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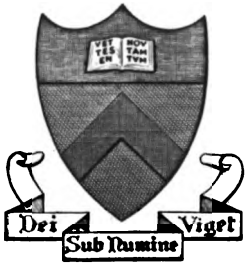

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Archaeologia Cambrensis.

SIXTH SERIES.—VOL. VII, PART I.

JANUARY, 1907.

THE TOWN OF HOLT, IN COUNTY DENBIGH:

ITS CASTLE, CHURCH, FRANCHISE AND DEMESNE.

By ALFRED NEOBARD PALMER.

(*Continued from p. 240.*)

CHAPTER II.—SECTION I.

The Lords and Charter of Holt.

It has been said already that at the time when *Domesday Book* was compiled, the site of Holt, with the "manors" of Gresford, Allington, Hoseley, Sutton, and Eyton, were entered under the Cheshire hundred of "Exestan." They had then long been English, as the names of nearly all the townships within the area testify, although it does not follow that the underlying Welsh population had been displaced. But soon after *Domesday*, this district became annexed to the principality of Powys, being included in the new commote of Merford (which, with that of Wrexham, was known in English as "Bromfield"), and the very lords of land became Welsh.[1] We have to assume that the newly-formed commote (*cymwd*) or rhaglotry was Welsh, not in language only, but in customs, tenures, and feeling, with

[1] I have dealt with this question at length in my *History of the Townships of the Old Parish of Gresford.*

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an increasing tendency, however, *after a while*, to imitate and adopt English customs and methods of government. Still, we must believe that the new commote of the early twelfth century started as a fully-fledged organized Welsh community.

But, perhaps, before we go any further, it may be well to intimate that Bromfield, having become two Welsh commotes (those of Merford and Wrexham),[1] did not remain continuously in the possession of the Princes of Powys. The Earls of Chester kept alive their claim to the district, and, according to the "Chronicle of St. Werburgh," Earl Hugh Cyveilioc "took the whole of Bromfield on Whit Monday, June 13th, 1177": a statement which shows, at any rate, that he did not hold it before. Mr. J. E. Lloyd, M.A., of Bangor, also calls my attention to the fact that in the seventh year of Henry II (1161), under "the land of the Earl of Chester," are mentioned "Hodeslea" (Hoseley) and the "Castellum de Wristleshā" (castle of Wrexham).[2] The

[1] There is plenty of other evidence which might be offered in proof of the statement that "Bromfield," roughly speaking, designated the commotes of Wrexham and Merford, but the following extract from the *Thirty-Sixth Annual Report of the Deputy-Keeper of the Public Records* must here suffice:—"On 18 Feb., 139$\frac{7}{8}$, Richard II issued a writ to the Justice of Bromfield and Yale, for delivery to John Hope, of the office of Serjeant of the Peace, as well within the raglory [rhaglotry], courts, and bailiwicks of Wrexham and Merford, within the lordship of Bromfield, as in the raglory, courts, and bailiwick of Yale, which are called the office of Pensithith [Penceisiaeth ?]. Here the two commotes, or rhaglotries, of Wrexham and Merford, each with its courts, etc., are said to be in the lordship of Bromfield."

[2] The entry occurs in Vol. IV of the Pipe Roll Society's publications, where the account is given thus:—

"Robert' de Monte Alto et Sim' fili' Will'i redd' comp'

. . . . . .

In lib'at' Castellanor' de Hodeslea . . xvili. xviiis.
Et in lib'at' Castell'i de Wristleshā . . xvili. xviiis."

And in the next year the entry is ". . . Castell' de Hodeslea" . . . and ". . . . Castellanor' de Wris . . . ." So that there were at this time not only castles at Wrexham and Hoseley, but mention was made of castellans or castle-keepers at each place. Whether

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explanation of this seems to be that the Welsh were not left undisturbed; and Bromfield, after being intermittently under the Earls of Chester and Princes of Powys, was in all probability afterwards formally ceded to the last named, in return for the help which they often rendered to the English king against other Welsh princes. Certain it is, that Bromfield was a part of Powys Fadog throughout the greater part of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and that its population was Welsh.

To this must be added that when Bromfield came under the lordship of the Warrennes, the commote of Yale was added to it. This is necessary to be said, so that the phrase "lord of Bromfield and Yale" may be intelligible. It also remains to be remarked that the Welsh organization of the three commotes (Merford, Wrexham, and Yale) constituting the new Anglo-Norman lordship, with the officials, customs, and dues of the same, continued long after those commotes were enclosed, so to say, in a feudal shell. Except the newly-founded town of Holt and its franchise, the whole of the chapelry of the same—Hewlington and "the five townships of Isycoed"[1]—was subject to this organization and to these customs.

The proof of the statements made in the preceding paragraph is partly to be found in the records[2] of the proceedings of the court of the bailiwick of Wrexham, which for the years 1339 and 1340 have been preserved. The word "bailiwick" here does not denote merely the

the castellans of the Earl of Chester were in actual continuous possession of the two castles named is another question, and in the text the best explanation which suggests itself is given. The occupation by the Earl's officials appears to have been intermittent. Hosceley was the twin township of Merford.

[1] These five townships were Ridley, Sutton, Dutton Diffaeth, Dutton y brain, and Cacca Dutton.

[2] These records were copied in 1887, at my suggestion, and the cost defrayed out of Griffith's Fund, at the disposal of the Corporation of Wrexham. The transcript has been placed in the Reference Department of the Wrexham Free Library.

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town of Wrexham, but the group of townships, forming a commote, to which Wrexham gave its name. At this time, it would seem that, although Holt was already founded, the two great courts, or "tourns," of the year for the whole lordship were held at Wrexham.

On October 24th, 1339, at Wrexham, the community of Bromfield and Yale, the burgesses of Villa Leonum (Holt) and the men of Minera excepted, granted an aid of 200 marks to the Earl Warrenne; and if they paid not, the raglots of Wrexham, Merford, and Yale were to make a levy on their goods. Here we see that the three commotes, each with its raglot, are distinguished. Then, at the great court held at Wrexham in May, 1340, the township of Morton complains that Ken' ap Codblawd (Cynwrig ap Codblawd, or Codflawd) and Eig'n ap Ririt (Einion ap Rhirid) collected eleven hobetts of oats for the raglot's horse beyond the right measure; and the township of "Dynulle" (Dinhinlle) complains also that the same two persons, evidently servants of the raglot, come daily to the houses of the lord's bondsmen "ad westand"—quartering themselves, that is, as guests upon them, or demanding from them the due known as "gwestfa." In June, 1340, the raglot of the bailiwick of Wrexham "presented" four pitchforks as "waifs" taken in his bailiwick: they were valued at 2*s.*, of which 3*d.* went to the raglot, 4*d.* to the ringild, and the remaining 17*d.* to the lord. At Michaelmas, 1340, Eig'n ap Mad (Einion ap Madoc) complains that Adaf ap Eignō (Addaf ap Einion) took a cow from him for 12*d.* yearly, "in aid of the Welsh forester," for which he was not liable, and the case was referred to the council of the lord. These are some of the Welsh customs from which the charter of Holt delivered the burgesses of the town.

The two following entries in these records are also typical. At Wrexham, in November, 1339, Ken' ap Jor' ap Ken' (Cynwrig ap Iorwerth ap Cynwrig) died; that is, the fact of his death was presented, and Hova and Mad' (Hwfa and Madoc), his sons, came into court,

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and sought the heredity of their father, and it was granted to them, the right of anyone whatever [therein] being saved, and they pledged a heriot, which was 7*s.* 6*d.* Then, in September, 1340, the death of Llewel' ap Edden Voil (Llewelyn ap Ednyfed Foel), freeman, was presented, and Griff', Mad', and Llew' (Griffith, Madog, and Llewelyn) sons of the said Llewelyn, as next heirs, came and sought the heredity of their father, and it was granted to them, the right of anyone whatever [therein] being saved, and they pledged a heriot, which was 7*s.* 6*d.*, and made fealty. Here we recognise gavelkind in its Welsh form.

I have also seen the accounts of Richard de Parys from Michaelmas, 1377, to Michaelmas, 1378; and herein he mentions the sum of £10, at which the issues of the custom of "amobr" in Bromfield and Yale were farmed yearly to John Wilde and Morgan le Yonge.

Add to all this that the names of freemen, as well as of bondsmen, in Bromfield conformed in 1339 and 1340 almost exclusively to the Welsh type of nomenclature.

Thus, if about fifty years after Bromfield came into the possession of the Warrennes, it was so predominantly Welsh in custom, tenure, and in the names of its inhabitants, the two commotes (Merford and Wrexham) which composed it must have been still more Welsh in the respects named when the Warrennes acquired them, and for some time before that date. And it was in this territory that Holt was founded as an English town, for English burgesses only, who were to be free from subjection to Welsh customs.

The commote of Merford, as adjoining Cheshire, and containing within it the borough of Holt, would in all probability be the first to yield to English influences; yet it would seem to have yielded very slowly, and the evidence of deeds, a critical examination of the pedigrees of free families, and a careful scrutiny of the relics of tenure by kindred within it, clearly prove that family holdings, according to Welsh custom, must have lasted

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there to a very late date. The charter[1] of Henry VII, in the twentieth year of his reign, to the tenants of Bromfield and Yale, assumes the continuance in that year of the system of Welsh family holdings, as well as of other Welsh customs and dues, throughout the lordship. But it was always open to say that, in fact, this system of tenure by kindreds and these customs and dues had then fallen into disuse, and that the charter did but confirm existing facts, recognise changes which had taken place, and make practices illegal for which former custom might be pleaded; or at best was but a replica for Bromfield and Yale of charters granted about the same time to other more distinctively Welsh lordships, wherein such practices and customs did then actually exist; and, in short, that the extreme eastern part of Bromfield, bordering upon Cheshire, was at the beginning of the sixteenth century practically Anglicised in the respect named. But Mr. Edward Owen has unearthed at the Record Office recently, a survey of Bromfield and Yale, taken in the *twenty-third* year of Henry VII, which shows, among other things, that a portion at least of Allington, a township adjoining Holt, was still parted into the "gavells" (*gafaelion*) of the sons of Ithel, and a portion of Sutton Isycoed parted out into the "gwelys" (*gwelyau*) of the sons of Elidur, Ithel ap Eunydd, and Elidur ap Rhys Sais being the Welshmen who, according to tradition, wrested the supremacy of this district from the Anglo-Normans, and settled in it. A "gafael" (*holding*) and a "gwely" (*bed*) may be taken for our present purpose as one, and as denoting the holding of a kindred, subject to Welsh law and custom. We find Dutton y brain, moreover, described in the same survey as "of the progeny of Edonowyn," and read of the "gavell" of "Madoc ap Gorgene [Gwrgeneu] de

[1] A translation of this grant, or charter, was printed in 1885 in Appendix IV to my *History of Ancient Tenures of Land in the Marches of North Wales*, and more recently in vol. xix of *Y Cymmrodor*, together with a copy of the Latin text.

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Hewlyngton," Hewlyngton being a part of the present township of Holt, and Sutton and Dutton within the *old* chapelry of the same town. All these places, moreover, are mentioned as being in the bailiwick of Merford. This is not the place to comment upon other statements of the *Survey*, but I may be permitted to indicate in this brief form the economic condition of the area adjoining the town of Holt, on its Welsh side, in the twenty-third year of Henry VII.

Now, let us go back to the time of the last prince of Powys Fadog, whose castle was Dinas Bran, and to the circumstances under which Bromfield and Yale, from being parts of a petty Welsh princedom, became a lordship marcher, held of the English king.

After the death of Madog ap Gruffydd ap Madog, of Dinas Bran, who had sworn fealty to the King of England, Edward I acted on the whole in the most just fashion, according to his notions of feudal right. On the 10th December, 1277, the King informed Roger L'Estrange that he had appointed Gruffydd ap Iorwerth to keep justice in the lands formerly of Madog of Bromfield, "according to the law and custom of those parts," and pay the issues thereof to Margaret, who had been the wife of the said Madog, for the maintenance of Llewelyn and Gruffydd, his sons, according to the counsel of the Bishop of St. Asaph. The King had, however, already exacted homage from the lads, and appointed Roger L'Estrange guardian of the lands of the said Madog of Bromfield, so far as the preservation of peace and punishment of malefactors were concerned. And Edward's care of the boys and of their mother and grandmother extended until January, $12\frac{79}{80}$, and doubtless later, when suddenly Llewelyn ap Gruffydd, Prince of Gwynedd, not without provocation, broke the truce, and in conjunction with his brother David, the King's sworn vassal, stormed the castles of Aberystwyth and Hawarden, and attacked those of Rhuddlan and Flint.

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LATER PRINCES OF POWYS FADOG.

Gruffydd ap Madog ap Gruffydd Maelor. = Emma Audley.

Madog ap Gruffydd, of Bromfield and Dinas Bran, *alias* Madog Fychan;[1] died 1277. = Margaret.	Llewelyn, of Chirk and Nanheudwy.	Gruffydd Fychan, of Yale and Glyndwrdwy.	Owen, a clerk; died young.	
Llewelyn. Both died young.	Gruffydd.			

[1] N.B.—This Madog ap Gruffydd was otherwise called in the English rolls not only "Madoc de Bromfield," but also "Madoc Fychan," or "Madoc Vachan." Now this last name was opposed utterly to the Welsh system of personal nomenclature. And it appears as though the King treated "Vachan" as a sort of surname for the sons of Gruffydd ap Madog: for not merely was Gruffydd ap Gruffydd so named, which would be usual, but also his brother, Llewelyn ap Gruffydd, of Chirk.

The rebellion, in which Llewelyn and Gruffydd, brothers of Madog of Bromfield, were concerned, failed. The boys themselves died. It is alleged by late writers that they were drowned in 1282, under Holt Bridge (not, probably, then built), by the King's express orders. But this is one of those stories for which there is, so far as I can make out, no real evidence. Certainly, the lads died most opportunely from Edward's standpoint; and the King, encouraged by the death of Llewelyn ap Gruffydd, and determined on the settlement of Wales, granted on the 7th October, 1282, to John de Warrenne, Earl of Surrey, the land of Bromfield and the Castle of Dinas Bran, which Gruffydd and Llewelyn, sons of Madog Fychan, held by themselves or their tutors at the beginning of the war, together with the land of Yale which Gruffydd Fychan ap Gruffydd, the King's enemy, had held, reserving the Castle and land of Hope. To Roger Mortimer, junior, were also granted Chirkland, etc., the lands of Llewelyn Fychan, another brother of Madog ap Gruffydd.

Be it noted that in the grant no other castle than Dinas Bran is mentioned in the two "lordships," as we may now call them. There had been, as we have

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seen, castles of some sort at Wrexham and Hoseley [Merford], but these must have been of little account, or dismantled, and we do not yet read of any castle of Holt.

John de Warrenne, Earl of Surrey, the first Anglo-Norman Lord of Bromfield and Yale, sub-granted to his son, William de Warrenne, for life, the territories just named, and seisin was delivered to him at Wrexham, on Thursday next after the Feast of St. Peter ad Vincula,[1] in the twelfth year of King Edward, 1284. But this William soon after died, and his father resumed possession. An inquisition after the death of the said William was held on Thursday next before the Feast of St. George,[2] in the fifteenth year of Edward, 1287, in which inquisition again no other castle than Dinas Bran within Bromfield and Yale is named.

John, Earl of Surrey, to whom the lordships in question were first given, died 27th September, 1304, and was suceeeded by his grandson of the same name, the third Anglo-Norman Lord of Bromfield and Yale, if we reckon his father William in the succession.

Mr. Edward Owen has drawn my attention to an entry on the Patent Roll of 5 Edward II (part 1, membrane 6), 6th December, 1311, of an inspeximus and confirmation of a charter (in French), dated the Vigil of the Nativity of Our Lady [7th September, 1308], by John de Warrenne, Earl of Surrey, granting in fee to John de Wysham 400 acres of land in the waste of the land of *Bromfeud* in the little Hem, and between the little Hem and Kaemaur, between Kaemaur and Pulle, between Pulle and Iwen [? Y Waun] Uchaf and Lidiate [? Llidiart] and the river Alom, and thence behind the Esk to the little Hem, to hold by service of a knight's fee, attending twice a year at the Castle of "Chastellion," finding in time of war a man-at-arms with a caparisoned horse to remain in the Castle of "Chastellion" for forty days at his

[1] Feast of St. Peter ad Vincula, 1st August.
[2] Feast of St. George, 23rd April.

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expense, and rendering a rent of £10 sterling a year; and also granting to him the right of fishing at all seasons of the year in the river Alom, the witnesses being William Paynel, Maddock ap Lewelyn, and Roger de Rysinge, parson of Hawarden, etc. "Chastellyon" is doubtless Castrum Leonum, Castle Lions, and is probably intended to represent Holt Castle, but the place-names occurring in the charter are rather puzzling and perplexing.

The second John de Warrenne, Lord of Bromfield and Yale, having no children by his wife, Joan de Barre, granted on Thursday after the Feast of Saints Peter and Paul,[1] 9 Edward II, 1316, all his lands, including those in Wales, with the castles of Dinas Bran and Holt, to the King (*Powys Fadog*, vol. i, p. 365). The Castle of Holt was thus certainly built before 1316, and perhaps before 1308; and, as Mr. Edward Owen tells me, on 1st January, 1319, licence was given by the King to Thomas, Earl of Lancaster, to hold various castles, towns, and manors in Yorkshire, the Castles of "Dynas Bran and Caerleon," Bromfield and Yale, and other lands in Wales, for the life of John de Warrenne, Earl of Surrey [Duchy of Lancaster Records—Royal Charters]. This licence is very interesting, firstly, because it gives the first record of the connection of the House of Lancaster with Bromfield and Yale; and, next, because it supplies a Welsh name [Caerlleon] for Holt Castle, the existence of which, in Chapter I of this history—written before the end of 1905—I ventured to doubt.

The said second John de Warrenne married, secondly, Isabel de Howland, and died 30th June 1347; and there is an account of the expenses of the officers of the Prince staying at Castrum Leonum from 9th July to 6th August, 1347.

Which one of the first three Lords of Bromfield and Yale, of the Warrenne family, built Castrum Leonum (Holt Castle) has not been yet ascertained, but the

[1] Feast of St. Peter and St. Paul, 29th June.

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claim made by the Joneses of Chilton (near Shrewsbury) that their ancestor possessed a castle at Holt upon the site of which the Warrennes erected their later building (see *Arch. Camb.*, vol. 1875, p. 92) cannot be maintained. The reasons for placing a castle on this site, after the grant of Bromfield and Yale to John de Warrenne, are obvious. Dinas Bran, besides being set on a high hill and most difficult of access, was out of the way, so to speak; whilst Holt Castle, commanding as it did the chief passage from Cheshire to Bromfield, was easy of approach *from England*, and what it lacked in strength of natural position could easily be made up artificially by the depth and breadth of its moat, and the strength of its walls and towers. The only signal disadvantage of Holt, as the new head of the two lordships, was its situation on the easternmost border of Bromfield, and remote therefore from the western parts of Yale.

The second John de Warrenne of Bromfield dying without legal issue, his next heir in blood was Richard Fitzalan, Earl of Arundel, son of his sister Alice de Warrenne, by her husband Edmund Fitzalan, Earl of Arundel; and on the 24th October, 1353, this Richard Fitzalan did homage to Edward III for Bromfield and Yale as immediately subject to the Crown, in the presence and with the consent of Edward, Prince of Wales. The precise manner in which Richard Fitzalan came into possession of the lordship of Bromfield and Yale is difficult to follow. Certain it is that the later Fitzalans based their title to Bromfield and Yale on a fine levied in Easter, 1366, in the Court of the Lord king, between the aforesaid Richard, Earl of Arundel, and Alianor [Plantagenet], his wife, daughter of Henry, late Earl of Lancaster, complainants, and John, Duke of Lancaster [John of Gaunt] and others, deforciants, wherein the said Earl Richard recognised "Dynas Bran," Castrum Leonis, and the lands of Bromfield, Yale, and "Wrightesham" [Wrexham] to be the right of the said Duke and others, as of the gift

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of the said Richard, the said Duke reconveying the properties to Richard and Alianor, with remainders to Richard de Arundel, junior, and Elizabeth his wife, and the heirs of their bodies, the aforesaid lands, held of the king, being worth 300 marks yearly.

This Richard, Earl of Arundel, who died about 1375, was succeeded by Richard Fitzalan, his son, Earl of Arundel, the fifth English lord of Bromfield and Yale, who married for his first wife, Elizabeth, daughter of Humphry, Earl of Hereford and Essex. He had also Chirkland, and built in 1392 a bridge of stone, one of the predecessors of the present "Newbridge," "between the domains of Bromfield and Chirk" (*Thirty-Sixth Annual Report of the Deputy-Keeper of Public Records*, Apx. ii), Robert Fagan, the builder of St. Asaph cathedral church, being the chief mason there. The second Earl Richard dabbled much in politics, and was one of the five lords appellant in the "Wonderful Parliament" of 1388. But his turn came at the end of 1397, when Richard II for a time got the upper hand, and the Earl was condemned and executed the same day (21st September, 1397). Then, on 29th September, 1397, the King granted the custody of the bridge and passage of Holt "between the Duchy of Chester and Holt Castle" (*ibid*), to Thomas Cholmondeley,[1] the said Thomas to answer for all the value of the same exceeding five marks yearly. On the same day, he granted the office of "porterwyk" of Holt Castle to Ralph atte Platt for life; on the day before, John Mollington and John Tranmoll (or Tranmore) were appointed foresters of Bromfield and Yale, to receive the same fees as John Dekka, late forester there, had; an office which, the next year, was given to John Cholmondeley. On the ninth day of the Parliament of the same year, Castle Lyons, Bromfield and Yale, Chirk Castle and Chirkland,

[1] There must have been some delay in the handing over of this office to Thomas Cholmondeley, for on the 15th September, 1398, David Holbach, Vice-Justice of Bromfield and Yale, was ordered to give livery of the same to the said Thomas.

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Oswestry Castle and hundred, and the Eleven Towns to the said castle belonging, were annexed to the earldom of the principality of Chester: an enactment which must soon after have been either abrogated or neglected. And on 28th January, 139$\frac{7}{8}$, William le Scrope, Earl of Wiltshire, was granted the office of Justice of Chester and North Wales, and of all the lordships late of Richard, Earl of Arundel, in those parts, for life, a grant which was augmented on 1st July, 1398. Richard II was himself at Holt Castle on 8th August of the year last named. But the Earl of Wiltshire did not enjoy his honours long.

In the first year of Henry IV, Thomas, son of Richard Fitzalan, junior, Earl of Arundel, was restored to the estate which his father had formerly held, becoming Lord of Bromfield, Yale, Chirk, Oswestry, Clun, etc. On the 20th February, 140$\frac{7}{8}$, he entered into an indenture by which he engaged to serve Henry, Prince of Wales, afterwards Henry V, for life, by sea and by land, in peace and in war, receiving for such service 250 marks yearly.

It was this Thomas, Earl of Arundel and Surrey, who granted to the burgesses of Holt, in November, 1411, a charter known to us by an "Inspeximus," of the fifth year of Queen Elizabeth. I made in 1892 a rough transcript (partly in pencil) of this charter, and intended, as soon as I could command the time, to compare the transcript with the Latin manuscript at Holt. But no opportunity of doing so presented itself until the beginning of May, 1905, when it appeared, on making enquiry, that the charter could nowhere be found, having somehow disappeared during the three or four years preceding, and all searches after it have proved futile. Further, the Record Office was able to yield no help, as Mr. Edward Owen, upon examination of the Patent and Close Rolls, found that the Holt charter had not been enrolled. There is a copy of the charter at the British Museum among the *Harleian MSS.* (vol. 2058, ff. 25 and 26); but this copy is not

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merely a somewhat unsatisfactory one, but the end of it, about a third or fourth of the whole, is wanting. I therefore print in Appendix I to this chapter my own transcript of 1892, furnished with notes. It does not seem necessary to supply any translation, that made by Mr. W. H. Hewlett in 1848 (printed in vol. iv, pp. 927-9 of *Report of the Welsh Land Commission*) being adequate. But I scarcely need say how much it were to be wished that it had been possible to collate the transcript, either with the original, so unfortunately lost, or with a good copy of it.

This charter deserves to be read and carefully considered. We first notice that, in the preamble, earlier charters and ratifications are mentioned as having been granted to the burgesses of Lyons by the ancestors and progenitors of Earl Thomas. And we may picture to ourselves the prominent features of the town, franchise, and lands of Holt in 1411, then differing very little, doubtless, from the state of things at the time of its foundation about a century before.

The burgesses, who were English, enjoyed their liberties in respect of their burgages. Each burgage stood across its own curtilage,[1] or courtyard, and had appurtenant to it certain acres of free land, also, in many cases, certain other acres of land formerly belonging to the lord's demesne. A rent of one shilling each was due to the lord for every curtilage, for every burgage built thereon, and for every free acre pertaining to it, and two shillings were payable for every acre that had been in demesne. The burgesses were also subject to "reliefs," or payments of double one year's rent at their deaths, by their heirs or assigns, and liable to furnish each one fit man for forty days in the year, for the defence of the castle in time of war until the

[1] Many of these curtilages still remain, especially on the east side of Church Street, with the cottages within them representing the old burgages. Some of the free acres, lying in long narrow strips, are also to be seen west of Vicarage Lane and Green Street, and north of Wrexham Road. Each acre contained 2,115 statute acres.

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town should be walled, and then to find a fit man for the defence of the town, for every burgage there. They had also to grind their corn at the lord's mill. The seneschal, or high steward, held, in the lord's name, two general courts (courts leet) at Michaelmas and Easter, to which the burgesses owed suit. There was a common weekly market on Friday, and there were two fairs in the year. The burgesses were empowered to elect yearly one mayor, one coroner, two bailiffs, being English, and to hold the lord's courts every three weeks (the courts baron), determining all manner of transgressions, debts, felonies, covenants, pleas of land, etc., within the liberty of the town, *according to the common law*,[1] to keep their own prison, which might be, and I may add was, within the castle, and maintain the assize of victuals. They had also liberty to make English burgesses, to have common of pasture at Common Wood[2] for their cattle, to possess a common pinfold or pound, and were to be subject in no way to Welsh customs, or to the authority of Welsh officials. They were free to dig coals and turves at Coedpoeth and Brymbo, and to carry them away for use in their dwelling-houses. Many of the burgesses had ovens of their own, and there was the common oven besides, which was still in existence in 1544, and even as late as 1620. No one could sell beer that was not brewed within the said town.

In a writ of livery, dated 26th July, 1416, Thomas,

[1] This makes it clear that a Lord Marcher was much more dependent than is generally supposed upon the central government. When he wished to grant a charter, he had to go first to the King, who could impose any conditions which seemed to him desirable and possible. The common law of England was administered at Holt, and the Lordship Marcher of Bromfield and Yale was always very much subject to the authority of the Crown.

[2] The Holt or Wood must have been partially cleared at the laying out of the town, to make room for the same, to furnish timber for building the burgages, and to provide good arable land; and it would appear by this time that what had been at first reserved as "The Common Wood" had also been stripped, probably for fuel and repairs of houses, and was become a pasture.

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Earl of Arundel, is said to have died on Monday next before the Feast of All Saints last past, which means that he died at the end of October, 1415. He had a rather troublous time, many of his tenants having joined Owen Glyndwr, for which tenants he afterwards procured a pardon from the King. Moreover, it would seem that in his manor of Hewlington, just outside the franchise of Holt, now part of the township of the same, and certainly elsewhere within his lordship of Bromfield and Yale, the country was wasted by Owen's adherents, and houses were destroyed; so that the stewards had to grant the lands to such as would take them at a lower rent than was formerly paid for the same (see my *Ancient Tenures of Land in the Marches of North Wales*, p. 30).

Altogether, we get the impression that Earl Thomas was a very fine sort of a man compared with the ordinary Lord Marcher of the time. He died without children surviving, and Henry V assigned to his widow, Beatrix of Portugal, as dower, certain possessions of the deceased lord. We learn what these lands were from the inquisition taken in Pentecost week, in the eighteenth year of Henry VI, after the death of Beatrix, on 23rd October, 1437. This inquisition has been printed on pp. 385-388, vol. i, of *Powys Fadog*, and I extract therefrom all that concerns Holt, Hewlington, and what is now the parish of Isycoed. The said Countess Beatrix had, among other things, "a third of the gaol within the Castle Leonis, by the name of the Castle of Holt, with free ingress and egress, and safe custody of prisoners, and also the third part of a house called 'The Chekers,'[1] within the said Castle; also the third part of all houses outside the ward of the Castle. Also . . . a certain stable for five horses next the court-house[2] and near the ditch of the said Castle; also the third part of a garden, together

[1] The Exchequer Tower.

[2] The Welsh court-house, or court-house of the two lordships.

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with a pasture called 'Le Quarrer,'[1] adjoining the same; also the manor of Hewlington,[2] the ringildry of Iscoed, and the park of Merseley." The jury declared the third part of the gaol to be of no value: that is, as bringing in no income, beyond repairs and custody of prisoners, and the third part of "The Cheker" and of the houses outside the ward of the Castle, also of no value. The stable was valued at 6*s.* 8*d.* yearly, and the third part of the garden and the pasture called "The Quarrer," 3*s.* 4*d.* yearly, The site of the manor [house?] of "Heulyngton" was worth nothing. The rents of assize of the same manor were £6, and there were in it [assigned to the Countess] thirty-two acres of arable land at 2*d.* an acre, six acres of meadow at 6*d.* an acre, and forty acres of pasture at ½*d.* an acre. The ringildry of Iscoed was worth £10 yearly, and the Park of Merseley 10*s.*, beyond the custody and sustenance of the deer.

As Thomas Earl of Arundel died without heirs male surviving, his estates were divided, subject to the aforesaid dower, among his three sisters, or among their children or grandchildren in right of them. These sisters were Elizabeth, wife of Thomas Mowbray, Duke of Norfolk;[3] Joan, wife of William Beauchamp, Lord Abergavenny; and Margaret, wife of Sir Roland Lenthall, knight, all of whom were still living on the 20th July, 1416. The inheritors of the three portions after the death of the Countess Beatrix were (1) John Mowbray, son of Thomas Mowbray, Duke of Norfolk; (2) Elizabeth, wife of Sir Edward Neville, and daughter of Richard, Earl of Worcester, who was the son of Joan, Lady Abergavenny; and (3) Edmund, son of Sir Roland and Margaret Lenthall. I cannot explain how the Lenthalls dropped out of the inheritance, but

[1] The quarry forming part of the moat whence the stone was hewed to build the Castle.

[2] Hewlington will be described in a later chapter.

[3] This Thomas, Duke of Norfolk, was appointed, in 1397 or 1398, Justice of Bromfield, Yale, Chirk, Oswestry, etc., but was soon after banished from the kingdom.

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the lordship of Bromfield and Yale, in which we are here alone interested, soon became held in two equal and undivided parts or moieties: one belonging to the Mowbrays of Norfolk, and the other to the Nevilles, heirs of the Beauchamps.[1] I expect the Mowbrays and Nevilles bought out the Lenthalls' share.

On the fourth day of the Parliament of 17 Edward IV (1477), it was declared that Richard, the King's second son, was to be Duke of York and Norfolk, Earl Marshal, Warrenne, and Nottingham, and to marry Anne, daughter and heir to John, late Duke of Norfolk, the said Anne being then but six years old; and if she should die without issue, the said Richard, Duke of Norfolk, should have, by consent of Elizabeth, Duchess of Norfolk (widow of the said John, Duke of Norfolk), "for the terme of his life, the halvendale (that is, the moiety) of the Castell, Towne, Lordship and Maners of Dynesbran [of the] Castell, Lordshipp, and Towne of Lyons [and of] the Lordship, Maners, and Londes of Heulyngton, Bromefield, Yale, Wraxham, and Almore, with their appurtenaunces, in the Marche of Wales," etc.

This Richard, Duke of York, was one of the two young princes afterwards murdered in the Tower. His marriage was never consummated, and one of the above-named moieties, or "halvendales," of Bromfield and Yale became vested in the Crown. At a date which I cannot specify with precision, the other moiety —that of the Nevilles—became vested in the Crown also.

Certain it is that on 10th December, 1484, the whole of Bromfield and Yale, "late of John, Duke of Norfolk, and Sir George Neville, knight," was granted by Richard III to Sir William Stanley (see the grant set out in *Arch. Camb.*, 1882, pp. 150 and 151).[2] Never-

[1] On the 14th October, 1467, John, Duke of Norfolk, and Sir Edward Neville, Lord of Abergavenny, held the two moieties.

[2] Many manors or townships are mentioned in this grant, but all of them, except "Sonford and Osseleston," were in Bromfield and Yale.

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theless, in the fourth year of Henry VII (1488), Sir William Stanley only petitioned to continue to enjoy what was practically the moiety of the lordship, although he seems to have been allowed to retain the whole. Of this brilliant and unfortunate knight, I shall speak again presently.

Before proceeding further it may be desirable to make an additional explanation. The lordship of Bromfield and Yale, as already has been said, was made up of the commote of Yale and of Bromfield (Maelor Gymraeg, that is, *Welsh Maelor*), Bromfield including two commotes—those of Wrexham and Merford.[1] Part of Merford was lost temporarily to the lordship of Hope (Eston or Estyn), and part alienated permanently thereto. The other two commotes remained intact, except in respect of those lands held in them by the Abbot of Valle Crucis and the Bishop of St. Asaph, and those other lands forming outlying parts of Maelor Saesneg (*English Maelor*) and Hopedale. And each commote or rhaglotry held at first, after the grant to John de Warrenne, Earl of Surrey, its courts within its own bounds. The courts of Merford[2] were held at or near Merford (at Yr Orsedd Goch, that is, Rossett, very probably), those of Wrexham at Wrexham, and those of Yale at some spot within Yale. This certainly appears to have been the case in 1339 and 1340. But by 1467 (see *Record of*

[1] In the commote of Wrexham, Valle Crucis had that part of Wrexham called Wrexham Abbot, and that part of Stansty called Stansty Abbatis. The extensive lands in Yale belonging to the Abbey need not be here enumerated. John L'Estrange held in 1386, as lord of Maelor Saesneg, besides Abenbury Fechan and a part of Erbistock (both of which have only been attached to Bromfield in our own time) "the town of Dutton." The townships of Merford and Hoseley were annexed to Flintshire in the thirty-third year of Henry VIII. A part of the township of Bodidris belongs to Maelor Saesneg and the county of Flint; and in Yale is the manor of Llandegla, which belonged to the bishopric of St. Asaph.

[2] It must be remembered that in both these cases I am speaking of *commote*, not of *township* or manor courts, as is explained at the end of the paragraph.

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Proceedings of the Lordship of Bromfield and Yale, printed in *Archæologia Cambrensis*, 1847 and 1848) all *general* enquiries were held, at any rate, at "the common place next Castrum Leonis," that is to say, at the Welsh court-house in the yard of Holt Castle; and I believe that the ordinary courts, namely, those two courts of the year afterwards called "courts leet" of the three commotes, were kept there also, though perhaps at first separately. The court held at Wrexham on the 8th October, in the sixth year of Edward IV, 1466, was the court of the township or manor of Wrexham Regis, for the appointment of two bailiffs and an escheator for the town, and for other business, and not a commote court. In the borough books of Holt in 1860, the courts leet for that year profess to be those *for Bromfield*, but they were really those for Holt only, separate courts leet being held the same year at Wrexham Regis for that manor, and a few years before at Marford,[1] for Marford and Hoseley. The truth is, that no courts for the whole lordship have been kept for at least two and a-half or three centuries. They were already discontinued in 1620.

At the lordship court held next Holt Castle on 19th October, 1467, to which court the inhabitants and tenants of the rhaglotries of Wrexham, Merford, and Yale were summoned separately, the jurors for the rhaglotry of Merford presented Richard Baz [Richard Bach, *Little Richard*], for unlawfully, and without licence, carrying away certain stones near the lord's court-house at Castrum Leonum, to the value of 10*s.*; an entry of great value, because it shows, firstly, that Holt was reckoned to be within Merford rhaglotry, and, next, that the court-house for the whole lordship was now established next Holt Castle. Then, turning

[1] "Marford" is the modern spelling and pronunciation of the older "Merford." But the older spelling is preserved to an astonishingly late date in the township rate books and elsewhere after the pronunciation had changed.

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to the general presentments, we find the old Welsh commote officials, or some of them, still holding their place—"the Maist[r] Forest" [Pen-fforestwr], "the Serjaunt" [of the Peace or "Pencais"], Raglow" [Rhaglaw or Raglot], etc.; and that "fyre silv[r]" [Treth dan, a fee for taking firewood from the lord's woods], was still levied under the supervision of the master-forester. John ap David ap Ieuan, of Wrexham, also declared himself to be not under advowry: a statement from which we gather that there were then other persons who lived in that state—persons, that is to say, who having no inherited landed rights in the lordships, not even being *nativi* or servile tenants of land, were nevertheless under the protection of the lord, or of the larger free tenants. They were said to be in advowry (in advocariâ), and were called in Welsh "arddelwyr," in English "arthelmen," and in Latin "advocarii." It is probable that most of them were craftsmen or small tradesfolk.

Spite of all the evidence of Welsh survivals thus provided, it is impossible to read the account of the doings of the lordship Michaelmas court without perceiving how rapidly English methods of procedure and administration were ousting Welsh methods at this time.

The grant of Bromfield and Yale, on 10th December, 1484, by Richard III to Sir William Stanley, one of the knights of his body, has already been referred to. Already, on the 12th November, in the year preceding, had the same king appointed him Chief Justice of North Wales. He was also Chamberlain of Chester, and Constable of North Wales. He was second son to the first Lord Stanley, and brother to Thomas Stanley, first Earl of Derby and Lord of Hopedale, which Thomas married, for his second wife, Margaret, widow of Edmund Tudor, mother of Henry VII. Sir William Stanley, of Holt, must be distinguished from Sir William Stanley, of Hooton, Cheshire, with whom he is sometimes confounded. He was descended, on his

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mother's side, from Richard Fitzalan, Earl of Arundel, Lord of Bromfield and Yale, etc., of whom I have already spoken, his grandmother having been Elizabeth, widow of Thomas Mowbray, Duke of Norfolk. He was also Lord of Ridley, in Cheshire. This splendid knight, as is well known, decided the issue of the battle of Bosworth, placing the crown upon the head of Henry, Earl of Richmond, and practically making him Henry VII of England. Many of his followers, or brothers-in-arms, were doubtless men from this neighbourhood. John ap Elis Eyton, whose tomb still stands in Ruabon church, was certainly at Bosworth. The Chevalier Lloyd and others assert that the new king granted Bromfield, Yale, and Chirkland, to Sir William for his achievement, or (must we say?) treachery at the famous battle above-named; but the knight of Holt had, as we have seen, Bromfield and Yale, at any rate, before. He enriched Holt Castle, it is said, with the spoils of Bosworth field; but, however that may be, he was one of the richest subjects in the kingdom, and thus excited the envy and suspicion of the King, whose meanness saw in the splendour of Sir William a pretext for getting rid of one to whom he stood under such inconvenient obligations; so he was charged with being in active sympathy with Perkin Warbeck, was convicted, and executed on Tower Hill, 16th February, 149$\frac{4}{5}$, all his possessions escheating to the King. He had a son, William Stanley, to whom, on 19th November, 1489, the reversion of the Constableship of Holt Castle had been granted (and who married Joan, daughter of Sir Jeffrey Massie, of Tatton, Cheshire), and a daughter, Jane, who married Sir John Warburton, knight. The arms borne by Sir William Stanley, of Holt, were these:—1, *argent*, on a bend *azure*, three bucks' heads caboshed *or* (Stanley); 2 *or* on a chief indented *azure*, three plates (Lathom); barry of six *or* and *azure*, a canton *ermine* (Goushill); and 4 *gules*, a lion rampant *or* (Fitzalan). I owe the description of this coat to H. E. J. Vaughan, Esq.

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Sir William Stanley being executed, and his estates escheated, Bromfield, Yale, and Chirkland reverted to the Crown. Henry VII himself stayed at Holt Castle, 17th July, 1495.

Soon after Sir William's execution, in the twenty-first year of Henry VII, we find the afternamed officials of Holt Castle and its dependencies named :—Lancelot Lothar, constable (with a yearly fee of £10); John Roydon, interpreter (with fee of £2); Lancelot Lothar, custodian of warrants (with fee of £3 0*s.* 10*d.*); John Puleston, coroner (with fee of £2); John Almer, attorney of the lord king (with fee of £5); David ap Ieuan ap Deicws, clerk of the court (with a fee of £3); David ap Ithel, custodian of the garden (with fee of £1 6*s.* 8*d.*); Thomas Tarleton, keeper of the castle park (with fee of £3 0*s.* 10*d.*); John Pickering, door-keeper of the castle (with fee of £3 0*s.* 10*d.*); and Geoffrey Legh, parker of Mersley Park (with fee of £3 0*s.* 10*d.*); and the afternamed officers of the whole lordship :—Hugh Porter, serjeant of the country (with fee of £4); David ap Howel, approver (with fee of £3 0*s.* 10*d.*); and John Puleston, sen., chief forester (with fee of £3). And it is to be noted as to the three last-named that, instead of one officer of each kind for each commote, only one of each kind is mentioned for the whole lordship, and no raglot or ringild is named. It may also be further remarked that, although the fees recorded as given were low, even considering the high purchasing power of money at that time, there were not merely perquisites attached to most of the offices, but chances for the holders of them for acquiring leases of demesne land on favourable terms, and exerting influence in other ways.

The extent or survey of Bromfield and Yale (of the twenty-third year of Henry VII) already referred to (page 6), must next be briefly discussed. Villa Leonum (Holt) is again described as being in the "balliua," that is, in the bailiwick or commote of Merford. From the complete list supplied me by Mr. Edward Owen, of

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the tenants of Holt, given in Appendix II, and taken from the said survey of twenty-third Henry VII, it will be seen how many of the tenants' names were Welsh. This only bears out other evidence available, which shows that at this time, while Holt was fulfilling its purpose of Anglicising. *in some respects*, the adjoining parts of Wales, it was itself being partly Cymricised by the inflow of Welsh people into it.

On the 21st April, 1512, Henry VIII granted the receivership and stewardship of Bromfield and Yale, etc., to Sir Charles Brandon, afterwards Duke of Suffolk, and his brother-in-law; and from the Duke's accounts made up from Michaelmas, 1519, to Michaelmas, 1520, we get the names of the bailiffs at that time of Holt, and of those of the manors adjoining.

Thomas Knyght, deputy of Thomas ap David ap Gruffith (who, being a Welshman, could not serve), was one of the two bailiffs of Holt (the King's bailiff), and collectors of rents, farms, perquisites of courts, etc., and Jeffrey Baker was the other,[1] Thomas Prestland, being bailiff of Hewlington, William Mainweyring, bailiff of Ridley, Richard Roydon of Isycoed, and Edward ap David ap Iolyn of Cobham Isycoed.

On the 14th April, 1519, Henry VIII granted further powers to the same Duke of Suffolk, in whose accounts for that year we get the names of the officers attached to Holt Castle, and to the lordship of Bromfield and Yale, which we may compare with the names given on page 23 as those of the corresponding officers in the twenty-first year of Henry VII:

	£	*s.*	*d.*
The Duke of Suffolk, as seneschal or steward .	20	0	0
The same [apparently for his deputy, who was, as we know, Sir John Chilston, knight] .	8	6	8
Lancelot Lothar, constable of Castrum Leonum	10	0	0

[1] Here, perhaps, may be given the names of the men—John de Aldeford and Richard de Wodehay—who were bailiffs of Holt from Michaelmas, 1377, to the Michaelmas following. Mr. Edward Owen also tells me that Ffilkin del Chamb'r and Thomas Alenis were bailiffs in 1388-1389.

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	£	s.	d.
John and Thomas Wren, the King's auditors there	7	0	0
John Eyton, interpreter, or "latym^{r}".	2	0	0
Thomas Thelton, custodian of warrants	3	0	10
John Puleston, jun^{r}, coroner	2	0	0
John Almer, King's attorney there	5	0	0
Edward ap Rees, clerk of the court there	3	0	0
David ap Ithel, custodian of the King's garden there	1	6	8
John Puleston, jun^{r}, parker of the Castle park there	3	0	10
John Pekerynge, doorkeeper of Castrum Leonum	3	0	10
William Almer, parker of M'shley [Mersley]	3	0	10
Morgan ap Iolyn, crier of the court	0	6	8
Hugh Porter, serjeant of the country	4	0	0
David ap Howel, approver	3	0	10
John Puleston, senior, chief forester	3	0	0

Other interesting items appear in these accounts.

The tenants of Mochnant and Cynlleth, parts of Chirkland, held, among other "illicit opinions," that although they were bound to guard the seneschal when he went into their region to hold the two great courts of the year, they were in no way bound to guard any deputy seneschal. So, twice in the eleventh year of Henry VIII, Sir John Chilston rode from Holt to Chirkland to overawe the tenants there, condemning them in the sum of forty marks (£26 13*s.* 4*d.*), and charging the expenses of his 100 men-at-arms. But the tenants of Bromfield and Yale appear to have held a similar "illicit opinion;" or, at any rate, they were charged with withholding (*de retinacōne*) somewhat, and were summoned to appear at Chester before the Commissioners of the King. Whereupon Sir John, for his own protection and for the King's dignity, when he went to Chester to attend divers courts there, placed about himself all the officers of the country and others, to the number of forty, and got the tenants of Bromfield

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and Yale fined 100 marks (£66 13*s.* 4*d*), for want of respect to his deputy seneschalship, and for their "illicit opinions."

We find also recorded in the accounts of the aforesaid year the names of four felons hanged in that year —four felons at 20*s.* a piece being charged: William ap John ap Howel Fychan, John ap Howel ap Llewelyn, Sander Ley, and Maurice ap Evan.

On the *house* of Castrum Leonum £17 19*s.* 11*d.* were in the same year expended, and on the house of the common bakehouse 3*s.* 2*d.*

APPENDIX I.—CHAPTER II.

(See pp. 13-15.)

Transcript of Charter made in 1411, by Thomas, Earl of Arundel, to the Burgesses of Holt, and confirmed 1st March, 156$\frac{2}{3}$, by Queen Elizabeth.[1]

Elizabeth Dei gratia Anglie FFrancie et Hibernie Regina, Fidei defensor, etc., *omnibus* ad quos p'sentes l're p'uen'ient Salt'm *Inspeximus* quandam Cartam Thome nup' Comitis Arundell et Surr' d'ni de Bromfeld et Yale Burgensib's Ville sue leonu' in marchia Wallie eor' hered' et Successorib's Anglic' fact et sigillo ip'ius nup Comitis vt dicit' sigillat in hec v'ba, *Omnibus* Xr'i fidelib's p'sentem Cartam inspecturis Thomas Comes Arundell et Surr' d'n's de Bromfeld et Yale Salt'm in d'no *Sciatis* qd cum Villa n'ra leonu' in marchia Wallie tam ex concessione diu'sor' Antecessor' n'ror' et p'genitor' p' diu'sas Cartas et ratifaco'es Burgensib's Ville n're p'dict' eor' hered' et Successorib's Anglicis fact' q'm ex possessione antiqua de diu'sis lib'tatib's et ffranchesiis Ville et Burgo mercatorio p'tinentib's priuilegiata extitit et adhuc existat, videl't qd Burgenses ville n're p'dict' eor heredes et Successores Anglici h'eant et teneant om'ia burgagia Curtilagia t'ras et ten' sua qui ex antiquo iure hereditario tenuerunt de nob' et Antecessorb's n'ris infra villam n'ram p'dict et lib'tatem eiusdem, h'end' et tenend' om'ia p'dict burgagia, Curtilagia t'ras et ten' p'dict cum om'ib's suis p'tinen' eisdem Burgensib's n'ris eor' hered' et Assign' Anglicis de nob'

[1] All marks of contraction in the original charter are replaced in this transcript by simple apostrophes.

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hered' et Assign' n'ris lib'e quiete et in pace imp'p'm. Reddendo nob' hered' et Assign' n'ris An'uatim videl't quil't d'c'or Burgensiu' eor' hered' et Assign' Anglicor' p' quol't burgagio duodecim denarios et p' quol't Curtilagio duodecim denarios et p' qual't acra t're lib'o burgagio eor' p'tinen' duodecim denarios et p' qual't acra t're que solebat esse in D'nico n'ro duos Solidos Argenti An'uatim, faciendo eciam An'uatim sectam ad duas Cur' n'ras gen'ales Ville n're p dict' videl't ad p'x Cur' post festum Sc'i Mich'is Arch'i et ad Cur' p'x post festum Pasche et q'd quil't heres h'mo'i Burgensiu' hered aut Assign' suor' post mortem Antecessoris sui dabit nob' et heredib's n'ris duplum redd'us sui unius Anni no'ie releuii sui Et q'd quil't ip'or Burgensiu' heredum et successor' suor' p' tempus guerre p' quol't burgagio suo infra villam n'ram p'dict' et lib'tatem eiusdem scîtuat ad suos custos p'prios inueniet vnu' ho'i'em defensibilem ad custodiam et defensionem Castri n'ri leonu' p' quadraginta dies An'uatim quousq'e dict' Villa n'ra sit muro incluso et eadem Villa existen' sic inclusa extunc quil't eor'dem Burgensiu' heredum et Successor' suor' inueniet vnu' ho'i'em defensibilem ad custod' et defensionem Ville n're p'dict p' quol't burgagio suo ibidem. Et si contingat aliquem d'c'or' Burgensiu' heredum et Successor' suor' in h'mo'i custodia et defensione Castri neu Ville n're p'dict' sic inclus' p' seip'm in p'sona p'pria vel aliu' ho'i'em defensibilem no'ie suo in forma sup'dict' defic'e extunc bene liceat nob' et heredib's n'ris quodl't Burgagiu' cuiusl't burgensiu' p'dict' heredum ac Successor' suor' p' quo d'c'um s'uiciu' custod si debita non fiat in n'ras manus seisire et retinere quousq'e de illo s'uicio sic deficiente cum Arreragiis eiusdem si que fu'int nob' et heredib's n'ris plene satisfiat' et p'soluat'. Et q'd p'dict Burgenses n'ri eor' heredes h'eant et possideant com'une mercatum die ven's qual't septimana cum duab's nundinis consuetis infra villam n'ram p'dict' saluis nob' et heredib's n'ris tolnet' et al' consuetudinib's [de pred'cis] nundinis et mercatis ab antiquo nob' p[tine]n et consuet. *Concessimus eciam* eisdem Burgensib's n'ris eor' hered' et Assign' Anglicis p' nob' et heredib's n'ris q'd ip'i h'eant & libere eligere valeant vnu' discretum virum ut maiorem vnu' Coronatorem duos s[ub balliu]os Burgenses Anglicos [sing'lis] An[nis] infra villam n'ram p'dict et q'd ip'i maior et Balliui teneant Cur' n'ras infra villam n'ram p'dict de tr'b's Septimanis in tres Septimanas more consuet' et h'eant plenam potestatem ad audiend' & t'minand' omni'od transgressiones debita conuenco'es felon' pl'ita t'rar' et ten'tor' ac singula alia pl'ita et contractus quecumq'e fact' tam infra lib' ville n're p'dict q'm ext' s'c'd'm formam legis co'is et ad faciend' et exequend' omni'od attachiamenta et execuco'es que ad Cur' n'ras

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p'tinent p' sup'uisum Senescalli n'ri ibidem p' 'tempore existen.' Et q'd h'eant prisonam suam infra villam n'ram p'dict cum custodia om'i illor qui attachiat seu arrestati fu'int infra lib'tatem ville n're p'dict ad sectam n'ram seu alicuiuscumq'e. Saluis semp' nob et heredib's n'ris omni'od eschapiis p'quisic'o'ibs Cur' Escaetis forisff'c'uris, vagis, stragis, finib's redempco'ibs am'ciamentis et aliis exitib's et p'ficuis inde infra villam n'ram p'dict em'gentib's. Et q'd Assise de Victualib's fact' p' ministros n'ros p' maiorem et Balliuos ville n're dict teneant' et conservent' sup' forisf'turam n'ram. *Volumus tamen* q'd Senescallus D'nii n'ii p'dict teneat de Anno in Annu' duas Cur' n'ras gen'ales ville n'ra p'dict' more consuet. *Concessimus eciam* eisdem Burgensib's n'ris eor' hered' Assign' Anglicis q'd impp'm quieti sint de omni'od [the] loniis, lastagiis passagiis pontagiis stallagiis taillagiis et de om'i'b's consuetudinib's p' totam t'ram et potestatem n'ram tam in Anglia q'm in Wallia et March' Wallie. Et q'd maior, Balliui et Burgenses ville n're antedict' h'eant lib'am et plenam potestatem eligendi et faciend' Burgenses Anglicos eis acceptabiles vsuros et congaudendos omni'od' franchesiis et lib'tatib's ac aliis lib'ris consuetudinib's sicut p'dict Burgenses n'ri usi sunt et gauisi imp'p'm. Et q'd nullus qui non sit in Burgensem acceptatus p' maiorem Balliuos et Co'itatem Burgensiu' ville n're p'dict' aliqua lib'tate burgensiali cont' voluntatem maioris et Burgensiu' p'dict' infra villam p'dict nec lib'tatem eiusdem quomodol't gaudeat nec vtat. Et q'd licet eisdem Burgensibs' n'ris distringere in burgo n'ro p'dict' debitores suos forinsecos et extraneos p' Victualib's eis venditis infra lib'tatem ville n're p'dict ad primam empco'em. Et q'd p'dict Burgenses n'ri eor' heredes et Successores ac tenentes quicumq'e infra lib'tatem ville n're p'dict vel ext' residentes imp'p'm quieti sint de omni'od' consuetudinib's Amobrogior'[1] Advocarar'[2] feod' Constabularior' n'ror' Castror' ac de om'ibs feod' Ragloti[3] Ringildi[4] finiu' am'ciamentor' ac omni' alior consuetudinu' infra D'nia n'ra Wallie et March' Wallie qualitercumq'e em'gen'. *Concessimus eciam* q'd si p'fati Burgenses aut eor' aliqui seu eor' tenentes infra t'ram et potestatem n'ram testati decesserint vel intestati, nos nec heredes n'ri bona seu Catalla ip'or' confiscari non faciemus quin eor' heredes seu executores ip'a h'eant quate-

[1] Amobr, a fee due to the lord on the marriage or violation of a woman in his lordship (see p. 5).

[2] Advocarii, persons living in the condition of advowry (see p. 211).

[3] The raglot (*rhaglaw*) was the chief administrative officer of a Welsh commote (see pp. 4 and 21).

[4] The ringild (*rhingyll*) was the raglot's bailiff or apparitor (see p. 4).

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nus dict' bona et Catalla ip'or' defunctor' fuisse constiterit dum tamen de d'c'is heredib's aut executorib's noticia aut f[ama] sufficient h'eat. *Concessimus eciam* p'dict' Burgensib's n'ris eor' heredib's et Successorib's tenentib's et seruientib's suis infra villam n'ram residen' q'd nullus ip'or' de cet'o impletet' nec occ'onet' sup' aliquib's Appellis rectis Iniuriis t'nsgressionib's debitis criminib's calumpniis accusamenciis et ind'tamentis seu aliquib's aliis contractib's aut r[ebus] eis impositis aut imponend' vbicumq'e locor' f'c'is seu qualit'cumq'e em'gentib's nisi solomodo coram maiore et Balliuis Ville n're p'dict et p' iudic'm et t'minaco'em ip'or maioris et Burgensiu' Anglicor' tantum et non Wallicor' conuincendis nisi res ille tangant nos vel heredes n'ros. *Concessimus eciam* eisdem Burgensib's eor' hered' et Successorib's q'd cum aliquis extraneus seu alius quicumq'e sup' lib'm ten'tum vel lib'am t'ram cuiuscumq'e Burgensis hered' aut Assign' suor' infra villam n'ram p'dict' vel lib'tatem eiusdem decesserit idem decedens si non sit Burgensis ville n're p'dict dabit Burgensi illi sup' cuius t'ram seu ten'tum decesserit melius animal suu' no'i'e herietti sui et deficiente h'mo'i Animal optimu' Catallu' suu' no'i'e principalia p'dict. *Concessimus eciam* eisdem Burgensib's n'ris eor' hered' Assign' Anglicis q'd p' t'nsgressionib's seu forisf'curis, s'uenciu' seu Tenenciu' suor' Catalla vel bona sua in manib's suis inuent' seu alicubi locor' p' ip'os s'uientes aut Tenentes deposita quatenus [ip'i] Burgenses h'mo'i bona sua esse sufficient' p'bare pot'int non amittent. *Concessimus eciam* eisdem Burgens' n'ris eor' hered' et Successori'bs q'd nulli de cet'o liceat p'sentare aliquam penam sup' aliquem Burgensem ville n're p'dict p' quacumq'e causa sed inde p'seq'at v'sus eum p' acco'em in Cur'ville n're p'dict. *Concessimus eciam* Burgensib's n'ris q'd nullus minister aut Ballius n'r quicumq'e nec hered' n'ror' ingrediat villam p'dict' nec lib'tatem 'eiusdem nec in aliquo . . . se intromittat sup' Burgenses seu ho'i'es quoscumq'e p'd'car' ville et lib'tatis seu eor' aliquem de aliqua querela occ'one t'nsgessionis seu alia re quacumqe infra d'c'am villam seu lib'tatem eiusdem em'gen nisi in def'cu' maioris Balliuor' et Burgensiu' dict' ville. *Concessimus eciam* eisdem Burgensib's n'ris eor' hered' et successorib's q'd liceat singulis Balliuis n'ris ville n're p'dict' distringere om'es et singulos debitores ex parte n'ra in eor' on'e existentes tam p' totum D'miniu' n'rum de Bromfeld et Yale q'm infra lib'tatem ville n're p'dict' p' quibuscumq'e finibs am'ciamentis redempcoi'bs seu aliis exitib's aut p'ficuis in Cur Ville n're p'dict quovismodo em'gen' et h'mo'i districco'es fugare usq'e in co'e punfaldum ville n're antedict' et ibidem ip'as districco'es retinere quousqe de singulis denariis in eor' o'ne debitis plene nob' satisf'c'm fuit.

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Concessimus eciam eisdem Burgensib's n'ris p'dict' eor' hered' et Assign' Anglicis ac Tenentib's suis q'd ip'i h'eant co'i'am pasture in quadem parcella t're voc' le Comon Woode p' om'ib's Averiis suis infra villam n'ram p'dict' leuantib's et cubantib's cum lib'o ingressu et Egressu eisdem Tenend' eisdem Burgensib's n'ris eor' hered et Assign' Anglicis ac tenentib's suis in sep'ali om'ibus temporib's anni sine contradicc'o'e n'ri hered' vel ministror' n'ror' quor'cumq'e imp'p'm. *Concessimus eciam* eisdem Burgensib's n'ris eor' et Assign' Anglicis ac tenentib's suis q'd bene liceat eisdem et eor' cuil't om'ia Au'ia forinseca seu extranea infra pasturam p'dict' pasturancia cap'e et fugare usq'e in co'e punfaldum ville n're p'dict' et ip'a retinere quousq'e debite emende fiant eisdem Burgensib's n'ris h'mo'i t'nsgressione et pasturaco'e fact' in eor' pastura sup'dict'. *Volumus eciam* q'd o'es Burgenses n'ri p'dict' eor' hered et Assign' infra villam n'ram residen' qui non h'eant p'pr'm furnu' q'd in co'i furno n'ro eiusdem ville furnire debeant Soluend' dict furni occupanti p' quol't buscello london vnu' obulum et sic singulis buscellis tantum. *Concessimus eciam* Burgensib's n'ris eor' hered' et Assign' Anglicis et 'eor' Tenentib's Ville n're p'dict' licentiam fodiendi capiendi et lib'e cariand' carbones marinas et turbas in vastis n'ris de Coitpoeth et Brinbawe et in om'ib's aliis vastis et locis ubi alii Tenentes n'ri Anglici aut Wallici carbones et turbas fodiunt p' eor' focale' in suis manc'oib's infra villam p'dict ad lib'am voluntatem sine contradicc'o'e n'ri hered' vel ministror' quor'cumq'e. *Concessimus eciam* p' nob et heredib's n'ris q'd si aliquis Burgensis hered' seu Assign' suor' Anglicor' attachiari [arrest]ari seu iud'care contigit Nos nec hered' n'ri non capiend' aliquem finem [seu] redempco'em de ip'o nec manucaptorib's suis licet ip'm contigit . . . p'nos aut aut ministros n'ros sub manucapco'e libera. *Concessimus eciam* antedict' Burgensib's n'ris eor' hered' et Assign' q'd de cet'o nulli liceat tenenciu' n'ror D'nii n'ri antedict' Burgensib's n'ris infra duo miliaria p'x ville n're antedict' residen trah . . . . c'uisiam Salopie seu Cestrie seu aliqua alia victualia infra p'cinctu[m] n'r'm' p'dict' in p'iudic'm et nocimentu' ville n're antedict' nec aliquam aliam c'uisiam p't cuisia infra villam n'ram leonu' brasiatam uendere sub pena sex Solidor octo denarior' unde una medietas nob'et heredib's n'ris et alia medietas burgensib's n'ris ip'am penam for'factam p'sentantib's. *Concessimus eciam* eisdem Burgensib's n'ris eor' hered' et Successorib's q'd nullus 'eor de cet'o cogi seu compelli debeat p' nullum ministrum seu s'uientem n'r'm nec heredum n'r'or aliquem equu' ip'or' Burgensiu' nec alicuius ip'or ad vsum huius ministris n'ri vel s'uientis sui siue alt'ius cuiuscumq'e absq'e mera voluntate sua accomodare nec locare nisi

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solomodo ad sp'ialem vsum n'rum et hered' n'ror' p' Balliuos n'ros eiusdem ville tantum. *Volumus eciam et concessimus* p' nob' et heredib's n'ris eisdem Burgensib's n'ris et eor' heredib's et Successorib's q'd Balliui ville n're p'dict h'eant Cam'am seu prisonam vnam infra Castrum n'r'm leonu' p' arrestatis siue attachiatis infra villam n'ram p'dict' seu infra lib'tatem eiusdem secure conseruand' ex delib'aco'e Constabularii Castri p'dict qui p' tempore fu'it si et quando necessitas hoc requirat cum r'onabili ingressu et egressu p' eisdem visitand' ministrand' ac delib'and'. P'ta tamen q'd ip'i Balliui om'ino h'eant om'ia on'a salue custod' h'mo'i imprisonat ibidem et q'd i'pi Ballii nob' respondeant de om'ibs eschapiis et malef'cis eor'dem si que p' eosdem vel eor' aliquem infra seu de Castro n'ro p'dict in futur' fieri contigit absq'e quocumq'e on'e ip'o constabular' seu aliis ministris aut sui'entib's n'ris Castri p'dict' p' eisdem imprisonatis ex parte nostra nullatenus imponend'. Et q'd o'es et singuli Burgenses ville n're p'dict' eor' heredes et successores molabunt om'i' blada et brasia sua ad molendina n'ra infra D'n'm n'r'm ibidem ad vicessimam mensuram. Et nos vero p'fat Thomas Comes et hered n'ri om'es & singulas lib'tates et ffranchesias sup'dict' debitis Burgensib's n'ris p'dict' eor' hered' et successorib's plene vtend' possidend' et congaudend' Warantizabim's et imp'p'm defendem'. *In Cuius rei testimonium* huic presenti Carte n're Sigillum n'r'm fecim's appo'm *Hiis testibus* Rob'to morley milite senescall' hospicii n'ri Joh'e Bourley, Dauid holbach, Joh'e [W]ele tunc Senescall' n'ro de Bromfeld et Yale Will's Ryman et multis aliis. *Dat* apud Castrum n'r'm leonu' die lune p'x ante festum s'c'i Andree Ap'li'[1] Anno Regni Regis henrici Quarti post conquestum t'ciodecimo, *Et hoc* om'ib's quor' inte'st innotescim' p' p'sentes. *Teste me ip'a* apud Westm' Primo die marcij Anno Regni n'ri Quinto.

MARTEN.

APPENDIX II.

(See p. 24.)

Names of Tenants of Holt and their Rents, in the 23rd year of Henry VII.

	£	s.	d.
Thomas Crewe	3	4	10
Heirs of Jankyn Hugenson . . .		16	0
Jankyn dene, for land late Mathew Morgaunt .		1	6

[1] Feast of St. Andrew, 30th November.

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	£	s.	d.
Richard Laken		1	3
Tenents of the land of Richard Alford	1	5	9
Robert Alford, with 12*d.* for land late of John Maunsell		12	6
The same Robert, for half an acre of meadow		0	6
Thomas Alford		9	10
The same Thomas, for 23 acres late of Richard Alford, and 2*d.* for a parcel of waste for a garden made thereon		11	8
The community there [Villat' ibm]		1	2
William Wodey		8	2
Margaret Roden		3	0
Ieuan ap Ieuan		18	0
Richard Do^{r}		6	0
Thomas Dour		5	0
John Sendr'		4	4
Ieu'n ap D'd ap Iorwerth		5	0
David ap Iollyn ap "hyllynne" [Heilin]		2	0
Howell "Gouz" [Gooh = *the red*]]		8	0
Richard Grone	1	5	6
Thomas Knyght and Elena Goz [*the red*]		18	0
Richard ap Atha, with 2*s.* for Jonet Aleyne	1	4	3
William ap Atha, jun^{r}, for one parcel of waste		0	6
John Stockley		7	10
Robert Davyessone, for land late of Agnes Stokley		3	0
Elena Wayte (18*s.* 2*d.*) and Jankyn Pate, sen^{r} (2/-)	1	0	2
Executors of Geoffrey ap Dicus		2	0
Margaret relict of William ap Grono		1	0
Joan Pomfret		2	0
Richard Phelypp, with 2*s.* 2*d.* for John Mauncell's land		15	4
Jankyn leche and his partners [et soc' sui]		13	0
Thomas Bach	1	5	2½
The same Thomas, for one tenement and five acres late of Richard Baskervylle		3	4
James Bath [? Bach] and William Bath [? Bach] for Hardyng's late land		7	0
Richard Griffithson, and 5*s.* for land late of Ralph fflecher	1	0	2

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	£	s.	d.
Randolff Bach		1	6
Thomas Clerke, for one burgage late of Randolff aforesaid		1	0
Jankyn Edynson	1	3	8
Jankyn Pate senior, and Alice his mother		19	8
Richard Pate		13	9
Heirs of David Gronoson		11	2
Thomas Roden	2	17	0
The same Thomas, for two burgages late of Jankyn Wodall, for term of years		1	0
William Roden	1	5	6
Robert Glover		3	10
Richard Bach		12	6
The same Richard for two burgages, the land late of the aforesaid Jankyn Wodall, for term of years		1	0
William ap Dicus, for two burgages of the aforesaid land, for term of years		1	0
John James		2	1
Thomas Glover		1	4
William Crewe, with 12*s.* 11*d.* for the land late of Margaret Compane		16	10
William Says, for the land late of Hoell Baron		5	2
Thomas Wodall		13	4
William Wodall	1	10	11½
William Hortone, with 2*s.* 8*d.* for the land of Mawde verch Iorwerth		18	6
Heirs of William Hansone		9	0
Heirs of John Bach		18	7
William Brereton	3	2	2½
Llewelyn ap Howel "de franch" [of the franchise]		9	6
John Huchon [? Hutcheon]		6	2
Heirs of John Crewe, for land late of Mawt [Margaret], relict of William ap Atha		1	0
Jankyn Wylde	1	4	4
Tenants of land late of Agnes Stokley [Stockley] formerly paying 6*s.* 8*d.*, now only		3	4
Thomas ap Davy ap Duyo [Deio]		16	0
William le Wyld, for ½ an acre of land		1	6
John Almor		1	0
David ap Jankyn ap Madoc		1	0

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	£	s.	d.
Master John Kyffyn [Vicar of Gresford] .		1	0
Heirs of John Gray, chaplain . .		1	0
John Pulesdon		1	0
William and Richard, sons of Richard Bukley .		2	0
Morgaunt [Morgan] Massy . . .		1	0
John Hogge		1	0

Total rental, £40 14*s.* 2½*d.*

The total rental just given does not quite correspond with the sum of the items, but the difference is so slight as to be immaterial.

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TRE'R CEIRI:

INTRODUCTORY NOTE

BY

PROFESSOR W. BOYD DAWKINS, D.Sc., OXON., F.R.S.

BEFORE the results of the exploration of Tre'r Ceiri in June last are laid before the Cambrian Association by the Exploration Committee, it is not inopportune for me to define, as far as may be, its relation to other fortified villages, and its place in the history of Wales.

It is one of many similar villages, occupying a commanding position for purposes of defence, in the neighbourhood, such as Pen-y-gaer, some two miles to the east of Llanaelhaiarn, and Garn Bodfean, about a mile to the south of Nevin, containing the remains of rude stone huts, called by the inhabitants of the district "cyttiau Gwyddelod"—the huts of the Goidels. This popular attribution to the Goidels—the conquerors of the aboriginal Iberic Welsh, who in their turn had to submit to the mastery of the Brythons—is in my opinion true. They are probably the dwellings of the Welsh prehistoric Goidels, and have no necessary connection with the Irish Goidels, who were undoubtedly in close touch with this, as well as with other districts in Wales, in the historic period.

Similar fortified villages abound elsewhere in Wales, as for example at Dinas Maen Mawr, near Pen Maen Mawr, all having the same characters, where the stone for wall- and hut-building was ready to hand, split into convenient blocks by the frost of untold centuries. Their entrances are narrow, and sometimes slanting; and in one case, in the Pen-y-Gaer, some two miles south-west of the Roman fort of Caerhun, on the Conway, the approaches are rendered difficult by a *chevaux-de-frise* of blocks of stone, with one end planted in the

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ground, to prevent a rush. I am unable to detect any such arrangement in the masses of tumbled blocks on the slopes of Tre'r Ceiri, that rest at their natural angle of repose. On this point I cannot agree with the eminent archæologists who have taken the view that this method of defence was used by the inhabitants of Tre'r Ceiri.

The class of fort to which Tre'r Ceiri belongs is amply represented in Somerset by Worlebury, near Weston-super-Mare, and the line of similar forts on the Mendip Hills, and by many in Devon and Cornwall. It is also met with in Ireland, and especially in the Western Isles which shield the coast from the Atlantic storms, in the Arran Isles, off Galway, and in Inis Murray, off Donegal. In these they are preserved in singular perfection. In Dun Ængus, North Arran, the slabs of limestone favour a more stable construction than the polygonal blocks forming the walls of Tre'r Ceiri, and there is clear evidence of a *chevaux-de-frise*. It is also worthy of note that in the same island—at Baile-na-Sean—are upwards of forty primitive houses, described by Mr. Kinahan as :—

(*a*) Cloghauns, with beehive roofs.
(*b*) Cnochauns, with roofs covered with earth.
(*c*) Fosleach, with flag walls.
(*d*) Ointigh, with roofs made of other materials than stone.

The Welsh "cyttiau" belong to one or other of these groups, and are therefore appropriately assigned to the Goidels.

This class of fort is proved by the remains found in various places to have been occupied at various periods, ranging from the Bronze Age into the Prehistoric Iron Age, and well into the historic period. The bronze sickle found in Dun Ængus proves that it was used in the Bronze Age; while bronze pins with ornamentation of the Prehistoric Iron Age indicate that it was occupied at that time, and a bronze ring with cable decoration that it was not without inhabitants in

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the fifth century after Christ. In the cashel on Inis Murray we have very thick rough stone walls, with narrow entrances, surrounding a group of monastic remains, including three small chapels, strangely intermingled with the prehistoric cloghauns, of which the circular "school-house" is an example, and also with *souterrains*, or covered ways.

This class of fort in England is clearly proved by the result of the exploration of Worlebury, to belong to the Prehistoric Iron Age. Here the inhabitants belonged to the aboriginal Iberic stock, the ancestors of the Silures of the north side of the Bristol Channel. Equally good evidence is presented by the brooch found in the excavations of 1903 at Tre'r Ceiri, that it also belongs to the Prehistoric Iron Age. It may, however, have been—and probably was—used in later times by the Goidels of the district, whenever the country was being harried, for purposes of defence.

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REPORT ON THE EXCAVATIONS CARRIED OUT AT TRE'R CEIRI IN 1906.

By HAROLD HUGHES, Esq., A.R.I.B.A.

Since the year 1903, when thirty-two of the "cyttiau" in Tre'r Ceiri were examined, the work of exploration lay in abeyance till 1906. An account of the 1903 excavations, written by the Rev. S. Baring-Gould and Mr. Robert Burnard, is published in *Archæologia Cambrensis* for 1904. At the meeting of the Committee of the Cambrian Archæological Association, held at Shrewsbury on August 14th, 1905, it was resolved "that Professor W. Boyd Dawkins be asked if he would kindly consent to the excavations at Tre'r Ceiri being carried out under his direction, with the assistance of Colonel W. Ll. Morgan and Mr. Harold Hughes." Professor Boyd Dawkins very kindly consented to undertake the work.

Through the assistance of Mr. D. R. Daniel, of Fourcrosses, eight labourers were obtained, and work was commenced on June 5th, 1906, and continued till June 16th.

Unfortunately, Professor Boyd Dawkins was called to London before the excavations were completed, and Colonel Morgan was unable to be present during the whole fortnight. On the other hand, most valuable assistance was given by Mr. Charles E. Breese, who devoted several days to the work. I was present during the whole time occupied by the excavations.

The workmen employed were Griffith Jones and William Dobson, of Fourcrosses; William Owen, Griffith Griffith, John Evans, David Owen, and H. Oliver, of Douglas Hill, Bethesda; and John G. Jones, of Pant yr Avon, Bethesda.

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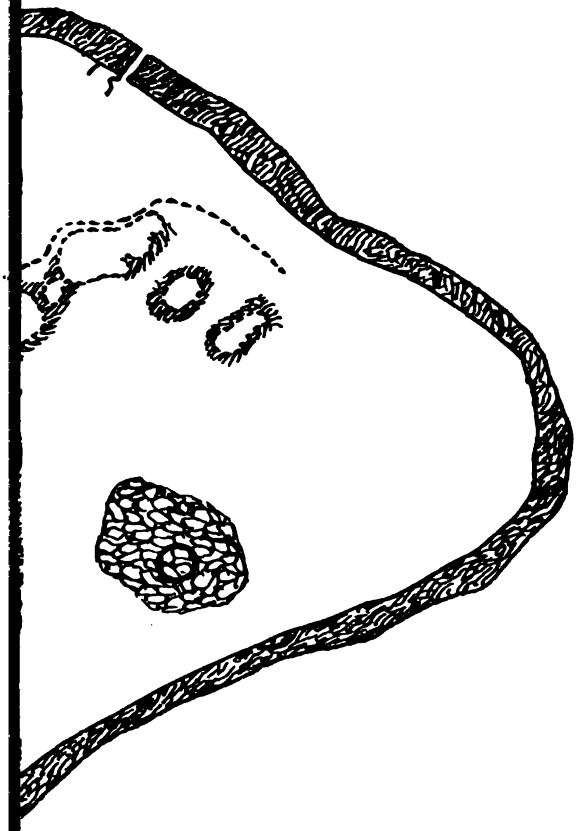

Harold Hughes

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Altogether, thirty-two "cyttiau" were examined (the same number as in 1903), and two sites on the Bwlch below the south-west entrance. The two main entrances were cleared sufficiently to ascertain their plans, as far as the dilapidated state of the walling would allow.

For general notes on the form, grouping, sizes, and construction of the "cyttiau" in Tre'r Ceiri, the nature of the subsoil, the stone employed, and the water-supply, the reader should refer to Mr. Baring-Gould's and Mr. Burnard's account in the 1904 volume of the Journal.

The accompanying plan is practically confined to the space enclosed within the inner walls of defence. It is intended as a key-plan only to the sites excavated. Many details require correction. The excavations have laid bare walls and doorways, and enabled the outlines of many "cyttiau" to be followed accurately, when previously it was only possible indefinitely to trace their general conformation. The corrected measurements have not yet been taken, and the outworks have not been surveyed, with the exception of those immediately outside the south-west entrance. It has, however, been considered that much interest and value will be added to this Report by the provision of a plan indicating clearly the position of each hut examined.

In 1903, over one hundred of the "cyttiau" were numbered by Mr. Baring-Gould. Only those "cyttiau" excavated in 1903 and in 1906 are marked with figures on the plan. The "cyttiau" examined on the present occasion follow the original numbering of 1903.

The details of the work carried out in 1906 are given below. It has been thought advisable to arrange the list in consecutive order of numbering, rather than according to the order of date on which the sites were excavated.

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Sites Excavated in 1906, together with Details of "Finds."

The numbers in the following list correspond with those of huts on key-plan :—

21 (a) Several "pot-boilers."
(b) Four small pebbles.

37 (a) Left lower jaw-bone of a horse (the teeth complete and fragments of the jaw-bone).
(b) Tibia of horse.
(c) Fragment of a leg-bone of another animal.
(d) A stone "rubber."
(e) A white pebble.
(f) Two "pot-boilers."
(g) Charcoal.

38 (a) Eight fragments of corroded iron, which, pieced together, are illustrated in Fig. 1. The total length of the remaining portions is $10\frac{5}{8}$ ins. Sections are given of the iron at five different points. The iron is socketted at one end and at the other, apparently, was leaf-shaped. The remains are probably those of a leaf-shaped socketted lance-head.
(b) Anteria dorsal of a colt.
(c) Rib of sheep or goat.
(d) Charcoal.
(e) Two small fragments of black pottery.

41 (a) Portions of a bronze torque or armlet (gold-plated). The remains of this article are illustrated in Fig. 2, page 42. They consist of three portions: a piece of a curved bronze bar; three solid bronze beads, with the remains of a bar, on which they are threaded, firmly joined together by corrosion; and one bronze bead, of similar design, pierced through the centre. The rod or bar is decayed, but the diameter appears to have been about $\frac{5}{24}$ths of an inch.

The internal diameter of the circle formed by the curved bar would have been $4\frac{5}{12}$ ins., but that within the bronze beads would only have been about $3\frac{5}{8}$ths ins. The above measurements are calculated from the curve of the existing segment, and are based on the supposition that the ring, when complete, formed a true circle, and that it was threaded for its entire cir-

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cumference through the bead-shaped ornaments. It should, however, be noted that the beads may have been carried only round a portion of the circle, as, for

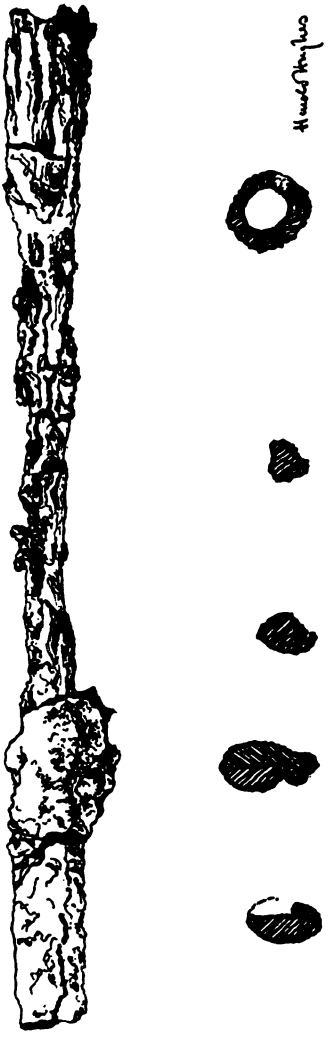

Fig. 1.—"Leaf-shaped Socketed Lance-head." Hut No. 38. Scale, ½ linear.

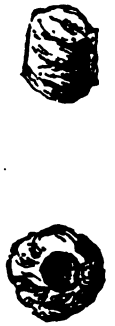

Fig. 4.—Bead of Blue-glazed Porcellanic Paste. Hut No. 45A. Scale, 1 linear.

Fig 3.—Remains of Iron Loop Hut No. 41. Scale, 1 linear.

example, in the case of the bronze beaded torque, from Lochar Moss, Dumfriesshire, now in the British Museum, and the beaded torque, from Mowroad, near Rochdale, both illustrated in Mr. Romilly Allen's

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Celtic Art in Pagan and Christian Times. In the latter example, half the torque is beaded; in the former, between half and three-quarters. There is a nick round one end of the existing portion of the Tre'r Ceiri bar. The three connected beads, although much decayed in places, retain the remnants of thick gold-plating. The beads differ in size. Each is shaped into eight bulbous divisions. Fig. 2 shows a side and an end view of this cluster.

Dr. Kennedy J. P. Orton has examined the curved centre bar and beads, and confirms the impression,

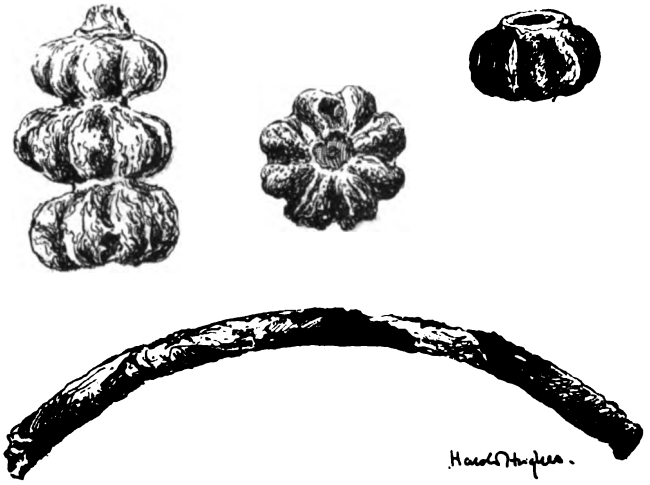

Fig. 2.—Portions of Torque or Armlet. Hut No. 41.
Scale, ½ linear.

conveyed by their appearance, that the main metal is bronze, and that it has been covered with gold. With regard to the curved bar, a core of unchanged metal is still present. The single bead is much decayed, and therefore retains no sign of the gold-plating.

It may be noted that amongst the "finds" at Chastelcoz was a "bronze necklace bead."

41 (b) Remains of an iron loop, in two fragments. External diameter of loop about 1⅛ ins. (see Fig. 3, page 41).

(c) A small part of the base and a small fragment of a red earthenware vessel. The surface and material is of a sandy consistency. External and internal surfaces, dull red; interior of material, grey.

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41 (d) Two small fragments of black pottery, giving the section of a rim of a vessel (see Fig. 5).
(e) Charcoal.
(f) "Pot-boilers."
(g) Burnt stones.
(h) Small pebble.
(i) A portion of a bone, which appears to have been burnt.
(j) Teeth and jaw-bone of horse.

42 (a) Two small fragments of iron.
(b) Stone (? pounder).
(c) White pebble.

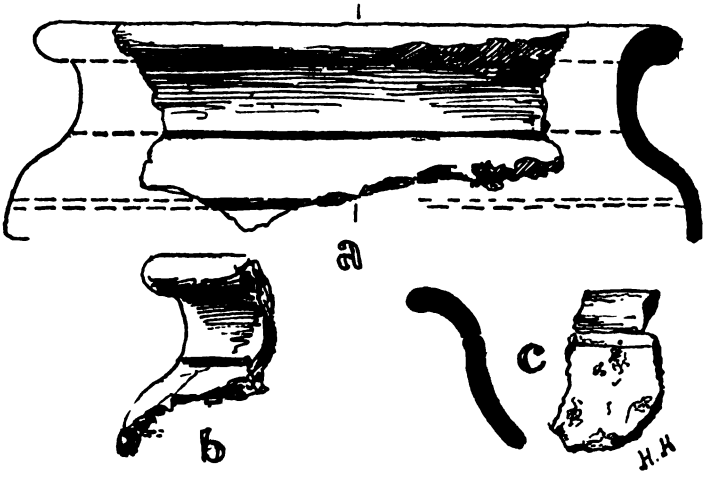

Fig. 5.—(a and b). Fragment of Rim of Black Pot. Hut No. 45A.
(c). Fragment of Rim of Black Pot. Hut No. 41.
Scale, ½ linear.

45 (d) Stone "pounder."

45A (a) A small ribbed bead of blue-glazed porcelannic paste (see Fig. 4, page 41), where it is illustrated in two positions. The surface may, perhaps, be more correctly described as "bulbous," rather than "ribbed." The surface formation has a slightly spiral appearance, the bulbous construction inclining in wavy curves from left to right. As the surface is much worn, the ornamental design is rendered somewhat indistinct. The external diameter is ½ in. The ribs of the blue beads discovered at Tre'r Ceiri in 1903, and illustrated in *Archæologia*

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Cambrensis for 1904, are vertical, thus differing from the example found in Hut 45a.

45A (b) Several "pot-boilers."

(c) Large fragment of the rim of a black pot. The inner and outer facings have black coatings on red material, with an inner core of grey colour. The outer surface is smooth, the inner slightly coarse. A bold moulding runs round the lip. The external surface is divided into zones by narrow bands (see Fig. 5, page 43).

46 This Hut drew blank.

47 (a) Sixteen "pot-boilers,"

(b) Half a "rubber." This stone appears to have served the double purpose of a "rubber" and "pounder."

(c) A fragment of bone.

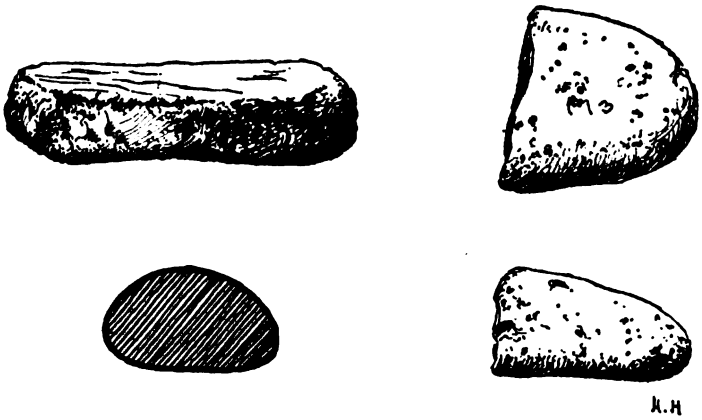

Fig. 6.—Hone. Hut No. 62.
Plan, Section, and Side Elevation of Stone Rubber. Hut No. 47.
Scale, ½ linear.

48 (a) Many small fragments of black pottery.

(b) Many "pot-boilers."

(c) Charcoal.

(d) A small circular stone ball, just over ½ in. in diameter.

(e) Rotten black matter (probably decayed earthenware)

48A(a) Small fragments of iron.

(b) Remains of bone.

(c) Stone, probably used as a "pounder."

49 (a) Fragment of bone.

54 This Hut was drawn blank.

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55 (a) Fragment of iron.

56 (a) Charcoal.
(b) Fragment of iron.
(c) Pebbles.

57 (a) An irregular mass of metal, about 1½ ins. by 1 in. by ½ in. A specimen of this material was submitted to Dr. Kennedy J. P. Orton, Professor of Chemistry at the University College of North Wales, Bangor. He reports:—"It consisted mainly of lead, with a trace of iron, encrusted, of course, with chalk, etc. There appeared to be no tin, zinc, or copper."

(b) Two fragments of a bronze plate (see Fig. 7). The surfaces are much decayed. The upper edge, as drawn, of the larger plate, is slightly curved downwards,

Fig. 7.—Fragments of Bronze Plates. Hut No. 57. Scale, ¼ linear.

while the left-hand edge is curved upwards and turned over. The smaller fragment, which is in an advanced stage of decay, appears to retain indications of ornamentation. There are the remnants of two slightly raised bosses, which appear to be the remains of a concentric circle of bosses surrounding a small circle, the pierced half of the latter remaining, and visible on the lower side of the drawing. Whether it was originally a pierced circle or raised boss cannot be ascertained. Outside the bosses are three sunk dots.

(c) Jaw-bone of sheep.
(d) Fragment of "pot-boiler."

58 (a) Fragment of bone of ox, and one other small bone.
(b) Several fragments of pottery, much decayed, of a yellowish tint; in its present state very fragile. Similar to the remains of the Mortarium found in Hut 60.

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59 (a) "Pot-boiler."
(b) Charcoal.
(c) Right humerus of ox (*Bos-longifrons*).

60 (a) Many fragments of a Mortarium. Fig. 8 gives a restored section through the vessel, and the detail of the boldly-moulded lip to a larger scale. Where cleanly broken, the material is of a yellow colour. The surface, however, has a drabby appearance, with a tinge of dull red. Portions are stained black, probably due to the peaty deposit accumulated on the floor-level of the Hut, in which they were imbedded. The interior is sprinkled with fragments of quartz, which are more numerous at the bottom, and gradually decrease in number upwards, till they cease below the sinking

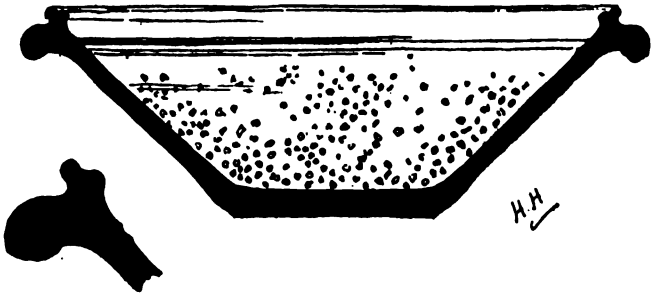

Fig. 8.—Mortarium. Hut No. 60. Scale, ¼ linear.
Detail of Rim, ½ linear.

carried round the vessel about 1 in. vertically below the rim. The quartz fragments are worn down as if from continued use. The diameter of the base appears to have been about 4¼ ins., and the full external diameter across the rim a little over 13 ins.
(b) A "rib-bone."
(c) "Pot-boiler."
(d) Teeth of ox.

61 (a) The base, and several fragments of a red earthenware vessel. A plan of the base, a side elevation, and a sketch of the lower portion and a detail of some other fragments, are given in Figs. 9 and 10. The diameter of the base is ⅞ in. The formation of the vessel is spiral. The clay is worked on a curve, which continually recedes as it rises upwards from the centre of the bottom of the vessel, about which it revolves. The

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external face appears to have been slightly glazed, and finished to a terra-cotta surface.

61 (b) Charcoal.
(c) A small fragment of "metal" (iron).
(d) White quartz "pot-boiler."
(e) Tooth of ox.

62 (a) A hone or whetstone. 7½ ins. long (see Fig. 6, page 44).
(b) Thirteen small pebbles.

62*a* (a) Pot-boiler.

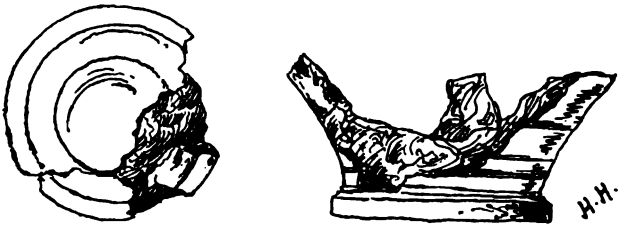

Fig. 9.—Base and Side Elevation of Earthenware Vessel. Hut No. 61. Scale, ⅜ linear.

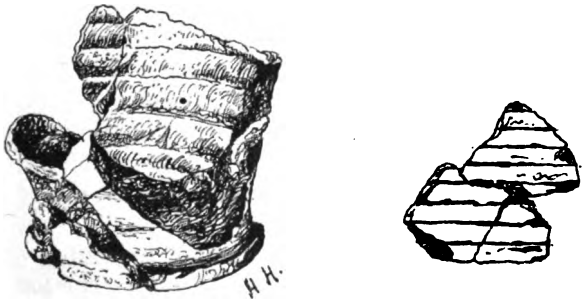

Fig. 10.—Fragments of Red Earthenware Vessel. Hut No. 61.

63 (a) A bronze pin, in the form of a sickle (see Fig. 11, page 48). Although much corroded, it bore indications of gold-plating. The "sickle" shape may be accidental.
(b) Pebble.

64 (a) Fragment of leg-bone of horse or ox.

65 (a) Humerus of ox.
(b) Three "pot-boilers."
(c) Two small pebbles.

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66 This Hut drew blank.

67 (a) Fragments of black pottery, including a portion of the rim of a vessel of identically the same detail as that found in Hut 45a, illustrated in Fig. 5.

(b) Tooth of ox.

(c) A white pebble.

68 This Hut was drawn blank.

69 (a) Five pieces of black pottery, including a fragment of a rim of a vessel. The section of the latter, although differing slightly from, resembles that of rim found in Hut 41, illustrated in Fig. 5, rather than that of the 45 (A) Hut.

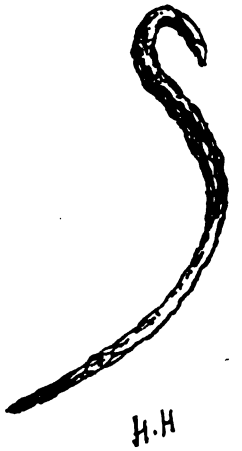

Fig. 11.—Bronze Pin, Gold-plated. Hut No. 63. Scale, ½ linear.

(b) An iron article, of uncertain use, consisting of a disk. about 3¼ ins. in diameter, on a stem. The total length of disk and stem is 1 ft. 0¼ in. The surfaces are much corroded. Fig. 12 illustrates one face and a side view. The ironwork of the disk bulges out on either face, but to what extent it originally did so it is impossible to say. On one face, for the greater area, and on the other side, in patches, the ironwork has split and corroded away, revealing, apparently, a flat disk or plate, forming the core of the superimposed metal. The original section of the stem appears to have been rectangular. The disk may have had flat faces. The superimposed metal, in that case, would entirely be the result of corrosion.

(c) A fragment of a tooth of ox.

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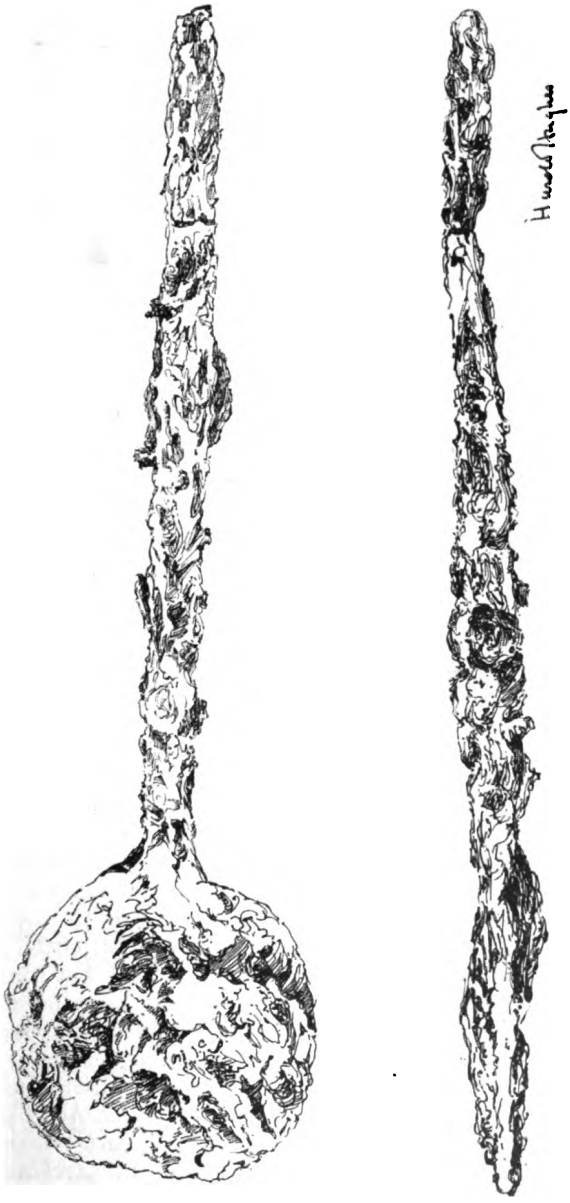

Fig. 12.—Iron Object. Hut No. 69. Face and Side View.
Scale, ½ linear.

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70 (a) Charcoal.

71 This Hut drew blank.

72 (a) Three "pot-boilers."
(b) Bone of ox. (*Bos-longifrons.*)

At the initiation of Mr. Breese, two sites were excavated on the Bwlch below the south-west entrance. The first site was about 500 ft. in a south-westerly direction from the entrance, and the second site about 360 ft. south-south-west of the first. Each site consisted of an approximately rectangular space, about 15 ft. long by 5 ft. 6 ins. wide, roughly paved with rude stone blocks. Mr. Breese suggested that the rough stones, evidently artificially arranged, might indicate the sites of graves.

The detailed results are as below :—

Site 1 (a) At a distance of 7 ft. 6 ins. from the base, or south-south-west end, and 1 ft. from the east-south-east side, and at a depth of 2 ft. 6 ins. below the surface, the metal article illustrated in Figs. 13, 14, and 15 was discovered. The drawings give a sketch of the object, a plan looking downwards, and a side elevation. It was seated in the position shown, on a small, rough, local stone, measuring about 3 ins. by 3 ins. by 1 in. The article is circular on plan. From the broadest part it contracts to a narrower neck by means of a concave sweep, slightly bulged towards the narrower part, and terminates with a knop, with a circle of raised dots round the widest part. The top of the knop has been battered in. It is, therefore, doubtful as to the manner of its termination. The article is hollow. With reference to the metal, it has been submitted to Dr. Orton, who reports that it "consists mainly of lead, but contains also a certain amount of tin. It may be called a sort of pewter." The use the object served is uncertain, but the design is, to a certain degree, suggestive of that of the pommel of a sword-hilt. In the British Museum "Guide to the Antiquities of the Bronze Age," p. 77, two swords found in Northumberland, with remains of leaded pommels, are referred to. In *Archæologia Cambrensis* for 1905. p. 144, Fig. 25, is an illustration of a Late-Celtic bronze ornament, from Seven Sisters,

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near Neath, resembling this object to the extent that the two may have served similar purposes. The following is the description of the object by Mr. Romilly Allen, in the letterpress:—"A bronze finial, shaped something like the umbo of a shield. It has three

Fig. 13.—Pewter Object.
Site 1, on Bwlch.

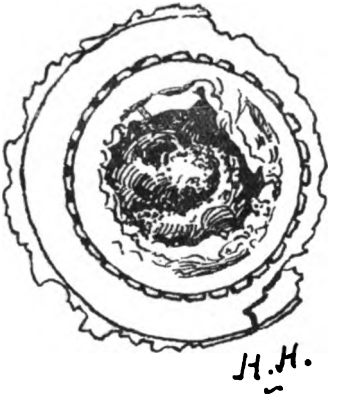

Fig. 14.—Plan of Pewter Object.
Site 1, on Bwlch.
Scale, ½ linear.

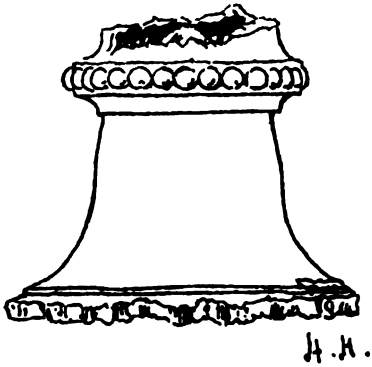

Fig. 15.—Side Elevation of Pewter Object.
Site 1, on Bwlch.
Scale, ½ linear.

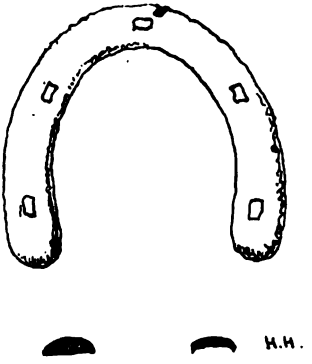

Fig. 16.—Iron Object.
Site 1, on Bwlch.
Scale, ½ linear.

rivet-holes for fixing it on to something." It does not state whether it is solid or hollow. With reference to the material of the "pommel," in the "Report on the Exploration of Moel Trigarn," in *Archæologia Cambrensis* for 1900, amongst the "finds" in Hut-site 21,

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mention is made of half a finger-ring, polished, and "composed of some hard white mineral substance.

(b) At a distance of 4 ft. from the base and below the east-south-east boundary, at a depth of 2 ft. 6 ins. below the surface, an iron article of horse-shoe shape, in size and outline exactly suitable for a modern heel-plate of a boot, and with the five usual oblong piercings for attachment to the leather, was discovered (see Fig. 16). The main difference between a modern heel-plate and this object is that the section is rounded off on one face, and the ends are likewise rounded, while the modern generally has angular edges and terminations. With regard to the date of this object, and how it arrived in the position mentioned above, I will not venture an opinion. This object was found after the excavation had been left open for the night.

Site 2. Although considerable time was devoted to the excavation of this site, no object was discovered. The whole space, however, had not been explored by June 16th, when work ceased, and the site had to be abandoned. Below the surface, large portions of both Sites 1 and 2 were composed of small-sized stones, bearing the appearance of having been filled in by man.

Some of the more important "finds" were unearthed after Professor Boyd Dawkins had left. Sketches, however, were forwarded to him, and he very kindly wrote, expressing his opinion, as below :—"The bronze object (beaded) is distinctly of prehistoric Iron Age, and is probably a torque, or armlet, as you suggest. The glass or porcelain bead—some of these found in Glastonbury, in the prehistoric Iron lake village. The "pommel" is not very far removed from one discovered in prehistoric Iron Age fort at Hod." The black pottery and the iron ladle-shaped object, he writes, would belong to the same period. The iron "heel-plate," he believes, is modern.

All the objects may be said to have been found on the true floors of the huts, though, in a few instances, the construction was so rude that it was difficult to determine with exactitude the ancient floor-levels.

With reference to the fragments of bronze plate,

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found in 57 b, Mr. C. W. Dymond, in his work on Worlebury,[1] describes and illustrates some pieces found in that stronghold. A slightly curved plate, $1\frac{7}{8}$ ins. long, and $\frac{11}{16}$ ins. wide, with piercings at one end, he considers to have probably formed part of an accoutrement. The concave side had been left dull, but the convex side, which is now patinated, had been burnished. Two other pieces of bronze plate, with curved edging, are pronounced to be remains of binding.

With regard to the mass of lead found in the same hut, it may be noted that a lump of lead, about the size of a walnut, was found in one of the pits at Worlebury.[2]

Dr. Orton reports, with reference to the analyses of the metals referred to in the list of the various "finds," that we are indebted to Miss M. G. Edwards, who worked under his supervision.

In the following summary of the 1903 and 1906 "finds," the kindred objects are grouped together. The figures in the second column refer to the numbers of the Sites.

Summary of "Finds."

BEADS.

1903	8	Blue-glazed porcellanic paste.
	10	Blue-glazed porcellanic paste.
	13	Blue glass.
1906	45A	Blue-glazed porcellanic paste.

BRONZES.

1903	8	Triskele.
	10	Fibula.
1906	41	Torque or armlet.
	57	Fragments: bronze plate.
	63	Sickle-shaped pin.

IRON.

1903	3	Small fragments of pointed iron.
	6	Combined adze and hammer.
	6	Part of blade.

[1] *Worlebury, an Ancient Stronghold in the County of Somerset*, by Charles William Dymond, F.S.A. 1902, p. 122. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 81.

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1903	7	Fragment, 3 ins. long.
	7	Crescent-shaped piece.
	10	Ring, 2 ins. diameter.
	14	(? Strike-a-light).
	19	Fragment.
	25	Fragment.
	26	Nail.
	82	(? Bill-hook).
1906	38	(? Leaf-shaped spear-head).
	41	Half of loop.
	42	Fragments.
	48A	Fragments.
	55	Fragments.
	56	Fragments.
	61	Fragments.
	69	Ladle-shaped article.

LEAD, ETC.

1906	57	Mass of lead.

In Bwlch.

Site 1 (? Pommel of sword-hilt), pewter.

POTTERY.

1903	3	About a dozen pieces, dark pottery.
	12	Small fragment of rim.
	13	Small fragment red pottery, slightly ornamented.
	16	Two small pieces, black pottery.
	50	Part of bottom of earthenware vessel.
	86	Tiny fragments, red pottery.
1906	38	Two fragments, black pottery.
	41	Part of bottom, and other fragments of red pottery.
	41	Fragment of rim, black pottery.
	45A	Large fragment of rim of black pot.
	48	Fragments, black pottery.
	58	Fragments pottery, yellow.
	60	Remains of Mortarium.
	61	Red pot, base and fragments.
	67	Piece of rim and fragments, black pottery.
	69	Five fragments, black pottery, including rim.

SPINDLE-WHORLS.

1903	4	Two spindle-whorls.
	5	One spindle-whorl.
	7	One spindle-whorl.

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COMB.

1903	23	Fragment, bone-comb.

RUDE STONE OBJECTS.

1906	37	"Rubber."
	42	(? "Pounder.")
	45	"Pounder."
	47	Half "rubber."
	48	Stone ball, ½ in. diameter.
	48A	(? "Pounder.")
	62	Hone.

BONES AND TEETH.

1903	5	Pieces teeth of ox.
	6	Fragments, bone and teeth of ox.
	7	Fragments of bone.
	19	Fragments of bone.
	24	Fragments of bone.
	86	Tooth of ox.
1906	37	Teeth and jaw-bone, horse.
	37	Tibia, horse.
	37	Fragment, leg-bone, other animal.
	38	Anterior dorsal, colt.
	38	Rib, sheep or goat.
	41	Calcined bone.
	41	Teeth and jaw-bone, horse.
	47	Fragment, bone.
	48A	Fragment, bone.
	49	Fragment, bone.
	57	Jaw-bone, sheep.
	58	Fragment, bone of ox.
	59	Bone of ox (*Bos-longifrons*).
	60	Rib-bone.
	60	Teeth of ox.
	61	Tooth of ox.
	64	Fragment, leg-bone, horse or ox.
	65	Humerus, ox.
	67	Teeth, ox.
	69	Fragment, tooth of ox.
	79	Bones, ox.

SLING-STONES.

1903	3, 4, 17, 18, 25, and 87.

POT-BOILERS AND PEBBLES.

1906	21, 37, 41, 42, 45A, 47, 48, 56, 57, 60, 61, 62, 62A, 63, 65, 67, and 79.

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CHARCOAL.

1903	1, 4, 5, 11, 12, and 50.
1906	37, 38, 41, 48, 56, 59, 61, and 70.

The following Huts drew blank :—

1903	2, 9, 15, 22, 75, 88, 90, and 92.
1906	46, 54, 66, 68, 71, and site 2—on Bwlch.

It will be seen from the above summary that by far the greater number of bones and teeth which have been found are those of the ox (*Bos-longifrons*). The other animal remains which can be determined are those of the horse, sheep, and (?) goat.

