept of it verve kindly, and if they be but a little intreated they will bestowe labour on the seaventhe meal." And very substantial was the provision of which the said meals consisted,—“Beefe, mutton, pigge, goose, lambe, veale, and kydd, which usually the poorest husband man doth daylye feede on.”

Nor was the country deficient in liquor, for “the Irishe people here doe use their countrye trade in makeinge of aquavitie in greate aboundance, which they carrye to be sould abroade the countrey on horse backs, and other wise, so that weekly you may be suer to have aquavitie to be sold at your dore, and by meanes thereof it is growne to be an usual drinke in most men’s houses insteade of wyne, some of them makeing exceedinge goode and sold better cheape than in any parte of England or Ireland, for I have drunke as goode as some Rosa solis made by them and this sold usuallye for xvij^d a quarte, but comonly you shall have verve good for x^d or xij^d the quarte, which is better cheape than ever I could buye the like in anye parte of Englande.”

Our author was sadly exercised by an incursion of these Irish whiskey makers; so numerous had they become in his time, “that in everye village you shall find the thirde, fourth or fit householder an Irishman, and nowe of late they swarm more than in tymes past by reason of these late warres in Ireland.” Probably these unhappy folks were descendents of Pembroke-shire men who, in former days, had passed over St. George’s Channel. Owen declares that in some villages the parson was the only individual who did not hail from Ireland; if this tale be true, what had become of the former inhabitants?

In the 16th century Pembroke-shire was a corn country, “being more apt for tilling than for breede”; the reverse is now the case. The stock breeders were then mostly Welsh. The wool was poor, realizing from eight to ten shillings the stone of 17 lb. Fishing was an important industry, but only such fish as would bear carriage proved of value; these were herrings and oysters.

Coal was shipped to Ireland and France; oddly enough, the mixture of clay and coal dust known as “balls” was not then in use as fuel.

The chapter on land measure is very interesting, for in Pembroke-

shire the pole differed in almost every hundred, varying from nine to twelve feet; from the measure you might estimate the value of the soil: the longer the pole the worse the land. The Pembrokeshire acre nominally equalled four English acres, but as it was measured by the varying pole, the acre likewise varied. The weaving trade had wholly disappeared. The chapters on administration of law and conveyance of land will repay careful consideration.

George Owen says little about the Church, though in his life the pendulum had swung from Protestant to Catholic, and then back to Protestant. In describing the islands known as the Bishop and Clerks, off St. David's, he indulges in a small joke at the expense of the non-resident dignitaries. "The Bishop and those his clerkes preach deadly doctrine to their winter audience, and are commendable in nothing but for their good residence."

Mr. Henry Owen has taken his text from the author's autograph in the British Museum, Harleian MS. 6250, and he guarantees "that with due allowance for all things human, it is an exact and faithful transcript." In 1795 Richard Fenton printed the chapter describing the game of knappan, in the first vol. of the *Cambrian Register*, and in the following year sent the remainder of *The Description of Pembrokeshire* to the same magazine, but in a very mangled condition, large portions being avowedly reserved for future publication. Fenton followed a copy now lost, which had belonged to (and was probably transcribed by) his, Fenton's, great-grandfather, John Lewis of Manorowen, and which differs in numberless points of detail from the autograph in the British Museum.

During the last hundred years various individuals have proposed to publish a faithful copy of *The Description of Pembrokeshire* but it has been reserved for Mr. H. Owen to carry those proposals into effect.

A proverb recommends us not to look a gift-horse in the mouth, and this volume is a free gift to the members of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion: but we must admit its mouth will bear very close inspection.

John Lewis' copy, or rather Richard Fenton's transcript of it, differs, in essentials as well as details, from the autograph, in points important to genealogists and topographers. For instance, we find on page 50 of the new edition a long list of the commissioners who divided Wales into shires, 28 Henry VIII, which is omitted by Fenton.

In the list of woods it is noticeable that in several instances Owen gives names as they are now pronounced, whereas Lewis or Fenton gives a different rendering; the former giving Boulston, Throstlwood, and Ramsbush, whereas the latter render these place-names Bulston, Throstwood, and Peimsbush.

Mr. Owen's notes err, if it can be called an error, on the right side; he is almost too elaborate, every word or expression which might puzzle the veriest tyro is explained, and slips are very few and very unimportant. On page 262, Henllan, the old home of the

Whites of Tenby, is identified with a house in Lampeter Velfry parish, now the property of the Bishop of Llandaff, whereas the ruins of White's house are in Castlemartin Hundred; half was between Rhoscrowther and Pwllcroghan. Mr. Owen has received valuable aid from Mr. Egerton Phillimore, the editor of *Y Cymmrodor*, whose notes are signed "P.", and to both are due the thanks of every man who takes an intelligent interest in the Principality; and these thanks may take the form of gratitude for favours to come, as Mr. Owen promises us a second volume of fragments written by his namesake George, the Lord of Kemes.

Amongst the Marquess of Bute's London collection of books and MSS. is a copy of Harleian 6250. It is in George Owen's handwriting, and contains many minor corrections of the fair copy in the British Museum that has been taken by Mr. Henry Owen for his text. No mention is made of this second and revised copy by the present Editor in his admirable Preface, and it would appear that its existence was unknown to him. This is unfortunate, as a collation of both would probably have helped in the elucidation of the few obscurities of Harl. 6250.

