

NOTES

1. *A "lost" standing stone on Farleton Fell, Westmorland*
By C. E. Wells

The Revd William Hutton, writing in the eighteenth century, mentioned the existence of a prominent landmark on the north side of Farleton Fell, "On the north side [of the summit of Farleton Knott] are two long plains of pretty good ground call'd greater Fairslack and less Fairslack: in the latter stands a remarkable Stone, the name, standing Stone. It appears to me one of the many rock temples or Altars to be found amongst us; The antient Marks of Pagan worship. Within this Century Newbiggin has claim'd this Stone as their Boundary; but 'tis my Opinion, they ought to have kept on the other side the 7 Wells, a Spring, so called, a little Eastwd of the Standing stone. It seems natural to suppose that the first Inhabitants of Farleton & Newbiggin as well as the present, wo'd choose to partake of this Water, so convenient to both their flocks".¹

In recent times it has been assumed that the stone has disappeared from the fellside,² an event which might seem to have been inevitable given the extensive amount of surface quarrying to which the Fell has been subjected³ since at least the early nineteenth century.⁴ However, recent fieldwork by the author has established that the standing stone remains in the same position where Hutton described it as lying over 230 years ago (SD 54758025). It has, however, been incorporated into the drystone wall of the enclosure award boundary so successfully that it is easy to mistake it as a contemporary portion of this construction (Plate 1). There are strong



PLATE 1 The "Standing Stone" on Farleton Knott as it is today, incorporated into the Enclosure wall.

grounds, however, for firmly believing the stone to pre-date the enclosure wall.

Firstly the stone (which is approximately 1.8 m high, 1.7 m wide and 0.1 m broad), is aligned in a south-west to north-east direction and the drystone wall changes direction at this point from a south-south-west direction to a north-east direction in order to incorporate the stone. Secondly, scrutiny of the map accompanying the 1822 Hutton Roof Enclosure award,⁵ shows the stone marked clearly as “Standing Stone” (Fig. 1), indicating its presence prior to enclosure of the fell.

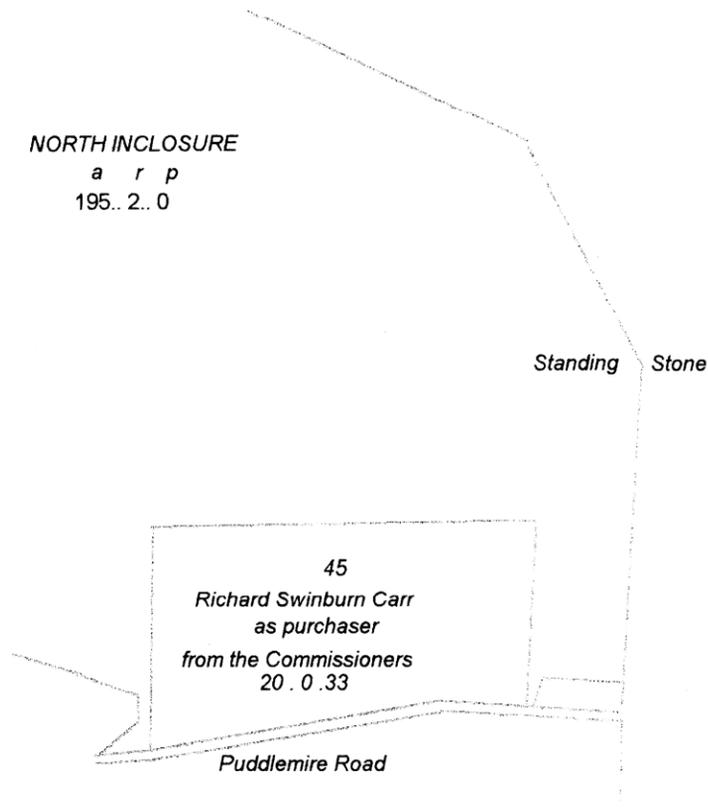


FIG. 1 Sketch of part of the map accompanying the 1822 Hutton Roof Enclosure award, showing the stone marked clearly as “Standing Stone”.