It may be instructive to compare this list with bones discovered elsewhere. At Worlebury, in the pits, the "finds" include those of a pig, ox (*Bos-longifrons*), horse, deer, goat, water-fowl, and small birds.[1] At Cadbury (Wincanton), those of "the *Bos-longifrons*, deer and swine are noted.[2] At Maiden Castle, in the pits, many bones were found, especially those of the red deer.[3] At Walton-down, amongst other bones, horses' teeth are mentioned.[4] At Mount Caburn, "the animal remains were ox (*Bos-longifrons*), pig (*Sus scrofa*), horse (*Equus caballus*), goat (*Capra hircus*), sheep (*Ovis aries*), with occasional bones of roe-deer and badger; also the scapula of a rabbit, the leg and spur of a fighting cock, and part of the bone of a dog."[5]

The only fortified hill-village in the neighbourhood of Tre'r Ceiri where, to my knowledge, any exploration has been undertaken, is that on the top of Garn Bodfean, near Nevin. Several of the "cyttiau" were explored, in 1904, by the Hon. Frederick G. Wynn. He wrote at the time, informing me that he had "found spindle-whorls and sling-stones, but no implements," and "no certain hearth." During our stay at Tre'r Ceiri, we visited Garn Bodfean on a Saturday afternoon, when our men were "off work." We were shown a

[1] *Worlebury*, p. 80. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 83.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 83. [4] *Ibid.*, p. 84. [5] *Ibid.*, p. 85.

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stone hammer which had been found, and inspected the huts which had been excavated. The camp is as important as—even if not more so than—Tre'r Ceiri. As a plantation covers the top of the hill, the general idea of the plan is difficult to appreciate without a lengthy inspection. The huts are more circular and detached than those at Tre'r Ceiri. This may possibly be accounted for by the space being less limited. "Finds" of further interest than those already discovered should repay careful excavation. Although it is probable that the camp belongs to the same period as Tre'r Ceiri, the "finds," mentioned by Mr. Wynn in themselves are insufficient to establish the fact.

The Entrances.

The south-west entrance, through the inner encompassing wall, was cleared sufficiently to ascertain its plan. The pathway rises rapidly through the thickness of the wall; the entrance is slightly curved. The north-western or left-hand wall approaching the camp retains, to a certain height, its original face; it is concave on plan. The south-eastern or right-hand wall is not so easy to trace; the inner portion has practically been destroyed. There are, however, in this position, some stones low down, which, in all probability, indicate the outline of the wall; though, on the other hand, they may form portions of a rough paved way. The outer part of this wall is convex, but it appears to have changed to concave, with an ogee sweep, further in. The uncertain line of wall is indicated by a broken line on the plan (Fig. 17 (a)). The entrance at certain points evidently was not more than about 3 ft. in width; the narrowest, or inner end, apparently narrowed down to 2 ft.; though, as mentioned above, it is impossible to definitely ascertain the plan at this point. It is quite possible the entrance, in any case the inner portion, was roofed over with rude slab lintels, in a similar manner to the existing

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so-called "sally-port" in the northern part of the enclosing wall.

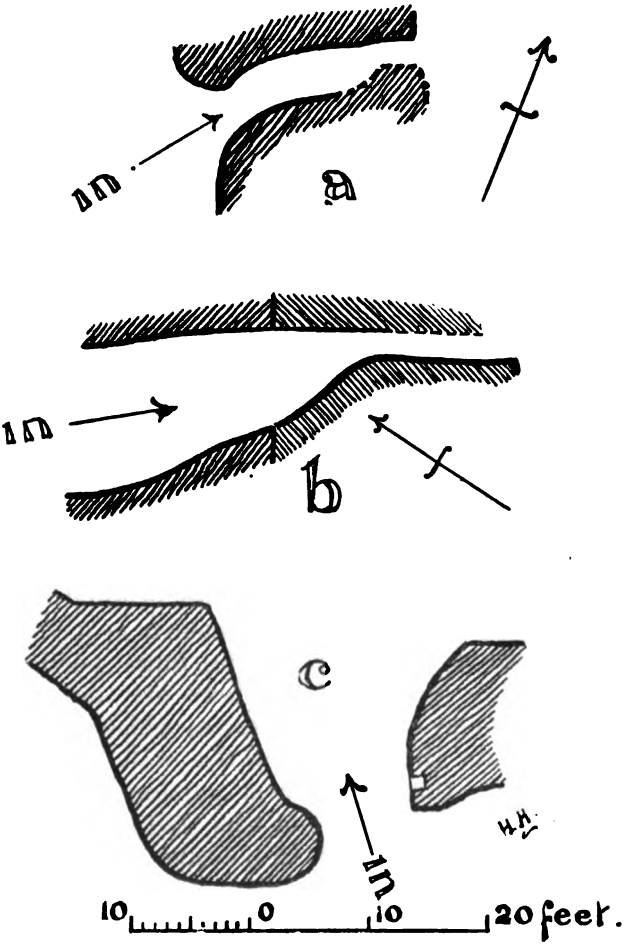

Fig. 17.—(a) South-West Entrance.
(b) North-West Entrance.
(c) North-West Entrance through Outer Wall.

The passage through the north-western entrance, in the inner encompassing wall, has been lengthened by extending the masonry inwards for about 20 ft. beyond

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the inner face of the rampart wall. On the plan (Fig. 17 (b)), the entrance through the inner wall is shown with reversed hatching to that through the extended walling. The north-western, or left-hand, wall is slightly concave. The south-eastern wall slopes in sharply towards the north-western; it is irregularly concave, and has a slight bulge in the middle; the gateway narrows from a width of 12 ft. at the entrance to 2 ft. at the inner end. The outline of a short length of the face of the inner portion of the left-hand wall could not be traced, owing to the dilapidated state of the masonry. This small section is shown by means of a broken line on the plan; the pathway rises rapidly through the thickness of the wall.

The plan of the entrance, through the outer wall, of the road or pathway leading up to this entrance is given in Fig. 17 (c). It differs considerably from the entrances through the inner wall; the least width is at the entrance to the passage, where it measures a little under 8 ft.; the passage widens out internally to about 20 ft. There is a peculiar bulge in the left-hand wall, at the entrance to the passage, which considerably contracts the width. At a distance of 1 ft. 11 ins. from the outer face of the right-hand wall is a hole, roughly measuring 1 ft. in width, 1 ft. 1 in. in height, and 1 ft. 4 ins. in depth; its position is indicated on the plan. It was probably intended as a mortise-hole, to receive the end of a balk of timber, in connection with some sort of wooden barrier across the entrance.

The general scheme of this outer entrance is more adapted to resist a pressure from within than from without. Might it possibly be intended for the ingress of cattle and other animals which might not usually be admitted into the inner enclosure? The barrier, in that case, might be intended rather as a protection to keep the cattle within bounds than an impediment to attack.

The description of the entrances by Mr. E. L. Barn-

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well, in a former volume of the *Journal*,[1] appears to be utterly inaccurate and unintelligible.

An examination of the north-east wall was made at one point, to ascertain its true construction. The wall in this direction retains its parapet and "banquette," or "chemin de ronde." The measurements of the wall, at the point examined, are: Internal height of "banquette" from present internal ground-level, 4 ft. 4 ins.; width of "banquette," 4 ft.; height of parapet above "banquette," 3 ft.; width of parapet, 4 ft. 4 ins.; visible height of parapet, externally, 9 ft. 6 ins. The last measurement, however, was taken, from the screes formed of fallen *débris*, from the top of the wall. At another point, not far distant, the external height of the wall measured 11 ft.

The wall is of single construction—that is, it was carried up to the "banquette" in one operation. The outer portion was then raised above the level, to form the parapet. In this respect, it differs from the construction at Worlebury, where a massive inner wall was first raised to the required height, and afterwards independent terraces or platforms, varying in number, each about 4 ft. lower than the one within, raised as continuous buttresses against it. These terraces are chiefly external; but, in some places, the hinder part of the rampart was raised by similar degrees. Mr. Dymond estimates that the width of the inner wall, or core, measured across the top, was seldom less than 6 ft. He writes that "it was evidently crowned by a parapet; but whether this was of the same thickness as the wall on which it stood, or whether it was thinner, leaving room for a walk behind it, on the same part of the wall, there is not sufficient evidence to determine."[2] The consideration of the general plan of the fortress, with its outworks and the "cyttiau" within its walls, will be dealt with at a later date, when the results of the survey are published.

Before concluding this Report, we must briefly con-

[1] *Arch. Camb.*, 4th Ser., vol. ii, p. 66.
[2] *Worlebury*, pp. 21, 22.

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sider any deductions that may arise from the result of the exploration.

The "finds" of 1906 confirm, in the main, the conclusions arrived at by Mr. Baring Gould and Mr. Burnard in 1903.[1]

In the Introductory Note by Professor Boyd Dawkins, he considers we have sufficient evidence to assign Tre'r Ceiri to the prehistoric Iron Age.

Whereas Mr. Baring Gould and Mr. Burnard consider there are no indications of a later occupation, Professor Boyd Dawkins is of opinion that it may have been, and probably was, used in later times by the Goidels of the district, whenever the country was being harried for purposes of defence.

The conclusions arrived at by Mr. Baring Gould and Mr. Burnard are :—

"1. That the fortifications were probably erected and occupied by that people to whom the 'finds' appertained."

"2. That Tre'r Ceiri was only temporarily—and that for a short time—occupied in the summer season alone."

"3. That the race which erected the walls and constructed the huts was Celtic, probably British ; and that the period to which they belonged was the first or second century of the Christian Era."

"4. That the builders had not been influenced by the Roman art of wall building ; and this points to the erection of the fortress at an early period of the first century."

In support of No. 1, the finds were all discovered on the true floors of the huts, and no object that can be assigned to an earlier period than the prehistoric Iron Age has been found.

Mr. Baring Gould and Mr. Burnard base their conclusions, with regard to No. 2, on (a) the small amount of charcoal found ; (b) that some of the "cyttiau" seem never to have been occupied ; (c) the exposed position in winter. The arguments (a) and (b) are confirmed by the result of the more recent excavations. We must

[1] *Arch. Camb.*, 6th Ser., vol. iv, p. 14.

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allow, however, that the absence of "finds" in certain huts is no criterion that they were never occupied. We should especially take into consideration that the damp deposit within some of the huts seems ill adapted for the preservation of certain articles; and, further, that nothing of distinct value to the inhabitants would wantonly be left for the benefit of future ages. It is doubtful, moreover, with reference to point (c), if the severity of winter weather alone would be a sufficient obstacle in the way of a hardened race.

With regard to conclusion No. 3, the following support is given by the results of the 1906 work. (a) The pottery is wheel-turned, and in the whole distinctively Celtic agreeing in this respect with that found in 1903, when in addition some fragments of Roman pottery were discovered. (b) The remains of iron found—some in conjunction with bronze—is sufficient to establish the claim of the Iron Age. The half of the iron loop was found close to the remains of the bronze "torque, or "armlet." (Hut 41) (c). The gold-plated bronze "torque" is, as Professor Boyd Dawkins points out, distinctively of the prehistoric Iron Age. (d) The porcelain bead will go with those found in 1903.

The result of the 1903 and 1906 combined excavations, in the number and importance of the "finds," may, I venture to think, be considered highly satisfactory. The Cambrian Archæological Association have to thank Mr. R. H. Wood, the owner, for kindly allowing them to undertake the work; and, by so doing, to throw so much light on the early history of our prehistoric fortified hill-villages.

ADDITIONAL NOTES.—Colonel Morgan considers the true parapet on the ramparts at Tre'r Ceiri indicates Roman influence. The second step, referred to by former writers, does not exist, but is only the wall of a hut placed against the rampart. Much of the pottery fonnd in 1906 is similar to that found in conjunction with Roman finds elsewhere.

The stone ball, found in Hut 48, has been examined by Mr. A. B. Badger, who pronounces it to be of carboniferous limestone, probably from the shores of the Menai Straits or Anglesey.

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LLANSAINT.

By the Rev. GEO. EYRE EVANS.

(*Read at Llansaint, August*, 1906.)

When, a few weeks ago, I walked over most of the ground we are covering in this our sixtieth annual gathering, I little expected to be so fortunate as to find an early Christian inscribed stone which is not mentioned by Professor Westwood in his monumental *Lapidarium Walliæ;* and to which no reference whatever has as yet been made by any previous writer in the authoritative pages of the *Archæological Cambrensis;* where, by the way, there is but one single reference (IV, viii, 141) to Llansaint, and that only in connection with the larger and well-known "Vennisetli" stone.

Llansaint is a small village set on a hill, part of the ecclesiastical parish of Llan Ishmael, and its Chapel, in which we are seated, is held with the mother Church, and served by its minister. The Chapel tower is conspicuous, and seen from afar. Its summit is reached by iron ladders inside, to gain admission to which you enter the tower through the doorless opening on the south side, by means of another and moveable ladder, which you mount for some three yards ere you plant your feet on the stone steps of the opening or doorway. There is one bell.

Within living memory this tower was used as a "gaol," or "lock-up"—both words are yet current in local allusion to it—for unruly parishioners. Now they proceed, but rarely, however, in a certain amount of state to Caermarthen, where the villagers say, "Ma Dai wedi myn'd i'r Castell" ("he is gone to the Castle"). The county gaol is part of the once magnificent fortress of Caermarthen, on the mound of which and on the "Castle Green" we stood this morning.

Villagers also use the correct words of "Chapel" to

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designate this building, and "Meeting-house" for the nonconforming sanctuary.

In leaving the village presently for Kidwelly, we shall travel in part over a road covered with cockle-shells, which frequent traffic pounds to a white powder so soon as a fresh supply of the disused houses of the toothsome bivalves is cast upon it. The latter portion of our road will be down the steep and ancient track-way, known as "Y portway," a road formerly used by farmers' pack-horses carrying lime or coal in panniers. The women of this village, in the season, earn as much, often-times more, than their industrious brick-making husbands, by "cockling"—*i.e.*, cockle-gathering, on the Penbre sands.

On the south wall of the nave is the outline of a door, walled up in 1862. On the south wall of the choir is a little stone tracery-work, the remains of a window. In the north wall of the Chapel boundary is inserted part of the head of what was probably the village cross, which was placed where it is for safety, in 1860-62, when the wall was first built. Prior to that time the burial ground was unenclosed. The chancel window was placed by Vicar Owen Jones to commemorate the repairing of the Chapel in 1862.

A place-name near by is "Parc y Castell," and a house close to this field is known as "North-gat." "Cheeselands" is another field's name.

In the report of the Commissioners appointed by Edward VI, in 1552, to take and make "a just viewe . . . within every parishe," we read:—"Saint Ismaells. It'm, a chalyce in Hawlkyng Churche, a chapel annexed to the same parishe."

In a terrier of 1636, preserved in the parish register, we get:—

ALKEN CHURCH.

Some say these are allusions to this Chapel; I incline, however, to the belief that they may refer to the sea and sand-buried hamlet of Hawton, which was

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INSCRIBED STONE NO. 1, AT LLANSAINT, CARMARTHENSHIRE.
(*Photographed by James Morgan, Carmarthen.*)

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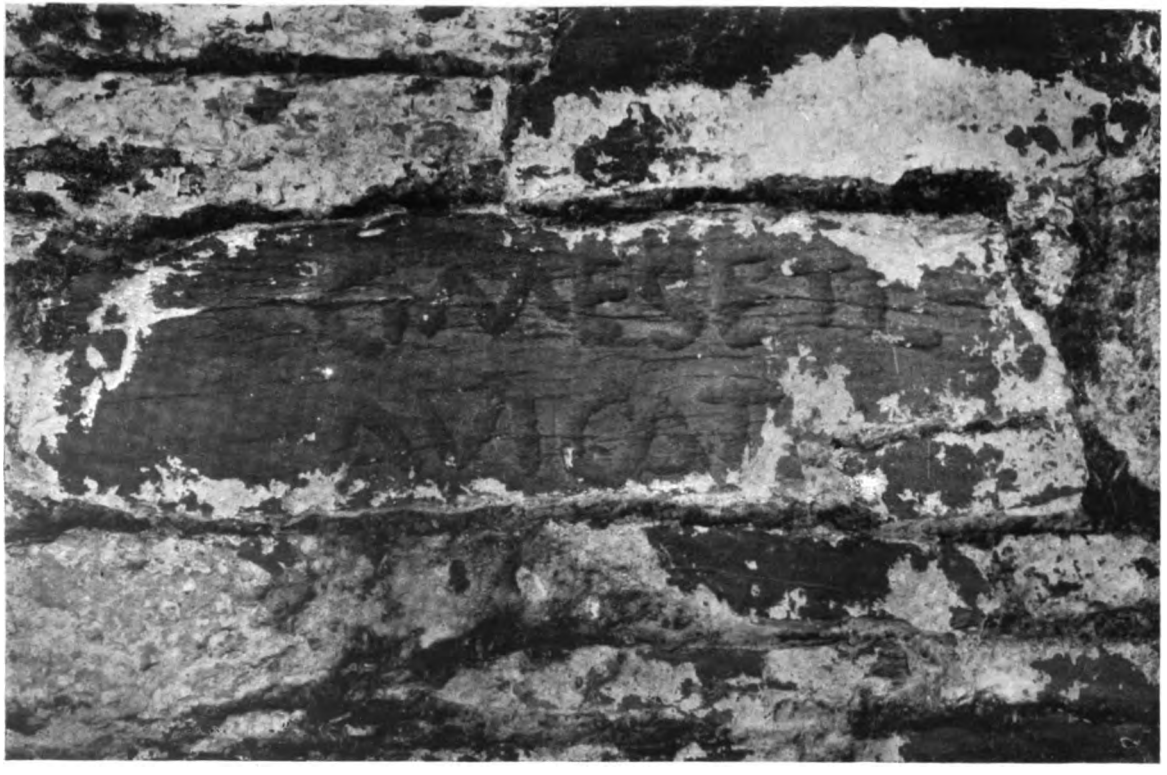

INSCRIBED STONE NO. 2, AT LLANSAINT, CARMARTHENSHIRE.
(Photographed by James Morgan, Carmarthen.)

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demolished by a tidal wave, probably about 1630-40. Speede marks it on his map of 1610. Just now the shifting sands have laid bare a long line of low stone walls, with three or four stone uprights of doors or windows. These I have inspected under the guidance of the parish vicar, Mr. James, who keeps laudable watch for any further sand movement and disclosure of buildings.

The previously undescribed stone, which we will now proceed to examine, was until recently covered with ivy. It is inserted in the wall upside down. With a bow to Professors Anwyl and John Rhys, both of whom I see present, I suggest that the reading of the inscription on the stone is :—

CIMESETLI AVICATI.

It measures some 1 ft. 6 in. long by 9 ins. broad.

The other stone, 4 ft. 6 in. long, is given by Westwood as reading :—

VENISETLI
FILIVS ERCAGNI.

The only merit I claim for this paper is that the reading of it has occupied but seven minutes of your time, leaving us then with three minutes to the good of the ten allotted to me by our Committee. I thank our President, Sir John Williams, for taking the chair on this occasion.

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EPIGRAPHIC NOTES.

By Professor JOHN RHYS, M.A., LL.D.

Llansaint, Carmarthenshire.

At the beginning of July, 1906, I received a letter from the Rev. M. H. Jones, Picton Terrace, Carmarthen, saying that he and others, including, I believe, Mr. Eyre Evans, had been going over the ground in order to prepare the way for the visit of the Cambrian Archæological Association; and that they had come across an inscribed stone in the wall of Llansaint Chapel, which is not given in Westwood's "Lapidarium Walliæ," or mentioned in my "Lectures on Welsh Philology." This struck me as very strange, as I visited Llansaint in the Seventies, in order to examine a stone reading VENNISETL– FILIVS ERCAGN–. I saw no other inscription there; but now another, only about two yards away from it, is suddenly announced. The explanation is that the latter was concealed by a thick growth of ivy, which was removed lately. The surface covered by the ivy is still easy to distinguish. The stone still unpublished has been horizontally built upside down into the south wall, about 4 ft. from the ground. It measures about 2 ft. by 6 or 7 ins. in the widest part.

The lettering, or rather what is left of the lettering, is in two lines, reading as follows:—

CIMESETL–....
AVICATI.....

Mr. Jones, in describing the stone, says: "The letters are well cut, and it is easy to take a rubbing of them." But the final I of AVICATI, which is perpendicular, is partly gone at the bottom; enough, however, of that vowel remains intact to make its

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identity certain. Here, on the right, began a splinter, which is gone with other letters, the tops of which

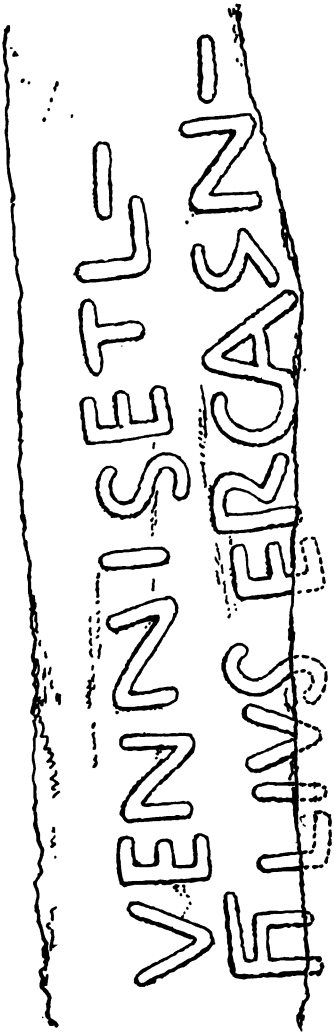

Fig. 1.—Inscribed Stone No. 1 at Llansaint, Carmarthenshire. Scale, ½ linear.
(*Drawn by W. G. S., from a rubbing by Mrs. Thomas Allen.*)

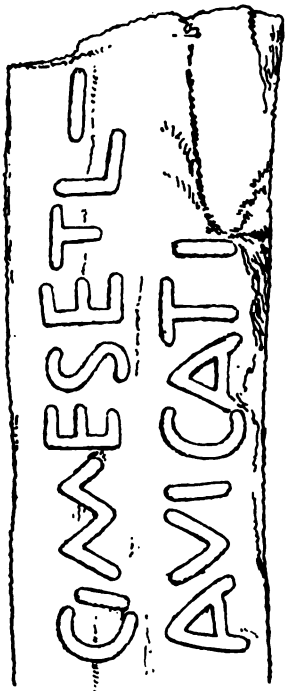

Fig. 2.—Inscribed Stone No. 2 at Llansaint, Carmarthenshire. Scale, ½ linear.
(*Drawn by W. G. S., from a rubbing by Mrs. Thomas Allen.*)

Note.—The lower part of the final I of AVICATI was on the fragment broken off the bottom right-hand corner of the slab.

only are left. When my attention was drawn to them I tried to make them portions of the word FILI, but that would not fit, so I conclude that what followed AVICATI was an epithet or surname which went

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with that name, or else, more probably, IACIT or HIC IACIT. One cannot stop there, as one wants FILI somewhere, and I conclude that it followed CIMESETL– in the first line. In other words, the end of the stone has been broken off since the inscription was made. What the length of the broken fragment may have been one cannot say; but as it consisted of an inscribed portion, together with a portion to be sunk into the ground, it is not improbable that altogether it was at least as long as the piece which remains. It is probably somewhere in the building, unless it is the third inscribed stone which is believed to be somewhere near the walled-up door in the same wall. The inscription should mean ("The place or monument) of Cimesetlas [son] of Avicatus: [here (he) lies]." I should perhaps explain that *Avicatus* was probably of the u-declension in Celtic, like the Latin fourth declension, as in the case of *magistratus*, genitive *magistratûs;* but nouns which made *i* in the genitive, like *Cimesetli,* had their nominative in *os* in Gaulish and early Brythonic, as in Latin also before it came to be changed into *us,* as in *dominus, domini.* So the Brythonic nominative corresponding to *Cimesetli* would be *Cimesetlos,* but I have treated it here as Goidelic *Cimesetlas,* because Goidelic shows *-as* instead of *-os*: compare Latin with *-os,* until it made way for *-us,* which helped the confusion with the fourth declension.

The first thing to call one's attention in the names is the common element *setl-i* that is *sētl-i* in *Cimesetli* and *Vennisetli.* It is rather an unusual one, and its recurrence here makes it probable that the two bearers of these names belonged to the same family: let us say that they were, perhaps, cousins. Compare the series of men whose names began with *æthel* in the Saxon Chronicles, and in Welsh pedigrees with *câd,* such as Cadwallon, Cadwaladr, and the like.

The word *setl* is in Welsh *hoedl,* "life," represented by *sēl* in the Irish compound *gar-sele,* in Welsh *byr-*

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hoedledd, "shortness of life," so that *Venni-sētl-* for *Vendi-sētl-* meant "him of white life," for the first element *venni* is one of a number of forms, such as *vinne* and *vendu* and *vende*, all meaning "white," in Gaulish *uindos*, as in *Penno-uindos*, "white-headed." But in Celtic the word for "white," Irish *finn*, Welsh *gwyn*, feminine *gwen*, had secondary meanings, such as "blessed, or happy;" and it is applied in Welsh to Heaven and the Almighty; also in terms like *tad gwyn*, "step-father": compare the French use of *beau, belle*, in *beau-père, belle-sœur*. See also my paper on the "Celtic Inscriptions of France and Italy" (read to the British Academy on May 23rd, 1906, p. 12.) So much of *Vennisetlas*, "him of the blessed, or happy life"; but what did *Cimesetlas* mean? I know of no Welsh word to throw any light on *cime*, but there was an Irish word, *cimb*, "silver," with which *cime* may be regularly connected on the supposition, that in it *m* stands for *mm*, representing earlier *mb*, just as *nn* in *Vennisetli* stands for earlier *nd*. The reason why we have *cime*, and not *cimme*, is probably the length of the combination MM in writing, but instances of the simplifying of double consonants in our inscriptions are not rare. Take for example *Cunoceni* by the side of *Cunocenni*, and *Vendubari* by the side of *Barrivendi*, also *Cunogusi* for *Cunogussi*, and others of the same kind. But what would "silver life" mean? An answer was supplied by a member of the Association, when I was discussing this inscription at the evening meeting at Carmarthen, and it was to the effect that the name was synonymous with *Vennisetl-i*, meaning "white life," that signification being suggested by the colour of silver. This is, however, hardly convincing, and I turn to Cormac's *Irish Glossary*, the earliest authority on *cimb*. There it is given as originally meaning "silver," but it is added that it was the word for the silver paid frequently and in large quantities as tribute to the Fomorian invaders. From that circumstance it came, we are told, to be the name for every

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kind of tribute. See Stokes's edition of O'Donovan's translation of Cormac's *Glossary*, pp. 32, 39, where the editor adds that *cimb* is perhaps "ransom-money," rather than "tribute," and cites the glosses *cimbid* "vinctus' and *cimbidi* "custodias." *Cimbid* occurs in Cormac's *Glossary*, spelt also *cimbith*, "a captive; so *cimbid* or *cimbith* may have meant a prisoner who was held to ransom. Stokes goes so far as to suggest that the Celtic word *Cimbri*, explained by the ancients as *latrones*, is derived from *cimb*. Thus, I should be inclined to explain *Cimbri* as meaning more precisely invaders who exacted tribute from their victims, raiders who made captives in order to obtain money as ransom, or thieves who were used to levy blackmail. In the case of the name Cimesetlas, whether *cimb*[1] originally meant silver or not, I take it here to mean "ransom;" that is, I should translate it "him of the ransomed life," and treat it as Christian referring to the Redemption. In fact, one may perhaps go so far as to suggest that the bearers of the related names Cimesetlas and Vennisetlas were the saints to which the name of the Church refers. The Church is called in Welsh Llan Saint, that is, "Ecclesia Sanctorum;" and the answer, or part of the answer, to the question who the saints were, may be regarded as supplied by the two inscriptions. That seems to me more probable than the idea that it is a dedication to "All Saints." *Vennisetli* occurs in North Wales as *Vendesetli*, which has in Welsh yielded the Saint's name *Gwynoedyl*. This last is reduced into *Gwynodl*, and still further, in the name of the Church of *Llan-gwnodl* or *Llan-gwnadl*, in Lleyn: see the *Myvyrian*, vol. ii, p. 44. Whether the Llansaint *Vennesetl*, the Llannor *Vendesetl*, and the *Gwynodl* of Llan-gwnadl are to be reckoned as three persons,

[1] What is one to make of Pont y Cim, "The Bridge of the *Cim*," which is somewhere near Glyn Llifon, in Carnarvonshire? *Cim* may be for *cym*, a possible plural of *cwm*, a dingle or glen; but I do not know whether the locality lends any countenance to such an interpretation.

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two, or one, I cannot say: the saints of Wales moved a good deal from one place to another. In any case, the bearers of the names Vennisetlas and Cimesetlas may be regarded as Goidels rather than Brythons. The Gwnnws inscription (Cardiganshire) yields a purely Welsh name to add to these two, namely, *Hiroidil filius Carotinn*, where the *d* proves the *t* of *setli* to be standing here for *th* = đ.

So far of the first name: as to the other there is very little to say. Holder, in his *Altceltischer Sprachschatz*, has a compound which we can compare with it, namely, *Avicantus*, the name of a source god mentioned in an inscription at Nîmes: see the Berlin "Corpus Inscr. Latinarum," XII, 3077. The genitive *Avicati* is doubtless Latinised, and the Celtic would have probably been *Avicatōs* of the *u*-declension, the second element being *catus*, "war or battle;" Irish, *cath;* Welsh, *cat, cad*, of the same meaning. The first element, *avi*, is supposed by Stokes to be of the same origin as Latin *avere, avidus*, and one may perhaps render it "fond;" but whether in the subjective or objective sense it is not very easy to decide. Thus did *Avicantus* mean a god who was fond of song, or a god of whom minstrels and musicians were fond. In the former case *Avicatus* would mean one who was fond of war and battle. The old Welsh for *av-i* was *ou*, whence colloquial *ou* (with *ü* or *y*) in South Wales, and *eu* or *au* in North Wales, as in *dau*, "two," (Demetian and Gwentian *dou, doy*), and the plurals *papou*, "popes," and *loggou*, "ships," in the *Book of Llan Dâv* (p. 120), become in later Welsh *pabeu, pabau*, and *llongeu, llongau*. This *ou* occurs also in old Welsh names like *Oudocuy*, in Latin *Oudoceius*, and in *Outigirn, Eutigirn*, which would seem to have meant "fond of his *tëyrn* or *king*, loyal to his prince." The representative of *av-i* having become successively *ou* and *eu*, homophonous as it was with the pronominal genitive *eu*, "*eorum, earum*, their, theirs," came to be dropped in unaccented syllables, as for example in *Oudoceius*,

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Oudogwy, whence *Llan-dogo*, in Monmouthshire. On the other hand, when it came in time under the accent, it has remained, as in *Eudaf*, probably from an early *Avitamos*, "most loving," or else "most beloved."

Since the foregoing notes were set up in type I received, in answer to queries of mine, the following letter from the Rev. R. J. James, vicar of St. Ishmael's, Ferryside. I had already most of the evidence of Rogers, the parishioner, cited by the vicar; but he has kindly put more questions to him than occurred to me. He touches also on other points of interest, so I am glad, with the Editor's consent, to insert his letter in its entirety, especially as it may suggest to some of our members further enquiry regarding the Chapel of Llansaint and its surroundings:—

Only at the very last, and quite incidentally, have I come across a man who worked at the restoration of Llansaint Chapel in 1862. His name is John Jenkins, a joiner, 84 years of age, and I give you his own words in reply to my letter asking what he knew about the two stones:—

"Yes, I acted as foreman for my uncle, David Gower, at the restoration of Llansaint Chapel, and the architect told the Vicar, Mr. Jones, that he need not have a clerk of the works there as I was carrying out his plans to his satisfaction. The two stones were not removed; they are now in the same place as they were when I was a boy, in the south wall, between the windows, only lower down in the wall, as far as I can remember. The stone near the ventilators (on a level with the ground) was not removed. The piece was chipped off it in its place so as it would be square with the ventilators, and lies in its original bed or place; and so does the other stone."

When I came to examine the stones carefully for myself I began to doubt very much as to whether they had been removed at all, and then I took Rogers to the spot and told him my opinion, and pointed out to him how that the mortar round the two stones was the same as in the old part of the wall, and that the mortar used in 1862 was altogether different, being both lighter in colour and fresher looking. Rogers then hesitated (of course, you must allow for a man's memory forty-four years ago, and more especially as he was not working there, but was a mere casual passing observer, for he then lived two miles away), and admitted that he did not now remember to a

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certainty that they were removed at all, and he doubted it very much upon examining the mortar closely; and so, with John Jenkins's evidence, obtained since, you may be certain that they were not removed at all.

I asked Rogers then, how about the remarks, made amidst laughter, when it was observed that the letters on the upper stone were upside down, or that that stone was placed upside down; and he then thought that they must have observed it, as it was in its original place; and that then it was suggested to put it right, but that seeing they would have to take down some of the wall before getting at it, they, 'midst laughter, thought it as well to leave it as it was.

Now, I asked John Jenkins in my second letter to him, seeing that he had not referred to that incident in his reply to my first letter (and in my first letter I purposely omitted referring to that incident, just to see whether he would mention it of his own accord), in these words:—"I should be obliged by your letting me know whether you heard any opinion expressed by anyone at the time of the restoration as to why the letters on the stone—the one higher up and nearer the Tower—were upside down: that is, the stone itself being upside down, which it is?"

He replied, evidently misunderstanding my query:—"I know no opinion expressed during the restoration what the letters on the stones were; if that gentleman I mentioned in my former letter had written to me as he promised, very likely I would be able to say more."

"In his former letter referred to, he said:—"I have seen some gentlemen there taking copy of the letters; one of them promised to let me know their meaning as soon as he could make out anything of them. However, he never did, so I am sorry to say I know nothing more about them."

By that, Jenkins either knew nothing about, or has forgotten, what Rogers states as to the workmen having observed the letters to be upside down, and the "laughing" incident.

Now to take your letter of 21st September last, *seriatim*:—There is no record as to the stones. Their dimensions are: the one upside down, 2 ft. 4½ ins. by 7¾ ins.; the other, the lower one, 4 ft. 9 ins. by 10½ ins.

Jenkins in his letter terms them "bluish-grey," and says the general opinion was that they were quarried at the Treforris-fach Farm quarry.

A joiner and builder at Llansaint who measured the stones for me in my presence said they were "lwyd," making a difference between lwyd and lâs, but garreg lâs, I have heard

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such coloured stones usually termed in the parish; and there are some who think that they were quarried close by Ffynnon Saint, and there is an old disused quarry close by it. One on the Geological Survey spoke of that kind of stone as "green," and which, I suppose, would correspond to our lâs; but the two stones seem certainly lighter in colour than the Treforris-fach kind, for there are some new houses built close by the churchyard of the latter, and which appear much darker than the two stones in the Chapel wall. They seem exactly alike in colour to the Ffynnon Saint quarry-stone.

Both the stones are undoubtedly—so the builder above referred to thought, and others also—of the same kind.

Did you notice the remnant of a cross fixed in the Llansaint churchyard wall (north)—that, I have heard, was put there at the time of the restoration in 1862, but John Jenkins knows nothing of it having been removed and placed there.

Jenkins says further:—"I was just thinking of the Chapel in my first remembrance about it—a high-pitched roof, as it has now, and an arch at the chancel, *a stone seat round the chancel built in wall.*"

If there was a stone seat as described, surely it would never have been removed; Jenkins must be mistaken, probably, but there is one such seat in the old parish church, St. Ishmael's. The stone is a white kind of fire-stone, like the Caen or Bath stones.

I wonder what the origin of that was? Doubtless you k now There is one like it, it seems, at Westminster Abbey.

In Llansaint Chapel there is now, you may have observed, in the east wall, a rough stone inserted and projecting. Could it have been used as a credence-table?

I fail to find anything in any way in connection with Ffynnon Saint.

I do not know whether the following will in any way help towards elucidating matters as to the stones and wall: can you tell me how Llansaint came to be called "Alkenchurch," or Alkenchurch Llansaint?

It seems that in the Report of the Commissioners appointed by Edward VI., 1552, "to take and make a just viewe in every parishe," occurs the following:—"St. Ismaelle's. It'm, a Chalyce in Hawlkyng Churche, a Chaple annexed to the same p'rishe."

The terrier dated 1636, in the old parish registers, which I have, speaks of "the Villadge called Alkenchurch;" a copy of the same terrier made in 1720, in the Diocesan Registry, has Alkenchurch in it as in the original; and it seems strange that if it was known and spoken of as Llansaint in 1720, that the vicar

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and churchwardens at the time, in copying, did not make some comment with regard to it.

The first record I have of the village being called Llansaint at all is in an entry of burial, "—was buried at Llansaint." (I suppose John Harries was a bit of an alien): "January 16th, 1744," only twenty-four years after the copy was made; and a curious thing, I fail to find any trace of the word Alkenchurch from the oldest inhabitant; and yet there are some now living who remember their mother telling them that she remembered the time when there was no wall round the Chapel, and that there was only one grave (though it is not of the same name as above, of January 16th, 1744); and yet to this day they speak of Carmarthen Gaol (built *in* the Old Castle) as "*y Castell*," and the old Llansaint Chapel as "*y Capel*," and the Nonconformist Chapel as Meeting-house, or *Ty Cwrdd*.

You must please excuse the length of my letter, but of all things I wish to be *accurate?*

Before leaving the neighbourhood of Llan Saint, I may mention that Sir John Williams took me to call on a farmer who was with him at the Swansea Normal College in their earlier days. This was Mr. John Lloyd Thomas, of Tan Lan farm, near Llan Ishmael, and my business was to ask him about the remains of the port of Aber Towy, to which I have referred in my *Celtic Folklore*, p. 513. His story is, unfortunately, very short: after the storm of 1896, Mr. Lloyd Thomas saw walls there, which were in some places a foot or two high. They formed rooms, and showed unmistakable fireplaces. He had some forty or fifty loads of the stones carted away to his farm. If he had not done it, he said that others would. The ruins extended, he thought, some 200 or 300 yards along the side exposed to the sea. He had no doubt that in front of the foundations, which he then saw, entire streets of houses had been swept away by the storms of previous ages. Let me add that, in the course of a previous day's rambles, the President took me to see where exactly the Tâf enters the Towy, for from the maps I never felt certain whether it entered the Towy at all; but such is the case, and at low tide the Towy can be traced for miles beyond and below the mouth of the

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Tâf. When I wrote before about Aber Towy, it was *à propos* of the "Hunt of the Twrch Trwyth"; and I now find that the Twrch, in order to make his way to the Loughor and Amman district, would naturally proceed down the right bank of the Tâf until he came to Ginst Point, which ended then probably considerably in front of where it ends now, for the sea seems to have gained enormously about the mouth of the Towy. Even now, there would, at low water, be no great distance to swim between Ginst Point and the site of Aber Towy. Lastly, I should be glad to know what the local antiquaries make of Speed's Hawton[1]: where exactly was it; what is the history of the name? and are there any traces of an old route from Peuliniog (or the district of Paulinus, about Llandysilio) to Ginst Point and Aber Towy?

Llandawke, Carmarthenshire.

On the Wednesday, during the Carmarthen Meeting, the President's party tried to meet the other members of the Association, but we found ourselves too long delayed at Laugharne to reach Eglwys Cymun in time; so we met them at Llandawke, and betook ourselves to the examination of the ancient inscription kept in the church. This was my third time of visiting it: my first visit was early in the Seventies, when I failed to get the Ogmic portion of the legend right. The stone had had a piece broken off its length, and that piece had disappeared. The remainder, with most of the lettering, served as a threshold, and it had evidently done so for a pretty long time, as the edges were already considerably worn away by the tread of feet. This affected the Ogams more than the Latin letters, as it shortened the scores, where they reached originally up to the edge to which they belonged. My second visit took place in the company of my friend, Mr. Thomas, vicar of Laugharne, on Good Friday, 1898,

[1] Since writing the above, it has occurred to me that *Hawton* and *Hawkyn*(*g*), p. 74, above, meant the same name: which was the correct form, if either?

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when we solved the chief difficulty of the Ogam. The reading of the Latin is as follows :—

Fig. 3.—Inscribed Stone at Llandawke, Carmarthenshire.
Scale, 1½ linear.
(*Drawn by W. G. S., from a rubbing by J. Romilly Allen.*)

Note.—The second Ogam vowel point of MUCOI on the line C-D is only conjectural. The second stroke of the Ogam D, commencing the inscription on the angle A-B, runs direct into the first stroke of the V of BARRIVENDI, and not to one side of it.

That is: "The place or monument of Barrivendas: the son of Vendubaras lies here." For I presume that the HIC IACIT though not on the front of the stone, is a part of one and the same inscription, with the wo lines on the front: it has sometimes been altotgether overlooked. The names mean "white-topped,"

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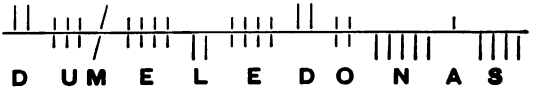
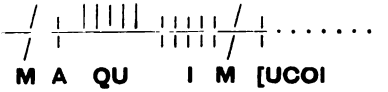
or "white-headed," and are in Later Irish Barr-finn and Finn-barr; in Welsh, Berwyn and Gwyn-far. As they have been so often the subject of comment, I pass on to give some notes on the lettering. It is generally pretty good; the A is broad and angular in the first instance, but narrower in the second. The R is good, though open in the first two instances, but narrow and closed in the third, for the inscriber perceived that he was approaching the ground line, and began to crowd the latter part of the legend. The first V is peculiar in having its first arm nearly perpendicular: the others are not so. We have a horizontal I at the end of the first line. The F is prolonged below the line, and has the short I, which follows, attached to its lower bar; the S is reversed. The second D appears to have been punched for a B, when the inscriber found his error, and proceeded to make it into D; but how far he carried his intention out one is prevented from judging by the lower portion of the letter having been worn away. The letters making HIC IACIT have their lower ends carried away by a flaking of the stone, and they were all so placed as just to avoid the scores of the Ogam. Thus the three last scores of the IIIII (*qu*) of *maqui* come right down to the top stroke of the T, and the second upright of the H is shortened so as not to join the subsequent ⫽ (*m*) of the Ogam. Now, the Ogam portion of the legend is written as usual in the direction contrary to the Latin, and is on the edges AB and CD. On the former edge (AB), the reading is—



and on the latter (CD) the following:—



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The first line began exactly opposite the V of *Barrivendi*, and the other line began almost exactly on the same level. Not only is the ᚄ (*d*) beginning the Ogam opposite the V, but the first score of it is to be seen in the opening of the V, while the other actually forms a part of the first arm of the V: possibly it accounts for its being, as already mentioned, perpendicular; for the other V's have no perpendicular arm. The perpendicular is the normal direction in the case of the ᚄ. It is right, however, to say that the other ᚄ is not perpendicular, but slopes backwards: in fact, the Ogam scores here all slope, more or less, and especially the ᚅ (*l*).

These inscriptions raise various difficult questions, and the first is, how much of the Ogam is missing? Line A B is practically complete, I fancy: as it is, it ends abruptly with three scores on the B side; but I have treated them as originally four, which would make *s*, and finish a genitive *Dumeledonas*. That is probably all there ever was on that edge. The other edge has less on it, *Maqui M*, with the second *m* followed by one vowel notch, which might be *a*, making the commencement of another *maqui*; but it is far more probable that the word is to be completed into *mucoi*. *Maqui maqui* would mean "of the son of the son, *filii filii*, grandson's." It sometimes occurs, but a very much commoner formula is *maqui mucoi*, "filii generis," followed by the name of the non-Christian ancestor of the family. What that was in this case, I cannot say, unless perhaps it was *Vendubari*: this would imply a good length of edge to write on, but what there was originally of line C D, together with the top of the stone, may have possibly afforded the length required. Following that out, we should have "Maqui mucoi Vendubari, Dumeledonas," and construe thus—"The burial-place of the son of the Kin of Vendubar, namely, Dumeledo." On the other hand, *maqui mucoi* may have been all that there was on that side: then we should have to read the two sides together, as

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Maqui mucoi Dumeledonas "(Locus *or* Memoria) filii generis Dumeledonis." In that case, the departed's name is not given, unless we suppose the Ogam to be taken in connection with the genitive *Barrivendi* or *Vendubari*. This raises the question of the relation of the two scripts to one another: which was there first? *Barrivendi* has the first score of the ᚓ utilized, so to say, in making the V, while the other score hangs into the open space of that letter, and the arm of the Ogam for *m* penetrates into the semicircle of the second R. Now the inclination of the V, decided probably by the Ogam letter ᚓ, would go to prove that the Ogam was there first. The HIC IACIT, in its careful avoidance of the Ogam, distinctly shows also the priority of the Ogam on the other edge. Why, then, did the inscriber not keep the letters of *Barrivendi* clear of the Ogam, which he could easily have done by carving them a little further from the edge? I can only suggest that he did not notice the Ogam as such on A B, but that it was so fresh on the edge C D that he could not avoid becoming aware of it. This all means that the two inscriptions had nothing to do with one another; not to mention that they may be of different dates, the interval between them having perhaps been long enough for the connection of the stone with the grave of Dumeledo to be forgotten, and for the Latin inscriber to seize upon it for his own purposes. In that case also, one need not suppose the lost name as lengthy as *Vendubari*: let us substitute for it the *Mini* of the Treflys stone, to be mentioned presently, and then we should have—

Maqui Mucoi Mini Dumeledonas.	"Filii Generis Mini, *i.e.*, Dumeledonis."

The name Dumeledo, genitive Dumeledonas, claims kinship with *Dumelus* of the stone at Llanddewi Brefi, reading DALLUT DVMELUT,[1] Dumel-i from Gortatlea in

[1] This inscription is hardly to be recognised as represented either by Westwood or Hübner. A good photograph or rubbing, or better, both, should be printed of it in this Journal. I have only seen it since the publication of Lewis Morris's Notes by Mr. Edward Owen in this Journal in 1896.

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Kerry, and another genitive, *Ddumileas*, from Dunloe, in the same county: compare the Irish place-name Cluain *Domail*, "D.'s meadow," in "Gorman," June 2nd; also a genitive *Duimle* in the *Book of Leinster*, fol. 368[d]. The meaning of the name *Dumel-*, eludes me; and I have to make the same confession as to the ending -edū or -edō, genitive -edonas, -edona, later -edon. Take, for instance, the Ogams in the Isle of Man yielding the genitives *Bivaidonas* and *Dovaidona*, and the inscription in Inchaguile in Lough Corrib, which has *Luguaedon*, while Adamnan supplies *Nemaidon* (misprinted *Nemanidon* in Reeves's text). That is not all, for Holder has brought together nearly thirty instances, among which he includes *Caledu*, which occurs on the Colchester bronze tablet as *Caledo*, meaning a Caledonian; the singular, in fact, of *Caledones*. Holder gives this and *Caledones* a long *e*, and so with the termination -ēdū, genitive ēdon-; but in the words, *Caledo*, *Caledones*, at least he is probably mistaken as to the quantity, as proved by the Welsh *Celyddon* and the name of Dunkeld, which was Dún Chailden, "the *dún* of the *Caledones*."

Nevern, Pembrokeshire.

Note by the Editor.—Since there appears to be some doubt as to the exact circumstances under which the Ogam stone No. 2 at Nevern was found, it may be as well to state the facts of the case in a few words. Just as the members of the Association were leaving Nevern, on the occasion of their visit to that place on August 17th, 1904, Archdeacon Thomas came up to me in the churchyard, and asked me whether I had noticed a piece of interlaced ornament on one of the lintel-stones of the narrow passage which gives access to the staircase leading to the so-called "priest's chamber." I replied that I had not observed it, and went back into the church to have a look at it. What I saw first is shown on Fig. 4. On examining the adjoining stone, my surprise and delight may be imagined when my eye caught the Ogams on the angle of the stone which had escaped the notice of the Archdeacon. However, I am quite willing to share the honour of having made the discovery with him, as I should never have found the Ogams if he had not

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sent me back in search of the stone with the interlaced ornament upon it. The reading of the Ogam inscription given in the Report of the Cardigan Meeting in the *Arch. Camb.*, 6th Ser., vol. v, p. 167, viz., . . . I CUNAN MAQUI . . . was mine and no one else's. I guessed the name to be CUNAN, and the only letter I read wrongly was the final N ⫫ of CUNAN, which should have been S ⫫. I tried to find a Latin inscription on the under face of the lintel, but the stone was so dirty and the lighting of the passage so bad that I could not detect any letters. As far as I can remember, the only members of the Association who were present when the discovery was made were the Rev. G. Eyre Evans, Mrs. Thomas Allen, Mr. Herbert Allen and Mr. Edward Owen, Archdeacon Thomas had gone on with the rest of the party to the carriages. I might have

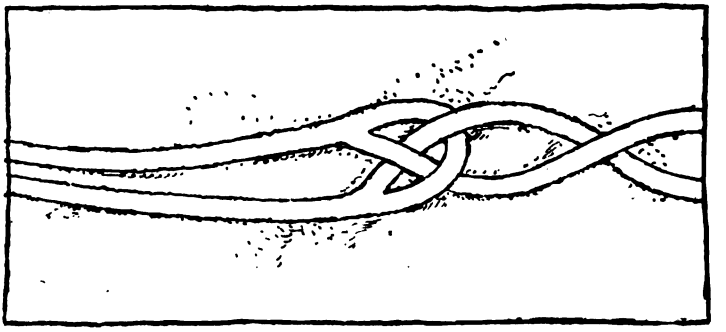

Fig. 4.—Lintel-Stone with interlaced work at Nevern, discovered August 17th, 1904, by the Ven. Archdeacon D. R. Thomas, F.S.A.
Scale, ⅛ linear.
(*Drawn by W. G. S., from a rubbing by the Rev. G. Eyre Evans.*)

returned to Nevern again on a subsequent occasion, and endeavoured to get the stone removed, so that I could read the whole of the inscriptions correctly; but I preferred to leave the task in the far abler hands of Professor John Rhys.

We spent the end of the week at the hospitable home of Dr. Henry Owen, at Poyston, in Pembrokeshire, and on Saturday, August 18th, he drove me and Mr. Williams of Solva,[1] proprietor of the *Pembroke County Guardian*—a newspaper which does good work for Demetian archæology—to the pretty village of Nevern, to see the stone on which Mr. Romilly

[1] Alas! I have just heard the news of his death: he was suffering when he was with us.

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Allen in 1904 read in Ogam . . . . *i Cunan maqui:* see the *Arch. Camb.* for 1905, p. 167. The stone forms a lintel of the door leading to a little staircase which brings one to what is called the "Priest's Room." Alongside of it is another stone, which may prove even more important than the first one. A certain quantity of ornamentation was visible on its lower face, and it probably has on it an elaborate cross, accompanied very possibly with an inscription. But I must confine my remarks to the first stone and its inscriptions. I put it in the plural, for before I could find the Ogam edge, I noticed a Latin inscription on the under face of the stone; that is, the side of it over one's head. My first attempt, however, was to read *Cunan* in Ogam, and I was glad not to find there anything so late, but *icunas*, which showed me exactly where I was. Then we got a mason to clear away patiently the mortar and stones alongside in the direction of the beginning, which in time he got clearly visible. To my joy, the name revealed itself as *Maglicunas*, and opposite it, running in the contrary direction, I first made out *ocuni*, and after a while *glocuni*, a part of *Maglocuni*, the Latin genitive of the familiar name *Maglocunus*, in Welsh *Mailcun* and *Maelgwn*, which Welsh printers invariably wish to murder into *Maelgwyn*. This was followed by *fili Clut*, and I felt certain that the whole of the last vocable would prove to be *Clutorigi*. But I was quite wrong; for, as the stone was long and had an ample grip of the wall, the mason punched away until he had the under surface of the lintel clear well past the last letter, and the name completed itself as *Clutori*, beyond all doubt. I had, while the mason was clearing the Latin letters, been puzzling myself at what was left visible of the Ogam, and there also the scores for *cl* showed themselves. Further punching revealed the notches for *u*. I could not see the writing any further, but I thought I could just feel the three scores for *t*. It was impracticable to make a hole further in that direction,

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or in pursuit of the *Ma* of *Maglocuni*. The readings may be represented thus :—

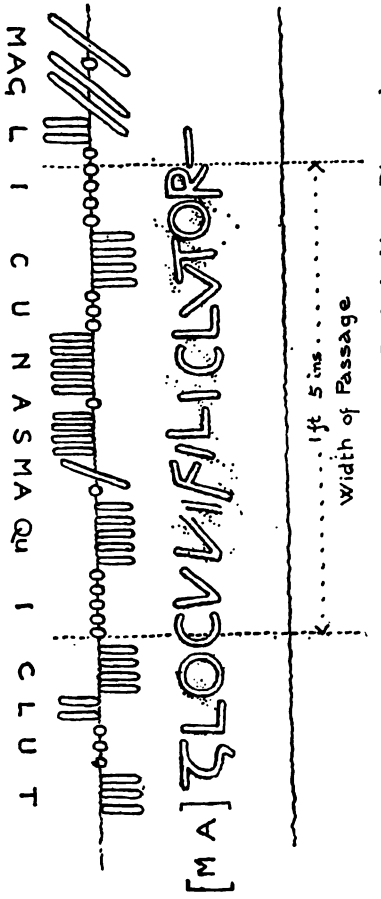

Fig. 5.—Inscribed Stone No. 2, at Nevern, Pembrokeshire. Discovered August 17th, 1904, by J. Romilly Allen.

Scale, $\frac{1}{12}$ linear.

(*Drawn by W. G. S., from a rubbing by the Rev. G. Eyre Evans.*)

Note.—The dimensions giving the width of the passage should be 2 ft. 5 ins. instead of 1 ft. 5 ins.

The G seems to be ꞒG; the L inclines to be ∠, while the C approaches ‹, and the N is written И, but the latter perpendicular is lengthened, possibly to indicate the I, somewhat after the fashion of Roman inscriptions, but the I may be there as a very close parallel to the И: I could not decide with the light from below. The F is much of the usual type, with its lower arm drooping a little. The second limb of

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the V tends to end with a slight curvature, except the last V, which ends well under the roof of the T. The R is rather an elegant letter, but its perpendicular is prolonged somewhat beneath the line. The final I is of the usual horizontal kind. I had no time to try to take a rubbing of the stone, and even had I time, I do not think it could have been done to any advantage while the stone is in its present position. The letters ƧLO are very faint, and some of the others are not much less faint; so I gather that all that face had been a good deal exposed to the weather, or more likely, to the tread of feet, before the stone was placed where it is now.

The name which yields the Latin genitive *Clutori* is new to me, and one of the principal disappointments connected with this find is that we cannot as yet get at the end of the Ogam legend, so as to ascertain what the Goidelic genitive exactly may be, which stands in Ogam for the *Clutori* of the Latin. This, and the probability of the other stone having on it both a cross and an inscription, make it highly desirable that both stones should be carefully extracted from the wall.

As to the other name given in Latin as *Maglocuni*, implying a nominative *Moglocunus*, I may say that one has usually taken for granted that the early Brythonic was *Maglocunos*, genitive *Maglocuni*, but the Goidelic genitive *Maglicunas* shows that we have been mistaken, for this last seems to imply a nominative *Maglicū*, and the Brythonic was probably *Maglocū*, genitive *Maglocunos*. That is to say, the second element was the word for "dog," the etymological equivalent of the English word *hound*, and the Greek κύων, genitive κυνός, nominative plural κύνες. The early forms in insular Celtic may have been *cū*, possibly *cuō*, or *cuōs*, genitive *cŭnos*, making in early Goidelic *cū*, genitive *cŭnas*, modern Irish *cú*, genitive *cŏn*, nominative plural *cŏin*; in early Brythonic *cū*, *cü*, genitive *cŭn*, modern Welsh *cī*, genitive *cwn* (preserved

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in Mailcun, Maelgwn), nominative plural *cwn*, "hounds, dogs." There is a difference here in the thematic vowel of *maglos*, as the Goidelic has *i* in *Magli-cunas*; but the genitive occurs in a Latin list in the *Book of Leinster* (fol. 362[f]) as Magla-coni. The variation is due to the indistinct pronunciation of the thematic vowel, leading up to its ultimate elision; while in Brythonic the thematic vowel of the *o*-declension remained, being protected by the stress-accent down probably to a comparatively late period. See my "Origin of the Welsh Englyn and Kindred Metres (*Y Cymmrodor*, vol. xviii, pp. 6-10). It will have been noticed that the Welsh *Maelgwn* comes from the old genitive, or, more strictly speaking, it represents perhaps the stem of the cases, while the nominative is lost, except in so far as we have it in Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Malgo*, genitive *Malgonis*. The Goidelic *cū*, genitive *cunas*, meant, as already stated, "hound, dog," while the other element becomes in Welsh the personal name *Maglos*, *Mael*. In Goidelic it should be *maglas*, and it makes in Irish *māl* "a prince, a hero;" so the compound name in Irish should be *Māl-chū*, genitive *Māl-chon*, but I have never met with either. However, in the list of the kings of the Picts, a Brude Mac *Maelchon* occurs more than once; and I believe somebody has suggested that the father of the first Brude so described was no other than the Brythonic prince, Maelgwn Gwynedd. Be that as it may, the oldest form which we have of the Pictish king's name is that given by Bede in his *Hist. Ecc.* III, c. iv, in the well-known passage reading as follows in Plummer's text: "Uenit autem Brittaniam Columba, regnante Pictis Bridio filio Meilochon, rege potentissimo, nono anno regni eius, gentemque illam uerbo et exemplo ad fidem Christi conuertit." In *Meilochon* the *ch* argues a touch of Goidelic spelling, while the name as a whole seems to have come from the Brythons at a time when the thematic *o* was still retained. Compare the Pictish *Vipoig* from *Vepógenos*, and see "The Englyn" l. c.

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The importance of this class of names makes it necessary to discuss them with more minuteness than is usual in our Journal; and I wish to point out that the elements making up *Maglicū*, genitive *Maglicunas*, are practically the same also which we have in the compound *Cuno-maglos*, which occurs in the genitive as *Cunamagli* at Kirk Arbory, in the Isle of Man, and also in "Maglus *Conomagli* Filius," in the Bollandists' *Vita S. Winwaloei*. The making of two compound names out of the same two elements is familiar in such cases as the Greek Θεόδωρος and Δωρόθεος, Ἵππαρχος and Ἀρχιππος, and it can be matched in most other Aryan languages. There is a point to be noticed as to the connecting vowel in Cono-magli and Cuna-magli: the declension of the word for "hound" is a consonantal one, and supplies no such vowel at all, but the analogy of the *o*-declension is followed, and the pronunciation is helped by recourse to the vowel *o* (changed in Goidelic mostly to *a*, sometimes to *e* or *i*). Compare again the analogy of Greek in such instances as κυνο-κέφαλος, κυνο-πρόσωπος, κυνό-μορφος, and others. But the evidence of our *Maglicunas* means a catastrophe to the old explanation of names like Cunomaglos, Cunotamos, Cunomoros, Cunovalos, and many more beginning with *cuno*, *cono*, Irish *con-*, Breton *con-*, and Welsh *con-*, *cin-*, *cyn-*; for that explanation postulated an adjective *cuno-s*, which was supposed to mean "high." This, however, was never shown to have had any existence in any Celtic idiom, so far as I know,[1] and now for

[1] Some of the Welsh words relied on to support the existence of the adjective *cuno-s* look rather Pughean, such as *cwn* "*altitudo*," and *cynu* "*surgere*." The latter is Pughe's spelling of *cynnu* in *pan gynnu*, in the *Book of Taliessin* (Skene, ii, 189), which, unfortunately, means "when it set," though from it he derives *erchynu*, "to rise," for which he gives no quotation. The nearest actual form is the Gwentian *cwnnu*, "to rise, to raise," which is probably a contraction of *cychwynnu*, "to start, to give a start to"; the third person singular present-future indicative is *cychwyn*, and also the imperative singular; so the corresponding parts of *cwnnu* are *cwyn*, "rises, raises," and *cwyn*, "do (thou) rise, or raise," which cannot be connected with *cwnnu*, except that be a shortening of *cwynnu* from

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"high" we have to substitute "hound." But what sense, the reader will probably ask, can there be assigned to the names in question. Irish literature enables one to answer, for with the ancient Irish the cú, "hound or dog," was the guardian, watchman, fighter, and protector *par excellence*. The name and story of the hero Cú-Chulainn, "Culann's Hound," together with the analysis of other *cú* names in Irish tales, amply prove the term to have been at one time one of respect and regard; nor is it wholly irrelevant to mention the fact that, according to Strabo,[1] Britain exported, among other things, dogs fitted for the chase and for war as carried on by the Celts, by whom he meant the Celts of Gaul; and that the same sort of exportation was continued in Ireland down to the time of St. Patrick (Bury's *Patrick*, pp. 31,

c'wynnu = *cyhwynnu* = *cychwynnu*, than which the more usual verbal noun is now *cychwyn*. The *chwyn* portion stands for *squend*, which is represented by the Irish verb *scendim*. "I spring." Led by bad spelling, Dr Stokes thought that the Welsh forms pointed to an early *squenô* rather than the *squendô* which the Irish forms postulate; but the pronunciation is cychwy*nn*af, cychwy*nn*ol, etc., as the school of reformed Welsh spelling would write them—and as old authors did write them—with *nn* for early *nd*. It is useless also to invoke Welsh *gogoned*, "gloriosus," for the first two syllables of that vocable appear to equate with the name Gu-caun, Guo-caun, Go-gaun, Gu-gon, Gugan: compare Cat-gucaun, Cat-gocaun, Cad-ugaun, Cadwgan.

[1] See Meineke's edition, 199, 200: the passage refers to the exports from Britain in the historian's time, and it reads to the following effect:—These products are exported from the island, and also hides, slaves, and dogs suitable for hunting; the Celts employ dogs also in war, alike these British dogs and their native breed. My attention has also been called to Orosius v. 14, where Bituitos, king of the Arverni, who, when he had in the year 121 B.C. made immense preparations for fighting the Romans, met such a small army of them that he is said to have bragged that they would not suffice for a meal for the dogs which he had marching with him in his army. Some months later, Bituitos was seen on his silver chariot adorning at Rome the triumph of the Roman general, who had a medal struck on one side of which is to be seen a Roman soldier fighting with a big dog. Lastly, a friend has favoured me with a reference, possibly in point, to Gratius's *Cynegetica*, lines 174-181.

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341); the Irish wolf-hound is not yet extinct, though doubtless he is rapidly becoming a sad mongrel.

Everything, in fact, goes to show how important certain varieties of hound or dog were to the Celts, and in this light the proper names in question would seem to yield good sense; thus *Maglocū* would mean a prince or hero who was a guardian or protector; *Cuno-maglos*, a guardian who was princely or heroic; and *Cuno-tamos* (in Modern Welsh *Cyndaf*), one who is in the highest degree a guardian or protector; that is, if the word is to be treated as a superlative. How far the dog was regarded in the same light by other Aryan nations, I am not prepared to say; but I notice that the Greeks had such personal names as Κύναγος, Κυνοῦλκος, Φιλοκύων, Κυνέας, and Κυνίσκος. Similarly, Förstemann gives a small number of Germanic names beginning with *hund*, "dog," such as *Hundpald*, *Huntpreht*, and *Huntgar;* and possibly some of those beginning with *hun* belong also here, such as *Hunbert*, *Hungar*, *Hunhilt*, and *Hunleib*. But German scholars consider the first element, whether *hund* or *hun*, as of very uncertain origin and interpretation in this class of compounds.

As the members of our Association are aware, Nevern has another bilingual inscription: that of Vitalianus, which I am inclined to regard as one of the oldest monuments of the kind in the Principality. In "The Englyn," p. 74, I have gone so far as to suggest that this stone commemorates the grandfather of Vortigern. In any case, the site of the village of Nevern, occupying a sheltered spot on a tidal creek, was probably one of the headquarters of the Irish Déssi; and this may prove the key to the early history of the Demetian district of Cemmes. The Welsh form of the name of Nevern is *Nanhyfer*, from an earlier *Nant Nyfer*, which enables one to correct an entry in the *Annales Cambriæ* into *Cian nant nimer obiit*—"Cian of Nanhyfer died." The year appears to have been 865: see Phillimore's note

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in the *Cymmrodor*, ix, 165. Cian was a common Irish name at that time, and we have no means of ascertaining whether this bearer of it was a priest or a chief; but in the "Englynion of the Graves," No. 41, a Cian is mentioned in a way that suggests a play on his name, as though it were derived from Welsh *ci* "dog," as follows, with *cund* corrected :—

Kian a ud yn diffeith cnud drav otuch pen bet alltud.	Cian howls in the wolves' wilderness afar
Bet kindilic mab corknud.	Over an alien's grave—
	The grave of Cú-Duilich son of Corco-Nutan.

Corco-Nutan (*Book of Leinster*, fol. 350ᵃ, 365ᶜ) is not quite the equivalent of *Corknud*, but it is near enough, and Cian is here associated with two other men bearing distinctly Irish names, but we cannot locate him or the grave of his fellow Goidel. The *Iolo MSS.*, p. 78, give the name *Cian*, there spelt *Ceian*, to a Goidel whom they represent invading Gower and Morgannwg. It is possible that the Cian of the *Englynion* and Iolo's Ceian were one and the same man with the Cian of Nevern. Nevern is mentioned also in the "Hunt of Twrch Trwyth" (*Mabinogion*, p. 138), where the place, instead of being called "the Dingle of Nyfer," is called *Glynn Nyuer*, "The Glen of Nyfer," and we read of Arthur's men stationing themselves on both sides of the Nyfer, whereupon the Twrch moves away to Cwm Cerwyn, where he fought fiercely and repeatedly against Arthur's men before he got to Peuliniog, and thence to Aber Towy and the Loughor district, as mentioned already. This story suggests that the Twrch was more or less at home in Nanhyfer, but it helps us to no date. My attention, however, has been called by Professor Anwyl to verses alluding to Nanhyfer in a poem by Meilir, who is supposed to have lived from 1120 to 1160. The subject was Trahaearn, king of Gwynedd, who was slain in the battle of Mynydd Carn, in 1079, when fighting against Gruffydd ab Cynan and Rhys ab Tewdwr,

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aided by their Irish auxiliaries. The general sense of the passage is doubtful, but the words most in point are not hard to understand: see the *Myvyrian*, I. 192:—

Ny dotynt dros nor etwaeth	They are not come across the sea yet—
Pobl anhynaeth Nanhyner	The illbred people of Nanhyfer,
Gwytyl dieuyl duon	Goidels, demons black,
Ysgodogion dynion lletfer.	Scottia's rabble, men weak-kneed.

That a Welsh poet of the twelfth century should have given such a character to the people of Nanhyfer is very remarkable, and shows that it must have at least been well known that they were of Irish descent, and that they were in the habit probably of receiving and harbouring invaders from Ireland. How late this continued it is impossible to say, or to guess how long these men of Nevern retained the use of the Irish language, This last is a very important question, especially when one calls to mind the comparative lateness of the Trefgarn Fach inscription with *Ogtenlo* "Ogtiu's Grave," and the Llanvaughan one with *Trenaccat-lo*, "Tringad's Grave." Both are in Ogam, and with them may perhaps be chronologically associated some inscriptions which are in Latin alone, such as the Llanllyr one, in the Vale of Ayron. At all events, I gather that the Irish language persisted in parts of Dyfed considerably later than I have been used to think: possibly down to the days of Cian, late in the ninth century.

The two inscriptions on the stone which have occupied us here are, it will have been noticed, exact counterparts of one another, which is very seldom the case. But this Nevern find, which appears to have been made by Mr. Romilly Allen and Archdeacon Thomas, will not yield us all the lessons to be derived from it, until the two monuments are taken out of the wall to which the ignorance of a forgotten generation has recklessly consigned them. It is to be hoped that this will be seen to by the Vicar, Mr. J. O. Evans, who

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kindly gave us all the assistance in his power on the day of our visit, and by the enlightened Squire who is the head of the great Welsh family of the Bowens of Llwyngwair.

TREFLYS,[1] CARNARVONSHIRE.

In October, 1904, I received a letter from Mr. Charles E. Breese, of Portmadoc, whose father, the late Edward Breese, was an ardent antiquary, conspicuous at our meetings in the Seventies. The son, I am delighted to say, has inherited his father's tastes, and his letter was about a find made near the old church of

Fig. 6. -Inscribed Stone at Treflys, Carnarvonshire.
(*From a photograph by C. E. Breese.*)

Treflys. I quote the following words from it: "A find of considerable interest has been made near the old church of Treflys, which, you may remember, stands about midway between here and Criccieth, in fairly close proximity to the sea. Some six weeks ago, some workmen were engaged in removing on the west of the church the boundary wall enclosing the graveyard on that side, in order to make room for an extension; and at a depth of about 1 ft. 3 ins. or 1 ft. 8 ins. from the surface, and forming part of the foundation of the wall, they came across an inscribed stone. I send you a rubbing

[1] The inscribed stone at Treflys has been already described in the *Arch. Camb.* for January 1905, and an account of the church by Mr. Harold Hughes will be found in the *Arch. Camb.* for October, 1906. This fact had wholly escaped me when I wrote these notes.

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which I have taken of it, and also a very rude sketch-plan of the *locale*. The stone is perfect, and the incisions upon it in a very excellent state of preservation. The stone is only very slightly chipped at the bottom end, and is of the blue-slate type peculiar to this country. The cross is interesting, and is very carefully incised." Since then Mr. Breese sent me a photograph of the stone, together with its dimensions, as follows :—

Whole length of stone	4 ft. 5 ins.
Whole length of inscription ...	2 ft. 6 ins.
Depth of stone	8 ins.
Width of stone	9 or 10 ins.
Tapering at top end down to ...	7 ins.

At Easter, 1905, I spent a week at Arianfryn on the Mawddach, and made an excursion to Portmadoc on April 22nd, when Mr. and Mrs. Breese took me to Gesel Gyfarch and Treflys. At the latter place the inscribed stone had been carefully placed inside the little church, and I found the reading exactly as described by Mr. Breese, as follows :—

That is, IACONVT FILIVT MINI IACIT, "(Here) lies Iaconus, son of Min." This requires one or two notes: the S is of the tall gamma type; the F has the first I of *filius* attached to its lower bar, while the *lius* is represented by a sort of combination, which may be described as Γ, making an L upside down, to be read as *li*: then a sort of arm sloping upwards (from the middle of the perpendicular of the Γ) towards the right provides a V, while the arm and the lower half of the perpendicular yields an Γ. Thus I regard the word as meant to be read FILIVΓ, which is the case required. The cross in front of the first name is, perhaps, more correctly speaking, the monogram of XPΙΣΤΟΣ, the part + being intended for X, and the prolongation into a curve to the right for P, the Greek *rho*. I cannot recall any exact parallel nearer than Cornwall: see Langdon and Allen's *Catalogue of Inscribed Monuments in Cornwall*, in this Journal for 1895, pp. 50-60. There No. 13 is

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in point as to the form of the monogram, and Nos. 22 and 35 also as to its position in a line with the legend in Latin. Before leaving the inscriber's handy-

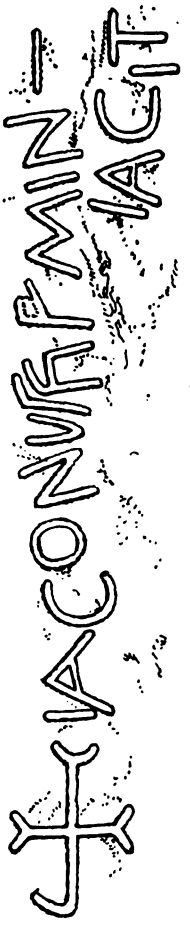

Fig. 7.—Inscription on Stone at Trelys, Carnarvonshire.
Scale, ½ linear.
(*Drawn by W. G. S., from a rubbing by C. E. Breese.*)

work, I wish to mention that I thought I detected five Ogam notches near the top of the stone on the right edge opposite the monogram: they are not so like notches, however, as little pits into which one's

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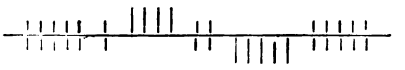
finger-tips would fit. They formed the end of the genitive *Iaconi*, which would be—



And looking further down, I seemed to detect the outward extremities of three of the four scores for *c*; in other words, a flake had gone long ago, carrying on it the rest of the Ogam legend on the edge and to the right of it; but I should like to have the opinion of others on this point.

To come to the names, I have nothing to compare for certain with IACONVS, unless it be *Iacinipoi*, in an Ogam inscription now at Donard, in co. Kildare; and probably one must not associate with them Irish *ícc*, "a healing, salvation," and Welsh *iach*, "hale, sound, healthy," which seem to have bifurcated from a common stem *iecc*. The Venedotian prince called *Iacob*, son of *Beli*, in the Harleian Genealogies (*Y Cymmrodor*, ix, 170), is called by Geoffrey xii, 6, *Iago*, in the accusative *Iagonem*, as if he had found a name *Iaco*, accusative *Iaconem*, in a Latin document; nor is it quite impossible that our *Iaconus* is a form of the Christian name *Iacobus*; at any rate, it would be almost as near, with its *n*, to the original as the Italian *Giácomo*, and the English *James*, with their *m*. If, for instance, Ἰάκωβος was imported with its *β* pronounced *v*, as has long been the case in Greek, there would be nothing strange in *Iácovos* being made by Goidelic Christians into *Iáconus*; but, needless to say, this is all conjecture. As to the other name, *Mini*, it is hard to say whether the inscriber regarded this as the genitive of *Minus* or of a derivative *Minius*, as it would do for either. There is an Irish adjective *mín*, which signifies "soft, smooth, fine, small"; but whether our *Mini* has anything to do with it is hard to say. It is more, perhaps, to the point to mention the name of a family or

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sept called Mocumin, in Adamnan's *Life of Columba*. It occurs in the names of two brothers, Lugbeus *Mocumin* and Lugneus *Mocumin*, where the latter word means *Mocu Min*, or the Kin of Min. Sometimes Adamnan expands the name thus: Lugbeus, gente Mocumin, or Lugbeus of the *gens* called the Kin of Min. The references to Reeves's edition are i, 15 (43), 24 (53), 28 (56), ii, 18 (127), 27 (141): none of the passages enable one to find out where the Mocu-Min were settled. But until some evidence of the occurrence of a patronymic *mac Min* is found, I cannot help thinking that *filius* is here to be interpreted in a wide sense, such as was sometimes given to *mac* in Irish, and that *filius Mini* is to be treated as a loose translation into Latin of the Goidelic *Mocu-Min*. *Mocu* is neither declined nor translated by Adamnan, but in the Ogam inscriptions of Ireland it is almost always in the genitive, *mocoi* or *mucoi*. The latter occurs also in this country, at Bridell, in Pembrokeshire, and at Silchester, in Hampshire; but nowhere, unfortunately, has this difficult term of Goidelic sociology been found rendered into Latin.

I may add that I have had other letters from Mr. Breese, in which he alludes to various antiquarian remains at Treflys and in the immediate vicinity. They range from a spindle-whorl to a cromlech. Subject to the Editor's approval, I should like to suggest to Mr. Breese that he should write for this *Journal* a paper on the antiquities of the district around Treflys.

Llystyn Gwyn,[1] near Brynkir Station, Carnarvonshire.

On the 1st of July, 1902, I received a letter from Mr. R. Pritchard Evans, of Felin Llecheiddior, informing me of the discovery of an old inscribed stone

[1] An illustration of the stone will be found in the *Arch. Camb.* for 1903, p. 288. It was first published in the *Proc. Soc. Ant. Lond.*, Ser. 2, vol. xix, p. 255.

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on the farm of Llystyn Gwyn, on the estate of Col. Lloyd Jones Evans, of Broom Hall, near Pwllheli. In the course of the month, I went with Mr. Pritchard Evans to see the stone. As a result of my visit, I read an account of the stone to the Society of Antiquaries. It appeared in their *Proceedings* for 1903, pp. 255-271; and in it I stated, among other things, that I had it from an expert that the stone is one of granitic texture, which is to be found *in situ* in the Bethesda district. It measures parallel to the inscription about 3 ft. 6 ins., by 3 ft. the other way; and as to thickness, it varies from rather more than a foot at the edge just above the lettering to 6 ins. at the edge opposite, namely, the one furthest from the lettering. It is a peculiarity of this inscription that it is crowded into one corner of the surface: see Fig. 8.

When I first saw the stone it rested on the edge B D, and I was not able to have it shifted, so I detected no more writing; but as it stood in a very unsafe place, I urged the farmer to have it moved. In time he did so, and the photograph which Mr. Pritchard Evans procured for me represented it standing as above, as may be seen in the copy printed by the Society of Antiquaries. That photograph, though showing the edge B D clear of the ground, into which it pressed itself when I saw it, suggested to me no additional writing; but when in the course of the Portmadoc Meeting the Cambrians visited it, the Venerable Archdeacon Thomas detected Ogam writing on the edge B D. Then as I could get no reading of the Ogam scores, I had to wait till I could find an opportunity of revisiting the stone myself. This came during my stay at Penrhos early in September, 1904, when Sir William Preece drove me to Llystyn Gwyn. We found the stone by this time standing near the farmhouse, and we detected the Ogam scores at once on the rugged edge B D, for that is only a little less so than the broken edge C D. The top A B is so thick and rounded that it can hardly be said to offer an edge for the Ogam carver

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to practice on. There was left A C, which presents a fairly tractable edge, and in point of position that

Fig. 8.—Inscribed Stone at Llystyn Gwyn, Carnarvonshire.
(*From a photograph by J. Allen Jones, High Street, Criccieth.*)

would have been the one where I should look for Ogams, and I believe I did so when I first saw the stone. The reason why A C had not been used was

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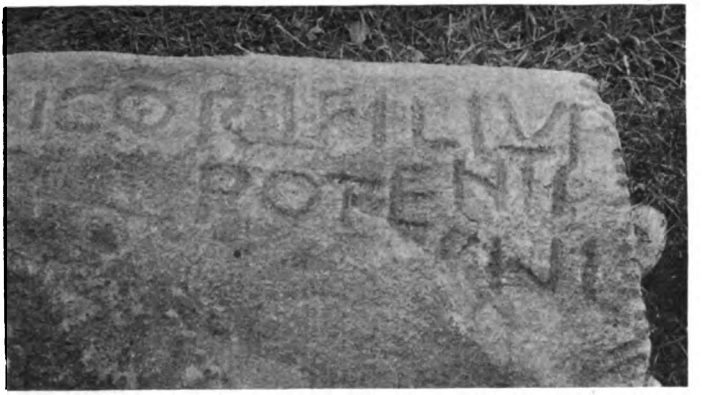

Fig. 9.—Latin Inscription on the Llystyn Gwyn Stone.

Fig. 10.—Ogam Inscription on the Llystyn Gwyn Stone.

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probably the same as for crowding the Roman letters into the right top corner. That reason cannot, I think, be other than that more than one-half of the stone must have been covered by other heavy stones before either inscription was carved. What sort of burial that may exactly imply I am unable to say; and it is a pity that the site should not be carefully excavated, for there is still one big stone there lying *in situ*, perhaps more than one. The tenant can show the exact spot, and Col. Lloyd J. Evans would probably only be too glad to see the work done thoroughly: in any case, there would not be much to do.

One of Sir William Preece's party took a photograph of the stone, but as the day was not favourable the result did not come up to our expectations. I read the Roman letters as before: ICORI FILIV F/POTENTI/NI, that is Icori filiu[s] f(ili) Potentini—"I. son of the Son of Potentinus." The Ogam reading up at right angles to it is as follows:—

Some of the vowel notches are indistinct, but there is no serious difficulty as to the reading. It is right to say that the two inscriptions come in one another's way, for where the second F comes to the very edge of the stone, its two bars interlock with the arms of the Ogam $\frac{//}{//}$; but they are, I thought, just kept from touching one another.

Now, as to the names, one sees at once that *Icorigas* is the genitive of the name which is given as ICORI in the Latin, and that it is impossible to regard IC as standing here for the Latin *hic*, as I wrote before seeing the Ogam. Unfortunately, there are two ways of regarding the declension of the word: (1) the form ICORI stands for an earlier *Icori-s* of the *i*-declension, making in the genitive *Icoriy-as*, written *Icorig-as*, to be compared with *Avittorig-es*, the genitive in *es* of the

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name written in Latin *Avitoria* in the nominative. (2) Or else it may be treated as standing for *Ico-rīx*, a compound making its genitive *Ico-rīg-as*, involving, in fact, the word for king, Old Irish *rí*, genitive *ríg*, Welsh *rhi*. Holder supplies two forms in point, and on the whole they may be said to favour the second view. They are *Icorigium*, a place-name from the neighbourhood of Treves, formed most likely from *Ico-rix*. The other is *Icovellauna*, the name of a goddess in inscriptions from the vicinity of Treves and of Metz. *Vellauna* is the feminine of *Vellaunos*, meaning probably one who rules or reigns, a prince: compare *Cassivellaunos*, *Catuvellaunos*, and the like. But all this does not enable one to fix the meaning of the first element *ico* in the composition of names such as *Ico-rix* and *Ico-vellauna*.

As to the other name, *Potentinus*, I have given it as my opinion that *Filius Fili Potentini* may be a literal translation from Goidelic; and, as I have got no "forwarder" since, I cannot do better than reproduce it in the form in which it occurs in the paper read to the Society of Antiquaries, as follows:—"The name *Potentinus* occurs in one of the Roman inscriptions at Caerleon, and we have *Potenina*, which looks like a reduced form of *Potentina*, on a post-Roman stone found at Tregaron, in the neighbourhood of the Roman site of Llanio, in Cardiganshire. *Potentinus*, as a derivative from *potens*, 'powerful, strong,' has its parallel in Irish in the name *Ceithernach*, which comes from mediæval Irish *cethern* or *ceithern*, in Welsh *cadarn*, '*potens*, strong, able-bodied,' literally 'fit for war,' cognate with *cad*, 'battle,' Irish *cath* of the same meaning; but the Irish word *cethern* has only come down in the sense of 'soldiers,' or rather perhaps a 'band of soldiers,' as it is used in the singular with a plural meaning, and it has been borrowed into Welsh as such, while in English it became *kern* and *cateran* (see O'Donovan's *Battle of Magh Rath*, p. 140, and Stokes's *Saltair na Rann*, line 3538). The kern seem to have

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earned at an early date a very bad reputation, and *y gethern* is usually connected in Welsh with hell, and means the rabble of demons associated with it. To return to the inscription: *Filius fili Potentini* may be treated as the equivalent of some such a mediæval Irish designation as *Mac Meic Ceithernaich*, or Mc Ceithernaigh's son. In fact, it is perhaps needless to look for any other, as *Mac Ceithernaigh* occurs as a proper name in Irish annals, for instance, in those of Ulster, A.D. 1382: in the translation of the *Four Masters* it is anglicized as 'Mac Keherny,' and it was borne by one of the chieftains of Connaught."

Curiously enough, the meaning given to the feminine collective *cethern* in Welsh, recalls the strong words in which Meilir indulged in reference to the Goidels of Nanhyfer: it testifies to a racial animosity which has taken centuries to die out in the Principality.

NOTE.—With regard to the illustrations of this paper, it should be mentioned that Mr. Worthington Smith has done his best with the materials placed at his disposal, which consisted chiefly of rubbings. These are occasionally misleading, if not corrected by means of photographs and sketches taken from the stones themselves. The most satisfactory results can only be obtained by photographs of casts of the stones, and these are not as yet available. The rubbings of the Nevern No. 2 stone were taken by the Rev. G. Eyre Evans in the depth of winter, at considerable inconvenience to himself.—ED.

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Cambrian Archaeological Association.

REPORT OF THE SIXTIETH ANNUAL MEETING,

HELD AT

CARMARTHEN,

ON MONDAY, AUGUST 13TH, 1906,

AND FOUR FOLLOWING DAYS.

President.

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

President-Elect.

SIR JOHN WILLIAMS. BART., M.D.

Local Committee.

Chairman.—ALAN STEPNEY-GULSTON, ESQ., DERWYDD.

The Mayor of Carmarthen (H. E. Blagdon-Richards, Esq.).
Sir James Hills-Johnes, V.C., G.C.B., Dolaucothi, Llanwrda.
Mrs. Johnes, Dolaucothi, Llanwrda.
Sir Lewis Morris, Penbryn.
The Venble. Archdeacon Evans, Carmarthen.
Rev. T. R. Walters, Carmarthen.
Rev. W. Davies. Llanfihangel Abercowin.
Rev. J. Thomas, Laugharne.
Rev. D. D. Evans, Llangunnor.
Rev. George Eyre Evans, Aberystwyth.
Rev. W. W. Poole Hughes, Warden, Llandovery College.
Rev. J. Marsden, Llanllwch.
Rev. Alexander Williams, Llangathen.
Colonel Gwynne Hughes, Glancothi.
Meuric Lloyd, Esq., Delfryn.
G. G. T. Treherne, Esq., 28, Bedford Row, London.
D. Lleufer Thomas, Esq., Hendre, Swansea.
T. W. Barker, Esq., Oaklands, Carmarthen.

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Local Committee.—Continued.

T. E. Brigstocke, Esq., King Street, Carmarthen.
J. D. Jones, Esq., Bronydre, Carmarthen.
H. C. Tierney, Esq., Editor, *Welshman*, Carmarthen.
A. Ll. Davies, Esq., Brynderw, Carmarthen.
J. B. Morgan, Esq., Architect, Llanelly.
Mrs. D. Pugh Evans, Parade, Carmarthen.
Miss Spurrell, King Street, Carmarthen.
H. S. Holmes, Esq., Training College, Carmarthen.
R. M. Thomas, Esq., Town Clerk, Carmarthen.
E. V. Collier. Esq., Architect, Carmarthen.
Arthur R. Davies. Esq., 5, Guildhall Square, Carmarthen.
John Lewis, Esq., Arybryn, Carmarthen.
B. A. Lewis, Esq., Morfa House, Carmarthen.
F. W. Childs, Esq., Architect, Carmarthen.

Hon. Local Treasurer.

P. J. Wheldon, Esq., Nat. Prov. Bank, Carmarthen.

Hon. Local Secretaries.

Rev. M H. Jones, 22, Picton Terrace, Carmarthen.
Walter Spurrell, Esq., King Street, Carmarthen.

General Secretaries to the Association.

Rev. Canon R. Trevor Owen, M.A., F.S.A., Bodelwyddan Vicarage, Rhuddlan R.S.O., North Wales.
Rev. C. Chidlow, M.A., Lawhaden Vicarage, Narberth.

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EVENING MEETINGS.

MONDAY, AUGUST 13TH, 1906.

A CONVERSAZIONE and reception of the members of the Association by the Mayor and Mayoress of Carmarthen, Mr. and Mrs. H. E. Blagdon-Richards, was held in the Assembly Rooms at 8 P.M.

The Mayor, in offering a welcome to the members of the Association, said it was a very curious fact that on the first visit of the Association to Carmarthen it had just terminated thirty years of its existence, and now at the time of its second visit, it had just completed the second thirty years. He took it that in the usual course of events the third visit of the Association would be in the year 1936. He and all of them would very much like to put that date a little closer to the present year. He felt highly gratified—not to say honoured—that it fell to his lot to tender to each distinguished member of the Association the warmest and heartiest welcome into their midst that it was possible for a man to offer. He did so on behalf of himself and the Mayoress, and on behalf of the Corporation of this ancient borough, with the assurance also of the fullest appreciation of his fellow-townspeople. He should like to emphasise that assurance, because he wished them to believe him it was not a mere idle sentiment prompted by ordinary courtesy. He knew it to be based upon a very lively feeling of satisfaction that existed in the town over this present visit of the Association. They in Carmarthen took a very great pride in the history and historical status of the town, and especially of being St. Peter's boys, of which he was one. Of course, it was very natural and pardonable for anyone to eulogise his own town, but it was more than usually justified in their case. He supposed he might assume everyone present had read every historical document relating to the ancient charter of this old town. It was simply teeming with eulogistic references to the town. One in particular read very nicely, and he had made a copy of it. In a certificate made out in the year 1548, it stated: "The town of Carmarthen is a fair market town, having a fair haven and the fairest town in the whole of South Wales, and of the most civility." He really did not consider that by any means an exaggerated way of putting it, because, in his experience, which was a very long one, he had known this statement to have been made scores and scores of times; in fact, whenever visitors came to Carmarthen there were four things they did. First of all, they visited the Market-place, especially if they could do so on a Saturday. Then they went down to visit the Carmarthen docks; then they admired the beauties of the town from its various aspects, inside and around; and lastly,

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by no means the least, they fully appreciated the civility shown them by the Carmarthen people. He held that there was no single spot in the Principality that contained, in proportion to its size, landmarks more calculated to arouse the dreamy interest of the antiquary than were contained in this small area. He said this advisedly, because those who had made themselves familiar with the town and its history by means of study and previous visits would bear him out in that statement; and with regard to those who had not had the inestimable privilege of visiting this town before, they would, during the course of the week, come to realise the truth of every statement he uttered there that night. He could give them instances beyond number, but would content himself with drawing attention to just one spot of interest and great antiquity in the town—that was the Old Oak in Priory Street, the site of the Old Priory. It had been said—and there were many believers in the faith to-day, who maintained the legend—that when the Old Oak falls Carmarthen will be swallowed up by the ravages of the sea. And this belief was perfectly real and clear, because it was shown by the amount of attention given to this old oak. It was alive at the first visit of the Association, but since then had suffered premature decay; and when they came to visit it sometime that week, they would be astounded to know that all that rested between Carmarthen and utter destruction was the little support given to the old tree by means of mortar and bricks and iron bands.

The Mayor then vacated the Chair in favour of Archdeacon Thomas, St. Asaph, who thanked the Mayor for his warm welcome on their second visit to this ancient and historic town. He could hardly support the statement that it was thirty years since their last visit; it was thirty-one years, and he was afraid that would add one year more to their happiness. However, he hoped it would not make much difference when the time came round again. There were some there now who were present at the first meeting. Some very active members and workers in the Association—their Secretary for South Wales, and also their Editor, joined on that occasion. Those present would remember the admirable address with which the then President, Bishop Basil Jones, opened the meeting; they would think what great giants they were in those days, and he was afraid they would look down perhaps a little on their followers of the present day. Work went on though the workers changed; and when they came here this time they had an advantage which those members of 1875 did not possess. They found, in their itinerary course from North to South, that their endeavour to stir up interest in archæology did bear some considerable amount of fruit. A good many societies had arisen in the kingdom that were doing admirable work in the country; and here in Carmarthen they had the great advantage on coming amongst them, of finding that not only would they have interpreters on the spot, but that the excellent society that had been established here had evidently taken root and done

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good work. Referring to the antiquarian records, he said, that looking over the index of parts published, he saw a very great variety and extensive meaning of place-names. That showed that one or other had looked up the facts and the history of those various places, and there was very valuable material for their future historian. He had been to Carmarthen many times since 1875, and there were two places he made a point of seeing—one, the Parish Church, with its very interesting monuments, which was in many ways an object of great interest as well as care. He wished he could say the same of the other object which he had come from time to time to look at, and it was one of the most interesting things—the remains of the ancient Castle. When he came to stand opposite that fine gateway, and saw how little of it was visible, he had from time to time a spirit of sadness that it was blocked up as it is by the surrounding buildings. He thought as it was their object to stir up interest, and try to bring about a better archæological condition of things. It would be a matter of great credit to the town if they were to start—and indeed it would be extremely gratifying to the Association if their visit led to a removal of those unsightly buildings, and to disclose to the public that fine gateway. He threw this out for, from what the Mayor had said he evidently took a deep interest in archæological matters. They had their local Society, and they had as representative of the Association their good President, and he hoped that when 1936 or '37 came round they would see the gateway of the Castle, to say nothing of changes inside. He did not suppose he would be here in 1936, but no doubt members of the Association would then appreciate the kindness and welcome that was extended to them, and would rejoice more than those present could now rejoice, at the completion of what he had thrown out as a suggestion. In vacating the chair in favour of Sir John Williams—who, he said, was exceedingly competent, and had a special claim to fill it—he observed that in Sir John they had one who had shown by his energy and skill what a Welshman could do. By his talents and merits he had risen to a position they very much envied. Now he had reached the top of the ladder he had come to live among them in Carmarthenshire, and give full vent to that love for Wales and its literature which they knew he possessed.

Sir John Williams then took the Chair, and said he joined in the welcome given by the Mayor to the company to the ancient capital of the Principality of Wales. A year ago the antiquaries of the town joined the Society and the Cambrian Archæological Association to place on record the historical and architectural buildings of the town. It was now a lusty and thriving infant, and had unearthed at Cwmbrwyn remains of Roman works that had remained hidden from sight and lost to memory for one thousand years. He expressed regret that the Rev. M. H. Jones, one of the founders of the Society, the Editor of its records, and one of the Secretaries, was about to leave Carmarthen for another sphere, where

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he had been appointed to a post of great importance and far-reaching influence in the religious world. He took this opportunity of wishing him God-speed in his new undertaking. The President then proceeded to deliver his address.

The President's Address.

It is with much pleasure that I join his Worship the Mayor of Carmarthen in welcoming you to the ancient capital of the Principality of South Wales. An important station during the Roman occupation, its after-history is intimately connected with the story of the legendary Myrddin, of the Princes of South Wales, and Rhys ap Thomas, epoch-makers in the history, not only of Wales but of Great Britain.

A year ago, the antiquaries of the town and county joined to form a society—The Carmarthen Antiquarian Society—the object of which is to place on record and to preserve that which is left of the historical and architectural antiquities of the county. It is a lusty and thriving infant, of great promise, and on Wednesday you will have an opportunity of seeing one of its early achievements, in the excavations made at Cwmbrwyn to reveal a Roman building which has been hidden from sight and lost to memory for more than a thousand years. Thursday morning will be devoted to visit places of interest in the town—some of them Roman, others of a later period. To-morrow morning the Society will visit Llanstephan, where a castle, a church, and two holy wells await inspection by the members.

The story of the Castle is but little known, and little has been written of it. That which was known at the time Mr. Waters wrote is recorded in his valuable essay on *The History of Llanstephan, Past and Present.* The exact date of its foundation has not been ascertained, but it must have been built during the very last years of the eleventh century or the early part of the twelfth; for in the year 1137 it was destroyed by Owen and Cadwaladr, the sons of Gruffudd ap Cynan, Prince of North Wales. The earlier Welsh castles which were burnt by the Welsh princes were not the massive stone buildings which have come down to us.

The date of this, the first destruction of the Castle known to us, is usually given as 1136, and Mr. Waters adopts it in his *History of Llanstephan*, but there are reasons for believing 1137 to be the correct date. The *Annales Cambriæ*, and Caradoc in his *Historie of Cambria*, before that *Historie* was "greatly improved and enlarged" by Wynne, give the date as 1137. Moreover, the story of the *Brut*, which is the only authority adduced in favour of the opinion that 1136 is the correct date, under the year 1136, reads thus:—"Yn y vlwyddyn rac wyneb," which is translated "in the year ensuing," and apparently means the year 1137. "In the ensuing year" it reads "Gruffudd, son of Rhys, died. . . . In the same

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year Gruffudd, son of Cynan, died. . . . In that year also the sons of Gruffudd, son of Cynan, came the third time into Ceredigion, and burned the Castle of Ystrad Meurig, the Castle of Llanstephan, the Castle of Humfrey and Carmarthen."

Now in what year died Gruffudd ap Rhys and Gruffudd ap Cynan? The writer of the *Annales* states definitely that their deaths took place in the year 1137. Caradoc is equally definite. His words are: "The year 1137 died Gruffyth ap Rees ap Theodor. . . . Also, toward the end of the same year died Gruffyth ap Conan, King or Prince of North Wales." The three authorities agree that the destruction of the Castle was effected in the same year in which the Prince died, and Caradoc and the *Annales* state definitely that they died in 1137. We may therefore conclude that the burning of the Castle by the sons of the Prince of North Wales took place in the year 1137.

Twice in the previous year, 1136, had the same sons of Gruffudd ap Cynan raided Ceredigion, once with the aid of Gruffudd ap Rhys; and it was on the third occasion of raiding that district that they marched south and destroyed the Castle of Llanstephan.

Had anything more than love of country and hatred of the Norman adventurers been wanting to infuse them with courage, to give strength to their arms and keenness to their vision, it was furnished by the cruel treatment of the Princess Gwenllian, who was the daughter of Gruffydd ap Cynan and the wife of Gruffudd ap Rhys, by Maurice de Londres. Gwenllian was taken prisoner in the battle of Cydweli. The date of this battle is generally given as 1135.

The *Brut* and *Annales* make no mention of Gwenllian or the battle, but Giraldus in his *Itinerary* states: "In this district, after the death of King Henry, whilst Gruffydd, son of Rhys, Prince of South Wales, was engaged in soliciting assistance from North Wales, his wife Gwenllian (like the Queen of the Amazons and a second Penthesilia) led an army into these parts; but she was defeated by Maurice de Londres, Lord of that country, and Geoffrey, Constable to the Bishop."

Henry died on December 1st (December 3rd, according to the *Brut*), 1135, so that the battle of Cydweli could not have been fought until the very last days of 1135, and may not have been fought until early in 1136. The treatment of Gwenllian by Maurice may account for the three raids made into the Marches of South Wales by the sons of Gruffudd ap Cynan, in such rapid succession in the year following the death of Gwenllian.

We know of no attacks upon the Castle from this time until the year 1146 (1147, according to the *Annales*).

When Gruffudd ap Cynan died, there was some prospect of a union of the Welsh Princes, but in the year 1143 Cadwaladr killed Anarawd, the son of Gruffudd ap Rhys. This led to disunion among the Welsh. Meanwhile, the Lord Marchers who were united became

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so aggressive that the sons of Gruffudd ap Rhys in South Wales with difficulty held their own. Under these circumstances, Hywel and Owen, the sons of Owen Gwynedd, came to their aid with a large army. They besieged the Castle of Carmarthen, and after five days captured it. Afterwards, Cadell, Rhys, and Maredudd, the sons of Gruffudd ap Rhys, marched on Llanstephan, and conquered the Castle.

Henry II, who was at war with Philip of France, died at Chinon in 1189, and in this year Llewelyn ap Gruffudd took possession of the Castles of St. Clare, Laugharne, and Llanstephan.

The year 1215 will remain ever memorable in the story of Britain, for in that year the English barons, in arms, appeared before King John to demand the charter of English liberty. Llewelyn allied himself with the barons, and together with the Welsh princes gathered a large force, marched upon Carmarthen, captured the Castle and rased it to the ground. They then demolished the Castles of Llanstephan, Talacharn, and St. Clare, and subdued the whole of South Wales except Pembroke and Glamorgan.

For forty years after this event, it does not appear that the Castle was taken or attacked by the Welsh; but in the year 1255 the Lord Marchers became so aggressive and tyrannical that the Welsh nobles "came to Llewelyn, having been robbed and made captive, and complainingly declared to him that they would rather be killed in war for their liberty than suffer themselves to be trodden down in bondage." Llewelyn, together with Maredudd ap Rhys Grug, invaded the midland country of Perfeddwlad, and subdued it before the end of a week. He gave Builth to Maredudd, and banished the owner, Rhys Vychan.

This led to another battle in the following year; for "Rhys Vychan, meaning to recover his lands, obtained of the King a large army, whereof one Stephen Bacon (or Banson) was captain." They came to Carmarthen, and having devastated portions of the district, marched upon Dynevor. Here they met the Welsh in force, and having suffered a disastrous defeat, fled, having lost, it is said, two or three thousand soldiers. Afterwards, the Welsh army went to Dyfed, and burned the county and destroyed the Castles of Abercowan (Laugharne), Llanstephan, Maenclochog, and Narberth.

After this we find no record of fighting at Llanstephan, until the year 1403, when Owen Glyndwr captured John Penres, the keeper of the Castle.

The first Lord Marcher of whom we find mention is Geoffrey Marmion, who was lord about the middle of the twelfth century. He may even have been the first Lord Marcher of Llanstephan. He granted the church of Llanstephan, with some glebe land and other privileges to a certain Master of the Slebech Commandery of St. John of Jerusalem, as is mentioned in Owen's *Pembrokeshire*; where is also to be found an inventory of the gifts made to the Slebech house.

In making this gift, however, Geoffrey planted a seed which

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after some years bore fruit in the form of a lawsuit. The year of his death is not known. He had a daughter named Albreda, or Albrea Marmion, who was his heir. She was married to William de Camville, who was son of Richard de Camville, one of the leaders and constables of the fleet of Richard I, and who died at the siege of Acre, 1191.

They had a son named Geoffrey de Camville. In the year 1200 King John granted a charter to Geoffrey, confirming to him the Castle and town of Llanstephan, as William de Camville held them, on the day he gave them to Geoffrey.

Geoffrey was to hold the Castle by the service of one knight's fee, to be performed in South Wales for all services, as the charters of William his father and Albreda his mother "reasonably testify." This Lady Marcher, Albreda Marmion, who was the heir of Geoffrey Marmion, appears to have reserved some rights and claim over lands in Llanstephan, when she gave her hand in wedlock to William de Camville; for the confirming charter refers to the charters of William and Albreda: and in the year 1228 we find that Albreda Marmion appeared before the King at Gloucester, and "quit-claimed to William de Camville all right and claim she had in the land of Llanstephan." Now her son Geoffrey had a son named William, and I am of opinion that Albreda Marmion quit-claimed all her rights in Llanstephan lands to her grandson and not to her husband.

This lucky William, the pet of his grandmother, succeeded to the lordship when he was still a minor; and whilst he was a minor in the custody of the King and the Earl of Salisbury, a certain Conan Howell, a Welshman, came and occupied during the custody of the King.

William had a son named Geoffrey. This is Geoffrey number three. The Normans seem to have been as chary as the Welsh of adding to the Christian names in the family. This third Geoffrey is he, during whose tenure of the lordship the gift of the Church of Llanstephan to the Slebech Commandery fructified and bore a lawsuit. He instituted proceedings against William de Hamleye, Prior of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem in England, and Gilbert de St. Augustine, Master of Slebech, to recover the advowson of Llanstephan Church, deforced from the Lord of Llanstephan, by the Prior of St. John and the Master of Slebech.

There was some hard swearing in the course of the litigation, but the Lord Marcher won. He won, however, to find himself outmanœuvred by Thomas, Bishop of St. David's, who wrote: "To the Venerable and discreet man, Lord Robert de Tybetot, justiciar. . . . whereas according to ecclesiastical laws . . . churches are to be vacant only for times defined by law, and the Church of Llanstephan, owing to the plea moved between Geoffrey de Camville and the Master of the House of Slebech, has now been vacant for a long time, and beyond the term of the statute, on which account

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the collation has fallen upon us, *loci* of the same diocese and bishopric, and it is our will to provide properly for the indemnity of souls, lest the rapacious wolves should destroy the Lord's flock, destitute of a pastor, the said Church of Llanstephan being vacant beyond time. . . . Grant to our beloved in Christ, Thomas de Goedeli, enjoining him, etc."

Geoffrey, the successful suitor, had to solace himself with an earthly reward—the damages of the valor of the church for two years, to wit, 120 marks.

The suit interests us chiefly because the evidence given in the course of it enables us to complete the list of the Lord Marchers of Llanstephan, from Geoffrey Marmion, who may have been the first, to the year 1338.

The litigious Geoffrey de Camville died in 1308.

He had a son named William. This is William the third. He was a Knight of Paine de Chaworth, Lord of Cydweli, in the war with Llewelyn in 1282-83. This, the third William, and the last of the Lords of Llanstephan who bore the name of Camville, died in 1338, and left five daughters—two of whom, Matilda and Eleanor, are of interest to us in this connection, because their father was granted and given licence to enfeoff them with the Manor of Llanstephan in 1337. Eleanor became the wife of Richard de Penres.

Twenty-nine years passed, and in the year 1377 the lordship fell into the hands of the Crown by the forfeiture of Robert Penres, because that he, on Sunday next after the Invention of the Holy Cross, 1370, feloniously killed Joan, the daughter of William Ap Ll', at Llanstephan, of which felony "he was convicted on Monday after Holy Trinity, 1377." The wheels of justice moved somewhat slowly. This felonious Robert Penres, was evidently the son of Robert Penres, who immediately preceded him as Lord of Llanstephan, who again appears to have been the son of Richard Penres, who married Eleanor de Camville, and through his marriage succeeded to the lordship.

Upon the forfeiture of Robert Penres, Richard, Prince of Wales, granted the Castle and lordship to Simon de Burley. In the course of the following year, 1378, two other charters were granted by Richard to Simon, each giving him greater power and more extensive privileges.

Simon, however, was not allowed to enjoy his possessions undisturbed, for in 1379—two years after the first grant to him—he was subjected to proceedings in a writ *quo warranto*, respecting his liberties in Llanstephan. In view of the charters I have already mentioned, Simon had a strong case—a complete answer to the enquiry. But the King, to remove all doubts respecting the rights of his favourite, granted new and sufficient letters-patent, confirming the gift, in which are enumerated the reasons for the gift in very touching words. "In consideration," it is stated, "of the good service which the aforesaid Simon has done us, and the important position he held for us, from our tender age up to this, in all the

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estates which we have held, to wit, before we received military orders, and likewise when we assumed that order, also afterwards before we were Prince of Wales, and during our time as Prince, and further until made King by Divine Grace, and as an envoy about our marriage, returning with the Queen-Consort from her land to this country, wherein we are informed that he had to sell all his lands in Suffolk," etc.

Richard was faithful to his favourites; but, alas! Simon Burley, with eight others, were impeached in 1388, and the "Merciless Parliament" passed judgment against them. Simon Burley was condemned to be hanged, drawn, and quartered. Richard could not save him, but he did what he could; and the sentence was changed to one less disgraceful and more surely instantaneously fatal. Simon was beheaded.