We understand from a member of our Association, who, by the courtesy of Lord Bute's librarian, Mr. Godwin, has had the opportunity of cursorily examining his Lordship's copy, that it probably represents the author's original draft of the *Description*. At the end of the "First Booke" (which practically terminates the MS., the second book never having been written) is the following, "Script. 28 Maii 1603". The Harleian has "Finis 18 Maii 1603". It is hardly possible that a second copy of so lengthy a MS. could have been written in ten days, so that the discrepancy in the date is probably the result of an error. The British Museum MS. is written most carefully, and has the appearance of having been fairly copied from an earlier and rougher original. If this conjecture is correct, the 18th May 1603 would represent the date upon which the work (though not that example of it) was completed, and the 18th May may have been erroneously entered instead of the 28th. The Bute MS. also bears on the same page the date "25 August 1603". These memoranda are in the handwriting of George Owen, but at the foot of the same page, in another hand, is "John Owen. Evagrias Saunders de Kilrhedin in Count. Carmarthen, gent." This John Owen has also written his name at the commencement.

The pagination is not the same as that of the Museum MS., but the order of the chapters is exactly preserved. The transcript was, however, not slavishly performed, the spelling being varied, *e.g.*, "cittie" appears in the Bute copy as "cytye" or "cyty", etc.

At a later period the author carefully revised his original (*i.e.*, the Bute) MS., inserting therein innumerable corrections, but he did not alter the fairly made transcript, now Harleian 6250, if it was then in his possession. There are no less than a dozen alterations in the few lines produced by Mr. Henry Owen as a facsimile of the author's handwriting, and a careful collation of the whole MS.

would probably discover many more.¹ So handsome is the present volume, and so perfectly has the printing been executed, that it is especially to be regretted the opportunity for such collation has been lost.

SIX MONTHS IN THE APENNINES; OR, A PILGRIMAGE IN SEARCH OF VESTIGES OF THE IRISH SAINTS IN ITALY. By MARGARET STOKES. Small 4to., pp. 313, with 93 illustrations. George Bell and Sons, London, 1892. Price 15s. net.

Judging from the short title which appears on the corner of Miss Margaret Stokes' latest contribution to the archæological literature of Ireland, one would be led to expect that it was an ordinary book of travels, of no more interest to the serious student than the account of Miss Muriel Dowie's so-called adventures in the Carpathians. Let us, therefore, at once remove the false impression thus created by explaining that Miss Stokes visited Italy with the definite purpose of following the track of the early Irish missionaries on the Continent, in order to collect every vestige of information that could be gathered with regard to them, by investigating the localities where their principal monasteries were founded. Miss Stokes also says in her preface, "My object in undertaking this work is quite as much to find a clue to the origins of Irish art, and to discover the reason for the development of certain styles in Ireland, as to search for the material remains, the personal relics, and other memorials of men we are proud to own as countrymen." How well Miss Stokes succeeded in attaining the objects she set before her when starting, will be apparent to all who may be tempted to read her delightful narrative.

The book takes the form of letters, interspersed with lives of Saints in a way which is occasionally rather irritating. We should have infinitely preferred that the learned authoress should have given us more of her own personal experiences and less of the history of Irish Saints, compiled from sources of varying degrees of authenticity.

The introductory letter opens with a discussion on the origin of Christian art in Great Britain and Ireland, a subject of much interest to Welsh archæologists, who would gladly learn something definite as to the relation of the ornament on their crosses to that found in Ireland and on the Continent. It is somewhat disappointing, therefore, not to be told more on a matter with regard to which we are so much in need of enlightenment. Miss Stokes confines

¹ On the last folio but one (p. 281 of the printed edition) the year 1857 is spoken of as a year of great scarcity. When revising his rough copy the author altered this to 1588, but afterwards restored it to 1587.

herself to giving descriptions and illustrations (borrowed from Raffaele Cattaneo's excellent work on early Italian architecture) of some of the best known examples of sculptured-interlaced work in Rome and elsewhere; finally summing up her conclusions in the following rather guarded paragraph:—

“I venture to hope that this visit to Bobio has not been fruitless, and that the results may cast light on certain questions relating to the origins of art in the British Islands. The idea that the interlaced work which characterised the early Christian art of these islands originated here, and was carried hence by our early pilgrims and missionaries of the Scotie Church, may be for ever abandoned. Certain varieties of such designs were developed in Ireland, as already stated, and if they were to appear in any part of the continent, as has been observed by Canon Browne in writing to me on the subject, it would be on the tombs of the founders of the Irish monasteries on the Continent, such as I now lay before you. But these varieties do not appear on the tombs of Columban and his followers at Bobic. The interlacings on these marbles are in no way different from those which overspread Italy in the period of the Lombardic Romanesque architecture before the sixth and seventh centuries. It would be difficult to prove that any such designs prevailed in Ireland before the seventh century. They are not found on pre-Christian remains in that country, although they are in Italy. They appear to have been gradually introduced into Ireland along with Christianity at a time when this style still lingered in the South of Europe.”