There seems little doubt, therefore, that the stone is the same as that described by Hutton. It lies on the lower of two flat terraces on the north side of Farleton Knott (the “Less Fairslack” of Hutton) and *c.*50 yards to the east lies a prominent spring, thereby matching Hutton’s description. However, whether the stone represents a prehistoric structure, as originally conjectured by Hutton, or a more recent erection, or a natural feature, cannot be ascertained on present evidence. It is certainly true that the carboniferous limestone of the Knott is faulted in such a way that it runs to breaking into slabs naturally, and many similar looking rocks are liberally strewn

about the fellside. Nevertheless, no other stone has been found on the fell which is plumb vertical as is the Less Fairslack stone, nor is any other situated in such a prominent position in the relatively flat areas of good pasture on either of the northern terraces. Circumstantial evidence therefore strongly suggests that the stone has been manoeuvred into position by artificial means. If so, there remains the question of the possible date of its erection.

It seems clear that the stone, which to this day lies on the boundary between Hutton Roof and Beetham parishes, has been used as a boundary marker for some considerable time. Hutton remarks that, "Thos Holm, aged 75 tells he walk'd the Boundary, when a Boy, with the Farleton people, that they begun at the far side of Firehill Brackendale . . . & went up in a direct line with the Slack at the top of the 1st Eminence & so to the 7 wells: from thence along the top of Ravenscote Ridge to Holmpark Wall".⁶ The possibility, therefore, that the stone may have been placed in the Medieval period in order to facilitate demarcation of boundaries between common grazings etc. cannot be ruled out. However, it is equally likely that, as suggested originally by Hutton, the stone was already *in situ* at the time local people decided to utilise it in this manner. The most likely age for such an erection is the Bronze Age, given the considerable archaeological evidence for activity dating to this period in the wider area. This includes a burial cairn at Levens⁷ five miles to the north-west of Farleton Knott, a concentration of beaker burials at Sizergh Fell⁸ six miles north-west, and another burial cairn at Manor Farm⁹ five miles south. Bronze Age finds from the local vicinity include a palstave from nearby Gatebeck¹⁰ four miles to the north, while Farleton Fell itself has yielded two bronze axes this century. The first, a Later Bronze Age axe, was found at Holme Park quarry just before the Second World War.¹¹ More recently, and perhaps significantly, an excellent example of an Early Bronze Age "Scrabo Hill" – type flat axe was found above the north end of Newbiggin Craggs,¹² in an area only *c.*200 yards from the standing stone.

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- ² C. I. Fell, "Two Bronze implements from South Lakeland District", *CW2*, xcv, 272.
- ³ D. Ratcliffe (ed.), *A Nature Conservation Review*. Vol 2 (1977) (Cambridge University Press), 160.
- ⁴ J. Lambert, *Transect Through Time* (Lancaster University, 1966).
- ⁵ Hutton Roof Enclosure Award 1822, Cumbria Record Office (Kendal), WQR/I42.
- ⁶ J. Rawlinson Ford, *op. cit.*
- ⁷ P. Turnbull and D. Walsh, "A Beaker burial in Levens Park", *CW2*, xcvi, 13-26.
- ⁸ T. McKenny-Hughes, "Some Notes on Mound Opening, with a description of one recently explored on Sizergh Fell, Westmorland", *CW2*, iv, 71-79. T. McKenny-Hughes, "On another Tumulus on Sizergh Fell", *CW2*, iv, 201-204.
- ⁹ A. C. H. Oliver, "Excavation of a Bronze Age Funerary Cairn at Manor Farm, near Borwick, North Lancashire", *Proc. Prehist Soc.*, 1987, 53, 129-186.
- ¹⁰ D. Endicott, "Middle Bronze Age Palstave from Gatebeck near Kendal", *Contrebis*, 1996, 21, 4.
- ¹¹ *CW2*, xxxvi, 142.
- ¹² C. I. Fell, *op. cit.*