By Simon de Burley's forfeiture the lordship came into and remained in the hands of the Crown for three years; and in the year, 1391, in consideration of the payment of 500 marks, the Castle and manor were demised to Robert de Penres, knight, son of the Robert de Penres by whose forfeiture they fell to the Crown in 1377. Ten years after the forfeiture of Simon de Burley, that is in the year 1398, Roger, the son of Sir John de Burley and nephew of Simon de Burley, endeavoured to obtain possession of the Castle and lordship. The King addressed the Sheriff of Hereford in the following terms: "We desire the Castle of Llanstephan . . . to be restored to Roger de Burley, in accordance with the tenour and effect of the consideration, judgment, and statute made in our last parliament . . . and we command you to cause Nicholas Clerk, Philip ap Cradock . . . tenants of the aforesaid Castle and lordship, as it is said, to appear before us in our Chancery . . ." upon which the Sheriff returned into the Chancery "that . . . Nicholas Philip, Philip Cradock . . . still held by the feoffment of Robert Penres, the Castle and lordship aforesaid, enjoining with Eynon ap Jevan yet surviving, in the same writ not named." The cup of Richard's follies was now full, and he was deposed in the following year (1399), and the suit of Roger de Burley failed; for we find in June, 1403, that John Penres, keeper of the Castle, was captured and detained by Owen Glyndwr, and that the custody of the Castle and lordship was granted to one David ap Howell, Armiger, to guard it and the adjacent county by placing in it ten men-at-arms and twenty bowmen. This was a liberal allowance of men to garrison the Castle, for by an ordinance made by the Prince's (Richard II) Council in 1369, the garrison of each of his castles in Wales and Chester consisted of one constable and twelve archers only.

Letters of protection were granted to David ap Howell, and John Swetappul was appointed to provide food for the towns and Castles of Carmarthen, Kidwelly, and Llanstephan, and sustenance for the soldiers, "and our liege people there;" so that Llanstephan Castle was garrisoned in the early part of the fifteenth century.

John Penres, who in 1403 became the prisoner of Owen Glyndwr,

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appears to have obtained his liberty, for half the lordship of Llanstephan was granted to him in the year 1408, by reason of the forfeiture of Henry Gwyn, and he was again keeper of the Castle at the time of his death in 1411. It was then seized "by Thomas Rede, who held it in his demesne as of fee of our Sovereign lord the Prince."

I know not what became of Thomas Rede, but the Castle appears to have been soon granted to one William Gwyn and his son Henry, for in the year 1416 it came again into the hands of the Crown "by the rebellion and forfeiture of William Gwyn, father, as well as by the forfeiture of Henry Gwyn, his son, who was slain at Agincourt in the ranks of our adversaries." It was then granted to Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester.

The Duke of Gloucester was childless, and in the year 1443 the reversion of the Castle and lordship was granted by Henry VI to William de la Pole, Earl of Suffolk, and Alice his wife, with the style and title of the Earl of Pembroke.

Seven years later (1450), they came again into the hands of the Crown by virtue of an Act of Parliament. They were farmed by — Nicholas, armiger.

In the year 1453 the King became insane, and Parliament made a grant of "dower lands" to Queen Margaret, including among others the "Castle, lordship, and town of Llanstephan, and all its appurtenances, forsooth, the lordship of Penryn and la verye, etc."

During the wars between the Houses of York and Lancaster, Sir William Herbert, son of William ap Thomas of Raglan, who fought in France under Henry V., and was made a knight-banneret, had proved himself a devoted adherent of the House of York; and Edward IV., in the first year of his reign (1462), raised him to the rank of a baron for his good services against Henry VI., Henry, Duke of Exeter, Jasper Tudor, and other rebels; and granted to him the Castle, lordship, and town of Llanstephan, the lordship and manor of Penrhyn and la veire, etc.

William Herbert died in 1469, and during the minority of his son, John Donne, one of the King's bodyguard, was appointed to the office of seneschal of the Castle and lordship of Llanstephan, as well as to several other such offices in South Wales.

In the year 1482, through an exchange of lands between the Prince of Wales (Edward V.) and the Earl of Huntingdon, the Castle, lordship, and town of Llanstephan, the manor of Penrhyn, and la Verye, and other properties were made parcel of the Duchy of Cornwall (Act 22 Edward IV.).

In the year 1484 Richard Williams, "one of the keepers of our chamber," was appointed seneschal of our Lordship of Llanstephan, as well as of several others in South Wales, by Richard III. How long he held it is not recorded.

The Act 22 Edward IV., making Llanstephan parcel of the Duchy of Cornwall, was annulled in 1495; and the lordship, together with others, reverted to Jasper, Duke of Bedford.

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Law was unknown in March land. The Welsh laws could not be enforced, and the King of England's writ ran not there. The only principle of action recognised was "Trecha reisied gwana gwiched." Might was the only right. Acquisition of territory by the Lord Marcher remained unnoticed, or was encouraged of the King, until it had attained a magnitude such as to be a possible source of danger to the Crown. Robbery of the Welsh was a virtue, until it became a danger to the English ruler. The King winked at the deeds of the adventurer—or rather freebooter—Norman; while he at the same time kept a watchful eye on his steady and often rapid increase of power, and endeavoured to solve the question: "How shall I curb him?" He favoured the Lord Marchers to fight the Welsh, annex their land, and wear out their resistance; at the same time he feared their growing power, and endeavoured to control it. In the same way a custom grew up—the custom of the March. This custom depended upon two principles. One was, might is right. This was the principle upon which both king and barons were agreed in their treatment of the Welsh people. The Marchers held the same principle in their dealings with the King; but the King would none of it. Mr. Morris, in his work on the Welsh Wars of Edward I., defines the custom of the March in these words: "The custom to fight and annex without restriction from the Crown of England, and to allow no appeal from the sub-tenants of the March to the King of England as overlord." In fact, the Lord Marcher was absolute lord of his March. His will was law in it. He held his lordship by his sword, and not by charter of the King. Mr. Morris adds: "One right was always enjoyed by the Crown. If a Lord Marcher lost his lands by a successful Welsh rising, and if the aid of the Royal forces was called in to reconquer it, the land thus reconquered reverted to the Crown." A continuous struggle was being carried on between the King and the Barons; sometimes quietly, and then it amounted to watchfulness and passive resistance; sometimes violently, then to aggression and conflict. These conflicts generally ended, not in victory for either party, but in a compromise, and a compromise meant a restriction of the irresponsible power of both King and barons; thus verifying an old adage, for by the conflicts between King and barons, the people had their rights enlarged and the bounds of freedom were widened.

The chief means by which the King was enabled to restrict the powers of the Lord Marchers was the successful raids made by the Welsh Princes into the Marchers' territory; for the King coming to the aid of the Lord Marcher to recover his lost land, became possessed of the land by conquest, and the Marcher became the King's tenant. It appears, however, that there must have been other ways in which the King was able to acquire control over the Lord Marchers and their lands; for we find that in the latter half of the twelfth century, Llanstephan Castle was held by charter from the King. This is about forty years only after the earliest

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notice we have of the Castle; and it does not appear from the records that the Welsh, when they had taken or burned the Castle, held it for any time. On the contrary, the Castle was burned in the course of a successful raid, and the Welsh, after having completed the work of destruction, returned to their homes. It is not likely, therefore, that the Castle fell into the hands of the Crown by re-conquest, when it had been lost to the Lord Marcher; and yet we find it held by charter at a very early period of its history.

Professor Tout is of opinion that "as early as 1256, Edward I., set up a rudimentary county organisation, in those southern and detached parts of the Principality where the power of Llewelyn ap Gruffudd was weak, and the traditions of the March recent. Carmarthen, which was in his hands, was the national seat of the county and the new offices." Mr. Morris states: "Then he (Edward I.) pushed his influence southwards, and his design was to create two counties under Royal auspices in Cardigan and Carmarthenshire. For this purpose he partly strained the rights of the Crown to overlordship over South Wales, and partly he seemed to have claimed the right of conquest. Also at Carmarthen, Edward instituted a County Court or *comitatus*, to which neighbouring Lord Marchers were constrained to do suit and service." The evidence for the view of Professor Tout and that of Mr. Morris is the fact that the lords of Llanstephan, Laugharne, and St. Clare did suit and service in Carmarthen for their holdings. Pain de Chaworth, Lord of Cydweli, was ordered to do likewise, but the order was afterwards withdrawn; while William de Braose, Lord of Gower (for Gower as well as Llanstephan formed part of the county of Carmarthen at that early period) did not obey.

It may reasonably be inferred from these facts, that Edward strained his overlordship over the Lord Marchers of South Wales, and that the smaller submitted to his wise and powerful tyranny, while the greater and stronger resisted successfully. I think it probable that the Kings before Edward practised the same tactics; and the fact that a small March, such as Llanstephan, far away from the English border, was held by charter and service at a very early period inclines me to draw such an inference; so that the organisation of counties by Edward is but another step in the process of curbing the irresponsible powers of the Lord Marchers; a process which had been going on for nearly a century, for Geoffrey de Camville, in 1200, held Llanstephan by charter and service, and William, his father, and Albreda, his mother before him, had held it on the same terms. From this time on, control over the Lord Marchers seems to have steadily increased, for we find that—

In 1276 Geoffrey de Camville and his bailiffs were ordered to prohibit his tenants to furnish provisions or supplies to the Welsh rebels.

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In 1277 and 1282, he is summoned to fight in the war with Llewelyn. He obeys, and takes his quota with him, which consisted of two knights and twelve lances: in all fifteen lances. In 1287 Geoffrey is enjoined to reside on his own demesne and lordship until the rebellion of Rhys ap Meredith is put down. In 1316 the Prior of Carmarthen, his men and tenants, are commanded to receive their measures, scales and weights from the King's minister of the new town of Carmarthen, the keeper of the King's measures, scales and weights, just as the Barons of Llanstephan, Talacharn, and St. Clare do. This shows us that the bearer of the sword is being made more and more subject to the jurisdiction of the county, and that the wearer of the mitre will have in this respect to keep him company.

In the year 1324, Roger Mortimer escaped to France, and together with Isabella—Edward's (II) Queen—fomented war against England. This appears to have produced a state resembling panic in the English Court, if we may judge from the following orders, issued to the Lords and Bailiffs of Llanstephan and others.

In 1324, an order to cause all ships capable of carrying forty tons and upwards to be arrested and equipped for the King's service.

In April, 1325, and again in May, a proclamation in favour of the men of Flanders.

In December, 1325, an order to cause all ships entering Llanstephan and other ports, or wishing to leave the same for parts beyond the sea, to be searched, and to arrest any whom they shall find with letters prejudicial to the King, etc.

In the month of January, 1326, a similar order, but extending to horses, arms, gold and silver taken out of the country by any except merchants.

In August of the same year, an order to cause all owners of ships of the burthen of fifty tons and upwards to repair to Portsmouth, on Sunday after the Decollation of St. John Baptist next, with their ships found with arms, victuals, and other necessaries, with double equipment, to set out in the King's service against the French. A further order to all owners of ships of smaller burthen than fifty tons, not to leave port for any purpose, under pain of being taken and imprisoned.

In 1328, an order enjoining all owners and masters of ships to cause all their ships of less than forty tons burthen that are outside their port, to be brought back to the port, lest the malefactors from Normandy and Poitou take them. They are to certify to the King as soon as possible of the number of the ships and their members, and the burden of their ships.

(Verily, the Lord Marchers have become submissive!)

Lastly, in 1361, an order not to admit any earls, barons, knights, or men-at-arms, to cross to parts beyond the sea, or to take horse or arms without the King's special license.

This order was issued not without reason, for some years afterwards, Thomas and John Fort, of Llanstephan, assumed the Royal

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jurisdiction, and granted a safeconduct to one John de Ispania, a subject of the King of Castile, and an enemy of the King of England, and showed him the secrets of eleven castles in South Wales—are pardoned.

One year later, John Fort was again pardoned for scaling the walls of Laugharne Castle, and robbing Guy de Brian of £25 in gold and silver. The Forts clearly had friends at Court.

Such is a short sketch of the story of Llanstephan Castle, up to the time that Henry Tudor became king. Then it was an imposing and frowning fortress, overlooking the Bay of Carmarthen as far as Tenby, Gower, and the coast of Devon—the home of soldiers, the scene of armed conflicts; now a picturesque ruin, the haunt of tourists, holiday-makers, and lovers.

At the conclusion of the Address a vote of thanks was proposed by General Sir James Hills-Johnes, seconded by Mr. A. Stepney-Gulston, and briefly acknowledged by the President.

TUESDAY, AUGUST 14TH, 1906.

A Public Meeting was held in the Assembly Rooms at 8.30 P.M. In the absence of Professor J. E. Lloyd, of Bangor, his Paper on "Carmarthen in Olden Times" was read by the Rev. C. Chidlow, General Secretary for South Wales.

Archdeacon Thomas remarked that the Paper helped very largely to elucidate the early history of this town.

Mr. Llewfer Thomas being called upon, said he did not feel competent to offer any criticism of Professor Lloyd's exhaustive history of that period. He was particularly gratified with what was to him a new solution of the difficulty with reference to Llanteilyddog, his identification of it, and the manner he had worked it out.

They must congratulate themselves upon having that new contribution to the history of Carmarthen.

The Rev. Griffith Thomas asked whether the burgesses of Carmarthen paid homage to William I. It was a moot point, because Wales did not submit to the Crown of England for some two hundred years after.

Professor Anwyl said he was very much in the dark as regarded this period, but so far as he could follow Professor Lloyd's Paper, he rather gathered the borough of Carmarthen, as a borough, did not exist so early as that, so the burgesses could not have sworn fealty as burgesses at all. What he understood from the Paper was that there was an ecclesiastical establishment of the Welsh kind, the old British kind, a close, as it was called, in connection with the Church dedicated to St. Teilyddog; and in course of time the Castle came to be built of the stockaded type, and at that time the Castle was at Rhydygors, and not in the present Carmarthen.

Archdeacon Thomas thought the existence of Rhydygors was of a very short duration, and it was afterwards that the military centre

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was transferred to the new Carmarthen. That would hardly admit of the burgesses having sworn allegiance to William I.

Rev. Griffith Thomas: I think he mentioned it was not given a charter till the reign of King John, but it is shown there were privileges to the borough previous to the reign of King John.

Professor Anwyl said there might have been privileges enjoyed there without a charter, which were such that settlers gathered at the place.

Mr. T. E. Brigstocke said apparently the Roman settlement was identified with the old city of Carmarthen—the ecclesiastical city—and there was some difficulty in his mind: how did he identify the fortified situation of the present Castle and the Roman settlement? All the discoveries they had come across, and the coins, had all been found apparently in the old city of Carmarthen, lying eastward to the walled town of the new Carmarthen—the old Carmarthen site of the Romans—and the Castle formed by the Normans was a departure from the old settlement of the Romans.

Archdeacon Thomas said Giraldus Cambrensis wrote "that ancient city is beautifully enclosed with walls of red brick." He evidently looked upon Carmarthen itself as having evidence still existing of Roman antiquity.

The Rev. W. Done Bushell, of Caldey, was then called upon to read his Paper on "Neolithic Monuments."

Archdeacon Thomas said the subject was extremely abstruse, and perhaps to the young members of the audience one of great difficulty. But still, one could not listen to the able and clear, argumentative, and eloquent address of Mr. Done Bushell without feeling that a new light had been thrown upon an ancient monument close at hand. He had read now and then of theories about Stonehenge and other places, but he had never listened to anything, or read anything, that appeared to him so clear and so satisfactory as the address they had had the pleasure of listening to.

This closed the evening's proceedings.

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 15TH, 1906.

There was no Evening Meeting on this day.

THURSDAY, AUGUST 16TH, 1906.

The Annual Business Meeting of the Association was held in the Assembly Rooms, at 8.30 P.M.

The President, Sir John Williams, Bart., took the Chair; and after the Minutes of the previous meeting had been read and confirmed, he requested the Rev. Canon R. Trevor Owen, Senior General Secretary, to read

THE ANNUAL REPORT OF THE ASSOCIATION.

The Journal.—The following Papers have been published in the *Archæologia Cambrensis* between July, 1905, and July, 1906:—

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Prehistoric Period.

"On the Discovery of Prehistoric Hearths in South Wales." By T. C. Cantrill and O. T. Jones.
"The Early Settlers of Cardigan." By Professor E. Anwyl.
"The Exploration of Pen-y-Gaer above Llanbedr-y-Cenin." By Harold Hughes.
"On the Defences of Pen-y-Gaer." By Willoughby Gardiner.
"Pen-y-Gorddyn, or Y Gorddyn Fawr." By Harold Hughes.

Late-Celtic Period.

No Papers.

Romano-British Period.

"Roman Remains: Pen-y-Darren Park, Merthyr Tydfil." By F. T. James.
"The Town of Holt, in the County of Denbigh." By A. N. Palmer.
"The Ordovices and Ancient Powys." By Archdeacon D. R. Thomas.

Early Christian Period.

"The Llandecwyn Inscribed Stone." By Professor E. Anwyl.

Mediæval Period.

"A History of the Old Parish of Gresford, in the Counties of Denbigh and Flint." By A. N. Palmer.
"Some Notes on Mediæval Eifionydd." By Professor J. E. Lloyd.
"The Vairdre Book." By Dr. Henry Owen.
"Allen's Pembrokeshire." By E. Laws.
"Welsh Wooden Spoons, with Ornamental Carving and Love-Symbols." By J. R. Allen.
"On Some Sacramental Vessels of Earthenware and of Wood." By Archdeacon D. R. Thomas.
"The House of Scotsborough, near Tenby." By E. Laws.
"The Religious and Social Life of Former Days in the Vale of Clwyd." By the Rev. J. Fisher.
"Old Radnor Church." By Ernest Hartland.

The following books have been received for review:—

"Edward II in Glamorgan." By the Rev. John Griffith. (Cardiff: Western Mail, Limited.)
"Lampeter." By the Rev. George Eyre Evans. (Aberystwyth: William Jones.)
"Owen's Pembrokeshire," Part III. By Dr. Henry Owen. (Bedford Press.)
"A Digest of the Parish Registers of Llandaff." By the Committee of the Llandaff Diocesan Conference. (Cardiff: Wm. Lewis.)
"Welsh Abbeys." By John A. Randolph. (Carmarthen: William Spurrell and Son.)
"Castell Morgraig." By John Ward, John W. Rodger and John Stuart Corbett. (Cardiff: Wm. Lewis.)

The Special Illustration Fund has been made use of by the editor to obtain photographs of the old house at Scotsborough, near Tenby, for Mr. E. Law's paper on the subject of the Norman Fonts at Lamphey and at Redberth in Pembrokeshire.

The thanks of the Association are due to those authors who have supplied drawings and photographs to illustrate their papers in the *Journal*. Amongst these are Mr. A. N. Palmer, Mr. Harold Hughes, Mr. Willoughby Gardner, Mr. F. T. James, and Archdeacon D. R. Thomas. The photographs of the sculptural panels on the

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Norman lavatory at Wenlock Priory were taken by Mr. H. E. Forrest at the request of Miss Auden.

The Official Set of the Archæologia Cambrensis.—This is now complete with the exception of the following three volumes:—

Ser. 1, Vol. 4, 1849.
Ser. 3, Vol. 1, 1855.
Vol. 2, 1856.

Progress of Welsh Archæology in 1905-6.—The Committee begs to call the attention of the members to the following matters of importance, which have come under the notice of the officers of the Association during the past year.

No specially interesting accidental finds of antiquities appear to have been made in Wales during the last twelve months, or if they have been made they have not been reported by the Local Secretaries.

Some of the recently-formed local archæological societies have done good service in excavating prehistoric defensive earthworks, and sending the results to the editor of the *Journal* for publication. As instances of this may be mentioned, the explorations made at Pen-y-Gaer (above Llanbedr-y-Cenin) and at Pen-y-Gorddyn by the Nant Conway Society and described by Mr. Harold Hughes in the July number of the *Archæologia Cambrensis*. Much good might be done in the future by friendly co-operation between the Cambrian Archæological Association and the local Antiquarian societies and field clubs. The Association might grant funds for the examination by the spade of promising ancient sites on the understanding that the work shall be scientifically carried out by the local societies under proper supervision. The results could afterwards be described and illustrated in the *Archæologia Cambrensis*, and such reprints as might be required could be supplied to the members of the local societies.

It is gratifying to find that after a long interval the Romano-British occupation of Wales is again attracting the attention of contributors to the *Journal*, as is shown by the valuable papers in the July number on the Roman Remains at Merthyr Tydvil by Mr. F. T. James, and at Holt, near Wrexham, by Mr. A. N. Palmer. Nevertheless, it is greatly to be regretted that it is still necessary to appeal to England for an expert opinion on the antiquities of the Romano-British period. Surely there should be some classical scholar of one of the Welsh Universities who could train himself to occupy the same position as an expert in this period in Wales as Dr. F. Haverfield, F.S.A., or Mr. G. E. Fox, F.S.A., now take in England.

Further discoveries of importance have been made by special explorations, at the expense of the Association at Tre'r Ceiri, Carnarvonshire and Y-Gaer, near Colbren, Glamorganshire, of which reports are laid before the members.

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Election of Officers and New Members.—The Committee propose that the Right Reverend the Lord Bishop of Llandaff and the Right Hon. Lord Harlech be enrolled among the Patrons of the Association; and that Robert Cochrane, Esq., F.S.A., I.S.O., Honorary Secretary of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland, and Colonel Morgan, R.E., be elected Vice-Presidents; also that the thanks of the Association be presented to the Venerable Archdeacon Thomas for his services to the Association as its President during the past year. The retiring members of the Committee are:—

T. M. Franklen, Esq.,
The Rev. John Fisher, B.D.,
The Rev. E. J. Newell, M.A.,

and the Committee recommend their re-election.

They further propose the following members as Local Secretaries for their respective counties:—

The Rev. C. F. Roberts, M.A., Rectory, Llanddulas, for Denbighshire.
R. Jones Morris, Esq., Tycerrig, Talsarnau, for Merionethshire.
J. Bancroft Willans, Esq., Dolforgan, Kerry, for Montgomeryshire.

The following are proposed for membership:—

ENGLISH.	*Proposed by*
Mrs. Gordon, 9, St. German's Blackheath	Mr. Pepyat Evans.
Mr. Price, 43, Pall Mall, S.W.	
Lieut.-Col. G. Tucker Thomas, I.M.S., The Bush, Walton-on-Thames	Mr. Edward Owen.
NORTH WALES.	
Anglesey.	
Miss Hampton Lewis, Henllys, Beaumaris	Mr. J. E. Griffith.
Carnarvonshire.	
Mr. Willoughby Gardner, F.L.S,. F.R.G.S.	Canon Trevor Owen.
Merionethshire.	
Mr. Dodd	Canon Trevor Owen.
Denbighshire.	
Mr. S. H. Harrison, F.R.G.S., F.R.S.A.	Ven. the Archdeacon of Montgomery.
Flintshire.	
Mr. W. I. P. Story, Rhyl	L. I. Roberts, H.M.I.S.
The Marches.	
The Right Hon. Lord Harlech	H.M. Lieutenant of Merionethshire, W. R. M. Wynne, Esq., Peniarth.
The Rev. J. G. Swainson	Canon Trevor Owen.
SOUTH WALES.	
Cardiganshire.	
Davies, Mr. John, Bridge Street, Lampeter	Rev. G. E. Evans.
Ellis, Thomas, Esq., Glascoed, Aberystwyth	Rev. G. E. Evans.
Lewes, Miss Evelyn, Tyglyn-Aeron, Ciliau Aeron	Rev. G. E. Evans.
Phillips, Rev. Thomas, Rectory, Aberporth	Rev. D. D. Evans.
Recs, Rev. R. J., M.A., Rhos, Aberystwyth	Mr. D. Samuel.

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South Wales.	*Proposed by*
Carmarthenshire.	
Collier, Ernest, Esq., M.S.A., Carmarthen	Rev. C. Chidlow.
Davies, A. Llewelyn, Esq., Brynderw, Carmarthen	Mr. W. Spurrell.
Gabriel, J. R., M.A., Technical College, Swindon	Rev. C. Chidlow.
James, Daniel, Esq., Vrondeg, Llandeilo	Mr. J. F. Hughes.
Jones, Arnallt, Esq , M.D., Carmarthen	Rev. C. Chidlow.
Ludford, T. R., Esq., Llanelly	Mr. C. H. Glascodine.
Thomas, Mrs. R. M., Llanddowror	Professor Anwyl.
Thomas, Rev. O. J., Llandyssilio Vicarage	Mr. T. E. Morris.
Williams, Mrs. W. J., 91, Picton Terrace, Carmarthen	Mr. Edmund Jones.
Glamorganshire.	
Llandaff, The Lord Bishop of, The Palace, Llandaff	Rev. C. Chidlow.
Davies, D. Jones, Esq., Rugby Road, Neath	Mr. J. E. Richards.
George, Isaac, Esq., The Grove, Mountain Ash	Mr. H. W. Williams.
Gibbins, F. W., Esq., Garthmor, Neath	Mr. Edmund Jones.
Gordon, Mrs., Nottage Court, Porthcawl	Mr. Pepyat W. Evans.
Jenkins, Mrs., Gellystone, Llandaff	Rev. C. Chidlow.
Jones, Rhys, Esq., Godrecoed, Neath	Mr. J. E. Richards.
Phillips, Rev. T. C., Vicarage. Skewen	Mr. Pepyat W. Evans.
Williams, Arthur J., Esq., Plâs Coed-y-mwstwr, Bridgend	Professor Rhys.
Pembrokeshire.	
Lewis, Rev. J., Lampeter Velfrey Rectory	Rev. C. Chidlow.
Phillips, Rev. John, Uzmaston Rectory	Rev. C. Chidlow.

Tre'r Ceiri.

At the meeting of the Committee of the Cambrian Archæological Association, held at Shrewsbury, on August 14th, 1905, it was proposed by Mr. T. E. Morris, seconded by Mr. A. E. Bowen, and carried, "That Professor Boyd Dawkins be asked if he would kindly consent to the excavations at Tre'r Ceiri being carried out under his direction, with the assistance of Colonel Morgan and Mr. Harold Hughes."

Professor Boyd Dawkins kindly consented to undertake the work. Through the assistance of Mr. D. R. Daniel, of Fourcrosses, eight labourers were obtained and work commenced on June 5th, 1906, and continued till June 16th. Unfortunately, Professor Boyd Dawkins was called to London before the excavations were completed, and Colonel Morgan was unable to be present during the whole fortnight. On the other hand, very valuable assistance was given by Mr. C. E. Breese, who devoted several days to the work. I was present throughout the whole time occupied by the works of excavation. A full and detailed report of the result of the fortnight's work is in course of preparation, and will be laid before the Cambrian Archæological Association.

The following, however, is a brief summary of the work, together with Professor Boyd Dawkins's view as to the position Tre'r Ceiri occupies in relation to the history of Wales.

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In an introductory note to the report, Professor Boyd Dawkins writes:—"It is one of many similar villages, occupying a commanding position for purposes of defence, in the neighbourhood . . . containing the remains of rude stone huts, called by the inhabitants of the district 'cyttiau gwyddelod' . . . the huts of the Goidels. This popular attribution of the Goidels, the conquerors of the original Iberic Welsh, who in their turn had to submit to the mastery of the Brythons, is in my opinion true. They are probably the dwellings of the Welsh Prehistoric Goidels, and have no necessary connection with the Irish Goidels, who were undoubtedly in close touch with this as well as with other districts in Wales in the historic period." . . . "This class of fort is proved, by the remains found in various places, to have been occupied at various periods, ranging from the Bronze Age to the Prehistoric Iron Age, and well into the Historic period. The bronze sickle found in Dun Aengus proves that it was used in the Bronze Age; while bronze pins with ornamentation of the Prehistoric Iron Age indicate that it was occupied at that time, and a bronze ring with cable decoration that it was not without inhabitants in the fifth century after Christ." After referring to the cashel on Inismurray, Professor Boyd Dawkins proceeds:—"This class of fort in England is clearly proved, by the results of the exploration of Worlebury, to belong to the Prehistoric Iron Age. Here the inhabitants belonged to the aboriginal Iberic stock, the ancestors of the Silures of the north side of the Bristol Channel. Equally good evidence is presented by the brooch, found in the excavations of 1903 at Tre'r Ceiri, that it also belongs to the Prehistoric Iron Age. It may, however, have been—and probably was—used in later times by the Goidels of the district, whenever the country was being harried for purposes of defence."

Between June 5th and 16th, thirty-five sites were excavated. The finds include:—

Three portions of a bronze gold-plated beaded ornament (torque or armlet).
A bronze pin, with indications of gold plating.
Fragment of a thin plate of copper or bronze.
A pewter object, bearing in shape a resemblance to the pommel of a sword-hilt.
Remains of a lump of lead.
A blue porcelain bead.
An iron object (the shape of a ladle in outline).
Remains of iron (spear-head?).
Many small fragments of iron.
Iron object, shape of heel-plate (? modern).
Remains of large earthenware vessel, interior finished with coarse gravel (quartz), probably for grinding (Mortarium).
Many fragments of black pottery.
Fragments of red pottery.
Hone stone.

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Pounders and rubbers.
Pebbles (sling-stones and pot-boilers).

With reference to the most important finds, Professor Boyd Dawkins writes:—"The bronze object (beaded) is distinctly of Prehistoric Iron Age, and is probably a torque or armlet as you suggest. The glass or porcelain bead—some of these found at Glastonbury—in the Prehistoric Iron Lake Village. The (pommel?) is not very far removed from one discovered in Prehistoric Iron Age fort at Hod."

The black pottery and the iron ladle-shaped object, he writes, would belong to the same period.

Place of Meeting for 1907.—The Committee recommended that Llangefni, Anglesey, should be chosen as the place of meeting for 1907.

The adoption of the Report was proposed, seconded, and carried unanimously.

FRIDAY, AUGUST 17TH, 1906.

A Public Meeting was held at the Assembly Rooms, at 8.30 p.m. The Chair being taken by the President, Sir John Williams, Bart., he called upon Professor E. Anwyl, of Aberystwyth, to read his paper on "Early Settlers of Carmarthenshire."

Sir John Williams said he felt deeply indebted to Professor Anwyl for the excellent paper they had just heard. It was a most interesting and valuable description of their ancestors, ages ago that they could not count, and of their companions, gentle and ungentle, tame and savage, and of the manner of their lives when Carmarthen Bay was not yet.

Mr. E. Laws said, as he was the oldest cave-digger present, he had to thank their friend for his excellent paper. He thought they must remember the oldest of their cave-diggers in this part of the world, Gilbert Smith, rector of Gumfreyston, who began to dig there before the value of cave-digging was actually recognised. He was a clergyman, and as he dug he was actually afraid of what he was doing. It partially shattered his faith, and still the plucky old fellow went on at it; he dug in fear and trembling, and he (Mr. Laws), was his pupil. In those days Mr. Dawkins was down there a good deal, and what they found had been pretty well explained. He thought wolves very scarce at Hoyle, but they found them in considerable numbers on Caldey. The commonest beast was the horse, and most puzzling, the hippopotamus. They must remember if he got caught in the winter he was done. He lived at the bottom of the river, and could not exist in freezing rivers; and as the rivers here were freezing, he must have come only for a short time. He did come because he (Mr. Laws) had dug him up himself. Palæolithic Man

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was about the scarcest beast. He (Mr. Laws) never found him in Hoyle, and he did not think anybody else had, but they did find slight traces of him on Caldey. As a matter of religion, Neolithic Man put his dead away with what they wanted for daily life, and he seemed to have believed the dead man continued to live in the place where his body was put. The Brass Man had totally different notions, something like our own. He thought there was another world, somehow or other. He burned his dead, and made a ghost of him. He broke his axe and everything he had, and threw it all away, and so made a ghost of everything that they should go with the dead man. He believed there was a totally different idea between the Stone Age Man and the Brass Man. Mr. Laws concluded by a description of the cave near Penally.

Mr. Stepney-Gulston, Chairman of the Local Committee, thanked Professor Anwyl for the very kind remarks he had made with regard to the newly-born Association, the Carmarthenshire Antiquarian Society. They were all beginners, and they were more than pleased and gratified to be taken in hand and encouraged by those who had worked in the direction of archæology for many years. They came forward to give them encouragement and enthusiasm. While regretting they were losing the energetic Secretary, Rev. M. H. Jones, he hoped in his new sphere he would be of the great value he had been to them.

Mr. W. Spurrell then read a paper by Professor Sayce upon "What can be done for Archæology in Wales." The writer referred to the method of excavation in Egypt, and stated only properly qualified persons should be allowed to excavate. In this country it was left to chance and hazard. Two objects should be aimed at: a thoroughly working survey of Wales and border counties, and the training of as many as possible of the younger members of the community in habits of careful and accurate observation, and in methods of modern archæological science. The soil of these islands was full of relics. Excavation by untrained amateurs did more harm than good, and he suggested that members of the Archæological Association should start investigating in a small area round where they lived.

Sir John Williams said the paper was full of suggestions, and made an appeal to the Cambrian Archæological Association to carry out this work. That was the meaning of the paper, and two things were required: men to do the work, and money to help them to do it. That was the thing they were apt to forget. He asked what was being done in regard to Pembrokeshire?

Mr. E. Laws—The Archæological Survey is not going to stop; it is carried on by one man.

Sir John Williams said he was sorry and he was glad, but he thought it was stopped because he had never been asked for his promised subscription.

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Mr. E. Laws—I gave up surveying because I felt I was getting so old, and was afraid I could not carry it on. My friend, Dr. Henry Owen, has taken it up, and is carrying it on at his own cost, and is going to finish it at his own cost.

Professor Anwyl proposed a vote of thanks to the Chairman and Local Committee, remarking that they owed a deep debt of gratitude to them for organising these meetings so well.

Mr. E. Laws seconded. He thought it had never struck many of them, when they came there and found carriages ready, and luncheons and everything, what a lot of trouble it had given to somebody. He had gone through the mill himself, and knew, but some of them had no conception of what a bother it was. When done, there was apparently no difficulty about it, but he could assure them it was a troublesome thing. Thanks were due to the Chairman and Committee who had carried out the programme so successfully.

The motion was heartily carried.

Mr. Stepney-Gulston, in responding, said the Secretaries, Rev. M. H. Jones and Mr. Spurrell, and the Committee connected with him, had worked like horses, and the difficulties which had been referred to had been a matter of pleasure to them. Everyone had been proud to have an opportunity of putting his shoulder to the wheel as representing their new-born Society, and also as representing the town and county. It had been a great pleasure to them to welcome the Cambrian Archæological Association there.

Mr. Meuric Lloyd proposed a vote of thanks to all the proprietors of grounds and curios, who had allowed them such ready access upon their various expeditions to view them. They had been rather an invasion, he fancied. Their numbers had been far greater than personally he had seen on these occasions, and he thought perhaps they might have done a certain amount of damage. Possibly it might be some satisfaction to those who had allowed them to go to think they had afforded the members a good deal of pleasure.

Mr. T. E. Morris seconded the vote of thanks, which was carried.

Canon Rupert Morris proposed a vote of thanks to the Local Secretaries, who had done such excellent work in preparing for those meetings. He had had some experience in managing and preparing for the annual meeting thirty-one years ago, when he was one of the Local Secretaries with Captain Philipps for Carmarthen; and he knew what a long time they took in going over every part of the ground, and in writing letters and making the various arrangements, especially about the carriages. The work had been done very well indeed by Mr. Jones and Mr. Walter Spurrell. Mr. Jones had the true archæological spirit, and in Mr. Spurrell they had the son of Mr. Spurrell, the former publisher of the *Haul*, who had written an

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excellent history of Carmarthen. He had, with his colleague, conducted the work extremely well, with considerable firmness, but with proper sympathy and tact throughout. With respect to the Coygan Cave, he (Canon Morris) explored some of it with Dr. Hearder, the late Superintendent of the Asylum, and they found in addition to what had been mentioned, the woolly mammoth. He had some large teeth at home, deer bones, etc. They lost themselves in the cave, and there was some difficulty in getting out of it. The next time they took some thread to enable them to find their way.

Canon Trevor Owen seconded, observing he knew how very important it was to have good local secretaries, because a great deal depends upon them whether the meeting was a success or not.

The motion having been carried with applause, Mr. W. Spurrell responded, stating it really had meant a great deal of work, but considering the number of members this time he must say on the whole they behaved very well indeed. They had a heavy programme, and it had been a great gratification to him that it had not been found necessary to leave out any part except the very last item that day.

The proceedings then terminated.

Note.—In the compilation of this report we have largely made use of the reports of the meetings given in *The Welshman.*

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Archaeologia Cambrensis.

SIXTH SERIES.—VOL. VII, PART II.

APRIL, 1907.

REPORT ON THE EXCAVATIONS AT COELBREN.

By Colonel W. LL. MORGAN, R.E.

At the meeting of the Cambrian Archæological Association, held at Shrewsbury in the autumn of 1904, I was asked to conduct some excavations at the camp at Coelbren, to ascertain, if possible, the approximate date of its construction.

This camp is a conspicuous object from the Swansea and Brecon line, about half a mile to the right, immediately after leaving Coelbren Station. It was well known to Mr. Glascodine and myself, and on our frequent walks on the Sarn Helen we had traversed that road throughout its whole length. Some doubtful places we had visited three or four times, thereby rectifying several errors on the Ordnance Survey map of the road.

The history of the Sarn Helen is so inseparably connected with that of its camp, that I have commenced with a description of the former.

The road known as Sarn Helen is undoubtedly of Roman construction. It connected the Nidum of the twelfth Iter Antoninus (which is supposed to be Neath) with Bannuum, afterwards known as Caervan, and now as the Gaer, near Brecon, on its course to Chester; but whether this portion was made on the line of an earlier

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British trackway is more than doubtful. It certainly does not run as straight as Roman roads in general, and it is not an unreasonable idea that in pre-Roman times an original British track from the centre of Britain to the sea coast might have taken this line; but though older authorities incline to this theory, in view of the nature of the country I consider it to have been entirely the work of the Romans. It was probably much used up to Norman times; then, for several centuries it fell into disuse, for the reason that there was little intercourse between the Normans of Glamorgan and those of Breconshire: the latter being connected with their kinsmen in Gower, and their line of communication came down the opposite side of the Swansea valley by Llanguicke Church. In later times, and up to the present day, different stretches of the road have been in use to connect the several farms, but very little of it has become a main road.

The site of the Roman station of Nidum is doubtful. From the similarity of names, it has been taken for granted that it must be Neath, which probably, then as now, was at the head of the tidal water of the river. Three Roman roads seem to converge on this site, but they cannot be traced within two miles of the present town of Neath, nor have any Roman remains been found within this area.

Though there are no traces of the road now existing, probably (as mentioned by Jones) after leaving Neath it was carried across the marsh, and then kept to the high ground to the back of Ynisgeryn, where it ascended the hill. The line as given on the Ordnance Map is conjectural until it reaches Llettyrafel, where the old road can be seen for a short distance, where it is again lost in a ploughed field. It then runs on the line of the present road to the Downs, and though much altered in modern times, it still retains the unmistakable appearance of Roman origin. The pitched paving can be at once distinguished on ascending the Downs; though in many places it is covered with accumulations

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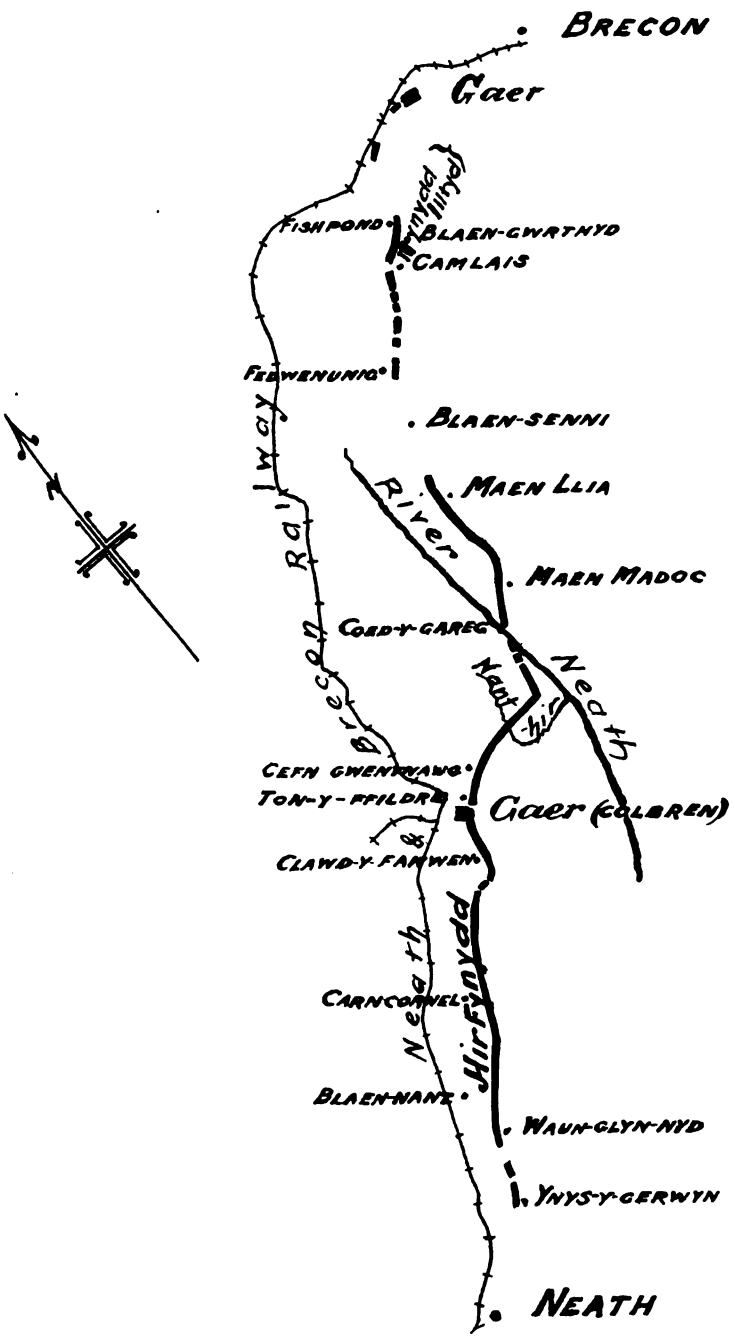

Fig. 1.—Map showing position of Camp at Coelbren.

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of soil, it shows for many miles at intervals of a few yards.

In places the curbs are still to be found. The roadway is generally slightly raised above the ordinary ground level, and in one spot there is a cutting in the hill. The roadway then follows the crest of the hill (the Hirfynydd), and leaves Waunglynnyd on the right. The road then makes a bend to the right, after which it runs straight over the Downs, until opposite to Blaennant, where it takes up the line of the stone wall. Half a mile further the paving is in remarkable preservation, though the general character has been destroyed by scratching the ground for the stones. In many places the wall is actually built on the line of the road.

Carn Cornal[1] (a fairly large carn) stands half a mile to the left. The road runs alongside the wall (in some places well defined, in others it is obliterated) before it makes a sharp turn to the right, near the plantation of fir trees.

The wall is now thirty yards to the right of the road, which runs along a cutting, which I think is part of the original scheme. It again turns to the right, round the shoulder of the hill, but whether it be rejoined by the wall is uncertain, as no decisive trace can be seen until another turn to the left at Clawdd y Fanwen, where both foundation and pitching are once more apparent. Its course is now broken up by old coal levels, through here and there the line can yet be traced, till it descends the hill opposite to Tynyrheol. The pitching there is in good preservation, and the curbs are in sight in various places. The line then runs opposite the old tramway until the railway crossing at Tafarnybenwen Common, where it has been covered by the present road, which deviates again at Llwynpica, from whence the pitching of the old road can be traced to the southern entrance of the camp, commonly

[1] The Roman stone removed to the Gnoll, Neath, stood somewhere near here. It is mentioned in Gough's *Camden*, p. 473, vol. ii; also in *Arch. Camb.*, 3rd Ser., vol. xi, p. 59, and 5th Ser., vol. xi, p. 338.

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called the Gaer, from whence it emerges on the eastern side, and is traceable down to the river, where it is lost for about twenty yards, beyond which it is again visible near the hedge. It crosses an old lane, and can be followed across a field. Further on, a wall has been built on the line of the road, which has obliterated all trace along several fields. We find it again in the open ground beyond, the pavement and curb both in good condition. Ton-y-ffildre, or as it is locally called, Ton-y-ynwl-y-dref (the town of the soldiers), or the "flat-land at the edge of the town," is to the left of the road, which here is 21 ft. between the earthworks, and 14 ft. between the curbs.

The line across the morass is very distinct, and traces of pavement appear wherever the water has washed away the accumulation of soil. It is visible in the hollow where it passes Cefngwenynawg, and alongside the hedge, though there it has been mended and made up with modern materials. Crossing a small brook (Nanthir), it can be followed over the mountain in a well-defined line, until crossing another brook it descends the hill to Gwaunymaerdy, to avoid a steep ravine which intersects the direct line. It now turns sharp to the left, through a well-marked cutting (which, like the former one, I think is original). On the side of the hill, the roadway in many places has been scooped away by the rain, leaving portions of the pavement 3 ft. or 4 ft. up the side of the bank. It descends again over a small moor, and remains well-defined until opposite to Cefnucheldref. Here, according to the Ordnance Map, it turned to the left, round the hill, and after crossing the River Nedd re-ascended the hill to the spot where there are undoubted traces of the road, but this is incorrect.

From Cefnucheldref the line of the road ran straight on into the adjoining field. The traces near the hedge may be illusory, but in the further field at the head of the ravine the line is distinctly marked as far as the hedge. After this, all trace of the road itself is ob-

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literated, but the heaps of stones in the fields correspond exactly to similar ones across the river. For the length of three fields the hedge probably stands on the site of the road, which must have passed the River Nedd somewhere about the present ford. On the other side of the river we again find distinct signs of the road in the fields above Coedygarig. Here the stones of the pavement were taken up within the last sixty years, and still stand in heaps along the line of the road. Over the wall there is one of the most perfect pieces of pitching on the whole length of the road, and it is incomprehensible how it could have been overlooked by the Ordnance Surveyor. The road then falls into a modern trackway to the Maen Madoc.[1]

Another stone has been found near to the same site on the mountain to the left. It has been called the Penymynydd Stone. It is now at Ty-mawr, Aberdare. It was visited by the Cambrian Archæological Association in 1900. The road descends the hill, and is plainly discernible until obliterated by the modern turnpike road to Brecon. Beyond the cross-roads, in 1896, the pitching could be recognised in many places at the side of the road, but in 1902 these traces were by no means so evident.

Leaving the Maen Llia to the right, the old road continues until it reaches the steep scarp of the Llethr, overlooking the Senni valley. From this point to Fedwennig, two miles distant, its course is purely a matter of conjecture. On the side of the hill some remains of an old road are seen alongside the present road, which possibly may indicate the site of the Roman road, but that, too, is lost in the cultivated ground below. The idea of some modern writers that it went down the Senni valley to Rhydybren is untenable. The more likely route is, as suggested by Jones, that it passed above Blaen Senni, and there met the lane from

[1] *Archæologia*, iv, Plate 1; Gough's *Camden*, 11, Plate 14; *Westwood*, p. 64; *Arch. Camb.*, 4th Ser., vol. v, p. 332.

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Fedwen at the turning to Gelliauisaf, crossing the dingle of the Cwmddu at the easiest point. It is not unlikely that from this point to Fedwen the lane runs on the line of the old road, though there are no traces left of it.

A little above Fedwen, we come on the road, which is lost in a gorse plantation, but reappears in a field on the further side, until lost in another large plantation, and again to be found in a field beyond. It is now lost for some distance, to be seen further on, where it runs the whole length of the field next the cross-roads. Beyond the cross-road, it is traceable in another field for some little distance, but is lost until it ascends the hill above the plantation. In the low ground beyond all trace again is lost, and where it crossed the Llestyr is uncertain. In the field across the brook a broad line of scattered stones mark the Roman paving turned up by the plough year after year. The crossing of a brook and the line up the hill to the common is plainly discernible, but it is lost on the other side, and the crossing the Camlais is uncertain. It ascended the Mynydd Iltyd on the same line as the modern trackway, which has obliterated the old road, except for some detached pieces of pavement on the ascending slope. Where it leaves the common (with Blaengwrthyd on the right), the road and pavement are again visible (this length is marked on the Ordnance Map as "Roman Road"). It is seen in the field after passing the gate and skirting the hedge in the next one. It is then lost amid the ruins of a farmhouse, to reappear on the other side above the fishpond, when it is finally lost. The course from hence to The Gaer is only theoretical; when lost, the line was pointing in the direction of Penpont Ford (which is the best ford on the Usk for many miles), and local tradition has always asserted that it went through the park at Penpont, and joined the Julia Maritima at the foot of the hill.

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The Gaer at Coelbren.

The camp is situated on the crest of a rounded hill, 730 ft. above the sea-level. There is a fall of 30 ft. to 40 ft. in every direction, from the ramparts to the general level of the country around.

The hill is of a stiff boulder-clay, overlaying the outcrop of the coal measures, and is now covered with short hill-grass, with patches of heather. The sides of the camp are almost an exact square of 160 yards, with the usual rounded angles. The highest point is about 60 ft. inward from the western entrance, to which is a fall of 1 ft., of 5 ft. to the north-west angle, 7 ft. to the south-west, 10 ft. to 15 ft. to the western side. The rampart all round the enclosure has been partially levelled. It now has the appearance of a broad platform, 30 ft. to 40 ft. across, in some places having a slight fall to the interior at the inner edge, but generally it is levelled off to meet the rise of the ground.

At some period the whole interior appears to have been ploughed up. The marks of the plough are more evident on the platform than elsewhere. A short distance to the north and under the hill is a large bog —Gors Llwyn—difficult to cross at any season, but impassable in winter. To the west the country is open, to the south runs the Camlais brook, and to the east the Nantybryn, though neither could now be considered as a military defence. Altogether, it was a well-chosen, easily-defensible site. With a moderate surface drainage it could at any time be made dry and habitable. On the west are two ditches, 4 ft. to 6 ft. below the present ramparts, the outer ditch being rather lower than the inner one (Fig. 2). On the north front the inner ditch is not so apparent, but the outer one is well marked. On the north-east front both ditches have almost disappeared, though the rampart is well marked. On the south-west the ditches have entirely disappeared, and the rampart is spoiled by a modern hedge ; the same to the south, though here and there the ditch can be traced.

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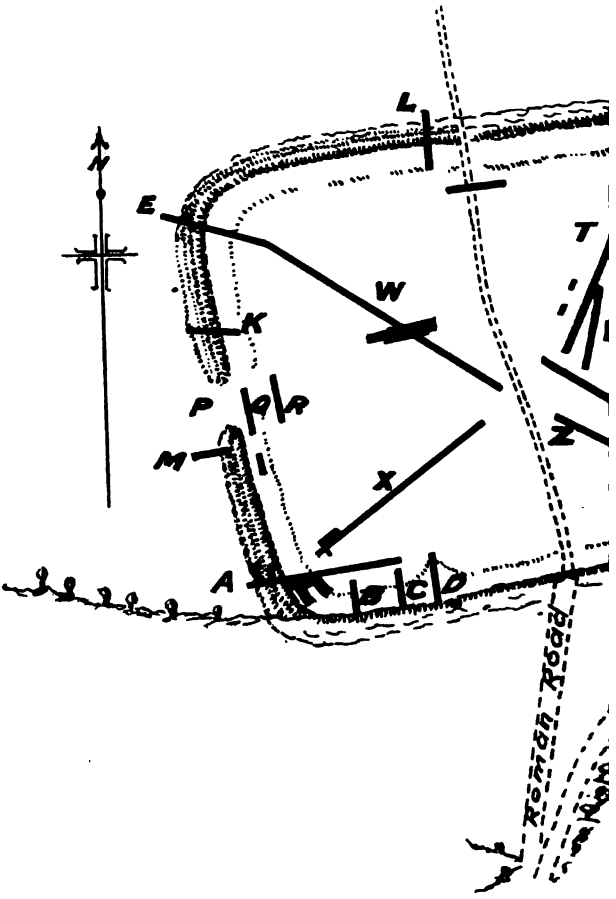

FIG. 2. PLAN OF CA

Scale

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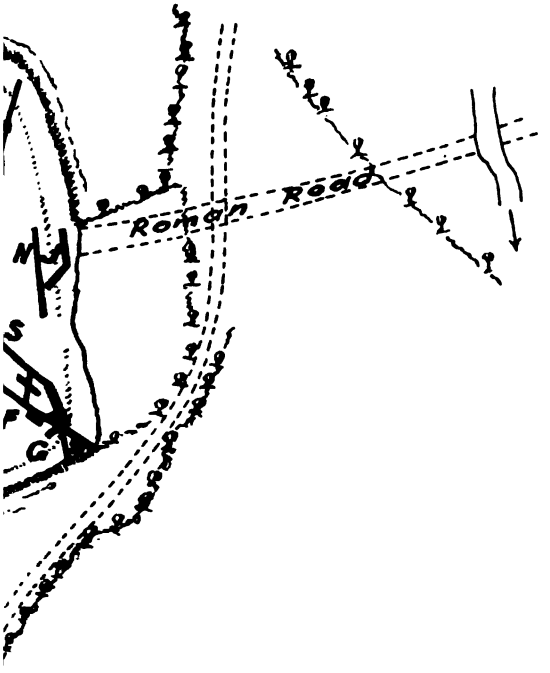

AT COELBREN.

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feet

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The entrance on the west front is represented by a causeway across the ditch. That to the north may have been where a modern footpath has made a breach in the rampart, but on the south and east, though the roads are clearly to be traced up to the *enceinte*, all trace of the entrances have been destroyed. In the interior are two heaps of stones, evidently surface stones, dislodged by the plough and collected together. There are also three large boulders, doubtless placed in position by the hand of man, though for what purpose is yet to be seen. The adjoining farm is called Tonycastell, and the next Tonyffildre. This might mean "Town of the Soldiers," but the local people call it "Ton-y-ynwl-y-dref," or the "flatland at the edge of the town." There is a local tradition of a town about here in former times, but they consider that it is to be found under the Gors Llwyn, not at the camp. The remains of ancient scratchings for iron are to be seen in the immediate neighbourhood, some in close proximity to the camp.

Some two years ago, about twenty large buttons with holes in them were said to have been found. With that exception, no finds have been made in the interior of the camp. I could find no trace of these so-called buttons, and I consider that this find is identical with the discovery of bronze harness in 1903 (*Arch. Camb.*, Sixth Ser., vol. v, p. 127), and that they were not found in this camp. The bronze celts now in the possession of Mr. Price (described in *Arch. Camb.*, Sixth Ser., vol. i, p. 163) were found near here (Penwyllt), and a bronze celt was found on the adjoining hill to the south, about half a mile from the Roman road. A Roman coin was also found near the camp, just off the road, but I could not trace it.

The Excavations.

The Ramparts.—Sections were made across the ramparts in several places, to ascertain, if possible, its original form and relation to the ditch. Some of these

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Fig. 3.—Camp at Coelbren: Section at South-west Angle A.

(the earlier) were excavated under such adverse circumstances, caused by the bad weather, that the results might perhaps have been considered hardly commensurate with the labour; but the structure proved to be of such a unique character as to amply justify the time and money expended. In some places the base of the rampart rested on a layer of logs, laid at right angles to the length. These were on the undisturbed boulder clay, about 3 ins. to 6 ins. below the present surface; in other places on large boards of oak, or rough stones; whilst in some parts little more than a layer of decomposed brushwood could be detected above the clay. The pavement was of such interest that it was thoroughly and carefully investigated (Fig. 3). Section A is made at the south-west angle, where the log pavement was first detected. The details of this section are in a great measure applicable to those at the other angles. The logs were 17 ft. long, 8 ins. to 9 ins. in diameter, at right angles to the length of the rampart, with a slight fall to the outer side. The butts were on the inner side, and were accurately laid. Towards the exterior the line varied by some inches, according to the length of the logs. The marks of the axe were plainly to be seen in the butts. In some cases the larger logs had been split in two. The bark had not been removed. The wood was in various stages of decomposition. Some logs had become a hard "bog oak,"

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others were almost charcoal, and others again had decayed into a soft, spongy condition, easily squeezed in the hand, and soon crumbling away; but when first exposed they had retained their form better than any others.

Above these logs was a layer 1 ft. thick of black soil, which certainly contained much decomposed vegetable matter; then another layer of logs, smaller than those of the lower stratum, seldom exceeding 6 ins. in diameter. These were laid irregularly, never close together; in some cases 1 ft. apart. They had more the appearance of branches than hewn logs, and the layer was more in evidence towards the inner side of the rampart. In every section it was laid at the same height — 1 ft. 2 ins. above the lower logs. This upper layer was mainly composed of birch, which had decomposed into a black band of vegetable matter. A small number of branches alone remained intact, though here and there the bark of the silver birch was easily discernible.

The natural clay contains a good deal of iron in solution, which, acting on the tannin in the oak, tended to preserve it; but it would not affect the birch, which fell into a black mass.[1]

Above this came various layers of yellow clay, with intervening bands of vegetable matter, together about 3 ins. in thickness, showing that this part of the rampart had been constructed of turves and branches of trees. Longitudinal sections showed these layers almost parallel to each other, but transversely they had been squeezed by the superincumbent weight of the ramparts into various curves of contortion. Over the inner edge of the logs, and for 3 ft. towards the centre of the rampart, these bands had almost amalgamated into one continuous black mass, from the centre to the

[1] The further action of the iron on the vegetable matter, throughout the ramparts and elsewhere, formed a sort of black ink, which had stained the adjoining clay to such an extent that it gave a first impression of a far larger quantity of vegetable matter than was actually there.

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outer edge. These bands decreased until they were scarcely traceable. This decrease was particularly marked at the top, excepting in one spot, there they could be traced to the top of the outer edge, giving the impression that the scarp face of the rampart was originally composed entirely of white clay. At the bottom of the outer edge, and 6 ft. to 8 ft. outwards, these layers were invariably found extending over the berm.

It cannot be said with certainty whether the scarp of the rampart extended beyond the logs, or whether the superincumbent bands had been squeezed outwards by the weight of the rampart. The latter would be the more reasonable conclusion, as the decaying brushwood would in course of time readily allow water to soak into the centre of the rampart, and the clay would have been kept in a plastic condition. Beyond the inner edge this black mass extended some 9 ft. towards the interior area, gradually tailing off to nothing. Here and at other sections there was some evidence of a distinct vertical face over the interior ends of the logs, but it was not enough to be conclusive.

The log footing now lies about 3 ins. to 6 ins. below the present surface, which represents a fairly level platform, 35 ft. wide, extending over both edges of the footings. At the centre of the rampart there is only 4 ins. of arable soil over the yellow clay, but over both inner and outer edge the depth increases to 18 ins., which gives the peculiar rounded contour apparent in all the sections. The greater part of this increased depth of soil consisted of mixed clay and vegetable matter, evidently the result of the levelling of the rampart. It extended towards the interior 1 ft. over and beyond the black mass before noticed; like that, it tailed off to nothing, while towards the exterior it extended over the whole width of the berm, and nearly filled up the inner or main ditch. The berm was 16 ft. in width to the edge of the ditch, which was 18 ins. below the level of the footings.

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Longitudinal sections, about 10 ft. long, were dug at both the inner and outer edge of the logs, to test their length and their direction at the curve of the angle of the camp. They were found to be laid at right angles to the tangent of the curve. The butt-ends were always in juxtaposition on the inner edge, and were accurately lined, the top-ends spreading out in the form of a fan. The intervening spaces were apparently not regularly filled in, though a few stones were found here and there.

Section B, Fig. 4, at the other end of this curve gave a perfect exposition of the logs, which here were 17 ft. long and 9 ins. to 12 ins. thick. The 3 ft. band of black soil over the inner edge was very apparent, and the vertical face was more in evidence here than in any other spot. The bands on the interior edge of the rampart were much contorted, and gradually diminished towards the exterior. The rounded aspect of the section was particularly marked.

Section C.—The logs were laid in two rows of equal lengths, the inner row at right angles to the southern face, the outer row following the curve of the angle of the camp.

Section D.—The logs here were again in one length, set at right angles to the course of the rampart, and were both longer and broader than those elsewhere, the largest 1 ft. 3 ins. across (though from the afterwork in other sections it is probable that this was rather a board than a log; at the time this was not noticed). There was nothing remarkable in this section, which was purposely made, where there was a sensible bulge on the inner face of the rampart, that gave the impression that some foundation might be found. However, there was nothing more than an extra amount of soil, deposited there at the time of the levelling of the rampart.

The Section E, Fig. 5, on the north-west angle differed slightly A from on the south-west. The logs were

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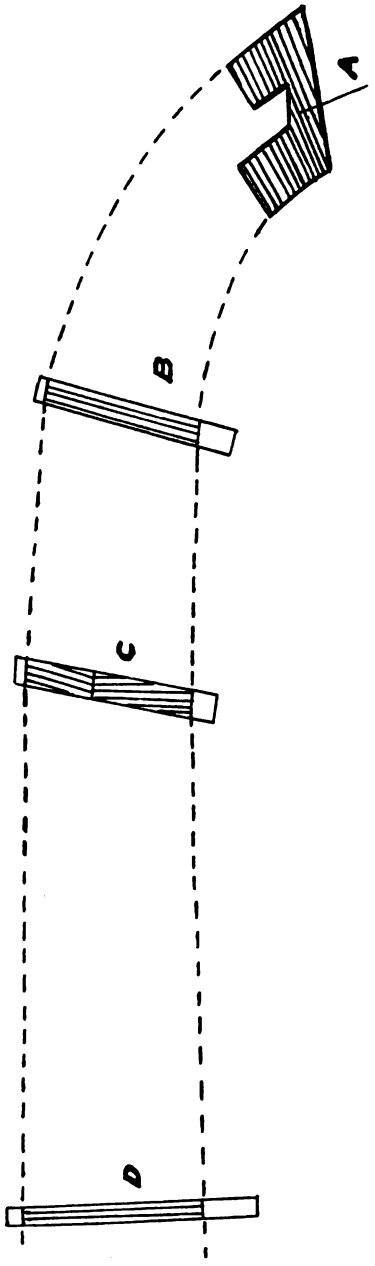

Fig. 4.—Camp at Coelbren : South Face and South-west Angle.

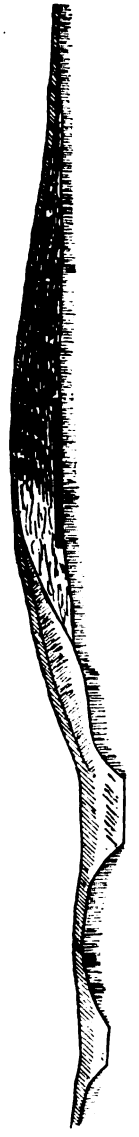

Fig. 5.—Camp at Coelbren : Section at North-west Angle E.

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shorter, the greater number not more than 11 ft. 11 ins., and were so laid that in some cases the outer thrust of the weight of the rampart was taken by roughly-squared oak piles, 1 ft. across (Fig. 6). Where one log was too short for the position, it was wedged up to the pile by a partly-dressed stone. In another spot, a log some 2 ft. longer than the others projected over the berm, and terminated with a pile. Another pile stood some distance outside, but there was no indication of what it had supported. The weather was bad, and the trenches here so waterlogged that it was impossible to proceed. This angle would be an interesting spot for further excavations. This section in general resembled the others, but that the bands had been less contorted,

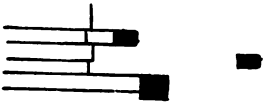

Fig. 6.—Camp at Coelbren : Logs at North-east Angle.

and towards the inner side the black mass of vegetable matter was wider, and the colour more intense. This mass extended 20 ft. beyond the end of the logs, and the signs of decomposed wood were more apparent here than elsewhere; whereas, in the other sections, there was room for doubt whether the decomposed mass now behind the ramparts might not be the accumulations of after-years. In this spot there could be no mistake that it was a regularly-laid filling (probably turf and branches of trees); and it points to the conclusion that the rampart, not here only but elsewhere, extended beyond the footing of logs. At the north angle the section was dug merely to ascertain the continuance of the foundation of logs. When they were duly found in the expected place, the section was not continued further.

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Section F, S.-E. angle, Fig. 7.—The logs were here laid in two lengths, with an intervening space between them. The inner row was not more than 5 ft. long, a 4-ft. interval, and the outer row 9 ft. long. They were

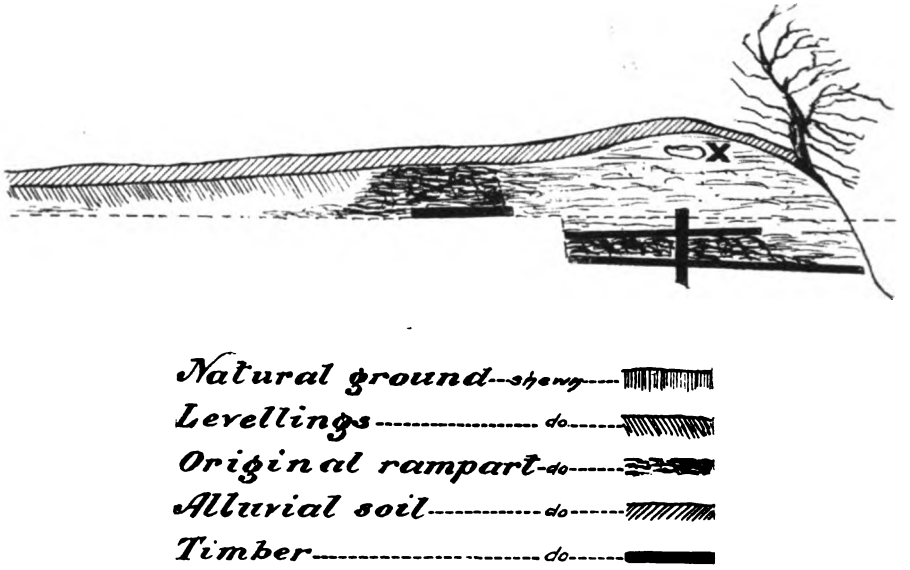

Fig. 7.—Camp at Coelbren : Section at South-east Angle F. Scale, 10 ft. = 1 in.

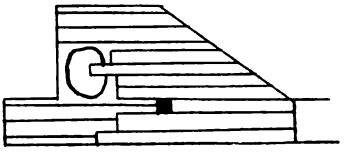

Fig. 8.—Camp at Coelbren : Logs at South-east Angle.

12 ins. to 15 ins. wide, and 3 ins. thick ; in fact, rather boards than logs. Both extremities of the logs composing the inner row were regularly lined, as also those on the inner edge of the outer row ; but the outer edge was irregular. One board rested against a pile 9 ins. across, the others projecting beyond it from 1 ft. to

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3 ft. (Fig. 8). Here the rampart was constructed with a second layer of logs, separated from the upper by an intervening space of 1 ins. to 4 ins. of very black soil, in which the remains of heather was still discernible, The smell of accumulated marsh gas was here most

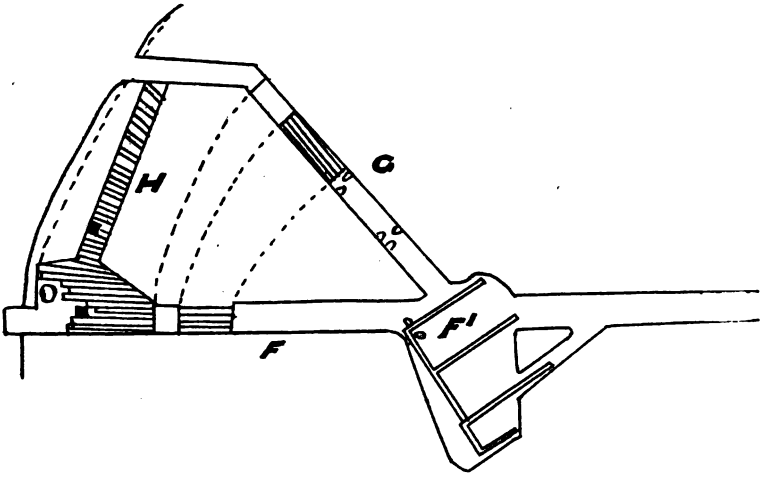

Fig. 9.—Camp at Coelbren : South-east Angle.
Scale, 20 ft. = 1 in.

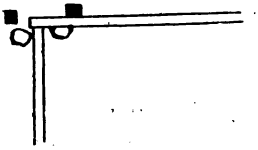

Fig. 10.—Camp at Coelbren : Logs at F.
Scale, 10 ft. = 1 in.

offensive. The inner edges of both outer layers were in line, but the outer edge of the lower projected some 6 ft. beyond the upper layer. The outer edge just projected over the base of an existing hedge. It is possible that the boards may have been shortened when that was made. There was no visible sign of the ditches;

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doubtless they had been filled in and the ground levelled.

Fig. 9.—Some 19 ft. behind these logs was found, 3 ft. below the surface, a transverse log F, 9 ft. long, 6 ins. across, and well squared, laid at right angles to the diagonal of the camp. It was kept in position at its northern end by a large stone, 12 in. by 8 in., and by a small pile on the outside (Fig. 10). Its end was secured to the next log, 6 ft. inwards, by a cross-transverse, which was further secured by a stone, 7 ins. across, and a small pile. As these transverse logs appeared to extend inwards for some distance, the section was enlarged, to ascertain their number and position, as it was possible that they might be the foundation of a ramp leading to the angle of the camp. A third log was found 6 ft. behind the last, and a fourth 4 ft. distant from the third. Their outer ends were connected by cross-pieces, but they did not represent any definite line, the lengths of the logs being unequal. The appearance favoured the foundations of a house rather than a ramp. See account of "Interior."

In order to test the further direction of these transverse logs, a trench (Section G) was cut towards the outer bank, but they did not appear again (Fig. 9). At 12 ft. some stones were found, which possibly might have formed a step, and at 28 ft., stones, which had some appearance of a wall, but further digging did not confirm this theory. They were found 2 ft. above the wooden foundation. Here, as on the other side, the logs were in two lengths, with a space between. On the inner row the logs were 6 ft. long, a space of 4 ft., and the outer row about 8 ft.; the exact dimensions uncertain, owing to an underground drain. They were decidedly more boards than logs. The usual upper layer, in the same place, was here very pronounced, and composed of really fine logs. Within a short distance of the outer layer, and 1 ft. above them, a wall was found, which curved in the direction of the curve of the angle of the camp, which was eagerly followed up,

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but it proved to be a modern conduit from a spring to a well in the hedge outside.

A trench, H, was then dug along the base of the Sector formed by Sections F and G, to ascertain how the log foundations were carried round the curve. Ten ft. from the pile X was another, projecting upwards 1 in. to 3 ins. All the intervening space was close-boarded with wide boards. One, 1 ft. 3 ins. across, had had a large piece cut out of one side by a saw, probably, needed for some other purpose, which shows that any odd pieces—provided they were large enough—were used for this pavement. The outer edge of these boards was irregular; the first three being too short, had the length made out by pieces about 1 ft. long, jammed against a stone 2 ft. 4 ins. by 1 ft. 2 ins. by 1 ft. 3 ins. thick. Further on, the boards overlapped the stone by many inches. At the pile Y they projected 3 ft.; taking the line of piles as a datum, the boards might be considered to overlap at last 3 ft.

Beyond the pile the character of the paving changed: the boards lay further apart, and logs reappeared in some places 1 ft apart. The lower layer throughout was formed of wide boards, placed close together. It is evident that the first—or lower—layer had been found an insufficient foundation, and that a second layer had been laid above, to secure a better result.

However faulty the method of construction, the ultimate result was good; as, though the angle was the weakest point of the whole front—and doubtless the spring of water was as much hindrance to the Romans as it was to us—yet the foundation has not shifted in the slightest degree. No contortions of the layers of peat and clay are here seen in the rampart. In point of fact, when cleaning the soil in order to extract one of the boards, a space of 2 ft. by 3 ft. was pared away, in alternate horizontal layers of black soil, grey soil, and perfectly white clay.

As the wooden pavement had been proved at all the angles, and along a considerable stretch of the southern

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front, there is little doubt than on that front it continued the whole way; but on Section I on the northern front, where the outer edge of the log pavement was expected to be touched, there were small pieces of wood 1 ft. 6 ins. by 9 ins. in diameter. Beyond these there was no further trace of wood. The log pavement was absent; in its place was a layer of black vegetable matter overlaying the natural clay. The bands in the rampart were fewer in number, and in parts the clay was perfectly clean. The black mass in the rear of the rampart was, however, wider here than elsewhere.

Section J was likewise bare of interest. It was cut transversely across the road, and continued longitudinally along the rampart, to test the road at the entrance; and to ascertain if any wall or foundation showed the division between the road and the rampart, the excavation was carried 2 ft. down in the alluvial soil. At the end of the road, yellow clay of the rampart with the intervening bands appeared.

Finding no trace of either wall or of logs, the trench was now cut diagonally across. After cutting 6 ft., the depth of alluvial soil had diminished to 10 ins; the original rampart increased to 1 ft. 9 ins., but the black bands had amalgamated into a mass. After 15 ft. this mass gave place to the mixed soil, the produce of the rampart. It was conclusive that on this side there was no log pavement. The base of the rampart may have rested on stones, as was found to be the case on the western side.

Section K was made across the next front to test the ditches, and was carried into the rampart. The soil was hard clay and gravel—a good foundation for any weight. There was no trace of log paving, and the cutting was not carried through; but by a hole dug in the rampart on the opposite side, it was ascertained that the base rested on a layer of stones, about 9 ins. across, set close together.

This concluded the investigation of the ramparts; and the conclusion deduced therefrom is, that the log

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pavement was laid to enable the rampart to stand on the natural soil without slipping. Where the foundation was most treacherous, wider boards, and even a double layer, had to be used, but that no connection could be traced between the log pavement and any wooden superstructure which might have been erected on the top of the rampart.

That the log pavement designed to withstand the outward thrust of an excess of weight on the rampart is found under the four angles, and is generally absent from the sides, would lead to the conclusion that engines for missiles were placed only on the angles, as they alone would have necessitated this unusual foundation. That on the other three sides a layer of stones, or a thick layer of brushwood, was found sufficient base to secure the rampart from slipping, and that the log pavement was laid along the southern front, on account of a defective foundation, or of springs on the treacherous clay.

The Ditches.

Section A, south-west angle.—The width of the berm was 16 ft; the edge of the ditch 1 ft. 6 ins. below the level of the log footing. The ditch was 9 ft. wide at the top. The sides having been cut in the stiff yellow clay, were well preserved. The ditch itself was filled up with black decayed vegetable matter. At the depth of 2 ft. a piece of common red Roman pottery was found. At 6 ft. down the character of the filling changed to a mixture of silt, gravel, and decayed vegetable matter. Around this were found a large number of oak stakes, 9 ins. to 12 ins. long, pointed at one end (possibly charred), with a curious notch below the pointing, giving them the appearance of modern tent-pegs. They were lying flat, and not *in situ*. Also some pieces of cut oak, 6 ins. long by 4 ins. wide. It may be conjectured that they were portions of obstacles for the defence of the ditch (Fig. 11 on next page).

At the depth of 6 ft. 6 ins. was found a leg bone of

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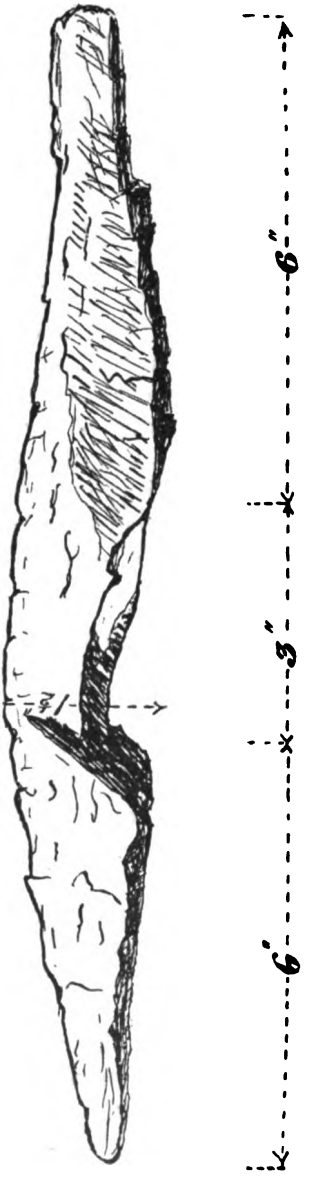

Fig. 11.—Camp at Coelbren : Oak Spikes found in Ditch.
Scale, ½ linear.

an animal, either cow or deer, and a rib and a vertebral bone of some young animal. The ditch was further

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opened out, but further investigation was frustrated by the rain. The sides of the ditch fell in, the clay became unworkable, and it was impossible to decide where the ground had been previously worked. The section of the ditch was certainly triangular, and when the digging was abandoned, at a depth of 6 ft. 6 ins., the apex was apparently about 3 ft. below.

A bank of natural stiff yellow clay, 7ft. to 8 ft. wide, divided the inner from the outer ditch, which was more distinctly marked on the surface than the inner ditch. It proved to be about 7 ft. wide, triangular in section, and seemed not more than 6 ft. deep. It was difficult to distinguish between the filling and the undisturbed ground, as after the first foot of peaty ground had been dug, there came a mass of silted clay, which under the constant rain became perfectly unworkable. Nearly at the bottom of this outer ditch was found an oak stake, 3 ft. long by 9 ins. across. It was lying flat in the ditch, and was much decayed. In the hope of finding more, the length of the ditch was dug for 15 ft., but no more were forthcoming. This also had to be abandoned on account of the wet.

A Section (M) of the *glacis* was made rather higher up, to ascertain where the soil from the ditch had been deposited. It was found that a quantity about equal to the size of the outer ditch had been placed on the crest of the *glacis*, varying in depth from 9 ins. to 12 ins., tapering off to nothing after a length of 30 ft. It was clean clay, and the original surface of the turf beneath could still be discerned.

A Section (K) of the ditches of the west front was made, rather to the north of the entrance. They were more distinctly marked than elsewhere; the section differed slightly from those on the other side. The inner ditch was 11 ft. wide at the top, and triangular in section. Beneath 5 ft, of alluvial soil there was 2 ft. 6 ins. of silted clay; then it became impossible to determine whether the disturbed ground went down further. Two oak pegs, similar to those before described,

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were found immediately at the bottom of the black soil. The natural bank between the ditches was about 15 ft. wide, of yellow clay mixed with gravel. The outer ditch was 8 ft. across at the top. The level of the present ditch is 1 ft. below the surface of the ground, and the filling of black matter 4 ft. Below that the fine silt was met with: apparently, the ditch was not much deeper.

The natural soil under the rampart was a hard gravel, mixed with clay; yet, judging from the result of the digging in the ditches, some few feet below the stratum, there would be a vein of finely-silted clay, saturated with water, almost in a running condition.

At Section E on the south-west angle the ditches are fairly well marked on the surface, but below they are very distinct. They are here filled up with intensely black soil, and the yellow clay of the natural soil, as underneath the rampart, which forms the bank between the two ditches, is very light coloured. The ditches seem practically the same size as those at the south-west angle, but there was a great accumulation of water, and difficulty in draining it off, so that digging had to cease after about 3 ft. had been excavated. An attempt was made to run a drift up the outer ditch, so as to drain the bottom some yards higher up; but as it appeared to act as a drain for the whole field it was abandoned. The only way to excavate these ditches would be to run a drift up one of the ditches, and allow it to drain the ground before commencing the work.

Section L across the centre of the northern front proved the most fruitless of all. The outer ditch, well defined on the ground, proved to be full of black earth. The mound of natural clay between the two was very distinct. The inner ditch, nearly obliterated on the surface, proved to be full of black earth like the other. The outer ditch had been excavated down about 3 ft., and the filling was beginning to assume a more settled character, when the accumulation of water rendered further work impossible. It was then utilised as a

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reservoir for water baled out from the drift towards the ramparts. In the inner ditch the usual black earth soon gave place to half-silted clay, rough gravel (resembling the soil found in the outer ditch on the south-west angle). This ditch appeared about 7 ft. wide, but it was a matter of conjecture where the filling ended and the scarp begun, or whether it was silting or a or a natural vein of the boulder clay. About 7 ft. under the supposed berm, traces of wood seemed to be present. If this were correct, the ditch along this front must have been both wider and deeper, and the berm proportionately narrower.

The Entrances.

There are supposed to have been four entrances to the camp.

The position of the south entrance can be approximately fixed, as the pitching of the Roman road leading to Clawdd-y-Banwen is visible on the outside. The modern pathway probably follows the course of that road. As this path is much used by colliers going to-and-fro after dark, it was not advisable to make a trench across it.

The position of the north entrance is not so well defined, as the existing break in the rampart might have been made for the footpath which now crosses the area of the camp. If it be the entrance, it would divide the northern front into two unequal parts. The trench dug showed more stones in the soil under this footpath than on either side of it. As this trench also had to be closed before nightfall, no conclusive results were obtained. The eastern entrance should be more easily located, for the Roman road from the east can be traced as a ruined causeway in the field outside. A trench was cut behind the hedge, 8 ft. from the corner. For a length of 6 ft. there was a depth of 1 ft. 9 ins. of alluvial soil, for the next 7 ft., 1 ft. of alluvial soil, and 1 ft. 6 ins. of mixed clay and stones. No signs of

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pitching, though there were significant traces of a destroyed roadway; after which the tailing of the end of the rampart was apparent (see Ramparts). A long trench (N) was dug 30 ft. behind trench J, nearly in line with the corners of the hedge. The alluvial soil was found 1 ft. 9 ins. deep; at 15 ft. a good deal of iron was found. On cutting across the prolongation of the road, stones were found about 9 ins. below the surface, but no positive indication of a road. The thickness of the natural soil was 1 ft. 3 ins. The stones continued to the end of the trench, but at a greater depth, the natural soil running to 1 ft. 9 ins. deep. Some traces of the continuation of this road were found in the diagonal trench T. A trench (P) across the causeway of the western entrance, in line with the inner ditch, showed that the so-called causeway had never been excavated. Upon the old natural surface, represented by a black band, 2 ins. thick of decayed vegetable matter, had been deposited a layer of yellow clay 16 ft. wide. This was laid 9 ins. deep in the centre, tailing off to nothing at either end. Over this clay the alluvial soil was 8 ins. deep in the centre and 1 ft. at the ends, giving the causeway a slightly rounded appearance.

In the centre of the causeway the top of a large stone almost protruded through the yellow clay coating. For what reason it was so placed could not be determined. Further trenches, 13 ft. in length, were extended on either side of the causeway, ending in a ditch. The inner and outer ditches on the south side were here joined by a ditch, running parallel to the causeway, 7ft. wide, 5 ft. deep, and triangular in section. On the north side the ditch was 6 ft. 6 ins. wide, and not more than 3 ft. deep. The ditches here converged.

In another section (Q), made 21 ft. behind the former, traces of made ground were apparent on the spot where the road should have been, but no pitching. The trench was lengthened to determine if there were a

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junction with the rampart, but the result was indefinite. A hole dug 20 ft further on the same line proved that the rampart was here laid on a layer of large stones. A third trench (R) was cut 30 ft. behind the second. The ground was very stony, but no decided sign of a road could be detected. Some 30 yards further, on the conjectured line of the road, stands a considerable heap of stones. From their size and appearance they might have been taken from the pitching of the road. These stones could not have been found in the boulder clay: they must have been brought hither for a special purpose, and it is evident that that purpose was for the pitching of the road. If any portion of the road can be found undisturbed, it is probably under that very heap of stones.

The pitching found in Section W, and for a distance of 30 ft. beyond, was to some extent a prolongation of the line of this road. It ran fairly parallel to the north side of the camp, and would point not very wide of the northern gateway, though the line cannot be said to be direct. The stones were upon the original ground, without any intervening gravel. It is quite possible that they may have been those dispersed by the plough, and that the actual site of the road had not been hit off.

The pitching in Section X, towards the southern side, is more regularly laid, and has not been disturbed. It might have been a portion of a good road, but it appeared to be that it is more likely to have been the pitching of a yard. From experience of the pitchings of a similar character on the Rhondda Hills, I should say that it was the work of iron-smelters in post-Roman times.

The ridge of gravel which runs across the eastern side of the camp is probably the site of a road. The gravel had been carried there for a special purpose. The layer of decomposed peat is placed between the made ground and the original clay. It is 1 ft. 6 ins. in the deeper part. The width varies considerably.

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No trace of the pitching remains. The plough has here done its work of destruction most effectually.

The Interior.

Sections were dug across the four diagonals of the camp, to endeavour to locate any pitching of road or foundations of houses; if possible, to reconstruct the plan of the camp. Wherever any stones lay in apparent order, the digging was carried round to ascertain their size and direction of the area.

Section Z, a continuation of F, from south-west angle diagonally across to within 30 ft. of the footpath, running across the centre of the field. The portion through the rampart and the transverse baulks has been described under "Ramparts."

A little above the level of the transverse baulks came much burnt earth and clay, with ashes (or, at least a black band) underneath. These remains were not level, but had more the appearance of low mounds with a hollow between. Above these was a layer of blue clay, with 1 ft. 6 ins. of arable soil on top of it. Much glass, mainly in an unworked stage, and pottery was here found. The position of these finds was various, though the pottery was mostly immediately over the brick ashes, while the glass was mainly immediately over the alluvial soil. About 2 ft. below the surface were found several stones. Thirty feet further up, 2 ft. deep, was an area 3 ft. by 3 ins. of stone, laid in some order. It was neither the foundation of a wall nor the pitching of a road. A good deal of red earth, with black matter below, here extended about 20 ft. up the trench; it might have been a floor. Pottery, both red and grey, and much glass, was also found. The depth of the natural ground was about 2 ft. At 30 ft. the trench crossed the layer of gravel 1 ft. 6 ins. thick, 25 ft. wide, under a layer of soil; and below the gravel a black band of decomposed peat overlying the natural ground. This gravel must have been brought there by

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man. Four feet beyond this gravel, at the depth of 2 ft., there was a good deal of ironstone. At 80 ft. from the wall, pottery, glass, and a good many rubbed stones. The brick earth was here again conspicuous, and had the appearance of a floor, though irregular in thickness, varying from 1 ft. to 2 ft. below the surface. Beyond this the brick earth disappeared; the layer of black matter also, and the last 20 ft. of the trench showed no sign of man's habitation, the soil being but 1 ft. 6 ins. deep.

Trench S, 30 ft. northward, parallel with A. Natural soil, 2 ft. from surface. The first 30 ft. showed a layer of red ash 1 ft. 6 ins. from surface, with black clay and decomposed matter below. Bead No. 2 was here found, just above the red ash, also glass and pottery. Fifty feet, a stone for grinding, glazed marble stone, and small fragments of glass and pottery. Sixty-one feet, a large boulder stone, 1 ft. below the surface, planted in the natural soil, its use unknown. A few feet further was a large piece of lead; a space 6 ft. by 4 ft. was worked round, but besides glass and pottery nothing more was found. At 95 ft., crossed the gravel track, about 28 ft. wide, 1 ft. surface-soil, 1 ft. gravel, black band 1 in. thick, of decomposed peat immediately below; then followed a long length of red ash, 4 ins. to 5 ins. thick, the usual 1-in. black band underneath; beyond, no further trace of habitation.

Trench S (a).—A small trench, connecting ends of Z and S, primarily for draining purposes. It was dug through 2 ft. of alluvial soil, and was rich in pottery and glass. Here, at a depth of 2 ft. were found the piece of pottery of the peculiar yellowish-red glaze, and the glass of brownish tint. The alluvial nature of the soil laid both finds open to suspicion.

Trench S (b), a second cross-trench, from 20 ft. up S to the supposed wall in Z. About half-way the red ash was crossed, and then an area of stones: a possible pavement. This pitching was 2 ft. 6 ins. wide at the trench, and ran for 12 ft. parallel to A and B; it was

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then widened to 4 ft. At first the stones were fairly regular, then they were more disturbed.

Section T.—From north-east angle of camp, diagonally across to the centre. The presence of the log layers (upper and lower) was ascertained. The lower layer lay 4 ft. 6 ins. below the surface; 4 ft. behind the logs were several large stones, 9 ins. to 12 ins. across, in no regular order; 16 ft. along, the trench cut into a 3-ft. area which might have been a pitching, but no extension could be traced on any side. The next 25 ft. was rich in pottery; stones also, but in no definite order. Natural soil, only 1 ft. deep. At 39 ft., a 12 ft. length of brick earth, about 2 ins. thick, 1 ft. 6 ins. deep, not laid level; but wavy, as had been noted in other places, though it had more definite appearance of a floor than the similar deposits found elsewhere. Some of the pieces were certainly fragments of bricks and not brick earth. The accurate area could not be settled.

At 127 ft. stones were laid in some order at a depth of 9 ins. The stony area was worked round with no results. Some kind of pitching it certainly was, with many of the stones removed, and others disturbed by the plough. Many showed the mark of the plough-share. This pitching lay about the centre of the gravel ridge, which was not so clearly defined here as in other places. From hence a trench was run along this gravel ridge to Section S, which proved the presence of the gravel layer very near the surface, for the whole length, but no finds were made.

Section T was continued from the spot where it crossed the prolongation of the road; for a stretch of 7 ft. it had somewhat the semblance of a road, though there was no regular pitching, and the stones were little more than 6 ins. below the surface. Behind both these stretches of supposed road, at a distance of 20 ft., trenches were run to ascertain if such traces ran further, but nothing more was found.

Section W, diagonally across the field, from the foot-path to the north-west angle, only a few pieces of

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pottery were found, under 1 ft. 6 ins. of accumulated soil, until the top of the field was reached, there, the trench crossed remains of much disturbed pitching, of of which a length of 30 ft. by 15 ft. was opened out. It ran fairly parallel to the north side, and if prolonged would have passed not far from the E. gate. Whether it were pitching or road was difficult to decide. Halfway to the end of the Section, 1 ft. 6 ins. below the surface, was a pocket of charcoal 2 ft. in diameter, 1 ft. thick, of which 6 ins. were sunk in the natural clay. Towards the end of the Section some red pottery was found.

Section X, diagonally across from centre to southwest angle.—The accumulated soil was seldom more than 1 ft. thick, and but few signs of man's hand appeared. Towards the end the trench crossed a pitching of large stones, laid in fairly regular order, in an oblong area, 13 ft. by 15 ft., 1 ft. below the surface. The stones were from 9 ins. to 12 ins. across, laid on the natural soil. The appearance was more that of pitching than of a road. A heap of large stones near this spot, on the edge of the western rampart, was carefully examined. It proved to be the fragments of a large boulder that had been blasted into three pieces (and other smaller portions which had been removed), with an accumulation of field stones thrown in between them.

Finds.

The timber foundations of the ramparts—the spikes and other obstacles found in the ditches already described (Fig. 11)—are most interesting, and to a certain extent are unique. It is to be regretted that the finds in the interior of the camp are not merely commonplace but poor. They can, however, be identified as Roman, though from the utter absence of any coins it is difficult to assign any nearer and more definite date. The potsherds are the most easily identified as of a particular period, and from their characteristics a definite

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opinion may perhaps be looked for. These potsherds divide themselves into several groups.

Fragments of very rude Yellowish Ware, which vary considerably in texture, some of comparatively fine grain, others very coarse, hardly to be distinguished from sandstone, the usual paste used for Amphoræ and other large vessels. The authorities of the British Museum have dated them as about the third century. But few of these pieces exceeded 6 ins. across, and varied from ½ in. to 1 in. in thickness. Fig. 12, the handle of an Amphora. There are seven rims of various vessels, probably also Amphoræ. Of

Fig. 12.—Pottery found at Coelbren.

one, the colour is more decidedly red. It must have formed part of a vessel 7 ins. in diameter across the mouth. Some of the others might have been part of larger vessels.

Fragments of Ware.—Yellowish drab, or fawn-coloured, almost black in the interior, with a fine, even surface. Several fragments were found, but the one—the lip of a mortarium—is the most interesting. Another lip of a similar vessel is a more damaged specimen.

Black Ware.—These potsherds vary in hue from deep black to slaty grey. They are generally fine in grain, though some few are coarse, and are mostly considered to be no older than the second or third century. A considerable number of fragments of finely-moulded rims, pertaining to articles of domestic

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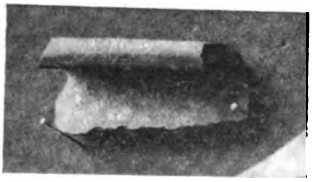

Fig. 13.—Pottery found at Coelbren.

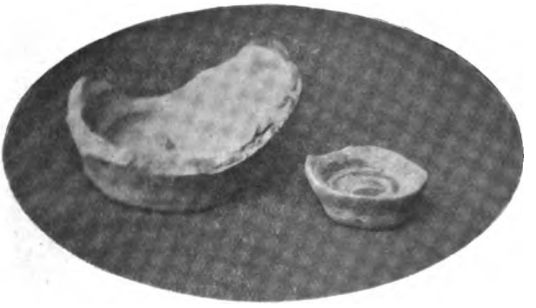

Fig. 14.—Pottery found at Coelbren.

Fig. 15.—Pottery found at Coelbren.

use, vases and pots (Fig. 13), and a lesser number of bases (Fig. 14); but the latter, as a rule, seem to have belonged to vessels of a smaller size. The sides have been reduced to very small pieces, some of which are decorated.

Fig. 15 has bands of irregular concentric curves, resembling

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the marks made by a large thumb, similar to those figured in the Gellygaer record. Such pieces were found widely apart over the ground, showing that it was a common form of decoration.

Fig. 16.—An ornamental band, which might possibly be a series of curves, though more like chevrons.

Fig. 17, besides the band, has prominent projections on the outer surface; the purport of which is inexplicable. As two

Fig. 16.

Fig. 17.

Fig. 18.
Pottery found at Coelbren.

specimens were found, it was not an accidental defect, but is part of some design.

Another fragment of the black ware had several globular projections, whether accidental or by design is open to conjecture. Some pieces have a series of etchings, $\frac{3}{8}$ in. long, in two bands. All these decorated fragments are of thinner and harder material than those undecorated, for which reason they are in better preservation.

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Red Ware.—Fragments of ordinary red ware; also some rims and bases of small vessels. Fig. 18 is one of two decorated pieces found; all others are perfectly plain. They are generally in a soft, rotten condition. There are also several pieces of a better style of ware, with a perceptible glaze on the inside, having the appearance of a polish. Several fragments of one piece of rich salmon-coloured ware; but possibly this difference in colour is due to the particular environments: some of a coarse-grained paste, intermediate between the ordinary red and the first-mentioned coarse yellow ware.

Reddish-Brown Ware.—A few specimens of a fine reddish-brown glazed ware, varying in colour from deep red to shades of brown. These were mixed with the old Roman remains, and some have been pronounced by the British Museum to be as late as the seventeenth or eighteenth century. These were found in two spots only.

There is also the handle of a pitcher, with a greenish glaze, probably of the same late date, though it certainly has a look of mediæval age.

Several other specimens with a yellow glaze may also be of the same age. The modern specimens were never more than 12 ins. below the surface. For that reason, those found deeper may be considered as older.

Bricks.—One specimen, 6 ins. long, of a coarse grain, though much broken. It is decidedly a brick. A great quantity of burnt clay, which might have been bricks, though in some cases the pieces might be the harder portions of brick earth.

Tiles.—No tiles, either of brick or stone.

Bones.—In addition to the bones found in the western ditch, small fragments of bones were found over the camp. Nothing could be deduced from their presence; they might belong to any animal at any date.

Coal.—Numerous specimens of coal, all of the seam which outcrops half a mile distant. They are too numerous to have been accidentally brought on the ground by manure carts, which might be a feasible theory to account for isolated pieces; consequently, the coal must have been designedly conveyed there, probably for smelting purposes.

Charcoal.—Charcoal was found in various places, but on only one spot was there a considerable amount. This pocket was not far from a pitching, which might have been a hearth. Here the bits of charcoal, though small, were distinct and well preserved. In other places it was difficult to decide whether it

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had been charcoal or wood, now turned into bog oak; though the remains of coal and charcoal taken all together were of considerable amount, yet there was not enough to represent smelting on a large scale.

Glass.—The bits of glass have more interest than the potsherds; though stray fragments were scattered all over the area, the greater number were found on the south-eastern side. They have oxidized in an irregular manner; the smooth faces are little affected, but the rough unmoulded piece has a dull patina of oxide. At first glance there is little difference to be discerned between the old Roman glass and the modern derelict; but when seen in juxta-position, the peculiar greenish-blue shade of the former is easily distinguishable. There are four bits of bases of bottles of the square Roman type (Fig. 19); two good examples of

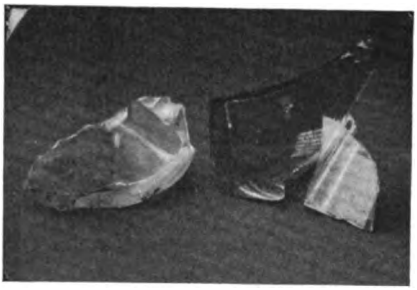

Fig. 19.—Glass found at Coelbren.

the ribbed side of a bowl or cup, and the rims of several vessels; besides many examples of unmoulded glass, either direct from the furnace or melted into their present shape as the result of a conflagration in the camp; and of the two classes together, rims and sides joined to unmoulded glass.

At first, the condition of these remains would give rise to the theory that they were damaged articles from a manufactory on the spot, for which the silica sand could have been procured from the Penwylt Mountain, about four miles distant.

But the idea of a general fire in the camp is the more feasible, for the edges of many of the moulded fragments have been blunted by heat subsequent to their original burning, and no remains of either moulds, hearths, or crucibles were found. A great many pieces of glass, varying in thickness, the colour ranging from blue to light green, apparently portions of vases or vessels of some sort; some few approximate closely to

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window-glass. These were collected all over the area, at such a depth that it is improbable that they could be modern products, in contradistinction to the modern fragments which were scattered over the surface of the soil. Some are open to suspicion, but, on the whole, the sorting has been correct.

One bit of very thin yellow-brown glass, which has many of the characteristics of a modern hock-glass—except that it has an S curve of surface—was found alongside undoubted Roman remains. It is impossible that it could have worked down from the surface, and the ground has not been ploughed for eighty or one hundred years. At that time, and for some generations previous, there was a considerable population in the vicinity engaged in working the old Banwen iron-works, the ruins of which are a conspicuous object in the distance.

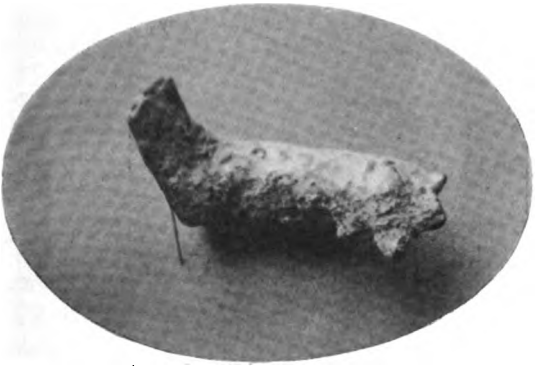

Fig. 20.—Iron Spur found at Coelbren.

And a small piece of beautiful blue glass ; this likewise does not look very mediæval, yet it may be genuinely old.

Iron.—The few articles of wrought iron had nothing definite to mark their age, except two spurs, considerably oxidized, which have been pronounced no earlier than mediæval days. One (Fig. 20) has a shank 3 ins. long, the rowels still apparent, as well as the bar for grasping the boot ; the other is more oxidized. Several nails 4 ins. long, lumps of oxidized iron of uncertain use, and several scraps of iron tubing about the thickness of tobacco-pipes.

Various deposits of scoria and slag, as also iron-stone for smelting, and limestone for flux, some of the latter glazed by the action of fire. It is possible that we did not come across the

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main refuse tips; but, from what was discovered, no considerable smelting could have been carried on within the camp.

Lead.—A lump of melted lead, of irregular shape, about 1 lb. in weight, near a pitching of stone, which may have been a hearth. Small pieces of worked lead, in some cases resembling modern window-work, were found in other parts of the camp.

Stones.—A large number of sharpeners of various sizes and shapes, some more or less square, in section, with rounded edges (others almost round), generally about 1 in. across by 6 ins. to 8 ins. long, all more or less broken; smaller ones also in considerable numbers. They were formed from sandstone or slate, which must have been brought from long distances. A stone ball 5 ins. across, which looks like millstone grit or sand-

Fig. 21.—"Melon" Bead found at Coelbren.

stone conglomerate; either a hammer-stone or a projectile for a ballista.

Several stones (sandstone) with hollows 3 ins. to 4 ins. deep, 1 ft. to 1 ft. 6 ins. across, all broken in two pieces. No mark of grinding could be detected; it is difficult to judge if the hollows be natural or artificial. The stones are so rough, that they could never have served as mortars or for grinding; but the hollows do not look as if made by Nature. If they had been used as moulds, for which purpose they would have served, the surface of the hollow would have been glazed by the molten glass or iron. They are not from the boulder clay; they have been procured from the bed of a river if natural; if artificial, it is difficult to divine their use.

Sundry stones, much worn by use, 6 ins. by 12 ins. by ½ in., of hard sandstone. The flat side had been used for polishing,

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and one end either for polishing or moulding the inner rim of a pot. On one stone there appeared to be an excrescence on the flat side—of burnt material of some sort—iron or what not.

Discs of sandstone 2½ ins. across, ¼ in. thick; fairly round; probably used as covers for small vessels.

Flints.—Only three flints were found. One was outside the ramparts on the berm; one of the others is much burnt. Flints were used by the Romans usually for agricultural purposes, therefore their presence in this camp would hardly be expected.

Gem and Beads.—A very small amethyst, amid other remains. It has a slight groove cut in the back, as if to attach it to the setting. It is possible it may not be a genuine "find"; but as the men were warned that no reward would be paid for "finds," they had no inducement to introduce any extraneous objects. Five terra-cotta beads in graduated sizes, "melon" shaped, of a greenish-blue colour; one 1¼ in. across (Fig. 21), one rather larger, fragments of two about the same size, and one very much smaller.

Conclusions.

The result of the trenches, etc., is fairly conclusive that Coelbren was not a walled town, and that if there were houses in the interior, they were not constructed of stone; though the structures (of whatever material) were without doubt arranged in the usual regular order of Roman camps. There are traces of the roads, or rather of their foundations; the pitching is plainly discernible close to the exterior on the southern side of the camp, yet in the interior all trace is lost; which indicates that it has been purposely destroyed, probably when the interior area was first broken up by the plough. About one hundred years ago, the farmers in the neighbourhood had a perfect craze for collecting the field stones (the course of the Roman road to Neath in parts can be followed by the heaps of stones); though a large amount was used to construct stone walls on the neighbouring farms, many heaps still lie unutilised. If the roads which, without doubt, existed have been so completely demolished, it is easy to comprehend how all traces of human habitation have been obliterated.

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In several spots there were signs that brick floors had been laid on wooden foundations; it was impossible to trace any definite outline, for such floors had generally fallen into red brick earth; but in every case an intervening layer of black earth lay between the brick earth and the natural surface of the ground. This black earth might represent either decomposed timber or the original peat.

In many cases the brick earth had the irregular appearance of cinder-tips, but the thickness was generally uniform, the layer of black earth underneath being more or less present. The remains conjectured to be Roman were generally found within a few inches of this black layer, or, when it was almost absent, on the original surface of the ground; but the specimens of glass were found either on the surface of the brick earth, or but slightly embedded in it.

With the exception of two specimens (noted after), no remains are to be traced either in the rampart—which was constructed of clean materials, showing no sign of previous occupation of the adjoining land—or on the levelled terrace. The latter is remarkable, as the top of the rampart is the spot where potsherds, etc., would have been deposited; and such remains would have been found in the levelling of the top. Yet this surface is as clean as the portion of the rampart left intact. This can only be accounted for on the supposition that during the time of occupation the top of the rampart had been protected, as was the case with the defences constructed by Cæsar in Gaul. There strong towers at the angles and the entrances, defended by ballista and other engines, were connected by wooden galleries and bridges; a wide berm in front was covered with wooden spikes, and beyond were ditches filled with obstacles. The whole outer defences could be swept by missiles from the towers and ramparts.

The theory of wooden galleries on the ramparts of Coelbren may be considered as inconclusive, but the other points seem to be irrefragably proved. The

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wooden footings to the ramparts and angles were quite unneeded to take the weight of the rampart itself, and must have been laid with a view to the strain of the ballustræ and other heavy engines of war. The width of the berm and its protecting spikes are there to be seen; while the insignificance of the ditches show that they were designed for the protection of obstacles, not as defences in themselves; and their relation to the ramparts show how these ditches were defended.

This being so, the wooden galleries on the ramparts would be a part of the design, and the defences would have been the counterpart of those described by Cæsar in the construction of a camp during a campaign against the Bellovaci (St. Pierre de Châtres), at the conclusion of the Gallic war. Such was the system of fortification brought by the Romans to England. It is probable that all their first stations were constructed on these lines, in after-years to be either remodelled in stone or levelled to the ground, in after-times; and it is only in such out-of-the-world places as Coelbren that there is any chance of finding the original type.

This type is not uncommon in Scotland, for there the period of Roman occupation was so limited that there was no opportunity of converting them into walled towns; they were deserted while still in good preservation, and there was no inducement (as there was at Coelbren) to subsequently destroy them. This same type of fortress was adopted later by the Romano-British in their struggles against the Saxons; and, so well did they copy these Roman models, that often it is impossible to say positively whether they were the work of the masters or the pupils; and many so-called British camps may actually be the work of the Romans, though they differ as much from the preconceived idea of a Roman camp as does the camp of Pierre de Châtres.

The point for consideration is, Whether the rampart, after the disintegrations of many centuries, was levelled for the purpose of working the plough through it,

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about one hundred years ago, or whether it was done by the Romans themselves to destroy it as a military work? The inferences seem to favour the latter theory. The appearance of the rampart itself gives no clue: provided the work were done by the spade—either in the year 200, for the purpose of destroying it, or in 1800, for the purpose of utilizing the soil—the result would be much the same. The solution must be looked for elsewhere.

If the ditches had been filling up with siltings and decayed vegetation for 1200 years, and then the soil of the ramparts had been shovelled down into them, the blackest soil would be at the bottom, the lighter above it. The contrary is the case: the soil from the ramparts appears at the bottom of the ditch, and the decayed vegetation appears to have accumulated afterwards. If the oak spikes had remained on the berm, or if they had fallen into the open ditch, they would have rotted away; but if they had been thrown into the ditch, and the levelling of the rampart had been cast on top of them, they would have been preserved, as we found them.

The absence of potsherds and the *débris* in the filling up of the ditches shows that during the occupation the soil had remained perfectly clean. The 2-ft. block of vitrified earth at the top of the south-east angle, outstanding below the alluvial soil, shows that the fire was made after the levelling of the rampart, and before the alluvial soil had accumulated. There is no positive testimony to the date of this fire; but the inference is that it was coeval with the other remains of smelting, which would carry the date of the levelling of the rampart back to an early date. The small bit of Roman glass found under similar conditions at the north-east angle would suggest that it had worked into this position long before the plough had come over the surface.