When Miss Stokes visited Bobio she took rubbings of the sculptured slabs on the tombs of Bishop Attala (successor of St. Columban), of Cumman, of Congal, and of the followers of St. Columban, all of which are illustrated. The ornament on these slabs consists almost entirely of interlaced-work, but of a kind that a practised eye would never for one moment confound with that on the Irish or Welsh crosses. Most of the uncertainty which has hitherto existed with regard to the origin of Celtic art has been due to the fact that the uninitiated seem to be unable to grasp the idea that interlaced-work by itself is not sufficient to constitute the peculiar style of decoration. It is only when interlaced-work of a particular description is combined with key-patterns, spirals, and zoöomorphic designs, arranged in panels in a special way, that the desired effect is produced. No one has attempted to show that such a combination of elements is to be found anywhere abroad, or that it was not first invented in Ireland. Very possibly the Italo-Byzantine interlaced-work was introduced into Ireland from Italy at a time when there was constant intercourse between the Christian communities of both countries; or, what is more probable, it spread gradually from Italy to Gaul, and thence to Great Britain and Ireland, becoming modified in varying degrees according to the artistic capacity of the peoples amongst whom this kind of decoration found favour. Interlaced-work was thus a common form of orna-

ment throughout Europe from the 7th to the 11th century, but it was much more highly developed in Ireland and Scotland than elsewhere, and used in combination with other decorative elements of native origin, so as to transform Italo-Byzantine art into Celto-Byzantine art.

The late Prof. E. A. Freeman succeeded in showing that the Irish and Saxon styles of architecture were merely local varieties of the Byzantine style, and the same may be said of the arts of illumination and sculpture in Great Britain before the Norman Conquest.

The high pitch of perfection to which the Irish illuminators and sculptors carried the practice of ornamental design no doubt produced a reaction upon the art of the neighbouring countries, that is easily traceable in the Saxon and Carolingian MSS., and perhaps in some of the crosses in Scotland, Wales, and Northumbria. This Irish influence, however, certainly did not extend beyond the north of France, and none of the Italian interlaced-work exhibits any evidence of its effect either in the improvement of the patterns æsthetically, or in their combination with native Irish forms of ornament, such as the divergent spiral.

Miss Stokes' visit to Italy has convinced her that the views she seems to have advocated in her previous writings with regard to the Irish origin of the interlaced-work abroad is now quite untenable.

In making her journey in search of the existing memorials of Irish Saints in Italy, the authoress seems to have taken them in chronological order, beginning with a quest after the relics of St. Finnian of Moville (A.D. 500 to 588), at Lucca, and ending with a pilgrimage to the shrines of Donatus, Bishop of Fiesole (A.D. 824 to 874) and Brigid, Patroness of S. Martino a lo Baco (A.D. 875 to 885).

As might be expected, many of the excursions led the explorer far away from the beaten track of the ordinary tourist, following the roaring mountain torrents right up to their sources in the very heart of the Apennines. Here, in the most lonely and inaccessible situations, were to be found the anchorite cells, in caves of the rock, which have their counterparts in Egypt, in Syria, in Ireland, and in Scotland. Amidst such associations and such scenery, is it to be wondered that we find Miss Stokes instituting comparisons between the natural beauties of Italy and those of her native land?

Of all the traces which the early Irish Saints have left behind them abroad, none is so striking as the moral effect produced on the minds of the people amongst whom they worked; for even now, after the lapse of more than a thousand years, the names of S. Frediano and S. Columbano are held in as great veneration as ever. Countless churches are dedicated in their honour, their relics still work wonders, and their miracles have left their impress on the sacred art of the country.

Notwithstanding this, it is rather disappointing to find that so few vestiges remain of buildings, monuments, or other objects of contemporary date with the Saints themselves. With regard to the

buildings, there is nothing to differentiate the churches dedicated to Irish Saints in Italy from those that are not thus connected with these early Christian missionaries. Probably the hermitages in the recesses of the mountains, such as the one at Rupe Cavo, on Monte Pisano, and the Cave of St. Columban at La Spanna, near Bobio, are the earliest sites connected with the Irish Saints. The churches dedicated to them do not date back beyond the 11th or 12th century. Again, the evidence as to the age and authenticity of their tombs is not always of the most satisfactory nature. For instance, St. Finnian (or Frediano), according to Irish tradition, is believed to have returned to his native land to die. Nevertheless, this did not prevent the ecclesiastics of Lucca from discovering his burial-place in their Cathedral of San Frediano, in a miraculous manner, during the reign of Charlemagne, nor deter them from recording the truth of the miracle by an inscription. The supposed tomb of St. Frediano was a stone sarcophagus ornamented with pagan bas-reliefs of the classical period, and even this is now lost.

By far the most interesting tombs of Irish Saints in Italy visited by Miss Stokes are those in the crypt of the Church of San Columbano at Bobio. Some of the tombs are marked by the slabs bearing interlaced-work already referred to—"but these last mentioned monuments are not *bona fide*. They were all made from the ancient ambone of the old church; and although the bones of the Saints, which originally rested beneath the wall on which they are fixed, were no doubt carefully laid into these receptacles, yet these marble fragments of the ruined pulpit were only thus utilised in 1480. One cannot but be thankful that these fine fragments are preserved in any form. They are striking examples of the interlaced-work which we have already associated with the native art of our country."