2. *Recent finds of Roman coins in Cumbria*
BY DAVID SHOTTER

A: From known Roman sites

1. BECKFOOT: Five coins have been reported as having been found in 1998-99:

Republic	1	AR (<i>Crawford</i> 490, 1 of 43 B.C.)
Vespasian	1	AR
Trajan	1	AE (<i>sestertius</i>)
Severus Alexander	1	AR
Constantinian	1	AE (as <i>LRBC</i> 1.52)

A *sestertius* of Domitian was recovered in 1999 from the vicinity of the site-cemetery.
2. BOWES: Six coins have been recovered from the areas of the eastern gateway and the east wall of the fort:

Tetricus I	1	AE (<i>RIC</i> 440)
Unassignable Radiate copy	1	AE
Constantine II	1	AE (<i>LRBC</i> I. 49)
Constantius II	1	AE (<i>LRBC</i> I. 74)
Constaris	1	AE (<i>LRBC</i> I. 138)
Magentius	1	AE (<i>LRBC</i> II. 8)
3. CARLISLE: A Radiate copy of Divus Claudius (Claudius II; *RIC* 259 ff of A.D. 270) was found in 1999 at a property in Victoria Road. Because of the false presumption on the part of Constantine I's family of kinship with Claudius II, the Divus Claudius coins received renewed usage in the early decades of the fourth century.
4. "CUMBERLAND COAST": A number of aes-coins were reported during 1998-99 from coastal locations between Beckfoot and Maryport, although no precise find-spots have been recorded. Most of these coins were in a poor state with regard to both condition and wear:

Trajan	1	AE (<i>sestertius</i>)
Hadrian	4	AE (<i>sestertii</i>)
Sabina	1	AE (<i>sestertius</i>)
Antoninus Pius	3	AE (<i>sestertii</i> [2]; <i>dupondius</i> [1])
Faustina I	1	AE (<i>sestertius</i>)
Marcus Aurelius	3	AE (<i>sestertii</i>)
Faustina II	2	AE (<i>sestertius: dupondius</i>)
Unassignable Radiate Copies	2	AE
Constantinian	2	AE (as <i>LRBC</i> I. 12, 52)
Valentinianic	1	AE (as <i>LRBC</i> II. 1313)

There are also two illegible *sestertii* and one illegible *dupondius*.
5. CUMMERSDALE: This newly-discovered Roman fort-site has in the last decade yielded two coins to private individuals; both are republican *denarii*. One was an issue of 81 B.C. (*Crawford* 378, 1a), whilst the other, though incompletely recorded, was the familiar *Roma/Quadriga* type of the later second century B.C. Such coins were withdrawn from circulation by Trajan c.A.D. 107 (Dio

Cassius 68. 15, 3), although in Britain they appear to have continued to circulate until the early years of Hadrian's reign (Reece, 1974, 84). They are, therefore, of little help in dating the Roman structures at the site.

6. KIRKBY THORE: Further coins have been recorded from the vicinity of the fort-site (NGRs recorded):
- | | | |
|---------------------|---|---------------------------|
| Vespasian | 1 | AR (<i>RIC</i> 52 or 62) |
| Trajan | 1 | AR (<i>RIC</i> 161 ff) |
| Hadrian | 1 | AE (<i>sestertius</i>) |
| Sabina | 1 | AR |
| Faustina (I or II?) | 1 | AR |
| Elagabalus (?) | 1 | AR |
7. MARYPORT: A *denarius* of Trajan was found in 1999, dating to A.D. 98-102. Two *denarii* have been recovered from "Sea Brows" – one each of Domitian (*RIC* 166) and of Marcus Aurelius as Caesar (*RIC* [Antoninus], 479).
8. NETHERBY: A worn and very corroded *dupondius* of Nerva (A.D. 96-8) was found in 1999.
9. OLD CARLISLE (RED DIAL): A *denarius* of Hadrian (*RIC* 266) was found in 1999.
10. PAPCASTLE: Five coins were recovered during work by Channel 4's "Time Team":
- | | | |
|----------------------|---|------------------------------------|
| Trajan | 1 | AE (<i>RIC</i> 523) |
| Faustina I | 1 | AE (<i>RIC</i> [Antoninus], 1103) |
| Tetricus II | 1 | AE (Cf. <i>RIC</i> 245) |
| Unassignable Radiate | | |
| Copies | 1 | AE |
- The Senhouse Roman Museum at Maryport has found in a donated book a drawing of a worn Greek coin of Severus Alexander, evidently from Papcastle. In volume xciv of these *Transactions* (pp. 293 = Shotter, 1995, 75), I recorded an *aureus* of Nero, which had reportedly been found at Cockermonth. It is now clear that this coin came from Papcastle. It should be noted that the coin is *RIC* I². 63 (not I². 52, as previously reported).
11. STANWIX: A Radiate of Claudius Tacitus has been reported; the coin, which is little worn, is *RIC* 122 of A.D. 275-76.