The entrances to the camp, as they now stand, were totally unprotected; in fact, must have been the weakest

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part of the defences. This could not have been the case; if their towers and guard-rooms had been left to perish by decay, some traces would still remain. On the contrary, every vestige has disappeared. The total destruction must have been done designedly, and such is applicable only to the Roman occupation of England. All circumstances point to the conclusion that the defences at Coelbren were of a semi-permanent character, and were intended only for a limited time of occupation.

At first glance, this theory would seem to support the supposition that Coelbren was one of the forts constructed by Ostorius about 50 A.D., after his successful campaign againt Caradoc, as after a limited occupation the Roman forts were taken, and the invaders were forced to retire; in which case the victorious natives would have burnt and devastated the camp, levelled the ramparts, filled in the ditches, and rendered it useless for any subsequent reoccupation. But there is no reason to conclude that Ostorius penetrated so far into the heart of Wales; and from the accounts as given by Tacitus and the Welsh historians, the fieldworks in the Margam mountains represent the extreme limits of his conquest, and the scene of his disastrous defeat.

The period of the invasion under Julius Fron., 70 A.D., or perhaps that of Julius Agricola, some years later, seems to fit in better: for it is stated that he so far subdued the Silures that, to consolidate his conquest, he made the two highways—the Julia Maritima and the Julia Montana, running parallel to each other for a long distance, and uniting at Maridunum. These were connected by the Gelligaer cross-road, running from Cardiff to the Gaer, at Brecon (Banium); and it is possible and probable that the Sarn Helen from Nidum to Banium was constructed at the same time and for the same purpose. This theory fits with the situation of the camp as a protection for a road running through a hostile country, as the road makes a wide *détour*, as if to secure a good strategical site for the camp. Our knowledge of the history of those times is imperfect,

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yet it seems not improbable that this road with its camp should have been constructed at the same period as the highway, as a part of the one general scheme.

After the country had settled down under the Roman rule, and it had become feasible to reduce the standing forts and garrisons, the stations along the Julia Maritima (which was selected on account of its superior strategical position) were converted into walled towns; and all these stations can be identified at the present day. Westward of Cardiff, on the Julia Maritima—sites of the stations Bovium, Nidum, and Leucarum—(which were not converted into walled towns) are lost. How long these stations were held it is impossible to say.

Mr. Ward considers that the walled town of Gelly-gaer was abandoned as early as 90 A.D. This is rather an early date. How could the roads have been made, the temporary camps converted into walled towns, and the country so settled that the garrisons could have been withdrawn, in such a short interval of years? If he be correct, the occupation of Coelbren (which, being unwalled, would have been vacated before the excavation of Gelly-gaer) would be less than fifteen years. There is one disturbing factor to my theory: that is, that the remains found, to a large extent, are typical of the second or third century. If that be proved, then the camp and the Sarn Helen must have been constructed at that date, as it is impossible that the camp could have been occupied from the first to the third century without showing signs of successive occupation. In that case, the extension of the Sarn Helen must have been an afterthought, long subsequent to the general conquest of the country, and the camp constructed to defend this road was occupied but a short time, when the general withdrawal of the garrisons caused its evacuation, when it was demolished, the ramparts levelled, the ditches filled in, the buildings burnt, that there should be no occupation by the natives. The only tokens of habitations left were fragments of glass

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welded together by the conflagration; molten iron, which had formed a slag with the surface clay, lead run into a natural mould, broken scraps of pottery, charcoal, and burnt wood.[1] This destruction of the camp in no way impaired the usefulness of the road; and, as stone is scarce in the neighbourhood, the pitching inside the camp might have been taken up to mend the road along the Sarn Helen.

The number of memorial stones of Romano-British time found along the line of the road show that the road was still a highway; while the remains of ancient hearths in the neighbourhood prove that the iron industry was still in work. Possibly, the remains of iron-smelting found in the camp may be referred to this later date. This would be another factor in the obliteration of marks of Roman occupation. These later occupiers have left no further sign of their presence. It may be that these rude smelting-hearths appertain to a far later date, when Royalists or Roundheads attempted to repair the damages after a fight, at a solitary forge in

[1] The final destruction of the camp by fire is, however, problematical, the evidences being conflicting. A portion of the lower band (having all the appearance of the *débris* of a great fire), consisting of burnt clay, bones, charcoal, and broken glass, was submitted to Mr. Seiller, the borough analyst, who is himself a keen antiquary. He kindly subjected this *débris* to a chemical analysis. He reports that the upper portion was in places white in colour, and proved to be chiefly calcium phosphate, with some iron and aluminium phosphate. He considers that it is bone, from which the organic matter had been removed by decay, and the lime partly replaced by iron and alumina. He gives the analysis of the clay, which he describes as a siliceous clay, containing 1.80 per cent, of tatanium oxide, and apparently had not been exposed to fire.

The glass was soda glass, containing no lead. From the sharp edges of the fragments sent to him, he does not consider that such portions had been subjected to the action of fire.

He had not completed the analysis of the charcoal, but is of opinion that it is bog oak. This would point to the conclusion that the apparent result of fire is merely the natural blackening effect of tatanium on the iron of the natural clay. On the other hand, the blunted edges of other pieces of glass, and the welding together of various portions, would indicate the destruction of the camp by fire.

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the old camp, leaving a few bits of broken crockery as token of their presence. The whole countryside was then almost deserted, and was little better than the Great Forest of Brecon, which it practically adjoins.

The final work of destruction was carried out by the considerable population drawn to the neighbourhood during the working of the old Banwen Ironworks. Advantage was taken of the amount of basic slag and decomposed vegetable matter in the ground; the site was converted into agricultural land, and the plough made short work of ramparts and Roman remains.

I cannot conclude without expressing my appreciation of the kindness received from everyone while carrying out these investigations: To Mr. Ward, of Cardiff Museum, for valuable hints how to commence the work; to Mr. Morgan Williams, of St. Donat's, the owner; to Mr. Miers, the Lord of the Manor, and to the tenant, who assisted in every way; to Sir Griffith Thomas, without whose assistance I could not have procured men; to Mr. Cunnington, who devoted much time to superintend the work; to Mr. Seiller, whose chemical knowledge was of first importance; to the Station-master of Coelbren for all his kindly, willing help; and to Mr. Lloyd, Mining Engineer, for his care in the superintendence and the drawing of the plans, without whose hearty cooperation I could not have attempted the work.

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ROMAN REMAINS AT CWMBRWYN, CARMARTHENSHIRE.

By JOHN WARD, F.S.A.

WITH GEOLOGICAL NOTES,

By T. C. CANTRILL, B. Sc., LOND.

CWMBRWYN is a prettily-situated Carmarthenshire farmhouse, about 10½ miles west-south-west of the county town as the crow flies, in the parish of Laugharne, and three miles west-by-north of its church. It is on the northern fringe of a stretch of uplands, which extends some fifteen miles west of Laugharne, and is bounded on the north by the valley of the Tâf and its tributaries, and has Carmarthen Bay to its south. The house overlooks a wooded dell, or "cwm," down which splashes a clear stream, which ultimately debouches into the Tâf at Llandowror, and it lies near the south-east side of the road between St. Clears and Marros. The district is sparsely inhabited, and abounds in ancient remains.

The remains which are the subject of this Paper are on the western and highest side of a field, known as Dwrbwll-fâch, to distinguish it from the adjoining field to the west, Dwrbwll-fawr, which contains a pool, whence the names. The ground here gently ascends to the west, and beyond the second field makes a rapid drop into a second "cwm," the stream of which joins that referred to above, in the vicinity of Llandowror. The site we are considering is 388 ft. above the Ordnance datum, but it does not occupy the highest point, as the field behind continues to gently rise (Fig. 1). The view from here is very fine and extended.

Before the recent exploration, the site presented an irregular oval space, enclosed by a low rampart, with the faint outer hollow of an external ditch, both inter-

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rupted by the shallow opening of an entrance on the east side, the whole being grass-grown like the rest of the field. The shape would be more exactly described as between an oval and an irregular polygon, with rounded angles, as will be seen from our plan of the enclosure (Fig. 2). The exact line of the western rampart was not easy to determine from the surface indications, as it is occupied by the hedge which divides the two fields. But this hedge here makes a slight outward or westward swing, and it is more highly banked than elsewhere; and in the field on its further side are some faint traces of the hollow of the ditch. From these indications, it was tolerably clear that advantage was taken of the rampart on that side by those who made the hedge, and that the two lines approximately coincided: an inference amply corroborated in the subsequent exploration. The height of the rampart scarcely exceeds 2 ft., but is naturally more obvious on the outer side, the hollow of the ditch increasing the apparent elevation some 3 ft. The width may be set down as approximately 30 ft., but it is difficult to demark its gentle slope from the normal surface. The hollow of the ditch is less determinable, but it is somewhat narrower. The length of the area within these envelopes is about 130 ft., and width, 110 ft.; or 230 ft. and 200 ft., respectively, including them. The ditch is not continued across the front of the entrance, but ends on either side of it, leaving a causeway about 20 ft. or more in width.

These earthworks are plainly visible in the field, and even more so from the road; and it is curious that they should have escaped the observation of the Ordnance Survey officials, as also of antiquaries, until a circumstance in 1890 forced them upon their notice. Yet it would be incorrect to say that the nature of the site was wholly unknown, as the ground had on several previous occasions been disturbed for the sake of the material for building purposes it yielded. It is said that, many years ago, a former Lord Kensington, who

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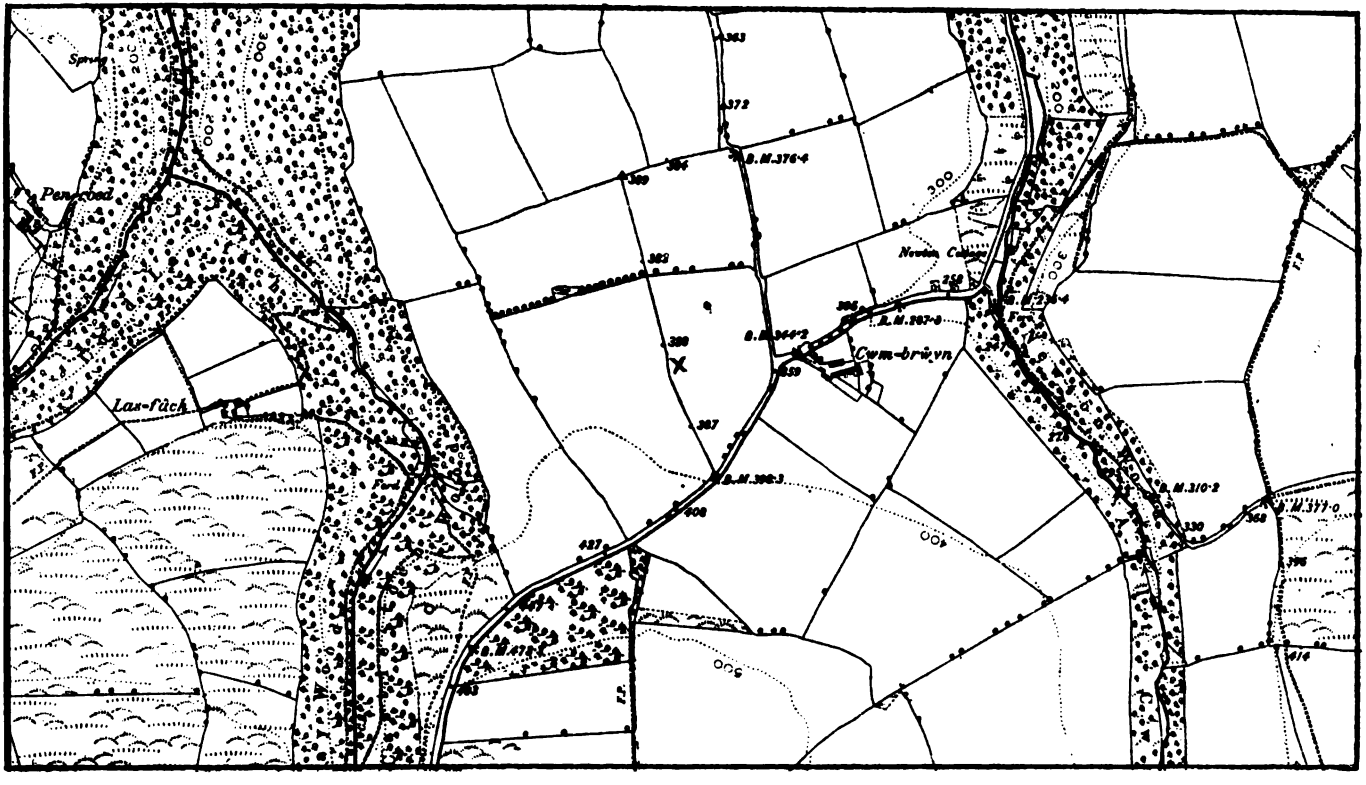

FIG. 1. SECTION OF 6-IN. ORDNANCE MAP OF CARMARTHENSHIRE, SHEET XLIV, S.E., SHOWING SITE OF EXCAVATIONS.
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lived at Castell Lloyd, about two miles to the south, removed much stone from it for various works he had in hand; and a fine slab at Castell Tôch is pointed out as from the same source. The circumstance referred to above was one of these delvings for stone. Mr. Bowen, the owner and occupier of the farm, resorted to this expedient for materials wherewith to construct a culvert. It was the first time during his twenty years' residence at Cwmbrwyn that he had broken into the ground, and all he expected to find was stone; but he found something more, and this excited his curiosity, and soon attracted the attention of others interested in the local archæology. One early visitor to the site was Mr. H. C. Tierney, of Carmarthen, the Editor of the *Welshman*, and this was followed by a long and detailed account of the discovery in the issue of that paper of June 27th, 1890, under the *nom de plume* of "Peter Numskull." A few weeks later, this was followed by a visit from Mr. Edward Laws, F.S.A., of Tenby, at the request of the Editor of *Archæologia Cambrensis*, who communicated the results of his enquiry to that publication (5th Ser., vol. vii (1890), p. 334.) The two accounts do not agree in every particular, but this is due to the writers having to mainly depend upon hearsay, their visits being after the demolition of the remains thus brought to light. Under these circumstances, it will be best to describe the remains exhumed during the recent exploration first, and then to correlate the statements of these communications with them. The little hollow left by Mr. Bowen's diggings is shown in the north-west corner of the plan (Fig. 2).

The writer's first visit to the site was on October 2nd, 1905, at the instance of, and accompanied by Mr. G. G. T. Treherne, who was then President of the newly-formed Carmarthenshire Antiquarian Society and Field Club; and Mr. T. C. Cantrill, of the Geological Survey, and Mr. William Clarke, of Llandaff, were also present. On that occasion several labourers were engaged; and with Mr. Bowen's kind permission, two diagonal trenches

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within the enclosure, and a smaller one on the site of the gateway, were cut. This preliminary investigation brought to light the remains of a wall and undoubted evidences of Roman occupation, in the form of roofing-slates, pottery, and other objects, and it convinced the party that the site was worthy of a more systematic exploration. On the evening of that day, some of the chief finds were exhibited at a meeting of the Committee of the Society at Carmarthen, and Mr. Treherne urged that the Society should take up the work. Early in the following year (1906) this was decided upon, and a fortnight's digging was arranged to begin on Whit-Monday, June 4th, the present writer being asked to direct the operations. The work commenced on the day arranged, under the superintendence of Mr. Treherne, Mr. Clarke, and the writer, for the first week, and under that of Mr. Cantrill for the second. The members of the Carmarthenshire Society paid a visit to the excavations on the 7th.

At the conclusion of this fortnight's work, it was still evident that further digging would be necessary; and in anticipation of the visit of the Cambrian Archæological Association to Carmarthenshire in August, the Committee decided upon another fortnight's work. This second work began on August 2nd, under the superintendence of the writer, Messrs. Treherne, Clarke, and Cantrill being unavoidably absent. The visit of the Association to the site took place upon the 15th following. The exploration ceased on the same day; and as there was little prospect that further digging would materially add to the information already gained, arrangements were made for the early filling-in of the trenches—a work which Mr. Bowen kindly undertook to superintend.

The Exploration of the Outer Works.

Several trenches were cut through the rampart, A—H, Fig. 3, and one on the east side, A, was extended across the ditch. A section of the rampart and ditch

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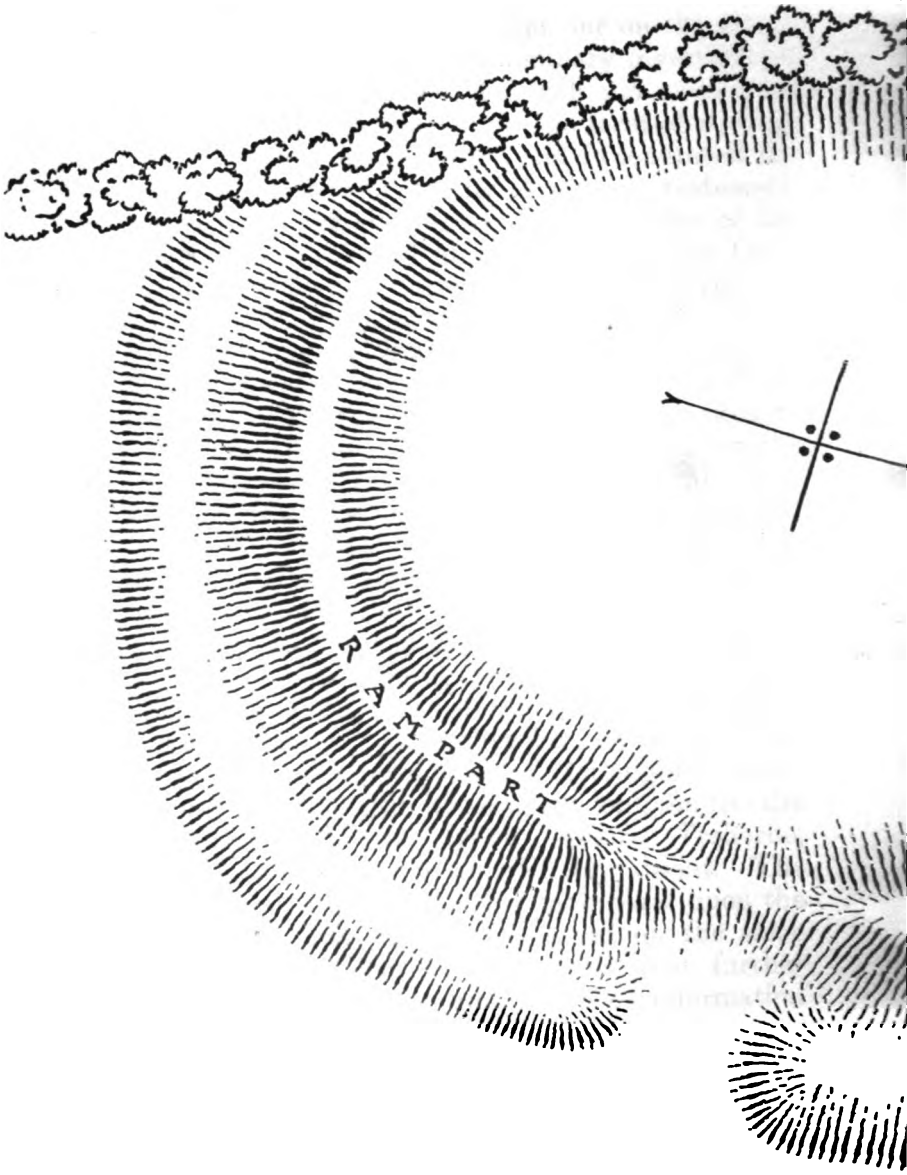

FIG. 2. CWMBRWYN: PLAN
30 ft. to 1

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'ORE EXCAVATION.

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as seen in this trench is given on Fig. 4. The ditch here was V-shaped, but irregularly so. The bottom, which for a depth of 2 ft. 6 ins. was cut into the rock, was reached at about 8 ft. 9 ins. below the present surface. It is probable that the original form was less irregular than we found it, and that the irregularities were largely due to the dislodgment of soil from the upper parts of the sides. On the bottom and tailing off up the sides, was observed a layer of yellowish loamy soil with few stones, closely resembling the undisturbed soil of the site, but softer, and having the appearance of "wash-down" from the sides. A similar "wash-down" was observed by the writer in the ditch of the Roman fort of Gellygaer, but it was more easily distinguished from the hard clayey soil there. Immediately above this deposit was a darkish soil, also with few stones, about 18 ins. thick at the bottom and thinning off up the sides. This indicates a gradual silting-up of the ditch to that extent, and the darkness was undoubtedly due to vegetation. Above this, the ditch was filled with a jumbled mass of normal soil, with an abundance of stones, which tended to lie parallel to the slopes of the sides, but about the middle they formed a *pêle-mêle* accumulation. This certainly was mostly derived from the rampart, and it suggested an intentional filling-in of the ditch in order to lessen the inequalities of the surface, and so render the field more fitted for cultivation.

The usual form of a Roman ditch is angulated with straight sides, or strictly V-shaped; but examples are known in the North with narrow flat bottoms, convex sides, and rounded brinks. It is difficult to say for certain what was the exact original form of our ditch: probably, however, it was of the ordinary type, and the observed irregularities were due, partly, as stated above, to the dislodgment of soil from its sides, and partly to our inadvertent removal of portions of the natural soil. Assuming the angulated form, the width

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would be about 17 ft. or 18 ft., and the depth from the Roman surface, 8 ft.

The section of the rampart as disclosed in this trench (A) had a well-defined underlying layer (indicated by small crosses on the plate) of clayey consistence, redder than the normal soil of the site, and almost devoid of stones. It had a tolerably uniform thickness of 8 ins., and width of about 14 ft. 6 ins., the ends being abrupt. It was near—if, indeed, it did not actually rest upon—the old natural surface, and was set back from the ditch about 6 ft., thus leaving an intervening shelf or berm of that width, no doubt to insure the stability of the rampart. Somewhat behind the middle, this layer was slightly dished; and immediately above was an accumulation of stones, the weight of which may have caused the hollow. The soil above this layer was faintly bedded, the beds dipping towards the back, that is, towards the interior of the site; while in the opposite or upward direction they became confused and lost. The uppermost, which directly overlaid the clayey layer for several feet towards the back, was of dark earth. A similar clayey layer was observed in a trench across the south rampart at G (Fig. 3), but it was not so well-defined, and its width was about 15 ft. In a trench, which was cut into the west rampart at D, and tunneled for a short distance under the hedge—representing in all, perhaps, two-thirds the width of the rampart—a somewhat thicker clayey seam was observed to rise, following, in so doing, the natural rise of the ground here; and it rested upon a thin bed of sandy loam, below which was the normal soil. This seam may have been of natural formation, as in several other places the undisturbed soil was observed to have a surfacing of finer soil. In the remaining trenches cut through or into the rampart, the artificially-placed soil was found to be more clayey below than above, but it was not distinguishable as a separate layer. In none of the sections except that of A, and in less degree that of D, did the upper portion of the rampart

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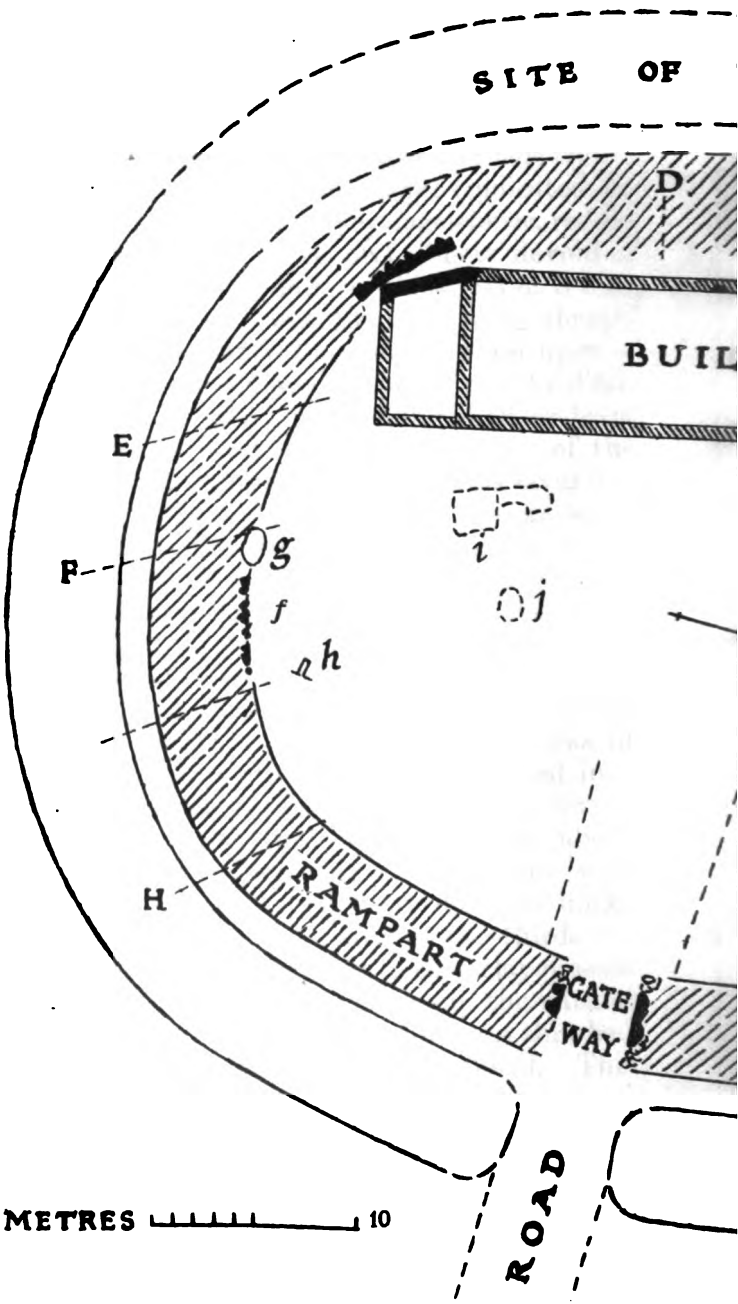

FIG. 3. CWMBRWYN: PLAN
30 ft. to 1 i

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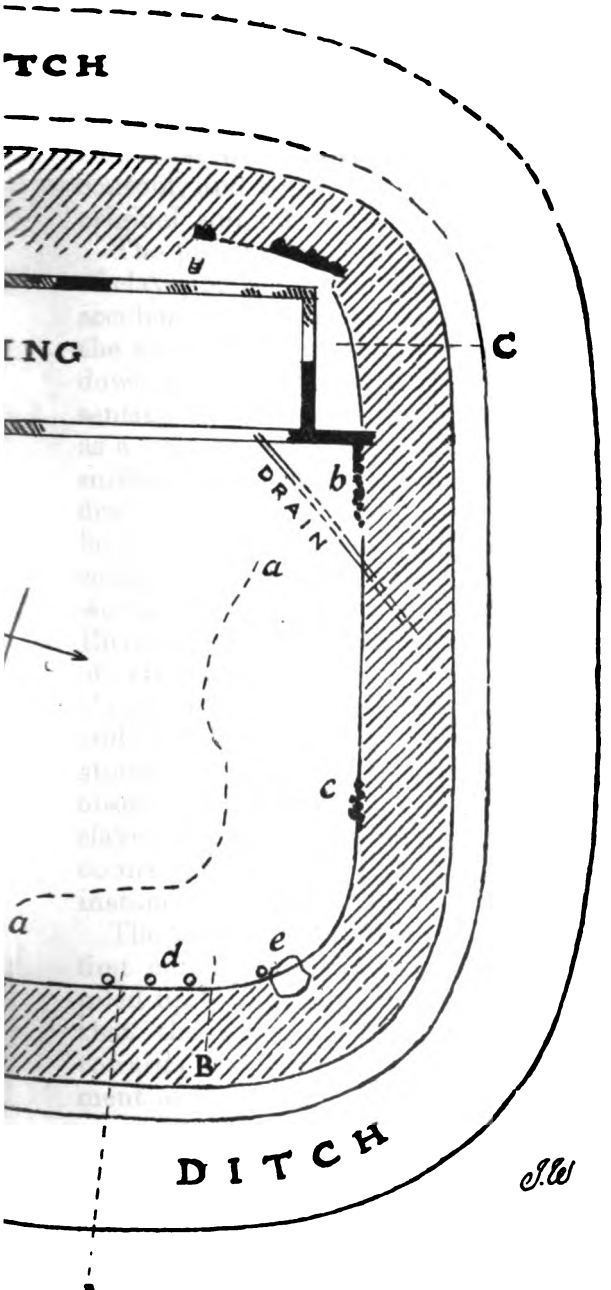

TER EXCAVATION.

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exhibit definite stratification; but, in all, the proper soil of this structure was more or less distinguishable from that which covered its sides and smoothed off the contour, and which was undoubtedly derived from the original summit.

The presence of a more or less well-defined bottoming of clayey soil in all these trenches can hardly have been accidental. It rather indicates that the first step in the construction of the rampart consisted in the laying down of such a layer, 15 Roman feet wide, and representing the width of the intended bank. It appears, as a rule, to have been laid directly upon the natural surface, but it is probable that its irregularities were first filled in. The object of the bottoming may not be clear, but we know that the Romans were often at considerable pains in preparing the sites of their earthworks. The Antonine Wall and the ramparts of Birrens in Dumfriesshire, were raised upon a spread of stones of the requisite width; while those of Camelon, near Falkirk, rest upon a foundation of clay and brushwood between marginal strips of rough stones. Split timbers and branches have also been observed in a similar position. The source of this clayey soil at Cwmbrwyn presents no difficulty, as it occurs close at hand; the pond in the field behind, for instance, is sunk in clay.

The inclined stratification on the upper part of the first cutting seems to indicate that the rampart was piled up towards the front of the foundation-layer, and that the materials trailed down by a gentle slope towards the back. This would necessitate a revetment of some kind along the front, unless the rampart was very low. But no indication of a revetment of stone, turf, or timber was found, although a special trench was cut along its presumed line. The many large stones in the filling of the ditch may seem to point to one of stone, but it is hard to understand how its foundations should have entirely disappeared; equally, if of timber, why its post-holes should not

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have been apparent. The most reasonable conjecture is a turf wall, which, pushed forward by the weight of soil behind and the turves mingling with the fallen materials, would leave few, if any, traces of its former existence. The rampart would have a flat summit sufficiently wide to provide a walk for the defenders; and there must, of course, have been a parapet, which may have been of turves or timber. If all the soil from the ditch was used for the rampart, it must have been of considerable height; but the Romans sometimes, if not usually, raised an external low mound corresponding with the modern *glacis*, to accentuate the height of the counterscarp. No trace of such a mound, however, was observed in our first trench; but there is a slight rise on the outer side of the ditch at the north-east which may be artificial. Any mound in this position would be necessarily low, so as not to interfere with the "command" of the rampart, and it would probably take the form of a mere spread of soil rather than an actual mound.

In its present condition, the rampart shows as a low and gentle mound of greater than its original width, the inner slope encroaching on the interior of the enclosure, and the outer covering the berm and encroaching on the ditch. From the data obtained from the various trenches referred to above, it is comparatively easy to determine the exact limits of the Roman rampart and ditch (which are shown in Fig. 3), except along the west side, where visible indications of the outer line of the rampart and of the ditch are well-nigh obliterated.[1]

The excavation of the gateway brought to light the remains of the side walls, which were 13 ft. apart, and between them a spread of rough stones on the level of

[1] Mr. David C. Evans, of St. Clears, writes: "It appears to me that one may be fairly certain that the ditch went round the back. There are depressions in Dwrbwll-fawr corresponding exactly with that running round the ramparts. The vegetation is ranker there, and Mr. Bowen's son tells me that there is a marked difference in the soil."

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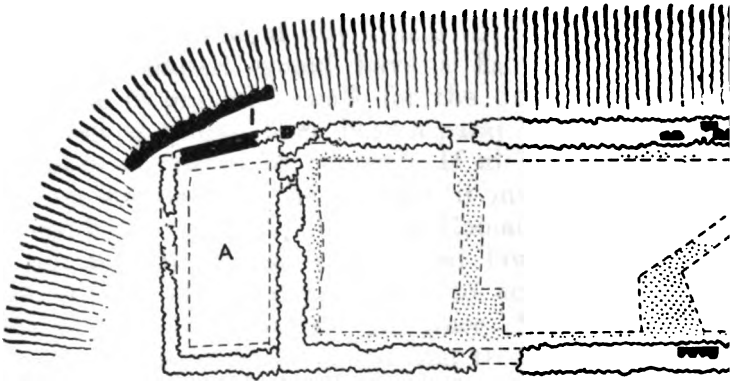
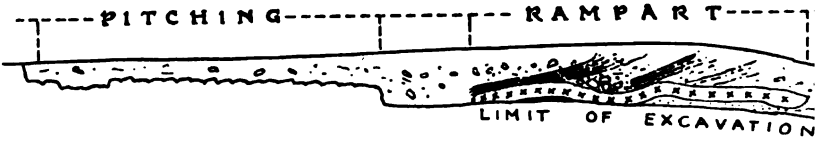
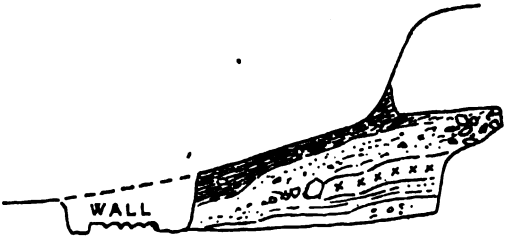


PLAN OF BUILDING

METRES





SECTION OF RAMPART THROUGH D

METRES

FIG. 4. CWMBRWYN: PLAN OF BUILDIN

Plan—20 ft. to 1 in.

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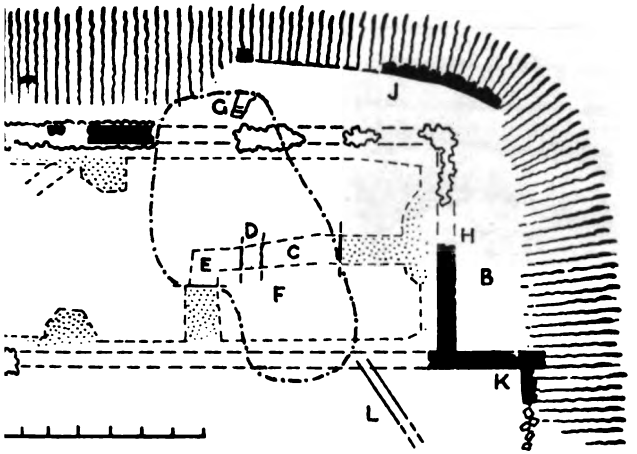

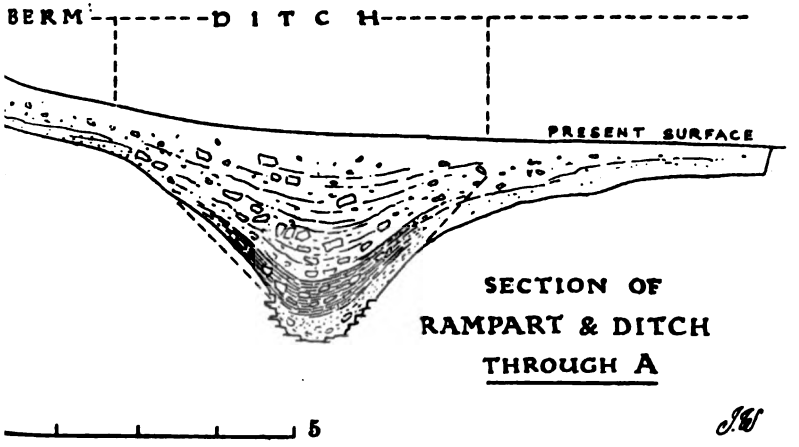

AND SECTIONS OF RAMPART AND DITCH.

Sections—8 ft. to 1 in.

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W. Jeremy.] [*Photo*

FIG. 5. CWMBRWYN: VIEW OF THE GATEWAY LOOKING TO THE NORTH.

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the old surface. Little of either wall was left, but that to the north was the better preserved. Of this wall only two huge stones remained in position, and these were rough as quarried, with no sign of dressing of any sort (Fig. 5). Together they extended 5 ft. 6 ins., and rested about midway upon a foundation of smaller stones, about 10 ft. long. Whether this foundation represented the original length of the wall is uncertain. To the west it ended abruptly with the line of the back of the rampart, and this probably represented its original termination in that direction, but to the east it was indefinite. Probably the wall originally extended to the front of the rampart. Of the south wall, only a few rough stones of the foundation remained, and a single one of the actual wall. The spread of stones between these walls was too roughly laid to be regarded as either pitching or paving; it seemed rather to be the foundation of a gravelled road, as the soil above contained much small broken stone.

The scanty remains of this gateway were exceedingly rude for Roman construction. No dressed stones were found about the site. What was left of the side walls suggested masonry of Cyclopean type—large irregular stones with their gaps filled in with small stones.[1] In a preliminary cutting made on October 2nd, 1905, at the south-west angle of the site of the gateway, an interesting and distinctively Roman object was found—the iron sheath, or shoe, which lined the socket for a door-pivot. When found, it presented an irregular mass of rust-cemented fragments of stone and earth; but after chipping off these extraneous matters it proved to be a short cylinder, with sides and bottom formed of thin iron, about $\frac{1}{4}$ in. thick, the internal dimension being $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. deep and $3\frac{1}{2}$ ins. wide (Fig. 6).

A short digression upon the gateways of Roman cities and forts, of which many examples have been laid bare, will be helpful here. They may be broadly classed as single and double. The Roman north gateway of

[1] Cf. Fig. 10.

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Cardiff Castle and the two exposed at Caerwent were of the former type, that is, they consisted of a single opening or span each; while those of Gellygaer were of the latter type. With the former we must also class that of Cwmbrwyn, for not only is it too narrow for subdivision, but no trace of an intervening wall or *spina* was found. In other respects, the planning of Roman gateways was, with few exceptions, remarkably uniform. The side walls of the opening of the single type, or of the single passage in the double type, had pilaster-like projections or returns in front, which contracted the opening, and they carried the arch, and

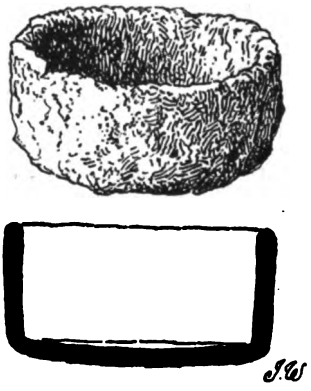

Fig. 6.—Cwmbrwyn: Iron Shoe of Gate-socket. (½.)

often these were repeated at the back. Within the angles of the front projections were the sockets in which the door-pivots turned, each door consisting of two leaves which swung back against the side walls when the gateway was open. The sockets were sunk in blocks of stone firmly embedded in the roadway, as at Cardiff, or in the ends of a stone threshold, as at Gellygaer, or of a timber one, as at Silchester. Occasionally, the remains of the iron linings of the sockets have been found, as at Cardiff, where the bottom plate of one was still in position. Usually, the threshold had on its outer side a raised lip, or curb, which sheathed the foot of the doors when closed. This at Gellygaer

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was constructed of flagstones, set on edge in the ground; but at Cardiff there was a central stone stop-post instead.

From these data it is possible to complete the plan of the Cwmbrwyn gateway with a considerable degree of probability. The iron shoe was loose amongst the *débris*, and in a position where the socket-stone might be expected. This stone, however, was not found; nor were the corresponding shoe and stone on the opposite side of the passage. It is, of course, possible that these shoes were let into a wooden sleeper, which had entirely disappeared by natural decay; but this is hardly likely, as suitable stone for the purpose is abundant in the district. It is more likely that the whole of the front portion of the gateway has been rooted up for building material, and that this accounts for the absence of the socket-stones. The side walls would certainly extend in a forward direction to the face of the rampart, as in Fig. 7, in which the remaining stones of the walls are shown black, and those of the foundations in outline, while the probable original planning is indicated in close diagonal shading, A A, being the area covered by the rampart, and B B, the ditch. The jambs may have taken the form of inward returns at their extremities, as at *b*, but more probably they were set back some distance, as at *a*, as Roman gateways were often recessed, and the spot where the iron socket-shoe was found is more consistent with this view than with the former. The jambs would reduce the actual portal perhaps to 10 ft. or less. It is reasonable to think that, following the usual custom, the gate was arched, but there was no evidence for this. If the portal was recessed, the arch would be set back with the jambs. It is also reasonable to think that the side walls would be returned for a short distance at their front ends, as indicated at *c*. The exploration supplied no hint whether the stop took the form of a curb (as shown on the plan) or a central post.

A trench was cut about 12 ft. in front—that is, east

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—of the gateway, and this brought to light the spread of rough stones of the roadway, about 1 ft. below the present surface. The direction of this road beyond is unknown, as no indication was to be seen in the field, but it is possible that a faint difference in the colour of the herbage may reveal the course in a very dry season.[1]

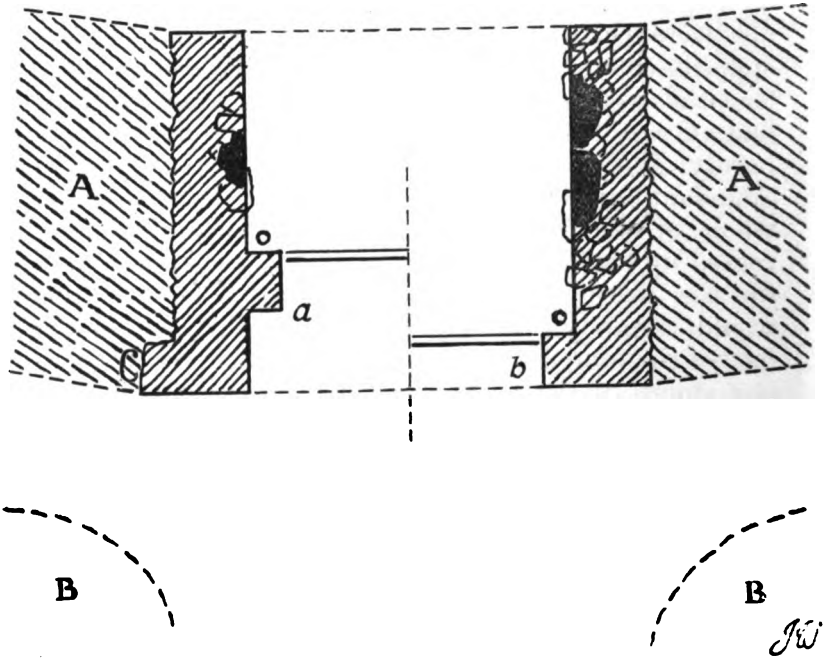

Fig. 7.—Cwmbrwyn : Conjectural Plan of Gateway.

The Exploration of the Interior.

At an early stage of the exploration there was evidence that the back or western side of the enclosed space had been occupied by a long narrow building with a slated roof, shown on a large scale on Fig. 4. Little more remained of its walls than their founda-

[1] There is a faint ridge running concentrically with the earthworks about 100 ft. to the south and south-east, but it appears to represent the outcrop of the hard sandstone met with at the bottom of the ditch and of the pit *g*, and thus to have no archæological interest.

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tions, and considerable lengths of these had been wholly removed. The main structure was oblong, 97½ ft. by 25 ft., with a southern adjunct or extension, A, of a shape to accommodate it to the restricted space within the rampart. This was of slighter construction than the main building; and as its walls were not bonded into the latter it appeared to be an addition, but not necessarily of a later date.

The foundations of the main building were about 3 ft. wide, and consisted of rough stones deposited in a trench of the same width. Here and there, these stones were laid more or less on end, like rough pitching. On the west side they formed a single course; but on the east, where the natural ground is lower, there were two courses, evidently with a view to bring the summit of the foundations to a common level. Of the actual walls only short lengths of the lowest course remained—a broken length of about 26 ft. on the western side, 3 ft. on the eastern, about 9 ft. at the north end, and a single corner-stone at the south-west angle, all indicated in black on the plan. These fragments of walling were 2 ft. thick, and were carefully constructed of slightly hammer-dressed stones. The mortar was reduced to an earthy consistence through the dissolving out of the lime. Very little of the foundations of the northern third of the building remained, except those of the northern end. It was across this portion of the building that Mr. Bowen's diggings took place in 1890, their approximate area being indicated by the dot-and-dash line. As he followed up the foundations for the sake of the stone they yielded, it may be presumed that their removal beyond the limits of this area was then accomplished. The highly interesting remains he met with will be considered presently. The east wall of the building was continued 9 ft. to the north, where it ended in the inner slope of the rampart, thus enclosing between the north wall and the rampart a small open triangular space, B, which was entered by a doorway in the pro-

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longed east wall, at K. Thus far, the general plan and construction of this building.

The exploration of the portion south of Mr. Bowen's diggings, consisting of rather more than two-thirds of the main structure, yielded no trace of cross-walls; but there may, of course, have been timber partitions, which had disappeared by decay. Wherever the excavations (which are indicated by thin broken lines) were made, its floor was revealed, consisting of the gravelly soil of the site, well compacted by beating; and probably it was originally mixed with lime, which,

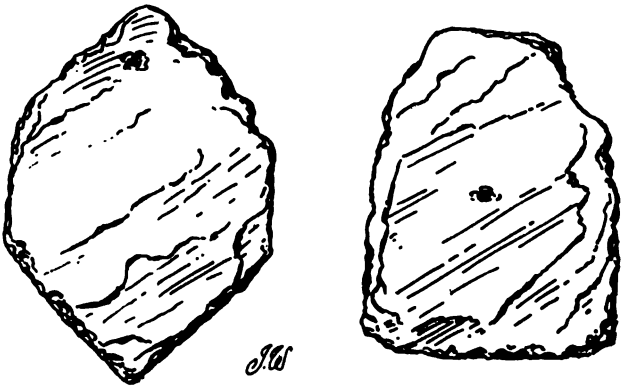

Fig. 8.—Cwmbrwyn : Roofing Slates. (⅛.)

as usual, has disappeared. Portions of a similar floor were also revealed at the north end. This floor was on a common level throughout, and is shown as a dotted ground on Fig. 4. No trace of a floor was discernible in the southern adjunct. Lying upon the floor, and on the soil immediately above, over the whole of the building were innumerable fragments of roofing-slates, and many whole ones. They were of the usual Roman shape, about 11 ins. wide, with parallel sides and rectangularly pointed below; while in the rough upper end was a nail-hole, which occasionally retained the rusted head of the iron nail; but a few of these slates had square lower ends, which, with little doubt, were

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used for the eaves (Fig. 8). These slates would produce a pleasing lozengy pattern in combination on the roof, as indicated in Fig. 9. A roof thus covered had usually a stone ridge, but no fragments of ridge-stones were found. Several small pieces of Roman red roofing-tiles were turned up about the area of Mr. Bowen's diggings, but not in sufficient numbers to warrant the belief that they were used as roofing material: the

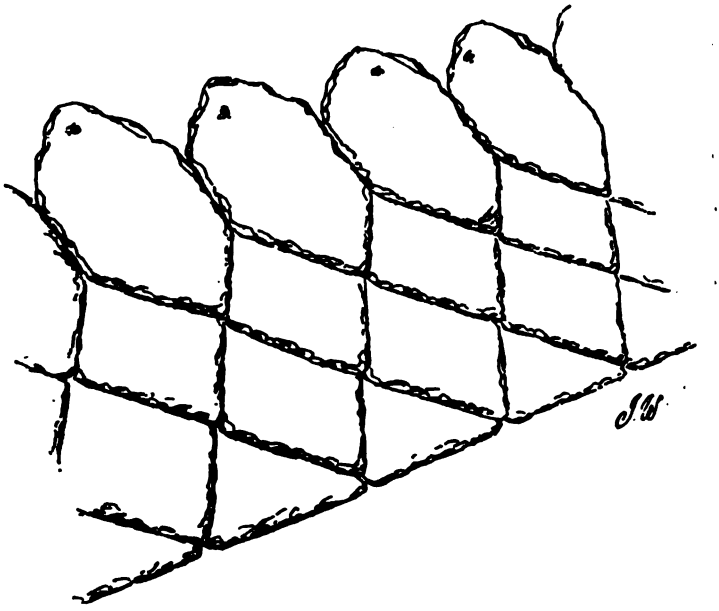

Fig. 9.—Cwmbrwyn : Restoration of Roofing.

Romans were wont to use these tiles for a variety of other purposes. That the building was of a single story may be inferred from the thinness of the external walls ; and these had too much disappeared to provide a clue as to where it was entered. Several fragments of window glass were found about the site, indicating the former presence of windows or skylights, and many fragments of square flue-tiles, of which more anon.

Attention must now be directed to the northern part of the building, the scene of Mr. Bowen's diggings.

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It will be observed on the plans that a drain (L) extends from the east wall, pointing in a north-eastern direction. At a distance of about 30 ft. it was found to pass under the north rampart, and with little doubt it emptied itself into the ditch. It was of very simple construction, consisting of a steep V-shaped trench, about 3 ft. deep, with a rounded bottom, which had been covered with flagstones, of which one was found *in situ*, the rest having been pulled up. In its passage through the rampart, the upper part of the trench had been filled with broken stone instead of soil. We knew that the various structures found by Mr. Bowen within the building had been removed, but we cut a wide longitudinal trench from the north end for about 25 ft., in the hope of finding some indications of what had been. The normal floor, as described above, extended 10 ft. from the north wall, at the end of which a sudden drop of nearly 2 ft. brought us to a new level C, consisting of the natural soil, flat and somewhat hard. This continued about 8 ft., when a transverse ridge of natural soil, D, about 3 ft. wide at the base, and with sloping sides, was reached; and the north side of this had been puddled with white clay, patches of which, about an inch or more thick, remained. On the south side of this ridge the ground fell to the former level, E, as far as the trench extended, 5 ft. We now excavated to the east, and almost immediately met with a vertical face of natural soil, 7 ft. from the east side of the building, which was capped with the gravelled floor. It was clear, then, that within the area dug by Mr. Bowen there was a sunk space, crossed by a ridge running east and west. The filling of this space consisted of soil and *débris*, mixed with a large amount of charcoal, which gave it a dark colour.

What Mr. Bowen found hereabouts was related by Mr. Tierney in the *Welshman*, and by Mr. Laws in *Archæologia Cambrensis*, as stated above; and the former gentleman has kindly forwarded further particulars from memory, also the gist of an account which

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appeared at the time in a Tenby paper. These accounts do not precisely agree, but this much is tolerably clear; Mr. Bowen unearthed three parallel walls, running east and west, and about 5 ft. apart. Of these, the two outer walls were well built, and laid in mortar, while the middle was of "dry" masonry, with the interstices filled up with common clay. The first wall discovered —that to the north—was about 4 ft. high, and was traced for 24 ft., when it came to an end. This, it will be observed, represents the width of the building, so we may conclude that it extended across its full width. The south wall is described as a "half-wall," that is, it was properly faced on one side (the north side), and was rough, as though built against the soil on the other. The face of this wall was plastered, according to Mr. Laws, with brick and lime concrete; and he states also that the south face of the north wall was similarly treated. The length of this south wall is not stated, nor that of the middle one.

Between the north and the middle walls was a curious construction, which is variously described as a masonry bench, or block, or concrete floor. Mr. Tierney thus describes it: "Mr. Bowen found something which at first sight resembled a cist without the usual flag-stone covering. A number of thin flat stones of somewhat irregular shapes and size, were set on their edges, so as to enclose a space 6 ft. long by 2 ft. 9 ins. wide. This space was filled to a depth of 3 or 4 ins. with a bright red clayey, or rather gravelly, substance, which would almost appear to have been artificially coloured. At first it was nearly of vermilion shade, but on exposure to the air for some time its colour became a good deal duller. The composition of this red powder resembled that of the cement, of which I shall speak presently. The stones resting on their edges and the red materials were then removed, and directly underneath it, was found a bed of the same dimensions of beautiful concrete or cement, 4 ins. deep, and reddish in colour. It was not nearly so

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bright a hue as the red powder just described, but it appeared to contain a good deal of the same ingredients. Among the rest, quarry and other stone, not found, I believe, in the neighbourhood, appeared to enter in a granular form into its composition. The bed of concrete was removed with a pickaxe, and disclosed a layer of flagstones, some of them over 2 ft. square, and altogether making up the same area as the cement. When the flags were raised, and the layer of concrete of the same thickness as before, but this time a light grey colour, came to view. The men who made this grouting, concrete, or whatever it should be called, were masters of their trade, for even now it is hard to break it, even with a pickaxe. A large portion of it came off like a big flagstone, and it is almost as hard and solid as the stone of the locality. However, Mr. Bowen succeeded in getting it all away, and once more he encountered flags like those above referred to. He determined not to give in just then, and went on to raise the flags. It seemed to be labour lost, for no sooner was the second bed of flags out of the way, than, lo! here comes the cement again—this time of a dark slaty colour, and coarse in structure. What lies beneath the dark cement, if anything, is not yet known." The residue of this structure was, however, subsequently removed, so the writer is informed by Mr. Bowen, from whose description it appears to have been merely a foundation spread of rough stones.

According to Mr. Laws, this "bench" was "about 2 ft. high, very strongly built of alternate courses of mortar and flags, on the top of which was a sort of tray made with flags, containing clay burnt, ground fine, and mixed with quartz. This bench was 7 ft. long and 8 ft. (3 ft. ?) wide."

In each of the passages or spaces between these walls were many fragments of flue-tiles, and, according to Mr. Laws, there was "a considerable quantity of wood ashes" in the space to the south. We also met with both in abundance in this part of the building.

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No perfect flue-tile was found; but a comparison of the fragments showed that they were of the ordinary Roman form—square tubes about 10 ins. long, and from 5 ins. to 5½ ins. wide on each side. They were, as usual, scored on the front and back, in order to make mortar adhere to them. These scorings were made with a three-toothed instrument or "scratch." On some of the tiles they simply crossed the face diagonally, saltire-wise, from corner to corner; on others they formed a more elaborate design, consisting of two

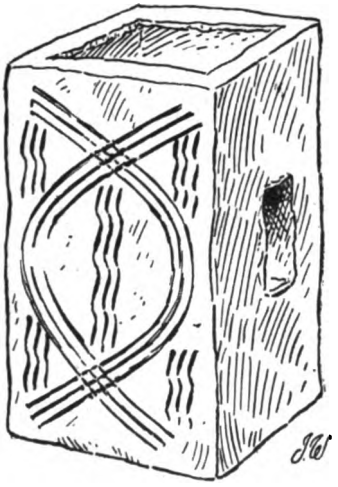

Fig. 10.—Cwmbrwyn: Flue-Tile. (¼.)

intersecting semicircles, with wavy lines in the interspaces. Some, at least, if not all, had lateral openings (Fig. 10). Vertical flues formed of these tiles were let into the walls of a heated apartment, and by this means the heat of the hypocaust radiated from the walls, as well as from the floor. In the sudatories of baths the walls were sometimes wholly lined with them, the lateral openings, just referred to, allowing the heated gases to freely circulate from flue to flue.

The writer's first difficulty was to correlate these remains with the building as a whole; but Mr. D. C.

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Evans, of St. Clears, recently interviewed Mr. Bowen, who pointed out the spot where the "bench" was found. This was about 18 ft. from the north wall of the building, and about 5 ft. from its east wall (F in the large plan, Fig. 4). From this, it is clear that all Mr. Bowen's walls were internal, and corresponded with the sunk area we found. His north wall was evidently *built against the north side of this area*, where we observed the sudden drop from the gravelly floor on the normal level. This would account for the height of the wall, 4 ft., reckoned from the bottom of the depression; if reckoned from the normal level, it would have protruded above the present surface. It also accounts for the *south* face only being plastered. The ridge of natural soil observed about 8 ft. to the south may have been connected with the dry wall, which, allowing for the thickness of the former wall, would leave an interval of about 5 ft. or 6 ft. The south wall was evidently also a *retaining*-wall, as its rough back indicated; and it, presumably, formed the southern limit of the sunk area somewhat to the south of our excavation. If so, the second depressed space could not have reached the east wall of the building, as we found here about 6 ft. of the normal floor. The "bench" evidently lay to the south of our trench at F, and its vicinity to the end of the drain should be noted.

The "bench" is puzzling; but it so exactly corresponds in construction with the usual substructure of a Roman tank,[1] that the writer is inclined to regard it as the bottom of one. The thin slabs surrounding it would be the lower portions of its sides. The red stucco of brick and lime was the usual lining of built receptacles for water, and the bright red gravelly substance which overspread the "bench" was probably

[1] At Gellygaer the lower part of a similarly constructed tank was found, only each stratum consisted of stones packed together on end, instead of laid horizontally as at Cwmbrwyn. *Roman Fort of Gellygaer*, p. 69.

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the decayed stucco of the sides. The wood ashes and flue-tiles are suggestive that the sunk spaces between the three walls formed a hypocaust. We have here, then, all the elements of a small Roman bath, consisting apparently of two heated rooms (a *tepidarium* and a *calidarium*), and we may reasonably suppose that the space between these and the north end of the building also formed one of the *suite* of bathing chambers. As this space had no hypocaust, it would be the combined cooling and dressing-room (*frigidarium* and *apodyterium*). A careful study of the plan (Fig. 4) will convince that the stokehole of the hypocausts could hardly have been otherwise than on their west side; but the external wall here was reduced to patches of foundation rubble, too vague to indicate any traces of a passage through it; but just outside its line was found a rough structure of several large stones at G, which may have been one of the cheeks of the furnace. The tank described above had a solid bottom, so was incapable of being heated; we must therefore regard it as the cold-water plunge of the *frigidarium*. There should be a hot-water *alveus*, and this was normally constructed over the hypocaust and close to the furnace. It would therefore be in the second heated chamber (*i.e.*, the chamber to the south), and at its west end, with the flue of the furnace passing under its bottom, which would probably be formed of a large flagstone.[1] Nothing, however, answering to this seems to have been found by Mr. Bowen, nor any remains of the suspended floors and the *pilæ* which supported them, of the heated chambers. Nor did he apparently find any of the flue-tiles in position—it is very evident that he was not the first to resort to this part of the site for building materials! A bath attached to a Roman house rarely, if ever, communicated directly with it; and if our conjecture that the space to the north was the *frigidarium*, it is here that we must

[1] Such as the slab at Castell Tôch, p. 177; but this is traditionally said to have come from the gateway.

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look for the entrance to the *suite* of rooms. Now the intact piece of walling forming the eastern half of its north side had a tolerably well-formed square end at H, suggestive of the side of a doorway from the little yard, B, which, as already intimated, was reached by a doorway in its east wall. The *frigidarium* entered, its opposite side would probably present a wide recess to the left, containing a cold-water plunge, and to the right a narrow doorway into the little *tepidarium*. Altogether these curious remains—slight as they are—are consistent with the hypothesis of a bath of thoroughly normal planning.

We must consider the remains in the enclosed space

Fig. 11.—Cwmbrwyn : Retaining Wall.

external to the building just described. The building occupied, as already stated, the west side of the enclosure. The southern adjunct, in spite of the slope of its west end to accommodate it to the curved sweep of the rampart, encroached upon the inner slope of the latter. This necessitated the cutting away of part of this slope, and the insertion of a concave retaining-wall, 18 ft. long (I on Fig. 4), to support the remaining portion of the earthwork. This walling was constructed of large rough stones, with their irregular interspaces filled with smaller stones, all being bedded in red clay instead of mortar (Fig. 11). It still remained to the height of nearly 4 ft., and owed its preservation to its utilisation for the field-fence. There appears to have

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been a similar revetment towards the opposite end of the building at J, where a broken line of large stones was brought to light at the foot of the hedge, about 24 ft. in length. This was at a sufficient distance from the west wall and north-west corner of the building, to allow of a passage from the little yard at the north end to our presumed stokehole. Between these two retaining walls (I and J) the rampart sloped down to the foot of the building.

Attention is now directed to the rest of the interior east of the building. A series of diagonal and other trenches proved that the whole central portion was devoid of buildings and other structures; that it was, in fact, an open space. The road through the gateway continued across it, or rather projected into it, for its traces became obscure as the building was approached. The track consisted of a spread of rough stones, about 25 ft. in width, which with little doubt was originally gravelled. The old surface on either side disclosed patches of finely-broken stone, which suggested that the space generally was also thinly gravelled. In the more central area, the surface, as a rule, was clean and free from finds; but in the vicinity of the gateway, and especially of the building, the soil was discoloured, and fragments of slate and pottery were frequent. This open space, or yard, extended unimpeded to the portion of the east rampart south of the gateway and to the south-east corner, and hereabouts the old surface appears to have been left in its natural condition. Elsewhere, as the trenches approached the rampart, a different condition of things was observed, which will now be described.

Along the north side, the east side to within a few yards of the gateway, and especially within the north-east corner, patches of rude paving and dark soil were met with between the rampart and the broken line *a a*, Fig. 3.

Extending eastwards from the northern prolongation of the east wall of the building were the remains of a

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slight retaining-wall *b*, at the foot of the rampart, definitely built at the west end, and becoming a tumbled line of stones towards the east. Near the north-east curve of the rampart, a line of tumbled stones, *c*, was again met with in this position, and between the two, many stones were found which may have belonged to this wall. Southward of this curve, and also along the inner foot of the rampart, was a row of several shallow holes, *d*, about 1 ft. in diameter, and surrounded with stones. Four of these holes were observed, three of them 7 ft. apart, and the northernmost 14 ft. distant, with some vague indications of an intermediate one. They were evidently post-holes, and suggestive of a building or shed, of which the rough paving in front was the floor. No trace of the opposite side of this structure, either in the form of post-holes or otherwise, was found; the only indication of its width being the paving, which ceased at a distance of about 15 ft. Immediately north of this row of holes, and extending into the rampart, was a large hole *e*, filled with large stones, charcoal, and dark earth, but it is impossible to say what it was intended for. From these slender data it would seem that the yard was bordered on the north and on the east to nearly as far as the gateway, with a range of timber buildings, or sheds, constructed against the rampart.

On the south side of the yard we again met with a line of stones, *f*, at the foot of the rampart, which appeared to relate to a slight retaining-wall. At the west end of this was an oval pit, *g*, 8 ft. 6 ins. deep, with its bottom sunk about 2 ft. into the rock. It measured across the top 5 ft. 8 ins. east and west, and 4 ft. north and south, but its sloping sides reduced the bottom to 3 ft. by 2 ft. 6 ins. The sides above the rock were roughly lined with stone, like a well. The filling consisted of soil, dark from the presence of charcoal, and many stones. What this pit was used for it is impossible to say. It certainly was not a well; and as no drain opened into it, it could hardly have

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been a cesspit. At a short distance northwards of the eastern end of this ruined retaining-wall were found the remains of a trough-like furnace, or, to be more precise, the flue of a furnace, *h*, also Fig. 12. It was sunk about 9 ins. into the old surface, and the sides and west end were built of two courses of stone bedded in clay, the east end opening into a shallow excavation about 3 ft. across. The internal dimensions of the flue were 2 ft. 3 ins. in length, about 1 ft. in width, and 9 ins. in depth. The floor was of earth, much burnt, and the clay in which the stones were bedded, was reduced to a crumbly brick-like consistence by the

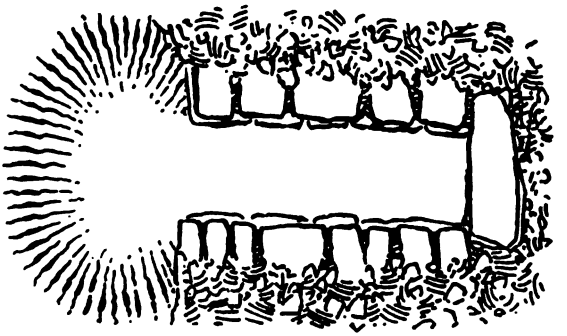

Fig. 12.—Cwmbrwyn : Plan of Furnace. ($\frac{1}{24}$.)

action of fire. Much charcoal was also found about the site. This flue in its original condition would be covered with a structure of stone, surrounding a cauldron or boiler of some kind, and it would be stoked from the depression. Similar flues have been found at Silchester, Caerwent, and elsewhere.

In the open space in front of the long building, and near its south end, was a roughly-pitched area, about 10 ft. square, *i* (Fig. 3). It was covered and surrounded with black earth containing much charcoal; and the fact that several pieces of iron cinder or clinker were found on the site, renders it probable that it was the floor of a small smithy. No trace of an en-

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closing wall was noticed, so that it is probable that it was a timber building. On its north side was a trail of stones, suggestive of a fallen structure of some rough description, About 15 ft. to the east of the pitched area was a shallow depression, *j*, containing dark earth, but nothing was observed to indicate its use.

The Finds.

The fragments of pottery, ornaments, and other objects of a more or less portable nature found during the exploration were comparatively few, and, with only three or four exceptions, of no special interest; they were, however, thoroughly representative of the usual finds on Roman sites. They mostly occurred on and about the site of the building, and in the filling of the pit, *g*, Fig. 3.

As usual, fragments of pottery predominated, and, with one exception, related to the commoner types of Roman vessels. They included several pieces, all plain, of the lustrous red so-called Samian ware, of which one was the bottom of a shallow *patera* with a "pushed-up" centre and faint indications of a potter's mark, the rest apparently belonging to small bowls or cups. The majority of the potsherds were of the common grey and black wares, evidently of different makes, as their texture and finish differed considerably. Several related to the familiar globular jars with out-curved lips, almost invariably found on Roman sites; others to shallow dishes, and to bowls with straight tapering sides and simple or moulded flanged rims. The most interesting potsherd was a fragment of the upper part of a cup or cup-like jar, with an eyelet handle, as shown in Fig. 13, which also indicates the probable form of the vessel. It was of coarse black ware, and the eyelet could only have been used for suspension, as its aperture was less than ½ in. in diameter. These vessels are rather rare, and, if we mistake not, are the survival of a British Iron-Age

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form. Several of similar type were found by the late General Pitt-Rivers at Rushmore, and are figured on Plate XXXIX of his *Excavations in Cranborne Chase near Rushmore*, vol. i.

Several buff-coloured potsherds were found, five or six belonging to *mortaria*, all with the usual broad roll-and-elevated-bead rim. Of a much coarser variety of this ware were several pieces of large *amphoræ*. A few pieces of red pottery, resembling that of a modern flower-pot, were also met with, and one of these related

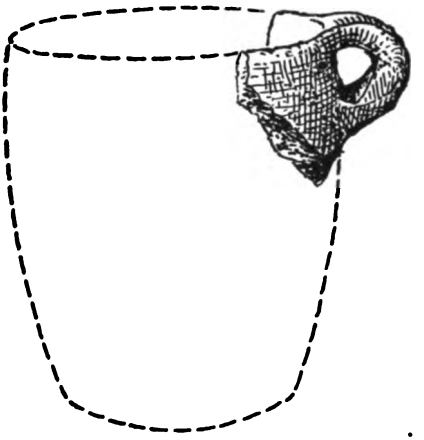

Fig. 13.—Cwmbrwyn : Eyelet Handle of Vessel. (½.)

to a shallow hemispherical bowl of fine texture, with an external moulding 1¼ ins. below its lip. It retained some indications of a well-smoothed surfacing.

Of stone objects the most notable was a portion of the upper stone of a quern, of convex form, with a beaded shoulder and slightly dished summit, Fig. 14. It was carefully shaped out of hard gritstone, 15 ins. in diameter, with an "eye" tapering from 2½ ins. across the top to 1½ ins. at the bottom. The grinding surface was concave, and the handle-hole, in the side. A portion of the nether stone of another quern of rude workmanship, with a flat grinding surface, was

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also found. In the filling of the pit was a curious and very roughly shaped hemispherical stone, about

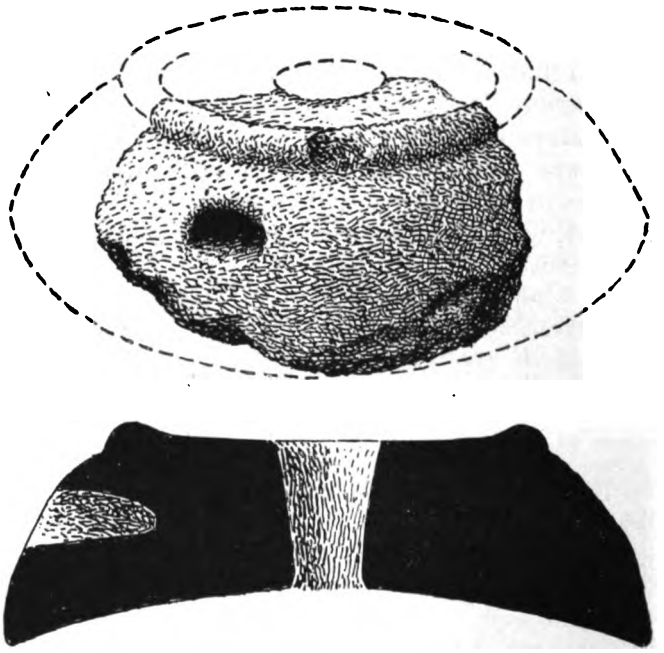

Fig. 14.—Cwmbrwyn : Portion of Upper Stone of Quern. (¼.)

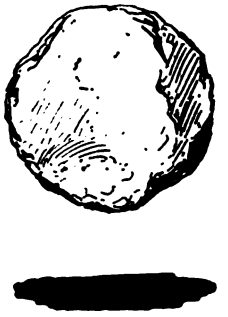

Fig. 15.—Cwmbrwyn : Slate Disc. (½.)

9 ins. in diameter, with a shallow circular hole or socket in its summit, $1\frac{3}{4}$ ins. across. Several slate

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discs, ranging from $1\frac{1}{8}$ (Fig. 15) to $3\frac{1}{2}$ ins. in diameter, rudely chipped out of slate, were met with. Similar discs, but of pennant grit, have been found on Roman sites at Llantwit-Major, Gellygaer, Ely Racecourse (Cardiff), and Caerwent, and they have been regarded as covers for vessels or as objects used in some game. Whether we can class with these the remarkable disc of the local sandstone found in the pit, and shown in Fig. 16, is uncertain. It will be observed that its

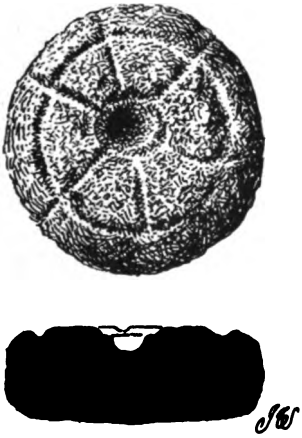
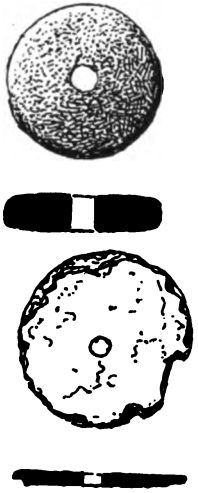


Fig. 16.—Cwmbrwyn : Incised Stone Disc. ($\frac{1}{2}$.)



Figs. 17 and 18. Cwmbrwyn : Spindle-whorls of Stone and Slate. ($\frac{1}{2}$.)

upper surface is incised with a wheel-like device, the "spokes" of which radiate from a neatly-formed hemispherical depression. It has been suggested that it is an unfinished spindle-whorl, the central hole of which was never completed; but the depression seems to have been purposely made as it is, and the object, which is $2\frac{3}{4}$ ins. in diameter, is unduly large for a spindle-whorl. Three undoubted spindle-whorls were found, one of sandstone, Fig. 17, and the other two of slate, one of which is shown in Fig. 18. Several whet-

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stones and stones with flattened surfaces, which may have been used as mullers, were also found.

The only undoubted fragment of a Roman glass vessel was a small piece of the upper part of a thin colourless beaker, or goblet, about 3 ins. in diameter. The inner surface was smooth, but the outer was slightly rough, the lip gently curved outwards, and the sides were ornamented with shallow horizontal grooves about $\frac{1}{20}$ in. wide. Fragments of precisely similar vessels have been found at Gelligaer and Caerwent.

Only three bronze objects were yielded by the exploration. One of these was a small coin of Carausius (A.D. 287-293). It is of a common type (Fig. 19),

Fig. 19.—Cwmbrwyn : Coin of Carausius. (†.)

having the Emperor's bust with a rayed crown to the right—IMP CARAVSIVS PF AVG, and on the reverse, Peace standing to the left, and holding in the right hand an olive branch, and in the left a staff or *hasta pura*—PAX AVG. The coin is patinated, and the figures and lettering are singularly sharp, exhibiting little sign, if any at all, of wear. It is evident that when it was lost it had not long been in circulation. The little object, Fig. 20, which was found in the drain, is very carefully and neatly shaped. The shank of the disc-like stud is hollowed and polished on its upper side (as shown in the figure) by wear, and the upper end of the curved bar has a fractured surface, showing that what remains is only a portion of the original object. What that object may have been puzzled the writer at first, but eventually he concluded that it was the

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handle of a small bronze bucket, or *situla*, such as have been found at Pompeii, but not in Britain, so far as he is aware. Mr. Treherne submitted it to Mr. Reginald Smith, of the British Museum, who was of the same opinion, and considered it to be of early character, certainly very early in the first century, A.D., if not earlier; of British rather than Roman workmanship; and made of bronze containing much tin. Another suggestion is that it is part of a spur, but it seems to too slender for that purpose. The third object, a pair of tweezers, which was exhibited on the occasion of the visit of the Cambrian Archæological Association, pro-

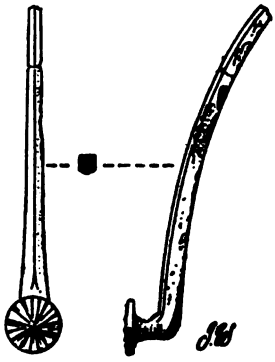

Fig. 20.—Cwmbrwyn: Bronze Fragment. (½.)

bably also came from the drain, for it was picked up from the spoil in its vicinity. It is formed of a thin band or ribbon of bronze, with embossed decoration on the outer side, and, if the writer remembers aright, had some traces of gilt.

The only iron objects which could be identified were a few nails, all others being reduced to shapeless masses of rust. There were several fragments of much corroded and oxidized lead, the largest of which was a thin piece about 3½ ins. long, with a longitudinal ridge. It was almost certainly a piece of pipe, made of sheet lead, the ridge being the soldered edges. It was found at the foot of the south rampart.

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A few fragments of animals' bones were met with, but as a rule they were too decayed for identification. Several belonged to some large animal—perhaps the ox or the horse. A few oyster shells were also met with. Charcoal was found in comparative abundance in many places, as already stated. It occurred freely among the stones in the north-east corner of the enclosure, suggesting that the timber structures thereabouts had been destroyed by fire. Several pieces of anthracite were noticed in the filling of the pit, *g* (Fig. 3), and elsewhere.

Mr. Bowen's diggings in 1890 brought to light three supposed inscribed stones, which were briefly described by Mr. Tierney in the *Welshman*. One of these was a block, 12 ins. by 7 ins., which was built into one of the walls then found. It bore a number of incised markings, which this gentleman states in a recent letter to the writer had a remote resemblance to Greek characters. The late Mr. Alcwyn Evans suggested they were Runes. The other two stones were smaller, and were probably fragments of a larger block, and they also bore similar enigmatical markings. One of these stones—presumably one of the latter—was seen by Mr. Laws, who, however, regarded the incisions as probably masons' marks. It is possible that those of the first stone, at least, were rough cursive Roman characters, such as one of the inmates of the building may have made in an idle hour, but unfortunately these stones are now lost. Several stones with incised markings were found during the recent excavations, which throw some light upon the question. All of these were of fine-grained sandstone, and several of the grooves were certainly produced by the sharpening of pointed implements of some kind, as arrow- or spear-points. Others, however, could not have been so produced. On a piece of broken stone, for instance, were some markings which appeared to be part of a rude cruciform device, with the limbs terminating in, or rather intersecting, semicircles. It was such a device as any one in any period, attracted

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by the smooth surface of a stone in a wall, might have made to while away the time.

The exploration naturally suggests the question, what are these remains at Cwmbrwyn? That they are wholly Roman seems beyond all doubt. Nothing was disclosed to indicate that the site was British, and was afterwards adopted and modified by the Romans; nor that it continued to be occupied after the Roman period. But the nature of this occupancy is by no means clear. The strong defensive works, the planning of the building, and the crudeness of the structures, are not consistent with the hypothesis of a "villa;" they are, on the contrary, suggestive of a fortified post of some sort, in spite of the remarkable divergence of the form of the site from the normal rectangularity of a Roman fort. But the numerous Roman forts which have been more or less completely explored in this country — leaving out of the question the large legionary stations like Caerleon, Chester, and Lincoln—were on a larger scale than Cwmbrwyn, and were designed to hold a cohort, whether small or large, whether consisting of six centuries, as at Gellygaer, or nominally a thousand strong, as at Housesteads. In these, each century was housed in a narrow building from 120 to 140 ft. or more long; but at Cwmbrwyn we have only one building comparable with these. May we infer from this that it was a fortlet designed to hold a small detachment consisting of a century? But the fortlets comparable in size with it, such as the few described in Watkin's *Roman Lancashire*, or even the smaller mile-castles on the Wall of Hadrian, are square, which makes the abnormal form of Cwmbrwyn all the more remarkable. Is it possible that it was a *mansio* or a *mutatio*? Unfortunately, we know nothing of the planning of these posting stations, but presumably they were fortified. The open yard in front of the long building would be convenient to receive vehicles and baggage,

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and the timber structures on the north and east sides would provide accommodation for relays of horses. But against this hypothesis must be urged the apparent absence of any important Roman road in the vicinity. Perhaps it was the outpost of a Roman fort, the remains of which occupy a typical position on the banks of the Tâf two miles to the N.N.E., and are to be seen on the left side of the road between Llandowror and St. Clears Station. Cwmbrwyn is admirably placed for a detachment of cavalry to thwart a hostile landing from the estuary of that river.

Did we but know the exact age of the remains, it might help to a clue. The fresh condition of the coin of Carausius shows that the place was in occupation during—or at least shortly after—that emperor's time, but it does not prove that it had not already been long occupied. On the other hand, the absence of any signs of rebuilding, and the general paucity of the "finds," militates against a long occupation. All we can say is, that the site was in use in comparatively late Roman times; and we know that in late times changed military conditions had wrought changes in fortifications. Traditional forms and arrangements were no longer strictly adhered to.

It will be evident to the reader that Cwmbrwyn is, —and is likely to become more so—a point of great interest in Romano-British archæology, and that all archæologists will congratulate the new Carmarthenshire Antiquarian Society on this, their first important work of investigation. Little is known of Roman Carmarthenshire, and this county offers a fertile field of research, to which this Society will do well to give special attention. In conclusion, both Society and writer are indebted to several others besides the gentlemen whose assistance has been referred to in the foregoing pages. A special word of acknowledgment is due to Mr. Bowen and his family for their patriotism and kind hospitality, and to Mr. W. Jeremy, of Laugharne, for a series of photographs, which provide

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a record of the work at various stages; and the hearty co-operation of the diggers and their foreman, Mr. E. Evans, of Greenbridge, all of whom laboured with intelligence and care, both facilitated the work and materially helped to bring it to a successful issue.

GEOLOGICAL NOTES.

By T. C. CANTRILL, B.Sc.Lond.

Geographical. — The remains described above lie on the northern slopes of a range of hills which here form the coast of Carmarthenshire. From Laugharne the range extends for some miles westwards, through Llansadurnen, Eglwys-Cymmyn, and Tavernspite towards Narberth; the plateau which forms its top attains an elevation of some 500 ft. or 600 ft. above sea-level. On the south it presents an almost unbroken front, where it rises sharply from the coastal alluvium of Laugharne Marsh; on the north it is trenched by several deep "cwms," between which the plateau descends in stages towards the valley of the Tâf. The Roman remains stand at an altitude of 390 ft. on one of these minor plateaux, between the dingle of Cwm-brŵyn on the east and that of Las-fâch on the west. Southwards the site is dominated by the higher ground of Castle-tôch; northwards the surface falls away towards Llandowror.

These physical features do not, however, appear to throw any light on the position selected; we must suppose a road of some sort passed near the place, yet any main line of road following the coast might have been expected to traverse the district along the crest of the hills, as does the present road from Laugharne past Three Lords' Bushes towards Marros. Such a road would have avoided crossing the deep dingles which cut into the north side of the plateau. It is probable, therefore, that the building was approached by a minor road, the course of which has still to be traced.

The Site.—The country-rock is the Red Marl subdivision of the Lower Old Red Sandstone, and consists of a great thickness of red and chocolate-brown marl, with occasional beds of sandstone of divers characters. Some of the marls contain twigs and pellets of grey calcareous matter ("race") of in-

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organic origin; not infrequently these have been dissolved out, leaving a loose residue of brown earthy matter. The occasional bands of sandstone vary much in character: one type is micaceous, soft, fine-grained, and flaggy, and readily splits along the bedding-planes. These micaceous sandstones are generally purplish-red in colour, but are occasionally pale green. Another type is coarse, open-grained, gritty, and often pebbly; this is generally brown or greenish-grey, and not flaggy.

The prevailing dip of the strata is a little west of south at an angle diminishing from 50 deg. a few hundred yards north of Cwm-brŵyn to 5 deg. a mile to the south. Under the Roman site the dip is about 10 deg.

The bed-rock immediately underlying the site is red marl of the ordinary type, with some calcareous bands. The rock was reached in the exploratory trench cut across the vallum and fosse north of the gateway, showing that the fosse had been at this point cut down through the subsoil and several feet into the solid rock. Also, the excavations showed rock under about 7 ft. of natural rubble in a pit at the south-west part of the site.

The subsoil covering the site is the direct product of the weathering of the underlying rocks; these break down into angular lumps which, when traced upwards, are seen to grow smaller and smaller, and to be embedded in an increasing amount of fine loamy material till the actual surface-soil is reached. This is often paler in colour than the subsoil, owing to the bleaching action of vegetable acids. In the case under description, the subsoil consists of a red loamy material, full of small angular pieces of marl and sandstone, chiefly red; about the middle of the area the subsoil contains much *débris* of green, fine-grained sandstone, a thin band of which no doubt crops out at that position. Fragments of a similar green sandstone are present in the concrete found on the site. There is an entire absence of any drifted materials—boulder-clay, gravel, or sand; the subsoil and soil have been derived immediately from the subjacent rocks.

The Building-Stones. — These consist of rough undressed blocks and slabs of coarse grit, medium-grained sandstone, flaggy sandstone, and marl, all of which could be obtained from the Old Red Sandstone of the neighbourhood. The blocks were undoubtedly derived from different beds, and not from a quarry in any one bed, though some may have come

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from the bottom of the fosse; in fact, it would seem that the builders explored the whole neighbourhood for a mile or so around, and gathered from the surface whatever lumps of rock met their notice, or could be extracted from the soil with little trouble. This would account also for the weathered appearance and absence of sharp angles which characterise most of the blocks. One lump of vein-quartz was noticed; also a piece—6 ins. long—of under-burnt limestone, in the wall at the south-west angle of the building. Limestone could be obtained from the Carboniferous Limestone of Coygan, or Pendine, each about 2½ miles from Cwm-brŵyn.

The blocks and slabs range up to 3 ft. in length.

Other Stones.—Two stones of exceptional character—possibly used in some grinding or pulverising operations—were exposed within the area. One is a water-worn pebble, roughly triangular in form, 5 ins. thick, with sides about 2 ft. long; it consists of fine-grained, hard brown sandstone. The other is similarly water-worn, is somewhat almond-shaped, 1 ft. 1½ ins. long, 6½ ins. across, and 2½ ins. thick, and is of rock similar to the other. Probably both are beach-pebbles from the coast west of Pendine, along which various hard sandstones of such a character crop out in the Millstone Grit and Coal Measures. Several small rounded pebbles of sandstone, ranging up to 4 ins. in length, were noticed; these were certainly brought to the site for some definite purpose.

The Roofing-Slates.—The roofing slates are of two varieties: a pale greenish-grey slate of granular texture, and a blue-black slate of finer material and somewhat silky lustre. There is little doubt that the first has been obtained from a bed of volcanic ash interbedded with the *Didymograptus-bifidus* Beds of the Arenig Series, a subdivision of the local Ordovician System of rocks. The second variety is probably attributable to the *Didymograptus-bifidus* shales themselves. The beds which would yield such slates crop out over a large area along the southern slopes of the Preseley range of hills in North Pembrokeshire, and some 10 miles north-west of Cwm-brŵyn. In the present poverty of our knowledge of the geology of that region, it is not possible to specify more precisely the actual localities from which the slates could have been derived. The district in question is traversed by the Via Julia on its way from Carmarthen to St. David's, so that a knowledge of the existence of such materials was probably soon acquired by the Roman settlers.

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Coal.—Numerous fragments of anthracite, both burnt and unburnt, were found associated with that part of the building enclosed in the dot-and-dash line in the plan on Plate II. The nearest points where such coal crops out are the Gwendraeth Valley district, near Kidwelly, 10 miles to the east, and the Amroth district, about 6 miles to the south-west. The latter is the more accessible, and was probably the source of this fuel.

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Cambrian Archaeological Association.

REPORT OF THE CARMARTHEN MEETING.

(*Continued from page* 128.)

EXCURSIONS.

EXCURSION NO. 1.—TUESDAY, AUGUST 14th, 1906.

LLANSTEPHAN.

Route.—The members assembled in the Guildhall Square at 9 A.M., and were conveyed by carriage along the road on the west side of the River Towy, 8 miles in a south-west direction to Llanstephan.

The return journey was through Llanybri to Trefenty (5 miles north-west of Llanstephan); thence 2½ miles north to the new church of Llanfihangel Abercowin; and then back along the St. Clears road to Carmarthen, a distance of 8 miles east.

The members were entertained to luncheon at Plâs, Llanstephan, by the President, Sir John Williams, Bart., and to tea at Trefenty by the Rev. W. Davies, Vicar of Llanfihangel.

Ystrad House.—The first stop was at Ystrad House, the residence of Major and Mrs. Evans. Here the sculptured base of a font, supposed to have belonged to the demolished Church of St. John, Carmarthen, was inspected, photographed, and sketched. It is 3 ft. 2 ins. high, with four sides 9½ ins. square, each side bearing a carved figure under a canopy. These represent respectively a mitred bishop, St. Peter with the keys (?), the builder with a model of the church in his hands, and a worn-out figure of a person with hands uplifted to bless. The other stone on the lawn was supposed by local archæologists to be a public Roman altar, but the general opinion of the experts was that it was the capital of a column. It was dug up between St. Peter's Church and Priory Street, and removed by Mr. John Jones, M.P., to Ystrad about 1830.

Llanstephan Church.—Llanstephan was reached soon after eleven o'clock, and in the Church the Rev. J. M. James read an exceedingly interesting Paper regarding that edifice. At its conclusion, Archdeacon Thomas, in proposing a vote of thanks, said they were

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reminded that they were very near Pembrokeshire by seeing the arches cut out of the walls, a feature very common in that county. There was also a squint in the north wall, by which those who sat in the transept would be able to see the elevation of the Host.

Llanstephan Castle.—From the Church to the Castle the walk was interrupted by a heavy shower of rain, but reaching the ruin the party entered an ancient room, where Colonel W. Ll. Morgan gave particulars as to the architecture of the building. They had heard, he said, that the Castle was last destroyed in 1256. He divided the Castle into two parts—the old and the new—and 1256 was the dividing date between the two. The new Castle was built after 1256, and the question was how much of the old Castle remained to the present day. They had heard the previous night of the number of times the Castle was destroyed. They would see outside there was undoubtedly part of the older Castle in existence. The lower part of the walls was undoubtedly different from any of the newer part. It was impossible to tell from the masonry whether it was earlier or not than 1256; but as there was work which undoubtedly was done after that particular date, he thought they would all agree that earlier than that would belong to the old Castle that was so often burnt and destroyed. The wall of what had been called—erroneously he thought—the "keep" was the old Castle of Llanstephan. From outside they would see the outline of the wall most distinctly, far better than on the inside. There might be some question whether the square tower was old or not. In those early days they did build towers, but all he had known had been very different from this. He thought it represented the old peel tower of the Castle. The greater part of the wall had been destroyed, but they could see where it went into the ground, and the area given, although small, would still represent the Castle of those days. Inside the Castle there were alterations made when it was restored, and most peculiar and distinctive work they found there. When the Castle was restored, the place in which they were standing was the main gateway. They could see the remains of the portcullis, and outside it was defended by a shoot extremely well preserved, and the lancet loops were very characteristic of the reign of Henry III, or at all events early in that of Edward I. Lancet loops were quite as characteristic as tracery in the windows. It would be 1270 most likely when the Castle was restored. There were several points of great interest about this that he should like to argue out. The room up above was a rather fine room, but insignificant, and had got a very large fireplace in it, and therefore, he thought, the kitchen. The top room of all was a magnificent room, and was the State hall. They would find a very good fireplace indeed, with beautiful carvings of the Early-English date. There were two windows; the tracery of one was well preserved, and the other had been destroyed. It was characteristic of between 1270 and 1300. The rooms each side of where they

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were standing were guard-rooms, and that comprised the main gateway.

At some other time either the garrison had been reduced, or they did not want to maintain the number of men necessary to keep the gateway going, so they started a new gateway on the other side that could be worked and guarded by a very much less number of men. When that was done was quite problematical. He certainly thought from the arrangement of the gateway it was not very long after the Castle was actually restored—probably within 100 years. After the original owners had died out, and it had got into the hands of the Crown, the place would be left in the hands of a Governor, who turned that main gateway into his own apartments. He blocked it up by two walls. It was totally incompatible with even their Welsh taste that that could have been done when a good owner was in the Castle. It seemed a very flimsy way of doing it. The next tower had been called the chapel tower; the upper room had got good windows in it, and it had all the appearance of a chapel, except that it had got a fireplace in it. There was no other place that could have been a chapel of the Castle, and there must have been a chapel, therefore he thought that might have been it. The room underneath was the priest's room. The tower on the right was the guard-room. It was a very remarkable thing how very well this Castle was laid out, because the ramparts and also the roof could be sentried and guarded by men from the guard-room without any connection whatever with the state-rooms. Those were apparently kept quite distinct. The sentry walk was quite distinct from the walk to the chapel tower, and that was why he thought it must be the chapel, because they could go from the state-rooms to the chapel without going into the inner court. The further tower had no roof to it, but was put there to guard the angle of the chapel. Several points of that wall were worth going to see. The Castle was surrounded by a very good ditch, and on the outside to the west there were some very fine earthworks. The date of them was rather problematical. They would naturally think they were put up in the time of the Civil War, but they found so many of them in these Welsh castles that played no part in the Civil War that they must be condemned for that purpose. He was not sure that they were not of the time of Owen Glyndwr, but they seem to be intimately connected with the building of the Castle. If they looked at Buck's print, 1740, it showed a very different state to now. He showed a fine wall outside that would really turn that part of the Castle into a concentric castle. He thought he was right there, and that these outworks were really coeval with the date of the restoration of the Castle. The only thing he could not understand was where they got their drinking water. It seemed to him utterly impossible that they could have had water at all. There might have been a tank underneath that building; but if there was the only place was in one of the guard-rooms, which showed some approach to a tank.

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The Pilgrims' Church at Llanfihangel Abercowin.—The ruined church is situated a quarter of a mile south-east of Trefenty, in the angle formed by the junction of the Afon Cywyn with the River Tâf. On arrival at the church, the Rev. W. Davies, vicar, read the following Paper :—

The time at my disposal here this afternoon is limited, though I have much ground to cover. However, my Paper will not be long, and my remarks brief and concise. I believe this is the first time the Cambrian Archæological Association, or any other body of experts, have ever come to this interesting old Church of Llanfihangel Abercowin, which is, as you see, in ruins. So we feel ourourselves greatly honoured by having a visit, in a very out-of-the-way place, from such a distinguished company as we have here this afternoon.

The church is known by another name, the Pilgrim's Church, in consequence of the legend connected with the pilgrims who are supposed to lie buried here. As the name of the parish signifies, the church is dedicated to St. Michael. The Welsh prefix "Llan" means an enclosure. In Welsh place-names it generally signifies a church, probably including the churchyard. The name Abercowin is evidently added, from its position at the mouth, or estuary, of the River Cowin. Aber means the confluence of a smaller river into a larger one, or any river entering the sea. According to *Place-Names in Wales*, the River Cowin, or Cywyn, flows into the River Tâf at the place, hence the name. The popular word *Cwnu*—rising—comes from the verb *Cywynu*—to rise, to mount up. The water at the mouth of the river rises twice a day by means of the tide from the sea. Churches dedicated to St. Michael were often celebrated places for pilgrimages ; hence, perhaps, the great attraction for pilgrimages to Llanfihangel Abercowin, to implore the aid of angels in times of persecution, and also of destitution.

The fact of the church being dedicated to Mihangel, or St. Michael, is one presumption of its great antiquity. Probably it takes us back to a period immediately succeeding the year 700. Churches and parishes dedicated to St. Michael represent the later Christianising of districts which lay out of the beaten track, in places inaccessible by reason of their mountainous or marshy character. Even the ruin in which we are gathered hardly represents the first Christian building. In those early days the churches were made of wattle, or wicker-work, covered with mud. So, when and by whom the church was founded is enveloped in the mist of the far and distant ages. It is not improbable that the foundation leads back to one of the early centuries, when Christianity and Roman occupation marched together amongst the early Britons.

I am not going to describe the architecture of the building, nor call your attention to the different historical features that are in it, and that for two reasons.

In the first place, time will not allow me, and in the second place, Mr. D. C. Evans, F. G. S., of St. Clears, has kindly done so in an

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able and interesting Paper, which I find is distributed among the members here this afternoon. I personally feel much indebted to Mr. Evans for his kindness in taking off a good share of the work that would naturally have devolved upon myself.

The great attraction to this church—which causes so many visits to it—is the three pilgrims' tombs in the churchyard; hence the name "Pilgrims' Church" given to it.

In Black's *Guide to Wales* the following reference is made to the graves:—"Tradition relates that three holy palmers, meeting here in great destitution, prepared three graves, agreeing that two should be put to death, and that the third, after burying them, should lie down in the remaining grave, and pull over him a large stone: and this was done. As far as I am aware, there is no historical evidence for the story; it is tradition, but tradition often carries some truth with it."

For the reasons already given, I am not going to explain the monumental slabs, with their effigies, and the carved symbols of the respective trade-guilds to which probably they may have belonged. Besides, I hope light will be thrown upon those points by some who are present this afternoon, and well versed in such subjects. There are more graves than these three, in which pilgrims are said to have been buried. The reader of this Paper discovered two more twenty years ago, having practically been covered under the open surface of the soil, which, at that time, was also overgrown with weeds and brambles.

Besides the five recumbent monuments lying in the churchyard, there is a much smaller one, which was also found by the writer, in the hedge on the east side of the church. This is now lying within the ruined walls of the church.

There is another curious local tradition prevalent, to the effect that if the pilgrims' graves were disturbed or neglected, that the peninsula on which the church and churchyard are situated would become infested with venomous reptiles. There seems to be some truth in this tradition, for it is a well-known fact in the parish that during the dark age in the history of the place, venomous reptiles were so numerous in the churchyard that they were a living plague and a terror to any who might come near. But we are in a position to know that now, since the peaceful repose of the deed has been asserted, and the graves of the holy palmers restored and properly looked after, these venomous reptiles have almost, if not entirely, disappeared. So no one present need get alarmed by hearing the story of the snakes.

Apart from its architecture and legendary associations, however, the ancient edifice possesses an abiding interest for many. The Rev. Thomas Charles, of Bala, was born in the parish at a farm-house called Pantdwfn, about a mile distant, between here and St. Clears. At the old font, which used to be here, he was baptised on October 26th, 1755, when twelve days old. From the pulpit, the base of which can be seen on the south side, close to the arch leading

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into the chancel (and on which I stand at present) the same Thomas Charles preached his first recorded sermon on Sunday, August 16th, 1778, after his ordination on the previous Trinity Sunday. The English and Welsh Bibles that were on the pulpit on the occasion, together with the English and Welsh Prayer Books that were in use at the time, are still in my possession. The English Bible bears the date of 1680, and so it is 226 years old; the Welsh Bible, 1690; the English Prayer Book, 1768; and the Welsh Prayer Book, 1770.

There is an old chalice still in existence which bears this inscription:—"Poculum eclessie de Llanfihangel Abercowin." No date is given on it; but, according to the opinion of two gentlemen who have lately seen it, and who are well versed in church plate, it is a 1574 one, and so 332 years old.

With regard to the old font to which I have just referred, it is a Norman one, of much beauty, as well as of great antiquity. It was removed from here in 1848, and is now placed in the new church, and is still in use. Those who may wish to inspect it shall have an opportunity of doing so on their way home this evening. It is supposed to be 800 years old. The old books, the old chalice, and other church plate may also be seen at the new church.

Some here may naturally ask, Why has this old church been allowed to get into and remain in this ruinous state? I will try and explain. In the year 1848, Mr. Richard Richards, of Trecadwgan, in this parish, built at his sole expense a new church some three miles distant, in a more populous and a more central part of the parish, for the convenience of the people. As this new church was substituted for the old one, and became in every sense the parish church, the old building was neglected, and at last abandoned, as you see it now. It has been crumbling gradually, and falling into decay for the last fifty-eight years, and so far no attempt has been made for its restoration, inasmuch as its services are no longer required since the building of the new church. The new church was consecrated on October 3rd, 1848, by the late Bishop Thirlwall, and no services have been held here since: with the exception of the memorial service, which is held annually in the open air, either on the last Sunday or the last but one in July. The first of these services was started in 1882, and this year marked the completion of the first quarter-century of its existence. This is a very popular institution, and people for miles around look forward to it every year. Hundreds of people gather together from a wide area, and the scene in and around the roofless edifice is most impressive and unique in character. And the reverent conduct of the people during these services is a feature to be greatly commended, and it is to be hoped will be continued for future generations. But something is intended to be done before very long to prevent the falling of the old building into further state of decay. Mr. Weir, from the Society for the Preservation of Ancient Buildings, visited the place two years ago, and reported thereon. Mr. Weir's report, we are pleased to state, meets with the Society's entire approval. It is not intended

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to restore the old church: only prevent the walls and the tower from suffering further from the destructive ravages of the elements. The approximate cost of the necessary repairs to the fabric, pointing the walls with cement, and protecting top surface, would probably amount to the sum of £100. So far, only a few pounds are now in hand, being the profits from the sale of some views connected with the old place. And we cannot expect much help (in the way of money) for the repairs, only from those who take interest in such old relics of the past, and are desirous of preserving them from total oblivion. Early next year Mr. Clark, of Llandaff, intends to make casts of the stones which are on the pilgrims' graves, with the object of placing them in the Welsh National Museum at Cardiff. Also, we have been advised by experts that the stones should afterwards be fixed in their place in concrete, so as to avoid the possibility of their being lost. They (the stones) are unique throughout Wales, and have a national value.

The field on the east side of the church is called Parc-y-Parsonage, in which may be seen to-day raised embankments running in different directions. There is a tradition that there was once a village here, and the raised embankments may bear the traces of the buildings and the garden enclosures. It is quite possible that there was also a parsonage-house somewhere in the field, hence the name Parc-y-Parsonage.

Two fields distant, on the north-west side, there is an ancient and historic farmhouse, called Trefenty. In its very centre may be seen to-day the old passage through which it is said the parishioners had to pass on their way to church, and there record their names. Probably this was a device to preserve private interests The people were asked to go through it only on special occasions, and once a year. There was no right-of-way; and to prevent that being created, the people had to be occasionally subject to the yoke of the passage. The funeral processions passed through for the same reason, and the offertory was taken there at one time at least, but not during the latter half of the eighteenth century.

For carrying the dead to the churchyard, instead of the bier or hearse of to-day, the parish possessed a horse-bier, horse-litter, or corpse-litter—in Welsh *elorfeirch*—which occurs in the Bible in the last chapter of Isaiah. A description of this horse-litter is given in the *Arch. Camb.* for last April, p. 136: "It had long arms, or shafts, behind and before, into which the horses were put, one in each shaft, and secured by specially-made gear." Some people who lived in the parish fifty or sixty years ago remember speaking to old people who had seen this horse-litter in use, though for many years previous it had gone out of use. I believe it was peculiar to this parish only in this part of the country. It was generally used in some district in North Wales. This kind of bier was very necessary, not only because of the long distances (for some funerals came many miles outside the parish), but also because of the badness of the roads of those days.

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Trefenty farmhouse is supposed to occupy the site of a monastery. (Curtis, 253.)

I find the time is going, and I shall only touch very briefly on a few more points of interest.

Opposite the front of the house, *i.e.*, Trefenty, there is a site of an old encampment, or earthwork. Here, tradition says, a great battle was once fought. In the same field, within living memory, there was to be seen an entrance to a subterranean passage, or a fine arched cave, which was supposed to pass to Laugharne others say to Llangunnock, and even so far as Abergwili. The mouth of this cave was closed some sixty-five years ago, being a constant danger to animals to fall into. I might have dwelt on the beautiful well that was once on the north side, inside the churchyard, and on the tradition attached to the same, (it was closed in my time, some twenty years ago); on the state of the fences here twenty-five years ago, and the large sums of money that have from time to time been spent on the same, in order to keep out the animals, which were once allowed to graze here; on the briars, thorns, and nettles that grew in wild luxuriance; on clearing and levelling the ground, and planting it with ornamental trees and shrubs; on the number of headstones that were found in the hedges and ditches and in the surrounding farmhouses, but which now have been replaced in God's Acre.

I had better not dwell any longer on this matter—it is such a sad history. The church and churchyard presented a picture of great neglect and desolation not easily imagined. However, I think I ought to call your attention to the church of St. Teilo, Llandeilo-Abercowin, which stands on the opposite side of the river, and which some have visited this afternoon, or at least intended to do so. It is a plain building, but is supposed to be very old—older than this one. The renowned Griffith Jones held the rectory, together with that of Llandowror, for nearly fifty years. There is an ancient building near the church which bears marks of great age. The lower part of the building is now used for a dairy.

In conclusion, I wish to say that what we see left of this old building can only be described as a fragment, yet a fragment that testifies to the grandeur of the building in ages past. History, written and unwritten, bears ample testimony to the fact; the church and churchyard have truly shared in the joys and sorrows of the parishioners for centuries, and afforded them, regardless of wordly rank and station, a peaceful resting-place from their various labours—and "May they rest in peace."

Archdeacon Thomas said the church would originally be an oratory on a pilgrim-route. They were close to the Laugharne river; and although he did not know the geography of the place, he had very little doubt there was a pilgrim-road running from there probably to St. David's, and taking Whitland on the way.

Rev. J. Thomas, Laugharne, said there was a "Hên Ffordd" leading down to the river.

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Archdeacon Thomas went on to say that the stones belonged to pre-Norman days, and he took it that the font to which their attention had been drawn was earlier than Norman. It had, of course, the round circles and the subdivision into the acute arch, but there were many features about it that belonged to the earlier period, and were more characteristic of the ornamentation they found in Anglo-Saxon drawings and carvings. He thought their attention was not drawn to the two brackets on the east wall under the window, where probably there might have been altar-lights, or possibly images; but on both sides they noticed there was a high recess, and that on the north side, he fancied, and that on the south, formerly contained shrines. The remark made about the field on the right-hand side being called Parc-y-Parsonage rather implied that in the early days, when Palmers passed that way they must have had lodgings, and if they could only dig below the surface they might find the foundations of the Palmer's houses.

The question was asked whether there was any evidence that the Palmers were bound for Whitland or St. David's, and Archdeacon Thomas said St. David's would be the ultimate destination. In North Wales they had pilgrim roads in many parts towards the Island of the Blest—Bardsey. With regard to the horse-bier, there were two in existence: one between Towyn and Barmouth, in a church now disused; and another in a church on the banks of Bala Lake, looking exactly as described in the Paper.

Mr. E. Laws remarked that the headstones they had examined were, to his mind, the most valuable seen in Wales. Those on the top had beasts on them, something resembling the ones at Penally. Those at the bottom had got mounted men. He believed if they looked at them they would see they were things which ought to be very carefully copied for their *Journal*.

Rev. W. Davies said there would be casts taken of them by next year.

Mrs. Allen said she was there fifty years ago, when the roof was on the building, and the gravestones were not in the place where they are now. There were three gravestones to the west of the tower, then in an upright position, and not as they are now in divisions. She thought she had a drawing somewhere of the church, with the roof on, that she made. She rode there on horseback to see the pilgrims' graves, and it made an impression on her.

Archdeacon Thomas supposed the pilgrim stones, as they were now, represented a good many more than three.

Mrs. Allen: There were three upright then.

Rev. W. Davies said some people in the parish remembered sixty years ago, and he never heard of the upright stones from them.

Colonel Gwynne Hughes: Is there any idea of the approximate age of the stones?

Archdeacon Thomas: If I ventured to guess, I would say about the year 800.

The party then proceeded to further inspect the interesting stones,

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and subsequently left Trefenty, where they had had tea, by the kind invitation of the Vicar and Mrs. Davies, for the new church of Llanfihangel Abercowin, where the Norman font of the old church was seen, and rubbings taken of it; also the ancient Bibles and Prayer Books referred to in the Vicar's Paper, as well as the church plate. The drive home was on the St. Clears road, passing at a distance Bwl-y-Seiri (a British camp), Castell-y-Gaer, Derllys Court, and Llanllwch.

With regard to the fund started for the preservation of the ruins of the Pilgrims' Church, we may state that there was collected on the spot, £5 15*s.*; and donations have since come to hand of £3 6*s.* 9*d.*, making the total £9 1*s.* 9*d.* Included among the donors were Rev. J. G. Swainson, M.A., £1 10*s.*; Rector of Wistanstow, £1 1*s.*; Mrs. Pughe Evans, £1; "Antiquary," £1; Mr. Stepney-Gulston, 10*s*; and Mr. Foulkes Roberts, Denbigh, 10*s.* Besides these, £2 7*s.* 8*d.* was realised by the sale of views connected with the old church, sold on the day, making a grand total of £11 14*s.* 5*d.*: an excellent start of a fund for a very deserving object. Subscriptions may be sent to Mr. P. J. Wheldon, National Provincial Bank, Carmarthen (Treasurer); or to the Rev. W. Davies, Vicar of Llanfihangel-Abercowin, St. Clears.

The following drawings by Mr. D. C. Evans, F.G.S., of St. Clears, were exhibited in the Temporary Museum formed during the meeting:—

Sketches of "Pilgrim Stones," Llandowror:

a. Grave i. Face. b. Grave. Reverse. c. Grave ii.

[These two stones had been taken out of the ground for this visit; the sketches show the entire stones.]