Of the original inscription belonging to the tomb of St. Columban a mere fragment remains, and it is now used as a bracket of the sarcophagus of Cummian. So few of the words are left that it is hardly possible to guess even at the reading of the whole, but the letters are of very early date. The present tomb of St. Columban was erected, in place of the older one, by Abbot Gian Antonio of Pavia, in 1480. It is a sarcophagus, decorated with five panels of sculpture illustrating the following episodes in the life of the Saint: (1) he tames a bear; (2) he writes his rule; (3) he receives the hydria; (4) he casts out devils; and (5) he dedicates his monastery. An inscription on the open pages of a book on the first panel shows that these remarkable bas-reliefs were executed by Master Joannes de Patruarcis of Milan, in 1480, an artist who was also engaged on the works carried on in Milan Cathedral A.D. 1465-66. The design of the sculpture is somewhat archaic in style, and the whole of the subjects illustrated are extremely interesting as showing that the events in the life of the Saint were perfectly familiar to the inhabitants of Bobio in the 15th century.

By far the most valuable relic in the crypt of St. Columban's

Church at Bobio, however, is the inscribed sepulchral slab of St. Cumman, Bishop in Scotia and monk in Bobio (A.D. 726 to 730). Padre Remondini justly calls this "the most precious inscription in all Bobio". It is of the 8th century, and states that the body of Lord Cumman, Bishop, was deposited here on the xiv Kalends of September; that whilst alive he spent four Olympiads and the compass of one year at Bobio, serving the Rule of the Venerable Columbanus in watching, fasting, unceasing, sedulous prayings; that the years of his life were ninety and one lustrum and four months; that the monument was erected by King Liutprand (of Lombardy, A.D. 712 to 735); and that it was made by Master John.

With this, the most interesting historical memorial of the early Irish Saints in Italy, we must leave Miss Stokes' extremely fascinating volume, hoping that those who cannot actually follow her footsteps abroad will at least do so mentally whilst reading the graphic pages of her charming narrative.

THE GILD MERCHANT: A Contribution to British Municipal History. By CHARLES GROSS, Ph.D., Instructor in History, Harvard University. Oxford: *Clarendon Press*, 1890. 2 vols.

THE INFLUENCE AND DEVELOPMENT OF ENGLISH GILDS, as illustrated by the History of the Craft Gilds of Shrewsbury. By F. A. HIBBERT, B.A. (Thirlwall Dissertation, 1891). Cambridge: *University Press*, 1891.

In the charters granted to mediæval towns the provision most common to all is one creating a gild mercatory within the nascent municipality. The privilege was expressed in terms that varied slightly, but the following may be regarded as about the simplest yet most comprehensive form adopted by the Crown in the cases where the towns were under its direct control: "Sciatis nos concessisse et hac carta nostra confirmasse Burgensibus nostris de—omnes libertates subscriptas, videlicet, quod habeant Gildam mercatorium cum hansa et aliis consuetudinibus et libertatibus ad Gildam illam pertinentibus, et quod nullus qui non sit de gilda illa mercandisam aliquam faciat in Burgo predicto vel in suburbio ejusdem nisi de voluntate eorundem Burgensium."

The history of the Merchant Gilds—their connection with the municipalities within which they were established, and their gradual absorption of municipal functions, so that in most instances it is difficult to draw a line of demarcation between gild and municipality—this is the scope of Dr. Gross's work. The conclusions at which he has arrived, and the enormous mass of material he has gathered together, have been adopted and made use of by Mr. Hibbert, who has judiciously utilised both in his minute examination of the working of the gild system within the borough of Shrewsbury.

To Welsh antiquaries the questions as to the origin of the Gild

Merchant—whether it is in direct succession to the Roman *collegia*, whether it is a development of the Anglo-Saxon *frith-gild*, or whether it is an importation or creation of the post-Norman period—are of only secondary importance. There was nothing in Welsh polity that operated towards the establishment of such an institution, because there were no towns, in the ordinary sense of the term, in Wales, except those founded by English influence upon the English pattern. It is, therefore, those portions of Dr. Gross's work that deal with the rise and development of burghal life, and with the action within the burgh of the Merchant Guild, that are instructive to a Cambrian antiquary.

The appendix entitled "The Affiliation of Mediæval Boroughs" is of especial interest, as bringing out with clearness a peculiar feature of municipal constitutions not fully recognised by preceding writers. Dr. Gross explains it thus:—