B: Coins from other locations

- BURTON-IN-LONSDALE: A *sestertius* – (issuer not recorded) – was found in 1997.
- HARRABY: A *dupondius* of Hadrian (of A.D. 119-121) was found in 1999 at a location between Harraby and Botcherby.
- KENDAL: Two *sestertii* have been reported from the churchyard; both were poorly preserved, though one could be identified as an issue of Vespasian (A.D. 69-79). Coins have also been reported from the vicinity of the Castle, though no details are available. A *Sestertius* of Vespasian (*RIC* 437 of A.D. 71) and an unidentifiable Flavian *sestertius* were reported to have been found in 1999.
- KIRKBY LONSDALE: An *as* of Trajan (*RIC* 604 of A.D. 112-4) was found in 1998 (NGR supplied).

5. NORTH STAINMORE: A worn *sestertius* of Marcus Aurelius was found in 1998 (NGR supplied).
6. PENRITH: A denarius of Faustina II (*RIC* [Marcus], 674) was found in 1998.
7. PLUMPTON: A very worn *denarius* of Vespasian (A.D. 69-79) was found in 1998 (NGR supplied).
8. PORTINSCALE: Two coins are reported as having been found in a private garden many years ago: they are a *denarius* of Vespasian (*RIC* 9 of A.D. 69-70) and a worn “reformed” Radiate of Carus (A.D. 282-85).
9. SHAP: A *denarius* of Hadrian was found in 1998.
10. TEWITFIELD: A denarius of Faustina II (*RIC* [Marcus], 710) was found in 1998.

C: Hoards and “Hoard-like” Collections

1. CARLISLE: A small group of seven aes – issues of Vespasian’s reign was found in 1999 during excavations by Carlisle Archaeology Ltd on Castle Green (Irish Gate). There was no sign of a container, although the coins may have been wrapped in a piece of linen. The group, which probably constitutes a multiple casual loss rather than a true hoard, belongs exclusively to the reign of Vespasian, with a date-range of A.D. 71 to 78, recalling that which was found in the 1960s at Stanwix (Edenbridge; *Num. Chron.*⁷ VIII (1968), 63-66; Shotter, 1990, 207). The seven coins consist of five issues of Vespasian and two of Titus (as Caesar):

Vespasian	4	AE (<i>RIC</i> 473, 535, 588, 741)
Titus (as Caesar)	3	AE (<i>RIC</i> [Vespasian], 782, 785, 789)

2. KENDAL (HELLS FELL): A number of *denarii* have been found at a spot between Hells Fell and Cunswick Scar in recent years: the coins are all of the Severi, with the exception of a single republican *denarius*. It seems likely that they constitute the whole or part of a hoard, although the available information does not permit that to be stated as a certainty; further, although one would not normally expect to find a republican *denarius* in association with issues of the Severan period, there have been exceptions (Reece, 1974, 82-83). Some of the coins have been listed previously (*CW*2, xcv, 276 and Shotter, 1995, 79), but it seems best for the sake of clarity to list them altogether here:

Republican	1	AR (<i>Crawford</i> 317. 3b)
Julia Domna	1	AR (<i>RIC</i> 572)
Caracalla	1	AR (<i>RIC</i> 6)
Aquilia Severa	1	AR (<i>BMC</i> 185)
Julia Maesa	1	AR (<i>RIC</i> 268)
Julia Sohaemias	2	AR (<i>RIC</i> 56, 241)

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3. *The Roman fort at Stanwix, Carlisle: a geophysical survey*
 BY J. A. BIGGINS AND D. J. A. TAYLOR

The Roman fort at Stanwix is situated in an elevated position to the north of the river Eden. The site falls away on all sides except to the west, where the river is in a deep valley. It is the fourth station on the line of the Wall, counting from the west, being situated between Burgh-by-Sands and Castlesteads.