Sketches of "Pilgrim Stones," Llanfihangel-aber-Cywyn:

a. Grave i.

[Effigy with crossed arms; headstone with two concentric circles; plain footstone, modern.]

b. Grave ii.

[Effigy with crossed arms; on either side of head, an animal, left, a stag (?) or goat (?); right, a stag-hound; right hand grasps a javelin or spear; headstone with cross-formed in raised circle; footstone weathered.]

c. Grave iii.

[Coped slab; along ridge lies main beam of a calvary; headstone has a wheel cross; part of footstone missing.]

d. Grave iv.

[Slab almost identically the same as iii; headstone has plain face, edge ornamented with lines in chevron pattern; footstone very dilapidated.]

Grave v.

[Seems to be incorrect copy of No. i, much broken, portion carrying head is missing; head- and foot-stones each bear figure of man or woman on horseback; edges ornamented with cable pattern.]

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Grave vi.

[Small stone, now loose in nave of ruined church; figure of a child in long robe, bar across the hips. All these stones are fully described by the draughtsman—Mr. D. C. Evans—and these sketches are reproduced, with the articles, in *Transactions* of C. A. S., vol. ii.]

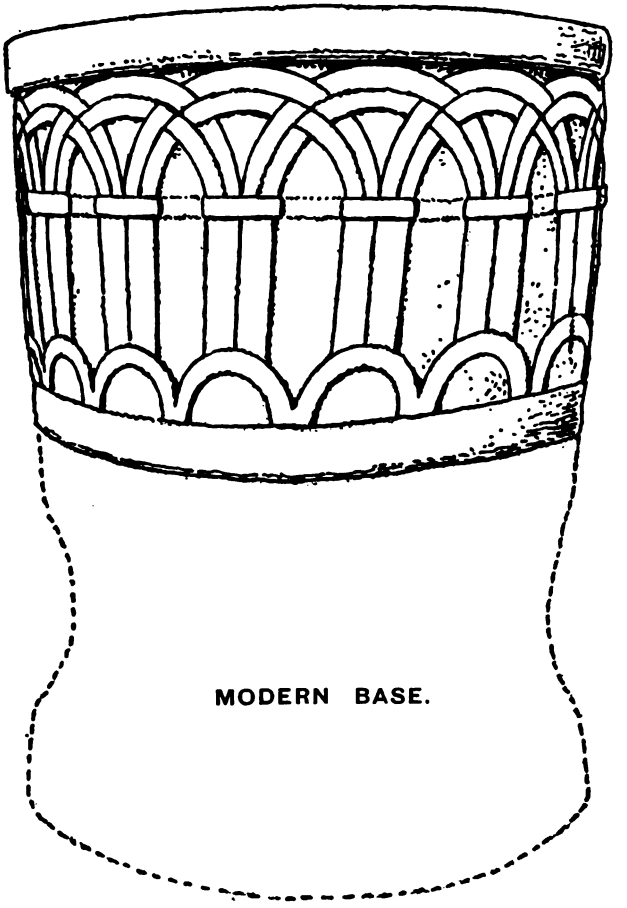

Fig. 1.—Norman Font from the Old Church of Llanfihangel Abercowin, now removed to the New Church.

The New Church of Llanfihangel Abercowin.—This is situated 3 miles north of the old church, on the high road from St. Clears to Carmarthen, at the point where the branch road from Trefenty

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joins it. The new church was built in 1848, in the revived Gothic style of that period. The only object of interest here is the arcaded Norman font (Fig. 1) removed from the old church.

EXCURSION NO. 2.—WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 15th.

LAUGHARNE.

Route.—The members assembled in the Guildhall Square at 8.45 A.M., and were conveyed by carriage to St. Clears (10 miles west); thence through Llandowror to Eglwys Cymmyn (5 miles south-west of St. Clears); and on through Llandawke to Laugharne (5 miles east of Eglwys Cymmyn).

The return journey was made through St. Clears (4½ miles north of Laugharne) without any stops.

The members were entertained to luncheon at Cwmbrwyn by invitation of Mr. and Mrs. R. M. Thomas, and to tea at Laugharne by Mr. and Mrs. J. M. Power.

St. Clears.—On reaching the gates of St. Clears Church, where the fine Norman arch was to be inspected, there was a torrential downpour of rain, which caused those in the rear vehicles to dart into the doorways of houses and shops, to await a cessation before they could proceed into the church. Here, in the absence of the Vicar (Rev. C. F. Owen, M.A.), Archdeacon Thomas read an interesting Paper prepared by him, dealing with the history of the church and priory, and also the meaning of the name St. Clears.

Commenting upon it, the Archdeacon said they were very glad to have this compendious summary of the history of the church, in which there was a very good Norman arch, but of such a very depressed type as was unusual. He did not remember seeing one in that form before. On the capitals was some curious carving.

It being too wet to go to Banc-y-Beili, Mr. D. C. Evans, F.G.S., St. Clears, gave a description, inside the church, of this old "motte and bailey" Castle. He said there had been some misapprehension as to the site of the old Castle of St. Clears. Of course, most writers referred to the mound there as having probably formed a part. However, a few writers, some years ago, made out that the Castle was situated up the town, at that part where the "Blue Boar" was. But he thought it was not only probable, but quite certain, the Castle was situated down there where they saw the mound. It was probably a "motte and bailey" Castle," that was, an earthwork surrounded by a structure of timber. The "keep" was placed on top of the mound. If they went to the top of the mound and looked across the field, they would see permanent railings, and he had measured them, and found them enclosing a space of 56 yards long and 44 yards wide. That was probably the inner "bailey." If they looked round to the Cowin, they would

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find there was a ridge, which was probably the outer rampart enclosing the outer wall. On the left there was a smaller mound, which probably carried a small turret to defend the gateway between the small mound and the bigger wall. This he called the Water-gate, for just at that point the River Cowin came up close, so that this gate could be entered either by water or by land. The rampart on the eastern side might be traced for some distance straightforward towards the junction of the Cowin and the Tâf, but the southern part of it had been made use of as a backing for limekilns, which have now disappeared. At the corner of the field there was a rise, which suggested there was a smaller mound there, probably defending another corner of the outer wall. Immediately north of the mound there were traces of other ramparts, showing ramparts coming round to the "keep," and approaching very nearly to the smaller of the two mounds. It was probable there was a little turret there as well, to cover the gate he had mentioned Other outer ramparts had existed, but had disappeared. They had probably been levelled, and now the site was occupied by gardens and cottages. He examined, some time ago, the structure of the ground about there, and he found there was a small hill there previous to these works being carried out, and this small hill was a very convenient place for the Norman to erect his castle. These mounds and ramparts had been constructed from material immediately at hand, at a minimum of cost and labour. The first mention of the Castle was by Giraldus Cambrensis, who passed there in 1187 with Archbishop Baldwin. The Castle had probably changed hands several times during the short time of its existence. It had been suggested to him it was improbable the Castle was there, because of the higher ground, from which it could easily be taken. It was, in fact, taken very frequently, and burnt very frequently, which seemed to indicate very clearly the Castle was built of something very combustible.

Llandowror Church.—Leaving St. Clears the party journeyed to Llandowror, where the church was interesting, because of its association with the Rev. Griffith Jones, "the 'morning star' of the Welsh Reformation, and the founder of the itinerary schools." Here a most instructive Paper was read by Mr. D. C. Evans, who referred to the two so-called pilgrim tombstones to be seen in the field close to the churchyard. He said there were some genuine pilgrim monuments to be met with occasionally, but here there was nothing but tradition to uphold the theory. The first slab was of local stone, which appeared to have been exposed to the weather, if not water-worn before being made use of as a gravestone. There was no trace of tooling, except the sculpture of a cross—one on the back and one on the face. The number of crosses, as well as the character of the workmanship, seemed to suggest they were not of the same age, and that they indicated three separate burials. The second slab had no inscription of any kind either, and it was quite evident

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from the place of the cross these were intended to be upright, and not recumbent. It would be idle to estimate as to the age, but they were older than any portion of the church as it now stood, and marked the burial-place of some of the early sons of that district. This was not the church in which Griffith Jones was wont to officiate. He concluded with some particulars of the Rev. Griffith Jones's connection with the district.

Archdeacon Thomas wished he could have told them something more about the old church, but they were under the influence of Griffith Jones, and Wales owed a great debt of gratitude to his noble service, and to the great Society which enabled him to do so much good work—the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge. He should like to know what special pilgrim marks Mr. Evans referred to, the absence of which made him doubtful as to the age of those stones.

Mr. Evans replied they were usually marked with a wallet or scrip, a staff, scallop-shells, and branches of palm, and various other things indicating the fact that they were pilgrims.

Archdeacon Thomas: I do not think those marks belong to that period. These stones must have been of earlier date. I have no doubt of that. There is nothing to show they are pilgrim stones, but they are very ancient stones.

On an examination of the stones, Mr. A. Stepney-Gulston said they were found very nearly where they now stood, and that field was probably part of the churchyard. There used to be three of them, but one had been broken or lost, but it was hoped it would be recovered.

A good deal of interest was taken in the chair that belonged to Madam Bevan, a financial helper of Griffith Jones, which was on exhibition outside the Old Tavern. It was incidentally mentioned that Madam Bevan was a sister of Mr. Stepney Gulston's grandmother in the fifth degree. The party then proceeded to Cwmbrwyn.

Cwmbrwyn.—Continuing the journey, a short drive brought the party to a spot where a lane led off from the road, and was believed to be a short cut to Cwmbrwyn. It turned out to be a muddy, winding path, and those who kept to the road had the best of the walk. Arriving at the farm owned by Mr. Bowen, they made an inspection of finds at thesite of a Roman settlement then being excavated by the Carmarthenshire Antiquarian Society, with the assistance of Mr. John Ward, Curator of the Welsh National Museum, Cardiff. These included fragments of stone querns or handmills, portions of upper stones of common Roman form; a bronze coin of Carausius, A.D. 286-93; stone spindle-whorl; fragments of Samian pottery, fine and coarse buff and reddish ware, with coarse black and grey waves; window glass; fragments of red roofing-tiles, consisting of fragments of flat *tegulæ* and half-round imbrices; part of bronze handle of bucket-like vessel or *situla*, similar to those found at Pompeii: fragments of flue-tiles,

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and roof-slates of common Roman form. With these Cwmbrwyn finds, Mr. Ward exhibited, with the kind permission of the owner, Mr. Hughes-Garbett, of Bristol, the Roman bronze saucepan-like patella and the strainer which were found at Kyngadle, near Laugharne, some time *ante* 1839. They represent one of the chief Roman finds in Wales, and were fully described and illustrated by Mr. J. Romilly Allen, F.S.A., in *Archæologia Cambrensis* about six years ago. The patella was first described as a "sacrificial censer" in the *Gentleman's Magazine* of 1839. When found, the patella contained many coins, mostly of Carausius (A.D. 286 to 293), which have long been lost.

On the excavated site of the Roman settlement Mr. Ward gave an extremely lucid account of the discoveries made there. He said he remembered, some few years ago, showing a lady friend a field like that: a larger site, with magnificent excavated trenches and pitfalls, and afterwards asking her, "What do you think of it all?" "Well," she replied, "I think it is a good field spoiled." He was afraid their good friend, Mr. Bowen, would have in his own mind pretty much the same feeling. He had been very good, not only in giving permission, but rendering every assistance, and taking the greatest interest in the work. The site was about 240 ft. long, north to south, in exterior length, and about 140 ft. internal length. It was surrounded by a rampart, which was formed of the stuff thrown up from the ditch, and the ditch was of the usual Roman V-shaped form, about 17 ft. wide, and 8 ft. 6 ins. deep, cutting down into the rock at the bottom. Between the ditch and the rampart, which was originally 15 ft. wide, was a space of 6 ft. or 7 ft. It was impossible to say how the rampart was constructed beyond, that it consisted of the stone and clay, etc., out of the ditch; they could find no sign of a retaining or external wall, but on the inner edge they found here and there tumbled-down stones, which might be the remains of an inner retaining wall to support the foot of the rampart; or, possibly, the rampart itself might have been surmounted by a wall, and that might account for the large amount of stones they found rolling down the sides of the ditch, and also the stones on the inner side of the rampart. But it was quite impossible to say. They had looked for any kind of a base or support, to support the earth of the rampart. As they saw the rampart now it was spread, and not much more than 2 ft. high anywhere, and it had partly filled the ditch—the ditch and rampart showing a slight hollow and a slight rise 30 ft. wide. On the west side was the single entrance, with side walls, of which they had the foundations still left, with an opening about 11 ft. or 12 ft. wide. Through the opening came the trackway or road which extended across. They would see some remains of the paving or foundation of the road. On each side of that they had a yard, and the yard was gravelled. About that corner they saw a tumbled amount of stones, which suggested buildings or sheds of some kind. Along the back was a long building about 110 ft.

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by 28 ft. wide. That extended the full length of the back, and behind that was the back rampart and the back ditch.

On the other side they had a curious bit, very roughly laid, of stonework, which they thought was the well, but they found out afterwards that it was cut into the rock, and there it stopped. It was very likely that was a cesspool to catch drainage. Below that was a small flue—two little walls about 9 ins. high, with a space between of 1 ft., and an open space in front where the fire was kindled. Such a little flue had been found in Silchester and Caerwent, and had been used to heat coppers and other things. At the back was a very rough patch of pitching, covered with earth and cinders, where there was a little wooden building—a smithy, or something of the kind. The long building had a little building at the end, which appeared to have been tacked on, probably at a more recent date. The main building was a parallelogram, of which the foundations remain, but not entirely, and the floor of the building wherever exposed was formed of the natural soil, mixed with gravel, and rammed down very hard, and no doubt mixed with lime. Many years ago, Mr. Bowen made some cuttings there for the sake of the stone; and as far as one could see there might have been a hypocaust, or some arrangement for heating the place. They went down a depth of 2 ft. or 3 ft. from the main floor to a hard surface, and nearly all those plain tiles came from that part. As to what the long building was, he really could not tell them. There appeared to be no cross walls, but all the heating was done from one end. The fortified enclosure was not square—and Roman fortifications were almost invariably square—yet there was some semblance of squareness along the back and side. He thought at first it might be a villa, but they did not find villas with fortifications as large as some of the largest schemes. It was obvious nobody would go to the trouble of fortifying a house to this extent. (Rev. J. Thomas: In Wales?). Well, perhaps the wild Welshmen were very troublesome. It was not a Roman fort, because it was altogether too small; but then he thought it might be a Roman *mansio*. According to classical writers, along the lines of Roman main roads there were stations and *mansiones*. These *mansiones* were to all intents and purposes imperial posting-stations, where relays of horses were kept, and where, in a partly-subjected country, they might keep a detachment or "century" of soldiers to the neighbouring station. The only difficulty was, there was no indication of a main Roman road. His attention had since been called to the Roman camp on that side of St. Clears, and it was just possible this little work might be really a sort of redoubt connected with that fort or camp—assuming it to be one—about two miles away. They got on Hadrian's Wall a succession of stations and small fortlets, to which daily or weekly detachments could be sent from the main fort. The long building tended to confirm that view. In all Roman forts of which they had plans, they would find barracks consisting of a long building, 120 ft. to 150 ft., to accommodate a "century"

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—eighty men, with a centurion and under-officers. It was, of course, much smaller than that at Gelligaer, which was a cohort camp, where they found eight of these buildings. It struck him as being connected with some larger camp, to which they might send a "century" of men to occupy it periodically. In such a case the open space in front would be very useful for massing a body of troops. All the finds were definitely Roman, and this was no doubt a Roman site. But towards the end of the building, where the ground was very much disturbed, were things which might be very much later, of mediæval date: an ale-pot of 1700, or earlier, and rather deep down what appeared to be an ordinary wine-bottle of 100 or 150 years ago. Mr. Bowen said he believed there used to be a small cottage built out of the ruins where he found the ground disturbed. There was no evidence of the site being pre-Roman, and they had slight evidence it might have formed just a little domain—a small cottage — but one find threw an interesting light upon the whole thing: that was a single small bronze coin of the Imperator Carausius, who seized the sovereignty of Britain in 286, and came to the end of his tether in 293. That was in a very fresh condition, and very sharp, so it could not have been long in circulation. That rather suggested, at any rate, that about the close of the fourth century this site was in occupation. It might have been 200 or 300 years earlier. He daresay they saw also the very interesting bronze saucepan, or *patella*, with a little colander, or sieve, which came from Kingaddle, that, according to the discoverer, about a century ago contained coins of Carausius.

Rev. J. Thomas: In the south transept of Laugharne Church an urn was found with a great number of coins of Carausius.

Mr. E. Laws: Coins of Carausius are common in Pembrokeshire.

Mr. Ward said in the time of Carausius our shores were very seriously raided by successive attacks on the east, by the Irish on the west, and by the Scotch on the north. It was during that period that we got our coast forts, like Cardiff Castle, Richborough, and others. It was just possible this might be a late Roman fortlet, having been connected with keeping off pirates from the sea. He believed there was some evidence that Laugharne itself was a Roman station; and if that was so, this might very easily be a sort of outpost of Laugharne. Shortly there would be a full report published, so they would have an opportunity of following out his statement in detail.

Archdeacon Thomas proposed a vote of thanks to Mr. Ward for his interesting and instructive address. They would not only be able to look around them with intelligence, but look forward with great interest for the fuller account he had promised. He took this opportunity of congratulating the Carmarthenshire Antiquarian Society on being so vigorous and so active, and taking a work of this kind in hand. He also congratulated them upon having as their exponent such an expert as Mr. Ward. He had further to thank them for giving the Cambrian Association that opportunity

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of seeing what they were doing, and learning about Cwmbrwyn. Reference had been made to the work that was formerly done there, and he thought Mr. Laws knew something of that, and perhaps he would tell them a little about what was done then. Then of Colbren, which was not excavated; he believed Colonel Morgan could tell them something, and they had also among them a very able expert upon ancient camps; and he hoped Mr. Willoughby Gardner would have a word on the subject.

Mr. E. Laws said he heard of the digging up there some years ago, and came and spent a few hours there. They dug at one end, and they saw and left in sight a little heap of hypocaust tiles. That was all he saw, and all he could tell them about it.

Colonel Morgan, referring to Colbren, in Breconshire, on the road between Neath and Brecon, said they had discovered there certain things that had not been found at any other Roman station before. In all other stations the foundations for the rampart had been found to be either stone walls or stone paving. In this case he found the most beautiful log pavements, sometimes 1 ft. 3 ins. in diameter, extending under the wall of the rampart, and running the whole length of it. It was in a beautiful state of preservation—some very nearly turned into bog oak; but they could see perfectly plainly the marks of the axe. On the outside was a very wide brim, and it showed the outer entrenchments extremely accurately. Beyond that they found two trenches—not of great importance as far as size was concerned, but showing a particular stage of Roman fortification not very much studied in England. They found obstacle trenches, and they found obstacles in the shape of oak spikes as perfect as the day they were put in, sharply pointed, only not *in situ* because they had tumbled down. They found a very large number of them in that ditch, and any amount of them could be found there now. Such works were only occupied a short time—about thirty years—and they had not time to replace them by stone walls. In England all the early Roman entrenchments were afterwards converted into stone-walled camps, and obstacle trenches were done away with. He hoped, if they had a little better weather this autumn, he might be able to make a fuller report of what he thought would turn out one of the most interesting stations in Wales.

Mr. Willoughby Gardner, speaking of the Cwmbrwyn discovery, said he never saw anything quite the same as this before. It was unique of its kind. All he could do was to congratulate Mr. Ward and the members of the Association on what they had done. It was very remarkable and interesting.

Eglwys Cymmyn.—Continuing the journey, the party, after a pleasant drive, arrived at Eglwys Cymmyn Church, where it was disappointing to learn that Mr. G. G. T. Treherne, of London, who has made the antiquities of what he calls "Laugharneshire" his special study, was unable to be present owing to indisposition.

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Unfortunately, too, the Papers which Mr. Treherne had promised to read, though they had been posted, had gone astray in transit; but the difficulty was got over by some observations on Eglwys Cymmyn, Parc-y-Cerig Sanctaidd, and Landawke, by Archdeacon Thomas and other speakers. With regard to the ancient Church of Eglwys Cymmyn, Archdeacon Thomas said it was evident this was a very early church, because of the extremely sharp-pointed vaulted roof, and the chancel arch was very rude, being simply cut out of the wall. There was no timber or pillar, or anything of the kind. It was of the Pembrokeshire type, and like what they had seen in one or two places already. The porch was also vaulted, and it was very curious to see another door so close to the original one. He did not know how that was to be accounted for. In the side of the chancel was a piscina with a ledge, and under the window they would see in a glass case a small vessel of glassware that was found close to the church, when some parts of it were being repaired or rebuilt. Then there was an Ogam stone at the west end of the church inside a box. There were also stained windows of St. Margaret of Antioch, St. Margaret of Scotland, and St. Margaret of Marros, the daughter of Guy de Brian.

The Rev. Geo. Eyre Evans said that thirty years ago he was in the church, and they would hardly know it was restored, so well had the work been carried out. They had there an example of what could be done, using restoration in the right sense. He had remembrance as a child of seeing what was now missing—a silver chalice. That chalice had disappeared. There had been rumours of its whereabouts, and possibly it might be recovered. But it was one of a very beautiful series, of which they had so many in Carmarthenshire, dated 1574. No one could tell how much that church owed to Mr. Treherne—how much and how wisely he had worked there. They had got a master-hand who saw how things should be rightly and properly done; and the glass case in the chancel preserving a relic was an object-lesson to all of them as to what they might do in some way. In Cardiganshire, Bishop Morgan's Bible was put in a glass case, in a dry part of the church, where all could see it. They found evidence all round of great taste in restoring the building. It was intended to put a window on the site of the old door, but it would be put in so that people would know a door was there.

Archdeacon Thomas said the church stands in an old earthwork, or "rath."

The Rev. J. Thomas: We are now standing within the boundary of the fort. This was an old British track which led by Tavern Spite on to Menapia. He therefore thought the Roman fort would be on the burrow.

Mr. Egerton Phillimore said this *cair* would have nothing to do with the boundary of the land of Llandowror. The name *cair* was the name of a brook.

Professor Anwyl proceeded to explain the inscription on the Ogham stone. He saw the Ogham was fairly plain, and the Latin

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was a translation of the Ogham. The words of the Ogham are *Avitoriges* (the g probably not being pronounced) *inigina Cunigni*, and the Latin read *Avitoria filia Cunigni*, that was to say, "Avitoria, the daughter of Cynin"—Cunignos at that time. Avitoriges seemed to be a compound word, meaning the granddaughter

Fig. 2.—Inscribed Stone at Eglwys Cymmyn, Carmarthenshire.
(*From a Photograph by T. Mansel Franklen, Esq.*)

of Toros. Further, the name Cunignos was the same as Cynin, which they got in Eglwys Cymmyn.

Parc-y-Cerig Sanctaidd.—Leaving Eglwys Cymmyn for Laugharne, a halt was made at Parc-y-Cerig Sanctaidd, where some

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discussion took place in regard to the "holy stones." Mrs. Allen thought the round stone was the base of a cross. She would like to know whether there had been a battle anywhere there, because sometimes they erected a cross on the "field of sorrows" after a fight. There was one in North Wales.

Rev. J. Thomas said in a field near there was a large tumulus ploughed down, and they were surrounded by very ancient habitations. The tradition of the locality was that when funerals came along the road to Llansadwrnen they used to go round there to rest the coffin, and use that hollow stone as a stoup for holy water.

Mr. E. Laws pointed out that if they looked under the stone with a cross they would find a lot of small white stones. In any sepulchral place he had opened he had found them.

The Rev. J. Thomas said they were commonly called "cursing stones."

Mr. Ward said, so far as he understood, these stones did not occupy quite the same position as they did formerly. According to the late Miss Curtis, in her gossipy little book on Laugharne, she mentioned these stones as resting-stones. When coffins passed there to church, they rested upon these stones while they repeated the Lord's Prayer, or something. The parish boundary went along there; and Mr. Treherne and himself went very carefully over the ground, and had reason to think a direct lane to the parish church passed over there, so that the present road was probably modern. That was the highest point of the road, and what more natural than that there should be there a wayside cross—these crosses were common throughout the country in pre-Reformation times—and it was preceded by a pre-Norman cross for the very same purpose; or it may have marked the tomb of somebody, and placed near the wayside. According to that, the four stones were simple foundations. The cross was a thirteenth- or fourteenth-century cross.[1]

Mr. E. Laws thought it was sepulchral.

Llandawke.—Proceeding to Llandawke, the party inspected the church and an Ogam stone kept therein, Professor Rhys giving a description of the stone. He said it was peculiar in several respects. Generally, when they had an inscription in two languages on stones in this part of the country, one was more or less a translation of the other, but in this case it was not. The Latin was "Barrivendi filius Vendubari," and there was "Hic jacet" on the edge of the stone. The man must have thought he had not room to write "Hic jacet," and in the early copy of the inscription that was not seen. He first saw the stone as a threshold, and the end had been smashed. A big piece had been splintered away, which ought to be found yet, and the surface was a good deal polished, and many of the strokes worn by the feet of the parishioners. It commemorated the son of the son of somebody, and was one of the earliest inscriptions. He should say it went back to the fifth century.

[1] It appears to us to be much earlier.—Ed.

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Laugharne.—The day's work was brought to an end at Laugharne, where the Castle was gone over, and Mr. Power gave some explanatory notes as to its construction and history. The earliest part is the round tower, and it was the military base to cover the

Fig. 3.—Pre-Norman Cross at Laugharne, Carmarthenshire.
(*From a Photograph by T. Mansel Franklen, Esq.*)

construction of the main castle against attack. The portion called Sir John Perrott's gateway was added to the Castle by him in 1560, and no doubt represented the best apartments. It was besieged by Cromwell for somewhere about a month, and eventually lost, largely from the same cause that reduced Pembroke—the cutting-off of the

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water-supply. The Governor of the Castle,—General Laugharne—was first a Parliamentarian, and subsequently held the Castle for the King. The garrison made a sortie from the gateway, and out to the lane to recover the water-supply, but were defeated. The attackers rushed the gate, and then Cromwell ordered the place to be dismantled. Like every other castle, it had served as a quarry for the town, and that had done more harm than anything.

In the Town Hall the Recorder of Laugharne, Mr. Jeremy, gave some particulars of the government of the town by the ancient Corporation, stating the same method as two hundred years ago was still carried on. He mentioned that in 1731 a burgess would not take the oath of allegiance, so was not elected Portreeve. Ancient deeds were produced and inspected, as well as an old Winchester measure and some tally-sticks. The property of the Corporation consisted of some cottages and 725 acres of land, some portions of which were divided among seventy-six senior burghers and held by them for life. There was an annual beating of the boundaries, with certain halting-places for refreshments, and for hoisting and whipping the boys. The Portreeve of 1864 was the last to act as magistrate.

The Church was also visited, and here the Rev. J. Thomas read a Paper, and a large quantity of silver plate, some dating from 1600, was on view, and including a silver flagon and paten presented to the church two years ago. After a long day, the party reached Carmarthen at ten o'clock P.M.

EXCURSION NO. 3.—THURSDAY, AUGUST 16th.

CARMARTHEN AND KIDWELLY.

Route.—The members assembled at St. Peter's Church, and spent the morning in inspecting the antiquities of the town of Carmarthen.

After luncheon the members assembled at the Great Western Railway Station at 1 P.M., and were conveyed by train to Ferryside (eight miles), and thence by carriage through Llansaint to Kidwelly (four miles south-east of Ferryside).

The return journey was made by carriage through Llandefeilog.

The members were entertained to tea at Kidwelly by the Mayor and Mayoress (Mr. and Mrs. H. E. Smart).

Carmarthen.—St. Peter's Church, the old Castle, and other historic remains in Carmarthen, occupied the attention of the members of the Cambrian Archæological Society on the morning of Thursday, August 16th. The assembly was at the Church, and here Mr. T. E. Brigstocke, whose knowledge of the subject is profuse and sound, read a Paper on the ancient edifice. He pointed out the features of interest, including the tomb of Sir Rhys ap Thomas and Dame Eva, his second wife, which was originally in

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the monastery of the Grey Friars, in Lammas Street, and was removed therefrom some 350 years ago to the chancel of the church, and afterwards, on the erection of the organ, placed in its present position. He raised an interesting point in regard to the plainness of the architecture of a church of such dimensions and importance, suggesting that possibly it included the remains of a still earlier edifice.

Archdeacon Thomas referred to a picture he had seen of the church, in which a very curious feature was shown by the south door, namely, a little corner walled off which was called the "charnel-house," or Golgotha, where in former times the bones collected in the churchyard were placed. Those who had been in Brittany would remember what a great feature the Golgotha was there. The flesh turned to dust, but the bones were collected together and placed in these, while the skulls were put on raised shelves in the cemeteries.

In the absence of Mrs. Dawson, daughter of Archdeacon Bevan, her Paper on St. Tewdrig was read by the Rev. Charles Chidlow.

Archdeacon Thomas said the life of Tewdrig belonged more to Tintern than to Carmarthen, It certainly did not fit in with the conclusions brought before them by Professor Lloyd, in his Paper on Monday evening, that it was the Church of Teilyddog. He did not think St. Tewdrig had anything to do with Carmarthen.

Passing through the churchyard to the Vicarage, the ladies of Dolaucothi were exceedingly amused by the specimen of colloquial "Welsh" used by a native of Carmarthen, in response to a question as to what they were doing to the paths. "Oh," he replied, "we buildo yr wall all round."

In the Vicarage garden the members inspected a Roman domestic altar, another carved stone with a boss, and a third built into a wall inscribed "R. P. Nato," which were briefly described by Mr. Walter Spurrell.

Proceeding to the Castle, the party inspected the outer wall, and then being admitted through the prison gates, ascended to the top of the old mount, where Mr. W. Spurrell read a Paper by Mrs. Armitage, who, he said was particularly interested in the early Norman castles, and, as many of them knew, had rather strong views as to the age of these fortifications. She did him the honour of calling upon him when visiting the town; and when he asked Mr. Holmes to prepare a Paper on the Castle, he thought he would write to Mrs. Armitage, and ask her what conclusion she had arrived at as to the Castle mound on which they were standing. Mr. Holmes's Paper took the form of a criticism of Mrs. Armitage's Paper and other authorities. In her Paper Mrs. Armitage said she had considerable doubts about the stone keep, as to whether it was an abutment of the upper portion of the "motte," or whether it stood on the original top, and had been filled with soil. Outside there was a considerable rise of tower, but from the inside none. After the introduction of artillery, it became usual to construct a wall and fill up with earth

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to resist shot. She would be grateful to know whether there was evidence of an old entrance. Basement entrances were rare before the thirteenth century. The best "motte" she saw in the neighbourhood of Carmarthen was at Wiston, in Pembrokeshire. It was a wall against which lean-to buildings in wood were supposed to be erected. In 1096 Rhydygors was abandoned to the Welsh, but restored, and afterwards they never heard of it again; but in 1113 they heard for the first time of the Castle of Carmarthen. Where was the castle of Rhydygors? It had been sought for and placed at a farmhouse called Rhydgors, near Carmarthen, opposite to which there are earthworks: some think the embankments of the river. The Castle of Carmarthen was for many centuries a royal castle, and it was extremely probable that it was built by order of William Rufus. Undoubtedly the mound was the "motte" of the typical early Norman castles. These castles were not of stone, but of earth, with wooden superstructures. More than 90 per cent. of the castles built by the Normans were of this description. The date of the castle stone keep was difficult to determine, as both keep and "motte" are so travestied by modern arrangements, that it would be difficult to plan them out correctly. Carmarthen Castle was razed to the ground in 1215, and it was possible this keep represented the rebuilding which followed that event. The gate-house was of the Perpendicular period, and probably there was no masonry older than Henry III; it was not unlikely there was no masonry building there until the fourteenth century.

The Paper by Mr. H. S. Holmes, B.Sc., B.A., Vice-Principal of the Training College, Carmarthen, tended to show that the structure was much older than Mrs. Armitage put it. Giraldus, in 1204, described the town as an ancient city with walls. If the town was enclosed by strong walls, the castle would be more than an earth-and-timber block house, built by the Normans to keep in check the Welsh guerillas. In 1273 the walls were stated to be in a ruined condition. The town was sacked in 1244, and again in 1246; but the castle was apparently too strong; or, on the other hand, the attacks on the town were merely raids. There was no record of remains having been found within the area of these walls, but considerable Roman remains of different kinds had been found east of the town wall.

Colonel Morgan being called upon to give his opinion, said that was undoubtedly a stone revetment against a moated mound, and he did not put the revetment anterior to Charles I. He thought there were innumerable signs this was of the date of the Civil War. Then the face was made, and he could see no break in the other part; so, though there might have been a shell-keep that was older, the greater part of the stone revetment was not earlier than Charles I.

Rev. J. M. Phillips asked if there was any reason to suppose that the Castle built at Carmarthen could be called the Castle of Rhydygors?

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Archdeacon Thomas: I do not think it is an unusual thing when a castle is replaced by another one close by, or within a short distance of it, for the second one to take the name of the former. It supplements the first.

Mr. J. M. Phillips: But if there was no castle down at Rhydygors originally, why should the name be attached to the castle here, as Mrs. Armitage suggested?

The question was asked, how far they were from the ford; and the Rev. J. M. Phillips replied, half a mile.

Mr. A. Ll. Davies: There is a ford just down here.

Mr. Egerton Phillimore remarked that these names did get misplaced, and he mentioned a place on the Severn, the name of which was taken by a farm a mile and a-half from the Severn now.

Colonel Morgan: A short distance from here you have got the remains of outworks of Charles I's time, quite unique, not only in England, but in the whole of Europe. They are beautiful specimens of the bastion traces of Charles I's time, which have been destroyed everywhere with the exception of at Carmarthen.

The party then went round the southern wall of the Castle, taking note of a portion which served as an outer wall to a modern dwelling-house, and inspecting the rooms above the fine old gateway. Afterwards they proceeded to the Diocesan Registry Office, where they viewed underneath the offices an extensive crypt and vault, which are supposed to have formed a portion of an early church—Prince Edward's Chapel. Mr. T. W. Barker had laid out in his rooms a portion of a stone cross and column, lent by Mr. Victor Jones, which came from the old Priory of St. John. Here also were to be seen the early manuscripts of episcopal acts, including the earliest book, which was lent by permission of the Record Office, and dated from 1399; also other books and articles of value connected with the diocese. Visits of inspection were subsequently paid to Bishop Ferrar's tablet in Nott Square, the vault beneath the Sheaf Inn, the town walls in Quay Street and Blue Street, the sculptured stone at the rear of the Town Hall, and the remains of the Grey Friars' Monastery in Lammas Street. They then went to the Dyke and Ditch behind Christ Church, upon which Colonel Morgan dilated at some length. He considered this to be one of the most valuable possessions of the borough. At the time of the Civil War, he said, it was decided to fortify the town of Carmarthen, and the ramparts they then saw were the remains of works that originally went all round the town. The last remaining of the works were destroyed about ten or fifteen years ago, when Francis Terrace was made. These works were quite the finest specimens of the bastion traces as executed in the time of the Civil War in England, and probably even on the Continent. The system of fortification here introduced had been first started by an engineer of the name of Erard, who published his works in 1594. They seem to have been adopted up to the time of the end of the Civil War, when they were supplanted by a style of Count de Pargon,

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who published his works in 1665; so that these particular ramparts must have been executed some time between 1594 and 1665. The characteristic feature of the Erard system was that the flank was placed at right angles to the curtain, while de Pargon had it at right angles to the face of the bastion. He showed how the defenders could sweep down this earthwork to clear the attacking party. Nothing of this style remained on the Continent.

Llansaint.—In the afternoon the members proceeded by train to Ferryside, where brakes were in readiness to convey them to Llan Ishmael. This was one of the most interesting churches visited during the tour, and a Paper was read by the Rev. George Eyre Evans, dealing with its chief characteristics.

The drive was continued to Llansaint, in the same parish, passing on the road the buried village of Hawton, demolished by a tidal wave about 1639, and marked on Speed's Map of 1610. The party entered the chapel, where there was one of the largest gatherings of the Association, under the presidency of Sir John Williams. Here a Paper was read by the Rev. George Eyre Evans on the newly-discovered inscribed stone, which he read—

CIMESETLI AVICATI,

and another and larger stone, 4 ft. 6 ins. in length, which is given by Westwood as reading—

VENNISETLI FILIVS
ERCAGNI.

Much interest was taken in the newly-discovered inscribed stone, and Professor Rhys complimented Mr. Evans upon his find. He said he was not going then to say very much about the stone, as he hoped to have an occasion to say something more at length that evening. He had examined the stone, and had some trouble in copying the inscription, which was upside down. The other stone was all right; but he got definite evidence from a man in the village—whom the young fellows called an old man—he was only 69, and he (Professor Rhys) did not agree with them—that both stones were taken out of the walls of the previous church, forty-five or forty-six years ago. That was a fact that, he supposed, could be easily ascertained when the restoration took place. He remembered distinctly that stone being put like that, upside down, and then 2 ft. built on it, when there was a great fuss and controversy about the stone having been put upside down. They wanted to get it out, but the contractor—a certain Wm. Matthias—would not undo the wall, as that, he (Professor Rhys) supposed, would cost money. That was definite evidence that the stones had been moved from the walls of the earlier church, but he could not ascertain whether they were inside the church or outside.

The Vicar said the man told him they were outside. The wall was taken down with a view of throwing out a vestry there, and the stones were in the original wall of the building. When the

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vestry was thrown out they were removed, and placed where they are now.

Professor Rhys: Rogers did not know, according to his deliberate statement to me, whether they were inside or outside.

At the Evening Meeting on that day, Professor Rhys gave a learned address of over an hour's duration, upon the various inscribed stones visited during the meetings of the Association in South Wales. Referring to the recent discovery made by the Rev. George Eyre Evans, Aberystwith, of the inscribed stone inserted upside down in the wall of Llansaint Church, which had hitherto been covered with ivy, he said that the lettering, "Cimesetli Avicat," seemed to imply a place or monument to "a man of ransomed life" —son of Avi Caton (that is, "one admired as a warrior"). Dealing with the name "Llansaint," Professor Rhys suggested that it was dedicated to two relatives whose names ended in "Setli," who were probably Irish saints.

Kidwelly.—Proceeding further towards Kidwelly there were to be seen the ivy-clad ruin of Penallt Priory, and Clomendy, a well-preserved old pigeon-house, which probably belonged to the Priory.

Arriving at the corporate borough, the party were welcomed at the Castle by the Mayor and Mayoress (Mr. and Mrs. H. E. Smart). An interesting history and description of the architecture of the ruin was given by Colonel Morgan.

Some photographs of the group, which have resulted in excellent pictures, were taken by the ex-Mayor (Mr. A. Stephens, Broomhill).

An adjournment was made to the Town Hall, where, at the invitation of the Mayor and Mayoress, tea was partaken of; after which

Canon Morris proposed a vote of thanks to them for their hospitality. It was very important to their Society, and archæology generally, that they should have the support of the authorities in the various towns; and it was very gratifying to know in every place they had been to they found this hearty welcome, and this readiness to help them in preserving monuments and other interesting things in connection with the past history of the country.

The Mayor said his wife and he were extremely obliged to them for the vote of thanks for the little they had done. He could assure the Association they were exceedingly pleased to have had the opportunity of entertaining them. He was sorry that the Corporation had not much to show. The old charters had been lost, and they had tried many times to find them. Although they had not succeeded, they had not given up the search, and they hoped in time the charters, which had somehow or other been lost or mislaid, would be found. They had the two silver maces of the borough, copies of one of the old charters (but the wording of it was not interesting), and the borough seal. Also a piece of old cloth dated 1759, and having on it the name of Griffith Jones, Mayor, which used to be on the magistrates' bench.

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The parish church was then visited, and here a Paper on the structure was read by the Rev. D. D. Jones, Vicar, and listened to with much interest.

Canon Owen proposed a vote of thanks, and Mr. E. Laws seconded, remarking he had seen a great many churches, but he did not know anyone that had such interesting features in it as this one. He could not help thinking there was Early English work in the arch, Sir Gilbert Scott notwithstanding. More than that, they had two tombs, one to the Lady Ysoude, and the other a civilian holding his glove in his hand. He thought they ran into Early English times, too, and that rather backed him up in his heresy. One of the most significant things was the enormous number of staircases. There was a staircase to the rood-loft, another going to the room over the sacristy, and there was a very interesting little wall-window above, for the priest to look down upon the altar, in order to ring the bell on the elevation of the Host. There was a staircase, which the Vicar thought went to a stone pulpit, which had disappeared, and still another staircase; also a beautiful piscina and sedilia, and a charming little window decorated.

After spending an interesting half hour inspecting the church, in the vestry being seen an elaborate alabaster figure of the Blessed Virgin and Child, which was for years buried in the churchyard, the party drove home *viâ* Llandefeilog, where the Rev. Peter Williams, theedit or of the first Welsh annotated Bible, printed by John Ross, in 1770, is buried.

EXCURSION NO. 4.—FRIDAY, AUGUST 17th.

WHITLAND.

Route. — Members assembled at the Great Western Railway Station at 9.50 A.M., and were conveyed by train to Whitland (13 miles west), and thence by carriage to Parcau, Gwarmacwydd, and Llandyssilio (seven miles north-west of Whitland).

The return journey was made by carriage to Clynderwen Railway Station (two miles south of Llandyssilio), and from there back to Carmarthen by train.

The members were entertained to luncheon at Gwarmacwydd by invitation of Mrs. Bowen Jones, and to tea at Llandyssilio by the Vicar, the Rev. O. Jones Thomas.

Whitland.—On Friday morning, August 17th, members travelled by train to Whitland, where they were met by conveyances, and driven to the Abbey (Ty-Gwyn-ar-Daf), where an able Paper was read by Mr. E. Laws, Tenby, and an interesting discussion took place regarding the name, which Archdeacon Thomas said was a curious study in philology. The old name, Ty-Gwyn-ar-Daf, meant the white house on the banks of the Taf River. That got translated

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first of all with the omission of the definite article, and they had Tygwyn-landaf. Then they got Alba Landa; the house was left out, and they had white and landa, which became misleading—it was white on the banks of the Taf. Then came another stage, the English of Alba Landa—Whiteland, the Taf was lost altogether. Then came another change, the dropping of the "e" in the white

Fig. 4.—Inscribed Stone at Parcau, Carmarthenshire.

—Whitland, and when they got to Whitland they got to the reverse of Lantwit, from which Paulinus was said to have come.

The Rev. George Eyre Evans asked if anything was known of the small circular gold vessel dug up twenty-three years ago in the garden in which they were standing? He had spoken to the man who saw it dug up.

Mr. D. C. Evans said he had made enquiries, but could not find it. The name had led people astray, and placed this spot in the Isle of Wight.

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FIG. 5. INSCRIBED STONE FROM CASTELL DWYRAN, NOW AT GWARMACWYDD, CARMARTHENSHIRE.

(*From a Photograph by J. E. Gower, 7, Lammas Street, Carmarthen.*)

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Mr. Egerton Phillimore said Giraldus Cambrensis made it too. There was not the slightest ground for believing that Paulinus had ever anything to do with Whitland. He had looked at all the manuscripts he could get at Oxford on the "Life of St. David;" and in the latest version by Usher, the word he had to copy was so difficult and so unintelligible, that he said an "insula quadem"—a certain island. In the twelfth century it was written, "insula inwincdi lantquendi;" some of the later manuscripts say, "insula whitlandi;" others say, "insula whit." Professor Rhys thought "lantquendi" did not stand for Whitland. He (Mr. Phillimore) did not think it did before the time of Hywel Dda. He could not believe "alba landa" had anything to do with the Taf; the place had been put in Whitorn, in Galloway. The latest manuscripts say "insula whit." In some of the later manuscripts—in some of the Irish ones—these names were corrupted into "delanda bendi."

Mr. D. C. Evans remarked that there was a hill close by called Castle Hill, which to some extent had been quarried away. When digging the ground twenty-five skeletons were come across, showing that the graveyard went that way.

A short time was spent in examining the surroundings, where remains of ironworks and earthworks are to be seen; and considerable interest was taken in a beautiful piece of white marble, with designs in relief, which had been found. The coat-of-arms over the hall-door of the present residence also received attention, showing a Tudor rose, portcullis, dog and griffin, fleur-de-lis, and lions, quartered.

Parcau and Gwarmacwydd.—Leaving Whitland, the party proceeded to Parcau, where the inscribed stone "Quenvendani fili Barcuni" was seen (Fig. 4), and on to Gwarmacwydd. Here, encircled by a wooden fence, was the Ogam stone with Latin inscription, "Memoria Voteporigis protictoris" (Fig. 5); and several members busied themselves in taking a rubbing of the Ogam. This stone was removed from Castelldwyran churchyard.

Llandyssilio.— Afterwards the party resumed the journey to Llandyssilio, where the parish church was visited, and a great deal of interest was taken in the three inscribed stones to be found in the outer south wall of the edifice (Figs. 6, 7, and 8). Inside the church a silver cup, dated 1636, was inspected, and another of Early Elizabethan period, also a register dated from 1720 to 1814.

Archdeacon Thomas said the present church was modern; but in the old church there was what they did not often see, the font brought up near the chancel, whereas its proper position was at the entrance to the church. It was symbolic, as so many parts of the church were, to the gradual growth of the Christian life, and the means of grace, leading up from the entrance by the font to the Lord's table. There was on the south side of the chancel a small piscina. It was very simple, but was large enough for the purpose

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for which it was used—the rinsing-out of the sacred vessels. The chancel and the chancel arch had not been touched at all; it was a plain rude pointed arch, cut out of the wall apparently, and on the north side there are two depressed arches separating the chancel from what was now the vestry-room, but which he had no doubt was at one time a chantry chapel; very plain and rude, and cut out of the wall, as in the neighbouring churches of Pembrokeshire.

Fig. 6.—Inscribed Stone No. 1, at Llandyssilio, Pembrokeshire. Scale, $\frac{1}{12}$ linear.

There was a very curious book there: a small diary kept by a former curate, who was the Vicar of Llan-y-cefn, John Griffiths. No doubt he had his full duties to do on the Sunday, and he (the Archdeacon) was quite sure he had a great deal more than he ought to have undertaken or laid upon him during week days: because in the little diary book, which he seemed to have carried about with him, and filled in day by day, he jotted down marriages, births, and deaths in the different parishes during the week day, representing his secular duties. He was sorry to say that the aggregate of those

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parishes in which he had to do duty during the week day was no fewer than twenty-six. A thing of that kind was a great abuse. He had heard of three or four parishes worked together, but twenty-

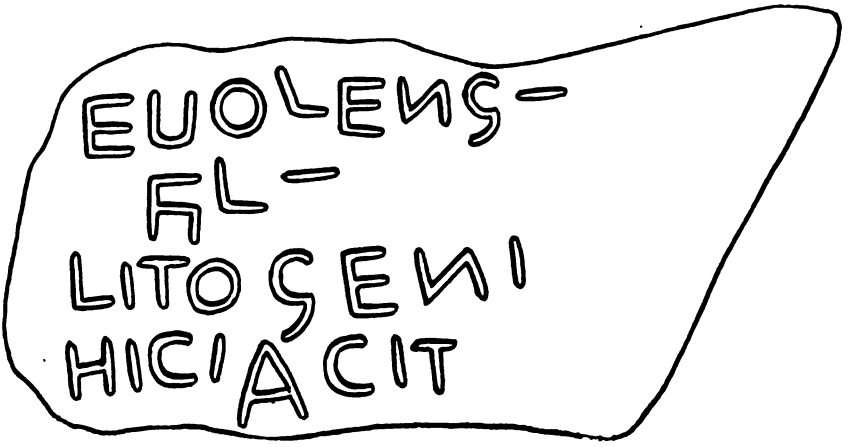

Fig. 7.—Inscribed Stone No. 2, at Llandyssilio, Pembrokeshire. Scale, $\frac{1}{12}$ linear.

Fig. 8.—Inscribed Stone No. 3, at Llandyssilio, Pembrokeshire, discovered by Mrs. Thomas Allen. Scale, $\frac{1}{4}$ linear.

six was almost incredible. That was what they were told in the diary, if he understood it aright. The Communion plate dated from 1651, and it was rare to find Communion plate of that date; it was during the interregnum of the Commonwealth. The then

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Vicar remained in charge, he supposed; but not having registers going back so far, they could not say for certain.

Rev. J. M. Phillips: I do not think he did.

Archdeacon Thomas: You believe he was deprived?

Rev. J. M. Phillips: I believe he was.

Archdeacon Thomas said the chalice or Communion cup of Egremont was also there for inspection, and that was a much earlier one than the Llandyssilio cup. It was an Elizabethan cup, but was not dated. It had the form and the characteristic band which was invariably found on Elizabethan cups.

Mr. Stepney-Gulston said the date of the cup belonging to that church was 1651, but the hall mark was 1632 or 1634 probably. It was interesting to show that the date upon it was subsequent to the time of its original making.

Mr. Egerton Phillimore made some very interesting remarks upon the inscribed stones.

Mr. T. E. Morris referred to the small book in the church, which he said was highly interesting in these days of public libraries: inasmuch as it said that, as early as the year 1761 there was in that parish a circulating library, and it gave the names of all the books in the library. He found that in the year 1761 there were in the possession of the parish as many as 800 books, among others some of the best and well-known Welsh books—*Bardd Cwsg* and *Drych y Prif Oes-oedd*. There was also a catalogue giving the price of some of the books, and he saw there was paid the sum of 1*s.* for *Bardd Cwsg*. It also gave the names of the persons to whom the books were lent from time to time. There were also a number of very interesting sentiments and toasts—he was not going to give any extracts—but anyone who was curious would be amply rewarded if he looked through that book.

Archdeacon Thomas thought in a large number of parishes they found Dr. Bray's libraries—possibly in each deanery.

Owing to the time having expired, Egremont Church, where there is an inscribed stone, had to be left out of the programme, and the members returned by train from Clynderwen.

ALTERNATIVE EXCURSION NO. 4a.—FRIDAY, AUGUST 17th.

CLAWDD MAWR.

Route.—The members assembled in Guildhall Square at 9 A.M., and were conveyed by carriage up the Valley of the Gwili to Conwil Elvet (seven miles north), and then four miles further north along the road to Llandyssyl, which follows the course of the Afon Duad, to the earthwork called Clawdd Mawr, opposite Nant-yr-hyddod.

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Fig. 9. Inscribed Stone No. 1 at Traws Mawr, Carmarthenshire,
Removed from Newchurch, and now used as the Pedestal for a Sundial.
(From a Photograph by T. Mansel Franklen, Esq.)

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The return journey was made through Conwil Elvet and Newchurch (four miles north of Carmarthen).

Luncheon was provided for the members at Conwil Elvet.

Clawdd Mawr.—The party proceeded through the Vale of Gwili to Conwil, and thence to Clawdd Mawr, an ancient earthwork composed of a dyke and ditch, about a mile and a-half long. Opposite Nant-yr-hyddod Farm a longitudinal section of the earth-

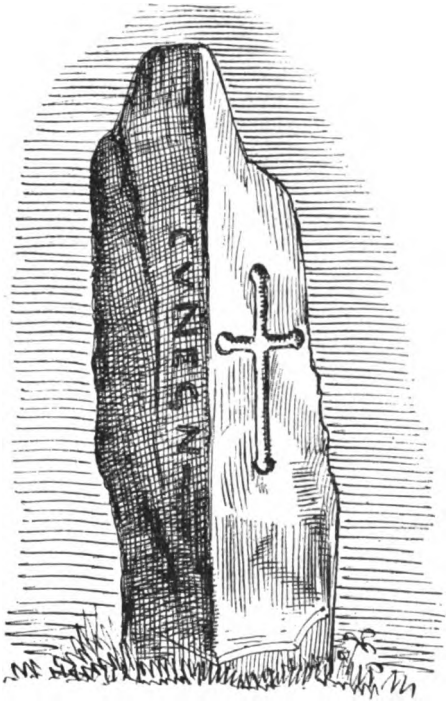

Fig. 10.—Inscribed Stone No. 2, at Traws Mawr, Carmarthenshire.

work was examined by Mr. Walter Spurrell, Mr. Glascodine, and Colonel Morgan. About 10 ft. above the base of the section a horizontal layer of peaty material, about 3 ins. in thickness, was observed, affording evidence that this was at one time the surface of the ground.

Traws Mawr.—After lunch at Conwil, and a visit to the neighbouring church, the company proceeded to Traws Mawr to view two inscribed stones, and a stone with an incised cross, standing upright in the private grounds of the mansion. On one of the

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upright stones was the inscription, "Severini fili Severi" (Fig. 9), and on the other "Cunegni" (Fig. 10). The inscription on the "Severini" stone has every appearance of having been re-cut and otherwise tampered with.

From Traws Mawr the party visited "Castell-y-Gaer," an ancient earthwork, with a saucer-shaped hollow on top, about 90 ft. in diameter. Round this mound there runs a wide ditch, but not filled with water in the manner of an ordinary castle moat.

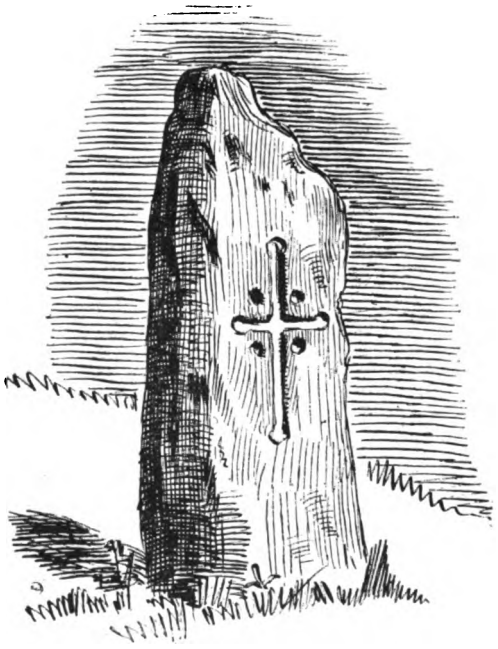

Fig. 11.—Rude Pillar Stone, with Incised Cross, at Traws Mawr, Carmarthenshire.

Owing to the heavy rain, it was found impossible to visit Garn Fawr and the Caturus stone in the Church of Merthyr Monach. The party returned through Trevaughan, reaching Carmarthen soon after 5 P.M., having spent on the whole a delightful day.

NOTE.—This report has been compiled chiefly from the account given in the *Welshman*.

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CAMBRIAN ARCHÆOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION.

CARMARTHEN MEETING, AUGUST, 1906.

Subscriptions to Local Fund.

	£	s.	d.
Sir John Williams, Bart., President	10	0	0
Earl Cawdor	3	3	0
Alan Stepney-Gulston, Esq,, Chairman	2	2	0
T. W. Barker, Esq.	2	2	0
Henry Owen, Esq., D.C.L.	2	2	0
R. H. Wood, Esq.	2	2	0
Colonel W. L. Morgan...	1	1	0
R. E. Jennings, Esq.	1	1	0
Sir James Hills-Johnes, V.C., G.C.B.	1	1	0
Lady Hills-Johnes	1	1	0
Mrs. Johnes	1	1	0
Rev. J. Thomas	1	1	0
Rev. W. Davies	1	1	0
H. Meuric Lloyd, Esq.	1	1	0
Rev. T. R. Walters	1	1	0
Rev. W. W. Poole Hughes	1	1	0
Rev. W. Done Bushell	1	1	0
H. S. Holmes, Esq.	0	10	6
Mrs. D. Pugh Evans	0	10	6
Miss C. M. C. Stepney	0	15	0
Dr. W. W. Leigh	0	10	6
Charles Lloyd, Esq.	0	10	0
Rev. D. D. Evans	0	5	0
Miss Evelyn Lewis	0	5	0
Dr. Charles Spurrell	1	1	0
Colonel H. Davies-Evans	2	2	0
Miss Thursby Pelham	1	1	0
R. E. Williams, Esq.	0	2	0
D. Morgan, Esq.	0	10	0
F. W. Gibbins, Esq.	0	10	6
John Francis, Esq.	0	12	0
Mrs. Olive	0	7	6
Ven. Archdeacon Owen Evans	1	1	0
Pepyat Evans, Esq.	0	10	6
Misses Griffith	0	12	0
Mrs. Gwynne-Hughes...	1	1	0
Miss Rickard	0	7	6
Sir Lewis Morris	1	1	0
R. M. Thomas, Esq.	1	1	0
Mrs. W. J. Williams	1	1	0
T. Morse Thomas, Esq.	0	5	0
D. C. Evans, Esq.	0	7	6
Colonel Gwynne-Hughes	1	1	0
Rev. Sir George Cornwall, Bart.	0	7	6
W. Ll. Williams, Esq., M.P.	0	12	0
J. Lewes Thomas, Esq.	0	7	6
Miss Penman	0	7	6
Miss S. A. Evans	0	7	6
David Gethin, Esq.	0	7	6
B. A. Lewis, Esq.	0	7	6
Carried forward	54	0	0

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	£	s.	d.
Brought forward	54	0	0
Rev. T. Lewis	1	1	0
Miss Henry	0	7	6
Ernest Collier, Esq.	1	1	0
D. Hamer, Esq.	0	7	6
Miss Platts	0	7	6
John Lewis, Esq	0	12	0
W. R. Evans, Esq.	0	12	0
Mrs. Stacey Jones	1	1	0
Mrs. John Snow	0	7	6
A. Llewelyn Davies, Esq.	1	1	0
	£60	18	0

BALANCE SHEET.

Receipts.

	£	s.	d.
To subscriptions received as per list	60	18	0

Expenditure.

By Hire of Wagon	0	7	0
,, Ditto Furniture	0	7	6
,, Ditto Assembly Rooms	6	4	0
,, Ditto Brake	1	1	0
,, Ditto Rooms	0	7	6
,, Gratuities to Assistants	1	7	0
,, Secretary's Postages	4	4	6
,, Ditto Sundry Disbursements	1	5	1
,, Paid Reporter	1	11	6
,, Excavating for Remains	1	10	5
,, Cheque Book	0	1	0
,, Balance in Hand	42	11	6
	£60	18	0

Examined and found correct.

A. Llewelyn Davies, Auditor.
Alan Stepney-Gulston, Chairman of Local Committee.

February 25th, 1907.

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CAMBRIAN ARCHÆOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION.

Treasurer's Statement of Accounts, 1906.

RECEIPTS.

1906.	£	s.	d.
Balance at Capital and Counties Bank, Limited, Swansea, as per last Account	436	2	3
Subscriptions for 1906, and Arrears from English and Foreign Members residing in North Wales and the Marches, per Canon Trevor Owen (202)	212	2	0
Subscriptions for 1906, and Arrears from Members in South Wales and Monmouthshire, per Rev. C. Chidlow (183)	192	12	0
Balance from Carmarthen General Meeting, as per Statement annexed	18	19	6
Dividends on Investment Consols	16	3	0
	£875	18	9

PAYMENTS.

1906.			£	s.	d.
Mr. Romilly Allen: Editor's Salary			50	0	0
,, ,, Disbursements			2	0	0
Canon Trevor Owen: Salary			10	0	0
,, ,, Disbursements			3	15	10
Rev. C. Chidlow: Salary			5	0	0
,, ,, Disbursements			9	18	0
Bedford Press: Printing *Journals*, etc.			187	19	0
A. Constable and Co.: Index to Archæological Papers			6	17	6
Illustrations: A. E. Smith	£56 15 0				
Special Photographs:					
H. Mortimer Allen: Tenby, Scotsborough, etc.	3 3 3				
James Morgan, Carmarthen: Merthyr Parish Church, Llansaint Church, and Llanfihangel-ar-arth Church	5 10 0				
Excelsior Photographic Company, Carmarthen: Carmarthen Church	0 15 0				
Alfred Hughes, Llanwrst: Brohomagli Stone	1 1 0				
			67	4	3
Secretary, Archæological Congress (4 years)			4	0	0
Removing Manian Stone. Cardigan			4	18	6
W. J. Clarke, Fire Insurance Premium			6	12	6
Balance down			517	13	2
			£875	18	9

Examined and found correct.

J. FISHER. } *Hon.*
A. FOULKES-ROBERTS, } *Auditors.*

April 4th, 1907.

W. LEW. MORGAN, *Hon. Treasurer.*

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CAMBRIAN ARCHÆOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION.

PEMBROKESHIRE ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY.

Treasurer's Statement for the Year ending 31st December, 1906.

1906.	RECEIPTS.	£	s.	d.	1906.	PAYMENTS.	£	s.	d.
January 1st.	Balance at Capital and Counties Bank, Limited, Swansea, as per last Account	9	11	1	December 31st.	To Balance down to this date .	9	11	1
		£9	11	1			£9	11	1

Examined and found correct.

J. FISHER. } *Hon.*
A. FOULKES-ROBERTS. } *Auditors.*

April 4th, 1907.

W. LEW. MORGAN, *Hon. Treasurer.*

TRECEIRI ACCOUNT.

Treasurer's Statement for the Year ending 31st December, 1906.

1906.	RECEIPTS.	£	s.	d.	1906.	PAYMENTS.	£	s.	d.
January 1st.	Balance at Capital and Counties Bank, Limited, as per last Account . .	71	7	4	December.	To Wages and Disbursements, as per Statement annexed . . .	21	2	6
						To Mr. H. Hughes, his out-of-pocket Expenses Account . . .	7	7	0
					„ 31st.	To Balance down to this date . .	42	17	10
		£71	7	4			£71	7	4

Examined and found correct.

J. FISHER, } *Hon.*
A. FOULKES-ROBERTS, } *Auditors.*

April 4th, 1907.

W. LEW. MORGAN, *Hon. Treasurer.*

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CARMARTHEN MEETING, AUGUST, 1906.

General Secretary's Account.

RECEIPTS.

	£	s.	d.
Received for Tickets	118	18	6
	£118	18	6

EXPENDITURE.

	£	s.	d.
Hire of Carriages, Carmarthen . . .	47	15	3
Ditto	6	6	0
Ditto Whitland , . .	9	3	0
Railway Fares	8	17	6
Luncheon, Llandyssilio . . .	8	11	0
Ditto Conwil	1	17	6
Printing, etc.	15	10	0
Returned on account of unused Tickets . .	1	18	9
Balance in hand	18	19	6
	£118	18	6

The above were examined and compared with vouchers by me,

ALAN STEPNEY GULSTON,
Chairman of Local Committee.

February 12th, 1907.

P. J. WHELDON,
Hon. Local Treasurer.

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Reviews and Notices of Books.

LELAND'S ITINERARY IN WALES. Arranged and Edited by LUCY TOULMIN SMITH. London: George Bell and Sons, 1906.

IT was a happy idea of Miss Toulmin Smith to publish the portion of John Leland's famous *Itinerary* that relates to Wales in a volume to itself; and as she has added some—though by no means all—of the notices of the Principality contained in the *Collectanea*, the book will prove almost indispensable to the Welsh antiquary. The text has been collated with the original manuscript, which is now in the Bodleian, so that we probably have as perfect an edition as it is possible to produce. In the mere reproduction of an important volume like the *Itinerary*, this is much to be thankful for, but it is hardly sufficient for an exacting age. Leland's bald topographical details are in many places no more than parts of a badly-articulated skeleton, the bones of which require to be decently stuffed and clothed by a painstaking and encyclopædic editor. Miss Toulmin Smith has not attempted to bring Leland up to date. She has preferred to leave him pretty severely alone, her notes being for the most part confined to trifling textual details. The really important work required in a modern edition of the *Itinerary* is that which should be given to a careful examination and identification of Leland's topographical forms; and for this Miss Toulmin Smith obtained the assistance of Dr. Gwenogfryn Evans. We much regret that we cannot speak with unqualified praise of the manner in which that gentleman has executed his task. There are plenty of perfectly obvious identifications which are hardly required for the enlightenment of the densest of Saxons. What is gained by a note identifying 'Place Newith' with 'Plas Newydd,' unless it is that it affords an opportunity for Dr. Evans to introduce his topographical fad of a barred 'd' for the regularly-used double 'd' of ordinary Welsh orthography? It is the same affectation of superior accuracy that doubtless leads Dr. Evans to identify 'Mouthey' with 'Mowddwy' (with the usual barred 'd'), though the modern spelling is universally 'Mawddwy.' Leland's 'Gurnay' is throughout given by Dr. Evans as 'Gurvei,' whereas the ordinary style is 'Gwirfai' (or 'Gwyrfai'), which indeed is the spelling adopted by Leland himself on another occasion. The castle two miles from Usk, called by Leland 'Trergreg,' is identified by Dr. Evans as 'Tre y grug,' but that form was never in use for the well-known manor of the lordship of Usk known as 'Trergrug.' 'Gogarth' is not the Welsh name for the Great Orme's Head, but for a particular part of that promontory. It is, however, not so much the erroneous identifications that we regret—for these, after all, are not numerous—so much as the many really difficult place-names in the text that are left unidentified altogether. There is hardly a page that does not contain some word that calls for explanation, for which no explanation is even attempted. Thus, on p. 43, Leland says that a point marking

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the utmost limits of Wales in one direction was 'Port Hoyger by Holihed in Anglesey,' which enables us to identify the name with that of the Porth Wygyr of the Triads, and to locate it somewhere on the northern coast of Anglesey. It should have been pointed out that Leland's 'Lug Harneis' was more frequently called 'Leigh Harnes.' The river at Wrexham, now covered over in its course through the town, and so in danger of being forgotten save when it takes its revenge upon the olfactory nerves of the citizens during hot weather, is given by Leland as the 'Wenbro,' which a note should have explained was intended to represent 'Gwenfro.' In the neighbourhood of Wrexham, too, a branch of the Pulestons was seated at a residence called by Leland 'Marsche.' Surely Dr. Gwenogfryn Evans should have known that these were the Pulestons of Berse.

Notwithstanding the blemishes which we have pointed out for correction by those who possess the book, and many others which our space will not allow us to indicate, we can honestly recommend our members to obtain it. Indeed, we heartily trust it will find its way into popular favour, so as to enable a fresh edition to be produced; and we would then recommend the able editor to obtain the assistance of the one man in Wales (or elsewhere) capable of unravelling Leland's conundrums in notes that would prove at once the admiration and the despair of every Welsh antiquary, Mr. Egerton Phillimore.

EDWARD II IN GLAMORGAN: THE STORY OF THE DOWNFALL OF THE FIRST PRINCE OF WALES, etc. By the Rev. JOHN GRIFFITH. London, 1904. Price *5s.*

THIS is a book of 257 pages (with 57 additional pages of Appendices), which would have been all the better for considerable compression. There is still some obscurity about the events of the last few months of the unfortunate Edward II's life, and, as most of that time was spent in Wales, it was a happy idea on Mr. Griffith's part to study the episode of the King's wanderings from the point of view of the Welsh historian. We cannot say that he has succeeded in advancing our knowledge of the deepening tragedy of the monarch's death; but the story was well worthy of reconsideration, and, if possible, of reconstruction, in the light of Welsh history and tradition. Instead, however, of writing his book in a style that was appropriate to the dignity and pathos of the events which he records, Mr. Griffith has adopted a method which we cannot but regard as unworthy and inappropriate. He is a perfervid Welshman of the most "Nationalist" type, and, like many another, thinks the proper medium for the display of his patriotism is abuse of the other fellow. Such hysterical emotion as Mr. Griffith too frequently indulges in may be charitably regarded as an excusable incident of the National Eisteddfod, but is quite out of place in a serious work of history—and we trust that Mr. Griffith is desirous of having his little book regarded as such. The chief merit of our author is that he recognises

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the sovereign importance, in an inquiry such as he is instituting, of reliance upon original authorities for his facts. He has worked through the printed volumes of the "Patent and Close Rolls" with diligence and good results, and this must be counted unto him for righteousness in a sphere where the imagination still exercises too potent a sway. He is exceedingly fond of quotation; but, amid many "authorities" who are frequently not authoritative upon the points upon which they are quoted, Mr. Griffith rightly places in his first rank the late Bishop of Chester and Professor Tout; and if he is not sufficiently careful in his use of so charming and picturesque a volume as Mr. O. M. Edwards's *Wales*, it must be admitted that the passages therefrom add to the eminent readableness of his book. Why Mr. Griffith has encumbered his volume with chapters upon "The Ancient Gods of Glamorgan," "The Picts and P and Q Celts," and others that have no possible connection with his subject, it would be difficult to conjecture; they may be skipped by the reader with no loss of interest in King Edward's fate, and a considerable saving of his time and patience.

The author, notwithstanding his diligence, has not been able to throw any fresh light upon the events that led up to the unfortunate King's capture. English authorities are inclined upon good grounds to regard Llantrissant as the place where he fell into the hands of his enemies. Mr. Griffith, relying upon a chronicle which he thinks was written by a Welshman, argues with much plausibility in favour of Penrhys, in the Rhondda Valley; though he prints a note producing a hitherto unnoticed authority which specifies Neath as the scene of the King's surrender. Nor has Mr. Griffith been more fortunate in penetrating the darkness that broods over the shocking murder of the King. He contents himself with a long extract from Bishop Stubbs' preface to his edition of the Chronicle which that great authority attributed to Thomas de la Moor, but which is now recognised as the work of Geoffrey le Baker, and rather tamely continues: "Now that the archives of the Vatican and of the Continent generally are rummaged and calendared by English experts, under the supervision of the Master of the Rolls, we may hear of other documents bearing on the historic doubt"—the mystery of the King's death. We may inform Mr. Griffith that there lurks at the Public Record Office the record of some judicial proceedings which arose incidentally out of the crime, and in which Edward's strong partisan, Rhys ap Gruffudd, plays an interesting part. We are in hopes that this valuable contribution towards the elucidation of one of the minor points in our history may be given to scholars through the medium of this Journal. And we also trust that with enthusiasm unabated, but with style somewhat more chastened, Mr. Griffith may give us further evidence of his undoubted capacity for the popularisation of history. We should like to have made some remarks upon the Appendices, which are the most valuable part of his book, but our space is exhausted, and we can do no more than recommend them in general terms to our members.

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Archaeologia Cambrensis.

SIXTH SERIES.—VOL. VII, PART III.

JULY, 1907.

NOTES ON EGLWYS CYMMYN, PARC-Y-CERYG SANCTAIDD, AND LLANDAWKE.

By G. G. T. TREHERNE, Esq.

(*Read during Laugharne Excursion, August 15th*, 1906.)

Eglwys Cymmyn.

The ancient little mountain church, Eglwys Cymmyn, is of singular interest in its situation, history, constructions, and dedication; and, indeed, in spite of its rude and unpretentious appearance, presents in itself an epitome of Welsh ecclesiastical history. It stands in a commanding position in a circular "rath," or encampment (of about 250 yards in diameter, faced with stone and surrounded by an outer ditch and rampart), which forms the centre of—and is probably connected historically with—a group of earthwork forts contained within the territory formerly known as Swydd, or Cwmwt, Talacharn, and now represented by the comparatively modern Lord-Marchership of Laugharne. Space forbids further reference to this group of forts, of which I have had careful surveys made, and from which I hope, with the aid of pick and shovel, to extract much information; but now I can call attention only to the important promontory fort of Pencoed, in this parish. Lewis and Carlisle both refer to the parish as the scene of a great battle and subsequent treaty, as alluded to by Sir John Price in his *History*

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of the Welsh Wars. I cannot find any work by Sir John Price with this title, neither can I find any reference to Pencoed in any of his works. Cath Pencoed is one of the three decisive battles fought by Rhodri Melynog in the eighth century, and in the farm called Pencoed, in this parish, are two fields, called respectively Parc y Castell Vawr and Vach: the former containing an important promontory fort, with a broad and level field adjoining on the north side, called Parc yr Hedd—"The Field of Peace"—which has been transmogrified by English scribes into "Pease Field." This Battle of Pencoed, or Cath Pencoed, opens out a wide field of inquiry, upon which I must not enter to-day, except to say that I am glad to observe a note on p. 206 of Dr. Henry Owen's new volume of *Pembrokeshire* on Cath Pencoed, which, although it does not directly mention our Pencoed, indirectly tends to favour the suggestion that this was the scene of the battle in question. This Territory or Lordship of Laugharne, bounded on the south by the sea, on the east and north by the River Taf, and on the west by the Pembrokeshire frontier, was until the reign of Henry VIII included in the County of Pembroke. The parish of Eglwys Cymmyn is coterminous with the manor of the same name, held of the Superior Lordship of Laugharne, and the church and its surroundings probably occupy the site of the headquarters of the chief of the territory or tribal district which was subsequently converted into a Norman manor and an ecclesiastical parish. The name Eglwys Cymmyn in itself is remarkable, as offering a key to the history of the church. Taking first the generic "Eglwys," and bearing in mind that in the Clergy List of to-day, "Llan" appears as the *proenomen* of more than four hundred Welsh churches, and "Eglwys" of only some half dozen *ancient* churches, it is curious that no serious explanation of this remarkable fact has, so far as I am aware, been attempted.

As a result of much inquiry, and personal visits to most (if not all), of the ancient Eglwys churches, I am

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inclined to offer the following explanation, which may at all events call attention to the paradox, and possibly result in further and better suggestions. The early missionaries, who presumably spoke Greek as the ecclesiastical language, would naturally on landing in this country ask the chief man of the district for a piece of land on which to build their little church, and this they would naturally call their "Ecclesia," of which "Eglwys" would be the Welsh expression. The missionary having built his church would gather round him his followers, who in turn would form themselves into a monastic settlement, or religious tribe, and would occupy an enclosed territory, or "Llan," the prototype of the modern parish. Thus we get the full title of the church of the religious tribe as Eglwys Llan Teilo, (or whoever the saint might be) Sant, "The Church of the Religious Tribe or Community of St. Teilo." By a natural process of abscission the head and tail of the lengthy sentence would perish, leaving the kernel surviving as "Llan Teilo." If, however, this explanation is accepted, the question remains, why do any *ancient* churches retain the name of "Eglwys" and omit that of "Llan." I suggest that "Eglwys," as applied to an *ancient* church, denotes the chapel-royal of the head man of the religious (or, indeed, secular) tribe; and my inquiries into the incidents of the few ancient "Eglwys" churches remaining tend to confirm this suggestion. Confining our attention more particularly to the church now under consideration, we find that, apart from the circular fort in which the church is situated, and which probably formed the headquarters of the chieftain, we have adjacent to the north-east rampart enclosing the churchyard the remains of the old buildings of "Manor Court," a name which is still retained by the farm, although new buildings were erected further from the church late in the eighteenth century. Next we have a custom, surviving to within the last few years, for the principal parishioners to maintain and repair each an allotted portion of the churchyard wall or

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rampart; and you will find still remaining on the face of the wall the initials of each farmer incised and marking the limit of the particular portion allotted to his care: a custom which may well be a survival of the liability attaching to the tenants of an ancient Welsh manor, to repair the walls of their lord's fortress (Seebohm's *Tribal System in Wales*, p. 12).

This leads me to the specific name "Cymmyn." As you are aware, the church contains a remarkable bilingual Ogam stone, notes on and illustrations of which will be found in the *Arch. Camb.*, 5th Ser., vol. vi (1889), p. 224. It is also described by Mr. Romilly Allen in his *Monumental History of the British Church*, S.P.C.K., 1889, pp. 76, etc. We have the good fortune to-day to have Professor Rhys with us; and in the hope that he may explain to us the special details of value of this famous—and in some ways unique—monument, I will only say a few words by way of introduction, and confine myself to the part taken by this stone in the history of the church. When I first found this stone, in or about the year 1880, it was one of two steps on the right of the path leading from the entrance-gate to the south porch of the church (the other still remains *in situ*), which gave access from the pathway to the higher level of the churchyard to the east of the pathway. It was brought into the church, but subsequently removed and lost sight of, till discovered a second time in the rectory garden. On the occasion of repairing the nave in 1901, under the care of the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings, much and anxious consideration was given to the best mode of putting an effectual check on the stone's erratic propensities; and it was finally decided to build the strong oaken chest for it in which it now rests under the west window, securely safeguarded by lid, bar, and padlock, while giving the reverent inquirer easy access and fairly easy view. This stone commemorates Avitoria, the daughter of Cynin; and Professor Rhys some time since formed an opinion,

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which he tells me he has no reason to alter, that in the name "Cymmin" we have a mis-spelling of "Cynin;" and although we cannot find any documentary evidence in support of this theory, it must be remembered that we have no document earlier than 1248, the date of a conveyance of the Manor of Eglwys Cymmyn by the then Bishop of St. David's, Thomas Wallensis, as a marriage portion for his niece: so that if we take the date of the stone to be not later than the fifth century, we have a period of at least 700 years in which the transposition of "n" to "m" may have taken place.

In a MS. in the British Museum of Edward III's time, the church is described as "Ecclesia de Santo Cumano." On the other hand, in an *Inq. post-mortem* of 1 Edward II, which I have very carefully examined at the Record Office, the parchment is so rubbed that the third letter of the word "Cymin" may quite well be an "n" and not an "m." The transmutation of "n" and "m" is, of course, not uncommon, *e.g.*, to quote local instances, "Penfro" and "Pembroke," "Lampeter" and "Llanpedr," but it is objected that there is no instance of such a mutation between two flanking vowels. The name of a church in Radnorshire, Llan Anno, which is sometimes found as "Amo," is the only instance of this which I have come across, and it is not very convincing; but we have no time to-day for etymological discussions. At any rate, it is beyond question that Cynin, whether or no he gave his name to the church, was a very considerable person in the district; and it is probable that the church which we have come to see stands on the site of his chapel-royal. We have in the parish a farm called "Parc Cymmin," which, if Professor Rhys's theory is correct, should be "Cynin." (As an instance of English free translation, the farm immediately adjoining the churchyard on the west is called Common Church, a translation of the same character as that which converted the neighbouring hamlet of "Rhos Goch" into "Red Roses.") At Tavern

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Spite, three miles or so to the westward, we have Castell Gynin, a few miles to the north-east of us we have a church and parish called Llanginning, and in that parish a farm known as "Llangarth Gynin;" then a little further east the River Ginning, which we crossed to-day in coming from St. Clears, and at Trawsmawr, still further to the north-east, we have a stone which we are to see on Friday, which is inscribed "Cunegni," and which probably records Cynin's burial. In the parish in which Trawsmawr is situated there are three farms bearing his name; and far away in Cardiganshire, in the parish of Llanbadarn Fawr, he has given his name to a district, "Brogynin," in or over which he presumably had interest or influence. Now, who was this "Cynin?" Mr. Fisher has very kindly given me his full Notes and References, but I have not time to quote them now; suffice it to say that Cynin appears to have been a distinguished member of a distinguished family, the saintly family of Brychan, a fact to which I shall have to draw particular attention when we are visiting the Parc y Ceryg Sanctaidd; and that he is said by Rees (in his Essay) to have been a Chorepiscopus (whatever that may precisely mean) of the fifth century. At all events, he appears to have been a leading member of the Church Militant in his day; and the fact that Llanginning is described in the *Myvyrian Archæology* as the Church of Cynin, "a' i Weision neu a' i Feibion" (his servants and his sons) suggests that it was his monastic foundation, as distinct from his headquarters and chapel-royal at Eglwys Cymmyn. The author of an Ode to King Henry VII, given in the *Iolo MSS.* 314, supplicates Cynin, amongst other saints, to grant the King a long life, and Lewys Glyn Cothy (fifteenth century) in his poems frequently invokes this saint. The Irish form of the name, "Coinin," appears as the name of a bishop in the Martyrology of Donegal. It is interesting to remember that three miles or so to the north of Eglwys Cymmyn we have "Tygwyn ar Daf" (now

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Whitland), the site of Paul Hên's famous monastery; that David and Teilo were amongst the students in the monastery; that Eglwys Cymmyn is one of the several parishes mentioned as the birthplace of Teilo; that the church of the adjoining parish of Kyffig appears as a Teilo Church in the *Book of Llan Dav;* and it does not require much effort of the imagination to suggest that Eglwys Cymmyn has been honoured with the presence of these leaders of the early Church; and that the place-name Brogynin may suggest (dates permitting) that Cynin accompanied Saints David and Teilo to the Synod of Llanddewi Brefi. I cannot find a trace of any local saint of the name of "Cymin."

Another suggestion for the origin of the name Eglwys Cymmyn is the "Church of the Communion," and in support of this there is a tradition that on Communion Sundays, "in olden times," a flag was hoisted on the church so that the people might flock from far and near: a tradition consonant with the pre-eminence which seems to have distinguished the church throughout the ages, and which may have arisen from the fact that the church was served by a bishop, who in the early days of the Church would alone have had authority to consecrate and administer the sacred elements. Another suggestion, "The Church of—or on—the Common," is scarcely worth notice; and still less a suggestion by Carlisle that the incription on an Elizabethan chalice (1574), "Poculum ecclesia de Eglos Skymine," gives the correct name of the church, "Skymine" meaning "bleak," the church standing on high ground, bare of trees. This chalice, I regret to say, disappeared thirty years ago, and all efforts to recover it have failed. A similar chalice, and of even date (1574), still exists in Cynin's other church, Llanginning. In later times, the church was attached to the Benedictine cell of Monckton, by Pembroke, founded by Arnulph de Montgomery, who presumably created the Norman Manor of Eglwys Cymmyn. Monckton (being held of the alien Priory of Seez founded by Arnulph's father, Robert), and its dependent

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churches, on the occasion of the frequent wars with France fell into the hands of the Crown; consequently, Eglwys Cymmyn was presented by Henry VI to his uncle, "the good" Duke Humphrey, who in turn gave it to St. Alban's Abbey. It is now in the gift of the Lord Chancellor. On a panel at the west end of the church you will find the names of all the rectors of the church whom we have been able to ascertain, from 1329 to the present day. Among them is Philip Marlos (1389), of whom I shall have something to say when we visit Llandawke on leaving Eglwys Cymmyn. He subsequently became Vicar of Castle Martin, co. Pembroke, which was also attached to Monckton Priory; Michael Owen (1677), of whom you will find mention on a tablet in Laugharne Church; John Evans (1730), the notorious author of a scurrilous pamphlet defaming Griffith Jones, of Llandowror; and who turned adrift his curate, Peter Williams, the editor of the first Welsh Annotated Bible, who was born at Laugharne and buried at Llandefeilog, which we visit tomorrow.

With regard to the construction of the church, I have here a plan prepared by Mr. Weir, who was appointed by the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings to superintend and carry out the recent repairs, and which shows very clearly the probable dates and order of building. The oldest detail in the church is the small square-headed window in the north wall, to the west of the north door, which does not seem to have been glazed, and the original use of which is doubtful, but it may possibly have been the window of an anchorage. The wall between this and the interior of the church was apparently thickened at the time of the vaulting of the church, so as to make the interior surface level for carrying the vaulting, which seems to have been added late in the fourteenth century, when the window in the north wall against the pulpit was inserted. In the south wall and to the west of the porch is a low archway, now walled up, which it is

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difficult to account for, unless it were a barrow-hole, through which the earth on which the vaulting was built was removed. This is Mr. Micklethwaite's suggestion. To the east of the south porch is an ancient doorway, probably the priest's door to the older church. There are traces of an older west window, the present window having been substituted at the time of the thickening of the north wall and the vaulting of the nave.

The present chancel is modern, having been built in 1877-78. The chancel-arch is of curiously rude construction (the details are shown in Mr. Weir's plan), and is very similar to that at Llandawke Church, which we shall see this afternoon. Both churches have a smaller arch in the east wall of the nave, and to the north of the chancel-arch, giving access to the rood-loft. Here this arch was walled up at the time of the rebuilding of the chancel. At Llandawke the archway and a portion of the stairs still remain.

It is noteworthy that under the entrance slabs of the north doorway, which appears to be older than the southern porch, we found five water-worn "nine-pin" stones, or "mullers," similar to but smaller than that forming the Ogam stone. Similar stones were found under the chancel-arch, and a large stone, of very much the same dimensions and quality as the Ogam stone, was found built into the east wall of the nave, to the south of the chancel arch, and there it remains. These stones are all shown in Mr. Weir's plan, which is safely deposited in the church chest. As will be noticed, on looking at the gable of the west wall from the outside, the roof covering the vaulting was at one time of a more acute pitch, and very likely covered with thatch. The present bell-cote was probably added when the present outer roof was built. The font is old, and may be an adaptation of an original Norman font, cut down to its present dimensions. The base is new. Against the east wall of the nave, and over the chancel arch, is a tablet in memory of Sir John Perrott, at one time

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lord of the Lordship of Laugharne and of the Manor of Eglwys Cymmyn. It is worth notice, for the quaintness of the composition and the neatness of the lettering. The large slab in the chancel, to the north of the chancel-arch, commemorates the Shewen family of Rhosgoch, in this parish. The name appears several times in the registers of Llanelly parish church. In the church chest there are two coins found in the churchyard—a silver halfpenny of Edward I reign, and a copper Bristol token.

On the north wall of the nave are the remains of four successive mural paintings. The oldest shows traces of polychromatic figured design; over that red Tudor lettering and scroll border, and over that again two paintings in black lettering—one in English, the other in Welsh—of the Ten Commandments. The new memorial lectern is the work of Mr. Jack, and will repay inspection.

In the tabernacle, on the south wall of the chancel, will be found a small cruet, of English glaze ware, $3\frac{3}{4}$ ins. in height, which was found embedded in the south wall of the old chancel (near where the tabernacle is hung), on the occasion of its rebuilding in 1877-8. Its use is unknown, and the authorities of the British Museum know of only one other in England, of which a photograph and description will be found hanging on the south wall of the chancel, close to the cruet. On the north wall of the chancel will be found a facsimile representation in colour of a mural painting of Queen Margaret of Scotland, which still exists on the north wall of Binstead Church, by Arundel, co. Sussex, and the story of the painting is told in the printed description hanging by the side. This painting, and the Margaret Memorial Window lately erected in the east wall, are connected with the singular dedication of this and the two neighbouring churches of Llandawke and Pendine, in honour of St. Margaret Marlos: a unique dedication, said to have been given to

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them by Sir Guy de Bryan, a great warrior, statesman, and church builder of the fourteenth century. He was Lord Marcher of Laugharne, fifty-seventh Knight of the Garter, and one of the chief benefactors of Tewkesbury Abbey, where he lies, in a fine canopied tomb in a chapel built by him and dedicated to St. Margaret of Scotland, who was ancestress and patron saint of his family. Margaret Marlos was the daughter of his sister Margaret, who married Sir Robert Marlos, a resident landowner in this parish. The Scottish royal saint was grand-niece of the Confessor, who—and whose family—held St. Margaret of Antioch in special reverence, and in whose honour the Confessor dedicated his first church at Westminster. The east window commemorates this remarkable Communion of Saints, and portrays the three Margarets of Antioch, Scotland, and Marlos. The time allotted for this Paper does not allow further reference to this remarkable and, indeed, unique dedication, but further particulars will be found in a pamphlet which I wrote some few years ago, and which can be obtained from the Rector at a cost of sixpence, which goes to the Margaret Memorial Fund. The window is the work of Mr. F. C. Eden, and has been erected chiefly at the expense of those bearing the name of Margaret throughout the Empire.

A facsimile of Queen Margaret of Scotland's famous Gospel-book is preserved in the church chest.

Parc-y-Ceryg Sanctaidd.

The field in which we are standing is one of two bearing the name of Parc-y-Ceryg Sanctaidd, or "The Field of the Holy Stones." The other and smaller field of the same name, with the addition of "Bach" (little), lies to the west of the larger field, and is separated from it by two hedges and a trackway. It, too, contains a longitudinal mound which, so far as I know, has never been examined. This field is partly in the

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parish of Llansadurnen and partly in that of Llandawke, the parish boundary running parallel to the road and cutting the field in half lengthways; the stones which we are looking at stand immediately on the boundary line.

The road from the church and village of Llansadurnen on the south-east, which now is brought into the present high road by a sharp turning to the north-west, and forms the eastern boundary of this field, used formerly to cross the field on a line with the parish boundary. Immediately to the north of the smaller field, and separated from it by the road, is a ruined cottage, with the strange name "Tavern diflas," and the field immediately in the north of the ruins is called "Parc diflas." This field contains a tumulus, on the hithermost side of which, and close to it, a stone axe of dolerite was, two years ago, found in ploughing, and is now in the possession of the British Museum.

If, as I venture to suggest, "Tafarn diflas" is the Welsh form of the English "Cold Harbour" (Tafarn, Latin *Taberna*; Diflas, "*insipid, worthless*"), and "Tafarn" as an ancient place-name, indicates the line of a Roman road, it is interesting to note that an ancient trackway leads from Tafarn diflas in the direction of Cwmbrwyn and its Roman remains which we visited this morning, and to this day affords the shortest route between the two places.

I read a Paper on these stones on 22nd August. 1903, which was fully reported in the *Welshman* of the 27th August of that year, and led to some correspondence. To-day, time permits of only a condensed *resumé* of what I then said.

I must premise by saying that the wall which you see built round the remains is of recent date, and was built to protect our treasures from cattle and other obtrusive creatures.

When my attention was first called to these remains, some years since, all that I could see was a low mound a

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few inches only in height, of darker green colour than the surrounding humus, and marked by the four amorphous stones standing in the position in which you see them to-day. The circular stone, with the cup or hollow in the centre, then lay at the north-west corner of and beyond the mound, and at its north-east corner lay the panelled stone with the incised circle and cross, which you see now placed on end slantwise, and in front of the larger upright stone which is placed erect behind it. Nothing else was to be seen until, in the summer of 1890, Mr. Edward Laws and I set to work to investigate the site. We commenced operations by digging carefully round the edge of the mound marked by the four stones, and found that they marked the corners of a fragmentary building of roughly-dressed stones, put together without mortar. We next drove a sectional trench, starting four feet or so from the south side of the enclosure, and digging down into the bed-rock some 3 ft. deep. We carried our trench across the enclosure from south-west to north-east, without finding the slightest trace of any burial. We found that the enclosed space consisted chiefly of loose stones thrown or fallen together, and mixed with these we found a few smooth water-worn pebbles, in size and shape like potatoes, small and big. These were all we found, with the exception of a small piece of white quartz or crystal, of the kind usually known as St. David's diamonds, and of about the size of a walnut; also a small fragment of burnt red clay, of the size of a marble. Under the circular stone and covered by from 8 ins. to 12 ins. of soil, we found what turned out to be the lower portion of the cross-marked stone already referred to. This larger stone was lying recumbent on its back, and looked at first sight very much like the lower half of the stone already discovered. This surmise has proved to be correct, Not only do the details of the fracture along the upper edge of the larger stone correspond (except where by weather or

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other agent fragments have been removed) with those of the fracture along the lower edge of the smaller stone, but on the upper part of the larger stone traces of a cross and circle similar to that in the smaller stone can be detected (more easily by the eye of a camera than by the human eye), a portion of the upper segment of which is wanting, and is found on the upper stone. The bigger stone, you will observe, is also panelled, but, owing to its being very much more weathered and damaged, the details are difficult to decipher. It was thought better not to attempt to re-join the stones, but to place them in their present position, so as to enable the spectator to form a fairly accurate notion of their original appearance when forming one stone. The four amorphous blocks were left in their original position. The loose stones found in the mound were, as you see, placed around the mound, making its boundaries, and in the limestone slab on which the upper part of the incised stone rests a hollow was made, in which the small stones or pebbles above referred to were placed.

Now, what are we to say as to the origin of these stones? Local tradition tells us that in old days coffins on their way to burial were wont to be rested on the cross-inscribed stone, and sprinkled with holy water from the cup in the round stone; this is referred to in Miss Curtis's book, *Antiquities of Laugharne, Pendine, and their Neighbourhood*; and the custom of resting coffins on convenient stones, or by roadside crosses, was not infrequent or unreasonable, especially in days when the journey was long and the road difficult.

Probably, however, these stones belong to an age long prior to the use of coffins, although they may well have been subsequently used for such a purpose.

The result of my investigation tends to confirm a suggestion made to me by Mr. Romilly Allen, that we may possibly have here the remains of a building

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similar to the so-called altar stations ("Altoir") which stand to this day in the Cashel on the Island of Innishmurray, off the coast of Sligo. (In illustration of this possible connection, I may mention that Zimmer, in his *Celtic Church in England*, p. 35, gives "Altoir" as one of the Irish words derived from the Latin through a British medium, and so indicating that Christianity came to Ireland from Britain.)

The Innishmurray remains are fully described and illustrated in Mr. W. F. Wakeman's *Book of Survey of the Antiquarian Remains in the Island of Innishmurray*. 1 vol. London, 1893.

These Altoirs consist of quadrangular heaps of stones, 5 ft. to 7 ft. long by about 5 ft. wide and 3 ft. in height, and built without mortar, with a large stone, or "Dallan" (in some cases there are two such stones), standing upright in the middle or at one end of the altar, the Dallan being generally inscribed with a circle and cross. On the top of these structures are found smooth water-worn stones or pebbles, of various sizes and descriptions, in some cases incised, and which are locally known as "cursing-stones." It is, or was in quite recent years, the practice of the inhabitants, when in a prayerful mood, to go round these altars from left to right with the sun, thus forming the Irish "desiul," or holy round; or, if revenge was in their mind, they would reverse the operation by going against the sun "widdershins," turning the stones as they went, and uttering a curse against the particular object of their hatred. On one of these altars called "Altoir beg" (the little altar), illustrated at p. 71 of Mr. Wakeman's book, are a considerable number of small water-worn pebbles, apparently taken from the sea-shore. On others the stones are larger, and in some cases incised.

I have here a curious stone which I found two or three years ago on the farm of Beefs Park, in the adjacent parish of Marros, and which is seemingly of the same character as some of the larger cursing-

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stones found at Innishmurray. If this stone is of that class, it implies the existence in former days of an altar station in that neighbourhood; but possibly (although this is less likely) it may have been removed from here thither.[1] I had every intention of visiting Innishmurray this summer, as in such cases seeing is believing, and it is difficult to compare two objects without seeing both. Unfortunately, I have had no time to make this rather difficult journey, but I have been fortunate in making the acquaintance of Mr. Cuthbert Harrison, of Sligo, who has visited Innishmurray and phographed (he is a professional photographer) the remains; and he has not only sent me some specimens of his work, but has kindly undertaken to make another visit to the island, in order to take photographs of further details; and hopes to be able some time next month to come over and visit Parc y Ceryg Sanctaidd, so that we may compare notes. There do not appear to be at Innishmurray any stones resembling our circular cup-stone (if "cup-stone" is the correct term for it). Cup-stones, as we know, are exceedingly rare in Wales, although we have on Pendine Head, two miles to the south-west, a flat recumbent stone with two cups. Pendine Head, let me say in passing, well deserves a visit, which I regret extremely that time now forbids. We must hope that members will be so satisfied with what they have seen in Swydd Talacharn that they will individually, if not collectively, pay another visit. I can promise that their curiosity will be rewarded.

The cup, or hollow, in this circular stone measures about 8 ins. in diameter and 6½ ins. in depth. Possibly the stone may be wholly unconnected with the other relics, and have formed the base of a roadside cross standing on this "Holy Ground."

The four amorphous blocks resemble similar stones

[1] This stone is now in the Welsh Museum at Cardiff.

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placed at one end of one of the Innishmurray Altars, and on which devout worshippers were wont to kneel.

If these remains prove to be akin (analagous, if not actually homologous) to those at Innishmurray, it follows that the builders of both must have been connected in circumstances or idea, or have had knowledge of each others' method of work; and here we may possibly have a clue through the medium of the multitudinous Brychan family. At Eglwys Cymmyn, as we have seen, we were brought *vis-à-vis* a distinguished member of this saintly family; St. Cynin. In the next parish, between us and the sea, we have a farm called Parc Cynog, containing Ffynon Cynog, or Cynog's Well, and as a place-name Merthyr Cynog, a name which appears in Glamorganshire, and indicates presumably the possession of the relics of the Saint. The name "Cynog" appears amongst the numerous progeny of Brychan. It has been suggested that "Toch," in "Castle Toch," the name of an adjoining farm which we passed on our way hither from Eglwys Cymmyn, is a corruption of Doch or Doc, a shortened form of Cadoc, another eminent Brychanite. The same origin has been suggested for "dawke" in Llandawke, the name of the church which we shall next visit; and we have other Brychanite names in the neighbourhood, such as Brynach, Elidyr, Clydwyn, and Pab. Several field- and place-names in this locality also denote an Irish (to use a popular phrase) origin, and amongst the many nebulous circumstances which surround the Brychan story, his connection with Ireland is sufficiently clear. Next, the connection of St. Columba with St. Molaise of Innishmurray is, I believe, generally accepted; and we find on Innishmurray traces of Columba and his so-called twelve apostles, such, for instance, as Reilig (the "resting-place" of) Columcil, Reilig Odrain, etc. Among the twelve apostles whom Columba took with him to Scotland were Rhun, whom Skene in his *Four Ancient Books of Wales*, vol. i, p. 52, identifies as one of the

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sons of Brychan; and Aedan, whom Professor Rhys, in his *Celtic Britain*, refers to as the son of a daughter of Brychan; and we know that Rhun, or a man of that name) is said to have been buried at Llandevaelog, which may possibly be (there are two parishes of this name) the Llandefeilog in this county, which we hope to visit to-morrow.

Now, this suggested origin of these remains seems to be worthy of careful consideration by those of our members whom I have the pleasure of addressing to-day. This theory, if found to be justified by the facts, would seem to account for the origin of some, at all events, of the many solitary pillar stones, or Menhir, found throughout the Principality. The loose walling forming the altar would naturally disappear in the course of ages, leaving the monolith standing alone to tell its tale. The inaccessibility of Innishmurray has, fortunately, preserved its precious relics for us; and if these relics now before us are in the result found to be akin to those on Innishmurray, may we not confidently look forward to other traces of similar remains, especially in those districts of Wales where the Brychanite influence prevailed, as is the case in that portion of Carmarthenshire in which we now find ourselves.

Since this Paper was written, I have received the following letter from Mr. John Ward, the Curator of the Welsh Museum at Cardiff:—

"1. *Parc-y-Ceryg Sanctaidd.*—The hypothesis you refer to was suggested by Miss Curtis's view of the Grist Cross at Laugharne. She shows the lower fragment of a mediæval shaft inserted into a circular base-stone, much like your "cup-stone" at the above. Circular bases are unusual, but I feel sure I have seen several examples.

"By the half-buried road on Merthyr Mawr Warren are the remains of a wayside cross. If my memory serves me aright, the base-stone is circular, with a circular socket, only, unlike the Grist base, it is decorated with a thirteenth-century moulding. The usual form is square or octagonal.

"It cannot be doubted that the parish boundary through

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Parc-y-Ceryg Sanctaidd perpetuates a former road: in fact, we found some indistinct traces of such a road. A cross by its side would almost certainly rest upon a mount of steps, and the square structure with the four great corner-stones suggests the platform, or lower step-course. To put it another way—it equally fits the theory of a mediæval wayside cross with the theory of an 'altoir.'

"We know that in pre-Reformation times funerals halted at wayside crosses for a paternoster, etc; and we can well imagine that after the cross was thrown down, or fell from neglect, and even after the road ceased to be used for ordinary traffic, force of long habit would keep alive the custom of funerals passing by the site, and making the halt for the Lord's Prayer. The cross faded from memory, and the stones, from the circumstances just given, came to be known as 'resting-stones.'

"The relation of this supposed mediæval cross to the pre-Norman crossed slab on the site is a little difficult. So far as I am aware, the pre-Norman crosses were sepulchral; but they were by no means always associated with churches; yet there is no evidence (that I am aware of) that any of them were originally regarded as simply wayside crosses, although it is conceivable that they were often raised near lines of traffic. We may imagine that our stone commemorated some early 'saint,' and that in later times it was replaced by another of a form which would then more strongly appeal to the passer-by as a cross. Or, possibly, the old stone, from some cause or other, was broken, as we now see it, and this led to the erection of the second structure.

"This second structure would probably take the form of a crucifix, or it may have had a coped head, containing a crucifix on one side, and, say, St. Mary on the other.

"Of course, this is only hypothesis, but the more hypotheses the more likely is one to prove correct."

Furthermore, since this Paper was written, Mr. Cuthbert Harrison has visited the Parc-y-Ceryg Sanctaidd with me; and so far as he could judge from the little that remains to be seen, he was emphatic in his opinion that, had he come upon these remains in his own (adopted) country, he would have considered them to be of the same class as the "altoirs" on Innishmurray. The central large stone, or Dallan, however, he states,

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is very much larger than any at Innishmurray, and there is nothing there in the least resembling the circular stone with central cup which we have here. He kindly gave me photographs taken by him at Innishmurray, and hopes to take and send me more this next summer: which with his permission I will send to the *Journal* for publication, together with photographs of our relics here, for the purpose of easy reference and comparison.

Llandawke.

A visit to this secluded and picturesque little church follows in appropriate sequence our visit to the far older and historically more interesting church, Eglwys Cymmyn. We saw in the Margaret Memorial Window there a representation of Sir Guy de Bryan, holding a model of Llandawke Church in his hands in the act of dedication. Among the list of rectors there we noticed the name of "Philip Marlos" as Rector in 1389; and here we have the reputed effigy of Margaret Marlos; and there is good reason for believing Philip and Margaret Marlos to have been brother and sister, children of Sir Robert Marlos and his wife Margery (or Margaret), the sister of Sir Guy de Bryan. Each of these two churches is said to have been dedicated by Sir Guy in honour of "St. Margaret Marlos;" and the tradition that this little church was built in connection with a small religious establishment founded by Sir Guy, and presided over by his niece, seems to be justified by appearance and circumstance. There is no trace of any village near the church, or in any part of the parish. The Rectory House, which is modern, stands, as you see, close to the churchyard, and may mark the site of an ancient conventual building; while the fine timber surrounding the churchyard, the pond, the extensive range of buildings now belonging to the

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principal farmhouse or mansion of Llandawke, the farm being co-terminous with the parish, all tend to suggest a settlement, or Home of Ancient Peace.

The living is in the gift of the Nanteos family, as also is the neighbouring church of Pendine, which is held with Llandawke.

Miss Curtis, whom I have already quoted in my account of Parc-y-Ceryg Sanctaidd, writes (in 1880) that a manor house once stood close to Llandawke church, and that two members of the de Bryan family were buried in the church. She refers to the finding of a gold urn of early date, and to various local legends incident to the church and its surroundings. She also refers to the effigy as representing the foundress of the church, and relates a tradition that, one day, when she (the foundress) was returning from her house at Broadway (a mile or more to the south of Llandawke) from arranging affairs regarding the church, she was attacked by robbers, who cut her into three pieces; and that to commemorate her martyrdom her effigy was divided into three separate pieces. This story was doubtless invented to account for the fact that the effigy is divided into three parts by two sharp divisions, which it is difficult to account for. They are too sharp and regular to have been caused by a blow, and there are no traces of saw-work. When I first saw the effigy (which I have the authority of Abbot Gasquet for saying, is undoubtedly that of a religious lady of rank of the late fourteenth or early fifteenth century), many years ago, it was lying covered with moss and tangle in the south-west corner of the churchyard, and in 1903 was placed in its present position at the expense of the late Mr. Thomas Harries, who owned the whole parish (consisting of one farm and under thirty inhabitants), and who also, with characteristic generosity, paid the expenses of the work done for the preservation of the relics in Parc-y-Ceryg Sanctaidd.

Of the construction and architecture of the little

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church, the nave of which measures 33 ft. by 17 ft., there is not much to be noted. The simple chancel-arch and the opening in the east wall of the nave, originally giving access to the rood-loft, are very similar (either copied the one from the other or the work of the same builder) to what we saw at Eglwys-cymmyn. Generally speaking, the building may well be of late fourteenth-century (Sir Guy de Bryan died in 1391) work, and notwithstanding restoration, preserves much of its simple charm and seemliness. The windows, particularly that in the south wall of the chancel, are worthy of notice. The font seems to me to be of older date than the church, but it is difficult, if not impossible in Wales, to compute the dates of works of Art by English standards. A notable instance of this is furnished by the effigy where we find details of the lady's attire (for instance, the tight sleeves with buttons along the outside seam), identical with those in the dress worn by her namesake Margaret de Camoys, as shown by her brass in Trotton Church, co. Sussex, and who died in 1310, or nearly one hundred years before our foundress. A beautiful drawing of the effigy has been most kindly made for me by Miss Edwards: who, I should like to be allowed to hope, may be induced some day to include Carmarthenshire in the good work she is doing in Pembrokeshire, in making drawings of the ancient monuments throughout the county. And now, before coming to (in the eyes of archæologists) the most valuable possession of the church, I should like to invite suggestions as to the origin of the name Llan*dawke*. It is variously spelt "Dawg" or "Dawke." In does not appear in the *Taxatio*. In the *Valor* it is Llandawke; in the *Liber*, Llandawk (without the final *e*). Speed's Map of Carmarthenshire, 1662, gives it as Llan*dach*. Leland gives Llan*douhe* and Llan*doughe* as a place-name in Glamorganshire, possibly identical with one of the two churches of that name (also called Llandoch, or Llandocha), both dedicated to St. Dochdwy, who is said by Rees (*Essay*,

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p. 219) to have been a Bishop of the sixth century, to have accompanied Cadvan to Bardsey, and to have had the care of the diocese of Llandaff during Teilo's absence.

If "Dawke or "Dawg" can be made out of "Doch," we may have here another instance of the connection of Teilo with this district. The Glamorganshire Llan*dough* appears variously as Llan*doch*, *docha*, *doghe* (1314), *dochar*, *doche*, *dochey*. Other suggestions are, that in Dawk we have a shortened form of Oudoceus, who succeeded (Rees, p. 253) his maternal uncle Teilo (again) as Bishop of Llandaff; or of Cadog, or Cadoc, whose name not infrequently appears in the shortened form *Doc* (another Brychanite, by the way), who founded Llangadog, in this county. The Toch, in Castell Toch[1] —the name of a neighbouring farm to which reference has already been made — suggests a similar origin. Another suggestion is that "Dawke" is a corrupt rendering of "Dog" (in Dogmael), "Dog" standing as the name of the saint, with "mael" as an added adjective. We have "Dog" also as the first syllable of "Dogfan," appearing in the *Cognacio* as a son of Brychan, said to have been slain at Merthyr Dogfan, in Dyfed, or Pembrokeshire, and that a church (of which no trace is left, even the site being unknown) was consecrated in his memory. And now we come to the Ogam stone, any description of which I am glad to be able to leave to Professor Rhys, who has already written more than once about it, and from whom we may hope to-day to hear his matured opinion. I will merely say, that when I first saw the stone, many years ago, it formed a stepping-stone into the church, whence it was removed to the vestry, under the tower, and in 1903 to its present and, I hope, final resting-place. A mirror has been placed against the wall opposite and along the back of the stone, so that both sides may be seen without removing the stone.