"When a prosperous village or a newly-founded town wished to secure the franchises of a free borough, or when a borough sought an extension of its liberties, it was natural for the community to look for a model among its more privileged and flourishing neighbours. The innate tendency of the human mind to turn to account the experiences of others would have been a sufficient motive for such action; but the need of a reliable precedent of this kind was especially felt in an age when even the magistrates of most towns were unskilled in law, and when king and baron were ever ready to nullify chartered rights, the one by a quibbling 'quo warranto', the other by evasions and encroachments. . . . The townsmen having selected a borough as an exemplar, offered a fine to their lord in return for a grant of its privileges. Thus, in 1199, Gloucester gave the king two hundred marks that it might have the liberties of Winchester; in 1204 Derby offered sixty marks for a charter like that of Nottingham. If the petitioners found a favourable hearing, they received a charter containing some such clause as the following: 'Sciatis nos concessisse . . . burgensibus nostris de Derby omnes illas liberas consuetudines quas burgenses nostri de Nottingham habent,' etc. In this particular case the customs ('consuetudines'), or at least the more important ones, are specified in the charter; but they are frequently omitted. Sometimes they are enumerated without any intimation that they are those of another town. . . . Thus, the phenomenon of affiliation will often explain certain remarkable resemblances existing between charters of different boroughs. A town could have two or more models at the same time, or could change from one to another. . . . Not infrequently a daughter town itself became an exemplar for others, these in turn serving as precedents for a fourth group. Sometimes only particular institutions or customs of the mother town were granted, as, for example, her markets, fairs, gilds, or courts, etc." (pp. 242—244).

We make no apology for extracting the following from Dr. Gross's list of affiliated boroughs, as it will be of value to those interested in the rise and progress of Welsh municipal institutions.

" BRISTOL.

BRISTOL	{	Cardigan (1249)				
		Ellesmere (Hen. III)				
		Hereford (1215)				
		Rhuddlan (1278)				
		Shrewsbury (1209)	{	Oswestry (1398)		
			{	Ruyton (1308-9)		
HEREFORD	{	Beaumaris (1296)				
		Brecon (4 Edw. I)				
		Builth (1278)				
		Cardiff (1341)	{	Llantrisant (1346)		
				Neath (1359)		
		Carmarthen	{	Cardigan (1249)	{	Lampeter (1302)
				Laugharne [1300]		
		Carnarvon (1284)	{	Bala (1324)		
		Conway (1284)		{	Caerwys (1290)	
		Criccieth (1284)				
		Denbigh (1333)				
		Harlech (1284)				
		Haverfordwest [Henry III]				
		Llanfyllin (Edw. II)				
		Montgomery (1227)	{	Aberystwith (1277)		
		Newtown [Hen. VI]				
		Rhuddlan (1278)				
Welshpool [Edw. I]						
RHUDDLAN	{	Caergwrle (1351)				
		Caerwys (1290)				
		Denbigh (1333)				
		Flint (1284)				
		Newborough (1303)	{	Cardigan (1249)	{	Lampeter
				Nevin (1343-76)		(1332)
				Pwllheli (1355)		
Overton (1291-2)						

"Thus England" (continues Dr. Gross), "may be divided into regions, each having a municipal centre, from which law and liberty radiated in all directions—a division that constitutes the basis for a more natural and organic classification of mediæval boroughs than any now in vogue. We must not, however, picture to ourselves a monotonous uniformity of constitution in the towns of a given region. They did not merge their identity in that of the parent community so as to become mere duplicates of the same. The framework of their constitution, and especially criteria in legal procedure, were borrowed from the parent town; but local peculiarities—certain immemorial usages and later accretions to the mother stock—gave to each borough an individuality of its own" (p. 257).

Why Hereford, rather than Shrewsbury, should have become the

fountain head of Welsh municipal life is not difficult of explanation. Hereford obtained an earlier start than Shrewsbury, and its development was in the direction of commerce, whilst Shrewsbury was more military in character. This was plainly the case at the date of the Domesday Survey, and continued so for many centuries. Rhuddlan had already modelled itself upon the pattern of Hereford, though I cannot agree with Dr. Gross that this had taken place in Anglo-Saxon times. The history of Rhuddlan, as a borough, commences with the foundation of Robert of Rhuddlan's Castle, and it was probably his influential Norman connections, as well as the desirability of having a strong settlement on the Welsh border, that led to the concession of the advanced customs of Hereford. There is specific reference to this relationship in the first charter issued to Rhuddlan,¹ and it continued in popular remembrance. Several officials examined before the Commission of 1280 speak of it. Nevertheless, appeals to the liberties of Hereford must have been unnecessary in view of the comprehensive charters granted to Rhuddlan and the other Royal towns established in North Wales after the conquest of 1284. Of the history of these towns and the development of their constitutions we know very little. The municipal archives have been dissipated or destroyed, and there is little hope that enough has been spared to permit of the reconstruction of Welsh burghal life in the Middle Ages. It is, however, probable that the burgesses in these favoured towns proceeded to put into operation the clause granting them a Merchant Guild, in the same way as did the burgesses of Ipswich, namely, by appointing a body to regulate and protect local trade. The chief officer of the Merchant Guild was the alderman. Now, not one of the charters of