Excavations within the fort in 1932-4 (Simpson 1933, 275-6; Simpson 1934, 155-8; Simpson and Hogg 1935, 256-8), 1940 (Simpson and Richmond 1941, 129-30) and 1984 (Dacre 1985, 53-69) give very little information on the buildings. Granaries and barracks were seen in the north-west of the fort, which was in the *retentura* of the east facing fort. Some evidence of buildings has been seen in the southern section of the fort to the south of Church Street. Bruce (1867, 290-1) records that Hodgson was told by the vicar of St Michael's Church, that graves in the churchyard were often dug through strong masonry and much earthenware pottery was found. Jenkinson (1875, 193) stated that no traces remained of the station, although a great amount of Roman remains was seen when the church was rebuilt earlier in that century. Richmond considered that the slightly raised bank in the churchyard, to the south-western and south-eastern boundaries, was the remains of the rampart to the stone curtain wall. Simpson found a section of roadway in the southern part of the garden to Stanwix House, and Richmond found a small section of curtain wall and part of an interval tower near the south-east corner of Stanwix House Garden.

A geophysical survey (Geophysical Surveys of Bradford 1994) of the central portion of the garden to the south-east of Stanwix House was carried out in the winter of 1994. The area measured approximately 60 x 30 m and both gradiometer and resistivity data was obtained. No data relating to the Roman fort was obtained due to distortion caused by modern disturbance.

The present geophysical and resistivity survey was carried out in August 1996, and the survey areas are shown on the site plan. A dedicated Geoscan FM36 fluxgate gradiometer and a RM15 resistivity meter were used, with readings being taken at 1 m by 0.5 m intervals. Resistivity data was obtained in the gardens to the south-west of Stanwix House and Stanwix House cottage. Gradiometer data was