[1] "T" and "D" would, in certain circumstances, be interchangeable in Welsh.

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The stone is noticed in—

1. *Ogam, Inscribed Monuments of the Gaedhill.* R. B. Brash, London, 1879, p. 347, with illustrations.
2. *Lapidarium Walliæ.* J. O. Westwood, Oxford, 1876-9, p. 92 with illustrations.
3. *Arch. Camb.*, 1867, p. 343; 1874, p. 19; 1875, p. 413. This last was the date of the last visit of the Society.
4. *Y Cymmrodor*, vol. xviii, 1904, p. 21. *Professor Rhys on the Welsh Englyn*, where the Latin inscription is given as an instance of the use of "Hexameters" in the Welsh Englyn, as also is that on the Eglwys Cymmyn stone.
5. The *Gentleman's Magazine* for January 7th, 1838, vol. ix, p. 44.
6. *Lectures on Welsh Philology.* John Rhys. London, 1877, p. 298.
7. *Ogham Inscriptions in Ireland, Wales, and Scotland.* Sir Samuel Ferguson. Edinburgh, 1887, p. 118.

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CARMARTHEN IN EARLY NORMAN TIMES.

By Professor J. E. LLOYD.

The story of Carmarthen is, in certain of its aspects, a familiar one, which has often been told and which scarcely needs re-telling on the occasion of this—the second—visit of the Association to the historic centre of the Dimetian country. Its legendary connection with the wizard Merlin, its importance as a military station in Roman times, and the part it played as a royal borough, protected by a strong castle, during the ages of conflict between Welsh and English, have often been discussed. There is, however, one period of its history, and that not the least interesting, to which little attention has been given; and it is in the hope that I may enlist your interest in this neglected period that I venture to offer the following observations.

I refer to the interval between the Roman occupation and the emergence of the town (in 1137) as an important stronghold of Norman power, carried by storm in that year by Owain and Cadwaladr, the sons of Owain Gwynedd. There is, of course, a great lack of historical material for those years; but the judicious use of what we have will enable us, I think, to reach some conclusions which will fairly fill the gap between the Maridunum of the Romans and the Carmarthen of the reign of Stephen. The first point is the identification of Carmarthen with the Llandeulyddog of the well-known list of the Seven Bishop-houses of Dyfed. In that list, which is known to us from the Dimetian Code of the Laws of Hywel Dda,[1] Llandeulyddog stands sixth; it was supposed by Rees, the author of the *Welsh Saints*,

[1] Ed. Aneurin Owen, vol. i, p. 558 (Llann Deulydawc); vol. ii, pp. 790, 869.

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to be "in the southern part of Pembrokeshire";[1] and Aneurin Owen, in his edition of the Laws, could only suggest it was Llandudoch or St. Dogmael's. But in the *Liber Landavensis* there is a reference to "lann toulidauc ig cair mirdin,"[2] and the allusion, slight as it was, did not escape the keen eye of Dr. Gwenogvryn Evans, who, in his Index,[3] locates this church definitely at Carmarthen. It thus becomes plain that Carmarthen, when the walls of its Roman fort had been dismantled and its first military period came to an end, began life again as an important ecclesiastical centre. For the bishop-houses of this list were not ordinary churches or ordinary episcopal manors; what is recorded of them shows that they were churches of special distinction and ample resources, served by groups of clergy who inherited monastic traditions. Whether the name "esgopty" may be taken as proof that each had originally its bishop, is perhaps open to doubt; but it is certain that, when the list was drawn up in its present form, Llandeulyddog had an abbot, a man of wealth and high social standing. Now an abbot implies a body of dependent ecclesiastics, and thus we may proceed to include the place under the general denomination of "Clas"; it belonged to that type, of which there are so many examples in the early Middle Ages, both in North and South Wales, viz., the primitive monastery still retaining some monastic features, such as the title of abbot, but converted in practice into a group of secular clergy.

Llandeulyddog had an endowment of lands, and this partially accounts for its appearance in the *Liber Landavensis*. According to the legend of St. Teilo, Teulyddog was one of his disciples,[4] and the church of Llandaff,

[1] *Welsh Saints*, p. 253.

[2] Ed. Gwenogvryn Evans, p. 62. On p. 124, "mirdin" has dropped out.

[3] P. 409.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 115 (Toulidauc). The "dd" is not only to be naturally inferred from the Old Welsh form, but is actually found in the poems of Lewis Glyn Cothi.—See the Oxford (1837) edition, p. 49: "Mac Teilaw iddaw; mae Telyddog."

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under the energetic leadership of Bishop Urban, was for claiming as the inalienable property of that see, not only all the Teilo churches in South Wales, but also those which bore the names of his disciples. The fight, in this case against St. David's, was waged for many years, but without success; with the death of Urban in 1133 (or 1134), all the spirit died out of it, and St. David's was suffered to enjoy without question its authority over the Teilo churches west of the Tawe, and, among them, over Llandeulyddog.

Until the death of Rhys ap Tewdwr in 1093, this district was not affected by the Norman Conquest. But, immediately after that cruel blow to the hopes of the men of South Wales, Norman invaders poured into Ceredigion, Dyfed, and Ystrad Tywi. While the west of Dyfed was given by Rufus to Arnulf Montgomery, the first builder of Pembroke Castle, its eastern half was bestowed upon William fitz-Baldwin, who was a cousin of Gilbert fitz-Richard (the first Norman Lord of Ceredigion), and succeeded his father, Baldwin de Meules, as Sheriff of the County of Devon.[1] William, it may be remarked, was not the only Devonshire man who joined in the attack upon South Wales during this reign; Richard of Grainville, the conqueror of the Neath Valley, was of Bideford;[2] the fitz-Martins, who settled in Cemais, came thither from the neighbourhood of Ilfracombe,[3] and the founder of Whitland Abbey was a John of Torrington.[4] The natural issue of the grant to William was the building of a castle to secure the new lordship, and this was placed, not at Carmarthen, where the "clas" were left for the time in

[1] *Brut y Tywysogion*, ed. Ab Ithel, s. a. 1094 (really 1096); Round, *Feudal England*, p. 330.

[2] He gave a rent of twenty shillings in Littleham, hard by Bideford, to Neath Abbey when he founded this house in 1130.—*Monast. Angl.*, v, 259.

[3] Owen's *Pembrokeshire*, ed. Dr. Henry Owen, pp. 430-2.

[4] *Monast. Angl.* (new edit.), v. 591: *Royal Charters of Carmarthen*, ed. Alcwyn C. Evans (1878), p. 73.

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undisturbed occupation of the old "caer" or fort, but a mile lower down the river, at Rhyd y Gors. For a few years, therefore, nothing is heard of Carmarthen, and the place it occupied later as the chief stronghold of the district is temporarily filled by Rhyd y Gors. The history of this castle was so short that, so far as I know, no remains of it have survived; not even its site is certainly known. In the general upheaval of 1094, when the Welsh of Deheubarth rose in revolt against their new masters, it was one of two castles (Pembroke being the other) which survived in Dyfed and Ceredigion. In 1096, William died while the revolt was at its height; this so discouraged the garrison that they abandoned Rhyd y Gors, probably retiring by sea to their Devonshire homes. The district then for a few years relapsed into Welsh hands. Henry I, indeed, recognised the claim of Richard fitz-Baldwin to succeed to what his brother had held in Wales, but Richard made no attempt to enter into possession until 1105, when he gave orders for the rebuilding of the castle.[1] Hostilities now followed with the Welsh lord of Kidwelly, a commote which marches with Dyfed from the mouth of the Towy to Abergwili. Hywel ap Gronw attempted to destroy the rising fortress which so seriously menaced the peace of his borders, but in vain; in 1106 he was himself slain by the treachery of one of his own men, acting in concert with the garrison of Rhyd y Gors.[2] In this way Norman supremacy in the district was assured.

This is the last mention of Rhyd y Gors Castle, which at this point drops silently out of history, together with the claims of Richard fitz-Baldwin. Though Richard lived until 1136, and continued to be one of the great men of his county, he played no further part in the affairs of South Wales, and never again put forward any claim—so far as is known—to exercise authority in the valley of the Towy. When light is

[1] *Brut y Tywysogion*, s. a. 1102.
[2] *Ibid.*, s. a. 1103.

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next thrown on the affairs of the district, in 1109, Walter of Gloucester, sheriff of that county, and one of Henry's active officials, is found at Carmarthen,[1] and it is clear that the first steps are being taken for the building on the spot of a royal stronghold, to supersede Rhyd y Gors, and to keep Welsh prince and Norman baron alike in check in the interests of the Crown. We next come to the year of the rising of Gruffydd ap Rhys, who, in 1116, rallied around him the youth of South Wales in an effort to regain the lost crown of Deheubarth. Enthusiasm was on the side of Gruffydd, but the movement did not commend itself to the more experienced Welsh leaders, who knew the strength of Henry's position, and many of them took the king's side. Among these was Owain ap Caradog, a chieftain of Cantref Mawr, who, in return for his loyalty, was entrusted with the defence, during a particular fortnight, of Carmarthen Castle. It chanced, unhappily for him, that the attack of Gruffydd was delivered during Owain's term of office as guardian of the Castle. Advancing incautiously to meet the foe, he found himself without support, and was overwhelmed and slain.[2] The enemy forthwith destroyed the "rhaggastell," or outworks, but failed to capture the "twr," or keep: a distinction which shows that the first Castle of Carmarthen was of the type commonly found in this age. It had a mote, or mound, crowned with a tower or *donjon*, and surrounded by a ditch; while an outer court, or bailey, adjoined the ditch, having its own defences.

Later in the same year,[3] when Owain ap Cadwgan, of Powys, had taken the field against the insurgents, a party of them is found fleeing for protection to Carmarthen, where they were treated with some indulgence. Owain himself showed them no mercy; but as he was carrying them off as prisoners, he was overtaken

[1] *Brut y Tywysogion*, s. a. 1106, p. 88 (Gwallter ucheluaer Kaer Loyw).

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 124, 126.

[3] Pp. 136, 138.

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by Gerald of Windsor—with whom, since the affair of Cenarth Bychan, he had been in bitter feud—and a force of Flemings from Rhos, and, being thus taken by surprise, was forthwith slain. The chronicle explains how Gerald and his Flemings happened to be at Carmarthen. They were there to meet the King's son —the young William who was heir to the Crown, and who, being now thirteen years of age, had on March 19th of this year received at Salisbury the homage of the great men of the land.[1] The incident is one more illustration of the fact that Carmarthen had now become a centre of royal administration for South-West Wales. Homage was no doubt done to William here by the Norman and the Welsh magnates of the district, whose jealous watchfulness of each other's doings had not allowed them to travel to Salisbury.

The new castle of Carmarthen had not been placed within the limits of the Roman fortress, but on a height a few yards to the west, on the very brink of the river Towy. The little settlement of foreign traders and artisans which, under the name of a "burgus," or borough, was generally planted at the foot of an important castle, also lay outside the old fort to the north of the castle. Thus arose a distinction which persisted until 1764 between Old and New Carmarthen, the Vetus and the Nova Villa, or Civitas.[2] New Carmarthen was a royal borough, of which the first known charter dates from the reign of John,[3] but which had no doubt from the beginning such special privileges as would attract to the spot the settlers so necessary for the comfort and ease of the garrison. Old Carmarthen remained an ecclesiastical preserve, still under the protection of the venerable and mysterious Teulyddog.[4] In the corner of the old fort nearest to the

[1] Florence of Worcester.

[2] Spurrell's *Carmarthen*, 1879, p. 24.

[3] *Royal Charters*, p. 1.

[4] See, for instance, No. 135 in the *Cartulary* of Carmarthen Priory, in which "Thomas, prior monasterii Sancti Johannis Evangeliste de Kermerdyn, dominus Veteris Ville de Kermerdyn," claims a number of franchises.

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town and Castle a new church was built in honour of St. Peter, and this was the ordinary resort, no doubt, of the burgesses and the garrison, though Llandeulyddog continued to be the mother-church, with the right to receive the tithes of its extensive parish, which included Llan Gain, Llanllwch, and Eglwys Newydd. About 1120, however, an important change took place. It was the policy of the Norman conquerors to establish in their lordships, in close proximity to the principal castle, a monastic house, generally a cell of some English or foreign abbey, which would secure for them on the spot the advantages of spiritual support in their long and weary struggle with the Welsh. It was also their policy to break up where they could the organisation of the "clas," an institution which made no appeal to them, since its monastic features had become attenuated almost beyond recognition, and it corresponded to no ecclesiastical type of high repute with which they were familiar. Thus Henry I was but following in the footsteps of his marcher vassals, when he gave Llandeulyddog to the great abbey of Battle, in Sussex, which his father had founded in memory of the victory of Hastings. The chronicle of the abbey says that, in the time of Abbot Ralph (1107-1124) the King, of his great love for the Abbey, bestowed upon it "a certain church in Wales, founded in honour of St. Peter the Apostle, and situated in the city called Carmarthen (Chærmerdi), with all its appendant rights, to be freely and quietly possessed for ever. He also gave another church, founded there in remote ages in honour of St. Theodore the Martyr (a bold shot at the unknown Teulyddog!), and land therewith not far distant which is called Pentewi; because he thought this would be advantageous, it being very fruitful in corn."[1]

The next figure who appears in the history of Carmarthen is Bishop Bernard, of St. David's. Bernard was the first Norman bishop of that See, appointed in

[1] *Chronicon Monasterii de Bello*, London, 1846, pp. 55, 56.

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1115 in direct furtherance of Henry's policy of subjugating the Welsh church to the royal power, so that its influence might no longer be used on behalf of the Welsh in the struggle between the two races. The Bishop had a manor at Abergwili, and no doubt often visited Carmarthen. He was anxious to strengthen the new colony established there, and thought that, instead of the little cell of Battle,[1] a more imposing foundation might be placed there, and one, too, more dependent upon himself. He was in favour at Court, having been one of Queen Matilda's chaplains, and he used his position to press this matter persistently upon the king, to the annoyance of the monks of Battle. At last, on the occasion of the election of a new abbot, in 1125, he carried his point. The King transferred to Bernard the Carmarthen possessions of Battle, and gave that Abbey compensation in Hampshire.[2] Bernard now instituted at Llandeulyddog a house of Regular Canons of the Augustinian pattern, under the government of a prior. There was a re-dedication of the church to St. John the Evangelist, and the official style of the place now becomes "the church of St. John the Evangelist and St. Theuloc of Carmarthen." Teulyddog's name is in this form so abbreviated that some have supposed that the real patron was St. Teilo, but there can be no doubt in the mind of anyone who has carefully followed the sequence of events.

The *Cartulary* of the Black Canons of Carmarthen has, fortunately, been preserved in a seventeenth-century transcript, now in the Peniarth collection. It was printed from this MS. (*Hengwrt MS.* 440[3]) by

[1] That a cell was actually established is shown by the language of the Chronicle: "ubi jam fratres ad Deo serviendum adunati fuerant" (p. 61).

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 61, 62. See also J. H. Round's volume of *Ancient Charters*, edited for the Pipe Roll Society (vol. x, 1888), pp. 27, 28.

[3] Described in *Arch. Camb.*, 4th Ser., vol. ii, p. 105. Not being a MS. in the Welsh language, it is not calendared in Dr. Gwenogvryn Evans's Report.

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Sir Thomas Phillips, of Middle Hill, in 1865; but the edition was a very limited one,[1] and copies are now not easily obtained. This is, perhaps, the reason why so little use has been made of the material here available for the history of the priory, borough, and district. The documents belong in the main to the fourteenth century, but there are some of earlier date, and a few which go back to the first years of the priory's existence. Henry II's charter of 1176-1184, confirming to the priory the gifts of earlier benefactors, is known from the collection of Royal Charters relating to the town and county, published by Mr. Alcwyn Evans in 1878.[2] But in the *Cartulary* several of the original grants are preserved, and with their aid it is possible to tell the story of the first endowment of the house. The nucleus was furnished by the first Henry's grant of the "Vetus Civitas" of Carmarthen, with the churches of St. Peter and of St. Teulyddog, the Castle chapel, and all other chapels attached to these two; and in addition a carucate of land at Pentewi, *i.e.*, Pentywyn, in the parish of Llanstephan, near the outlet of the Taf. In the *Cartulary*[3] is a letter addressed by Bishop Bernard to Maurice fitz-Gerald, who was Lord of Llanstephan,[4] warning him that "Pentewi" has been given to the canons, and that he must on no account interfere with it. The bishop was himself a donor to the priory. He gave, no doubt, out of the lands of the See, two carucates in Cymau,[5] a couple of miles to the west of the town, and thus was established the connection commemorated to this day in the name Maes y Prior. One of the knights of the Carmarthen district, named Alfred Drue, whose lands lay between

[1] The list of names of subscribers (including Jesus College, Oxford, and the Royal Institution, Swansea) suggests that only twenty-three copies appeared. The printer was John Lowe, of Cheltenham.

[2] It is contained in an "inspeximus" of 31 Henry III (pp. 4-6).

[3] No. 35.

[4] Gir. Camb., *De Rebus a Se Gestis*, lib. i, cap. 9 (Works, i, 59).

[5] No. 26.

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the Towy and the Cywyn, gave the church of Llangain, with one carucate of land. This became the property known as Maenor Gain.[1] Lastly, a person whose identity is somewhat disguised in the charters, but who may safely be identified with Bledri ap Cydifor, ancestor of the Lords of Cilsant, gives, between 1129 and 1134, four carucates in Eglwys Newydd, or Newchurch.[2]

Bledri appears in the charters of the Priory as "Bledericus Latimerus," *i.e.*, interpreter, the Welsh "lladmerydd." It is thus suggested that he acted as an intermediary between the authorities at Carmarthen and his fellow countrymen, and the idea derives confirmation from other sources. Bledri was one of the Welshmen who adhered to the King in the commotion of 1116;[3] he was entrusted with the defence of a castle belonging to one "Robert Lawgam,"[4] or "Courtemain," as he is called by the compiler of *Brut y Saeson*, who may be the same as the "Robertus cum tortis manibus," mentioned in the *Liber Landavensis*,[5] but is otherwise unknown. The site of the castle is also not easy to identify, but it may have stood at the mouth of the Cywyn.[6] Bledri further appears as a partially Normanised Welshman in another historical source for this period, to which I wish to draw special attention, as it is very rarely used for Welsh history—I mean the Pipe

[1] No. 34.

[2] See the confirmation by Henry I (No. 33). The grant was renewed by Bledri's son Gruffydd in the time of Bishop David fitz-Gerald (No. 32), *i.e.*, between 1148 and 1176.

[3] *Brut y Tywysogion*, ed. Ab Ithel, p. 126.

[4] The "lawgan" of the *Red Book of Hergest* (ed. Rhys and Evans, vol. ii, p. 297) is a mistake for "lawgam." See the text of the (older) *Mostyn MS.* 116, as given by Dr. Gwenogvryn Evans, in his *Report* (vol. i, p. 59).

[5] Ed. Evans, p. 93.

[6] Abercywyn appears in *Lib. Land.*, p. 124, as "Aper couin." If the second part of the name were written "couñ," it might easily yield the "cofwy" of *Mostyn MS.* 116 and the *Red Book*. *Brut y Saeson* has "comnyn" (*Myvyrian Archaiology*, second ed., p. 673, col. 2).

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Roll of the thirty-first year of Henry I.[1] In this record, which shows what payments were due from and made by sheriffs and similar officers to the Royal Exchequer in Michaelmas, 1130, a glimpse—alas, too brief!—is afforded to us of the state of affairs in South-West Wales towards the close of Henry's reign. I will only cite a few entries of special interest from the Carmarthen section of the Roll: "Bledri the Welshman owes twenty shillings in atonement for the murder of a Fleming by his men."[2] A little lower down, he appears among a number of knights who owe various sums for the last aid due to the King.[3] Alfred Drue, the benefactor of the Priory, has his place in the list, though it is said the debt was incurred in the time of his father, Anschetil. He has only just succeeded to his father's fief, and still owes sixty shillings in respect thereof.[4] "Bleddyn of Mabudrud (the region around Pencader) and his brothers owe seven marks of silver for carrying off the daughter of Bledri by force."[5] And lastly, "the men of Cantref Mawr owe 40 shillings for the slaughter of a man of the Bishop of Salisbury."[6] The powerful Roger of Salisbury is shown by a charter of Kidwelly Priory to have held the commote of that

[1] Edited for the Record Commission by Joseph Hunter in 1833.

[2] "Blehericus Walensis debet xx solidos pro concordia Flandrensis quem homines sui interfecerunt" (p. 89).

[3] "Blehericus Walensis debet i marcam argenti de eodem auxilio" (*ibid.*).

[4] "Aluredus filius Anschetil driue i marcam argenti de eodem auxilio de tempore patris sui" (*ibid.*): "Aluredus filius Anschetil Driue debet lx solidos pro terra patris sui" (p. 90).

[5] "Blehien de Mabuderi et fratres sui debent vii marcas argenti pro filia Bleheri quam vi rapuerunt" (p. 90). For the situation of Mabudrud, which was one of the seven commotes of Cantref Mawr, see the volume of Appendices to the *Report of the Welsh Land Commission* (London, 1896), p. 442, and cf. Lewis Dwnn, *Heraldic Visitations*, i, 148 (Glan Blodeun), where the text has "Mab Edrich."

[6] "Homines de Catmaur [probably for Cāƿ maur] debent xl solidos pro homine episcopi Saresburiensis quem occiderunt" (p. 90).

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name in the middle of the reign of Henry ;[1] and as Kidwelly and Cantref Mawr were contiguous between Abergwili and Merlin's Hill, it is not surprising that conflicts should have arisen such as gave occasion for the imposition of this fine.

Thus, when the "Lion of Justice," who had kept South Wales so well under his control, died on December 1st, 1135, Carmarthen had attained the position it was to hold for so many centuries as the chief military and administrative centre of the Crown in these regions. Its castle was built, its borough settled, its priory endowed, and its officers installed for the transaction of the King's business

[1] *Monast. Anglic.*, vol iv, pp. 64-5. The grant here recorded was made before the death of Bishop Wilfrid, of St. David's, in 1115, and the promotion of Prior Turstin to the dignity of Abbot in 1122.

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THE CAPEL MAIR STONE.

By Professor JOHN RHYS, M.A., D.Litt.

Lewis, in his *Topographical Dictionary* (vol. ii, dated 1844), mentions a chapel of ease dedicated to St. Mary, and thence called Capel Mair, in the Carmarthenshire parish of Llangeler; but he says that even then the chapel had "been entirely demolished." He adds the words:—"A monumental stone, bearing an inscription in rude characters, and said to be in the Welsh language, is still remaining." From this it does not appear that Lewis had seen the stone.

In the year 1855 Westwood (*Lapidarium Walliæ*, p. 93) was informed by Longueville Jones that the stone "was broken to pieces by the farmer who occupied the land some years previously, because people trespassed on his land to see it."

The Rev. E. L. Barnwell wrote in the *Journal* of the Cambrian Archæological Association for 1872, p. 67, that he was informed by Mr. R. Randall Roberts, that the latter "was unable to find any trace of letters or oghams on the stone, which is near Capel Mair." He adds that "some of the residents say that it *had* some characters on it, and that a wax (?) impression was sent to a gentleman in London, whose name could not be ascertained. It is," he goes on to say, "in a farmyard near Capel Mair, where it was originally found. The stone is about 5½ ft. long, and 2 ft. broad." He then mentions a "copy kindly sent" to him by Mr. Spurrell of Carmarthen; and, in passing, he states that the stone was originally found in 1828.

In September, 1875, I wrote to the *Journal* of the Cambrian Archæological Association, p. 371, that I called on Mr. George Spurrell at Carmarthen, and that he gave me the reading of the Latin version as DECA BAR-

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BALOM | FILIVS BROCAGN–, while the Ogam was *Deccaibanvalbdis*. I recognise the latter as my own transliteration of the scoring which he showed me. I began my note by stating that Mr. Spurrell informed me, "that some time ago he handed to one of our leading archæologists a detailed account of the inscribed stone at Capel Mair." This was probably the copy which Mr. Barnwell mentioned in 1872, as received by him from Mr. Spurrell, a reference which I had forgotten, if I had ever noticed it.

In June, 1876, an important note was sent to the *Journal*, and published in the July number, p. 236, by the Rev. Aaron Roberts, then Vicar of Newchurch, to the following effect:—"About the year 1828 there was an inscribed stone near St Mary's Chapel, Llan Geler. The inscription was obliterated some years ago by a meddlesome bucolic. Fortunately, however, the Rev. David Morgan, Knightsford, Newchurch, at that time Vicar of Llan Geler, took a sketch of the stone and inscription thereon. One, in Roman capitals, was DECA BARBALOM FILIUS BROCAGN. On the ridge above, or rather sideways, was an inscription in Ogham. As this latter appears in the copy I have I cannot make anything out of it. The sketch by Mr. Morgan was found among the papers of the late Captain David Davies, Trawsmawr, by his executor, Mr. George Spurrell, to whom I am indebted for my ability to place it on record." Captain Davies was probably interested in sculptured and inscribed stones: at any rate several were brought together in his grounds—see Westwood's *Lap. Walliæ*, pp. 88, 89.

It was, I think, after the publication of this letter of Mr. A. Roberts, that I made his acquaintance at Abergwili under circumstances which I have forgotten: I believe it was also from him that I got another reading, beginning with DECAPARBEILOM. About that time I visited Capel Mair, and failed to find anybody who could tell me anything about the inscription. It is true that a stone was shown me which was alleged

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to have once been inscribed and then to have had the writing on it effaced, but I could discover nothing calculated to corroborate that story.

From these statements it seems that the inscribed stone was known at Capel Mair about the year 1828, whether that was the date of its discovery or not. It was broken to pieces some years before 1855, and the reason for the tenant's action is said to have been the fact, that people who came to see it trespassed on his land. It cannot have been the stone in the farm-yard shown to me and others.

There is evidence which will be mentioned presently that the obliteration story does not apply to the stone with the inscription DECA, etc. Of this stone a copy came into the possession of Mr. George Spurrell, who gave it, or a copy of it—probably the former—to Mr. Barnwell, who passed it on to Mr. Westwood for his *Lapidarium Walliæ*, where it has been figured in Plate 47. But Mr. Spurrell kept the original copy, or a copy of it—probably the latter—as he was able to give Mr. A. Roberts a copy—a bad one, as the latter gentleman suggests. I suspect Roberts's reading of it was partly to blame.

At all events, the copy which Spurrell allowed me to transcribe cannot have been a bad one, though I forget what it looked like. Mr. Spurrell may have given away more copies, but they must have been copies direct or indirect of the one made by Morgan, the Vicar of Llangeler. In fact, there seems to be no trace of the existence of any copy independent of the one by Morgan. For the version DECAPARBEILOM is easily accounted for as a misreading of one of Spurrell's copies, by neglecting the lower portion of the bipartite B so as to bungle it into P; and similarly EI was guessed out of a carelessly formed A with its top possibly square. So we are confined to the one copy, namely, that made by Morgan, or at any rate handed down by him.

Now, Morgan's copy having, as already suggested,

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passed through the hands of Spurrell, Barnwell, and Westwood, has been deposited among the Carmarthenshire "Rubbings for Westwood's *Lapidarium Walliæ*" in the Bodleian Library. The shelf-mark of the volume is "MS. Top. Caermarthenshire, a, 1," and our document is on an open sheet of notepaper, there paged (in pencil) 258. Below the sketch of the stone come jottings in pencil by Westwood, one of which mentions the fact that Lewis alludes to the stone, and how it was broken to pieces; also stating that this copy reached Westwood from Barnwell in July, 1871. In the right-hand bottom corner, in red ink, one reads as follows: "From George Spurrell, Carmarthen, May 4th, 1871." This was probably written by Spurrell when sending the paper away to Barnwell. In the left-hand bottom corner one reads the following, Fig. 2:

"Found about
1828, when
Rev. David Morgan
(Of Knightsford) was Vicar."

This is in black ink, but apparently in the same hand as the entry in red. I take it that it was made by Spurrell when the copy came into his possession. We have an older hand in the description of the copy itself: "Representation of a stone found near Saint Mary's Chapel in the Parish of Llangeler, Carmarthenshire." This may be in Morgan's own hand; at any rate, it probably dates before 1855 and the final smashing of the stone. To render all this clear to the reader, I have had the sheet of notepaper photographed, including Westwood's attempt (in pencil) to read the Ogam scores in the wrong direction. The sheet has been cut in two for reproduction, as Figs. 1 and 2.

The capitals have the appearance of forming a very accurate *facsimile* of the original, Fig. 1. The extremely bipartite look of the B must have been suggested by the original, and the form of the R is also well known. The straggling shape of the M is familiar elsewhere, and so is the sloping top of the F; but the bottom portion

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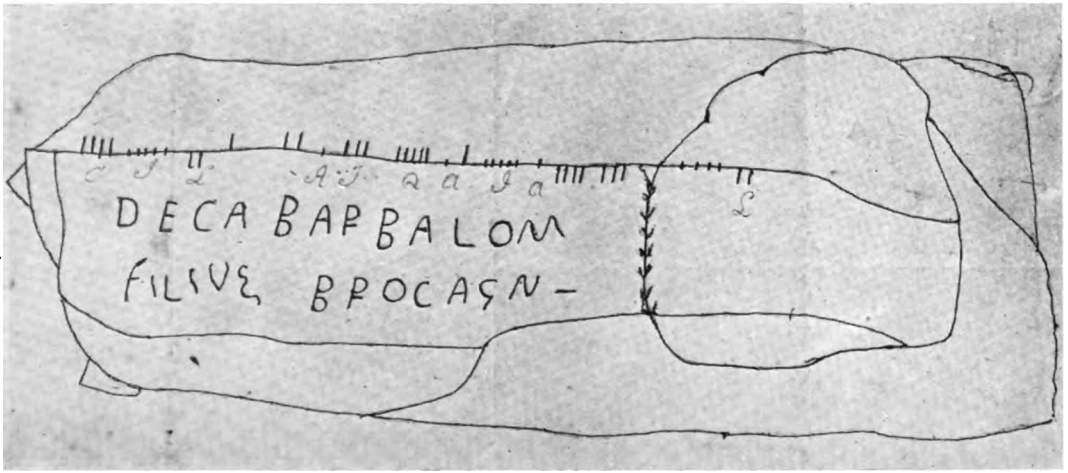

FIG. 1. SKETCH OF THE CAPEL MAIR INSCRIBED STONE,

Made some years before 1855 by the Rev. David Morgan, Vicar of Llangeler, and now in the Bodleian Library, Oxford.

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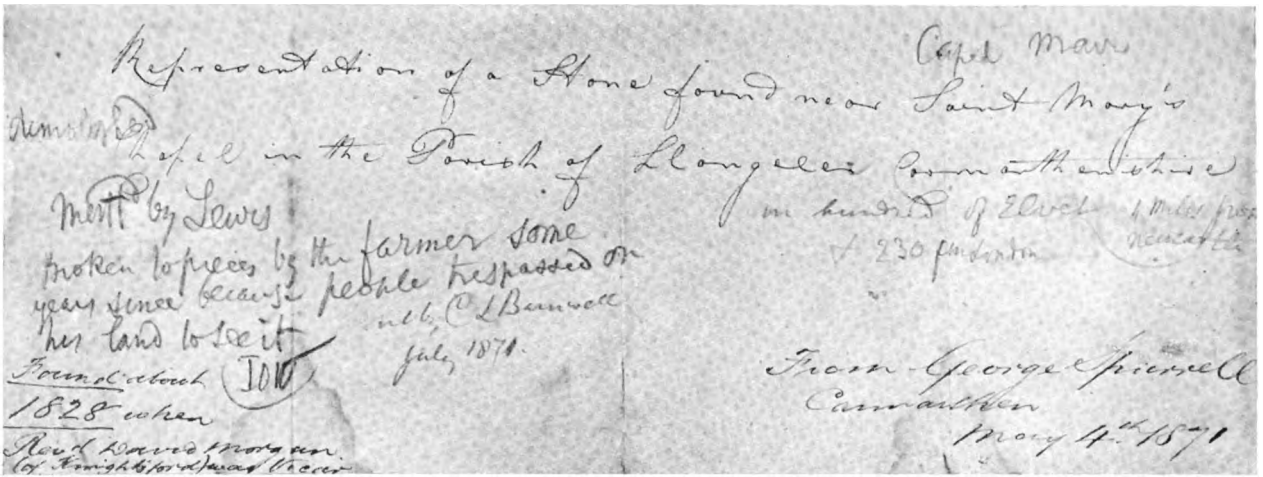

Fig. 2. Description of Sketch of Capel Mair Inscribed Stone,

Sent by Mr. George Spurrell to the Rev. E. L. Barnwell, and lent by the latter to Professor J. O. Westwood, whose notes appear in pencil.

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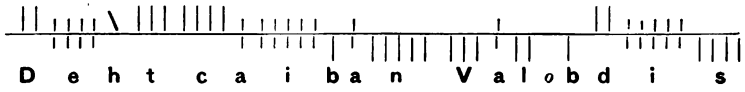
of the S has incorporated with it some accidental scratch which was no portion of the letter as cut on the stone. Lastly, a horizontal ı at the end of a line was to be expected. I treat the reading as making the following epitaph: DECABAR BALOM FILIVS BROCAGNI, with *Decabar Balom*, name and epithet, in the nominative case, without the usual ending *us* added on to make them into Latin as *Decabarus Balomus*.

It will be observed that when the copy was made, the stone appears to have been broken at its lower end. This did not touch the Roman lettering, but it did the Ogam, near its commencement. For, as usual, the Ogam read in the direction contrary to the Latin, and a very jagged breakage is suggested as occurring across the face of the stone, in such a manner as to sever the first vowel from the consonant following it. As it stands, Morgan gives the following scores: —



Now, the third symbol is not such: it has been copied as if sloping backwards to meet the breakage, and form a sort of delta with it. Had it been a letter it could only be *h*, but it should really be counted with the ||| following, and with it form ||||, that is another *c*. We should thus have |||| ||||, *cc*. It is possible that the inclination of the two consonants was intended to be different, \\\\ ||||, in order to make the reading easier. In any case we should thus have *decc* corresponding to the DEC of the Latin, in fact, *Deccaiban* corresponding to DECABAR. Here one cannot hesitate long between *n* and *r*. In Ogam they are respectively ||||| and ////, so one can hardly doubt that the *r* has it, or avoid concluding that the continuations of the *r* scores on the left of the edge had been worn away or so damaged that they escaped the eye of the copyist. This suggests the meting-out of

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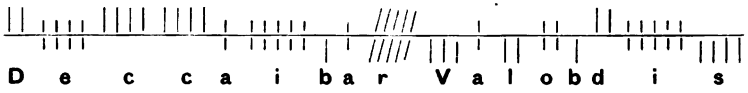
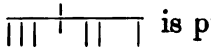
similar treatment to the Ogam ᚁ, *b*, and the regarding it as originally ᚂ *m*; but one has no excuse here for doing so, as the spelling with *b* would have to be treated as the more correct, as will be pointed out later. For the present, suffice it to say that both *b* and *m* would here have their mutational value of *v*. Then, as regards the initials of BALOM and of the Ogmic *valob*, one need only mention the fact that in Late Latin *b* had the values of *b* and *v* from the fourth century down. It follows here that whether you wrote BALOM in Roman letters or *valob* in Ogam, the pronunciation was approximately *valov*, possibly for an earlier *walob*; but this means allowing the vowels *a* and *o* provisionally to stand. The latter is suggested by the Latin spelling BALOM, and the other is adopted from the copy of the Ogam version, though it fails conspicuously to fill the space between the Ogam scores on both sides of it. The guesses made thus far may be represented as follows:—



One or two points may be mentioned in relation to the making of the copy of the Ogam legend; for instance, there are traces of its having been taken down in pencil before it was inked, and there is evidence of at least one correction: the last score of  is preceded by a score made in pencil; the pencilling appears to have been rubbed out, but the groove made by the pencil remains, and can be detected in the original photograph. Before proceeding any further, I have the pleasure of introducing a fact or two of another order. One day, in the month of March, 1901, a Mr. Jones, a Welsh undergraduate of this University, and a native of the neighbourhood of Llangeler, called and left me a copy of two pieces of the lost stone, with lettering as follows:—

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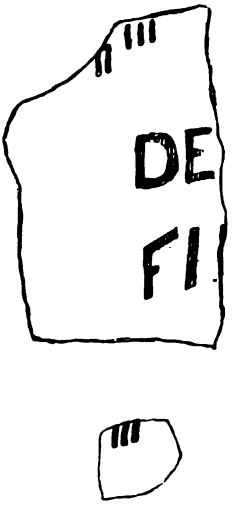

Fig. 3.—Sketch of the two Existing Fragments of the Capel Mair Inscribed Stone made by Mr. Jones, of Llangeler.

It did not appear to me then how the Ogam on Jones's larger piece would fit the Morgan copy; so it was put by till the other day, when I received from the Editor of this *Journal* a cutting from the *Western Mail* for January 23rd, 1900: it consisted of a letter, signed "Thomas Williams, Oakland, Drefach, Llandyssil." Mr. Williams provided his letter with a sketch of the bigger fragment as below:—

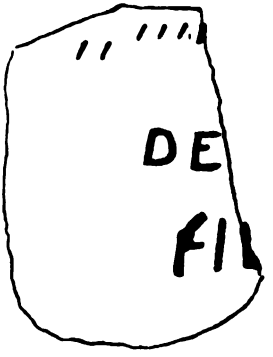

Fig. 4.—Sketch of the bigger of the same two Fragments given by Mr. Thomas Williams in the *Western Mail* for January 23rd, 1900.

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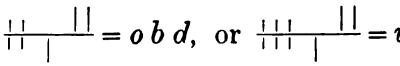
The difference between the two sketches suggested to me that possibly neither was quite accurate, and I guessed that the original scoring intended was—



the *d* being the beginning of Morgan's syllable *dis*. That is how I would have fitted the fragment into the Morgan copy of the stone; but how mistaken my guess has proved will be seen immediately.

After speculating thus far, I wrote to the Rev. W. James, of Llandyssul, and to Mr. Thomas Williams, making various enquiries about the fragments. The result was that Mr. James went to Capel Mair with James Jones, the mason, who found the fragments in 1900, when he was engaged as head-mason on the outbuildings of Tan y Capel, a farmhouse within earshot of the supposed site of old Capel Mair. His men were pulling down the old cowhouse, built about 1828, in order to lay the foundations of another. One of them called his attention to a piece of stone with letters. He (James Jones) told the man to throw it aside, as well as any other piece that might turn up. He had heard of the Capel Mair stone, and thought that the whole stone might be discovered, but only the two pieces came to light. This is a portion of the mason's account, as reported to me last February by Mr. James. The discovered pieces were, for a time, kept at the farmhouse, but latterly they appear to have been deposited in the grounds of the New Church or new Capel Mair (opened in September, 1899), namely, "just near the foundation stone." Mr. James and the mason discovered that both pieces were there till quite lately; but they failed entirely to trace the smaller bit. The stones belong to Colonel Lewes, of Llysnewydd, the owner of Tan y Capel, who has been so extremely obliging as to send me the bigger fragment for me to study it at leisure.

My friend Professor Sollas describes the fragment

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as grey fine-grained siliceous grit, and it measures 1 ft. 4½ ins. long by about 11 ins. wide, and 2 ins. or 2½ ins. thick. The surface is rough and very uneven.

It will have been noticed that the top of the stone, as represented in the Morgan copy, is impossible as a piece of sketching: some of the lines appear to me to be drawn to supersede the others, that is, the copyist tried to correct himself. The top of the stone is more as represented in Mr. Jones's sketch of the bigger fragment, except that he makes the stone rather too much broken towards the right-hand corner, and that the left-hand corner should appear more rounded, which, however, is of no consequence here, as it had no writing. All these points will be better understood by glancing at the following sketch made from my rubbing with the aid

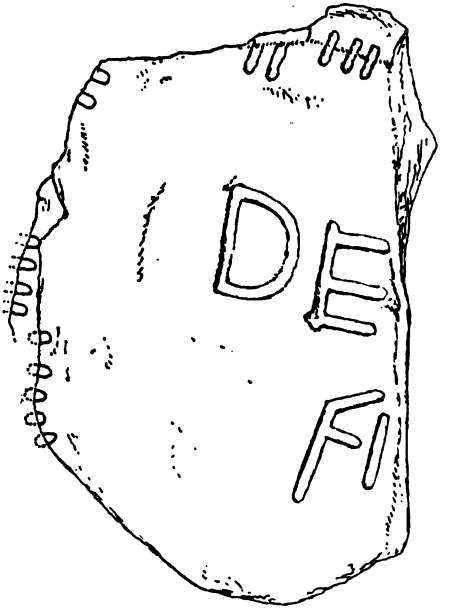

Fig. 5.—Extant Fragment of Capel Mair Stone: View of Front. Scale, ⅛ linear.

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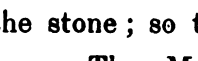
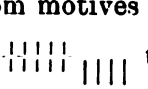
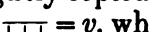
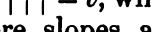
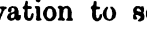
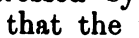
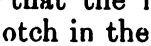
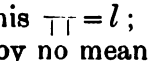
of photographs. The greatest surprise to me, however, was to find Morgan's all on the top edge of the stone; so that his  should end at the corner. Thus Morgan turns out to have put all the writing on a single straight line, which may have been done from motives of convenience; but when one moves his  to the top edge, one perceives how greatly his copy of the Ogam on the side edge is out of scale. Where, then, comes the bigger fragment with the Ogams represented by Mr. Jones, as ? The vowel, rightly copied by him, may have been misread by Morgan as = *v*, which was very easy to do, because the edge there slopes away very gently: it requires careful observation to see that the imaginary line of the edge is crossed by the scores. Thus it is with Morgan's  that the fragment begins: Morgan has marked one notch in the interval which follows between his  and his = *l*; but, as already indicated, the single notch by no means fills the gap, and there the fragment has what Jones has copied as a  sloping parallel to the vowel notches (Fig. 3); but those two scores slope much more, and cannot be read, in my opinion, as anything other than the left half of a = *g*. From the imperfect  on to the corner, the edge is all gone, having evidently been hammered off; and it leaves a crack which defines a flake that has not come off. So we have to supply the two consonants  and from Morgan's copy, and an intervening *o* from his BALOM: thus we get—

 = *uglob.*

If, as I hope to show presently, we have here the Goidelic etymological equivalent of what is given in the Latin version as BALOM, we have to complete the

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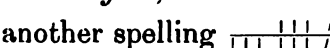
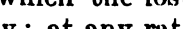
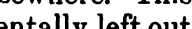
legend as *buglob*, with the initial *b* of BALOM; or else with another spelling  , *vuglob*, with the , which the lost bit copied by Mr. Jones serves to supply: at any rate, there seems to be no use for that bit elsewhere. This means that Morgan in his copy has accidentally left out the Ogam for *v*, namely, , unless one should rather regard the omission as a part of the error which has yielded us his for . That is to say, for  he has given us only the first of the two sets of three digits. The insertion of it goes now some way to lengthen his line of scores on the side edge of the stone, and to bring his copy so much the nearer to scale.

The vocable in question, whether *vuglob* or some similar spelling, I regard as having occupied the edge up to the right-hand corner of the stone; but the original corner and the adjacent part of the edge of the top of the stone have been hammered off. One seems, however, to detect on the top near the present corner of the stone just the left ends of an Ogam = *d*; the broken edge towards the left would have supplied room for = *i*, after which we come to traces of = *s*. These consist of the upper ends of the scores reaching towards the edge, for lower down the back of the stone the hollows representing them are very faint and ill-defined, because the stone shows signs of having scaled there: in fact, there are still bits there which are not far from getting loose. This is not all, for the *s* scores are followed by a final vowel  *i*, the notches of which are not hard to trace. It is strange that Morgan did not copy them as part of the writing. The piece of the edge with these vowel-notches thins out somewhat in a wedge-like fashion, so the notches are to be seen from the front as gaps in the rim, but the bottom of each hollow has been smoothed and rounded. The comparative thinness of the edge made them look unlike the other vowels on the stone; certainly unlike

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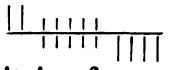
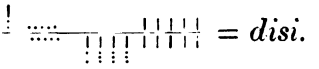
the which Morgan copied as , where there was no proper edge at all. This is probably the explanation why Morgan did not regard what followed his  as forming part of the lettering. Lastly, it is of some importance for the reading to mention that these vowel-notches showing from the front of the stone differ in that respect decidedly from the upper ends of the scores for *s*, for these latter are situated distinctly more on the back. The whole of the Ogam on the top of the stone may be approximately represented thus :  = *disi*.

Helped by the conjectural emendations which I have indicated, and the corrections warranted by the fragments, the complete version in Ogam may be represented as having originally read as follows .—

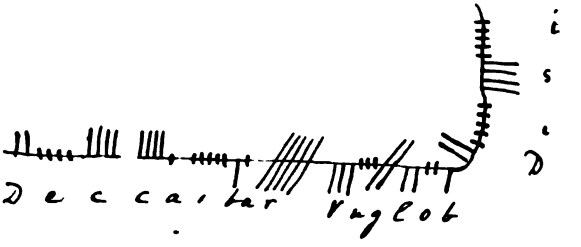


Fig. 6.—Ogam Inscription on the Capel Mair Stone restored.

Now that I have done all I can to establish the Ogam text of the inscription, it may be pointed out that the fragments found in the cowhouse walls in 1900 establish the substantial accuracy of Morgan's copy as to the scores which he jotted down. He failed mostly in omitting scores which a more experienced reader could have readily deciphered; but in some instances portions of the lettering seem to have been merely overlooked by accident or carelessness, such for example as the initial letter of *Vuglob*. The two frag-

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ments, however, besides enabling us to correct Morgan's copy, prove that the story as to a stone which had the writing on it erased, did not apply to this monument. What happened to the latter was, that, some time after it was discovered and copied, it was broken up to be used in the building of the walls of the Tan y Capel cowhouse ; and in spite of the mason's vigilance in 1900, the walls of the reconstructed outhouse probably contain the whole of the stone except the two fragments here in question.

Setting out from the Latin version of the inscription DECABAR BALOM FILIVS BROCAGN–, one may mention first that *Brocagn-i* is the genitive of the name which meets us as *Broccán* in the hagiology of Ireland, and *Brychan* in that of Wales : neither of those names requires any further notice at present. We then come to BALOM, which, as already suggested, was pronounced *Valov*. This we cannot be wrong in identifying without hesitation with the modern Irish *falamh* or *folamh* (with *mh* sounded *v*), meaning "empty, void, vacant, poor, without means." The Scotch Gaelic is also *falamh* (pronounced fal'-uv) and means likewise "empty, void, in want, unoccupied." In Medieval Irish, the form *falumh*[1] occurs, meaning "empty"; see Stokes's "Book of Lismore Saints" (in the *Anecdota Oxoniensia* for 1890), 4707. This use of a word meaning poor and devoid of wordly goods was meant to be complimentary, and reminds one of *Colman Bocht*, that is, "Colman the Poor," on a tombstone at Clonmacnoise ; see Miss Stokes's edition of Petrie's *Christian Inscriptions in the Irish Language*, Vol. i, p. 16, Plate ii, Fig. 4. Thus the Latin epitaph may be rendered "Decabar the Poor, son of Broccán."

The Ogmic version has been approximately established as *Deccaibar Vuglob disi*, where the first diffi-

[1] The Manx form is *follym*, "empty," with an unmutated *m* : some other instances of the kind occur in that language. The most probable explanation is that *follym* owes its *m* to the influence of the adjective corresponding to Irish *fo-lomm*, "bare." This would not be surprising, considering that some scholars seem to regard *falumh* as a form of *folomm*.

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culty is as to the etymological equivalence of BALOM and *Vuglob*. Assuming that equivalence, we have to suppose the former to have passed through a preceding stage, *Baglom*, with a soft spirant *g* liable to be eliminated, which was here done in the Latin spelling, just as *sinum* occurs for *signum* in the Whithorn inscription; see *The Academy* for 1891, September 5th, p. 201.

In this word *vuglob* we seem to have a form involving the Celtic prefix *vo*, which makes in later Goidelic *fo*, *fu*, *fa*, and in Welsh *wo*, *gwo*, Modern *go* or *gwa*: the rest of the word seems referable to the same root as the Greek γλάφω or γλύφω, "I hollow out." With the Irish word has been identified in *The Englyn*, p. 73, the Nennian word *guoloppum*, "an empty space," and *catguoloph*, "a space empty of war, that is, an interval of peace." The digraph *pp* could stand probably for either *ff* or *v*, just as *tt* did for either *th* or đ, and *ph* had also either the sound of *ff* or of *v* in Medieval Welsh. So here, doubtless, the pronunciation intended was *guolov-um*[1] and *cad-ghuolov*. Moreover, the passage suggests a neuter substantive rather than an adjective; but an adjective could readily be formed by means of the termination i̯o-s, i̯ā, i̯o-n, namely, uolob-i̯o-, uolob-i̯ā; Needles to say this would be in an early stage of the language, for later it would yield the form *gueilyv* (to be written *gweilyf*), according to the analogy of *heinif*, *heini*, "active, agile," from *ho-gnim*, of the same formation as Irish *so-gním*, and *gweini*, "the act of serving," from *uo-gni*: compare Irish *fogníu*, "I serve." The form *gweilyf* is not attested, but we have the variant *gweilyđ*, with đ for *f* (= *v*), a substitution not unknown in other Welsh words. Dr. Davies, citing *gweilydd* from the Welsh Laws, explains it as "Vacuus, inanis, voluntarius, αὐτόματος." In Aneurin Owen's edition it

[1] We seem to have this in *anolof*, *anolo*, "ineffective, void, useless;" made up of *golof*, *golo*, with an intensive prefix *an*. See Silvan Evans's *Geiriadur*, also Dr. Davies's Dictionary: both cite instances from the Welsh Laws.

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occurs, for instance, in Volume II. Bk. XIV, Chap. xxiii, 6-8 (pp. 664, 665), where the editor has translated it "absolver." Moreover, words ending in *yđ* frequently have an optional ending *i*, as in the case of *Dewyđ*, now *Dewi*, "St. David," and *trefyđ* or *trefi*, "towns." So here, Dr. Davies, under *vacuus*, gives *gweili*, *gweilydd*, *anolo*, and other adjectives. The first is, in fact, a living word in parts of North Wales, especially Lleyn, where one says *trol weili*, "an empty or unladen cart," *ceffyl gweili*, "a spare horse," and the blank pages at the end of a book are sometimes called *dalennau gweili*. For these details I am indebted to the unpublished dialect studies of Mr. Glyn Davies, of the University Library, Aberystwyth.

The name DECABAR may be compared in part with *Catabar* or *Catabor*—it is hard to say whether the ending has *a* or *o*—in an Ogam inscription in Co. Waterford: Brash has it at p. 266. It is at the first glance tempting to identify this with the name written *Cathbarr* in the *Book of Leinster* (fo. 324[a], 338[b]), meaning "battle-head," and as a common noun, "a helmet;" the second element being *barr*, "head or top," as in *Barrivend-i* on the Llandawke stone (*Journal* of the Camb. Arch. Assoc., 1907, p. 77); but the second *r* stands in the way, and we seem to have here the same element as in *Falbhar*, mentioned in O'Curry's *Manners and Customs of the Ancient Irish*, iii, 158. In my Paper (read to the British Academy) entitled "Studies in Early Irish History," p. 29, I suggested that we have an early form of the plural of this name in that of the tribe called in Ptolemy's *Geography* Οὐελλάβοροι, whom he places in the south-west of Ireland: see Müller's edition, pp. 76-8. He cites the pseudo-Ethicus and Orosius as calling them *Velabri*, which is probably to be emended into *Velabori*. We have a later form of the singular—feminine, however, not masculine—in the Llandyssul inscription VELVOR FILIA BROHO. Here *Velvor* would, in a normalised orthography, be *Velbor*, derived from a far earlier *Velabora*. But the combination *Broh-* for what would in Goidelic have been

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Brocc-, shows that the inscription was in Latin of the Brythonic rather than of the Goidelic description. That is, in Brythonic mouths the tendency of later Goidelic to substitute *a* for *o* had been avoided, so that we have the latter vowel here, as in the early Goidelic *Vellabor-i*, while the *a* is found established in *Falbhar* just as in our DECABAR and *Deccaibar*. The meaning of the element *bor-*, *bar-* is doubtful, but with regard to the other, *deca*, one may perhaps venture to suggest that this may be of the same origin as the Latin *decus*, "ornament, grace, honour, glory," and of the tribe-name of the *Decantae* of the extreme North; also of the "*Decantorum* arx," the *Deganwy* whose ruins stand near Llandudno and the river Conwy.

The names here in question raise a number of difficult questions which I cannot discuss at present; but I may call attention to one or two more points connected with the spelling. The Latin version has a single *c* in *Brocagni*, where the pronunciation was that of a hard *k*, and also a single *c* in *Decabar*, where the *c* was mutated into the Goidelic guttural spirant *ch*, which in some Ogam inscriptions is represented by the digraph *cc*: that is how we have the *c* doubled in the Ogmic spelling *Deccaibar*. The *ai* of this last is of more doubtful standing. It would be rather a violent emendation to treat the notch for the vowel *a* as an error in Morgan's copy, though it would simplify the form into *Deccibar*. But on the whole one has, I think, to accept the *ai*, and I should be inclined to treat it as a digraph for the vowel *ĕ*, which the author of the epitaph thought was the vowel sound which he detected in the syllable following the stress. *Ai*, *æ*, and *e* have, roughly speaking, one and the same value in Old Irish glosses; and what may perhaps be still more to the point is that we have *ai* in other Ogam inscriptions, to wit, in such names as *Bivaidonas*, *Dovaidona*, and others mentioned in my paper on the Kilmannin Inscription in the *Journal of the Irish Antiquaries* for 1907, pp. 65-7.

That paper gives another instance of the use of the

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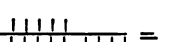
syllable  = *dis*, which has puzzled me so long in Morgan's copy of the Capel Mair Ogam. For the Kilmannin epitaph begins with *ddisi*, which I provisionally analysed into *ddis-i*, and took to mean below, or here below, with *ddis* derived from *īs*, "lower." For I ventured to equate *ddis-* with the modern Irish *thíos*, "below, beneath," which Old Irish scribes wrote *tís*, while, as I thought, giving the *t* one of the sounds of *th*. But since then Dr. Stokes[1] has written to me that if anything is certain in Irish grammar it is that the aspiration in *thís* and similar forms is merely "Middle Irish," not older, say, than the eleventh century. So for the present I give up the attempt to explain the etymology of *ddisi* or *disi*. But I am inclined to think that the word meant, if not "here below," at any rate "here." The Capel Mair Ogam might accordingly be taken to have conveyed some such meaning as "Deccaibar the Poor (lies) here." Perhaps, however, somebody will find in *disi* a verb of rest and repose.

Lastly, the Ogam version belongs to the same class as the Kilmannin one, which I have ventured to regard as dating from the seventh century. It is only a guess, and both inscriptions may prove to be somewhat later.

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS

BEARING ON MY PREVIOUS PAPER, PP. 70, 89-91.

1. My attention has been kindly called by Professor Ed. Lloyd to my rendering *lletfer* by "weak-kneed" in my former paper, p. 91. It should have been *half-wild* or *semi-savage*, as proved by a passage in "Buchedd Gruffudd ab Cynan"; see the *Myvyrian Archaiology of Wales*, II, p. 586, where we have *Llymminawc lledfer* given in Latin as *Saltus ferinus*, with the adjective *ferinus* meaning "of or belonging to wild beasts," and

[1] In proposing an etymology for the Welsh word *blew* "hair," I forgot that it had been dealt with in Stokes's *Urkeltischer Sprachschatz*, p, 187, where it is referred by Bezzenberger to the same origin as the Greek φλοιός, the "rind of trees, peel, bark, bass." For Sanskrit grîva read grîvâ, "neck," and for Russian *grîva* read *griva*, "mane."

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deriving from the simpler adjective *ferus*, "wild, untamed." This word *ferus* was borrowed into Welsh, as proved by the instances given by Dr. Davies and Dr. Pughe under *ffêr*. It is needless to say that there is another Welsh word *ffêr*, namely, that which is used in North Wales for "ankle;" but Pughe's *fferu*, meaning "to congeal, to become rigid with cold," is pronounced and properly written *fferru*. His spelling of it enables him to refer it to one and the same origin with the two words *ffêr*, for he would seem to have made the meanings converge on that of "dense" or "solid," while Dr. Davies regarded the adjective as more or less synonymous with *cadarn*. Examination of the uses made of the word would probably result in proving it to have retained more or less closely the sense of the Latin *ferus*. Meanwhile, I have chanced on the compounds *kadfer* and *llawffer* (Skene, ii, 56, 143).

2. *Apropos* of Cian of Nanhyfer, I am reminded of Nennius's "Cian qui vocatur *Guenith Guaut*," who was one of those who were distinguished "in poemate Britannico." On the whole, I am disposed to think that that the latter was an earlier man than our Nevern Cian. I may mention that there was also a Cian after whom Llangïan in Lleyn is called. Rees, in his *Welsh Saints*, p. 302, associates him with Peris of Llanberis, and mentions his day as December 11th. All this only makes it rather more difficult to say who Cian of Nanhyfer was, or to settle the question whether he was a Goidel or a Brython. I may here mention that the other name *Cú-Duilich*, in Welsh *Cynddylig* or *Cynddilig*, was borne by a saint of whom Rees, p. 281, writes as follows:—"Cynddilig, a son of Cennydd ab Gildas. His memory has been celebrated in the parish of Llanrhystud, Cardiganshire, on the 1st of November."

3. The difficulty as to the Scots of Nanhyfer coming *dros uor*, "over sea," depends a good deal on the place of the battle; for without coming from Ireland they might be voyaging from Nevern or Newport to some place on the coast of North Wales. The weight, however, of historical opinion inclines to South Wales, and the correct date, I am told, is 1081.

4. In connection with Pont *y Cim*, Professor Lloyd also states that there is a large farm called *Cim* in the parish of Llanengan in Lleyn. I should like to be assured whether it is *Cim* or *Y Cim*, for the presence or the absence of the definite article may prove to be a difference of some importance.

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THE TOWN OF HOLT, IN COUNTY DENBIGH:

ITS CASTLE, CHURCH, FRANCHISE, AND DEMESNE.

By ALFRED NEOBARD PALMER.

(*Continued from page* 34.)

CHAPTER II (*continued*).—SECTION II.

THE survey of Bromfield and Yale, known from the name of the surveyor by whom it was executed as Tidderley's Survey, and now at the Public Record Office, has next to be dealt with. It is undated, but the internal evidence points to its being taken at the end of the reign of Henry VIII. First comes a quaint description of "the towne of the Lyons, oderwise named le Holte." "The said towne standythe yn Wales witheyn the lordshipp of Bromefeld and Yale one di' [*i.e.*, half] mile ffrome the entʳyng towards yt over a stouyn [stone] brydge whiche partithe England and Wales. The same beyng an auntient Borough towne, but slenderly builte with tymber worke and the buyldings stondyng yn distance[1] the one ffrome the oder on the este side of whiche towne ther standithe the castell equaly withe the said towne. And yn in the same towne ther are ffaire hawles[2] whereas the kyng's tennᵗˢ of Wales witheyn the said lordshipp haven justice ministred to theyme. And in one of theyme the Meire and Burgises of the said town do use to sytte and kipe theyr courtes whiche Meire and Burgeses do clayme to have dyvʳs pʳvileges and libʳtyes by the graunte of a charter made unto theyme by [blank].

[1] We should, perhaps, suppose some such word as "even," or "equal," to have been intended here.

[2] The first of these fair halls was the Welsh court-house in the castle precinct, and the other the Holt Town Hall.

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"And yn the said towne are yerely kept two feires, one at the feast of sent Barnabe [11th June] And the oder yn the feast of St. Luke [18th October] yerely and eu'y Ffrydey a comen markett yn the said towne. The Toll therof beyng set for 11*s.* by the yere to the Bailyes of the said towne. And yn the said towne ys a maire, two bailies, two leve-lookers and coronor."[1]

Next follows an equally picturesque and valuable account of "the castell of the Holte:" "The said castell stondithe yn the este side of the said towne and northe from the utter warde of the same. A gate howse beyng builte withe tymber worke abowte a lx paces from the castell, wherunto is joyned upon the este side stabulls belowe ccc fote in lenght and ou^r [over] the same stables faire loftes for haye. And west from the same gate a ffaire barne conteynyng in lenght xxxv paces and in widenes a xiij paces westward adioyning to the same a faire courte howse[2] of tymber for the kyng's justices and officers do sytte yn at tymes of sessions and courts to be kepte ther for all the kyng's tenn^ts witheyn the lordshipp of Bromeffeld and Yale beyng witheoute the ffraunchise of the towne of the Holte. And at the weste ende of the same courte howse a pale and a quyke sett hedge stondyng towards a parke adioynyng to the said castell named the Litell Parke witheyn which bwilding hedge and pale there ys a courte betwene that and the mote of the said castell. At the whiche zouth ende of whiche courte there ys a garden encloseid wth a pale and hedge and at the est ende of the same courte a doffe [dove] house of tymber. And adioynyng to the mote upon the lefte hande ent'yng the castell a som' howse of quyke sett trees like an arbor made withe a fframe of tymber. And as

[1] "Leve-lookers." It is almost certain that these were the two officers yearly elected, who were afterwards called "appraisers." There were "leave-lookers" in the borough of Denbigh also, who in 1827 were ordered to inspect the slaughter-houses. See Williams's *Records of Denbigh and its Lordship*, p. 161.

[2] The Welsh court-house, or lordship court. See note 2, page 311, and elsewhere.

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ye enter ynto the said castell the waye lyythe zouth esteward. The said castell stondeth equally withe the towne very strongly bwilte upon a rocke. The waye ffrom the said gate to the enteryng ynto the first warde conteynythe ffiftye paces, the first ent'ye beyng ou' [over] a bridge of tymber and under the same a drye mote. The said warde beyng a square towre[1] strongly bwilte with two strong gates yn eyther side one beyng xxx^{ti} fote betweene the said gates, and at eu^{r}y gate a portecules of tymber, and ffrome the same warde ent^{r}yng the castell a bridge of tymber xx^{ti} ffote of lenght and ten in bre^{d}the. The mote beyng ffiftye ffete depe underneth the same bridge. The saide towre[1] stonding yn the midds of the mote betwene the saide two bridges. And then ent^{r}yng the said castell two oder stronge gates, beyng fortye ffote betwene the same gates withe a portcules of iron for the inner gate, a courte paved of fyve square beyng c . . . [a blank after the first c] ffote over witheyn the inner gate. The said mote compassyng ffoure squares of the same castell, and the ryver of Dye [= Dee] runyng by the este side of the said castell upon the wall side on the fyveth [fifth] square therof, the mote beyng one hundred ffote yn bredthe and metyng withe the saide river on eyther side. And witheyn the saide castell ther are all howses of office mete for a prynce to kepe his house yn. And on the lefte side of the inner gate ther ys a ffaire steres [stairs] of stone work vii fote wide goyng up to the haule, a streight steire, and on the right hande of the steire heade the hawle, and at the lower ende therof a buttrey, a pantrey, and a ffaire kychen withe a drawght well yn the same. And a large chymney in the lefte side of the saide hawle, And at the ou^{r} [over = upper] ende of the haule on the right side of the same ent^{r}yng the greate chamber, and so directly two oder chambers rownde abowte bwilte

[1] This refers to the square Exchequer tower, separated from the castle proper by a moat, which also surrounded it on every side. The building first described was the outer [or "utter"] gate-house.

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beyng the highest storye castellyke, with chymneys yn eu^ry [every] of theyme. And underneth the said hawle and chambers thre stories for lodgeyngs and howses of office, amongst which ther ys a horse myll a stable for xx horses and ou^r [over] the leadds ther is a faire walke and a goodly p^respecte [prospect]. The castell beyng bwilte fyve square, and att eu^ry square a rownde towre of ffyve stories highe, and on eu^ry story a chymney and owte of eu^ry the same towers a steire up to the leads, and from the leadds two seu^rall wyndyng steires downe to the tower p'te [part] of the courte. And aswell the castell and the fyve towres as the utter warde beyng builte with ffrestone playne aishelar and embateled. And a secrete narrow wey goyng owte of the same courte downe a steres of stone and vawted [vaulted] with stone ynto the saide ryver of Dye whereto the warde and dore ys of iron. Two squares of the leadds of the said castell nedith to be emendyd, the reste are well repayred. The parpwynte [parapet] of the utter wall nyne ffote thycke, the inn[er] wall [blank] ffote. The said castell beyng more strongly bwilded with stone and tymber then [than] stately lodgeing or conveyant [convenient].

"And adioyninge the mote on the weste side of the said castell an arbor and adioynyng the same on the zouthe side over a bride [? bridge] a litel p'ke [park] paled abowte lyyng upon the said river of Dye, beyng replenyshed with xvi dere of auntler and rascall[1] yn the kypyng of Sr Barye Acoton [Acton] knyght, and [blank] Pylleston, the arbage [herbage] whereof ys worthe yerely xxxs.

"The saide castell and towne lyythe ffyve miles ffrome the Cytye of West Chester,[2] and yn no clene ayre, but yn a soure countrey. The ryver also beyng

[1] Rascal, "a term of the chase. Certain animals not worth hunting were so called. The hart, till he was six years old, was accounted *rascayle*."—Skeat." "A dear lean and out of season."—Dyce.

[2] Actually, Holt is about 8½ miles from Chester.

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a darke muddye water the lere [*i.e.*, look] of the zoyle beyng a redde erthe."

On folio 3 is the following description of Mersley Park: "In the ffranchese of the holte and witheyn one mile of the said castell ther ys a faire p'ke beyng thre miles abowte the same being paled Rownde wth [a] pale wch pke is more yn lawnes and playnes then [than] cou^{er}te. The midd^{e} of the said p'ke beyng cou^{r}te with okes and smale Tymber witheout any oder Cou^{r}te. And in the zouthe ende of the same cou^{r}te a pretye lodge for the kyper well bwillte [so in MS. for "built"]. All the grownds of the said p'ke beyng levell And very go^{o}de and depe pasture ground Replenyshed with lxx dere of Auntler eight score dere of Rascall and fourscore ffawnes. Th arbage [herbage] therof worthe to be sett beside ffyndyng of the game yerely [blank]. The kyping wherof is graunted by the kyng^{s} maiestye his graces lett's patent to George cotton knyght for t^{r}me of his liffe."[1]

The following is also worthy of note: "The baylywickes of hewlington, hem man^{r}m [that is, Hem manor] and Rydley are p'cell of the demayns of the said Castell which iij p'cells are of the yerely value of [blank] herafter p'ticularly sett forthe yn this boke of Survey the same lyyng by the said Castle being a very good fertile grownde both for medowe pasture and Errable londe which are letten to dyu^{r}s p'sons for t^{r}me [term] of yeres by the kynge's letters patent as yn the same Baylywykes Aperithe. . . .

"Ther be thre very ffayre powles[2] [pools] lyyng

[1] Mersley Park was the great park in Allington (long ago disparked) attached to Holt Castle, of which an account is given in the "History of the Townships of the old Parish of Gresford," pp. 145-7, *Arch. Camb.*, 1905, pp. 195-7. It was coterminous with the Common Wood, Holt, but paled off from it.

[2] These were the fishpools in Frog Lane for the supply of Holt Castle. They occupied the site of the meadow nearly opposite Esphill, which meadow has still a very irregular and uneven surface. The field, called "Fishpoolfield," in which many of the burgesses of Holt had distinct "acres," probably adjoined the fishpools.

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witheyn one quarter of a myle to the Castell which haven bene heretofore replenyshed with ffreshe water ffishe the same being lyke to be distroyed for lack of scowryng and seeing vnto wherby the kyngs highness taketh no yerely p'ffit.

"Thre miles frome the Castell of holte ther ys a grownde which ys a myle and di' [that is, a half] Abowte callyd The Warren[1] Wheryn ther hath bene game of cunneys [conies] and the Custodye therof comyttyd to one Edward Breerton [of Burras Hall] withe the yerely ffee of lx*s.* x*d.* tharbage [the herbage] wherof of late . . . ys graunted to the said Edward for t'me of . . . for the yerely rent of [blank] so that the said Warren ys conu'tyd to A yerely fferme and no game of cunneys theryn kepte. The same grownde beyng one myle and di' Abowte all couerte and over growen with brakes and Thornes except Thre akers therof thorowgh which grownde there are Thre highe comen wayes." . . .

"Witheyn one myle of the castell and towne of the holte ther ys a faire comon[2] beyng thre quartrs of one myle Abowte of good pasture grownde whiche the burgesses of the holte clayme to have to theyme and to theyr heirs yn ffee by a charter made to theyme by [blank], sometime lord of Bromfelde and Yale, the same comon beyng adjoynt to the p'ke of marslie."

Also, "ther ys a ffre Chapel witheyn the Castell of the holte, of the kyngs Majestyes gyfte, of the yerely vaylue of Ten poundes, beyng yeven to one Sr Thomas Birde, clerk, wherunto ther doth belong the tythe of s'ten [certain] land, lying witheyn the Baylywyke of Burton called Pastelande, and Tire Boroughe, the same beyng worthe by the year iii*li.*"[3]

[1] This warren was Parc Cwning, in the township of Bieston, perhaps used for the supply of rabbits (conies) to Holt Castle, as well as for the diversion of the lord or his officer (see my *History of the Country Townships of the old Parish of Wrexham*, pp. 155 and 159.

[2] The Common Wood of Holt.

[3] This figure is somewhat vaguely written. In Norden's Survey of the manor of Burton the lands belonging to the castle chapel are described as worth £10 in the time of Henry VIII.

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Whatever is not quite plain in Tidderley's description of the castle will become clear when, in a future chapter, plans and views will be given, and other particulars furnished relating to the same.

Meanwhile, it may be well so far to anticipate the further and more minute description of the castle and its precincts, so promised, by saying that an inquiry[1] was made at Holt on the 30th January, 158$\frac{6}{7}$, by Roger Puleston and George Clive, Esquires, by virtue of a writ to them, and to Sir Hugh Cholmondeley, Knight, directed. Eight witnesses were examined, but the only points that need be noticed here are these: John Ledsum, of the town of Lyons, aged 72, said that "the first chamb^{r} going up the stere [stair] on the right hand of the gate coming into the inner Court the Constable did use to leade his prisoners to a tower adioyning to the same, wch tower also the Constable used to keepe his prysoners in, and so ascending to the said steres the Chamb^{r} over the Gate was comonly cauled the Constables Chamber, wch his deputy lodged in, and thother chamber on the left hand of the said lodging the Constable used to laie his wood and coale in, and wherein also bedds were set"; and so had been used for sixty years. Richard Roydon, of the town of Lyons, Gent., aged 68,[2] testified that "the tower, wch hath a chymney in yt, and adioyneth is the chamber wch the Constable had his wood and coale in was also app^{r}taining to the Constables office, wch he hath knowen for these xlvi yeares or therabouts, and further saith that when Mr. Edward Almer, being deputie steward, did lye in the said Castle Thomas Powell, who was then Cunstable, did locke and keepe all the foresaid roomes from the use of the said Mr Almer." William Kitchen,

[1] I owe my knowledge of this, as well as of the other inquiry, presently to be named, to my friend, Mr. Edward Owen.

[2] See page 319, where, on 30th January, 158$\frac{6}{7}$, Richard Roydon's age is given as 60. Both documents are correctly *copied*, but there is an evident error in one of them, in the respect noted, 68 being written for 60, or contrariwise.

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of the town of Lyons, aged 56 years, said that the "chamber over the gate coming into the inner court hath bene alwaies reputed and cauled the Cunstables Chamb^{r}, and the next chamber, wch was called the second chamber, and the tower having a chymney in yt, one Bernard Bewley, who served as deputie cunstable, did use and occupie." Robert Powell, *alias* Smyth, of the town of Lyons, smith, aged 42, testified to the taking downe of two portculleses of yron, wthin the said Castle by the com'ndem^{t} of Edward Hughes, esqui^{r}." Launcelot Bates, of the Holt, aged 60, deposed that "he hath hard [heard] one iron doore being belowe in the house towards the Riu^{r} of Dee (in the tyme of Mr Hughes) ys taken awaie." Being examined as to certain outhouses, he said that xxx^{tie} yeres agoe [they] were ruynows, but since Mr Hughes his tyme they are well repaired, and the same nowe holden by Mr Hughes and his assignes. And that he knoweth about 4 yeres agoe ther was a slaughter house went to decaie." John Bewley, of Allington, aged 56, formerly a horse-smith within the Castle precincts, spoke of certain outhouses therein, which he remembered, since "taken awaie, but by whom he knoweth not"; but said also that "to his nowledge the said castle ys in better rep^{r}aco'n then [than] yt was xlviii yeres agoe, when he first did knowe the same"; and Richard Symkins, of the Holt, aged 74, testified that "the said Castle ys in better rep^{r}acon [reparation = repair] then yt was when Mr Hughes came to yt."

The second inquiry before alluded to was taken in Holt parish church, 9th January, 30 Eliz., 158$\frac{7}{8}$, before Owen Brereton, Thomas Powell, Ralph Ellis, and John Salusbury, the plaintiff being Launcelot Bostock, touching the right of Thomas Lother to the utter [Outer] Gatehouse. Some of the depositions are interesting from the light they throw on the condition of the castle and on other matters. For example: "John Dauyes of Earles" [Erlas Hall], aged 42, knew Bernard Bewley, servant to Richard Eaton, Constable of the Castle,

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dwelling in the utter gatehouse; he knew also Thomas Lother dwelling there, as servant to Richard Eaton, Constable; he remembered a letter coming to his master from Launcelot Bostock, begging that Lother might dwell in and have the use of the utter gatehouse in variance; and Richard Roydon, of Holt, aged 60 years (see note 2, page 317), remembered John Pickering, the porter, with rooms in the inner gate on the right hand going into the said castle. Pickering never dwelt in the utter gatehouse, which the Constable used for prisoners for debt and misdemeanours, and used the gaol within the body of the castle for felons and murderers. The castle ditch belonged to the Constable, etc.

It may seem to the reader that the foregoing particulars of the inquiries at Holt on 30th January, 158$\frac{8}{9}$, and 9th January, 158$\frac{7}{8}$, have been dealt with somewhat out of place. But many of the witnesses at the inquiries were old men, and were examined specially as to what they *remembered* of the castle: four of them speaking concerning its condition thirty, forty-six, forty-eight, and even sixty years before. Mention of these testimonies at this stage is, therefore, on reflection, not so much out of order or by any way of anticipation as it would at first seem.

At the time of Tidderley's survey, the afternamed streets and lanes in Holt were already well established: Frog lane, Castle street, High street, "Brigestrete," Wrexham lane, mylne lane [Mill lane], Gallow tree lane (the Holt end of Francis lane, properly Franchise lane), Chester lane and "Werrock lane," which appears to be another name for Chester lane, and should be spelled "Weirhook lane." So also are named "the devyn," or "devon" [brook] "the hogmore" [now "Hugmore"] area, and "the underwood called 'Cornysh.'" There were four shops under the Town Hall, and there was a horse-mill, more particularly described hereafter. The "espyes" were fields somewhere near where Esphill now is. Already, besides the free bur-

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gesses and those holding demesne land by twenty-one years' leases, was a class of forty years' leaseholders, perhaps men to whom were granted burgages and lands which had escheated to the lord. And there was nothing in the way of a free burgess holding leasehold land also. Many of the burgages had two or more burgages; and some, it would seem, had a single large house occupying the site of several adjoining burgages.

In Appendix I will be found a list of the tenants of Holt at the time of Tidderley's survey.

I have not yet been able to find a convenient place to speak of the known constables, chaplains, and other officials of Holt Castle, and so supply a list of them in Appendix II to this chapter.

And in what follows this paragraph of the same chapter, it will be fitting to say what remains to be said touching the history of the lordship generally from the time of Henry VII onwards.

In 1534, Bromfield, Yale, and Chirkland were granted by Henry VIII to his illegitimate son, Henry Fitzroy, Duke of Richmond, then only fifteen years of age; but the lad died about two years afterwards, and the lordship came back to the Crown once more.

Pennant says that in the reign of Edward VI Bromfield and Yale were "in possession of Thomas Seymour, Lord-Admiral, and turbulent brother to the Protector Somerset. He made the fortress of Holt subservient to his ambitious designs, and formed there a great magazine of warlike stores. His deserved but illegal execution again flung Bromfield into the possession of the Crown." The statement, so put, implies that there had been a grant to Admiral Seymour of the lordship as such: a most improbable circumstance, considering all that is otherwise known. But the Patent Roll of 28 Henry VIII (1536) proves that on the 2nd October of that year there was conceded to George Cotton and Thomas Seymour, a gentleman of the Privy Council, the survivorship of the office of "master steward" of the Castle of Lyons *alias* Holte, and of the

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manors or lordships of Bromefelde and Yale," void by the attainder of William Brereton (Chamberlain of Chester, executed 17th May, 1536), with a fee of £20 yearly, which was always the fee of the seneschal, or chief steward, as it still is. No doubt, Seymour as seneschal could procure the appointment of the Constable of Holt Castle, and would thus have the control of the Castle itself, making it, as Dugdale says, "a magazine of warlike provision"; but the offices of Steward of Bromfield and Yale and Constable of the Castle were distinct, and a grant of either or both of them did not involve a grant of the lordship. There is also a later grant (dated 1st Edward VI) to Seymour of various manors and lands in the lordship; and this grant, no doubt, led Pennant (or Dugdale, on whom he probably relied) to the mistaken assumption, which his words imply, that Thomas, Admiral Lord Seymour of Sudeley, was Lord of Bromfield and Yale.

The next event in the history of Holt, so far as the subject of this chapter is concerned, was the accession of Queen Elizabeth; in the first year of whose reign ten of the burgesses of Holt were bound over, each in the sum of £100, to stand to such order as should be made in the Court of Exchequer at Westminster touching the revival of "Decaies" of rent which had grown within the town and liberties. Then, in the fourth year of the Queen's reign, by virtue of a commission, directed on 1st August, 1561, to William, Marquis of Winchester (Lord Treasurer), Sir Richard Sackville, Knight (Under Treasurer), and Sir Walter Mildmay, Knight (Chancellor of the Exchequer), these three appointed as sub-commissioners (to make a survey of the lordship, revive decayed rents, and compound with the tenants), Robert Moulton (then Auditor of Wales), John Puleston, John Gwynne, John Trevor (of Trefalyn), and Robert Turbridge, Esquires, who thereupon proceeded to make such a survey and agreement as was from them required. So far as the town and franchise of Holt were concerned, the burgesses were

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called upon, according to a decree made in Hilary term in the fifth year of the Queen's reign, to pay their ancient rents, which were more by £12 8*s.* 10*d.* than their existing rents, and to perform other things which need not be here particularised. This device seems to have been confirmed in the Court of Exchequer on the 6th June, fifth year of James I (1607). The town was also charged with the collection of the borough rents. But some simple folk—free burgesses ignorant of their rights—took forty years' leases of their lands from the Queen; and in 1620 the burgesses asked that their descendants might have the benefit of the charter granted to them by Thomas, Earl of Arundel, of which in the fifth year of Elizabeth's reign the burgesses obtained a confirmation.

In the survey of 4 Elizabeth (1562), the afternamed streets and lanes in Holt are named: Chester lane, "Warrhooke lane," "ffrog lane," Castle street, Wrexham lane, Cornish lane, gallow tree lane, "hogmore lane," Pepper street, Bennets lane, "the pavement leading to Comon Wood," "mooregate," and "overwhart street." I have never elsewhere found any mention of the street last indicated in Holt: it was probably a cross street, "overwhart" having the meaning of *over against*, or *crossing*. "Hogmore" is always so spelled. There appears as yet to have been no house at Cornish, or "Cornis," as it is once called. "Hodhill" was near the burgage of Thomas Crue, which burgage is now represented by Holt Hill. The high cross, "high greene," and "litle green," by fishpoolfield, are also mentioned. "Knight's wood next Wrexham Lane" is referred to, also "the pool of Dee" [*stagnum Dee*]. The "devon" brook is often named. The basement of the Town Hall is still occupied by four shops, and the site of the horse-mill described as containing 60 yards, and having the Dee on the east side of it, the land of John Pickering on the west, Saunders hey on the north, and the land of Edward Almer, Esq., on the south. We may compare these

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names with those given in Tidderley's survey (on page 319).

There will be found in Appendix III to this chapter a list of the tenants of Holt in 1562.

Queen Elizabeth seems to have neglected to appoint most of the ancient officers of the lordship, so as to save expense, and obtained money by granting leases of many of the demesne lands, or by selling them. In the second year of her reign she sold outright not merely the chantry lands belonging to Holt Church, but also the tithes of those other lands which had been appropriated to the use of the chaplain in the chapel of Holt Castle. As to the first of these, mention will be made when, in a later chapter, the church of Holt has to be described, but this is the place to speak of the last-named. Those lands have already been discussed in my *Country Townships of the Old Parish of Gresford*, p. 134, and a reference to them and to the free chapel in the castle is contained in Tidderley's Survey (see before, p. 316). But it is necessary now to enter into further particulars. The tithes of the chapel within (*infra*) the Castle are mentioned in April, 1451, and the chapel itself is indicated in the earlier plan of the same, hereafter to be considered. Also, in the will of John Roden, Serjeant-at-Arms, dated 6th March, 151$\frac{2}{3}$, the "fre chapell of the castell of the Holt" is named, but only in such a way as to imply that the testator was farmer of the lands attached to it. On the 14th June, 1548, Edward VI leased [the tithes of] certain lands and tenements called bourd [board] lands and passe ["passe" for "past," that is "pastus"] lands in the townships of Burton, Allington, Merford and Hoseley, "lately parcel of the possessions of the chantry or free chapel within the Castle of Lyons," to Thomas Barrett, John Wrighte, and John Coldewell. On the 20th January, 15$\frac{59}{60}$, the Queen sold these tithes to John Norden and Clement Roberts and their heirs, who no doubt speedily conveyed them to other persons; and

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the said tithes came ultimately into the possession of the Trevors.[1]

The chapel of the Castle was "free," because the lord of Bromfield and Yale not merely provided it, kept it in repair, maintained the chaplain by the allotment of lands, the tithes whereof went to his support, and appointed that official, but held him and the chapel free from the jurisdiction and control of the Archdeacon, as well as from the control of the incumbent of the parish in which the castle stood.

It seems improbable that the chapel in the Castle was used as such after the tithes appropriated to it had been leased, and certain that it was not so used after they had been alienated.

The Castle chaplains known to me are so few that they can soon be named.

On the 24th January, 151$\frac{9}{1}$, Sir Anthony Byrne was granted the chaplaincy of the Castle, in the same way that William Alom formerly held it. To Anthony Byrne, son of Ralph Byrne, Sir William Roden, Rector of Gresford, bequeathed (24th June, 1526) a breviary, a samite hood, and a surplice. And, according to the late Mr. Ellison Powell, Henry VIII, in the 29th year of his reign, granted to Thomas Byrde, clerk, the free chantry or chapel of Holt Castle; and this chaplain was still in possession at the time of Tidderley's Survey (see p. 316).

On the 4th June, 1610, in the 8th year of James I, the King granted the title of Prince of Wales and Earl of Chester to Henry, his elder son, and then, or shortly

[1] The lands, still called "boardlands," out of which the tithes were due, or some of them, belonged to John Trevor in 1523, as appears by a curious entry on folio 39 of the Survey of 4 Queen Eliz.; from which we learn that at the time of the survey John Trevor had a capital messuage and thirteen acres of pasture pertaining thereto in Merford, Hoseley and Trevallin, premises anciently belonging "to the free chapel of the castle of the lordship of holt," and obtained by exchange, formerly the lands of Jenkin ap David Griffith and John ap John ap Robert, as shown under the seal of Castle Lyons, 5th July, 15 Henry VIII.

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afterwards, gave him the lordship of Bromfield and Yale, the tenants, free and leasehold, whereof yielded a mize of 600 marks (£400) to the said Prince; having already, on the King's accession to the throne and to the lordship, given a mize of like amount to James. After Prince Henry's death, the Principality of Wales and the lordship of Bromfield and Yale were granted (3rd November, 1616) to Prince Charles, afterwards Charles I, whereupon another mize of 600 marks was rendered.

On the 3rd of March, $16\frac{19}{20}$, a commission was made out to John Norden the elder, and John Norden the younger, the Prince's own surveyor, Sir Richard Smith being in personal attendance upon Charles, to make a new survey of Bromfield and Yale, and other the Prince's possessions in Wales. The survey of Holt was begun on the 11th April, 1620, and is very valuable. It will be dealt with in another chapter.

Meanwhile, I may say (as explained in my *History of the Country Townships of the Old Parish of Wrexham*, p. 40) that James I, as a device for raising money, on the 27th January, in the 22nd year of his reign, $162\frac{4}{5}$, leased Bromfield and Yale, for ninety-nine years, to commissioners, who were empowered to sell escheat, leasehold, and demesne lands; and to make, in consideration of the payment of a sum of money (amounting in some cases which have come under my cognisance, to twenty-five years' purchase, calculated on the existing rents) freehold or fee-farm estates.

Under the powers of this patent, or commission, many of the manors, demesnes, leasehold lands, and rents were sold. Thus, the Earl of Bridgewater acquired the manor of Ridley, in Isycoed, at a reserved rent of £11 1*s.* $4\frac{3}{4}$*d.* Also, on 3rd July, 1628, the commissioners, or patentees, of James I, as they may be called, conveyed Mersley Park, together with the Broadland and Bushy land, for £2,000, at a reserved yearly rent of £20, to the same John, Earl of Bridgewater, the two last-named pieces being apparently taken out of

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common wood. We see, in short, one process by which landlordism, on the large scale, was being built up. But many leaseholders also purchased, under this patent, the lands which they held by forty years' leases, and became small proprietors.

When Charles I was beheaded, Bromfield and Yale were treated, for ten years, as part of the public estates of the Commonwealth; and a survey was then made, to which there may be occasion to refer hereafter. But, save for these ten years, the lordship has remained in the hands of the Crown since Charles I became King, and is still vested therein, being administered by the Commissioners of Woods, Forests, and Land Revenues. A steward is appointed for the same by the King, on the recommendation of the Prime Minister; which steward receives the ancient salary of £20 yearly, and vacates his seat, if a Member of Parliament, on accepting the office.

William III intended to have granted the lordship to William Bentinck, Earl of Portland, and a mighty pother was made: Sir William Williams, Sir Roger Puleston of Emral, Mr. Robert Price of Gilar, and Sir Robert Cotton of Combermere, with others, appearing before the Lords of the Treasury to oppose the suggested grant. The concession proposed was thereupon withdrawn, and the reserved rents, *when they can be identified*, are still paid.

So ends this account of the lords of Holt.

APPENDIX I.—CHAPTER II.

(See p. 320.)

List of the Tenants of Holt at the time of Tidderley's Survey.

1.—Free Tenants.

John Rodon	Lancelot Prestlond
John Knyght	John hychyn [Hutchen]
John Alford	William ap John
Richard Baker	William Pate

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Robert Abathowe [Ab Atha]
James Chytam [Cheetham]
David Wyld
Thomas Crue
William Woddall
John Williams
Ralph Pulforth
John Adyo
Robert hychin [Hutchin]
Joan Balfer, late wife of John Balfer
Owen Breerton, gent.
Thomas ap hoell
John ap Richard
John Griffith
William ap William
Roger Wylkynson
John Almer, gent.
John Tayler
John Chethame
John Hanson
David ap O . . .
William Owdall [Udal]
John maddoc ap Jollyn and
Thomas maddoc ap Jollyn
Ralph Bulkeley
hugh hanky, sen
hugh hanky, jun^r
Thomas Belott
John Clubbe
Richard ap Jenkyn
Robert Aldford
Thomas Barbor
Richard Hanson
fflorenc lother
William Smythe
John Roydon
Thomas Edgworth
Thomas Arodon [Rodon]
John Erthley
Edward Almer, esq.
Ralph Rawlins, chaplain

2.—Tenants at Terms of Years at same Time.

John Alford
Richard Baker
John Pykering
Anthony Crewe
Ralph Pulforth
William Crewe
William Woddall
Thomas ap hoell
fflorenc lother
John ap Won [? Gwion]
Robert Aleford [Aldford]
Richard Hanson
Thomas Arodon
Robert hychen

3.—Tenants at Will at same Time.

William Pate
Robert hychin
William Seggewyke
William ap William Seggewick
John Pulforth, lancelot pulforth and William pulforth
John Pulforth and William Pulforth
Lancelot Pulford

Brian Bayte

APPENDIX II.—CHAPTER II.

(See p. 320.)

Resident Constables of Holt Castle.

The first Constable of whom I have any note was David Eyton ap Llewelyn, of Upper Eyton, in the parish of Bangor is y Coed. His grandfather, Ednyfed ap Gruffith ap Iorwerth, of Eyton, was a famous bard, who was living in the twelfth year

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of Edward III, when he appeared in the Court of the rhaglotry. And this David Eyton ap Llewelyn was the "Dauid de Eyton, Constable of the Castle of Lyons," who occupied that post in 1391. He was an early example of the policy,[1] often pursued, of appointing the head, or at least a member, of a great Welsh family to an important Welsh office.

In the tenth year of Henry V, Dr. A. E. Lewis informs me, ROBERT CORBET was Constable of Holt.

I possessed the names of three other Constables—Lancelot Lothar, Lancelot Bostocke, and Thomas Powell—but Mr. Edward Owen supplied me with the names of two more, obtained from an "Exchequer Deposition" of 1591, which referred to Richard Eyton as being succeeded by Launcelot Bostocke in the constableship of Holt Castle. It mentioned, also, Lancelot Lothar, Thomas Powell, David Price of Yale, and Sergeant Eyton as having been *previous* Constables. This would seem to imply the following order: Lancelot Lothar, Thomas Powell, David Price, Serjeant Richard Eyton [for Serjeant Eyton and Richard Eyton were presumably one], and Lancelot Bostocke. And this order corresponds with what is otherwise known. Some comment on these five names may not be unacceptable.

LANCELOT LOTHAR was Constable of Holt in the twenty-first year of Henry VII, and in the tenth and eleventh years of Henry VIII. He was appointed Constable, it may well be, after the execution of Sir William Stanley, and *in that case* must have received Henry VII when that monarch visited Holt on the 17th July, 1495, on his way to visit his mother, Margaret [Beaufort], she having married Thomas Stanley, Earl of Derby, brother of the above-named Sir William Stanley, of Holt Mr. Hughes, of Kinmel, believes Lancelot Lothar, or Lowther, to have been a son of Sir Hugh Lowther, by his wife Anne, daughter of Sir Lancelot Threlkeld, and there is much to be urged in favour of this suggestion. Constable Lothar (for so he seems to have spelled his name) was Deputy-Receiver of Bromfield and Yale in 1519. There is at St. Asaph the office-copy of the will of a Lancelot Lothar, of the parish of Gresford, dated 19th April, 1578, proved 19th June in the same year. He desired to be buried at Gresford, spoke of "Elyn nowe my wife," of his son, Thomas Lothar,[2] and of his cousin,

[1] A sagacious policy; not so much followed, however, between the reign of Henry IV and that of Henry VII.

[2] There was a Thomas Lothar to whom Constable Richard Eyton granted lodging in "the uttergate house" of Holt Castle (see before, p. 318). He was afterwards employed in some capacity by Mr. Talbot, of Grafton. This information I owe to Mr. Edward Owen.

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Roger Wynn, who cannot be identified with certainty. However, this testator appears to be another and later Lancelot Lothar. Lancelot Lothar, *the Constable*, had undoubtedly two daughters, one of whom, Catherine,[2] married the first Thomas Powell, of Horsley, his successor in the constableship, and the other, Elizabeth, became the wife of John Heynes, Receiver of North Wales, whose daughter, Anne, married the second Robert Davies, of Gwysanney, in 1620, one of the burgesses or freeholders of Holt. Mr. Hughes tells me that there was a double connection between the Lowthers and Davieses, which will be shown sufficiently by a note at the foot of this page.[2] Mr. Hughes also tells me that Lancelot Lothar, the Constable, married Elizabeth, daughter and heir of Randle Minshall. This particular Constable was very popular, so that about and soon after his time we meet with such names as Lancelot Powell, Lancelot Lloyd, Lancelot Roydon, and Lancelot Pickering, denominating connections of his in the second generation; also with the names Lancelot Maddocks, of Marchwiel; Lancelot Calcott, of Wrexham; Lancelot Lewys, of Gwersyllt, Lancelot Phillips, Lancelot Aldford, of Holt; Lancelot Yardley, of Holt; Lancelot Hanson, of Holt; Lancelot Broughton, of Eyton; Lancelot ap Ellis, of The Court, Wrexham, and many others. These Christian names gave rise, in many cases, to corresponding surnames, so that we get presently John Lancelot, of Wrexham; John and Edward Lancelot, of Cacca Dutton; William Lancelot, of Pickhill, to mention no more; and "Lancelot" has been ever since a not wholly uncommon surname in this district. The fee of Lancelot

There was another Thomas Lothar, son of George Lothar, deceased, who held land in Holt in the year 1562, the widow, Alice, of the said George Lothar being then married to John Salusbury, gent. William Woodall, gent., had also at the same time, by right of the said Alice, widow of George Lothar, a lease of some land in Holt. And in the same year a "fflorenc lother" was a burgess of the town (see Appendix I, p. 327).

[1] One of her sons was *Lancelot* Powell.

[2]

Catherine, dau. of George Ravenscroft. = Robert Davies. = (2) Elizabeth, dau. of George Lowther, and relict of John Heynes, Receiver of North Wales, who died 27th May, 1591. Elizabeth was buried at Mold, 11th March, 1636.

Robert Davies; buried 27th Jan., 1633. = Anne, dau. of John Heynes. She was buried at Mold, 30th Aug., 1636.

Robert Davies; died Sept., 1667.

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Lothar, as Constable, was £10, to which must be added his fee as Deputy-Receiver. And there were free lodging and various perquisites.

For THOMAS POWELL, of Horsley, the next Constable, son-in-law to his predecessor, Lancelot Lothar, the reader may be referred to my *History of the Townships of the Old Parish of Gresford*, Powell pedigree, opposite p. 118. While he lodged in the Castle, Mr. Edward Almer, the Deputy-Steward, also lodged there (see before, p. 317).

DAVID PRICE, of Yale, followed Thomas Powell, apparently, but I can attach no date to him or identify him.

RICHARD EYTON, Serjeant-at-Arms, the next Constable named, appears to have been Richard, third son of John Eyton, Esq., of Watstay, but this identification is not without doubt. To him was leased, "about 7 Eliz.," by the Crown a meadow called "Constable's Meadow," still so called, near Coed Evan, in the manor of Cobham Isycoed (township of Dutton Diffaeth). There was also a suit concerning this meadow in the thirty-fourth year of Queen Elizabeth. William, son of Serjeant Richard Eyton, was baptised at Ruabon in December, 1577.

LANCELOT BOSTOCKE, High Sheriff of Flintshire in 1574, the last Constable, appointed as such in November, 1585, of whom we have any trace, was son of Robert Bostocke, formerly of Churton, by his wife Jane, daughter of Richard Roydon, of

PEDIGREE OF BOSTOCKE OF HOLT.

Robert Bostocke (son of Robt. Bostocke, of Churton.) = Dorothy, dau. of Sir George Calveley, of Lea, Backford parish, Cheshire.

Lancelot Bostocke, Constable of Holt Castle, "the pensioner." = Jane, dau. of Richard Roydon, of Holt, by Anne his wife, one of the daughters of the first Thomas Powell, of Horsley.

George Bostocke of Holt; will dated 17th Sept., 1627, proved 1628. = Dorothy, dau. of Hugh Calveley, of Lea, Cheshire.

1. Jane, dau. and heir of David ap Edward, of Dinbren, *o. s. p.* (*Halston MS.*) = George Bostocke of Holt; will dated 3rd Aug., proved 8th Oct., 1663.

2. Katherine, dau. of Hugh Jones, of Wrexham, widow of Edward Jones, of Wrexham. (*Halston MS.*)

Dorothy. = Thomas Yale, son of the first Thomas Yale, of Plas yn Yale.

Mary. = Thomas Williams of Plâs Jenkin in Dutton, parish of Holt, and of Abenbury, son and heir of Roger Williams, of Oswestry.

Lancelot Williams, *alias* Bostocke, 2nd son, devisee of his uncle George Bostocke; buried at Holt, 1st Jan., 166¾.

George Bostocke, of Holt, was pardoned, 5th Oct., 1594, for killing John Roydon.

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Holt, gent.[1] His only son was George Bostocke, of whom more in the next chapter. Mr. Hughes, of Kinmel, suggests that Lancelot Bostocke, the Constable and "pensioner," belonged to the "Band of Gentlemen Pensioners," gentlemen of blood and coat armour, instituted by Henry VIII, and now known as "His Majesty's Honourable Corps of Gentlemen-at-Arms."

Sir Richard Lloyd, of Esclus, who defended Holt Castle for Charles I during the Civil War was, of course, Governor of the same, but he was so much else that his name is not put in this list of Constables as not standing in the direct line of succession, which had been brought to an end some time before, and I propose to deal with him in a future chapter.

Nor does it seem fit to give here any list of the seneschals or receivers, whose place would rather be in a history of the Lordship generally; but I should like to say a few words concerning one Receiver in particular, Edward Hughes,[2] who actually lived at Holt Castle. He was High Sheriff of Denbighshire in 1582, and died on the 23rd October, 1592. His daughter, and ultimate heiress, Mary, became the fourth wife of John Massie, of Coddington, son of Roger Massie of the same. It has not been found possible to discover with anything like certainty the paternity of this Edward Hughes, but Mr. Edward Massie, of Coddington, and Mr. Hughes, of Kinmel, state that Robert Cooke, Clarencieux (1567-1592), granted him the afternamed coat-of-arms: *Gules*, a fret *argent* on a canton *or* a pheon of the first, and he is then described as "of Denbighshire, servant to Mr. Dudley." He also became Receiver for the counties of Chester and Flint. In his will, proved at Chester in 1592 (a summary whereof Mr. Hughes, of Kinmel, has given me), the testator leaves everything to his wife, Ann Hughes, trusting that she will behave as a good mother to his children, and begging his loving and worthy friend, "Mr. Roger Puleston, of Emmerald

[1] For the above-named Richard Royden, see note on p. 317; and the Bostockes of Holt obtained their lands in the franchise, or part thereof, by descent from him. In 1627, a Richard Roydon was living in Castle Street, Holt. Mr. E. B. Royden tells me that Richard Roydon, father-in-law of Lancelot Bostocke, Constable, had besides Jane, five other daughters—Dorothy, Maud, Mary, Anne, and Alice, and that he was the son of Thomas Roydon, son of Richard Roydon, son of William Roydon, English bailiff of Wrexham in 1467.

[2] Mr. Edward Massie informs me, on the authority of Sir Henry Maxwell Lyte, that Edward Hughes was appointed Receiver for the Crown in September, 1568, and that in March, 1569, he received authority to inhabit Holt Castle, and to have twenty cartloads of wood out of Mersley Park.

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[Emral], Esq.," and his cousin, Mr. John Puleston, of Llwyn y Knottie, to aid and assist her, the will being witnessed by John Roydon, Thomas Crue, Richard Case, and John Leeche. Mr. E. B. Royden has also supplied me with the summary of a case in the Court of Exchequer, Trinity Term, 1598, in which Christopher Hughes, son and heir of the late Edward Hughes, Esq., late Receiver-General of the revenues of North Wales and of the county and city of Chester, sets forth for himself, as well as on behalf of Anne and Margaret Hughes, daughters of the said Edward Hughes, that his father, at the time of his death, possessed various free lands in the parish of Holt, worth about £20 yearly, certain copyhold lands there worth £7 yearly, and personal estate worth about £2700; and by his last will appointed Anne, his wife, aged about 66, his sole executrix, and directed her therewith, together with £800 then in his house, to satisfy the money due from him to the Crown, or sell his lands for that purpose, and for the benefit of his unprovided children. When the said Edward Hughes died, 25th October, 1592, he was indebted to the Crown in £1,822 odd, whereof the said Anne paid within a year about £66, leaving £1,162[1] unpaid. Afterwards, about Bartholomew-tide, four years past, the said Anne Hughes married[2] John Roydon, gentleman [of Isycoed], who entered upon the lands of the late Edward Hughes, got hold of his personal estate, paid into the Exchequer £670 only, leaving £800 unpaid, and, affirming that the said personal estate would be insufficient, sought to sell the lands of the deceased. About four years past, Roger Roydon and John Taylor were authorised to receive certain arrears of revenue owing to Edward Hughes, and they collected about £650, which they had accounted for to the Exchequer, and the complainant begged for a *subpœna* against John Roydon, Roger Roydon, and John Taylor. In reply to these *ex parte* statements, John Roydon declared in Michaelmas term, 43 Queen Elizabeth, that Thomas Crew, of Holt, gentleman (who was son-in-law of the said Anne Hughes), and John Leach, since deceased, were, by commission, authorised to receive the Crown revenues of North Wales, Cheshire, and lordship of Denbigh, up to Michaelmas then last past, and rendered up their account to the Exchequer on behalf of Anne Hughes, but detained thereof the respective sums of £691, £99, and £30 odd, for which John Roydon, as husband of the said Anne, was answerable, who prayed for a *subpœna* against Thomas Crew, and Thomasine, widow of John Leech,[3] both "very rich and

[1] There is something wrong in the arithmetic here.

[2] Anne, widow of Edward Hughes, was John Roydon's 2nd wife.

[3] John Leech, of Holt, gent., was living on the 27th June, 1598, when he was about 40 years old. Lands and goods in the possession

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wealthy persons," while he (John Royden) was in his estate decayed by reason of the charge he had been at in finding out the falsehood of the account aforesaid. Thomas Crew and Thomasine Leech gave in their answers on 13th April, 1601. One would like to know what was the name of the daughter of Anne Hughes who married Thomas Crue. Strange also it is that no mention is made of Edward Hughes' daughter, Mary, who married John Massie, of Coddington. The Massies still quarter her father's arms, and regard her as his heiress. Perhaps the other children named in the pleas died without issue, and Mrs. Massey would not associate herself in "the complaint" with her brother, Christopher Hughes, with her sisters, Anne and Margaret Hughes, or with Mr. John Royden, and so is not mentioned in the bill.

It is, perhaps, worth while to refer to a bit of Welsh verse, formerly in the Shirburn Collection (*Report on Welsh MSS.*, vol. ii, part ii, p. 648, by Dr. Gwenogvryn Evans), addressed to John Salusbury, heir of Lleweni, when he overcame in the field Captain O. Salusbury, of Holt, in 1593. It does not now seem possible to identify either of the persons just named. "Mr. Salsburie his Chamber" in Holt Castle, is mentioned on 27 June, 1598; and, according to Mrs. Stopes, a Captain Owen Salusbury was slain in Essex Gallery, London, 10 February, 160°, at the rising of the Earl of Essex, and was buried at St. Clement Danes, Strand.

APPENDIX III.—CHAPTER II.

(See p. 323.)

TENANTS OF HOLT IN THE FOURTH YEAR (1562) OF QUEEN ELIZABETH.

(1) FREE TENANTS.

Lancelot Yardley	William Kethyn, for life of Robt. Kethyn, his father
Edward Davye	Randle Pulforde
Thomas Crewe, senior	John hylchyn [Hutcheon]
Brian Bate	Launcelot Baker
John Wilkinson	Thomas Edgworth
John Griff[ith]	Thomas Crewe, gent.
John Nuttall	

of Mr. John Roydon, formerly those of Mr. Edward Hughes, were seized on the 30th March, 1598, to satisfy the claims of the Crown, by Sir Richard Trevor, Roger Puleston of Emral, Esq., and Morgan Broughton, Esq., the estimated value of the whole being £531 13s. 4d.; a total which included an item of £300 for plate, goods, household stuff, and jewels.

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William Woodall, sen[r]
William Woodall, gent.
Thomas Calcott
Richard Rodon, son of Thomas Rodon
John Crewe
Thomas Yardeley
Ralfe Bamvile and Edward Taylor
Edward Allmer, esq.
Susanna, lately wife of . . . Hanson
William Bird and Richard Bird
John Greene
Thomas Billot
John Knight
William Pate
Richard Aldforde
William ap Batha and the wife of Ralph ap Atha
William Smyth
Ralph Bulkeley
John Stokeley
Owen Brereton, esq. ["William Briereton" crossed out]
Launcelot Barnston
John Clubbe
Peter Rodon
Katherene, lately wife of John dyo
Wife of Geoffry Smyth
Thomas Powell
Edward Puleston
William Woodall

(2) Tenants for Term of Years and at Will.

John Pickering
Heirs of Thomas lowther [John Salesbury's name crossed out]
Launcelott Prestland
Launcelott Hanson
Edward Davies
Edward Crew
. . . . Pova
Randle David
Thomas Pulforde
John ap Griff[ith]
John Ledsam
William Kethyn [Gethyn]
John Goz ap Richard
Randle Pulford
John Hugh Griff[ith]
William Godson [now dead, John Godson his son]
Launcelott Baker
William Woodall, gent. [by right of Alice his wife, lately wife of George Lowther]
Richard Rodon, son of Thomas Rodon
Thomas Edgworth
David Wilde and Edward Wilde
Edward Allmer
Joan Pulford, widow, late wife of William Pulford and Thomas Marter
Launcelott Philipps
David Gyttyn
John Princeston [crossed out and John heynys substituted]
John Alforde
John Rodon
John ap Jeu[a]n ap dd
John Stokeley [crossed out and a name, illegible, substituted]
Thomas Maddock
Peter Rodon
Thomas Powell, gent.
Edward Jones, gent.
? William Woodall [crossed out and John Heynys substituted]
Edward Puleston

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ST. PETER'S CHURCH, CARMARTHEN.

By T. E. BRIGSTOCKE, Esq,

In writing an article on this ancient parish church—a church which to-day stands as a noble living link between the Welsh Church of a thousand years ago and that of the present time—I propose to deal chiefly with matters of historical and monumental interest rather than with the architecture of the building, which latter I could only but very imperfectly describe.