¹ 6th Edw. I (1278). As this has never been printed, I give it here:—
 “Rex, Archiepiscopus, etc., salutem. Sciatis nos concessisse et hac carta nostra confirmasse Burgensibus nostris de Rothelan in Wallia omnes libertates subscriptas, videlicet, quod habeant Gildam mercatoriam cum hansa et aliis consuetudinibus et libertatibus ad Gildam illam pertinentibus, et quod nullus qui non sit de gilda illa mercandisam aliquam faciat in Burgo predicto vel in suburbio ejusdem nisi de voluntate eorundem Burgensium. Concessimus eciam eisdem Burgensibus et eorum heredibus quod si aliquis natus in prefato Burgo manserit et terram in eo tenuerit, et fuerit in prefata Gilda et hansa, et Loth et Scoth cum eisdem Burgensibus per unum annum et unum diem sine calumpnia deinceps non possit repeti a domino suo, sit in eodem Burgo liber permaneat. Preterea concessimus prefatis Burgensibus nostris de Rothelan et heredibus eorum quod habeant Soch et Sach, thal et theam et Infongenethf. Et quod quieti sint per totam terram nostram de theolonio, Lestagio, Passagio, pontagio, et stallagio, et de Lene et danegeldis et Gaywyte et omnibus aliis consuetudinibus et exactionibus per totam potestatem nostram, tam in Wallia quam in omnibus aliis terris nostris sicut villa nostra de Hereford predictis libertatibus et quietanciis hactenus usa est et gavisa. Quare volumus et firmiter precipimus quod prefati Burgenses nostri de Rothelan et heredes eorum habeant Gildam mercatoriam cum hansa et aliis libertatibus et consuetudinibus ad Gildam illam pertinentibus. Et quod habeant omnes libertates et quietancias predictas imperpetuum bene et in pace, libere et quiete, honorifice, plenarie et integre, sicut predictum est, et sicut villa nostra Hereford predictis libertatibus et quietanciis hactenus usa est et gavisa. Hiis testibus etc. Data [per manum nostram apud Westmonasterium, iii'o die Novembris a. r. n. sexto].

the North-Welsh towns mentions this functionary; their chief dignitaries were a mayor (who was also constable of the adjacent castle) and a couple of bailiffs. But when we arrive at a period of which we have a gleam of documentary information, we find at Conway the Gild alderman regarded as one of the town officers, and provisionally occupying the position of mayor (*Arch. Camb.*, 5th Series, vol. vii, p. 226). This was probably what happened in the other boroughs of Wales, though the process of fusion is undiscoverable. The case of Montgomery is interesting. The position fell into English hands at an early date and became the site of a strong castle which soon got into the hands of the Crown. The town obtained a charter in 1227, which, though as comprehensive as any of that period, was nothing like so wide as those of the Edwardian castellated towns. It is believed that at Montgomery the town archives extend back to a very early period; their publication is one of the chief *desiderata* of Welsh antiquaries.

Still more difficult is it to estimate the influence of the Gild Merchant within those municipalities situated upon the domain of a lord-marcher or of a semi-independent Welsh chieftain, which derived their privileges immediately from his grant. We must await the production of further documentary information before we can appreciate the progress of corporate institutions in the Welsh towns of this class.

Some confusion has arisen between the towns of Rhuddlan and Dryslwyn, whereby Dr. Gross has omitted all mention of the latter, and in his index bids us for "Drosselan see Rhuddlan". The confusion seems to have been caused, at any rate in the minds of writers upon Welsh national or municipal history, by an individual who has written in the Customal of Hereford, against the entry recording the grant of the customs of that city to Drusselane, the word "Ruthlan". As the period of this grant was sometime in the reign of Henry II there can be no doubt that Rhuddlan is the place intended. But a century later a little town collected around the castle of Rhys ap Gruffudd in the Vale of Towy, called Dryslwyn, which obtained a full charter of incorporation, including the customs of Hereford. The resemblance of its name to that of the more important North-Wales fortified town has resulted in the loss of its separate identity. A few fragments of its history might be recovered to reward the new-born zeal of our Carmarthenshire members; and as one cannot help wondering why the tiny collection of dwellings around Dryslwyn Castle should have been endowed with a more extended charter than was then possessed by many important towns, it is to be hoped that its history will be taken in hand.

Much documentary material still peacefully reposing in the national repositories, must be brought to light before the history of the Welsh municipalities, or indeed of any one of them, can be written. But the splendid work of Dr. Gross will afford a firm basis for such a structure, and will furnish the inquirer with correct views of the general scope and operations of the most important of municipal institutions.

EDWARD OWEN.

Archaeological Notes and Queries.

GWAUNYSGOR CHURCH: PARTIAL RESTORATION.—The roof of this church was falling into ruins, but the rector, the Rev. William Jones, invited the Venerable Archdeacon Watkin Williams to visit the place, and this gentleman, with his usual munificence, procured the services of a local builder to re-roof the church, and paid the whole costs out of his own pocket. As is generally the case when old buildings are meddled with, it was found that the porch required attention, and this also has been re-slatted. The rector, who appealed to friends of the church for help, received liberal responses to his letters, and he has money in hand sufficient to erect a small vestry on the north side. He intends opening the built up north door, and making that the entrance into the contemplated new vestry. The whole of the church internally is being thoroughly cleaned, but no part of the structure is to be touched otherwise than which has been above mentioned, consequently the features of the old church will remain as they were when the members of the Cambrian Archæological Association visited the district and church a few years ago.

The north side of the church wall has in it only one narrow window, a few inches broad, and the churchyard on that side is unoccupied by the dead, whilst the other three sides seem to be crowded. These were features common to most Welsh churches, but restorations, as they occur, destroy in too many instances peculiarities of this kind. A few years ago the internal arrangements of this church were entirely changed. These were peculiar, and the living remember them. As they constituted a feature which no longer exists, I will describe the church as it was before the present seats were erected.