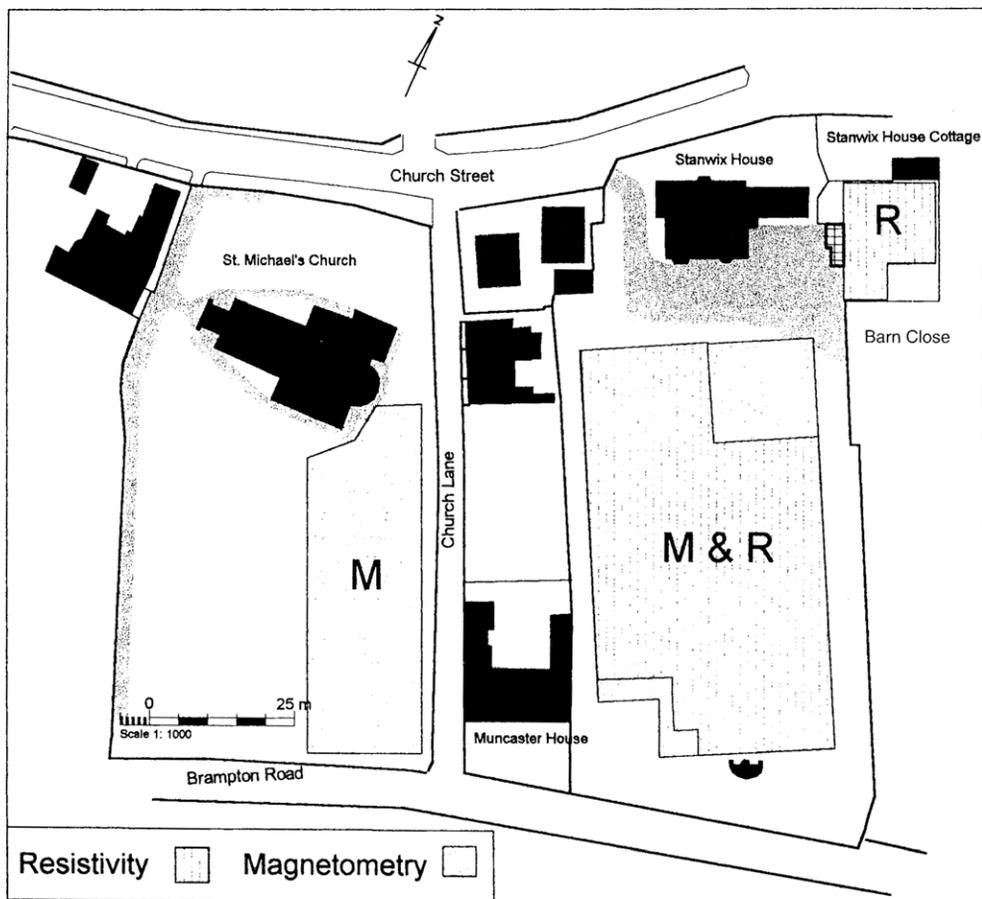


FIG. 1 Stanwix Roman Fort – Geophysical Survey.

obtained from the Stanwix House garden and the south-west of the churchyard to St Michael's Church. No meaningful data was obtained and it is considered that this is because there is little extant material to record.

It is suggested that the sites of Stanwix House, and Barn Close to the east, were cleared of the remains of any former buildings at the time the present houses were erected. This would have enabled the gardens to be laid out and the building works completed without encumbrance from the masonry from earlier buildings. A precedent for this can be seen at the Roman fort of Castlesteads (Richmond and Hodgson 1934, 159-65). Here a new garden to the house was laid out on the site of the fort, which was levelled in 1791, at which time all Roman material was stripped off and removed. During an exploratory excavation truncated and disturbed deposits *c.*300-400 mm deep were seen in the garden at Barn Close (Cleary, 1994, 263). It would seem that similar actions did not take place in the northern portion of the fort where less pretentious modern buildings were erected, and where the only significant remains of Roman buildings have been found. A sondage which took place in the schoolyard north of Church Street in 1997 revealed *c.*1.50 m of

deposits, including Roman and post-Roman material (*pers. comm.* M. McCarthy). The Roman deposits found by Collingwood (1931, 69-80) in King's Meadow by the river Eden, which were seen some fifteen feet (4.600 m) below ground level, are unlikely to relate to any deposition of any spoil from the site.

Acknowledgements

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4. *The Lady Beryke and Sir Meneduke in "The Awntyrs off Arthure"* BY ANDREW BREEZE

The Awntyrs off Arthure "The Adventures of Arthur" is a fifteenth-century English poem set at Tarn Wadling (south of Carlisle) and Plumpton Wall (north of Penrith). It is a fine piece of work, admired by many critics.¹ Yet its text is corrupt and contains many problems. What follows suggests solutions to two of these cruxes: the identities of Beryke (a heroine mentioned by Guinevere's mother) and of Sir Meneduke.

The heroine Beryke

In an eerie passage, the poem describes the ghost of Guinevere's mother, who comes to urge her daughter to give up her evil life, and speaks (lines 144-5) of her own lost beauty.

Quene was I somwile, brighter of browes
 Then Beryke or Brangwayn, thes burdes [maidens] so bolde.²

“Brangwayn” is the confidante of Isolde and keeper of the love-potion in the story of Tristan and Isolde. But who was “Beryke”? Three copies of *The Awntyrs* (in the Douce, Ireland, and Lambeth manuscripts) here read *berell* “beryl”. Yet Hanna keeps the reading *beryke* of the Thornton Manuscript (from Lincoln Cathedral Library) on the assumption that it “represents the detritus of some unrecoverable proper name”. He thought the name might be that of Brysen, the enchantress in Malory’s story of Lancelot and Elaine.³

Now, “Brangwayn” derives ultimately from *Branwen*, heroine of the second of the Welsh *Four Branches of the Mabinogi*, written about 1128 by Princess Gwenllian of Gwynedd and Dyfed.⁴ The identity of “Beryke” may thus also be recoverable from Celtic sources. The only name resembling “Beryke” there is that of the heroine Perwyr, who figures in the Welsh triads. Can we reasonably identify her as the “Beryke” of the English text?