The present church, replacing no doubt an earlier one, is generally attributed to the thirteenth century, and to which period belong the lower portion of the nave walls —with the recesses for altar-tombs—and the greater part of the tower; the chancel and south aisle being decidedly later. The church consists of a nave, chancel, south aisle, western tower, and north transept. The north transept is probably built on an older foundation, and it is difficult to say to what period it belongs. The eastern portion of the south aisle is used as the Consistory Court of the Diocese, and up to fifty years ago was separated by a screen from the rest of the aisle. In old documents this part is also often described as the "town chancel." There are two vestries—one being a recently-built choir vestry. The nave is divided from the south aisle by five lofty arches, resting on massive buttresses of a severely plain character.

The length of the church from entrance door to the east window is 170 ft., while the width of the fabric is 50 ft.

The singular site of St. Peter's, outside the walls of "Kaermerdin" (to use the spelling of the early Charter-rolls), and between these and the old City of Carmarthen—now forming the eastern portion of the town, is a matter of much interest. To quote from Archdeacon Bevan's lecture on St. Peter's in 1884:

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"It would be interesting to know the relations that may have existed between St. Peter's and the older church of St. Teilo, previously to the appropriation of these churches to the Priory of St. John, Carmarthen, in Henry the First's reign (1100-1135), and ascertain how it was that St. Peter's became the parish church rather than the other; to define the relations, ecclesiastically speaking, between the old City of Carmarthen, to which St. Peter's was more particularly attached, and

Fig. 1.—Interior of St. Peter's Church, Carmarthen: View looking East. (*Excelsior Co., Carmarthen Photo.*)

the new town, outside whose walls the church stood; and to discuss the question whether St. Peter's was in any way responsible for the spiritual cure of the inhabitants within the walls." Unfortunately, it seems very difficult still to clear up this interesting matter.

The visitor on entering St. Peter's for the first time cannot but be struck with a certain noble impressiveness, in spite of the plainness of the interior, and many architectural defects which alterations made in different periods have brought about.

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Considering the antiquity and importance of this church, its central position in the diocese, as well as its contiguity to Norman castles and influences, one is disappointed not to find any traces of mediæval or later embellishments. The quaintly-carved gargoyles of the tower alone remain of this class of work. Probably this defect—one which applies to so many of the churches of the district—is due to the absence of good local stone suitable for the purpose. The earlier church on this site may possibly have been burnt and destroyed in the fierce Welsh conflicts of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries; but had it been much more ornate than the present one, we might have expected some traces of it to have been handed down to us in portions of the stone work.

The first mention of this church occurs in the *Annals of Battle Abbey*, to which it was given by Henry I (1100-1135) in the earlier years of his reign. The gift included, as well, one other church of an earlier origin, named the Church of St. John the Evangelist and St. Teilo, and the old City of Carmarthen. As St. Peter's appears to have had chapelries attached to it at this time (Newchurch and Llangain), it favours the belief of many authorities that even at this time the church was an old one. Bernard, the first Norman bishop of St. David's, was appointed in 1115. He seems early in his episcopate to have taken steps to get the king—with whom he had considerable influence—to exchange St. Peter's for some other possessions in Hampshire, with the view, no doubt, of appropriating the living in favour of the newly-founded Priory of St. John, Carmarthen. The bishop seems to have been much interested in this Priory, and gave it an endowment. The king's consent was obtained about 1125, though it was not until after Bernard's death that the transfer was confirmed by a grant from Henry II in 1180. One of the witnesses to this deed was Peter de Leia, Bishop of St. David, and formerly Prior of the Cluniac Abbey of Wenlock, Salop. In connection

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with this arrangement there is extant a very curiously worded deed, showing that, as the results of the complaint of one Richard ap John, Vicar of St. Peter's in 1278, to the Bishop of St. David's (Richard de Carew) against the Prior of St. John, for making too scanty an allowance to him the Vicar, the Prior agreed to

Fig. 2.—Coat-of-Arms from St. John's Priory, now in South-East Wall of St. Peter's Carmarthen.
(*Excelsior Co., Carmarthen Photo.*)

pay the Vicar in future ten marks a-year, the payment to be made quarterly. The deed is dated at Lamphey, April 4, 1278, and in it occurs the first reference to the vicarage. This arrangement with the Prior, by which the Vicar of St. Peter's got paid a small pension of £6 13s. 4d. out of the tithes, instead of a certain portion of the latter being assigned to him, bore very

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unsatisfactory results when the Priory was dissolved by Henry VIII. The latter directed that the lessee of the tithes should continue to do what the Prior had done in the past—pay a slightly increased stipend of £7 to the Vicar; and, unfortunately, this arrangement has continued to modern times, in spite of the greatly increased value of the tithes, the latter being now worth nearly £1,000 a year.

Through the kindness of Mr. T. W. Barker, the Diocesan Registrar, I am enabled to give the following extracts from the oldest diocesan registers on some early appointments to St. Peter's by the Priory authorities. Under date December 20, 1403, David Robyn was made Vicar on the presentation of the Prior and Convent of St. John's, Carmarthen; July 12, 1408, William Styward, Chaplain, was presented to St. Peter's by the same authorities; February 22, 1486, John David, M.A., was collated to this church; July 3, 1500, John Harry to Vicarage vacant by death of John ap David on presentation by Prior, etc., of Carmarthen; January 1, 1501, Admission of Sir David Webbe to Vicarage vacant by death of John Harry.

In 1394, we find by a Charter-Roll of Richard II, one Thomas Rede, of Carmarthen, received permission to assign certain lands for endowing a chaplain "to daily celebrate Divine service to the honour of the Blessed Mary, in a certain chauntry, anciently founded within the church of the blessed Peter, of Kermerdyn," etc. It is difficult now to identify the position of this Lady Chapel; but on the supposition that the earlier church was in a cruciform shape, this chauntry may have been on the south side, and was possibly absorbed when the south aisle was added. On the south wall may be noticed a niche for a holy-water stoup. Speed's Map of 1610 pictures a church almost identical with that of to-day; but the fact that the centre of the roof of the nave is not in line with that of the chancel favours the idea that either the chancel arch was enlarged, or a south aisle was added in the fourteenth or

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fifteenth century. The steps leading to the rood-loft were noticed in the wall behind the pulpit, when alterations were being carried out some fifty to sixty years ago. The remains of the ridge of a higher roof may be noticed on the north side of the tower, but whether this lowering was done by Nash when re-roofing and re-ceiling the church in 1790 is a matter of conjecture only. Before referring to just a few of the numerous monuments which are in the church, it may not be amiss to touch on some historical and social incidents.

Just as the parishioners to-day have a warm affection for this ancient House of God—consecrated as it is to them by the worship, the hopes and fears, the joys and sorrows of many generations of their forefathers—so in days gone by the same reverent care was displayed. In 1557 we find (thanks to the Rev. G. Eyre Evans' careful researches into the Old Minutes of the Corporation) by an entry "that in consequence of the decay into which the parish church had gone for want of care to provide material," an annual rate of £20 a year (a large sum for those days) was to be levied on the parishioners, and the churchwardens were to account to the Mayor and the Council for the same. This attachment further evidences itself in many wills, both where bequests are left to the church or vicar, or where directions are given for burial there. An extract from one or two wills will illustrate what I allude to.

Amongst the leading citizens in Queen Elizabeth's reign was Alderman Edward Myddleton, whose beautiful autograph signature might have been noticed in the Old Corporation Minute Book, kindly lent for the exhibition at the Assembly Rooms, Carmarthen, in August, 1906. Besides being Mayor (1583), he seems to have been a merchant-trader, ship-owner, patriot and educationist, and preceded Robert Toye as Mayor, the latter being one of those who had petitioned Queen Elizabeth for a grammar school for Carmarthen. From

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Myddleton's will, dated October 6th, 1537, we give the following extract:—

"Edward Myddleton, Alderman of the Towne and Countie of Caermarthen, being sicke in body—I desire to be buried in the Church of Carmarthen named St. Peter. To the repair of the said church I give 20s.; to the repairs of the Bridge, 10s.; to the poore, 10s.; to the Free Schools of Carmarthen, 10s. yearly for ever, out of the rente of my two Houses in Water Street, within the Towne of Carmarthen; to my servants, Thomas Cook and Griffith Adkins, the one haufe of my Bark named 'The Margett,' which is betwixt me and Griffith Howell, etc."

Or, again, observe the curiously-expressed desire of a certain Dame Margaret Lloyd to be buried at St. Peter's without the expensive ostentation so usual at that time. The tablet to this worthy lady may be noticed in the north transept. Her will, dated December 27, 1755, contains the following:—"If I should depart this life in the County of *Cardigan*, my Executor shall provide a carriage to carry me to the Parish Church of St. Peter's, Carmarthen; and I beg that my corpse may be there laid in the same grave with, or as near as may be to my late dear husband, and my late dear daughter, Elizabeth Evans; and that a funeral sermon shall be preached, and the text taken from the 88th Psalm, and the latter part of the 13th verse; and I hereby desire that my coffin may be made of good oak, without any ornament or covering; and that instead of scarfs or hatbands at my Funeral, that twelve poor old women be clothed with black bays gowns, a yard of flannel on their heads, and each a pair of gloves, and that they walk before my corpse to my grave."

From the middle of the sixteenth century this church becomes closely identified with many of those whose names and lives live in history.

Had you entered the church in February, 1555, you might have witnessed the strange, sad spectacle of the

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Bishop of St. David's, Robert Ferrar, being handed over by the Sheriffs of the County as a prisoner to the custody of his successor in the Diocese, one Henry Morgan; and on six subsequent occasions Ferrar was brought up here for examination. Here he received his final condemnation shortly before his martyrdom at the market cross, on March 30th, 1555.

In the answers which Ferrar gives to some of the charges brought against him by his enemies, there are frequent references to this church. For instance, he states that (I) he had preached right often at Carmarthen, the latter being described as "an English Towne and the chiefe of his Diocis; (II) that "while sitting in the Church in Carmarthen with the Chancellor to hear causes, and seeing the Vicar with other priestes, with song and lights bringing a corpse up to the Church, he called forthwith the Vicar and priestes and rebuked them in open courte as cormorants and Ravens flying about the dead carcase for lucre sake;" and (III) "that George Constantine having pulled downe without any authority the Communion Altar in Carmarthen Church, appointing the use thereof in another place of the Church, not without grudge of the people," he, the Bishop, fearing tumult, "commanded the Vicar to set up the Communion Table (for the time) neare to the place where it was before." The Bishop evidently shows by this last answer that he wished to make changes cautiously, when the congregation were so conservative in their ideas. In November, 1576, the body of Walter Devereux, K.G., Earl of Essex, a native of Carmarthen, and father of the great Earl, was brought here for burial, the Earl having died in Ireland. The funeral sermon was preached by Richard Davies, Bishop of St. David's, the coadjutor of Salesbury in getting the New Testament translated into Welsh. The remains of the Earl are believed to be underneath the site of the organ, and Donovan, in his *Excursions Through Wales*, in 1804, mentions that the Vicar, the Rev. W. Higgs Barker,

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gave him the following description of the coffin, as observed by the sexton when preparing a fresh grave near the chancel: "The outer coffin was of oak, but of singular construction. It was somewhat cymbiform, pointed at both extremities, and strongly bound with hoops of iron. The inner shell was lead, in which the body lay, embalmed in a pecular sort of spirituous liquor, that had retained its purity in an astonishing manner, and was scarcely diminished in quantity since the time the body was enclosed in the coffin, being nearly full when first opened." Evidently the Irish concoction was very good for the purpose, or the remains could not have been so well preserved at the end of two centuries.

Some half century after the burial of Essex, viz., on Sunday, September 11th, 1625, we find the stern Bishop Laud preaching the Assize sermon before the judges; and once again, on October 9th of the same year, we find Laud occupying the pulpit of St. Peter's. On Sunday, August 10th, 1684, there was a State service in honour of the visit of his Grace, Henry, Duke of Beaufort, Lord-President of the Council in Wales. Whether we consider its dignity or its pageantry, it was probably unrivalled in the history of the church. One Dineley, who acted as his Grace's Secretary, gives many details of this visit. His Grace was accompanied, not only by his own retinue of noblemen, including his son, the Earl of Worcester, Sir John Talbot, Sir William Rice, and many others, but by the Carmarthenshire militia, a great number of the gentry, as well as by the mayor and aldermen in their formalities. The procession of the Corporation itself was in those days much more imposing than it is to-day, for it included—as a modern writer tells us—not only the mayor, recorder, aldermen, and common councillors, but bailiffs, chamberlains, serjeants-at-arms, serjeants-at-mace, sword-bearers, beadles and constables, all in quaint costumes. The Bishop of St. David's (Lawrence Womack) preached, we are told, a learned sermon, "after which his Grace

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and whole company were nobly entertained in town by the deputy-lieutenant and gentlemen of the county at the lodgings prepared for him. After which, and evening prayer, his Grace and company took a view of the "key and towne, and were nobly collationed."

Dineley gives many details of the monuments that are still at St. Peter's, as well as an interesting and unique view of the church from the south side. In this view a "bone-house," situated to the left of the Spilman Street porch, is shown, as mentioned by Archdeacon Thomas at the last meeting.

From the Register we learn that Sir Richard Steele, the essayist, was buried in this church on September 4th, 1729, his remains being placed in the vault of his wife's family, the Scurlocks. This is situated in the Consistory Court; and here, in July, 1876, the vault was accidentally laid open, and the coffin of Steele was noticed in a very decayed state. The writer noticed that the skull was very well preserved, and bore a periwig, with a bow of black ribbon tied at the end. It may be added that the churchwardens had a small leaden coffin made for the skull, and after inscribing the name outside, this was placed back in the vault. The latter is now covered over by the tiling of the Consistory Court, the spot being about 8 to 10 ft. from the entrance porch. Of events in the eighteenth century there is little to record, though it is interesting to recall that John Wesley was present on July 13th, 1777, and again on August 22nd, 1784, at the Sunday morning services, and commended the sermons. In 1797, many of the French prisoners *en route* from Fishguard were detained for a short time in the church, owing to the want of room in the prison and town hall. In the last century Bishop Thirlwall nearly always occupied the pulpit on Christmas morning, as well as on many other occasions; whilst amongst others who preached there were Bishop Tait (afterwards Archbishop), when Bishop of London, and Archbishop Benson.

The Registers date from 1671; the bells from 1722,

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though nearly all the latter have been recast since, and a full peal provided. The communion plate is comparatively modern, the exception being the cover of a chalice, inscribed: "Poculum Ecclesie Santi Petri Carmarthen, 1577." The old colours of the 23rd Royal Welsh Fusiliers were impressively handed over (which now adorn the chancel in this church) to the custody of the Mayor, for preservation, in the year 1846. Many Peninsular veterans were present on the occasion.

Of the numerous monumental remains, a few only can be noticed. The oldest is undoubtedly the stone coffin-lid discovered some fifty years ago, in one of the recesses in the north wall of the nave. For a long period the latter had been concealed by the tiers of pews, which ran back against the wall, until the church was re-pewed at the period referred to.

The inscription on the bevelled edges at the head and on the right side is now much worn and difficult to decipher. Fortunately, in Spurrell's *History of Carmarthen*, we have the letters as noted some years ago, viz.:

RICAR RO

B BER ICI DEV DE L'ALMP EIT MERCI

The late Mr. Spurrell attributed it to the eleventh or twelfth century. On the surface there is a head, in relief, with a floriated cross below, as shown in Miss Edwards' admirable sketch. Mr. Edward Lawes carefully examined the lid at the last meeting of the Cambrian Archæological Association; and judging from the mode in which the hair is dressed inclined to the opinion that the figure represented a civilian of the latter part of the thirteenth century, or early in the fourteenth century. Possibly the lid belongs to the coffin of some important man originally buried at the Priory of St. John or at the Grey Friars' Monastery, and removed here at the Dissolution; while on the other hand the original resting-place of the coffin may have been the recess where it was found.

In an adjoining recess there is a half-length stone effigy of a man with one arm folded across his chest,

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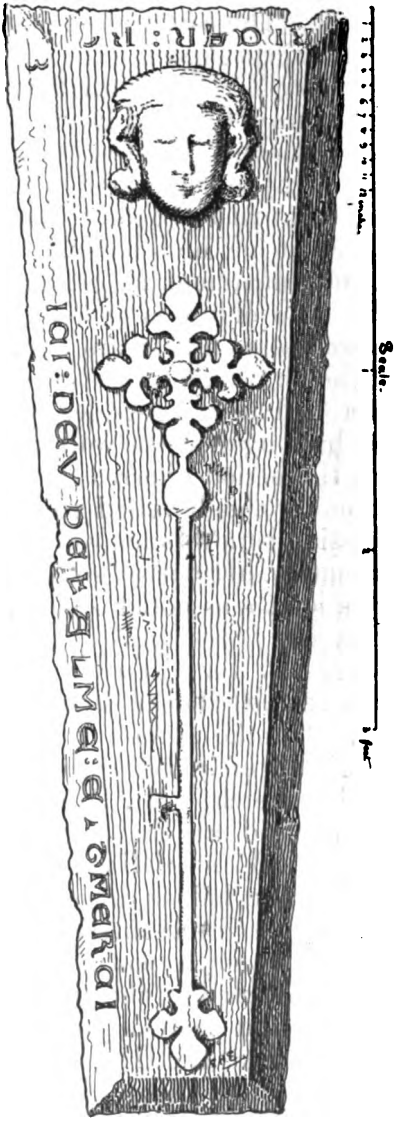

Fig. 3.—Sepulchral Slab of Richard —— in St. Peter's Church, Carmarthen.

(*Drawn by Miss Emily H. Edwards.*)

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but of the history of this little is known. In the chancel wall, near the vestry door, there is a portion of an early but much-worn effigy, plastered into the wall. Originally, it seems to have covered a vault under or near the chancel arch, where the organ now is.

The most interesting monument in St. Peter's is

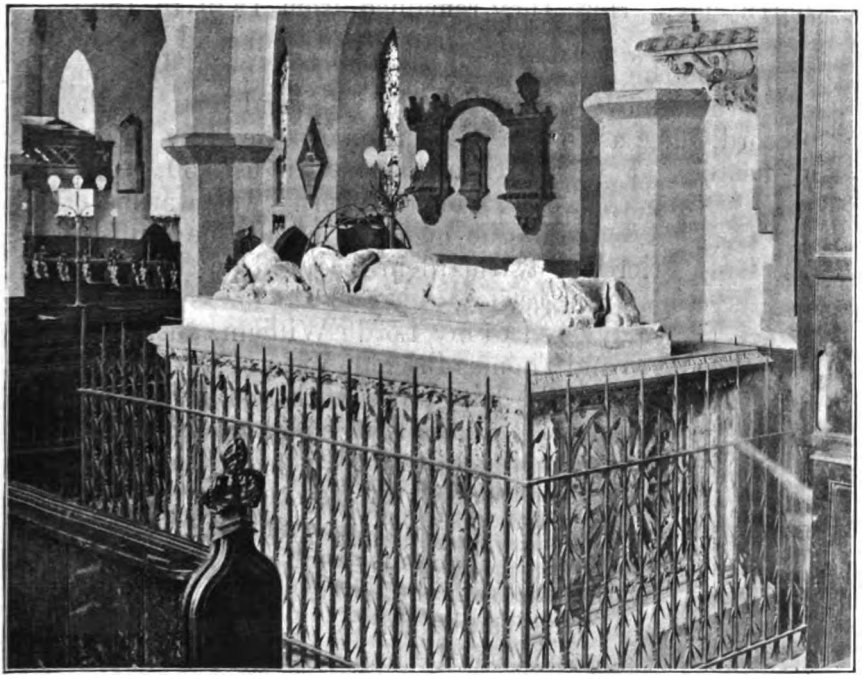

Fig. 4.—Tomb of Sir Rhys ap Thomas in St. Peter's Church, Carmarthen.

(*Excelsior Co., Carmarthen Photo.*)

undoubtedly the stately tomb of Sir Rhys ap Thomas, K.G., in the south aisle, with the recumbent effigies of Sir Rhys in chain armour, and his second wife, Janet, surmounting it. Sir Rhys was the third son of Thomas ap Gruffydd, of the illustrious House of Dynevor, and famous for his successful efforts in supporting the claim

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of Henry Tudor, Earl of Richmond, afterwards Henry VII, to the throne of England.

Sir Rhys died in 1527, aged 76, and was buried at the Grey Friars' monastery of Carmarthen. On the dissolution of the monastery in 1537, the remains of Sir Rhys and his wife were removed to St. Peter's, and were placed within the communion railings on the north side. Here they remained from 1539 to 1865. Unfortunately, Sir Rhys' banner, armour and helmet, as well as the iron railings, disappeared at the time, or after the removal to the church. The indenture in the Record Office as to the dissolution of the Grey Friars' monastery at Carmarthen, dated August 30, 1539, after stating that one "John Trahern" was warden of the Convent," "Makethe mencyon of all the stuffs of the Grey Frieres of Karmardein receyved by the Lorde Visitor, under the Lorde Prevey Seale for the King's Grace, and delyvered to my Lorde William, Bishop of Seinthe David and Thomas Prichar, Vicar of Carmarden, to se and order to the King's use with the House and all the appurtenances tille the King's pleasure be further knoweing, and 'Mr. Meyer' to have ye oversithe of the same." Among the "stuffs" referred to are:

Item. "A Paule of clothe of tussey for the Erle of Richemunde tumbe." (This fine tomb was removed to St. David's Cathedral from the monastery.)

Item. "A goodlye tumbe for Sir Rhys ap Thomas with a grate of yron abouthe him."

Item. "A stremer banner of his armys with his cote armer and helmit."

In the autumn of 1865 it was deemed desirable to have the tomb removed to a more convenient site under the arch between the chancel and Consistory Court; and the expense of removing and restoring it was borne by the fourth Baron Dynevor, a descendant of Sir Rhys.

It was with much interest that one watched the opening of the tomb on September 11, 1865, and the discovery of the remains of the old warrior knight.

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The skull and most of the bones were found under a slab level with the floor of the chancel. The remains were carefully collected, and later on placed in a stone sarcophagus within the tomb. The interior of the body of the tomb was filled up with pieces of stone, some of them coloured, earth, mortar, and portions of old tesselated pavement.

The tomb may be said to follow after the design, on a much simpler and more modest scale, of that of Henry the Seventh's tomb at Westminster Abbey: the monarch whom Sir Rhys served so faithfully in his lifetime.

The inscription around the tomb was added at the restoration, and commences—"Here rest the remains of Sir Rhys ap Thomas, K.G., who fought at Bosworth Field, and of Dame Eva, his wife," etc. (It should be Dame Janet.) A few years ago the tomb was once more removed to its present position, so as to provide a more convenient site for the organ.

In the south wall, opposite the back of the organ and adjoining the monuments to Bishop Ferrar and General Sir William Nott, as well as Sir Richard Steele's tablet, may be noticed a stone slab inserted in the wall, and bearing a carved armorial shield (see illustration, p. 338). This was found in 1878, when repairing some cottages adjoining the site of St. John's Priory, the stone being used as a hearthstone in a cottage, but fortunately with the carved face underneath. From Spurrell's *History of Carmarthen*, we find that it carries "the armes first borne by Henry V, when Prince of Wales, and by other Princes of Wales, up to Edward VI. The shape of the shield indicates the middle of the fifteenth century—*temp.* Henry VI—and the arms are those of his only son, Edward. The latter was born in 1453, seventeen years after the destruction of the Priory by fire. Possibly his arms were placed on a part of the building not restored until after his birth."

In a niche in the chancel is a beautiful recessed monument—being the effigy of a kneeling lady. It is

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the monument of Anne, the Lady Vaughan. who is portrayed kneeling, owing to her having been found dead in the attitude of prayer at her bedside. There is the following quaint epitaph beneath to this charitable lady:

"Kinde Reader underneath this Tomb doth lye
Choice Elixar of mortalitie
By carefull providence Greate wealth did store
For her relations and the Poore.
In Essex borne but spent her gainful dayes
In Terra Coed to her eternall prayse
Where by her loanes in spit of adverse fates
She did preserve men's persons and estates.
A Greate Exemplar to our nation
Her to imitate in Life and action
Would you then know who was this good woman,
'Twas virtuous Anne, the Lady Vaughan."

"She died May 15, 1672. Being aged 84 years."

It may be mentioned here that below the chancel and Consistory Court the church is so honeycombed with vaults containing the remains of old citizens and representatives of old Court families, that St. Peter's may well be called the "Abbey" church of the district. Space will only allow of my calling attention to a few other monuments of interest. Some of the most beautiful and delicate sculpture work in the church may be noticed on the mural tablet affixed to the wall behind the pulpit in memory of George Lewis, Armiger, who died December 21, 1715. The cherubs' heads in white marble are worthy of careful inspection. The handsome memorial pulpit of carved wood and stone was the gift of the family of the late Rev. Latimer M. Jones, B.D., who was for fourteen years the devoted Vicar of the parish. The Lych-gate at the entrance is the parishioners' memorial to the same Vicar; while the fine brass lectern is the gift of the relatives of the late Mr. Valentine Davis, Registrar of the Diocese. The latter gentleman was a munificent contributor to the repair and beautifying of St. Peter's.

The living of St. Peter's is in the gift of the Bishop,

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and is worth £282 with a vicarage. This is not a large income for the vicar of so large and important a church; while it was very much less than this until the middle of the last century. This poverty of the vicarage may be directly traced to the very much one-sided settlement referred to in this article, when, for the sake of peace, in 1278, Richard ap-John, the then Vicar, agreed to take ten marks yearly from the Prior of St. John for his share of the tithe.

Much might be said about the many thousands of parishioners who sleep—high and low, rich and poor—in the broad God's acre surrounding the church, but space will only permit me to conclude with a few lines by Henry Kingsley on another parish church, but which may well apply to St. Peter's.

"Eight hundred years of memory are crowded into this dark old church, and the flood of change beats round the walls and shakes the doors in vain, but never enters. The dead stand thick together, as if to make a brave resistance to the moving world outside, which jars upon their slumber."

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NOTES ON THE EAST WINDOW OF THE CHURCH OF ALL SAINTS, GRESFORD.

By the Rev. E. A. FISHBOURNE, M.A.

The church of Gresford is fortunate in many ways, but most fortunate in that so much of its ancient glass remains to show us something of its former glory. The east window and one in the north aisle chapel are complete, while others have remnants of great interest. The great size and lofty position of this east window, filled with beautiful glass, seen beyond and above the dark oak screen, render it the most striking object in a church of no mean beauty.

As it was restored by Messrs. Clayton and Bell in 1867, the window having become quite unintelligible, filled with confused remnants of glass, and much of it also having been destroyed, it appears to me very desirable to put on record what was done at the time, hence the following notes.

The church was practically rebuilt in the closing years of the fifteenth century; the window is therefore in the latest style of Perpendicular, with flattened arch. It is 21 ft. in height by 14 ft. in breadth, and is of seven lights. The glass was given by Thomas Stanley, Earl of Derby, in the year 1500, when the art of glass-painting was at its best. The following is a description of the window as it is to-day. In the tracery above there is a Tree of Jesse, culminating in the Virgin and Child. The tone of this part of the window is rather darker than the rest. Along the upper half of the lights there is a row of six single figures, the seventh light containing two, enclosed in vesicas of broad yellow rays. Above them are small attendant angels. In the centre light stands God the Father. He is triple-crowned, and holds the orb and sceptre. Towards the left is the sitting figure of God the Son. He also is triple-crowned, the lowest being

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the crown of thorns. His hands are extended, and show the wound prints. His right foot is placed on a globe. Between His knees the Virgin Mother is seated on a lower throne, her hands upheld in front, and her right foot is also placed upon the globe. Further to the left is St. John the Evangelist, and next to him the Blessed Virgin, carrying on one arm the lily, and on the other either the gillyflower, or the palm of light which the angel brought to her from Paradise. On the other side of the central figure is God the Holy Ghost, seated and wearing a triple crown. Further to the right are the angel Gabriel and the Blessed Virgin, designating the Annunciation.

Beneath these figures there are five rows of three-quarter figures, one hundred and eight in number—apostles, martyrs, virgins, angels, and seraphim. These rows are marked off by the corresponding words of "Te Deum laudamus," making it what is called a Te Deum window. Positive colour is very sparingly introduced into this lower division, and consequently the upper figures stand out with all the greater brilliancy and splendour. The whole conception is very fine, and calls forth the admiration of all experts.

As for its history since it was erected, we know but little. Two windows only, on the north side of the church, appear to have been destroyed in consequence of the orders of 1547, for there were seventeen still remaining in 1574. In 1634, Anthony Lewis, of Burton, bequeathed "a somme of one hundred pounds to mende and make clean the fayre, costly and curious painted glasse windowes in Gresford Church that I sawe was falling in decay, to be mended neatly with coullered glasse, where a head, arme, body, legg or coate of the Personages be broken or inscripcion gone, to mende them art like in shape and proper couller."

It must be remembered that this represented a bequest of from five to six hundred pounds at the present value.

After this repair, it would seem that all windows were allowed to perish from sheer neglect; and pro-

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bably it was by mere good fortune that the Madocks chapel window lived through this time. The east window must have been patched anyhow with the pieces which fell from it from time to time, and, perhaps, with fragments from other windows. It was described in 1845 as being "entirely filled with confused remnants of painted glass, from the Abbey of Basingwerk, in Flintshire. A figure of a pope, with triple crown, and one of the Virgin, are perfect, also heads of apostles."

Those now who remember it before 1867 say that it was impossible to make out any design, and that a considerable portion of the lower part—about two-thirds—was completely destroyed, and replaced by plain glass.

When Archdeacon Wickham undertook the renovation of the church, this window, together with the east window in the Madocks chapel, was sent to London; and its restoration by Messrs. Clayton and Bell was so excellently carried out that it is difficult even for an expert to distinguish in every case the new from the old. Now for the object of these notes.

While reasoning lately on the *á priori* ground that it was improbable a Te Deum window would be erected to express the All Saints idea, I became convinced that the words from the Te Deum were inserted by Messrs. Clayton and Bell, and that, consequently, all the angels and cherubim were also new. This was but a slender thread to go by, but it led to definite results. To set the matter at rest, I wrote to the firm for information, on the chance of some record having been kept. They most kindly gave me all the information in their power; and as they had but little to go upon before them, they sent Mr. Clement Bell to inspect the window, and point out to me what was new and what was old. They wrote: "We think the words from the Te Deum were certainly new, as we have no knowledge of a window being made in this country in illustration of the Te Deum until very long after the date of the original east window glass; although attempts have

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been made to prove the contrary on the evidence of saints, martyrs, etc., as in the case of the sculptured figures on the west front of Wells Cathedral."

It is evident, therefore, that true principles of "restoration" were not thoroughly understood forty years ago, and the window, which originally expressed only the thought of the adoration of all the saints (the church itself being dedicated under the name of All Saints) was altered to express a rather wider idea, not quite so appropriate as the first.

Mr. Bell informed me that the Tree of Jesse in the tracery was also a new idea, though some five or six heads, and some of the drapery here and there are old, which were worked into the new design. Of the great figures, he said, that of the Virgin on the left is entirely old. The St. John is almost entirely new; only the feet, and a portion of the green robe near the feet, are old. There is nothing to show that the original figure was St. John, but who else could be more suitably placed there? In the next light the head of the Virgin is new, and to this I wish to direct particular attention. In a diagram of the window which I have, Messrs. Clayton and Bell call this subject (see pp. 352-3 for description) The Assumption; but as the Virgin is seated in front of the seated figure of our Lord, and each has the right foot on the same globe, it appears to me that this subject represents the divine Son displaying His Mother to the universe as Queen of Heaven; and that originally the figure was a crowned figure, as it is in other places in the church—above the porch door, upon the font, on one of the *miséréres*, and in the window of the Madocks chapel.

To strengthen this surmise, I may state that in the north-east window of the Madocks chapel we have represented there—first, the funeral of the Blessed Virgin, with its episode of the wicked Jew; then her burial in the Vale of Jehosophat, where, in the clouds above, the sacred Trinity are seen taking part: the divine Son with His hand raised in blessing, and the Holy Spirit sending down His divine influence. The

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figure of the Father is now altogether missing. Next to this is the Assumption, where, "clothed with the sun," and the girdle falling, the Blessed Virgin ascends to heaven, surrounded by angels. After this comes the Coronation in heaven, now almost entirely shattered and confused.

The scene, then, in the great east window carries the subject on to the final stage of her glory: where, seated enthroned as Queen of heaven and of the universe, she, as "the Mediatrix of Intercession," is "placed between Christ and the Church." [See Encyclical Letter of Pius IX, 1849.]

All this fits in with the supposition I have put forward elsewhere: that the great object of veneration in this church was an image (probably a wonder-working image) of the Virgin, which stood in the now empty niche of what was then the Lady Chapel, an object of devotion to pilgrims, from whose "offrryngs . . . the churche of the sayd parysche was strongely and beautyfully made erecte and buylded."

From this digression I return to the description of the present condition of the window.

Of the central figure—God the Father—the face is new; the remaining two have a good deal of new work, including the faces; and about two-thirds of the lower figures are new, which include all the angels and seraphim, and all the words from the Te Deum.

An interesting suggestion was made by Mr. Bell: among the angels there is one figure without a halo, wearing a cap and an ermine tippet. He is of opinion that this represents the donor of the window—Thomas, Earl of Derby.

Archæologists, I am sure, will agree with me that it is well thus to put on record what little is known of the history of this beautiful window, possibly now unique, in order to prevent mistakes in the future. I append a diagram of the lowest division, giving the names of the saints; it will show in what way it has been altered.

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Te Deum.	*Te gloriosus.*	*Te æternum Patrem.*	*Tibi Cherubin.*	*Te Martyrum.*	*Tibi omnes angeli.*	*Te Martyrum.*
S. Aldegondes	S. John	S. Benedict		S. Medard		S. Agatha
S. Beatrix	S. Bartholemew	S. Wendelin	Angels	S. Abraham	*	S. Catharine
S. Augusta	S. Matthew	S. Elpidius		S. Alban	Angels	S. Eulalia
						S. Dorothy
Laudamus.	*Apostelorum.*	*Omnis terra.*	*et Seraphin.*	*candidatus*	*Tibi cœli.*	*candidatus.*
S. Cecily	S. Mark	S. Marcellus		S. Edmund		S. Antonia
S. Edelburge	S. Luke	S. Maternus	Cherubin	S. Domnolus	Angels	S. Athanasia
S. Fausta	S. Paul	S. Ageriaus		S. Dominic		S. Agnes
						S. Apollonia
Te Dominum.	*chorus.*	*veneratur.*	*incessabile*	*laudat exercitus*	*et universæ*	*laudat exercitus.*
S. Macra	S. Matthias	S. Adalbert		S. Clement		S. Baldina
S. Irene	S. James, M.	S. Dominic	Angels	S. Jerome	Angels	S. Bibiana
S. Othilia	S. Simeon	S. Basil		S. Lawrence		S. Bona
Confitemur.	*Te Prophetarum.*	*Te per orbem.*	*voce proclamant.*	*Famulis tuis subveni*	*potestates.*	*Tu devicto mortis aculeo.*
S. Pulcheria	S. Philip	S. Donatian		S. Zeno		S. Faith
S. Juliana	S. James, G.	S. Erasmus	Cherubin	S. Josaphat	Angels	S. Godula
S. Hildegurdes	S. Thomas	S. Felician		S. Stephen		S. Itisbeage
						S. Hunna
Te Deum.	*laudabilis.*	*terrarum.*	*Sanctus Sanctus Sanctus.*	*Quos pretioso.*	*Sanctus Sanctus Sanctus.*	*aperuisti Credentibus.*
S. Cornelia	S. Andrew	S. Dunstan		S. John of Goto		S. Leocidia
S. Casilda	S. Jude	S. Cyril.	Angels	S. Cornelius	Angels	S. Serapia
S. Ariadne	S. Peter	S. Corbinian		S. Benigus		S. Theodocia
						S. Lucy
Laudamus.	*numerus.*	*Sancta confitetur ecclesia.*	*Dominus Deus Sabaoth.*	*Sanguine redemisti.*	*Dominus Deus Sabaoth*	*regna coelorum.*

This window was restored by subscription on the xxiii day of October, in the year of grace, MDCCCLXVII.

* Supposed figure of Lord Derby.

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Archaeological Notes and Queries.

REMAINS OF ANCIENT BRIDGE, CARNARVON.—On August 5th last, Mr. J. Issard Davies wrote informing me that the demolition of Messrs. Pierce and Williams' drapery stores, for the purpose of erecting a new Lloyd's bank, had disclosed one or two perfect arches not previously known.

I took an early opportunity of going over to Carnarvon to examine the discovery.

The site of the new bank is on the north side of East Gate Street, between the railway cutting and the town wall, and is about 120 ft. distant from the East Gate.

The arches are situated under the pavement and roadway, immediately in front of the new premises. The face of the ancient walling was exposed when the ground was being excavated for the purpose of obtaining foundations and building walls below the level of the adjoining streets.

The accompanying illustration shows the ancient work in plan and elevation, together with sections of the two arches.

The entire face of the eastern arch, A, was visible, but only about half of the western arch, B, as the remaining portion was situated in front of the adjoining premises. It will be noticed that the crown of the latter arch is more depressed than that of the former. Although probably there was an original difference between the heights of the two arches, I think the difference has been increased by subsequent compression of the western arch. Each archway consists of an inner order of massive ribs, supporting an outer order. When I visited the place three ribs only were visible in connection with each arch. The foreman employed on the building, however, told me that there was a repetition of similar ribs extending under the roadway. The sections of the two arches differ slightly. In both cases the outer order is chamfered on the face. All the ribs of arch A are of a square section, while the outer rib of arch B is double-chamfered, and its ribs are further apart than those of arch A. The chamfers of the outer order of arch A were stopped above the springing-line. The foreman told me that the arches, or responds, started several feet below the level at which I saw them. He further added that he had to go down to a depth of about 18 ft. below the level shown on the drawing, to obtain a good foundation. He considered, for this depth, that the ground was made, though it is quite possible it was, in reality, a river deposit.

The foundations of a return wall, at right angles to the bridge, could be traced for a distance of 15 ft.

When Carnarvon was first constructed as a walled town there

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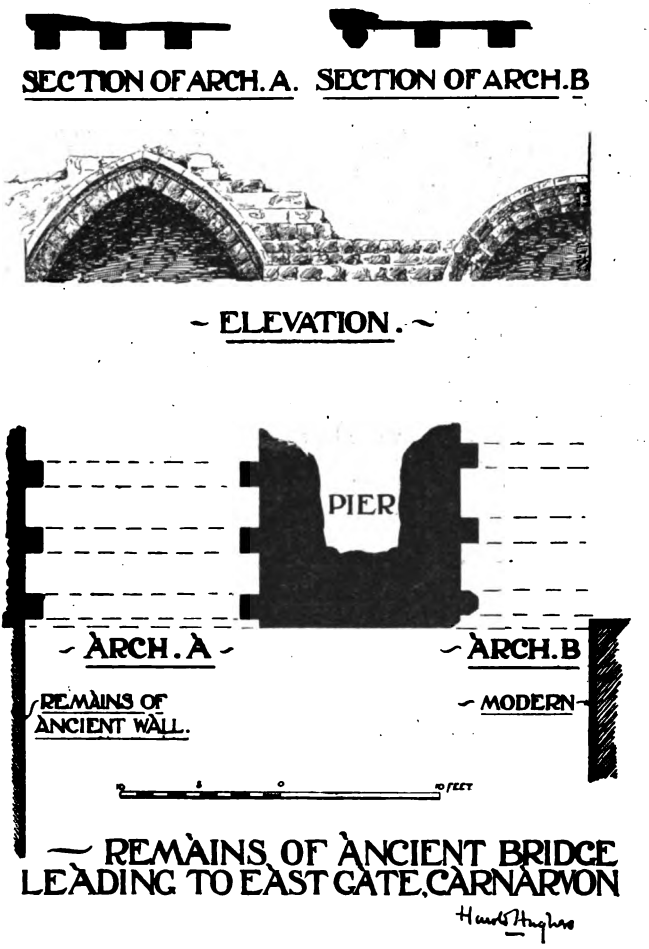
were two main entrances: the one the East Gate—Porth Mawr, or Land Gate; the other seaward, known as the West Gate, or Porth yr Aur. The High Street, or Stryd Fawr, connected these two gateways. The East Gate Street is the continuation of the High



REMAINS OF ANCIENT BRIDGE LEADING TO EAST GATE, CARNARVON

Street without the walls, and terminates in an open space, where several roads meet, which has been known at various periods as the Oatmeal Market, Pentice Grounds, and Turf Square. In Leland's Map of 1610 the town is shown, excepting for one small neck of land, surrounded by water.

The River Cadnant, on the east side, passes below the road between the Square referred to above and the East Gate, and flows

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into the Menai Straits. Leland shows a bridge—possibly intended for a drawbridge—connecting the East Gate with some outworks. With reference to these outer defences, W. H. Jones, in *Old Karnarvon* (an undated book), tells us, on p. 103, that there were two bastion towers, and while rebuilding the cabinet-maker's shop in East Gate Street, some years ago, the workmen came across the foundation of one of these towers, and the prodigious thickness of the walling and solidity of the work necessitated the use of gunpowder to remove it.

The other tower must have been opposite this one, and undoubtedly the foundations will be discovered when the houses here are rebuilt. The arches lately discovered are those of a bridge on the land side of the outer gateway. The bed of the Cadnant, I am informed, is now confined, underground, to a position immediately to the west of the site of the new bank. In *Old Karnarvon*, p. 86, we are told that the course of the Cadnant is difficult to trace, as it has been arched over.

I think there can be little doubt that formerly the bed of the river was spread over a much larger area, and that the arches lately discovered carried the road over some of its branches or swampy margins. In *Old Karnarvon*, p. 85, we are informed that many years ago the river was diverted at some distance above the town, and that this so greatly reduced the flow that it was found practicable to fill in the bed of the river immediately above an old bridge which connected Turf and Castle Squares.

29th August, 1906. HAROLD HUGHES.

ANNUAL MEETING OF THE ASSOCIATION.—The Annual Meeting of the Association for this year will take place at Llangefni, Anglesey, on Monday, August 26th, and four following days, under the presidency of Sir Richard H. Williams-Bulkeley, Bart.

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Archaeologia Cambrensis.

SIXTH SERIES.—VOL. VII, PART IV.

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THE EARLY SETTLERS OF CARMARTHEN.

By Professor ANWYL.

The present Paper, like those of the writer which have preceded it, aims at giving a succinct account, on the basis of the scattered information hitherto recorded, of the condition of man in Carmarthenshire in prehistoric times, so that future investigators may have, at the commencement of their task, a bird's-eye view of the material already obtained. The counties of Wales with which the writer has already dealt in this way are Breconshire, Carnarvonshire, and Cardiganshire, A comparative study of the prehistoric antiquities of the Welsh counties from this point of view has the advantage of bringing into relief the salient characteristics of the different great epochs of early civilization, and of showing the effects upon that civilization of similar geographical and climatic conditions. For this purpose, the consideration of the antiquities of the present day county areas is but a conventional one, and the modern county areas are only adopted as geographical units for the sake of convenience, and in order to prevent overlapping in the arrangement of the facts. In the present instance the consideration of prehistoric man in Carmarthenshire is but a small part of the larger problem of the life of early man along the north coast of what is now the Bristol Channel, and indeed of that of the

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life of man in the Bristol Channel district and in South-West Britain generally. We might even go further, and say that we have here before us the wide and difficult problem of man in Western Europe generally, at a time when Britain was joined to the Continent, and when Europe itself was linked, by means of land-bridges, to the north coast of Africa. It may be said at the outset that in this remote period the area now covered by the Bristol Channel was a fertile plain, watered by a river which ultimately flowed into the sea near Cape Clear. The conditions under which man lived in Carmarthenshire and elsewhere at this remote period will be shown later.

Before we proceed, however, to deal with the life of prehistoric man in Carmarthenshire, perhaps it might be well to explain what modern Carmarthenshire is. In his well-known work on *Pembrokeshire*, Mr. George Owen expresses a complaint that Carmarthenshire had in his time encroached on Pembrokeshire. His words are: "but in all this tracte betweene the both shires, Carmarthenshere hath encroached upon Pembrokeshere; makeinge itselfe lardger and deminnisheinge Pembrokeshere." In his *Taylor's Cushion* he attributes the encroachment to Sir Thomas Jones, Knight of the Parliament for Pembrokeshire. In this connection, as bearing on the topography of Carmarthenshire, it may noted that nearly the whole of Cantref Gwarthaf—one of the "seven hundreds of Dyfed"—and half of Emlyn, another hundred, are now parts of Carmarthenshire. The portion of Cantref Gwarthaf not included in Carmarthenshire is Efelfre, or Velfrey. The district of Elfed, as Mr. Egerton Phillimore points out, was in Cantref Gwarthaf, not in Emlyn. It was in this cantref, too, that the district of Pelunyawc (Peuliniog)—called after a Peulin (of Capel Peulin), or Paulinus—had its situation. This district of Peulinyawc, in the *Red Book of Hergest*, in the story of Kulhwch and Olwen, is wrongly called Pelumyawc. It should be observed that in later times

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the "cymmwd," or "commote," of the old Welsh came to be the lordship of the manor, while the cantref in turn became the mediæval "hundred." There is one district of Carmarthenshire—Derllys—which is thought by Principal Rhys to have a Goidelic name, the equivalent of the Irish Durlas. At the present day it forms a modern hundred of Carmarthen. As an indication of the artificiality of the modern boundary on the west side of Carmarthen, it may be noted that the Church of Castell Dwyran is in Carmarthenshire; while, on the other hand, the churches of Llanfallteg, Llandyssilio, and Llangan are in Pembrokeshire. Castell Dwyran and Egremont churches, again, are situated in a remarkable kind of peninsula of Carmarthenshire, which projects into Pembrokeshire. It is three miles in length, but has a neck whose breadth is only a quarter of a mile.

Our leading authority on Welsh topography, Mr. Egerton Phillimore (in a note in Owen's *Pembrokeshire*, p. 199), points out that, in the beginning of the twelfth century, the eastern portion of Dyfed was (roughly speaking) bounded by a line drawn from the Towy at Carmarthen to the Teifi at Llangeler, and including within Dyfed both these parishes; and similarly those of Penboyr, Trellech, and Abernant. Previous to about 750 A.D., Dyfed included Cantref Mawr; that is to say, the portion east of the boundary line of modern Carmarthenshire north of the Towy. There is no evidence, Mr. Phillimore says, that in post-Roman times Dyfed included any part of Ceredigion (now Cardiganshire). We are further told that the district of Cedweli (Kidwelly) was a commot of the third hundred of Ystrad Tywi (said to have been called Cantref Eginog), and that it obtained its name as a tribal derivative of Cadwal, just as the name Arwystli comes from Arwystl. The name Cadwal is the Welsh equivalent of the Irish Cathal, from an original Catu-uallos. This district of Cedweli was bounded on the east by Carnwyllon and Iscennen (the latter a "cwmmwd" of Cantref Bychan).

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Carnwyllon lay between Cedweli and Gwyr, or Gower, the latter being bounded on the west by the Llychwr. Llanelly, it may be noted, was included in the ancient Carnwyllon, the name of which is still preserved in those of two farms called "Carnawllon," and "Carnawllon Fach," near Pontyberem, on the Gwendraeth Fawr. Gwyr, or Gower, which lay between the rivers Llwchwr and Tawe, Brycheiniog and the sea, was in the old district of Ystrad Tywi, and consisted of the modern hundreds of Swansea and Gower (English Gower), and a part at least of that of Llangyfelach (or Welsh Gower). In this name Cyfelach, again, Professor Rhys detects a Goidelic survival of a name equivalent to the Welsh Cyfeiliog, as he also does in Tachlowmon for the older Telich Clowmon, near Llandeilo. The three commotes of Cedweli, Carnwyllon, and Gower made up the third "cantref" of "Ystrad Tywi," the other cantrefydd being "Cantref Mawr" and "Cantref Bychan." As the result of some later division, however, the lowest of the three commots of Cantref Bychan, that of Iscennen, came to be substituted for Gower in the grouping. On the other hand, it may be noted that the Deanery of Kidwelly consisted of Cedweli and Carnwyllon, but did not include Iscennen. It included the parish of Llangyndeyrn (a daughter-church of Llandyfaelog), but not that of Llanddarog, which was in the Deanery of Ystrad Tywi (later on known as that of Llandeilo and Llangadock), and therefore in Cantref Bychan (Owen's *Pembrokeshire*, p. 206). Another name, Talacharn, now the Welsh designation of Laugharne, was originally, as Mr. Phillimore points out, in all probability that of a district, the old name of the site of the castle or town of Laugharne being Aber Coran. This old commot of Talacharn doubtless lay between the estuary of the Taf and the eastern boundary of the hundred of Penfro, which ran from Eglwys Fair, on the Taf, to the coast at Amroth Castle. Its northern boundary was probably the Taf, so that it would thus include Llanddowror, but not St. Clears. The name

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Talacharn is probably made up of "tal"—a forehead or end—and "acharn"—an intensive of "carn," a cairn, just as "achas" is the intensive of "cas."

Another point of topography that should be noted is that the lordship of Llanstephan is approximately identical with the old Welsh commot of Penrhyn, bracketed with that of Derllys, which bounded it on the north. Both of these districts formed part of Cantref Gwarthaf. It may be further mentioned, too, that Llanddowror had at one time a double name, Llandeilo Llanddyfrwyr, or, as it is spelt in the *Book of Llan Dav*, Lanndubrguir. From these considerations, it will be seen that modern Carmarthenshire, which is treated as a unit for the purpose of the present Paper, consists substantially of the ancient Welsh division of Ystrad Tywi, but with two exceptions that are of importance: 1st, that it does not include the commot of Gower; and 2ndly, that it includes, with the exception of the little district of Velfrey, and possibly the district of Peuliniog (not yet identified), the whole of Cantref Gwarthaf, the largest of the seven hundreds of Dyfed. The whole of the two chief cantrefs of Ystrad Tywi, viz., Cantref Mawr, north of the Tywi, and Cantref Bychan (south of it), are in Carmarthenshire.

With regard to the references already made to possible traces of a Goidelic population, in addition to the Ogham inscriptions, Professor Rhys mentions not only Derllys (Durlas), but also Llethrach (from Leitir), identified by him with the Irish Leitrioch or Leatracha Odhráin (of St. Oran), now Latteragh, near Nenagh, county Tipperary. Of other possible Goidelic traces, whether of survivals from the Bronze Age, or of later settlers in Roman or post-Roman times, it may be noted that there is a Llwyn Gwyddel in Lampeter Velfrey, and a Pant y Gwyddel in Llanfyrnach. Certainly, from the evidence of the Ogham inscriptions and of Nennius, Goidelic settlements, whatever may have been their origin, existed in some districts in post-Roman times. Nennius (*Hist. Brit.*, Section 14) says: "Filii

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autem Liethan obtinuerunt in regione Demetorum et in aliis regionibus, id est, Guir et Cetgueli, donec expulsi sunt a Cuneda et a filiis ejus ab omnibus Brittanicis regionibus." The situation of these districts seem to suggest, as in the case of the Dési, a settlement from the sea.

After this preliminary topographical statement, we come now to the subject of the present Paper, namely, the life of man in Carmarthenshire in prehistoric times. It is a commonplace of anthropology that the forms which man's development took were largely determined by geological, geographical, climatic, and economic considerations. In some parts of the area, such as at Coygan, near Laugharne, we have most valuable remains of animal life, which go back to as remote a time as any similar remains in Europe. In other portions of the area, the earlier vestiges have disappeared, and the presence of early man is a matter of indirect inference. As a rule, it is only when his most convenient materials were of stone that traces of him are still distinctly visible. When his shelter, where he had it, consisted of the trees of the forest, nothing now remains to reveal his former presence with any degree of certainty. Of late, however, special attention has been called to the survival of prehistoric hearths; and the search for these, to which reference will be made later, has opened up a new and fruitful field for investigation.

The distribution of early man, like that of man in all ages, was conditioned by economic considerations, and the governing considerations were the accessibility of food and water. The geologist, the zoologist, and the botanist could, from a joint survey of a given district, give a very shrewd guess as to the places where early man would be likely to cluster his communities together, and those for whose possession the stress of competition would be greatest. In the remotest times mining formed no factor in the distribution of the population, but the "Gogofau" of Dolau Cothi show that there came a time (when, is

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very uncertain) when mining (not improbably for gold) had its share in the economical development of the county, even in the dim period of antiquity.

Though some of the later problems of the population of Carmarthenshire in early times have, for certain reasons, already been anticipated, yet it will be convenient in the remainder of the Paper to trace in order the great stages of prehistoric civilization, and to see what relics they have here left behind. In the case of the Coygan cave we have traces of the conditions of life under which lived the cave man of Palæolithic times, much as we find them in the caves of the Vale of Clwyd and of other districts where they afforded shelter to man and beast; while in the "kitchen-middens" near Pendine we have the remains of early man's diet of shell-fish. The caves of the Bristol Channel area continued in use during Neolithic times; and consideration will be given to these and to the conditions which they reveal in connection with that period. In the case of stone implements it is not always easy to be sure of the period to which they belong, because the introduction of bronze, and even of iron, did not mean that the use of stone was abandoned for implement-making, especially in the districts which were least accessible to commerce, or were least economically flourishing. This caution should, consequently, be borne in mind in considering the following records of the finds of stone implements and other relics apparently of the Stone Age. In *Arch. Camb.* for 1851 (p. 334), there is an account of a stone celt found on the Henllan demesne, and exhibited at the Tenby Meeting of the Association by J. Lewis, Esq., of Henllan. A stone hatchet was also found in a rab-quarry, embedded in the rab at Llan, in the parish of Llanfallteg. In *Arch. Camb.* for 1853 (p. 262) there is an account of "Y Garn Goch" (a fortress certainly much later than the Stone Age), by Mr. John Williams, of 127, King's Road, Brighton, wherein mention is made of certain triliths on a small scale, said to be still visible there.

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It is not impossible from their cromlech-like character that they may prove to be of the Stone Age, and older than the fortification itself. In *Arch. Camb.* for 1856, p. 103, there is an account of a cromlech known as Gwâl y Filiast, Carmarthenshire; and, on p. 107 of the same volume there is mentioned a circle of stones called Buarth Arthur, as well as another called Meini Gwyr. It is of interest to note that the writer who makes reference to them is the late Mr. T. Stephens, of Merthyr, the distinguished author of *The Literature of the Kymry.* This cromlech, like others, probably has come down from the Stone Age, but stone circles are usually the relics, not of the Stone but of the Bronze Age, and generally surround the tumuli of that period. Again, in *Arch. Camb.* for 1858, p. 371, there is a Paper by the late Mr. T. O. Morgan, of Aberystwyth, on a series of cairns on Craig Cwm Twrch, which are designated on the Ordnance Survey as Carn Carnau, Carn, Carn Fawr, and Carn Fach respectively. On the line of these cairns, Mr. Morgan says that there is an immense stone called Maen Prenvol, or Penfoel, near Lluest y Bwlch and Esgair Ddu on Waun Cellan, which appears to have been the capstone of a cromlech, but to have fallen from its original position. It is 16 ft. in length, and 24 ft. in circumference, and lies upon a moated tumulus of earth. About two yards from it was a walled erection and some scattered stones. Mr. Morgan thought that the whole once formed a cromlech. The existence, however, of the moated tumulus of earth suggests that further investigation is needed before this view is adopted. In *Arch. Camb.* for the same year, p. 371, mention is made of a monolith called Hirfaen Gwyddog, which stands 16 ft. above ground; but we are under no necessity of assigning this to the Age of Stone. In *Arch. Camb.* for 1864, in the account of the temporary Museum at Haverfordwest, reference is made to a stone celt from Llethr, in Brawdy parish; but as there is another from a tumulus near Llanrhian (which tumulus is most probably from the Bronze Age),

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it is not impossible that both really belong to that period. In *Arch. Camb.* for 1875, p. 415, we have an account of a stone celt found on Caerau Gaer, in the parish of Llanddewi Velfrey; and again in *Arch. Camb.* for 1876, p. 236, there is an account of a very curious cromlech at Ffynnon Newydd, in the parish of Llangunnog. The three supporting stones are said to form a parallelogram-shaped chamber, open on the west, while the capstone leans on the northern support, with one end resting on the ground. This is called "Twlc y Viliast." A few yards to the east, there is, we are told, a semicircular rock known as "Bord Arthur." In *Arch. Camb.* for 1877, p. 81, the late Rev. E. L. Barnwell has a Paper on "Early Remains in Carmarthenshire," dealing mainly with "Y Clawdd Mawr" in Cynwyl Elfed. Of this the writer says: "The object was evidently that of defence from attack from the opposite heights, or to command the road in the valley below; and neither of these motives could have acted on a leader whose great end was to get over the ground as soon as he could." Mr. Barnwell thought that the work "was probably connected with the adjoining Megalithic remains, formerly of a much more extensive and important character than they are at present." Here, again, it would be extremely rash to assign these remains to Neolithic times. In view of their elaborate character, it is impossible not to suspect that they are of a much later period than the Stone Age; and it would not be surprising if they proved to be Late Celtic, like Y Garn Goch and Tre'r Ceiri; or they may be even later, as Mr. Phillimore suggests, in Owen's *Pembrokeshire.* Owing to this uncertainty about the period to which they belong, judgment should be suspended until a further investigation of them is made. Mr. Barnwell thought that a certain group of stones formed a cromlech, but he remarks: "It is very rare to find the actual supporters of a capstone more than four." Mr. Barnwell held that the chambers of Clawdd Mawr were once covered up.

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In the article in question we are further told that, on the way to Ystrad, on the left-hand of the road leading to Carmarthen, are four stones, one of which is smaller than the others. The stone to the right is of coarse grit; the small one and the stone next to it are of quartz conglomerate, the largest one being of old red sandstone. The three largest ones formed the walls of a chamber, and may have aided in supporting the cap-stone. Their denudation is complete; nor is there the slightest vestige of the former mound.

These are Mr. Barnwell's words:—"Within the grounds of Ystrad are one or two pillar-stones, one of which was said to have been Roman, but is an ordinary menhir. They are not remarkable as regards dimensions. No other remains exist near them. They may perhaps have been ancient boundary stones, but are more likely to be ordinary meini hirion." On the left-hand of the road from Llanboidy Church to Dolwilym is a more important group (Fig. 5), concealed by a high and thick hedge from the road. The stones lie in a field called "Parc y Bigwrn," a portion of Pensarn Farm. The original chamber is easily made out, though only two of its stones remain erect. The fallen ones, with the exception of one, have not been removed, so that their original position, when upright, is easily ascertained. The stones average about 7 ft. high above the ground, with an average thickness of 3 ft.; the longest, that lying apart under the hedge, measuring more than 8 ft. The chamber was nearly perfect within human memory, and seems to have been broken up about sixty years ago. It had no doubt been deprived of its covering of earth or stone ages before, as our informant never saw any indications of such a mound, although the cromlech or chamber was perfect in his early days. This man, John Jones, of 80 years of age, a man of good character, had lived close to the spot all his days. His memory was remarkably clear, and his veracity never suspected. He does not remember the covering stone in its original horizontal position, for at the time he

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speaks of, it had been tipped over and shifted from its western bearer, one end resting on the ground. He had, however, often been told by his seniors that it was once horizontal, and known as "The Table"—a term that proved its former position. Six horses and ten men were required to draw the stone. From all indications the chamber in question was a cromlech, and as such may well have belonged to the Stone Age. The cromlech may be regarded as a kind of artificial cave in which burial generally of a number of bodies took place, as it did in the natural caves. Even natural caves in France have been found to contain burials of the Polished Stone or Neolithic period, and the traces of funeral rites found in them were identical with those found in artificial chambers. In some instances the chambers are only partly natural. Sometimes, in France, they have been simply excavated out of the rocky ground to a certain depth, and covered up with a large stone slab.

Mr. Barnwell quotes some observations of M. Bertrand on the cave-burial of Belport, in France, discovered in 1876, when some quarrymen laid bare a cavern; and also of M. Duport on the famous cave called "Le Trou de Frontal," found at Furfooz, in Belgium, and described in that writer's work called *l'Homme Pendant les Ages de la Pierre* (p. 195, Second Edition). These were burials in a place of shelter—or recess—rather than in a cave. With the type of chambered cromlech in question, Mr. Barnwell compares the Henblas cromlech of Anglesey. As for the distribution of cromlechs in Europe, the best statement is that of Sir John Evans, at the Stockholm International Meeting, when he said that "their distribution depended on the distribution of their materials." To the foregoing may be added the Llwyndu cromlech, that has lost its capstone, which is near the road from Carmarthen to Llanstephan.

In the *Arch. Camb.* for 1878, p. 321, there is a reference to the Lampeter Meeting, at which Miss Johnes, of Dolau Cothi, exhibited some objects found

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in her neighbourhood, such as a stone celt and some spindle-whorls, which may possibly have belonged to Neolithic times. In the Journal of the Society for 1879 (p. 55), there is an interesting article on "Prehistoric and Other Remains in Cynwil Gaio," by the Ven. Archdeacon Thomas, M.A. Mr. Worthington Smith and Archdeacon Thomas had availed themselves of an invitation of the Rev. Charles Chidlow to go to spend a few days at Caio, for the purpose of exploring some curious remains on Craig Twrch, and some cists and barrows on the hills of Mallaen. None of these appear, however, to belong, with any certainty, to the Stone Age; but some may belong to the Bronze Period. In the *Arch. Camb.* for 1884, the Rev. E. L. Barnwell has given an account among the cromlechs of South Wales of Longhouse (p. 141), Llanwnda (p. 137), and Dolwilym, near Whitland, and of the latter a picture is given.

Valuable light is thrown on the conditions of life of prehistoric man in Carmarthenshire, notably on the sea-border, by the investigations of Mr. Edward Laws, Professor Boyd Dawkins, and others, into the caves of South Pembrokeshire, and the adjoining caves of Carmarthenshire. Mr. Laws has embodied the results of his researches mainly in his well-known volume on the *History of Little England beyond Wales.* In this he deals with the bone-caves of Hoyle's Mouth, Caldy Island, Coygan, etc.; and at this stage it would be well to pause for a moment to consider, in the light of his discoveries, what were the conditions of life on the north shore of the Bristol Channel in the remotest times. This account is well given in the words of Professor Boyd Dawkins, who says that the islands and cliffs of South Wales were hills overlooking a vast fertile plain, occupying what is now the Bristol Channel, where ample sustenance would be found to feed the herds of elephants, horses, and reindeer. The Towy and similar valleys would form adjuncts of this ancient plain, and, so to speak, extensions of it. Mr. Laws gives it as his opinion that Hoyle's Mouth was inhabited by man in

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Palæolithic times. At the Coygan cave he found an awl and two flint flakes in the undisturbed earth beneath the stalagmite, associated with the bones of the rhinoceros, and therefore of the Palæolithic Age. Professor Boyd Dawkins also suggests that the same may have been the case with the Gower caves. The latter, in his work on *Cave Hunting*, says:—"We must therefore picture to ourselves a fertile plain occupying the whole of the Bristol Channel, and supporting herds of reindeer, horses, bisons, many elephants and rhinoceroses, and now and then being traversed by a stray hippopotamus, which would afford prey to the lions, bears, and hyænas inhabiting the accessible caves, as well as to their great enemy and destroyer man. It appears, too, that prehistoric remains are occasionally dredged up from Carmarthen Bay. A large river probably flowed into the sea past Land's End." On p. 6 of his book, Mr. Laws says:—"We never came across human bones or human handiwork in the Hoyle Cave that were attributable to Palæolithic Man." In a letter to himself from Professor Boyd Dawkins, which Mr. Laws quotes, he says:—"I never dug out any flint or horn-stone implements with my own hands in association with Pleistocene beasts in this cave. I believe, however, that Mr. Ayshford Sandford found them in association with bear, under the stalagmite and near the entrance, on the right-hand side, along with fragments of charcoal and splinters of bone: these I consider Pleistocene. Hoyle's Mouth seems to me to have been used by hyænas during the old Stone Age. In Neolithic times it became both a dwelling and a cemetery for men." Similarly of the Little Hoyle: "In Pleistocene days this was a hyæna den." A rich Neolithic harvest was here found by Mr. Laws and his friends.

Of the caves of this series Mr. Laws says:—"The most interesting ossiferous cave in West Wales is the Coygan, near Laugharne, in Carmarthenshire; and, as this comes within the zone of the modern county, an

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account of it, based on the investigations of Mr. Edward Laws, may be given here: 'It is excavated from an outlying hill of mountain limestone, which stands about a mile from the sea, flat marsh land and sand burrows intervening. There can be little doubt that in comparatively recent days the sea washed the foot of this hill. The entrance to the Coygan is extremely low and narrow, but soon opens out into a lofty and extensive chamber.'" So far as Mr. Laws knew, there had been no discovery of Neolithic remains in this cave (but this is probably accidental). It was deemed by the late Professor Rolleston to be the most perfect instance of a hyæna den he had ever met with. Mr. Laws found hyæna bones in position. The other remains were similar to those found in Black Rock and Caldy, but were more plentiful, in good condition, and much scored by teeth-marks. Mr. Laws further says:—"In addition to these ordinary cave-bones, I had the good fortune to find under rhinoceros bones which were overlaid by stalagmite, a piece of bone, whittled and rounded into the shape of an awl, lying alongside of two flint flakes: one of which had indubitably been manipulated; the other was a pebble, which had been broken, whether by natural or artificial means it is impossible to say. These are in the Tenby Museum, and constitute the sole proof of Pleistocene Man in West Wales discovered by me." The Pleistocene fauna appear to have been of three classes: Northern, Temperate and Southern; but the curious state of things is, that as these remains are found in the closest association together in the caves, there can be no doubt that they ranged the land together. As it is important for the purpose of picturing the life of man in the remotest times in Carmarthenshire to know with what animals he lived, some of these may be enumerated. We have, first, the Northern fauna, the first of which is the mammoth or *elephas primigenius*, which fed on the woody fibre of trees, for example the larch. Mr. Laws points out that the Pembrokeshire mammoths of the caves were mostly

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calves. Next we have the woolly rhinoceros (*R. Tichorhinus*), whose nostrils were divided by a long ridge. The British rhinoceros had a thick woolly coat composed of short hair of a cinereous grey colour, from 1 in. to 3 ins. long, with here and there a black hair longer and stiffer. The rhinoceros fed, like the mammoth, on the twigs of the larch and other trees. It can scarcely be doubted that both these beasts roamed at will at one time, right into the Towy Valley. Other Northern beasts whose remains have been found in the West Wales caves are the reindeer and the elk; but in English caves there have been also found remains of the musk-ox, the lemming, the tailless hare, the marmot, and the Arctic fox. Of the beasts of the Temperate group, the following have been found: the wolf, the fox, the cave and the brown bear, the horse, the ox, the bison, the Irish elk, and the red deer. All these, except the cave-bear, have survived from the prehistoric period. The cave-bear had some points of contact with the polar bear, though generally he is considered the prototype of the American grizzly. The animals of the Southern group, which roamed in the area of the Bristol Channel, were the lion, the hyæna, and the hippopotamus. The cave-hyæna was of a heavier type than that of South Africa. At that time Britain was joined to the Continent of Europe, and migration was constant. The junction of Britain to Europe probably made a great difference to the climate; and further, some of the animals in question may have been able to adapt themselves, as man has done, to the zone in which they chanced to live. The coast of the Bristol Channel is surrounded by a belt of submerged land. It is not improbable that the first settlers of Carmarthenshire formed the northern fringe of the men of the Bristol Channel area, who penetrated into the adjoining valleys. Though there are no remains from Carmarthenshire itself to illustrate the life of these men, the remains of the adjoining Pembrokeshire caves afford abundant indications of its character. From the Little

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Hoyle in Longbury Bank, Penally, the following remains were unearthed by Mr. Laws, Mr. Wilmot Power, the late Professor Rolleston, and the late General Pitt-Rivers, in 1876, 1877, and 1878 : (1) The remains of certainly nine, if not eleven, human beings ; (2) large quantities of the bones of domestic and wild animals ; (3) birds ; (4) shells ; (5) pottery ; (6) charcoal ; (7) stone and bone implements. These were mixed up with black earth and angular stones in a sort of hotch-potch. The precise explanation of this hotch-potch is doubtful ; but as for the crania themselves, Professor Rolleston said that they were dolichocephalic, with a remarkably low cephalic index of 69, and with a pear-shaped contour when viewed from above, due to a rapid tapering from the level of the parietal tubera forwards. Among the natives of Carmarthenshire measured by some of my colleagues at Aberystwyth and by myself, I remember none that was found with so remarkably low a cranial index as 69.

The picture of the life of Neolithic Man in the northern side of the Bristol Channel is best completed by the following account given by Mr. Edward Laws, who has studied the conditions of his life with the closest attention. In the *History of Little England Beyond Wales*, Mr. Laws says, speaking of Early Man's weapons : "The projectile weapons were javelins, arrows tipped with flint or bone, and slings ; their side-arms, polished stone celts, some heavy and some light, set in wooden handles. Their clothing consisted, no doubt, partly of cloth, for a carding-comb found in Hoyle's Mouth and the stone spindle-whorl from Stackpole proves that they were weavers. Still, the numerous flint scrapers show that the preparation of hides was a very important business ; while the bone needle found in the Little Hoyle is well adapted to sew skins together. Pounders and mullers of corn for rubbing corn into meal are found." They probably had wheat, barley, oats, and rye. The cultivation of these was probably women's work. These men of the Neolithic

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period turned out strong, serviceable ware. In the Little Hoyle Mr. Laws found shards made of old red sandstone, ground fine and mixed with clay. This ware was not turned on a wheel, but fashioned by the hand. They were rich in oxen, sheep, goats and swine, all, however, of a small breed. The horses of these men were comparatively scarce, but they had fine dogs, and one from the Little Hoyle was as large as a mastiff. These hounds hunted the brown bear, the red deer, the roebuck, hares, and foxes. The wild boar seems to have been scarce, and wolves and beavers are conspicuous by their absence. The woods were inhabited by black game, and the hill-sides with partridges. The same learned archæologist remarks that oysters, cockles, periwinkles, whelks, pectens and the like were used in great numbers; also an occasional crab, but he found no remains of lobster. The fish was probably collected by women and children. Some of the cave-men took fish, *e.g.*, the conger-eel, ray, and angler fish. A dug-out canoe (either of the Neolithic or the Bronze Age) was also found close to the Hoyle's mouth.

Coming now to further remains that may be Neolithic, we may note the following. In *Arch. Camb.* for 1893 (p. 157) there is an account of the exhibition of a nether millstone found by Mr. Stepney-Gulston on Carreg Sawdde, near Llangadock, in 1871. Further, on p. 163, there is a Paper on the Craig Derwyddon Bone Caves (near Pant-y-llyn, Llandybie, Carmarthenshire), read upon the spot on August 11th, 1892, by Mr. Alan Stepney-Gulston, of Derwydd, to whom archæology in Carmarthenshire owes a deep debt of gratitude. This Paper deserves attention. In 1878 Professor Rolleston visited these caves, and collected all the information then available. Mr. Stepney-Gulston quotes Professor Rolleston as saying: "Many years ago—in fact, in the month of August, 1813—ten or eleven skeletons were found in a cave near Llandybie. One skull from the find we have in the Oxford University Museum. It is filled with crystalline loaf-sugar-like stalagmite, which

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has, of course, preserved it in its original outlines . . . This skull was carried off by the Lord Dynevor of the time being, and by him was transferred to the hands of Dean Buckland, and so into our Museum . . . the rest of the human bones, together with the bones of elk and wild boar, were re-interred in a pit dug for their reception close by. The site of this pit I hope to identify." Mr. Alan Stepney-Gulston had, however, by careful investigation, been able to explore and excavate the ancient sepulchre of the place. His words were as follows: "This piece of the 'living rock' which you see here still standing was, it seems, left as a mark of the whereabouts of the actual site. The vault itself, lying to the north side, was entered by a lateral opening, some 30 ft. in length, which had become so entirely blocked up (whether through the silting-up action of time, or perhaps through the direct action of those who chose this solemn retreat as a sepulchre, must remain a matter for speculation), that the workmen were not aware of even the existence of the cave until they broke into it from above in the ordinary course of their workings." The part of the cavern which was used for sepulture, and which was entered from the north side, seems to have measured from 16 ft. to 17 ft. in length by 12 ft. to 13 ft. in width, and was of an ovate form, the irregular vaultings of the roof averaging about 4 ft. high in the centre.

"There were twelve skeletons in all, the first seven lying with their feet towards the entrance, and their heads towards the west. In juxtaposition were three other skeletons, placed transversely, with their heads lying towards the south; and lastly, at a point about 10 yards further into that part of the cave that extended towards the south, were two other skeletons of great size, lying also with their heads towards the south. It is remarkable that they all lay with their faces turned upward, and with their heads brought slightly forward on to their breasts, the skulls in every case resting on a solid ledge of rock, some 6 ins. higher

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than the level plane upon which the rest of the skeleton lay, and the arms extending flat down each side of the body, which was laid straight out and face upwards, the whole of the floor being covered by what is described as fine sand, one of the skeletons only having been subjected to the incrustation of the stalagmite referred to by Professor Rolleston." Mr. Stepney-Gulston then proceeds to give an account of what had happened to these "precious prehistoric relics." To the skull deposited in the Oxford Museum reference has already been made. Several others of the skulls were taken away by a gentleman of the name of Wrey, then living at a place called Thornhill, some four miles distant; which place was sold in 1880 by a Miss Fosset, when all traces of the skulls were lost sight of, a huge stalagtite only being still to be seen as an ornament upon the lawn there.

3. A portion of the bones, together with the stalagmite found there, were burned in an old lime-kiln, which pre-existed on the site of the present kiln, now marked with a stone, showing the date of 1823: namely, ten years later than the find.

4. The whole of the remainder of the bones, Mr. Stepney-Gulston was told, both of the human remains and also of the elk-horns and teeth of the wild boar, which latter were only found among the *débris* which stopped up the mouth of the cave, were thrown away, and were gradually covered up by the "talus" or "spoil" from the quarry. Mr. Stepney-Gulston also says:—"I have also been informed that certain 'copper' utensils were known to have been found together with the skeletons; and I have great hopes, should this prove to be a fact, that one or more of them may yet be recoverable. If bronze implements were found, it is probable that we may have here some unburnt burials of the Bronze Age. All the skulls are described as being exceedingly large, and there exists a tradition that, at the time of their exhumation, the hat of the largest-headed bystander proved, upon trial, to be too

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small for the smallest of the ancient skulls." In a memorandum of September 7th, 1892, Mr. Stepney-Gulston states that by inquiry from an old quarryman, who was present at the find, the spot where a number of the bones had been re-interred had been identified. It would not be at all surprising if this proved to be a Late-Bronze Age or Late-Celtic burial. Mr. Stepney-Gulston has rightly called attention also to the importance of a thorough exploration of the Carreg Cennen cave.

In the *Arch. Camb.* for 1894 (p. 78), there is an account of the identification by Horatio Thomas (twelve years of age), son of Mr. Cerridfyn Thomas, B.Sc., of a finely-shaped, large-sized, and well-preserved celt, so smooth that it might almost be called polished; 10 ins. long, 8 ins. round in the thickest part and 3½ ins. along the knife-edge end. It was made of grey granite, in which some specks of felspar and mica were visible. It was found by the boy's uncle, Mr. John Morris, of "Rwyddfa Gatw" farm, in the parish of Llanegwad, Carmarthenshire, in the first week of October, 1893, while extending a pond into the peaty soil adjoining.

The most important contribution recently published connected with prehistoric Carmarthenshire is that published in the *Arch. Camb.* for this year, entitled "Note on the Discovery of Prehistoric Hearths in South Wales," by Mr. T. C. Cantrill, B.Sc., and Mr. O. T. Jones, B.Sc., B.A.; the latter is, I am glad to say, a distinguished old student of the University College of Wales, Aberystwyth, and of the University of Cambridge. To some researches by the former I had the pleasure of referring in my Paper on "The Early Settlers of Brecon." These hearths appear to have been prehistoric cooking-places. I have had the good fortune to identify a new one of the kind in Cardiganshire, and on inquiry to find that there are more, which I hope at some time to describe. The general description of them is as follows:—These hearths consist of small heaps of broken and burnt stones, generally near streams, espe-

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cially where these arise from a strong spring close by. Occasionally, the stream is found to have cut into one of the banks in such a way as to expose a complete section of the heap, which is seen to consist of a mass of stones —generally pieces of sandstone or grit—broken to the size of road-stone and evidently burnt, inasmuch as they were friable and reddened by heat. The interstices between the stones were found to be filled with fine soil, in which charcoal-dust and fragments were abundant; the heap, of course, being covered with growing turf. The mounds in question were associated with supplies of good drinking-water, and especially with springs. They have been found in Carmarthenshire, in the following places. Several have been found in the parish of Gwynfe, and seem to indicate the presence in that district of a flourishing prehistoric community. The following is a brief summary of the spots in Carmarthenshire where these sites have been found. For a fuller account, see Mr. Cantrill and Mr. Jones's article.

PREHISTORIC HEARTHS IN CARMARTHENSHIRE.

1. In Carmarthenshire, E. bank of lane, 100 yards S.E. of Ty-brych Farm, 1½ mile S.W. of Llanddeusant, near Llangadock.

2. 400 yards W. of Llan Farm, 2 miles E. of Gwynfe, near Llangadock.

3. E. side of Nant-dwfn, at Pwll-y-fuwch Farm, 1 mile S.S.W. of Capel Gwynfe, Llangadock.

4. S.E. side of stream, 400 yards N.E. of Parc Owen farm, 2½ miles N.W. of Capel Gwynfe, Llangadock.

5. Bank of small stream at foot of Cylchau, and 550 yards E. by S. of Llwyn-y-Wennol Farm, 2 miles E.S.E. of Capel Gwynfe, Llangadock.

6. Side of small stream, 250 yards N. of Llygad Llwchwr, near Forge Llandyfan, 4 miles S.E. of Llandeilo. A small flint flake was found a yard or so away.

7. Side of same stream as No. 9, and 70 yards farther up the stream, 300 yards E.N.E. of Llygad Llwchwr.

8 and 9. 450 yards N.W. of Llygad Llwchwr.

10. S.E. side of small pond, in middle of the upper camp on Garn-Gôch, Llangadock.

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11. Side of stream, 400 yards S. by W. of Cwm-ffrwd Farm, three-quarters of a mile N. of Glanamman Railway Station, Amman Valley.

12. Edge of pond, 50 yards W. of Gelli-fawnen Farm, 1 mile W. by N. of Glanamman Railway Station.

13. Side of path, 200 yards N.W. of Hafod Farm, Lower Clydach Valley, 4 miles N.W. of Pontardawe.

14 and 15. S.W. side of stream, 300 yards S.S.W. of Tresgyrch-fach Farm, 3½ miles N.W. of Pontardawe.

16. Side of stream, 450 yards S. by E. of Tregîb House, Llandeilo.

17. W. slopes of Cennen Valley, S. of Meusydd Mill, 2½ miles S.W. of Llandeilo.

18. E. side of stream, 350 yards W. of Penrhiw, ¾ of a mile E. of Derwydd Road Station, 3 miles S. of Llandeilo.

19. A few yards below a spring (marked and named on the 6-in. map) close to Nant Gwyddfau, ⅓ mile S.S.E. of Garn-bica Farm, 1½ mile E. of Llandybie.

20 to 23. Side of small stream, 300 yards S.W. of Cilcoll Farm, 1½ mile E. of Llandybie.

24. 350 yards S. of Castell-y-Graig Farm, 1 mile W. by N. of Llandybie.

25. 400 yards E. of Gelli Siffor Farm, 1 mile N. by W. of Ammanford.

26. Within the southern edge of a wood, 170 yards E. of Gelli Siffor Farm.

27. (?) Side of stream at N. end of a wood, 400 yards S.E. of Gelli Siffor Farm.

28. 300 yards N.N.E. of Glyn-glâs Farm, 1 mile S.W. of Llandybie.

29. 300 yards N. of Plâs-Mawr, 2½ miles S.W. of Ammanford.

30. 10 yards W. of the well at Llwyn Ifan Parry Farm, Banc-y-Mansel, 8 miles E.S.E. of Carmarthen.

31. 350 yards N.E. of Garn Farm, 1¾ mile N. of Pontyberem.

32. Side of stream, 150 yards N.N.W. of Tor-y-coed-isaf Farm, ¾ mile E. of Llangyndeyrn, 5 miles S.E. of Carmarthen.

33. 250 yards S.S.E. of Blaenau Farm, 1¾ mile E.N.E. of Llangyndeyrn.

34. In a dingle between Cwm-y-dwr and Cil-carn-fach Farms, ½ mile W.N.W. of Pontyberem.

35. About 300 yards S.W. of Llwyn-gwyn Farm, 1½ mile S.W. of Llangain, 3 miles S.W. of Carmarthen.

36, Side of stream, 200 yards S.E. of Pengelli-isaf Farm, 1½ mile W.S.W. of Llangain.

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37. Side of stream, 100 yards N.W. of Pen-picillion Farm, 1½ mile N.E. of Llanybre, 6 miles S.W. of Carmarthen.

38. 250 yards S.E. of Maes-gwyn Farm, 1½ mile E.N.E. of Llanybre.

39. Side of stream, 200 yards S.W. of Maes-gwyn Farm.

40. 400 yards S.W. of Maes-gwyn Farm.

41. On E. side of stream, 120 yards S.W. of Cwmllyfrau Farm, 1 mile N.N.E. of Llanybre.

42 and 43. Side of stream, 60 yards below Ffynnon-olcwm, ¼ mile E. of Llanybre.

44. In a hedge, 100 yards S.E. of Ffynnon-dagrau, near the Vicarage, Llangynog, 5 miles S.W. of Carmarthen.

45. 100 yards W.S.W. of Gelli Farm, 1½ mile N.E. of Llandilo-Abercowin, near St. Clears.

49. In a coppice, 500 yards E. by N. of Llandilo-Abercowin Church.

50. In a thicket, 450 yards E. by S. of Llandilo-Abercowin Church.

51. 300 yards E.N.E. of Ty'r Gate Farm, 1 mile E. of Lower St. Clears.

52. Side of stream, 50 yards N.E. of Broadmoor Farm, 1 mile S. of Lower St. Clears.

53. N. bank of stream in deep valley (transversely the Pembroke road) 400 yards S.E. of Parcau Farm, 1 mile S.W. of Llanddowror, St. Clears.

54. E. side of small pond, 300 yards W. of Blaen-gors Farm, ½ mile S.W. of Llangynin Church, St. Clears.

55. In corner of field and by side of stream, 400 yards S.E. of Sabulon Farm, 2 miles W. of Blue Boar, St. Clears.

56. S. side of small pond, 350 E.N.E. of Forest Farm, 1½ mile W. of Whitland.

57 and 58. 150 yards E.S.E. of Coleman Farm, 1½ mile W. of Kidwelly.

59. 80 yards S.E. of first milestone from Dryslwyn Ford, on the Castell Rhingyll road, W. of Llandeilo.

60. Side of stream 280 yards N.E. of Crug-y-felin or Crug-y-ffetan-fawr, 1½ mile E. of Red Roses, 3 miles S. of Whitland.

61. Side of footpath, 200 yards S.W. of Cwmfawr Farm, ⅓ mile N.E. of Red Roses.

62. Side of stream, 600 yards S.S.E. of Red Roses, at head of stream which flows southwards between Westpool and Sich Farms. A strong spring breaks out 100 yards N. of the hearth.

63. E. side of stream, 150 yards S.E. of Mountain Farm, Tavernspite, 3 miles S.S.W. of Whitland.

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We now come to the antiquities of the Bronze Age period. In the *Arch. Camb.* for 1851 (p. 159) there is a reference to Allt Cynedda, near Kidwelly, of a very perfect but ancient encampment, with two barrows or tumuli to the eastward of it. The larger of these two barrows was raised about 300 yards from the camp, and measured 56 ft. in diameter, but was only elevated about 5 ft. from the surrounding turf. Two feet below the original surface of the soil there was a large stone, cut into a hexagonal figure like an old shield. The stone measured 8 ft. 4 ins. in length and 7 ft. across, and 12 ins. to 15 ins. in thickness. A cist was found, in which there lay the bones nearly entire of a very tall human skeleton. The skull was almost perfect, but was singularly flat and depressed in front, with a circular opening upon the left hemisphere, as if beaten in by the blow of a slingstone or pointed mace; another chin-bone was very projecting. The teeth were entire, but had fallen out of the mouldered jawbone. This tumulus, which is called Banc Benisel, has a circular depression at the apex about 5 ft. or 6 ft. in diameter. In the *Arch. Camb.* for 1855 (p. 297), there is an account of the discovery of urns on Y Garn Goch. We are told that several urns were laid bare, the greater part of which were ornamented with a more complex and decorative pattern than is usually found in sepulchral urns of this character. All these urns were inclined outwardly, all at the same angle; but this was, as the writer remarks, probably due to the pressure of the superincumbent central mass of stones. There was also an inner circle, not concentric with the outer one. Smaller urns were discovered in juxtaposition, which were supposed to have contained food for the departed spirits, for their support during their transit to their new abodes (p. 298). Mr. Babington observed that the position of the urns was usually inclined, Smaller urns (the so-called incense cups) were often found in close proximity to larger ones. In the *Arch. Camb.* for 1856 (p. 107) there is a reference to a circle of

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stones called "Buarth Arthur," and another called "Meini Gwyr." These were mentioned by the late Mr. T. Stephens, of Merthyr Tydfil, in November, 1855, and may have been stone circles surrounding Bronze Age burials. In the *Arch. Camb.* for 1879 (p. 155) there is an account of prehistoric and other remains in Cynwil Gaio, by the Ven. Archdeacon D. R. Thomas. In this article Archdeacon Thomas points out that at the base of Cerrig Cestyll lie the scattered remains of a cairn. Cairns, he says, are very numerous on the hill; the largest, he says (p. 58), is that of "Y Garn Fawr," a great stone mound raised on the highest point of Craig Twrch. The base of the cairn appears to have measured 30 ft. in diameter, or, including the enclosing dyke, a diameter of 52 ft. The upper portion has fallen away, and another part has been employed in the construction of an abutting sheepfold (p. 58). At the base of the slope, on the western side of Cerrig Cestyll, is a group of no less than five cairns, of which only the bases now remain. All of them have been disturbed, and some of them almost entirely removed. They have no surrounding ditch, and their average diameter is about 25 ft. In one only was a cist found, and in that a double grave with a bottom of prepared clay, but no sepulchral remains of any other kind (p. 59). The most curious feature was the portion of a series of rough slabs placed edgeways close together, and pointing towards what was probably the most important portion of the cairn. A somewhat similar arrangement of stones, laid to rest on each other in rows, and sloping towards the cist, had existed, we are told, in Carn Trawsnant on the Mallaen range. They had, however, been removed some fifty years before, and the cist exposed; and all that now remains of it were the containing slabs of the grave, 2 ft. 9 ins. in length and 2 ft. in breadth. The bed of the grave appears to have been a yellowish clay, from which all stones had been carefully removed, and this formed a layer upon the natural soil. "West of this,

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at no great distance, is a circular mound of earth, 25 ft. in diameter, and to all appearance undisturbed, and so presenting a most favourable field for further exploration. A third mound, somewhat smaller, measuring 18 ft. in diameter, lay to the south of this last; but it has been almost entirely cleared off." There is also mentioned the cairn called "Y Garn Fawr," to the north-west of the farmhouse of Bryn Aran. This is a large stone platform about 50 ft. in diameter, with a raised cairn in the centre, in which it is probable, Archdeacon Thomas says, the cist may be found undisturbed, although the surrounding portion has been carted away for walling and road-metal. A smaller one of 25 ft. diameter, a little to the south, has been almost entirely carried away; and near it is an elliptical arch about 45 ft. by 36 ft. at the greatest length. formed by a stone rampart 6 ft. in width. In the *Arch. Camb.* for 1886 (p. 348) there is an account of a sepulchral urn of rude pottery, exhibited in the Swansea temporary museum by Sir J. T. Dillwyn Llewelyn, M.A., F.L.S. This was found in Y Garn Goch, and bore upon it the impression of twisted thongs or rushes. It has thus the usual characteristics of Bronze-Age sepulchral urns.

In the *Arch. Camb.* for 1890 (p. 41), there is an account by Mr. G. G. T. Treherne of the opening of a tumulus at Castle Hill, Carmarthenshire. In this account we are told that the tumulus lay in the south-east corner of a field called "Parc y Twmp," on the southern slope of a farm called "Castle Hill," in the parish of Kiffig, Carmarthenshire. It was circular in form, and measured roughly 70 paces in circumference. It is 25 paces in diameter, and its depth to the clay floor was 6 ft. 6 ins. in the centre. Mr. Treherne gives the account as follows:—"We drove an adit 4 ft. wide from the south side, and found no trace of the usual stone circle. There was a thin floor of clay level with the field surface, apparently much trampled, and covered with a thin covering of black ash. Rather to the south-

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east of the true centre there seemed to be an artificial depression or hole in the floor, and this was filled with black ash, fragments of charcoal, slight traces of disintegrated bone, and patches of red earth; these last possibly the remains of the original urn. There were no implements, shells, or anything beyond the burnt materials. This was of a distinctly greasy character." The mound, Mr. Treherne says, is formed of earth and rubble (mostly rubble in the centre), not homogeneous with the soil of the field surrounding it. We replaced the ashes *in situ*, and partly filled up the trench. In connection with the same account, Mr. Treherne says that at a distance of 50 paces to the south, in an old red sandstone quarry, the party found a flint flake, evidently artificially worked. It is difficult, however, to be certain to what period the flint flake belonged.

In *Arch. Camb.* for 1893, p. 89, there is an account of an artificial mound between the two lakes at Talley, or Talyllychau, to which attention was called by the Rev. Charles Chidlow. An account of it was sent to Dr. R. Munro, author of *The Lake-Dwellings of Europe*, but all that he said of it was: "We are here dealing with a lake-dwelling, or fort, of unique character, presenting special features I have not hitherto observed in any of our Scottish or Irish crannogs. This mound at Talley is said to be riddled through and through with rabbit-holes, but these have brought to light no trace of human occupation."

That Carmarthenshire shared further in the Late-Celtic civilisation is made highly probable by the discovery of various Late-Celtic objects just outside its two extremities. For example, some enamelled horse-trappings, which are now in the Cardiff Museum, were found at Seven Sisters, near Neath, and a fine Late-Celtic collar, similar to the one at Wraxhall, was found at Llandyssul. As they certainly were worked in Roman times, it is not improbable, too, that the Dolau Cothi mines, which are thought to have contained gold, were worked in Late-Celtic times. Then, and doubtless

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earlier, the district lay on one of the trade-routes to the South of Ireland, and thus participated in the commercial prosperity of the South Wales coast. The Late-Celtic objects from Kyngadle, near Laugharne, are also an indication of the same type; and it may well be that a thorough investigation of Y Garn Goch would tend to place it in the same Late-Celtic period as Tre'r Ceiri, where a Late-Celtic bead and some traces of iron were found. The only scientific way to determine the true age of ancient remains is by patient and judicious excavation. It is to be hoped that one result of the present meeting will be to lead to a more thorough exploration of the ancient remains of the county. It is possible that the folklore of the county, both mediæval and modern, if we only had the key to it, would yield valuable ethnological results; but the difficulty is to distinguish in these stories the kernel of fact from the added embellishments. The reader who is interested in the folklore of Carmarthenshire cannot do better than consult Rhys' *Celtic Folklore*, where the ethnological bearing of the mediæval and modern folklore is discussed. It is not impossible that each stratum of the early settlers left in local tradition some memory of itself. It is to be hoped that the excellent Antiquarian Society of the county will keep a careful record of all material that will throw light on the ethnology of the district.

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THE TOWN OF HOLT, IN COUNTY DENBIGH:

ITS CASTLE, CHURCH, FRANCHISE, AND DEMESNE.

By ALFRED NEOBARD PALMER.

(*Continued from page* 334.)

CHAPTER III.—NORDEN'S SURVEY OF 1620.

It is proposed here to deal with Norden's *Survey* of Holt (*Harleian MS.*, vol. 3696). I have myself made many notes and extracts from this *Survey* at the British Museum, and for the rest am dependent upon a part copy transcribed for the late Chevalier Lloyd, collated, wherever required, by Mr. Edward Owen. The men sworn as jurors to assist John Norden were: George Bostock, Esq.; David Speed, gent.; Thomas Calcott, gent.; Thomas Pate, gent.; William Wyld, gent.; Francis Pickering, gent.; John Yardley, gent.; John Wilkinson, Randolph Hutchins, Thomas Wilkinson, Thomas Pulford, Roger Edgworth, John Wright, William Batha, George Wright, Richard Vernon, and Roger Greene—seventeen in all, concerning whom it is noticeable that one only—William Batha—bore a Welsh surname. The same seventeen were also sworn in as a jury of survey for the manors of Hewlington and Cobham Isycoed. Some portions of their presentment will be quoted in full, preserving the spelling actually used, and other portions will be omitted, or only briefly summarised.

The jurors say that "there is in the Towne of Lyons *als* Holt in the countie of Denbigh one Castle builded with Stone consisting of five Squares and of five Towers, covered with lead, having foure Gates[1] at ye entrie into

[1] These were the outer and inner gates of the main entrance, together with the two portcullises, or else those two gates and the inner and outer gates of the Exchequer Tower.

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ye same, wch Castle is nowe in great decay and some parte of the Roofe thereof fallen downe and much of the timber rotted, and ye lead likewise decaying and worne thinne. Neverthelesse the Lead[1] of the said Castle, and other materialls, if the same should be demolished, are worth to be solde about . . . poundes besides ye Stone. There is adioyning to ye said Castle at the first entrance into ye same one Tower or building of Stone commonlie called ye Excheq^r^ where ye Recordes touching the Lordshipps of Bromfield and Yale are and have been vsuallie kept wch is likewise covered with lead. There are diverse Howses of Office belonging to ye said castle, all builded wth timber as namely, one Gatehouse called the Outward Gate, *Garners for Corne*,[2] Barnes, stables for Cattell, Killne, Brewhouse and one Pidgeon howse all decayed conteyning by estimac'on . . . Bayes. There are within the precinct of the saide Castle certaine parcells of Land as namely one plott or parcell wherein the said Castle standeth called the Castle ditch one parcell called ye outward gate or Court, one garden place, one parcell called ye greene Court, and one par-

[1] Elsewhere, on the back of the ground plan of the castle, Norden inserts his estimate of the value of the same, thus :—

	Foote.
" The lead ouer the 5 towers contayne	4,650
The lead ouer the mayn lodginges yet remayninge and falne downe with the timber cont'	14,250
Ouer the gatehouse that stands to little vse, p' est.	320
	19,220

which Although it be the most part very much worn and very thyn, yet one with another it may be valued at iiii*d.* p' foote which will amount vnto cccl^li^ or thereabouts." He adds : " Much of the timber about the Castle is yet very sounde, but decayes daylie theuwgthe [through] the defect of the Leades. One mayn floore fell the very night I came to the holt, the timber and Leade doth lye now very confusedly ; much of the reste is so weake as it is dangerous to aduenture vpon it. To re-edifie will cost much new timber and Leade, the Lead that now is being worne so thyn that being cast new will yelde much drosse, as it doth now much duste; yet fit eyther timelie to be repaired, or the materialls to be taken downe, kepte, or soulde."

[2] Against these words underlined is written : " These were leased to Edward Hughes at viij*s.* iiij*d.* p. ann.

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cell called ye Orchard conteyning in ye wholle by estimac'on Three acres.[1] There is one Howse or building upon ye westside of the Court called Green court commonlie called ye Welshe Courthowse with a loft over ye same conteyning . . . Bayes wch is appurtenant to ye said Castle where ye twoe great Leete Courtes for the Lordshippes of Bromfield and Yale have heretofore been vsuallie holden and kept, wch are discontinued.[2] There is one stable place and an vpper Roome at the Northend af the said Welsh Courthowse with a smithie or smithes shoppe therevnto adioyninge demised to Thomas Crew Gent. for Forty yeares dat: Primo die Junii Anno Rn'e Eliz. 35 ^to^ wherevppon ye yearlie Rent of Two shillinges is reserved heretofore charged within ye Bayliffes charge of the Manno^r^ of Hewlington. There is also at ye southend of ye said Welshe Courthowse one Large Bay now vsed for a Barne in the holding of one William Burgeny or his ass's [assigns] wch hath been charged heretofore in the Bayliffes Accoumptes for ye Manno^r^ of Hewlington." Concerning the last two sentences, a correction is made afterwards in the following words: "Memorand: there is one Chamber and a Lowe^r^ Roome vnd^r^ the same now vsed for a Stable and a Smithie or Smithes fforge adioyninge to the North end of the Welsh Court howse in ye Towne of Lyons *als* Hoult wch is graunted to Thomas Crue gent. for 40 years by Lease dated primo die Junij 35 Eliz. Rn'e wch we finde to bee within the Survey of Holt as an Appurtenaunt to the Castle & within ye precinct of the

[1] Probably customary acres. If so, equal to nearly 6½ statute acres.

[2] Two discrepant statements are made in the *Survey* of 1620 concerning the holding of these leet courts *for the whole lordship:* one statement made doubtless by the jurors, and the other by the surveyor. According to one statement, the two great courts in the year formerly held were at the time of the Survey discontinued; according to another, they were still kept. As a matter of fact, they were discontinued, but from another point of view the courthouse, however decayed, was still there ready to accommodate the Bromfield and Yale tenants who owed suit and service there, if the steward or his deputy should duly summon them.

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same as by the particulars belonging to the said Castle in the p'sentment for ye said Castle appeareth. There is also another part of ye said Welsh Court howse at ye south end of ye same now vsed for a barne in the houlding of humphrey hanmer, Gentleman, in right of his wief, ye late wief of Anthony Burgeney at Will wch we find likewise appurtenaunt to ye said Castle and no part of ye Bayliffes charge of this Mannor [Hewlington] as wee supposed." Nevertheless, it is probable that the first presentment is right, for in the Survey of 1562 these buildings are declared to be in the manor of Hewlington.

Before proceeding further with our extracts from the *Survey*, it is necessary to discuss the sketches and plans of the Castle and its precincts, given by Norden and others. These illustrations have appeared before, either in Pennant, *Powys Fadog*,[1] or elsewhere; but it would be impossible to present a history of Holt without giving therewith the illustrations just named; which, moreover, it seems to me, have never hitherto been studied with sufficient care, although they raise as many problems as they solve.

The Castle is, of course, of a far earlier period than the earliest pictorial description of it; but, unfortunately, it has never come under the critical eye of a master of military architecture, such as that of the late Mr. G. T. Clark. But as its main features probably continued unchanged down to the early part of the seventeenth century, we may confidently commence our description of it with the accounts of eye-witnesses who had seen the Castle before it became the common quarry for buildings in the neighbourhood. It should, however, be borne in mind that not a single one of the early illustrations referred to (including Buck's view of 17..) are characterised by the strict accuracy of a modern surveyor's drawings, nor were they intended

[1] I desire to acknowledge my indebtedness to Mrs. Lloyd-Verney, of Clochfaen, for permission to reproduce, from *Powys Fadog*, one of the plans.

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by their authors to be so. They are none the less of great value, and enable us to reconstruct the building of the Warrennes more perfectly than would have been possible from an examination of the heaps of ruins which now alone remain.

The elevation and ground plan, marked 3 and 4, were made evidently by Norden in 1620, and represent the form and condition of the Castle and its precincts at the time of his Survey. But there are two other illus-

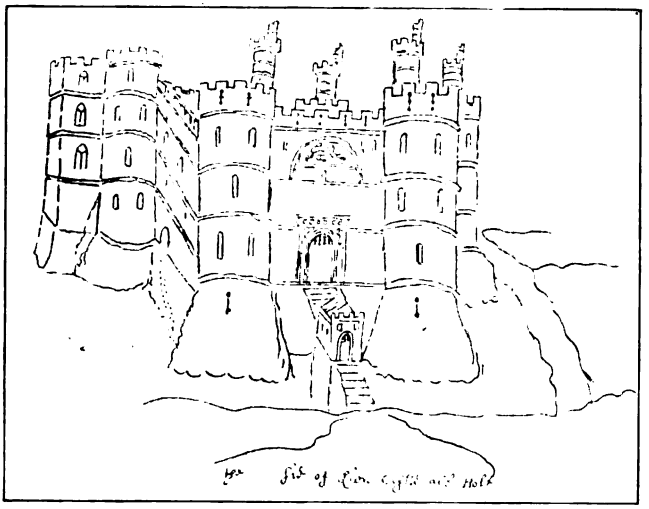

Fig. 1.—Early Sketch of Holt Castle.

trations of the Castle, preserved in vol. 2073, *Harleian MSS.*, ff. 112 and 113, which I believe to be earlier than 1620. The first of these (Fig. 1) is a rough sketch of the exterior. Daniel King, of Chester, used this sketch in 1656, passing it off as his own, and made an engraving of it (see *Harleian MSS.* 2073, 594 B, fo. 126), with the intention of illustrating Camden's *Britannia*.[1] It may be urged, reasonably enough at first seeming, that if King used the sketch, this would

[1] It did not appear in Gough's edition of that work, 1695.

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show, at any rate, that the Castle was as represented by him, he having probably seen the building before the siege. But the truth seems to be that when King first saw the Castle it was recently dismantled; and as he wished to give a drawing of it, he used this sketch (probably collected by one of the Randle Holmes), which was the only representation available to him. If this opinion be accepted, Daniel King's authority for the drawing disappears. But the drawing itself remains, and the ground plan corresponds with it. And the more the one and the other are considered, the more will it appear that both represent an earlier arrangement than that which Norden represented: perhaps the arrangement which Sir William Stanley found when the grant was made to him. It does not seem possible to specify the date more exactly.

Assuming, then, that figures 1 and 2 show a much earlier state of things, in respect of the Castle, than figures 3 and 4, we will now proceed to discuss the first two illustrations.

These (Figs. 1 and 2) reveal an irregular pentagonal castle of small size, enclosing a court, also in form a pentagon. At each corner, on the outside, but connected internally with the main body, was a round tower, higher than the battlements of the pentagonal portion. To one of the five towers, the next south-eastwards to the tower east of the entrance, was attached an external rectangular addition, of equal height with the tower, containing in its lower portion the chapel. On each of the towers, except on the chapel tower, was also a small conning- or watch-tower, which apparently contained a chimney. The entrance was between the two towers on the north side, and there was a wooden bridge thrown over the inner ballium between this entrance and the "Chequers" or Exchequer tower, which, according to the plan, was then a low building. Another wooden bridge spanned the foss on the other side of the Exchequer tower, and led to the outer gate. Over the main entrance of the

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Castle was sculptured a lion passant-guardant (see ch. i, vol. 1906, p. 221).

Coming now to the ground plan of the castle of the

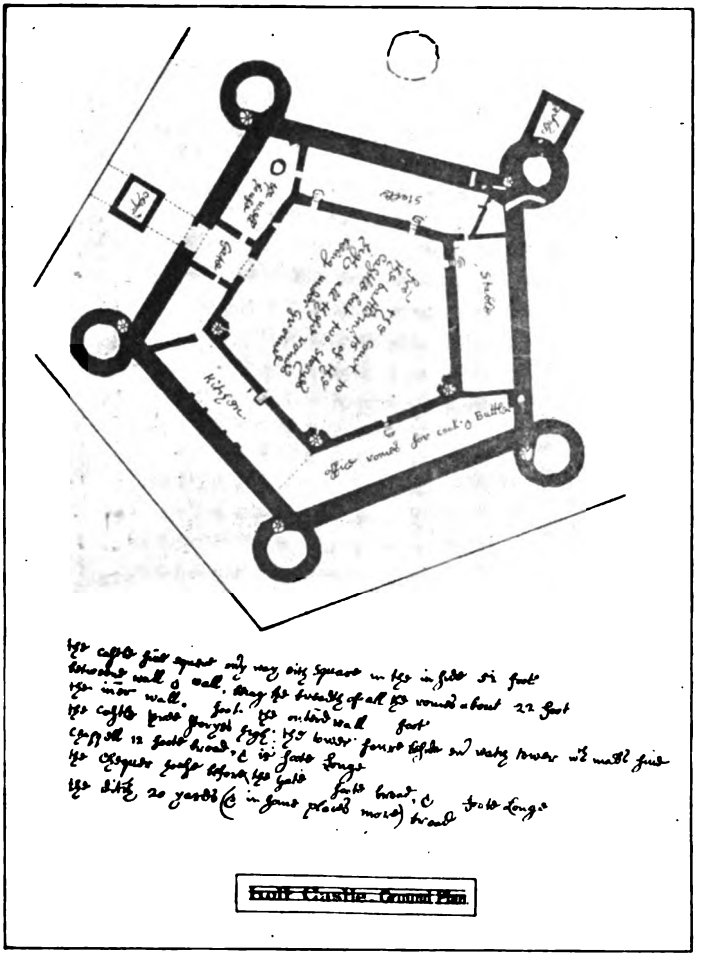

Fig. 2.—Early Ground Plan of Holt Castle.

earlier date, as shown in Fig. 2, it may be well for the benefit of those who find old writing difficult to read, to give the description of the building, court, and

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lowermost chambers in modern print. Here it is:—"The castle fiue [five] square eu'y [every] way with square in the inside 51 foot betweene wall and wall, being the breadth of all the romes [rooms], about 22 foot the in'er wall . . . . . foot, the outerd [outward] wall . . . . foot, the castle three storyes high: the tower[s] fowre beside eu' [every] watch towre wch mak^{e} fiue [five] chappell 12 foote broade and 15 foote Longe / the ditch 20 yards (and in some places more) broad."

Between the entrance and the tower flanking it on the east was the well-house. The whole of the side between this and the chapel tower was occupied in the basement by a stable, as was also the side between the chapel tower and the tower next southward or south-eastward. On the next side, towards the west, were "office romes [rooms] for cook and Butler," and on the remaining side, between the tower last named and the tower on the west flanking the entrance, was the kitchen.

Across the ground-plan of the interior court are written these words: "frō the court to the battlem^{ts} of the castle but two storyes high all these romes being under ground."