The old Internal Arrangements of Gwaunysgor Church.—The late rector, the Rev. James Jones, informed me that the nave of the church was empty, and the parishioners brought with them chairs Sunday after Sunday for their use, and took them home with them when the services of the day were ended. The male portion of the congregation occupied the part next the altar, and there were here large stones with initials cut on them—so an aged native woman informed me—for the use of the men, and these stones were the only fixed seats in the whole church. It is needless to say they have all disappeared.

Rushes in the Church.—Up to almost recent times the church was strewn with rushes, and these formed, in some instances, seats and hassocks for the congregation. In an old parish account-book be-

longing to this parish I found entries to this effect almost year after year, thus:—

1834-5	Rushish	three times to church	...	...	...	9	0
1837	Rushish	„ „ „	...	...	...	3	0
1899	Rishes to church	...	...	...	...	3	0

After this date no more entries respecting rushes appear.

Disappearance of a Parish Book.—When I visited the parish in the late rector's time, he informed me of the existence of a parish book, in the possession of the tenant of the farm adjoining the rectory grounds, from which I made the above extracts. The book was procured from the farm for my perusal. This book the present rector knows nothing of, and the widow of the late tenant has left the farm; but if she has the book in her possession, I have no doubt she would give it up to be preserved and kept in the church chest. The sooner it is looked after the better, lest it should be destroyed or lost. The Venerable Archdeacon Watkin Williams went to the trouble and expense of getting a lost register belonging to Cwm church replaced, and I beg to call his attention to the above lost book, hoping he will be instrumental in securing this also.

Corps Bell.—I found this bell in the school-room at Gwaunysgor uncared for. I advised the rector to take it under his charge, and he did so, and I hope it will in future be safely kept in the church chest. In the Terrier for 10th August 1816, this bell is thus mentioned:—

“One bell hung upon the belfry, and *one small hand bell.*”

In many Terriers in the diocese of St. Asaph bells of this kind are mentioned and described thus; at Rhuddlan there was one. It is alluded to in these words:—

“One small bell, and another *small corps bell.*”

Also in the Rural Dean's report on Llangar Church, made to the Bishop of St. Asaph, February 19th, 1729-30, among the church property there is mentioned a small handbell, the use of which is specified:—

“They have a hanging bell, and a *hand bell for funerals.*”

All these curious remains of former customs ought to be preserved, and I venture to call the attention of our Church authorities to their existence and neglect.

ELIAS OWEN.

THE BLACK BOOK OF ST. DAVID'S.—This MS., referred to on p. 255 of the present volume, was purchased by the British Museum at Messrs. Puttick's sale, held March 2, 1892. It is called “Extent of Possessions of the See of St. David's. Copy, 15th Cent.” The press-mark is Add. 34,135. It is 4to. size, containing 65 folios.