Perwyr, listed in the fifteenth-century Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, MS Peniarth 47 as one of the Three Lively Maidens of the Island of Britain, was the daughter of Rhun *Rhyfeddfawr* “the Magnificent”.⁵ Rachel Bromwich believed he was the same person as Rhun, son of Urien, who is said to have baptized Edwin of Northumbria in 628 and whose granddaughter *Rieinmelth* (“Lightning Queen”) married Oswiu of Northumbria about 635.⁶ But this may be rejected for the following reason. Perwyr’s grandson Iago died a grown man in 613, having retired from the world to end his days in a monastery.⁷ It is not likely that Urien’s son Rhun, who was still alive in 628, was Iago’s great-grandfather.

We thus know little of Perwyr’s father Rhun the Magnificent except that he was not Rhun, son of Urien. Yet we have better information for Perwyr’s husband. He was yet another Rhun, son of the Maelgwn Gwynedd (d. 547?) denounced by Gildas.⁸ Through their son Beli and grandson Iago, this Rhun and Perwyr were the ancestors of the kings of Gwynedd and the independent Princes of Wales.⁹ In one genealogical manuscript Perwyr’s name appears as *Peruawr*, in four others as *Berwevr*.¹⁰ We shall return to this point below.

Perwyr’s marriage to Rhun son of Maelgwn has been described as “unlikely” (for reasons unstated).¹¹ Yet it has the advantage of being set down as a fact by genealogists, and fits in with what we can gather about Dark Age dates. Perwyr’s great-great-great-grandfather was the British prince Coel (the “Old King Cole” of the nursery rhyme), from whom the region of Kyle (mentioned in *The Awntyrs off Arthure*) around Ayr and Kilmarnock may take its name.¹² Coel is thought to have been born about 380. If we allow 30 years for each generation, this suggests Perwyr was born about 530, which (for what it is worth) makes her contemporary with Rhun son of Maelgwn, who came to power about 550. If Perwyr married Rhun son of Maelgwn, it would have been the alliance of a North British princess with a Gwynedd king at a time when Britain west of the Pennines was still wholly in Celtic hands.

Besides information on Perwyr in genealogies, we have some evidence for her in oral tradition. The triad in MS Peniarth 47 calls her one of the three Lively Maidens (*Gohoywriain*) of the Island of Britain (where the adjective means “fine, splendid, proud, lively, brisk, spirited”). Clearly she was a lady of great beauty and character. A note by the antiquary Robert Vaughan (1592?-1667) calls her Perwyr “the Comely” and speaks of her illustrious descendants.¹³ Of North British descent,

Perwyr would have been born in Cumbria or Strathclyde, in which context we may note a ninth- or tenth-century lament for her father amongst verses on Urien. The elegy, calling Rhun's mourning host "a swarm without a queen", speaks of his generosity and justice, describing how he would give suppliants "a hundred homesteads with a hundred oxen", and how his time was one when there were "fetters on the horses of the wicked".¹⁴ These lines reveal Perwyr's father, Rhun the Magnificent, as a sixth-century North British leader who came to figure in Welsh saga.

Perwyr's husband Rhun, son of Maelgwn, also became a saga hero. He appears in the *Mabinogion* tale of the Dream of Rhonabwy (perhaps of the early thirteenth century), which is set at the court of King Arthur (though they were not contemporaries). The tale describes Rhun as a tall curly-headed auburn man "whose authority is such that all men shall come and take counsel of him", there being in Britain no man "more mighty in counsel than he".¹⁵ He also figures in the triads as one of the Three Fair Princes of the Island of Britain, and in the Welsh laws as leader of an attack on North Britain. Rhun may have given his name to Caerhun, the Roman fort near Conway that once guarded the mountain road to Caernarfon. He even appears (quite unhistorically) in Geoffrey of Monmouth's *History of the Kings of Britain* as an ancestor of the dukes of Brittany.¹⁶

Perwyr's father and husband became the subject of Welsh legend. She herself was remembered by the Welsh as a North British beauty. This seems enough evidence to identify her as the "Beryke" who was "bright of browes" in *The Awntyrs off Arthure*. This poem is set in the region of Cumbria and Strathclyde where Perwyr was born; and the corruption of *Perwyr* into "Beryke" is not unlikely, given that her name appears even in Welsh as *Perwawr* and *Berwevr* (as noted above). The change of the name in English may have been aided by confusion with the place-name *Berwick*. The reading *berell* "beryl" of three manuscripts of *The Awntyrs off Arthur* shows even further alteration of the form.