At a later date, perhaps in Sir William Stanley's time, considerable structural alterations were made in the Castle. The Exchequer was converted into a strong, square tower with an upper room. The square addition to the chapel tower was, *if the plan is to be trusted*, removed, and the tower restored to its round form. On the other hand, the next or south-east tower—that one whose base abutted on the river—was made wholly square.[1] And a well was dug in the middle of the

[1] It may be well to observe that my friend Mr. Edward Owen, after a hurried examination of the ruins, does not agree with the above. The internal towers have completely disappeared, so that it is impossible to decide the particular point in question. But his inspection of the Castle, with the various illustrations in hand, revealed so many discrepancies in the latter, not only from each other but in

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court. But, perhaps, the best way will be to set out, in fair modern print, the several descriptions contained in Norden's ground plan of the Castle and precincts, as

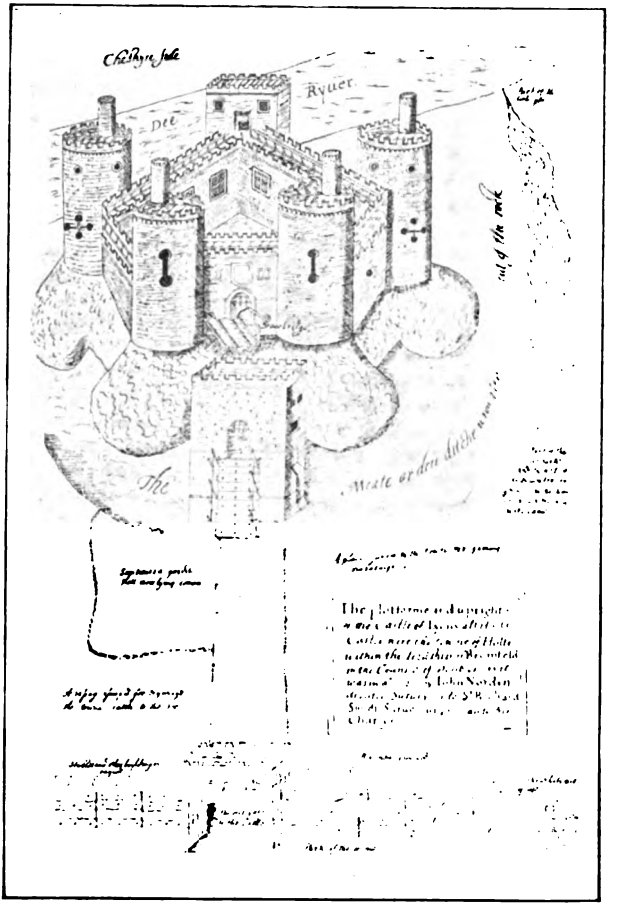

Fig. 3.—Elevation of Holt Castle in 1620.

all from the ruins of the Castle itself, that he is disposed to consider the absence of the square projection from the chapel tower in one plan, and the transformation of a round into a square tower in another, as no more than the errors of the artists, who probably completed their sketches far from the spot they are intended to portray

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shown in Fig. 4. The elevation, Fig. 3, needs no comment.

The four round towers are indicated on the plan (Fig. 4) as supplied "with manie Lodginges and Chimneyes couered as is all the Castle that yet standes with Leade." Then with respect to the square tower, this is what is said: "There is a vaulte under this square

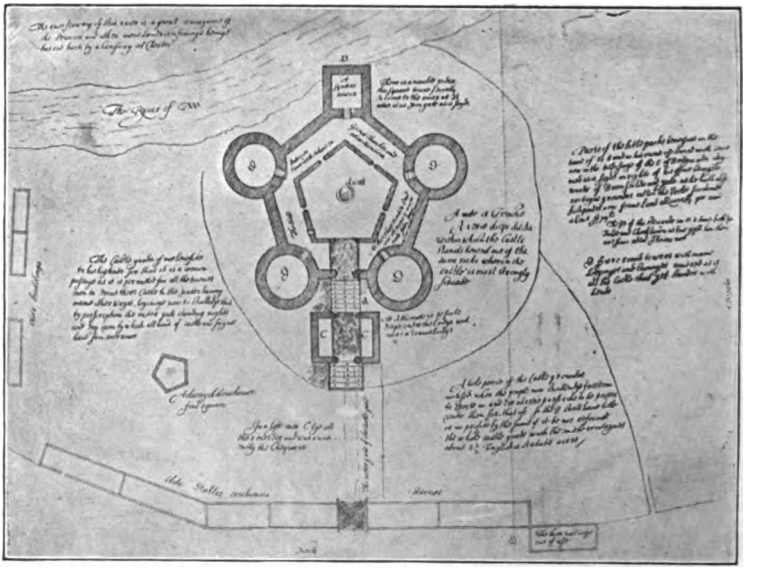

Fig. 4.—Ground Plan of Holt Castle and Precincts in 1620.

towre secretly to come to the river at 23, were is an Iron gate as is sayde."[1]

We come now to speak of the interior of the several sides of the pentagon. The side between the tower

[1] In Tidderley's description (see Ch. ii, p. 314) this secret narrow passage, vaulted with stone, is mentioned as leading out of the court by steep stairs to the river, "whereto the ward and dore ys of yron." In the inquiry made at Holt Castle on 30th January, 158$\frac{9}{7}$ (see Ch. ii, p. 318), this "iron doore being belowe in the house towards the Riv^{r} of Dee," is spoken of as having been taken away during the time of Mr. Edward Hughes, then receiver, and resident within the castle.

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east of the entrance and the next tower south-eastward was occupied by the hall, reached, as we know from Tidderley's account, by a straight stone stair, 7 ft. wide, leading up from the inner gate. The side between the hall and square tower contained "Butteries, Pantries, kitchene, etc.," and the side westward between the square and the next tower included the "Great Chamber and other chambers"; while, on the fourth side, to the tower west of the entrance there is noted: "At this place timber, Lead and all inwarde materiall fallen down." And over the entrance, as we learn from the inquiry of 30th January, 158$\frac{8}{7}$, the constable's chamber, also a chamber adjoining in which the constable kept his coal and wood.

At A (Fig. 4), between the near entrance gateway and the Exchequer tower, "the mote [was] 30 foote deepe vnder the bridge and [there] was a drawbridge."

As to the Exchequer tower (C), it is recorded: "In a lofte over C lye all the records, and was auntiently the Chequers," all being surrounded by "A mote or Trenche. A verie deepe ditche within which the Castle stands hewed out of the same rocke wheron the Castle is most strongly situate."

The outer gate of the Castle yard is also shown, west of which were first "Barnes" and next "The Shire hall longe out of use."[1] Again, east of the outer gate and abutting on it were "olde stables [and] cowhouses"; while at right angles to, but detached from, these were other "olde buildings." Also, in the yard east of the Castle was "a decayd doue-house fiue square."

An account of the Castle yard given on the plan is as follows:—"The Castle yarde of noe benefite to his highnes, for that it is a comon passage, as it is permitted for all the townesmen to driue there Cattle to the water hauing manie other Wayes, begininge now to Challendge this by prescription the outer gate standing nighte and day open, by which all kind of cattle and

[1] The Shire Hall, or Welsh Court House was, as we otherwise learn, on the west side of the Green Court.

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swyne haue free entrance." This account refers to the east part of the yard, and as to the north-west part we have this further description :—"A little peece of the Castle groundes unclosed wher the people now challeudge freedom to sport in and doe already prescribe to be proper vnto them for that vse, so the P[rince] shall have litle or no profite by the same if it be not reformed ; the whole Castle yarde with the mote contaynes about 2½ English or Statute acres."

West of the yard, the east portion of the "litle park demaynes in the time of H. 8, and in his owne vse stored with deere, now in the disposinge of the E. of Bridgwater, claymed as is sayde, in righte of his office, being stewarde of Bromfeilde and Yale, as he hath also certayne groundes called the Pooles, somtimes fishpondes, now freme Land all worth per ann. St. xvi*li.* The fee of the stewarde in H. 8 time, both for Holte and Chirklande, is but xx*li.* ; but there are since added I know not."

And with regard to "The Ryuer of Dee" is this note :—"The overflowinge of this riuer is a great annoyance of the Prince's and other mens Lands, confininge being barred back by a Causeway at Chester" ; and as to which it may be said that many inquiries were made and commissions held, but no practical remedy ever devised, and ultimately the causeway was ordered to stand.

Meanwhile, it is most necessary to dispel an opinion, firmly and generally held at Holt, and based upon misunderstood and imperfect data, that the outer gate of the Castle stood in Castle Street. This opinion is due wholly to the fact that Pennant, in his reproduction of the plan, omitted descriptions of buildings and areas, and especially failed to record *the points of the compass,* all of which are given in the original (see Fig. 4). Now, if the outer gate stood in Castle Street, it would be due west of the Castle ; but, as a fact, as shown in the figure, it stood due north of the same, and was on a line with the Exchequer tower, the ruins of

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which can still be identified. The outer gate stood at the bottom of the present lane to the Castle, past the schools. This lane one would expect to be broader than now, for it was the chief approach from the town to the outside of the outer gate. In any case, the lane is old, for it is mentioned in Tidderley's *Survey* (end of reign of Henry VIII) in 1562 and in 1620.[1] It opened on a road proceeding directly from the outer gate of the Castle to the ford above the bridge, and to the bridge itself, passing the back of Church Street and the front of the church tower. Traces of this old road are yet to be seen, a bit of it being in the western end, or new portion, of the churchyard, and it is mentioned in 1562.[2]

It has been urged in support of the view that the outer gate of the Castle was in Castle Street, that in Pennant's plan a *five*-sided figure shown thereon is evidently the Town cross, but the cross is *eight*-sided; and on referring to the original plan this figure is actually marked as "a decayd douehouse fiue-square," standing *within* the Castle yard and outside the gate of the Castle itself.

It does not follow from this that there was no communication from Castle Street to the inside of the Castle yard itself. A road is said to have been laid bare some years ago by Mr. George Redrope, 3 ft. beneath the surface. It started from a point opposite

[1] In 1620 Sir Richard Trevor is described as having a curtilage "neare the Castle gate ..... *extending towards the River of Dee.*" Also, in the same year, Lawrence Welles held a piece of land "neare vnto the Castle gate *in a Lane* leading from the pavem^t towardes the River called Mill Dee." See also next note.

[2] In 1562 Edward Almer is described as having a messuage with curtilage near Castle gate, in length from "the royal way leading from the castle of the town of Lions to the church or chapel of the said town, and in breadth from a stable of the said castle towards the way leading from the said pavement towards the horse mill there." The pavement was apparently the paved way or footpath near the cross, and the horse mill was by the river; and it is quite clear, therefore, that the main Castle gate was not in Castle Street, but in the lane leading towards the Dee.

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Mrs. Baker's, and entered the Castle yard at a dip in the crag, which could easily be closed, and passed presumably beneath the rock where the higher ground still is to the front of the Exchequer tower.

Pennant's plan is imperfect, and must be used with discretion and considerable hesitation.

We are now prepared to continue our extracts from, or summaries of, the text of Norden's *Survey*. These will illustrate further the statements made by the surveyor on Fig. 4, as to the Little Park, Pools, etc.

Rent, 30*s*.

There is one parcell of land adioyning to ye Castle, commonlie called the little Park,[1] nowe in the tenure of John Earle of Bridgewater, or of his assignes, conteyning by estimac'on, great measure	9	0	0	0[2]
One close or parcell of land within ye said Towne, called The Pooles, adioyning to the Highway or pavements leading from the Holt[3] towardes the Common Woode, nowe in the tenure of the said John Earle of Bridgewater, or his assignes, conteyning by estimac'on, great measure ...	7	0	0	0[4]
One meadowe called Crackstringes, *als.* Crackstones meadowe, conteyning by estimac'on ...	7	0	0	0[4]

[1] This "Little Park" was that now in three parts, called respectively "Top Park" and "Bottom Park," extending between the Castle on the north and the Gas Works on the south, and between the river on the east and Castle Street on the west.

[2] In statute measure about 19 acres.

[3] On the south side of Common Wood Lane, next the pound and nearly opposite Esphill, is a meadow called "The Pools." The unusual configuration of the surface of this meadow suggests at once that fishponds had formerly been kept here, as indeed the Survey of 1620 elsewhere declares, doubtless for the supply of fish to the Castle. The lane itself is cobble-paved, and on one or the other sides of it are five or six fields or meadows called "Pavement Field" or "Pavement Meadow," illustrating the statement of the Survey concerning "Pavement Lane," between Frog Lane and Common Wood Lane, and confirming the identity of the meadow now known as "The Pools" or "Pool Meadow," with that described in 1620 under the same name. There was another Fishpool field, probably adjoining this one, in which various burgesses of Holt had acres.

[4] Over 14¾ statute acres.

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One other parcell of lande commonly called the Heye, *als.* Saunders Hey, in the tenure of the said John Earle of Bridgewater, conteyning by estimac'on ... ... 6 0 0 0[1]

The jurors then go on to refer to the Friday market and to the two fairs, one held on St. Barnabas' day in summer, and the other on St. Luke's day in winter (see Ch. ii, p. 312), the toll of which market and fairs was let for thirty-one years to Sir Peter Warburton, one of the burgesses of Holt, at a yearly rent of 22*s.*, payable to the Prince.

A list of the lands, houses, and one burgage set aside for the sustentation of a lady-priest to celebrate within the church or chapel of Holt is next given. These had been sold, and will be referred to in a future chapter. On the north of the main road from Wrexham to Holt, by Deevon Bridge, is a field still called "Priest's field." And in 1620, "St. Mary's lands" are named, which may be the "Mary's loons" of the Tithe Assessment Map to the north of the Bible meadow. These fields are, it is possible, part of the lands so sold, formerly belonging to Holt Chureh. The separate items of the yearly rents of these lands in my copy add up to £6 10*s.*, but the total given seems to be £5 7*s.* These lands, or part of them, as will hereafter be shown, had been bequeathed in 1523 by Thomas ap David ap Deio, of Holt.

The jurors of 1620, in their presentment, next recite the terms of the charter granted them by Thomas, Earl of Arundel and Surrey, in the thirteenth year of Henry IV, declare the decay of rent since that time, and the revival of it in the fifth year of Queen Elizabeth. They deny that any fine is due from them on the marriage of their daughters, stand upon their charter, and refer to "an extent made in the fifteenth yeare of Richard the Second," which extent, unfortunately, does not now seem to be in existence. Next, they say that "there is within the Towne of Holt, one Howse builded of timber & covered with shingles com-

[1] Over 12½ statute acres.

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monly called the Townehall, where the Courtes [namely the Borough Courts] are holden and kept by the Maior everie three weekes, and two great Leet Courtes likewise holden and kept by the Steward aforesaid for matters happening within the said Towne and Liberties are vsuallie kept, wch is the Princes howse, the repaire whereof from tyme to tyme as occasion shall require belongeth vnto the Prince his Highness." The lower story or ground floor of the Town Hall was then divided into four shops.

Then comes a list of all the freeholders and burgesses of Holt in 1620, with an exact and full description of their burgages, houses, and lands. I made a copy of this list and a summary of the description. This summary will be presented towards the end of the chapter, as it seems desirable to give first a copy of the rental [crown rents] of Holt in 1620, and then of the perambulation of the town and franchise in the same year.

The totall sum of the rente of the Holte is lxxi*li.* xiii*s.* iii*d.*	
Whereof to be deducted for Certaine Landes graunted to the Earl of Bridgwater in fee, vi*li.* xii*s.* So remaynes with the toll of the Market and bridge	lxv*li.* xii*s.*
The Borough Rent as appeares by the Rentall, lxii*li.* iii*s.* ix*d.*	
Besides the Castell houses, viii*s.* iiii*d.*	lxv.*li.* iiii*s.* i*d.*
Besids for Crackstones meadowe and Saunders Heath p. ann., xxx*s.*	
The Toll of the bridge and Market xxii*s.*	

The above totals do not agree exactly with the sums which compose them: a slight error in the copy is to be presumed.

The bounds of the town and liberties of Holt are described [fo. 43] in these words: "The Towne of Lyons *als* Holt with the Liberties and Franchises of the same is meered and bounded as followeth. First from the Bridge called Holt Bridge wch is the passage of the River of Dee divideing the Countie of Denbigh and the Countie of Chester, at the Northside of the said Towne

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it extendeth itself along to the said River vnto a place called Moore Dee wch joineth vnto a Meadowe called the Lords Meadowe beeing parcell of the Manno^r of Hewlington vppon ye southside of the said Towne and so along the skirt of the said Meadowe and other landes therevnto adioyning called the five acres and Tier garreggs vnto the lane called Hewlington lane vppon the west. Then it extendeth a long that Lane towardes the North vnto the lane called the Gallow-tree field lane, and so vpwardes or alonge that Lane Westward vnto another lane leading towardes the Manor of Iscoeyd vnto certen landes there adioyning vpon the said Lane called the Gorstifield in the tenure of David Sped parcell of the Mannor of Hewlington vpon ye East, and soe along the said lane, including a parcell of Land called Kae Stockley and two Tenements in the holding of Peers Spencer and John Goze [*i.e.*, John Goch, *Red John*] adioyning to the vpper end of the said lane vppon the East. From the head of that Lane it then extendeth itselfe towardes the West vnto the Mannor of Ridley, and excludeth one tenement and lands in the tenure of Richard Prestland and one Cottage and certaine other parcells part of the said Mannor of Ridley lying upon the Northside the Lane which leadeth towards Crossyockin Lane upon the West. From Crossyockin Lane wch is called Hugmore lane or Wrexham Lane,[1] and from the head of the same Lane called Hugmore, then it extendeth itselfe againe towardes the North after the Hedge lying upon the west wch divideth the Towneshippes of Gourton and Boras at the west and of the landes of Owen Jones Gent., Owen Breerton, George Bostock Esquires and William Botha [Batha] as they are particularly mentioned in the verdit or presentment of the said jury for Holt, and from the lands of the said William Batha it exten-

[1] The meaning here is that from the head of Croes Iocyn Lane, otherwise called Hugmore Lane, the boundary then extends itself, etc. The head of Hugmore Lane was in Wrexham Lane. We are not to understand that the two lanes last named were one.

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deth along the lane leading from Borras to the Common wood upon the East, and so includeth parcell of ye great Parke called Mercley [Mersley] Parke adioining to the Mannor of Burton vpon the North; wch parcell or parcells are called the Bushell [Bushy] and Broade land and extendeth from the vpper Parte of the said broad Land wch adioyneth vnto the land leading from the Common wood upon the North, towardes Allington vnto the landes called Weerhookes lying within the Mano^r^ of Hem vpon ye said North parte. And also along the said groundes called Werhookes unto a passage or bridge over the Brooke called Devon Commonly called Werhook bridge, neare vnto the River of Dee upon the North, and so is bounded with the said River of Dee towardes the East vnto the Holt bridge where first it begun."

The foregoing account of the boundaries of the liberties and franchise of Holt is for the most part clear enough, knowing as I do many of the lands designated by names now forgotten, or almost forgotten. However, let us understand that the present Parliamentary borough or parish of Holt is made up practically of the old franchise and the manor of Hewlington. The bounds of the old franchise are then recognisable directly upon the east, west, and north, and only somewhat uncertain on the south. But when we come to deal with Hewlington, the perambulation of that manor by the jury of 1620 will be presented, and then some of the ambiguity relating to the limits of the franchise on this side will disappear. Suppose, however, an attempt be here made to describe, in modern terms, the bounds of the liberties of Holt as they were in 1620. The northern boundary of Hewlington will then itself become more intelligible.

The boundary of the old franchise of Holt starts southward from the borough bridge along the Dee, which nears the liberties on the eastern side, until it reaches the first bend on the river above the Little Park and the meadow called the Moore Dee, along the

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south side of which it proceeds, leaving Lord's Meadow in Hewlington on the left hand, and so by the north side of the northernmost Tir y garreg [*Land of the stone*, now called "Tithe Garret"] to Hewlington Lane, which leads from Sutton to Holt, then northwards to Gallowtree Lane, and westwards by Gallowtree Lane to Franchise Lane (now called "Francis Lane"), and by that lane westwards on the whole to Hugmore Lane, formerly sometimes known as "Croes Iocyn Lane," along which it proceeds in a northerly direction, until it marches with the eastern boundaries of Gourton and Burras Riffri to Common Wood Lane, a continuation westwards of Frog Lane. Eastward along that lane it runs until it reaches the roadway to Red Hall, opposite the end whereof it strikes in a north-easterly direction, touching the Allington boundary, having The Lodge just north and Plas Devon just south of it, and so reaches the Devon near Wearhookes Bridge; and following the Devon and Allington boundary comes to the Dee, and so southward to Holt Bridge again.

Next follows a list of all the freeholders and burgesses of Holt in 1620, with a summary of the description in the Survey of their burgages, houses, and lands. But the names of the freeholders are here arranged *alphabetically*,[1] so that they can better be referred to, and there is given, under the names of the more important men a short history of the families to which they belonged: it being thought that this is the most convenient place to present what could hardly be introduced elsewhere. There were sixty-five freeholders and burgesses in all, tenants of the Prince, namely:—

Owen Brereton, Esq., was of Burras Hall (see pedigree of the Breretons of Burras, opposite page 162, of my *History of the Country Townships of the Old Parish of Wrexham*). He had two burgages in Frog Lane, of which one was "neere vnto ye Crosse," and the other "neere the Pinfold," and about 130 customary—or 275 statute—acres of land within the franchise.

George Bostocke, Esq., had his capital messuage somewhere in the town of Holt, which, with the barns, outhouses, garden,

[1] The arrangement in Norden's *Survey* is not alphabetical.

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and orchard appurtenant to the same, represented the site of six burgages. He had also nine other several burgages, in 1620, in Pepper Street, Castle Street, and elsewhere in the town, and much land in the franchise, the exact area of which is uncertain, though it was undoubtedly considerable. He belonged to a notable family—the Bostockes of Churton—of whom no account is given, under Churton, in Helsby's *Ormerod's Cheshire*, later than the time of Henry VIII, although they were seated there long afterwards, for George Bostocke, of Churton, Esq., was buried at Farndon 4th March, 165⅔.[1] The above-named George Bostocke was Mayor of Holt in 1620, and buried there 24th December, 1627, being son of Lancelot Bostocke, by Jane his wife, daughter of Richard Roydon, of Holt, Mr. H. R. Hughes, of Kinmel, confirmed this account of the parentage of George Bostocke, and sent me a pedigree copied from one of the Halston MSS., which I have abbreviated, added to, and already presented in Appendix II, Chapter II. His will is dated 17th September, 1627, whereby he bequeathed to his "nobell and good frend, Sir Robert Chumley, baronett," and his brother-in-law, "Henrie lea esquire," all his burgages, messuages, lands, etc., "in the town and liberties of lions, *alias* Houlte," in the holding of various persons named; also "one House in the Castell Streete wherein Richard Roydon dwelleth," half an acre "in the place called the sent marie loundes vsed to the said house," one croft called "the kichen aker," and "a croft called the intake ajoining"; so that by the sale of a part thereof they might pay what he owed, namely £365 10*s.* to the daughters of Sir George Calveley, knight, deceased, unless George Bostocke, his son and heir, or any other that at his death might be his heir or heirs, should take upon him or them the payment of the said sum. And he gave to his wife Dorothy [who was perhaps the "Mrs. Dorothy Bostocke" buried at Holt 3rd November, 1678] the rest of his goods and chattels. The Mr. George Bostocke whose will has just been summarised appears to have been followed at Holt by his son George. In any case, we find, a few years afterwards, a George Bostocke, of Holt, Esq., a captain of the local levies raised for Charles I[2], concerning whom Philip Henry writes in his diary,

[1] It may be permitted to give here a few other extracts from Farndon Registers relating to the Bostockes:

3 Nov., 1620. Mr. George Bostocke, buried [of Churton].

19 May, 1632. Katherine, wife of George Bostocke, Esq., buried.

30 Aug., 1634. Ann, da[r] of George Bostocke, Esq., buried.

16 Oct., 1658. Mrs. Elinor Bostocke, widow, buried.

[2] Mr. W. M. Myddelton, of St. Albans, tells me that Mr. Bostocke, on 23rd April, 1663, certified that Thomas Sowne, of Iscoed,

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under date 14th August, 1663, thus: "Mr. George Bostock dyed. His death occasioned by a surfet of drink which hee took at ye time of ye quarter sessions at llanrust, whether hee had bound over certain of ye Inhabitants in and about Wrexham who were deprehended at ye meeting, to their no small trouble. And now just before the Assize ye lord hath taken him away by a remarkable stroke," etc. Whether he died of a surfeit of drink or not, Mr. Bostocke's death was certainly sudden. In his will, dated 3rd August, 1663, in which he describes himself as of "Plas Bostock within the Libertyes of Lyons *als.* Holt," he desired to be buried "in my vsuall burying place in my Chancell within ye parrish Church of Lyons *als.* Holt." He gave to his "cozen John Pulford's wife of Wrexham" his mare; to his friend, Richard Alport, of Overton, Cheshire, Esq., his "gray nagge; 40*s* to his friend, John Jeffreys, of Acton, etc., and all his lands and tenements to his well-beloved nephew, Lancelot Williams, second son of his brother-in-law, Thomas Williams, of Abenbury vawr, gent. [the Plas Jenkin estate extended into Abenbury Fychan and Dutton Diffaeth, and included Cae Mynach], provided that the said Lancelot assumed the surname and quartered the arms of Bostocke; and in defect of heirs male, to the third, fourth, or fifth sons of the said Thomas Williams, and to their heirs male respectively." Lancelot Bostocke, *alias* Williams, the devisee, died apparently unmarried and without issue, and was buried at Holt, 1st January, 166$\frac{3}{4}$. It is not possible to speak with any certainty as to the subsequent history of Mr. George Bostocke's estate. The "Mr. Robert Bostocke, of Iscoyd," who died 13th November, 1670, may have come into the property, and been another younger son of Mr. Williams. Also a second Lancelot Bostocke was baptised at Holt in April, 1665. A Thomas Williams, of Sutton, Gent., probably the father of Lancelot Williams, *alias* Bostocke, renounced his interest in the will of George Bostocke on 14th October, 1664. This was perhaps the Thomas Williams, of Plas Jenkin, who was buried at Holt, 12th January, 16$\frac{7}{8}\frac{9}{0}$. However this may be, I have seen the will of another Thomas Williams of Place Jenkin, Esq., dated 20th February, 170$\frac{7}{8}$, proved 17th March, 170$\frac{7}{8}$, who directed his body to be buried in his chancel within the parish church of Lyons, *alias* Holt, and left all his landed estate, subject to certain legacies, to his son and heir, Peter Williams, who succeeded him, and to his lawful heirs male, or in default to testator's nephews, *Lancelot Bostocke, Esq.*, and John Evans, gent., equally to be divided among them, or in

had been a foot-soldier, and Thomas Holt a sergeant in his company in Sir John Owen's regiment.

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default to his own right heirs. To his said son Peter all his personal estate whatever, and the debts due to him by virtue of the will of testator's brother, John Williams, Esq., deceased, son Peter to be executor, and to be assisted by Mr. Richard Thomas, of Borras Riffri, and Mr. Andrew Floyd, of Sutton. The testator bequeathed small legacies to his sister, Mary Evans, his nephew, John Evans, and his niece, Elizabeth Evans. Provision was made, in 1717, for the tuition of Thomas Williams of Plas Jenkin. After this I cannot find Plas Jenkin so much as mentioned, except as the name of a field. In order to cast some light on the connections of the Churton Bostockes, and as illustrating their relation to William Burganey, it may be said that in *The Cheshire Sheaf* for 1891, page 57, a letter is printed from George Bostocke, of "Chorton" [Churton], dated 18th March, 1642, in which he speaks of his cousin, William Burganey, as having a son at Oxford. This son the late Mr. J. P. Earwaker identified as William Burganey, son of William Burganey, and grandson of Anthony Burganey, of Pulford [and Holt], who matriculated from Corpus Christi College, 7th July, 1637. In the same letter Mr. George Bostocke mentions "a kynsman of myne," "Mr. Bostockes sonne of Acton, a minister." This was Nathaniel Bostock, who matriculated, Mr. Earwaker found, from Brasenose College, Oxford, 28th March, 1617, aged sixteen, son of the Rev. Thomas Bostock, of Acton, Nantwich. Mr. George Bostock says further that "my Cosin Burgayny [that is, William, son of Anthony], his granmother was my Grandfather Bostockes sister." Here is a clue for whomsoever has the opportunity to follow it up. The wills at the Chester Probate Court and the entries in the Farndon registers should also be consulted.

WILLIAM BATHA.—This William Batha held seven parcels of land "on the vpper end of Common Wood, lying together, together with all buildings therevnto belonging, conteyning Eleaven Acres" (about 23 statute acres), possibly where Red Hall now is.

GEORGE BUCKLEY had a burgage and curtilage near the bridge, and a curtilage near "the Church Ashe."

THOMAS BITHELL had a burgage and a-half in Frog Lane, late of John Yardley.

RICHARD BITHELL, *alias* Howell, had also a burgage and a-half, late land of John Yardley.

WILLIAM BURGANEY had two burgages near the pinfold and seven acres (or nearly 15 statute acres) called "The Bottoms" in the lane leading from Frog Lane towards Common Wood. He

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was, probably, the son of the "Anthony Burganey of Holt,"[1] an inventory of whose goods, taken in 1611, is in the Chester Probate Office (see also above, under George Bostock), and is to be identified with William Burganey, whose grandson, also named William Burganey (son of the William who died in 1732), married Rachel, daughter of Randle Holme, of Chester. The grandson of this last-named William Burganey, namely, John Burganey, of Pulford (son of John, son of William), married at Gresford "Miss Anne Pate," of Croes Howel, in Burton, county Denbigh; from which marriage the Burganeys appear to have obtained Llyn Tro and other messuages and lands in Burton and Llai.

THOMAS CALCOTT, Gent., had two burgages in High Green, one burgage in Smithfield, and another in Castle Street, Holt, but does not appear to have lived in any one of them. He had also a piece of land in or near Wrexham Lane, called "Annes hey goch" [that is, "Ynys hey goch," or perhaps Ynysau cochion] (see next page). He was son of Randle Calcott of Caldecote, often pronounced "Calcott," or even "Cawkott," Cheshire, by his wife, Jane, daughter of Alban Butler, and was Mayor of Holt in 1631. He married Dorothy, daughter of John Dod, and had a son of the same name, probably the "Thomas Caldecot of Caldecot, Gent.," who was buried at Farndon, 1st October, 1672. But there were so many branches of this family, and so many Calcotts bearing the same Christian name, that it is difficult to speak with any confidence. However, it seems certain that Thomas Calcott, or Caldecot of Caldecot, had a son William, who died a few years after his father (in December, 1677), and that the "Mr. Caldecott of Caldecott" mentioned on 16th June, 1690, was Robert Caldecott. I give four extracts relating to the Caldecotts from the Holt registers; and there are many more in these and in those of Farndon which it is not worth while to reproduce:—

Thomas, son of William Caulcot, of Holt, Gent., bapt. 5th June, 1675.
William Caldecotte, of Caldecotte, Gent., died in Holt, and was buryed in Farndon, 30th December, 1677.
Richard Craven, of Ridley, G't., and Mrs. Caldecote, of Isacoyd, married 2nd June, 1699.
Thomas Caldecote, of Holt, buried 30th January, 170$\frac{2}{4}$.

EDWARD CLOUGH, of Common Wood, a small holder.

EDWARD CREW, Gent., had in Holt one burgage "in Midding streete, neare the Crosse, where his Mansion house standeth"; three other burgages in the same street, "wherevpon a Barne

[1] Anthony Burganey's widow married, before 1620, Humphrey Hanmer, Gent.

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standeth," one parcel of land near the Cross containing one burgage, and the House called "ye Comon Backhouse" (Bakehouse), and 21 customary or nearly 45 statute acres of free lands, and about 6 acres of leasehold land called "the Ladies Landes." At the same time, an Edward Crew, possibly the same person, held a dwelling-house in Receiver's Street (now Queen Street), Wrexham, and much land in the same town. Edward Crew was buried at Wrexham, 19th January, 163$\frac{8}{9}$. More will be said as to the Crews of Holt in the next entry.

THOMAS CREW, or CRUE, Gent.—This Thomas Crue lived in his capital messuage near Holt bridge, with another burgage, belonging to him, adjoining it; five other free burgages and one leasehold burgage; and among his lands were the Dovehouse Croft, the Stony Croft, "The Wallock conteyning six Acres" (equal to about 12$\frac{3}{4}$ statute acres); "hilton croft or Cases Croft, of 2 [customary] acres"; the Bottoms adjoining Chester Lane; several parcels called "Gillwall," an acre adjoining called "Agnes hey Gough"; a parcel of land in a close called "The Espes," etc. It is clear to me that his house was that now represented by Holt Hill. The Crews, or Crues, formed an important family, originating at Crew-by-Farndon, and establishing themselves at Holt, Wrexham, and elsewhere. I have in my possession sheafs of notes concerning them, which do not seem capable of being woven into a consistent or satisfactory pedigree. A Thomas Crew, Gent., of Holt, was aged 51 in 1597.[1] Another of the same name was buried at Holt in October, 1613, being perhaps he who discovered and destroyed the "Romane monument" described in the Appendix to Chapter I; and to the memory of another "Thomas Crue," who died on the 12th August, 1666, age 27; his kinsman, Silvanus Crue, of Wrexham, engraved the remarkable brass affixed to the east end of the north wall in Holt Church, of which brass a reproduction will be given hereafter. Yet another Thomas Crue, Gent., was buried at Holt, 28th

[1] Mr. Edward Owen enables me to go still further back, by supplying me with a reference to a complaint of William Holstooke, Gent., against John Cruwe of the town of Lyons, and also the answer of Thomas Crue to the same, wherein the respondent refers to an indenture, dated 7th May, 13 Hen. VII, 1498, between John Crewe and Robert Troutbeck, in view of the marriage of Thomas, son of John Crewe, and Elizabeth, daughter of Robert Troutbeck. Thomas Crewe also speaks, in his answer of his mother, Margaret. Further, in the Survey of Holt, 23 Hen. VII, the following names appear:—Thomas Crewe, William Crewe, and the heir [or heirs] of John Crewe. A Thomas Crewe, Gent., was also one of the jurors in the jury of survey for Holt, 4th year of Queen Elizabeth, and had pretty nearly the same lands as had the Thomas Crue of 1620.

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November, 1699 (see also under Thomas ffoster's name, p. 415). And, on 28th July, 1749, Samuel Crew, of Common Wood, Gent., was party to a deed wherein he is described as eldest son and heir-at-law of Thomas Crew, of Holt, Gent., deceased (buried at Holt, 28th June, 1741), and as having two sisters, Rebecca (with whom £600 had been paid as marriage portion), married to Thomas Dod, of Edge, Esq., and Christian, who afterwards married Mr. John Jones, of Pentref, and was a widow on 6th June, 1752. It is possible that Holt Hill, one of the houses of the Holt Crews, came to the Joneses of Ynysfor, Penrhyn Deudraeth, through the marriage last named. Samuel Crew, Gent., then tenant of Cornish, was buried at Holt, 18th January, 1770. However, it is almost as dangerous to speculate as to the Crews, who, according to the proverb, were as "common as crows," as it is dangerous to speculate as to the Joneses.

GEORGE COWES had a burgage and curtilage in Frog Lane, also a close of land "neere vnto Devon," in 1620.

ROBERT DAVIES, Esqr. was of Gwysaney, near Mold, son of the first Robert Davies of the same. He married Anne, only daughter of John Heynes, by Elizabeth his wife, which Elizabeth was one of the daughters and co-heiresses of Lancelot Lothar, of Holt, Constable of the Castle.[1] He held, in 1620, three of the four shops underneath the Town Hall. On 28th of October, 1664, Thomas Speed declared by deed that what title he might have to a certain pew in Holt Church was subject to the right of Robert Davies, Esq., of Gwysaney, in the same pew (see *Arch. Camb.*, 1878, p. 147).

WILLIAM DAVIES held a burgage, wherein he dwelt, in Midding Street.

WILLIAM DAVIES, tanner, had also a burgage in Midding Street, "an acre" adjoining, and a parcel of land in "ffishpoole" [field].

ROGER DECKA held a curtilage in Smithfield Green.

ROGER EDGWORTH held a free burgage in Wrexham Lane, wherein he dwelt, and a parcel of land in fishpool field. He had also two parcels of leasehold land in Hewlington, namely, Cunning's land and "ynys croft dyon," formerly in the tenure of Thomas Edgworth. The Edgworths constituted a noted local family, which branched out afterwards to Wrexham, Hoseley, Marchwiel, and elsewhither; Thomas Edgworth, of Bryn y grôg, Marchwiel, becoming the first Mayor of Wrexham in 1857. In 1784, the messuage, barn, and other property in Holt then lately

[1] It was through this marriage, perhaps, that Mr. Davies became a freeman of Holt, and acquired lands there (see under Richard Hooker, below).

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belonging to Mr. Thomas Edgworth, deceased, were offered for sale at the "Red Lion" there, the family thus denoting their final severance from Holt. There is a fuller account of the Edgworths on pp. 194-197 of my *History of the Town of Wrexham*, etc. The will of the Roger Edgworth named in the list of 1620 was proved at Chester in 1629. He was followed by another Roger Edgworth, "gent., and public notary," who was an official for one of the Parliamentary Committees during the Protectorate, and died in May, 1668.

SIR RICHARD EGERTON, knight.—He had a house at Common Wood, in occupation of Roger Green, and a little over 14 customary acres appurtenant there; a burgage in Smithfield Green; 3 other free customary acres, and various leasehold lands in Hewlington, of which a map is given in Norden's *Survey*, namely, Maddock's Moor, Dolvawr or Dolwern, and the Elties or Elthie. He was son of Ralph Egerton, of Ridley, Cheshire (who died in 1619), and grandson of another Sir Richard Egerton, whose widow, Mary, Lady Egerton, speaks in her will, dated 18th October, 1597, of her lands in "Holte, *als.* the Towne of Lyons, Alington, *als.* Trevalyn," etc. The Sir Richard Egerton of 1620 died at Ridley, 24th February, 1627, and was buried at Bunbury (see Ormerod's *Cheshire*). Peter Egerton, half-brother of Sir Richard, son of Ralph Egerton, was, *possibly*, the Lieut.-Col. Peter Egerton who helped to capture Holt Bridge for the Parliamentary party in November, 1643.

WILLIAM FISHER had a burgage in Midding Street, and 3 customary acres of land.

JOHN ffLETCHER had three burgages, forming the site of a house in Wrexham Lane, 10½ customary—or about 22 statute—acres of land in Croes Iocyn Lane, and certain lands "of ancient demesne" set by lease to him.

THOMAS ffOSTER, Gent., had one burgage in Castle Street and no other holding in Holt. There were two Thomas ffosters, the elder and the younger, of Parkside, Allington; see my *History of the Townships of the Old Parish of Gresford*, pp. 147 and 179, where I have, by mistake, made the elder ffoster's wife, Dorothy, to be a daughter of Richard Roydon, of Holt. She was, in fact, a daughter of John Roydon of Isycoed by his wife, Anne, daughter of Richard Chambers, of Sussex, as shown in the College of Arms pedigree. The Thomas ffoster of 1620 was probably the elder, and he whose will was proved at Chester in 1636. Thomas ffoster, the younger, afterwards lived at Holt, where he bought various houses and lands, and served the office of Mayor in 1642; his will is dated 23rd December, 1675, and was proved 17th January, 167$\frac{5}{6}$. He desired to be buried in the

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upper end of the south aisle of the parish church of Holt; and left the messuage in which he lived and all his messuages and lands in the town and liberties of Holt, purchased of Roger Edgworth, Mr. Samuel Davies, Thomas Taylor, Peter Taylor, subject to legacies, to his wife Jane, whom he appointed sole executrix. He bequeathed to his cousins, the brothers and sisters of his cousin Randle Crue, of Holt, £160; namely, to Samuel Crue, £20; to William Crue, £100; to Dorothy, wife of John Gough (see below), £20, and to Elizabeth, wife of John Powell (see p. 421), £20, etc.; he bequeathed also to his niece, Elizabeth, relict of Christopher Dutton, £4 a year for life, to issue out of the further hall field; to his cousin, Elizabeth, wife of John Jones, of Darland Green, 40*s.*; and besides some minor bequests, 52*s.* yearly to twelve of the more aged and indigent poor of the town and liberties of Holt for ever, to take effect immediately after his own decease, and to be distributed every sabbath day in bread, the said 52*s.* to be secured on a field called "The two acres," *alias* "The Espes." Then, after the decease of testator's wife, all his estate, goods and chattels, were to go to his cousin, Randle Crue, of Holt [a son, apparently, of a Thomas Crue of the same] for life, and afterwards to Samuel, son and heir apparent of the said Randle and his lawful issue male, or in default to Thomas Crue, Randle's second son, and his lawful issue male; or in default to William Crue, a younger brother of the said Randle; or in default to Randle's right heirs for ever. Mr. Thomas ffoster was buried at Holt, 31st December, 1675, and his goods were valued on 5th January, 167⅘, by Joseph Powell and Thomas Edgworth, at £345 17*s.* 8*d.* Mrs. ffoster, the widow, was buried at Holt, 5th June, 1689.

JANE GERARD was daughter of William Almer, Esq., of Pant Iocyn, and widow of Gilbert Gerard, of the same, son of Sir William Gerard, knight. She had, in 1620, two burgages in Castle Street, one burgage in Frog Lane, and 16 customary—or nearly 34 statute—acres of land in Holt.

JOHN GODSON had a burgage near the bridge, next that of George Buckley, on the south side of Church Street.

JOHN GOUGH had two burgages in Frog Lane, and another John Gough, or the same, had a few acres of free land.

ROGER GREENE, besides being Sir Richard Egerton's tenant at Common Wood, had 12 customary acres of leasehold land between Common Wood and Wrexham Lane.

EDWARD GRIFFITH had, in 1620, "one Burgage wherevpon the Mansion-house late of William Griffith standeth," one other burgage and 18 customary—or 38 statute—acres of free land.

RICHARD HOOKER, clerk, "holdeth one Acre and a half of

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Land wherevpon a Howse now standeth with all buildings to the same belonging, sometimes the landes of George Lothar, late the Landes of John Henry and Robert Davies Esquire and Anne his wief, and late of Edward Warmingham;" also a kiln near thereto.

RANDOLPH HUTCHINS.—His capital messuage stood on the site of three burgages. He had one other burgage, 26½ customary acres of land, "in Hugmore and Cornish," 4 customary acres "in ffishpoolefield," etc. He died 17th July, 1624, leaving, by his wife Margaret, a son, Thomas (see Owen's *Catalogue of Welsh MSS.*, etc., Part II, p. 135). This son, Thomas Hutchins, gent., and Dorothy, his wife, were parties to a fine levied 17th October, 1660, on a farm at Hugmore, now known as "Hayes' Farm," at the corner of Hugmore Lane and Wrexham Road. In the 23rd Henry VII, "John hychen" was a freeholder of Holt, and "hychen" is merely the Welsh way of spelling "Hutchen."

JOHN JENISON held 6 customary—or about 12½ statute—acres, part of the 30 acres late the lands of Thomas Pulford.

OWEN JONES, gent., of Glan y pwll (see my *History of the Country Townships of the Old Parish of Wrexham*, p. 158, and elsewhere. He had 9 customary acres of free land in Hugmore, and 5 customary acres of leasehold land.

THOMAS JOHN LEWIS, of Burton, had three burgages in Frog Lane.

EDWARD MADDOCK had a dwelling-house in Pepper Street, his curtilage adjoining the pinfold, late the land of Peter Roydon; a burgage adjoining the garden of George Bostock, Esq.; a parcel of land called "The Espes adioyning to the pavement leading from ffrog lane towardes the Common Woode," and one of the four shops under the Town Hall.

WILLIAM NICHOLL had three burgages and ¾ of an acre between Smithfield Green and Fishpool field, late the lands of Edward Puleston.

THOMAS PATE, gent.—He had, in 1620, three burgages represented by his house, and 5 customary acres near Hall field; one other burgage and 27 customary acres of land; a parcel of land "in hie greene," with cottage built thereon, lying in breadth between Wrexham Lane and the said green, containing half a burgage and the twelfth part of a burgage. And in the manor of Hewlington he had four closes of leasehold land called "Tier garregge," that is, "Tir y garreg," or *Land of the stone*, now known as the "Tithe garrets." A certain Thomas Pate, of Holt, gent., deposed, in 1597,[1] that he was then fifty years old.

[1] Jankyn Pate, senior, Alice his mother, and Richard Pate are also named among the tenants of Holt in the 23rd year of Hen. VII, and William Pate among those of 4 Queen Elizabeth.

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The will of the Thomas Pate of 1620, mayor of the town in 1618, was proved at Chester in 1621. Also, another Thomas Pate, of Holt, married Martha, one of the daughters of John Powell of Holt, the fighting Puritan. The Pates were a family of considerable local influence, established not merely in Holt, but in Allington, Burton, Wrexham, Farndon, Shocklach, and elsewhere. In Holt itself were two branches of them. On the 11th April, 1625, William Pate, of Holt, gent., entered into a prenuptial agreement with Thomas Edge, of Hope Owen, Flintshire, in view of his marriage with Grace Edge, which marriage soon after took place; and on 18th October, 1622, William Pate[1] settled, in trust for his wife, upon Thomas Edge and John Meredith, of Allington, gent, among other lands, "Gwern Saeson," in Cobham Isycoed, "the tieth garregs" in Hewlington, and various quillets of land and meadow in Cacca Dutton. Later on, we find Ferdinando Pate, of Holt, gent. (whose wife's name was Mary), in possession of the abovenamed lands, which afterwards were purchased for the poor of Wrexham. The son,

[1] The abovenamed Grace, wife of William Pate, was buried 21st March, $166\frac{6}{7}$, and her husband 29th March, 1675. Also the Thomas Pate, senior, who was buried 3rd March, $166\frac{7}{8}$, is described distinctly as brother to William Pate, gent.; so that the Thomas Pate, of Holt, who was buried 8th February, $170\frac{3}{4}$, was very likely a son of Thomas Pate, senior, and nephew of William Pate. [Since writing the foregoing, I have seen a copy of the will of Thomas Edge, of Hope Owen, father of Mrs. Grace Pate, dated 26th December, 1634, proved 1st March, $164\frac{4}{5}$, wherein, after bequeathing various sums of money to his nephews and nieces surnamed Edge, he devised to his grandchild, Thomas Pate, son of William Pate, of Holt, all that dwelling-house, with the buildings and lands thereto belonging, "in the hoult aforesaid for the purchase whereof I have paied Nyne pounds in earnest vnto John Presland and Lancelott Presland of the holt aforesaid;" or if the said bargain came to no effect, then he bequeathed to the said Thomas Pate £86. Whether this bargain of sale was ever realised does not appear. But the testator left his wife, Custance, all his leasehold lands and tenements, she bringing up, maintaining, taking order for her learning and preferring, his granddaughter, Elizabeth Pate, daughter of the said William Pate: and if the said Elizabeth Pate declined to live with his wife, Custance, by reason of marriage, or any other cause, then the testator's will was that all his lands—leasehold and purchased—should be divided into two equal parts, whereof the one part should be enjoyed by his wife for the term of her life, and the other by said Elizabeth Pate, who, on his wife's death, should have both the parts, to hold to her and the heirs of her body, or in default, to the said Thomas Pate, and the heirs of his body; or in default, to William Pate, son of the said William Pate.]

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Ferdinando, of this Ferdinando Pate, was baptised 26th August, 1723, and died at Poulton, 26th January, 1812, being ninety years old; and one of his sons, John Pate, of Chester, upholsterer, married 24th January, 1814, Sarah Pate, thus uniting the two Holt branches of the Pate family. This Sarah Pate was a daughter of the Thomas Pate of Holt who died 22nd December, 1816, aged seventy-nine, and a sister of the Thomas Pate of Holt, mayor of the borough in 1819, who died 6th November, 1823, aged fifty-two. Mary, daughter of the last-named Thomas Pate, by Sarah, his wife, married Moses Steven, of Chester, and the present Mr. Thomas Pate Steven is their grandson, being son of John Pate Steven, who died in February, 1875. The house of the Thomas Pate branch still survives opposite Ainsdale, on the Wrexham road, and will be described hereafter.

MARGERIE PHILLIPS had three customary acres of free lands in Hugmore, sometime land of Lancelot Pulford, and then late of William Batha; 12 acres of leasehold land between Common Wood and Wrexham Lane; and over 5 acres called "says hey lands."

FRANCIS PICKERING, gent., had, in 1620, three burgages representing the site of his mansion-house near the churchyard: the little Wallock (see Chap. I, p. 11); the "little annes hey" ["Yr Ynysau"—*the holmes*] on north side of Wrexham Lane; and a parcel of land appurtenant to his mansion house, whereon a barn was built, adjoining the castle ditch. Mr. Francis Pickering was mayor of the town in 1632, married Margaret, sister of Robert Worrall, and died 3rd September, 1635, leaving a son, Francis, who, a mere youth, was one of the garrison in Holt Castle when it was held for Charles I, and, after its surrender, was fined £70 by the Sequestration Committee. This Francis Pickering the second, leased for eleven years, on 24th December, 1640, a parcel of land called "Annesse gouch" (Ynys goch—*the red holme*) then or lately in the tenure of Roger Edgworth, of Holt, to Thomas Baker, of Wrexham. He was still living in 1656. Yr ynys Goch is on the north side of Wrexham Road (see the map prefixed to Chap. I). A John Pickering was doorkeeper of Holt Castle in the 21st year of Henry VII, and in the 10th and 11th years of Henry VIII; and in the 14th year of the first-named king there was appointed, as Receiver of Bromfield and Yale, Sir Edward Pickering, who, as Mr. Hughes of Kinmel thinks, must have been son of Sir Christopher Pickering, of Ellerton, Yorkshire, by his second wife (Ellen, daughter of Sir Richard Haryngton, knight). Sir Christopher's first wife was Mary, daughter of Sir Robert Lowther. The surname "Pickering" still survives at Holt.

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JOHN PLATT, glover, had a burgage and a half near the Town Hall.

JOHN PRESLAND had a burgage and some land in Holt. There was a Richard Presland who lived in the manor of Isycoed, next adjoining the franchise, at the same time. Doubtless, John Presland was related to him, and the Preslands of Ridley and the Preslands of Presland and Wardle, Cheshire, were of the same stock, the eldest son—or one son at least, in almost every generation—being called Richard. When the Earl of Bridgwater purchased the manor of Ridley from the Crown, he seems to have ignored entirely the composition made by the forty years' leaseholders with the Queen's officers, and the right of renewal by the tenants of their leases, treating them as tenants-at-will, or giving them leases for lives at arbitrary fines. In October, 1622, the Earl granted a lease to Richard Presland, the elder, of the house and lands he then held in Ridley, for ninety-nine years, if he, the said Richard, Robert Presland his son, and Katherine his daughter, should live so long. Katherine Presland just named became afterwards the wife of Captain Edward Taylor (second son of Thomas Taylor, of Dutton Diffaeth, yeoman), a famous Parliamentary officer, who had, with his wife, the reversion of a lease of one of the farms called "Parkey," in Bedwall. These Preslands and Taylors were, at the time of the Civil War and afterwards, strong Presbyterians. Richard Presland, the elder, had, among other children, Richard Presland, the younger, Nathaniel Presland, and Mary Presland. His widow, Katherine, became the second wife of Edward Thomas, of Wrexham, one of the local officials of the Parliamentary Sequestrators, who had, by his first wife, two sons, namely, Jonathan Edwards, who was afterwards Vice-Chancellor of Oxford, and Samuel Edwards, often mentioned by Philip Henry in his diary. Nearly all these particulars have been gleaned from Presland deeds perused by me. A Thomas Presland was bailiff of Hewlington, by Holt, in the 10th year of Henry VIII: perhaps the same Thomas who was one of the witnesses to the will of John Roden, Rector of Gresford, made 24th June, 1506. There was also a certain Lancelot Presland, son of John and Alice Presland, who was living in the 44th year of Queen Elizabeth; and a John Presland and Lancelot Presland sold before 26th December, 1634, to Thomas Edge, of Hope Owen (see p. 417, note), a messuage and lands in Holt.

MARGARET POVA had a burgage in Wrexham Lane, between the burgages of John Read and John ffletcher.

JOHN POWELL had a burgage in Frog Lane, Holt, where he lived, formerly belonging to Edward Almer, William Almer,

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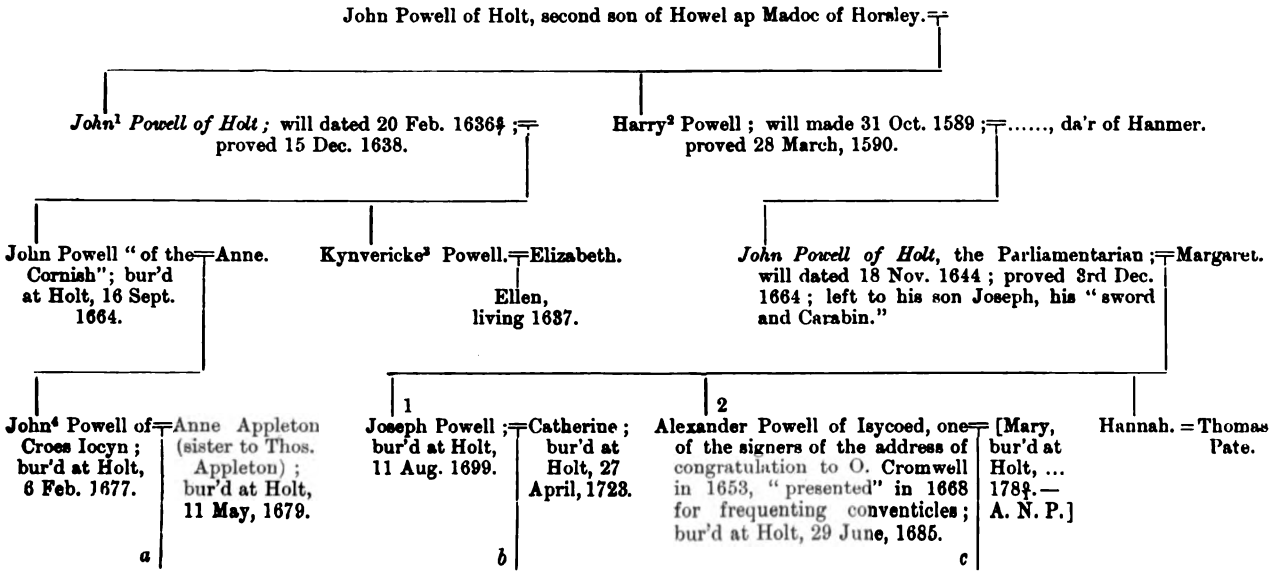
PEDIGREE OF POWELL OF HOLT,

ACCORDING TO MR. ELLISON POWELL, ABBREVIATED.



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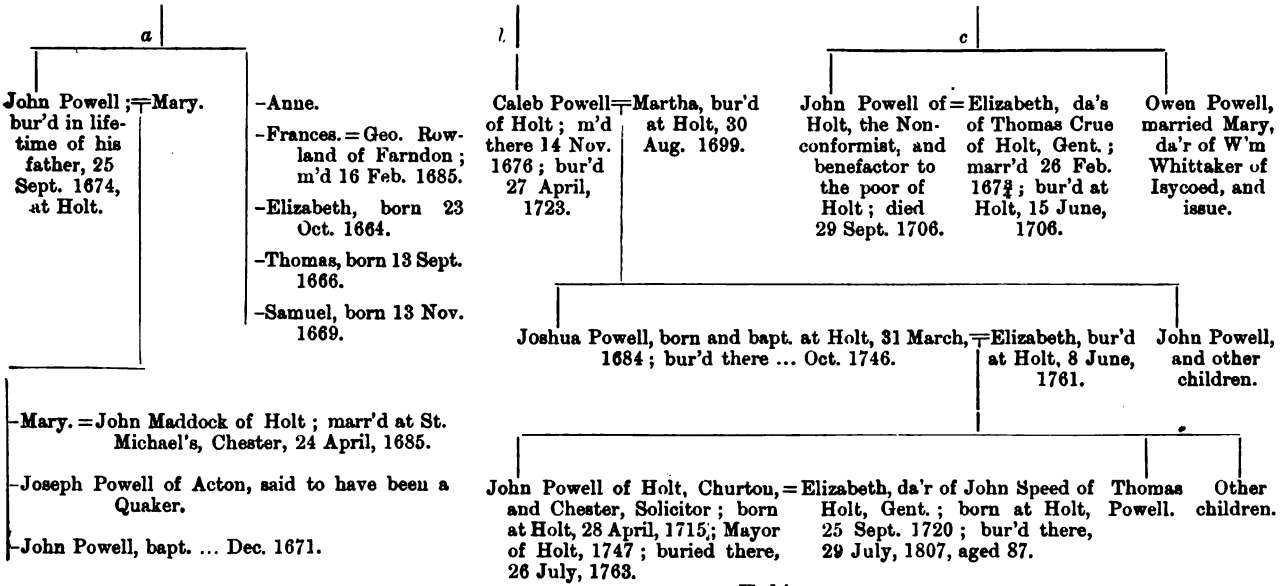

[1] Calls himself in his will "John ap Howell, in the Parishe of Howlte."—A. N. P.

[2] Calls himself in his will "Harrye ap John ap Howell, of Sutton, in the Parish of the Houlte."—A. N. P.

[3] "Kynvericke" for "Cynwrig," or "Kenrick."—A. N. P.

[4] "Of Hugmore Lane."—A. N. P.

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and Jane Gerrard, and no other lands there. Nor was there, in 1620, any other freeholder of Holt bearing that name. He was afterwards a Parliamentary soldier, his will being dated 18th November, 1644, and not proved until 3rd December, 1664. There was, it would appear, another John Powell of the parish of Holt living at this time, but he called himself "John ap Howell," and was not a burgess. Both these were derived, according to the late Mr. Ellison Powell (see annexed pedigree), from an earlier John Powell, who is said to have been a younger brother of the first Thomas Powell, Esq., of Horsley; and so late as 1904, when I sent to the press my pedigree of the Powells of Horsley (in my *History of the Townships of the Old Parish of Gresford*, opposite p. 118), I accepted this derivation without reserve. But further investigation gave rise to grave doubts. Mr. Ellison Powell spent an immense amount of labour in tracing the origin of these Holt Powells; and in justice to him, as well as to show the point of the criticisms about to be made, I print the accompanying abbreviated pedigree, compiled almost entirely from Mr. Ellison Powell's book, in which pedigree the two possible John Powells of 1620 are indicated by putting their names in italics. Indeed, the pedigree is correct beyond doubt, if we start in the one case from John Powell whose will was proved on 15th December, 1638, and in the other from Harry Powell, who is said to have been his brother. But, first of all, I cannot find any evidence to show that these two were really brothers: there is certainly nothing in their wills pointing to any such relationship Next, in 1589, the aforesaid Harry does not call himself "Powell" at all, but simply "Harrye ap John ap Howell," naming his brother "William ap John ap Howell," and his own two sons "John ap Harrye and "Rauf ap Harrye," although John ap Harrye, after his father's death, seems to have adopted "Powell" as a surname, and become John Powell, the Parliamentary soldier aforesaid. But the fact that he took this surname does not prove that he was of the Horsley stock, nor does his father's name—"Harrye ap John ap Howell"—establish a derivation of the sort indicated. Finally, there is no hint in any of the wills of the Powells of Horsley, known to me, pointing to any relationship with the Powells of Holt, of either stock. I feel bound to make these criticisms, although the possibility—the bare possibility—may be admitted of some earlier will coming to light which shall prove the connection for which Mr. Ellison Powell contended: and am glad that these "historic doubts" did not occur to me during that gentleman's lifetime,[1] and so have

[1] The fact that Joseph Powell, of Cornhill, London (son of Caleb,

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possibly interrupted a long, valued, and most fruitful correspondence. A few notes of the principal bequests contained in the will (made 27th June, 1706, proved 15th March, 1707) of John Powell, of Holt (son of Alexander Powell) may be interesting here. The testator gave to the poor of Holt for ever "all that parcell of land adjoining southward to the lande of Thomas Passnage the Elder, of Holt aforesaid, Ralph Churton of Aldford, in the County of Chester, and other land along the Ditch to the land of Caleb Powell aforesd, westward to a lane called Chester Lane, and on the north and east parts thereof to other lands I lately purchased of Mr. Eddowes, Ironmonger, of Whitchurch, in the county of Salop, together with the sd parcell of land, the rents, issues, and profits thereof." He bequeathed also two other parcels of land, purchased from the said Mr. Eddowes, to "Master Long, now a Nonconformist Minister of the lately new-built Chappell in Wrexham" [Chester Street] for life, and to his successors, ministers of the said chapel, for ever. He left all his personal estate to his kinsman, Mr. Thomas Crue, and to Mr. Thomas Billington, both of Holt, and appointed them his executors. Thomas Billington, gent., was buried at Holt, 3rd April, 1734. The house of the Powells still stands in Frog Lane, Holt, although divided into three or four tenements. In 1843 it belonged to Mary Powell, who had in the borough nearly 29 acres of land.

. THOMAS PULFORD, of Barton, and THOMAS PULFORD, of Holt.—Thomas Pulford, the elder, of Barton, was buried at Farndon in April, 1628. The Pulfords were a wide-branching family, originating, doubtless, at Pulford, but connected mainly with Holt, Farndon, and Wrexham. An account of them is given on pp. 20, 34-36, and 186, 187 of my *History of the Town of Wrexham*, etc. To this account I might append many additions, but will only make a few here. About the year 1546, John Pulford, Lancelot Pulford, and William Pulford held at the lord's will 30 acres of pasture in 5 closes in Hugmore, John and William Pulford 6 acres of pasture on the north side of "gallowtree lane," and Lancelot Pulford 10 acres of land and pasture in three closes next "Comen Wood," and 5 acres of land and 8 of meadow on the south side of Wrexham Lane. And in 1620 Thomas Wilkinson, of Farndon, Richard Vernon, and John Jenison had each a part of 60 customary—or nearly 127 statute —acres, once the lands of Thomas Pulford and of Alice and Joan Pulford, one of whom was the wife of William Pulford.

grandson of the first Caleb Powell), bore in 1766 the arms of the Powells of Horsley, need not regarded as conclusive.

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In 1620, Thomas Pulford [of Holt] held by lease the Clayfield in Hewlington, in succession to John Pulford, whose estate he had. There was also a Richard Pulford, gent., who had lands called "Cae hicke" in Holt, and died 28th February, 1630, leaving a son, Ferdinand (see Owen's *Catalogue of the MSS. relating to Wales in the British Museum*, Part II, p. 185) whom I cannot trace. A Mr. Thomas Pulford, of Wrexham, was in Holt Castle at the time of its surrender to Colonel Mytton. In the will of this Thomas Pulford (made 1st December, 1657, proved 22nd December, 1660), the testator speaks of his daughter, Katherine Weld, and of his only son, John Pulford. The John Pulford just named married Ursula, daughter of Alexander Walthall, of Wistaston, Cheshire, and had several children, among whom was Alexander Pulford, of Wrexham, gent., whose mother, Ursula, married secondly George Goldsmith, of Wrexham, gent. Two of Alexander Pulford's sons were John Pulford, the Prothonotary, and the Rev. Thomas Pulford. These latter remarks are made so as to clear up some uncertainty, since dissipated, which I felt when writing the *History of the Town of Wrexham*.

JOHN READ had four burgages in Wrexham Lane, whereon his mansion-house stood, 2 acres of land in "ffishpoolefield," and a parcel of land called Knight's Wood, adjoining Wrexham Lane.

THOMAS ROGERS, *alias* COOKE, had one burgage in Frog Lane.

JOHN ROGERSON had two burgages in Wrexham Lane, whereon his dwelling-house stood, and three customary acres of "ancient demesne."

WILLIAM ROGERSON had a burgage and three-quarters of a curtilage in High Green, also 1½ acre (customary) of free land in "little Annes goz" [Ynys goch].

"ROGER ROYDON, Esq., holdeth Two Burgages whereon his Capitall Messuage standeth in Castle streete" (Norden's *Survey*, A.D. 1620). "The same holdeth seaven Burgages adioyninge to the said Messuage where his orchard place is." "The same holdeth one Burgage in the said Castlestreete where his stable standeth late the landes of Thomas Billot;" also the "Moore hall field" and "lefft hall field" (28 acres, customary, the rent of the two fields being reckoned at one shilling an acre); also Mill hey and a meadow adjoining (the rent of which last three were reckoned at 2*s.* an acre (that is the site of nine burgages and 46½ customary—or over 98 statute—acres of land. "The same holdeth one parcell of land called Ridley wood contayning 23 acres [=45½ statute acres] late the landes of Launcelot

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Aldford." And it is added in the *Survey* that the lands last mentioned were ancient freehold lands, granted by the charter, but then held by lease. Mr. Roger Roydon had also until recently held various parcels of leasehold land in Hewlington, containing 48 customary—or 101½ statute—acres; which, however, had been assigned on the 22nd March, 161⅔ to Mr. David Speed. Mr. Roger Roydon was the eldest son and heir of John Roydon, Esq.,[1] of Isycoed, by his first wife Anne. Roger married firstly Jane, daughter of Thomas Powell, of Horsley, Esq., and among his sisters were Dorothy, wife of Thomas ffoster, and Joan, wife of Edward Crewe, both named above. It is intended to deal with the Roydons at greater length when treating of the chapelry of Isycoed.

JOHN SIVEDALE had an acre and a-half of free land, part of little "Annes hey goz," near Knight's Wood.

DAVID SPEED, gent., had two burgages, whereon his mansion-house stood, one other burgage, and over 17 customary—or about 36 statute—acres of free land, besides the leasehold land in Hewlington mentioned above; also the Gallowtree field there (on lease), and an estate at the Rossett. The Speeds were a notable Holt stock, although which house was the head of their estate there it is not yet possible to point out. John Speed, the antiquary, is said to have been born at Farndon in 1552, and to have been a member of this family. "David Speed, of the Holt, gent.," was buried 11th April, 1633, and his will proved at Chester in 1639. This man it was who appeared on Norden's jury of 1620; and it is probable that to his nimble brain and sound knowledge is due the exposition of the case of the forty years' leaseholders as it stands in the preamble to the presentment of the jurors of Hewlington; the jury for Holt and Hewlington being composed of the same persons, and he being named among the jurymen, next after the mayor of Holt. He was followed by another David Speed, recorder, who was, most likely, the David Speed who married at Farndon, 25th June,

[1] In the *Survey* of 4 Elizabeth, 1562, John Roydon, the father of Roger, is described as having in the town of Holt one messuage, two burgages, the fourth part of one burgage, an orchard, in which formerly were seven burgages, and five parcels of land called "morehalfield, lesehallfield, milnehey, barbors hey," and a parcel of meadow lying next said milnehey, lately in tenure of John Roydon, his father. But "morehalfield" was assigned, in November, 37th year of Queen Elizabeth, by John Roydon and Roger his son to John Hare.

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1623, "Sydney P . . . bill." This second David made, with three others, the Parliamentary Survey of 16$\frac{4}{5}$. I have seen his nuncupative will, made 13th July, 1660, the day before he died, in which he describes himself as of Hewlington, appoints Sidney, his wife, his executrix, and mentions his son, Thomas Speed. The inventory of his goods was made on the 13th of the same month by Mr. Thomas Humberston and John ap Edward, who designate the deceased as "David Speede gent. of the towne of Hoult." His son, Thomas Speed, was buried at Holt, 9th November, 1664; and there was a David Speed, son of John Speed, gent., who was also there buried 26th December, 1681.

THOMAS SPENCER, of Farndon, had 6 customary acres of land adjoining Knight's Wood [in Wrexham Road], formerly the lands of John Aldford.

ROGER SUCKLEY had a burgage next the bridge, next that of John Godson.

SIR JOHN TREVOR, knight, had a burgage in Castle Street, two burgages and one curtilage in Cross Green, both formerly in the holding of Edward Almer and Jane Almer, widow; a parcel of land, containing by estimation half a curtilage, whereon a house was built, and about 31 customary acres of free land. He was of Plâs Teg, county Flint.

SIR RICHARD TREVOR, knight, had a curtilage near the Castle gate, whereon a house was built, extending towards the River Dee. He was of Trefalyn Hall, and the elder brother of the aforesaid Sir John Trevor (see the Trevor pedigree opposite page 100 of my *History of the Townships of the Old Parish of Gresford*).

RICHARD VERNON had 6 customary acres of land, whereon a house was built, part of the 30 acres formerly belonging to Thomas Pulford. Richard Vernon's will was proved at Chester in 1629.

JOHN WELLES had a burgage in Midding Street, between the burgage of William Davies and that wherein William Cork dwelled (see also under William Wilde).

LAWRENCE WELLES had a burgage in Castle Street, in the holding of Jane Warburton; six free customary acres "beyond devon;" five leasehold parcels containing 11 customary acres in "Cross yockin [lane];" and a leasehold piece of land "in Holt neare vnto the Castle gate in a lane leading from the pavemt towardes the River called Mill Dee, wherevpon a Cottage standeth conteyning the third part of a curtilage." Mr. Hughes,

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of Kinmel, tells me that a Laurence Wells married Elizabeth, daughter and heir of Owen Roydon, son of Peter Roydon, son of John Roydon,[1] a drover (see also under the next entry).

"WILLIAM WILDE, gent., holdeth nyne Burgages, viz., three wherevpon his Mansion howse standeth with the orchard, garden, and backside therevnto belonging, one Croft over against the said howse conteyning foure burgages, and two burgages are adioyning to the orchard of Randolph Hutchins." "The same holdeth one parcell of land lying neare devon platt[2] adioyning to the pavement wch leades to the Comon Wood conteyning three Acres." The same holdeth one parcell of land at Espehill called The Espes, conteyning two Acres. The same holdeth a Curtilage adioyning to the howse called the pavement howse in the hie Greene;" making in all nine burgages, and over 28 customary—or over 59 statute—acres of free land. Mr. William Wilde belonged to a very ancient family, members of which were among the earliest mediæval English settlers in Bromfield. John le Wylde, clerk, was one of the witnesses to an Allington charter of 1391, as I learn from Mr. Edward Owen. Richard de Wylde, son of John de Wylde, of Holt, married, according to *Powys Fadog* (vol. iii, p. 91), Margaret, daughter of John Lowther, of Holt; and their great-great-grandson, Thomas de Wylde, purchased the house and lands of Ieuan and Howel, sons of David Llwyd, forfeited for their share in Owen Glyndwr's rebellion. This account of the date of the forfeiture is not quite in accord with chronological facts, but in the 23rd year of Henry VII (*seq.* 1508), Thomas the Wylde, and others were actually in possession of land in Hewlington, "formerly the land of Madoc ap Ieuan ap Madoc, Jankyn his brother [and] *Ieuan and Howel, sons of David Lloyd.* John Wele was seneschal or steward of Bromfield and Yale in 1411, and one of the wit-

[1] Mr. E. B. Roydon has sent me a copy of the will of John Roydon, of Holt, dated 20th May, 1560, and proved on the 16th June following, in which the testator names, among other children, his son Peter. Mr. Roydon thinks that the father of the Elizabeth Roydon who married Laurence Wells may have been Owen Roydon, son of the above-named Peter Roydon, son of John Roydon. I find that Peter Roydon released, on 15th December, 25 Queen Elizabeth, 1582, to Owen Roydon, his son, his Holt lands.

[2] This shows that the brook crossing Common Wood Lane was called, in 1620, "The Devon;" as a passage subsequently to be quoted (under John Wilkinson) shows that the same brook was then called Devon, and not "Ugg," at the point it crossed Wrexham Road.

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nesses of the Holt charter.[1] The name of this family came to be spelled in later times "Weld" and "Wells," or "Welles," as well as "Wylde," "Wilde," and "Wilds." One branch remained, or became Roman Catholic; and a Richard Weld, of Holt, was "presented" as "a recusant," and buried by night at Tarporley, Cheshire, 20th August, 1626. Samuel Wilds, of Wilds Green, was mayor of Holt in 1624. And a "William Wild, son to Edward Wild, gent." was buried at Holt 22nd February, 166¾. Other Welds, among whom may be named Mr. Peter Weld and Mr. Rolph Weld, both of High Street, Wrexham, were Presbyterians. Thomas Weld, citizen and grocer, of London, and of Richmond, Surrey, in his will of 1678, speaks of "nephew Peter Weld of Wrexham." This Peter was buried at Wrexham, 16th July, 1688. Mr. Ralph Weld, before the Restoration, *Lieutenant* Ralph Weld, buried at Wrexham, 28th August, 1681, was a fast friend to Philip Henry, leaving him £5 by his will; which bequest was delivered by his nephew, also named Ralph Weld, probably the Rev. Ralph Weld, rector of Great Saxham, Suffolk, who died 21st September, 1721, leaving £100 to Wrexham Grammar School. The Mr. Peter Weld, of Wrexham, who died in 1688, is called in the Parish Registers, at different times, "Weild," "Welds," and "Wells," but he described himself consistently as "Peter Weld." The representatives of the family who spelled their surname "Wells" and "Welles" are represented in the 1620 list of Holt freeholders by John and Laurence Wells.

JOHN WILKINSON had three burgages, where his dwelling-house stood, with barns, etc.; a burgage in Frog Lane; a burgage and a-half near the Cross; a burgage near Cross Green; and another burgage; also "one parcell neare Devon bridge in Wrexham Lane;" a close called "The Espes," another near Devon, about 23 customary—or 48½ statute—acres of free land, an acre of leasehold land called "Y Pase," and 6 customary—or 12½ statute—acres of leasehold land, including the little Gallow-tree field, in Hewlington.

THOMAS WILKINSON, of Farndon, had a house and 18 customary acres, part of the 30 customary acres formerly of Thomas Pulford, etc., and 3 other like acres of leasehold land.

JOHN WRIGHT had "one curtilage neere vnto the Crosse adioyning to ye pavement leadinge from the said Crosse towardes

[1] To this may be added that Jankyn Wylde and William le Wylde were tenants of Holt in the 23rd year of Henry VII, and in 1564 David and Edward Wilde had nine burgages, etc., at Holt.

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frog lane where his dwelling howse standeth with all buildings therevnto belonging late the landes of Edward Puleston," 12 customary acres of free land and more of leasehold land in the franchise of Holt, and Thomas Lothar's estate in Hewlington, being a leasehold customary acre demised to Thomas Lothar, deceased, on 10th December, 1580 (see also under next entry).

GEORGE WRIGHT had 13 customary—or 25½ statute—free acres of land whereon his dwelling-house stood, formerly the land of Thomas ap Madoc ap Iolyn, late of Sutton. and 14 like acres of leasehold land called "Kay Robbin." The will of George Wright, of Holt, was proved at Chester in 1623. Thomas Wright, of Holt, gent., was buried there in November, 1679, and Katherine, daughter of George Wright, was married about 1693 or 1694 to Roger Roydon, of Calcott (Caldecote), Cheshire. On 16th November, 1641, Thomas Niccoe, of Holt, yeoman, and Jane his wife, sold, in consideration of £37 10*s.*, to Thomas Wright, of Holt, yeoman, a close of 3 acres adjoining the land of George Bostocke, Esq., on the east; the land of Arthur Wright, brother of the said Thomas Wright, on the west; the land of Sir John Trevor, knight, on the north, and the King's highway on the south. In the will of Joseph Wright, of Tarvin (dated 26th February, 1767, proved 26th March, 1774), the testator speaks of his two messuages, etc., in Holt; of his nephew, John Speed, of the same; of his niece, Elizabeth Powell, widow [of John Powell and daughter of John Speed; see the Powell pedigree, before]; of his niece, Mary Speed, etc.

THOMAS WILLIAMS had 7 customary acres of land, with house and other buildings, "in Crosse Yockin Lane."

JOHN YARDLEY, gent., had, in 1620, three burgages, whereon his dwelling-house stood, one other burgage, and 17 customary acres of free land. The Yardleys were well known in Holt, Farndon, and elsewhere in the neighbourhood, about this time. In 1562, Lancelot Yardley was a free tenant of Holt. In 1597, Thomas Yardley, Mr. Edward Owen told me, had a dispute with John Roydon concerning the right and title to lands in Hewlington called "the Fourteen Acres," and land in Ridley Wood, late of John Yardley, plaintiff's father; the point at issue being whether these lands were left in trust to Alice, John Yardley's wife, Sir George Calveley, knight, Thomas Calcott, and others, for the payment of his debts, and sold by them to the defendant, John Roydon, without condition of redemption. And I have since seen a series of depositions, furnished me in summary by Mr. E. B. Roydon, of Bromborough, relating to this dispute, which seems to have been a very complicated one. I need only say

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that Thomas Yardley, the complainant, of Crew and Farndon, was in 1597 about sixty years of age; that when his father, John Yardley, died, he, Thomas, was about nine years old, and in ward to John Roydon, his uncle. On the 29th day of the eleventh month, 1659 [January, 16$\frac{5}{6}$$\frac{9}{0}$], John Yardley, of Holt,[1] and Elizabeth Farmer, of Shrewsbury, were married at the place last named, after the fashion of Friends; and in 1682 a piece of land in Cross Green, Holt—still called "Quakers' Yard"—formerly the properly of John Yardley, was vested in trustees as a Friends' burial ground. A "John Yardley, gent.," was buried at Holt, 22nd January, 167$\frac{4}{5}$, and a "a Thomas Yarley," of Holt, on 14th March 14th, 167$\frac{4}{5}$.

THE MAYOR AND CITIZENS OF CHESTER held 2½ customary—or 5¼ statute—acres of land, with a house thereon built, late belonging to Alderman Valentine Broughton, of Chester, deceased, and left by him to feoffees for charitable uses.

The foregoing extracts, or summaries of extracts, give a most vivid and instructive picture of the town of Holt, as it was in 1620. Many of the old burgages then remained, probably very much in the same condition as when first built and set out, each with its curtilage in front and with its croft behind, along Castle Street, Wrexham Lane (now Wrexham Road), near the bridge (now Church Street), Midding Street, Pepper Street, and Frog Lane (in which the pinfold was); also around Cross Green, Smithfield Green, and High Green. But in a great number of cases, two or more burgages,[2] had made way for larger houses, and for the gardens, stables, and other buildings appurtenant to them. It mattered not at all to the lord how far this process

[1] This was, perhaps, the John Yardley the younger, of Holt, son of John Yardley the elder, who on the 12th January, 166$\frac{2}{3}$, left all his estate—except some trifling legacies—to his wife, Elizabeth; which Elizabeth, his widow, on 18th December, 1663, renounced all her interest in the executorship of her late husband's will to her trusty friend Charles Bradshaw, the younger.

[2] Mr. Wilde's house, orchard, stable, and croft occupied the site of seven burgages; and Mr. Roydon's house, orchard, and stable the site of nine burgages in Castle Street. There is no need to cite other examples.

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was carried, so long as it was duly recorded that the holding of so-and-so represented, say, seven burgages, from which seven times the rents and services were to be rendered as were due from a single burgage. In 1620, 125 ancient burgages were remembered in Holt; or rather the rents ("crown rents," as they are now called) were remembered. Of course, all these oldest burgages have long ago vanished, but I I myself recollect some queer-looking half-timbered thatched cottages in Church Street and elsewhere in the town, perhaps as old as the time of Norden's *Survey*, which gave a very fair idea of what an old burgage was like, but these have been much altered in recent years: windows enlarged, or the thatch covered with corrugated iron, so that all picturesqueness is gone from them. The burgages were built across the width of long narrow strips, about two chains in length, and containing, so far as can be made out, a little over a rood of ground, the area varying slightly. A few Holt houses, although modern, represent, so far as their site and the size of their gardens are concerned, exactly the area of the old burgages, with their curtilages and crofts. But we have to calculate with care, for in Norden's *Survey* we are told distinctly of *two* adjoining houses which represented *three* burgages; while in another case it appears as though *three* modern cottages stood on the site of *two* burgages, the crofts at the back being divided into as many gardens as there are cottages; and other disturbing factors have been introduced.

Suppose we now try to picture to ourselves the open spaces, streets, and lanes in Holt at the date of Norden's *Survey*.

And first let us take the open spaces.

"Smithfield Green" denotes the same place that is still so called.

Church Green is not named, but it is quite clear that what is now so called was in 1620, and later, known as "Cross Green." It is easy to prove this. I have

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seen the original deed recording the sale (28th February, 168½) to "the Friends" of the piece of ground at the corner of Bridge Street and Church Green, Holt, for the purpose of a Quakers' burial-ground. Now, this piece of land, the position of which is exactly known, is described as "adjoyning thereto a greene called Crosse Greene." Unless there were *once* two crosses standing in the town of Holt, it seems very probable that the Cross Green was at an early date continuous with what is now known as "The Cross Bank;" in other words, that it extended over the site of Holt Hall and gardens, and other intervening houses. However, there was only one cross in Holt in 1620, several houses being described, as though that description were sufficient, as being "near the cross." Nevertheless, I do not doubt but that this cross, standing on Cross Bank, gave its name to Cross Green, now called Church Green, and that all houses between represent ancient encroachments, or enclosures, made before 1620.

"High Green" was another open space in 1620. I feel certain, from the references to it in the *Survey*, that it was the enclosed triangular space between the point where the Wrexham Road and Gallowtree Lane (now Francis Lane) enter Holt, and it is still called, Mr. Edwin Bellis informs me, "The Intak." The Pavement House, and at least five burgages, stood around it, or "in" it, to use the exact preposition employed in the *Survey*.

The identification of High Green, proposed in the last paragraph, with what is now known as "The Intak," may explain a fact which has always been a puzzle. Holt being a town laid out in accordance with a definite plan, and almost at one time, the streets in it are almost parallel to each other, or at least *straight*.

The roads leading into it were also continuous with its streets, or opened on unenclosed spaces, with one conspicuous exception — the present Wrexham Road,

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which enters Castle Street, Holt, at a sharp angle. But it is probable that in 1620 and before, Wrexham Road did not enter Castle Street as it does now, but debouched upon High Green, as other roads in Holt debouch on open areas.

The reference to Wrexham Road just made leads to a consideration of the Holt roads, streets, and lanes mentioned in the *Survey* of 1620.

"Wrexham Lane," as Wrexham Road was then called, contained three or four good houses, among them the Pate house and a few single burgages, one of which was the burgage of Roger Edgworth. The bridge over the Devon in Wrexham Lane was known as "Devon Bridge."

In Castle Street were many burgages, and at least one large house, that of Mr. Roger Roydon, with its extensive orchard (see before under Roger Roydon).

Cross Bank is not mentioned under that name in the *Survey*, but various burgages are described as "near the Cross," amongst them that of John Wright (see before).

Many burgages stood in Midding Street, amongst them those of Edward Crue, gent., and William Davies, tanner.

Also two burgages were in Pepper Street.

The names "Pepper Street" and "Midding Street" have long ago been forgotten, "Green Street" having apparently absorbed them both.

It looks as though Frog Lane contained more single burgages than any other street in Holt. Between Frog Lane and Common Wood Lane, by the Fishpools, the road was called "The Pavement." Three burgages in Frog Lane are described as "near the pinfold." The Powell house was here also. Further along the lane was "Devon platt"—the flat bridge over the Devon.

Many burgages are described as "near the Bridge"—that is, Holt Bridge—and a large house, that of Francis Pickering, gent., was "near the churchyard," and a barn, appurtenant to his mansion-house adjoined the

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Castle ditch. George Buckley had also a curtilage near "the Church Ashe."

As to the lane leading towards the Castle, enough has been already said.

"Hiefield Lane" cannot at present be identified. Sir Richard Egerton had, in 1620, 3 acres called "Spencer's Acres" adjoining it.

What is said by Norden concerning Hewlington will be reserved for another chapter.

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Reviews and Notices of Books.

THE HISTORY OF THE DIOCESE OF ST. ASAPH: GENERAL, CATHEDRAL, AND PAROCHIAL. By Ven. Archdeacon D. R. THOMAS. New Edition. Part I.

WE are glad to welcome Part I of a new edition of the *History of the Diocese of St. Asaph*, by the learned and accomplished Chairman of Committee of the Cambrian Archæological Association. The first edition of this valuable work was published in 1874. This new edition is not merely a reissue of the original work, but contains a large addition of interesting material; while the illustrations (if we may judge from those given in the Part before us) promise to be vastly superior in execution and archæological interest to those included in the older volume. Amongst these may be mentioned an excellent reproduction of the original Charter (preserved in the Shrewsbury Museum) granted by Bishop Reiner (1186-1225); two views of Guilsfield Church, nave and gallery, showing the ritual arrangements and pews of all shapes and sizes; the unique wooden font at Efenechtyd; the dog-tongs preserved at Llanynys; Capel Trillo in Rhôs, an unique illustration of the primæval oratories (like that of Gallerus, at Kilmalkedar in Ireland) which formed the type of the earliest British Churches.

As an instance of the care which has been taken by the author to bring the work up to date, we have, on page 21, an interesting reference to the English Church History Exhibition, held at St. Albans in 1905, when a copy of the *Missale ad Usum Ecclesiæ Bangoriensis, circa* 1400, was shown, with the inscription: "This Booke was geven to the hye alter of the Paryshe Churche of Oswestry by Sr Morys Griffith prist."

Among the minor improvements is the relegation to the foot-notes of quotations from the original Latin and Welsh, the convenience of the reader being considered by an adequate and scholarly rendering in English in the text.

Although the work purports to be a History of one of the Four Welsh Dioceses, there is much in the earlier part which is of distinct use and interest to all members of the Church of England at the present crisis. Chapter I dealing with the Origin of the See; Chapter II describing the early foundation, constitution, and customs of the British Church; Chapter III setting forth the landmarks in its early history, and the ecclesiastical policy of the Lords Marchers and others; Chapters IV and V, giving the history of the annexation and subjection of the Welsh Churches to the Province of Canterbury, contain valuable statements of historical

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fact, carefully supported by evidence, duly marshalled and set forth with sound judgment and in scholarly style.

The author deals with the great and abiding evils of appropriation, commencing with the Norman rulers, which has been the very bane of the Church from their time downwards: a sad story of the plundering of Church revenues, which was repeated generation after generation. He does not omit, however, while recording this grievous treatment of property bestowed for sacred purposes, to refer to the period after the Wars of the Roses as marked by "a spirit of church building and restoration that endeavoured vigorously to repair the damage of the past"; and he mentions "notably the Stanley series—as they are sometimes called—at Mold, Holywell (St. Winifred's Chapel), Holt, and Northop, to which may be added Gresford, Llangollen, and many others" (p. 70).

It is worthy of note how differently "gallant little Wales" was regarded by those in power during the mediæval period, for the ordination of Welshmen to any but the lowest order was prohibited (p. 48); and, on the other hand, when the question of an Italian nominee of the Pope was raised, and "a reservation" of the Bishopric of St. Asaph had been made for a foreigner—no doubt an Italian—this intrusion of Roman influence was opposed, and "an Indult was issued to the Dean and Chapter, notwithstanding the reservation, to elect a bishop of their own, *as the people of Wales were too savage to be governed by a foreigner*" (p. 61).

This preliminary notice must close with the briefest allusion to the numerous side-lights thrown on the survival of Pagan customs (p. 22); mistaken renderings of Welsh words (p. 2); the value and importance of pilgrimages to St. Winifred's Well and elsewhere (p. 80). Page 30 contains a most instructive table of tithe appropriations at successive intervals, covering 600 years, at the time of the Norwich Taxation, 1253; the Lincoln Taxation, 1291; the Dissolution of the Monasteries; and the Commutation of Tithes, 1836.

We have, on pp. 14, 62, and 153, instances of the free-will offerings to Parish Priest and Bishop, consisting of particular kinds of produce, varying in different localities. Such were "blith y ddafad," or Lactualia; "cnu'r person," the parson's fleece; "blawd y gloch" and "ysgub y gloch," the clerk's sheaf and flour, from each tenement in the parish, and "offrwm rhaw," or spade money, made at the grave on the extended spade to the clerk for his services.

We look forward to the issue of Part II, which is promised before the close of the year.

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Archaeological Notes and Queries.

PEMBROKESHIRE ASSOCIATION FOR THE PRESERVATION OF ANCIENT MONUMENTS: ANNUAL REPORT, 1906.—A committee meeting of the Association for the Preservation of Ancient Monuments in the County of Pembroke was held on Tuesday at the Temperance Hall, Haverfordwest. The Dowager Lady Kensington presided; and amongst those present were Dr. Henry Owen, Mr. E. Laws, Mr. T. L. James, the Rev. J. Llewellin, Mr. A. J. Wright, etc.

The following report was read by the hon. secretary, Mr. J. W. Phillips:—

"*Llawhaden Castle.*—Some further repairs have been found necessary to the square tower, in consequence of a fresh crack above a window opening on the west side. The abutments, of which very little remained, and the arch above, have been rebuilt, and cement grout run into all cracks. The ivy and growth on the walls require cutting again, and your committee recommends that a sufficient sum be spent upon it next spring. The place still continues to be visited by a considerable number of people, and it would be of advantage if some safe means of ascending the octagonal tower could be devised, as the view it commands is well worth the climb.

"*Cilgerran Castle.*—Your committee wishes again to call attention to this castle. Nothing has as yet been done, and its condition is a disgrace to the neighbourhood.

"*Castell Coch Castle.*—Nothing has been done with this building. A small sum spent in removing the trees growing on the walls would preserve this interesting building from further destruction.

"*Carew Castle.*—Mr. and Mrs. Trollope, the owners of this historic castle, have most carefully and successfully preserved the eastern window in Sir John Perrot's banquetting-hall from further decay. Railway iron was introduced at the top of the window, which relieved the pressure caused by the battlements, and prevented outward movement. The decayed places were built up with masonry, or strengthened with cement grouting. Substantially the suggestions made by Mr. Caroe were carried out. This window is safe, but many others require immediate attention if they are to be preserved. N.B.—The cause of this premature collapse was the jerry-builder who put deal lintels into the windows, while Sir John Perrot was confined in the Tower of London.

"*St. David's Cathedral: St. Nicholas' Chapel.*—This chapel has been carefully restored and roofed over. The ceiling of carved oak

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is of good design, and the work has been skilfully executed, but it does not harmonise with its surroundings.

"*Herbranston Church.*—This church has been carefully restored. The early Norman font has been repaired and cleaned, a new bowl of Nolton stone, copied from the Rudbaxton font, having been added. This was necessary, as the original had been broken, and a wooden bowl, lined with lead, substituted.

"*St. Mary's, Haverfordwest.*—The nave of this church has been reseated and reopened for divine service. The beautiful arcade on the north side, which had long been disfigured by many coats of paint, has been carefully and skilfully cleaned and repaired. The pillars were found to be loosely built, and new ashlar work had to be worked round the bases; cement grout was run into each pillar, until it would hold no more, some of them taking as much as twenty-five pailfuls. The south wall of the tower had to be carefully shored-up, and the remains of the arch underneath taken down and rebuilt. Every stone of the old arch that could be used was incorporated in the reconstructed arch. The walls of the tower on the south and west sides showed some very bad cracks. These have, where necessary, been carefully cross-bonded and run full of grout. The chancel-arch has been cleaned, but has not yet been repaired. Much of the bases of the piers and some of the inner mouldings are of Roman cement, but funds do not yet admit of its restoration. The windows, except one, are all in a very bad state, but the restoration committee are quite unable to attempt anything more at present. The ancient carved bench-ends, with two of the original oak stalls, have been fixed in the chancel. The stone groining under the tower has been cleaned, but has not been restored. Some of the intermediate ribs are of wood, the floor of the clock-chamber above has been laid with wood blocks, and the walls and buttresses of the tower thoroughly repaired.

"*Ambleston Church.*—This church is now under restoration, and it is to be hoped that its original features, especially the ancient font, will be carefully preserved.

"*Tregidreg Cross.*—This cross has been removed from Tregidreg farm, and built into the wall of Mathry churchyard.

"*Mesur-y-Dorth Cross.*—This cross, being small and close to the roadside, is in some danger of being damaged by passing traffic, and should be protected.

"*Trekenny Maenhir.*—This stone has been fixed upright again upon a strong concrete foundation in its original position. Some difficulty was experienced in getting the work done, as the stone weighed more than five tons.

"*Cilgerran Ogham Stone.*—This stone will be protected where it is, as there is no room for it inside the church or porch.

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"*Nevern Ogham Stone.*—This stone has been moved under the auspices of your committee, and Professor Rhys has been able to read both the Ogham and the Latin inscriptions. It is to be desired that this stone, and the sculptured stone near by, should be moved so that they both can be seen.

"*Tenby Church.*—The old Perpendicular font has been moved from the churchyard into St. Anne's Chapel by Mrs. Thomas Allen. In the course of the investigations by Mr. Edward Laws, another window in the church has been opened, making seven in all opened by him.

"*Caldy Island.*—This Ogham stone has been moved by the Rev. Done Bushell from its inconvenient position in the lower chapel to a much better site in the Priory Church, close to the place where it was first discovered.

"*Pembrokeshire Archæological Survey.*—This survey, which has occupied some members of the Association for many years, is now approaching completion. As a record of the ancient monuments of the county, it will be of the greatest value. Pembrokeshire has in this instance again led the way.

"It is to be hoped that members will endeavour to find out what antiquities exist in their neighbourhood, and will inform the hon. secretary if any of these require attention, or of any damage likely to be done to them."

BANGOR'S ANTIQUITIES: SPECIAL COMMITTEE'S REPORT.—Colonel Platt, C.B. (the Mayor), presided at a recent meeting of the Bangor City Council, and proposed a vote of sympathy with the Dowager Lady Penrhyn and the Penrhyn family on the death of the late Lord Penrhyn, by whose death the Council, as representatives of the city, and Wales generally, had sustained a great loss.

The motion, seconded by Alderman Thomas Lewis, was adopted.

Alderman Mathews read the report of the special committee as to the sale of antique furniture recently reported.

Your committee have the honour to report to the Council that they think it extremely regrettable—

1. That the sale should have been carried out at all, without sufficient inquiry as to the proper value of the articles sold.

2. That the negotiations should have been carried through without the knowledge or sanction of the Council; and

3. That the clerk of the Museum Committee should have omitted to submit the important resolution of the committee for confirmation by the Council, and should not have reported to the City

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Treasurer the manner in which the Town Clerk advised that the purchase-money should be devoted: though this latter fact may be accounted for by the fact that the Town Clerk's advice was given twelve months previously.

Your committee, therefore, recommend:—

1. That no sale of any further effects belonging to the Museum shall take place, except after the fullest inquiry and investigation as to the true value of any articles proposed to be sold, and without the full knowledge and sanction of the Council.

2. That a proper schedule of all the effects of the Council should be made without delay, and that the University authorities should be asked to render such assistance as they can in the classification of such effects; and

3. That a letter be written to Mr. Duveen, in the name of the Council, thanking him for his offer to re-sell the furniture to the Council, but at the same time intimating that they are unable to accept such offer.

Mr. Mathews moved the adoption, and Mr. Vincent seconded.

The report was adopted without dissent.

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Obituary.

JOHN ROMILLY ALLEN, F.S.A., and F.S.A. Scot.

John Romilly Allen was the eldest son of Mr. George Baugh Allen, Barrister-at-Law of the Inner Temple, of Cilrhiw, Narberth, Justice of the Peace and Deputy-Lieutenant of the County of Pembroke. Born in London in June, 1847, he was educated first at King's College School, then at Rugby, and at King's College, London. Having a strong mechanical bent, he was articled to Mr. G. F. Lyster, Engineer-in-Chief to the Mersey Dock Board; and later on he was engaged in engineering work in Persia, and he has embodied some of his ideas on that science in his "Design and Construction of Dock Walls." But he had a still stronger inclination to archæology, to which he devoted the energies of his after life. It was at the Carmarthen Meeting in 1875 that Mr. Romilly Allen joined our Cambrian Association, and became a contributor to our *Journal*; and in 1887 he took the place of Archdeacon Thomas as joint editor with Canon Trevor Owen, F.S.A., and finally became sole editor in 1892. He wrote much and ably on many subjects, as will be seen by the appended list of his articles, but his favourite subject was that of Celtic Art and Ornamentation, which he illustrated with his facile pencil. He was a keen and scientific archæologist, and in 1889, on his appointment as Rhind Lecturer in Archæology in Edinburgh University, he took for his subject "The Early Ethnology of the British Isles, and more especially Scotland, treated from the point of view of Languages," which he published under the title of "Early Christian Symbolism in Great Britain and Ireland." Another work which appeared the same year (1889) was "The Monumental History of the Early British Church," published by the S.P.C.K. He was also the author of "The Early Christian Monuments of Scotland," and he edited *The Reliquary* till his death. In 1898 he was appointed Yates Lecturer in Archæology at University College, London.

Indifferent health tended to develop in him a tone of moroseness and an irritable temper, and a roughness of manner caused no little friction at times between him and the officers of the Association and the contributors to the *Journal*; but all recognised his ability and his devotion to his subject. Of late years he had become much more mellowed, and his attendance at our Annual Meetings gave pleasure and instruction. His ready and lucid addresses on his favourite subjects on the excursions always commanded attention and respect. As Editor he maintained the high standard of the *Archæologia Cambrensis*, and was always jealous for the reputation

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of the Association. At the last Annual Meeting at Llangefni a generous acknowledgment of his services was made, and a vote of sympathy with his brother and sisters was passed unanimously.

A List of Papers contributed to this Journal by Mr. Romilly Allen.

1876 Notes on Porth Kerry Church, Glamorganshire, with Special Reference to the Churchyard Cross.
1876 On an Inscribed Ogham Stone at Little Trefgarne.
1877 Camrose Church.
1878 Pembrokeshire Churches, Johnston.
1883 Crosses at St. Edren's Church, Pembrokeshire.
1884 The Past, Present, and Future of Archæology.
1888 Notes on a Roman Steelyard and other Objects found at Stretton Grandison, Herefordshire.
1889 The Inscribed and Sculptured Stones at Llantwit Major, Glamorganshire.
1889 Recent Discoveries of Inscribed Stones in Carmarthenshire and Pembrokeshire.
1890 On the Organisation of Archæological Research.
1891 Notice of a Mediæval Thurible found at Penmaen in Gower.
1893 Celtic Art in Wales and Ireland Compared.
1893 The Cross of Guidon, Golden Grove, Carmarthenshire.
1893 Iolo Morganwg's Readings of the Inscriptions on the Crosses at Llantwit Major.
1895 Catalogue of the Early Christian Inscribed Monuments in Cornwall.
1895 Note on the Carew Inscription.
1896 The Trawsfynydd Tankard.
1896 Catalogue of the Early Christian Monuments in Pembrokeshire.
1896 Notes on Late-Celtic Art.
1899 Early Christian Art in Wales.
1900 Some Dolmens and their Contents.
1901 Two Kelto-Roman Finds in Wales.
1901 Some Carved Wooden Spoons made in Wales.
1902 Old Farm Houses with Round Chimneys near St. David's.
1902 The Chevron and its Derivatives.
1903 Pre-Norman Cross-Base at Llangyfelach, Glamorganshire.
1903 Note on a Perforated Stone Axe-Hammer found in Pembrokeshire.
1904 The Cross of Irbic at Llandough, Glamorganshire.
1905 The Discovery of an Early Christian Inscribed Stone at Treflys, Carnarvonshire.
1905 Find of Late-Celtic Bronze Objects at Seven Sisters, near Neath, Glamorganshire.

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Gleadowe, T. S., Esq., H.M.I.S.	11, Stanley Place, Chester
Lloyd, Edward, Esq.	Meillionen, Hoole, Chester
Longley, Mrs.	Dinham House, Ludlow [timer, Salop
Newell, Rev. E. J., M.A.	Neen Solars Vicarage, Cleobury Mor-
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Owen, John, Esq.	Tawelan, Newton Lane, Chester
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CORRESPONDING SOCIETIES.

The Society of Antiquaries, Burlington House, London (c/o W. H. St. John Hope, Esq.)

The Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, Queen Street Museum, Edinburgh (c/o Joseph Anderson, Esq., LL.D.)

The Royal Society of Antiquaries, Ireland (c/o R. H. Cochrane, Esq., F.S.A., 6, St. Stephen's Green, Dublin)

The British Archæological Association, Brooklyn Lodge, Mill Hill, Barnes, S.W. (c/o R. H. Forster, Esq.)

The Archæological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, 20, Hanover Square, W. (c/o The Secretary)

The Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries, Copenhagen

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The Library, Bureau of Ethnology, Washington, D.C., U.S.A.

Kongl. Vitterhets Historie och Antiquitets Akademien, Stockholm (c/o Dr. Anton Blomberg, Librarian).

All Members residing in South Wales and Monmouthshire are requested to forward their subscriptions to the Rev. CHARLES CHIDLOW, M.A., Llawhaden Vicarage, Narberth. All other Members to the Rev. Canon R. TREVOR OWEN, F.S.A., Bodelwyddan Vicarage, Rhuddlan, Flintshire, S.O.

As it is not impossible that omissions or errors may exist in the above list, corrections will be thankfully received by the General Secretaries.

The Annual Subscription is *One Guinea*, payable in advance on the first day of the year.

Members *wishing to retire must give six months' notice* previous to the first day of the following year, at the same time paying all arrears.

All communications with regard to the *Archæologia Cambrensis* should be addressed to the Editor, J. ROMILLY ALLEN, F.S.A., 28, Great Ormond Street, London, W.C.

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LAWS

OF THE

Cambrian Archaeological Association.

ESTABLISHED 1846,

In order to Examine, Preserve, and Illustrate the Ancient Monuments and Remains of the History, Language, Manners, Customs, and Arts of Wales and the Marches.

CONSTITUTION.

1. The Association shall consist of Subscribing, Corresponding, and Honorary Members, of whom the Honorary Members must not be British subjects.

ADMISSION.

2. New members may be enrolled by the Chairman of the Committee, or by either of the General Secretaries; but their *election* is not complete until it shall have been confirmed by a General Meeting of the Association.

GOVERNMENT.

3. The Government of the Association is vested in a Committee consisting of a President, Vice-Presidents, a Treasurer, a Chairman of Committee, the General and Local Secretaries, and not less than twelve, nor more than fifteen, ordinary subscribing members, three of whom shall retire annually according to seniority.

ELECTION.

4. The Vice-Presidents shall be chosen for life, or as long as they remain members of the Association. The President and all other officers shall be chosen for one year, but shall be re-eligible. The officers and new members of Committee shall be elected at the Annual General Meeting. The Committee shall recommend candidates; but it shall be open to any subscribing member to propose other candidates, and to demand a poll. All officers and members of the Committee shall be chosen from the subscribing members.

THE CHAIR.

5. At all meetings of the Committee the chair shall be taken by the President, or, in his absence, by the Chairman of the Committee.

CHAIRMAN OF THE COMMITTEE.

6. The Chairman of the Committee shall superintend the business of the Association during the intervals between the Annual Meetings; and he shall have power, with the concurrence of one of the General Secretaries, to authorise proceedings not specially provided for by the laws. A report of his proceedings shall be laid before the Committee for their approval at the Annual General Meeting.

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EDITORIAL SUB-COMMITTEE.

7. There shall be an Editorial Sub-Committee, consisting of at least three members, who shall superintend the publications of the Association, and shall report their proceedings annually to the Committee.

SUBSCRIPTION.

8. All Subscribing Members shall pay one guinea in advance, on the 1st of January in each year, to the Treasurer or his banker (or to either of the General Secretaries).

WITHDRAWAL.

9. Members wishing to withdraw from the Association must give six months' notice to one of the General Secretaries, and must pay all arrears of subscriptions.

PUBLICATIONS.

10. All Subscribing and Honorary Members shall be entitled to receive all the publications of the Association issued after their election (except any special publication issued under its auspices), together with a ticket giving free admission to the Annual Meeting.

SECRETARIES.

11. The Secretaries shall forward, once a month, all subscriptions received by them to the Treasurer.

TREASURER.

12. The accounts of the Treasurer shall be made up annually, to December 31st; and as soon afterwards as may be convenient, they shall be audited by two subscribing members of the Association, to be appointed at the Annual General Meeting. A balance-sheet of the said accounts, certified by the Auditors, shall be printed and issued to the members.

BILLS.

13. The funds of the Association shall be deposited in a bank in the name of the Treasurer of the Association for the time being; and all bills due from the Association shall be countersigned by one of the General Secretaries, or by the Chairman of the Committee, before they are paid by the Treasurer.

COMMITTEE-MEETING.

14. The Committee shall meet at least once a year for the purpose of nominating officers, framing rules for the government of the Association, and transacting any other business that may be brought before it.

GENERAL MEETING.

15. A General Meeting shall be held annually for the transaction of the business of the Association, of which due notice shall be given to the members by one of the General Secretaries.

SPECIAL MEETING.

16. The Chairman of the Committee, with the concurrence of one of the General Secretaries, shall have power to call a Special Meeting, of which at least three weeks' notice shall be given to each member by one of the General Secretaries.

QUORUM.

17. At all meetings of the Committee five shall form a quorum.

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CHAIRMAN.

18. At the Annual Meeting the President, or, in his absence, one of the Vice-Presidents, or the Chairman of the Committee, shall take the chair; or, in their absence, the Committee may appoint a chairman.

CASTING VOTE.

19. At all meetings of the Association or its Committee, the Chairman shall have an independent as well as a casting vote.

REPORT.

20. The Treasurer and other officers shall report their proceedings to the General Committee for approval, and the General Committee shall report to the Annual General Meeting of Subscribing Members.

TICKETS.

21. At the Annual Meeting, tickets admitting to excursions, exhibitions, and evening meetings, shall be issued to Subscribing and Honorary Members gratuitously, and to corresponding Members at such rates as may be fixed by the officers.

ANNUAL MEETING.

22. The superintendence of the arrangements for the Annual Meeting shall be under the direction of one of the General Secretaries in conjunction with one of the Local Secretaries of the Association for the district, and a Local Committee to be approved of by such General Secretary.

LOCAL EXPENSES.

23. All funds subscribed towards the local expenses of an Annual Meeting shall be paid to the joint account of the General Secretary acting for that Meeting and a Local Secretary; and the Association shall not be liable for any expense incurred without the sanction of such General Secretary.

AUDIT OF LOCAL EXPENSES.

24. The accounts of each Annual Meeting shall be audited by the Chairman of the Local Committee, and the balance of receipts and expenses on each occasion be received, or paid, by the Treasurer of the Association, such audited accounts being sent to him as soon after the meeting as possible.

ALTERATIONS IN THE RULES.

25. Any Subscribing Member may propose alterations in the Rules of the Association; but such alteration must be notified to one of the General Secretaries at least one month before the Annual Meeting, and he shall lay it before the Committee; and if approved by the Committee, it shall be submitted for confirmation at the next Meeting.

(Signed) C. C. BABINGTON,

August 17th, 1876. *Chairman of the Committee.*

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