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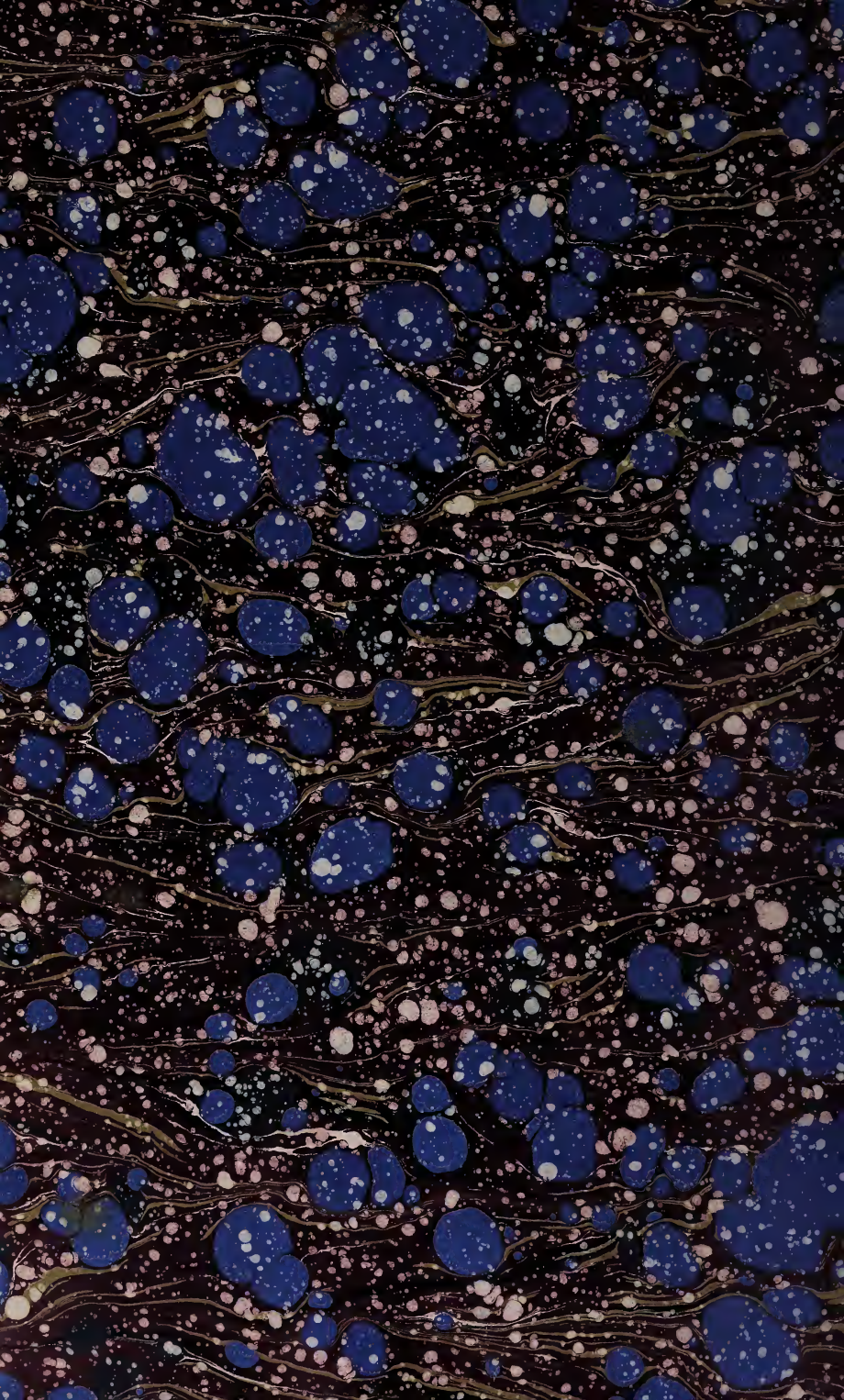
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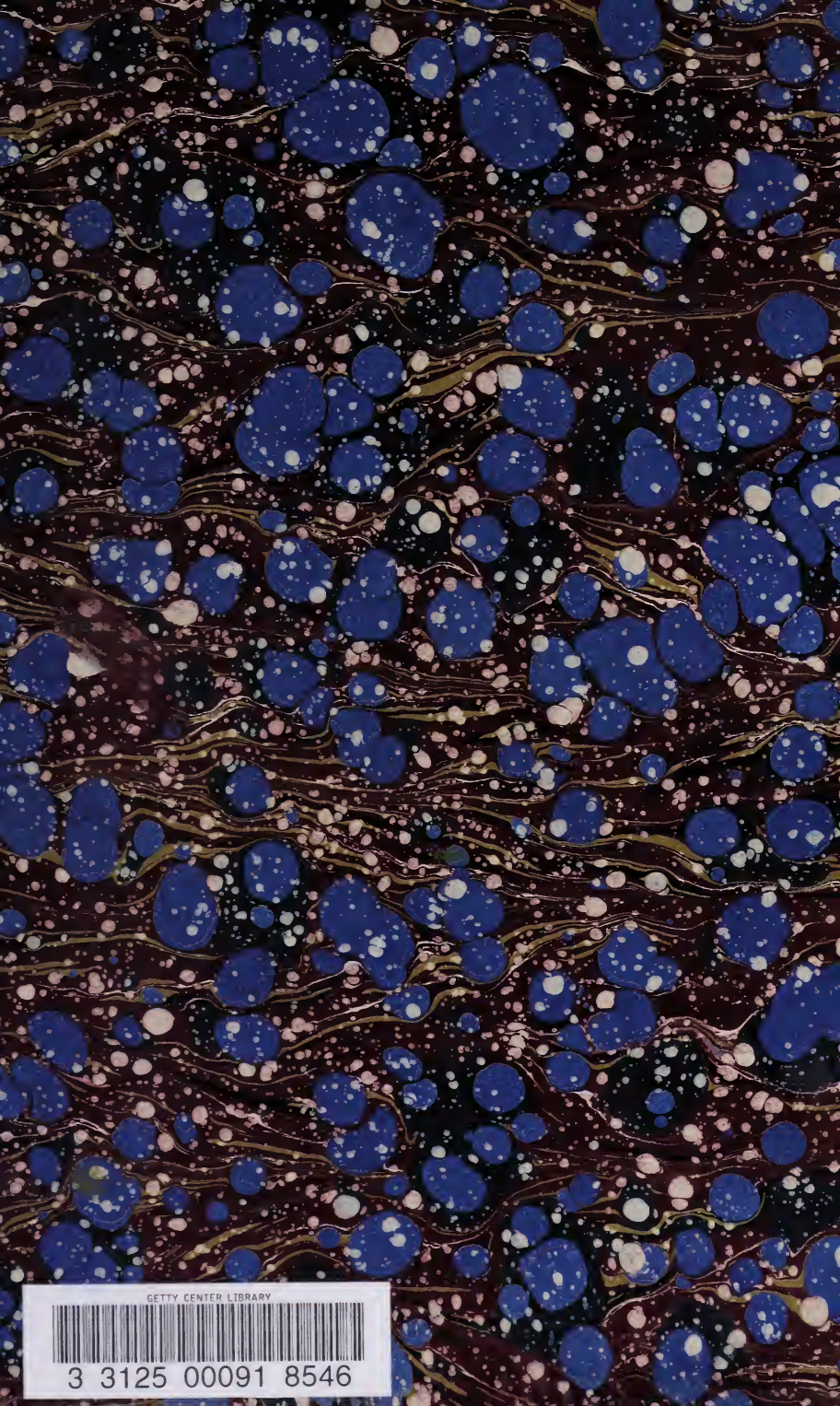
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