If we are correct in taking "Beryke" as Perwyr, we reveal an allusion in *The Awntyrs off Arthure*, which is set in Cumbria, to a sixth-century North British princess who married the Welsh king Rhun, son of Maelgwn Gwynedd. Such an identification brings to light an ancient link between Wales and the Old British North. It shows Perwyr as a Celtic heroine who, like Branwen and Guinevere, came to figure in medieval English romance. Unlike them, however, she was a historical character, who lived about the year 550: a Cumbrian princess and beauty, whose eyebrows were famous for their allurements some thousand years after her time.

Who was Sir Meneduke?

One of Arthur's lesser knights is Sir Meneduke. He appears in *The Awntyrs off Arthure*, the alliterative *Morte Arthure*, and Sir Thomas Malory's *Morte Darthur*, but is otherwise unknown in medieval English. Hanna, commenting on "Marrake and Meneduke, that most were of might" (*Awntyrs*, line 655), relates this to passages in *Morte Arthure* which say these knights were "myghtty of strenghes" and "myghty ware euer". He notes that Meneduke is killed in the Roman war in both *Morte Arthure* and Malory, but reappears much later in each. In Malory he joins his kinsman Lancelot's revolt against Arthur.¹⁷

The origin of the name *Meneduke* has been unclear. If it is unknown in French, it is worth asking if is Celtic, like *Arthur*, *Guinevere*, *Gawain*, *Erec*, *Kay*, *Bedivere* and *Ywain*. If it is, its original bearer can perhaps be identified. He may have been *Mynyddog* “the Magnificent”, prince of the Gododdin about the year 600, whose capital was at Edinburgh. Although *mynydd* “mountain” is a common word, the name *Mynyddog* (with adjectival suffix) is unique in our records of Brittonic. If the name *Meneduke* derives from *Mynyddog*, there is a strong chance that the original of Sir Meneduke was the Lothian prince Mynyddog.

There are three sources for our knowledge of Mynyddog, who does not figure in Welsh genealogies. They are the *Gododdin* (a series of Welsh elegies on North British warriors wiped out in an attack on Catterick); a triad, which describes his retinue as one of the Three Noble Retinues of the Island of Britain; and a eulogy by the twelfth-century bard Owain Cyfeiliog.¹⁸

These indicate that Mynyddog was the king or chief of the Gododdin, with his capital at Edinburgh (his stronghold no doubt on Castle Rock); that over a year he gathered together warriors from many parts of Britain for an attack on the English at Catterick; that Mynyddog did not lead the expedition himself, implying that he was too old or ill to do so; and that the raid was a bloodbath, almost the entire force being killed.¹⁹ Thanks to Aneirin’s *Gododdin*, the heroism of the Gododdin men and their allies was remembered in medieval Wales. It must also have been long remembered in Strathclyde, where a Celtic language like Welsh was spoken until at least the eleventh century.²⁰

The appearance of the name *Meneduke* in Middle English suggests that Mynyddog’s name survived in oral tradition in North Britain, and became associated with that of Arthur (though they were not contemporaries). If so, it is paralleled by the names of Owain and his father Urien. The rulers of Rheged (the British kingdom around Carlisle) in the later sixth century, they were praised by the bard Taliesin just as Mynyddog was praised by the bard Aneirin.²¹ Owain and Urien were remembered in Celtic oral tradition, and eventually became figures of Arthurian romance.²² If this was the case for them, it might also be the case for Mynyddog the Magnificent, lord of Edinburgh and prince of the Gododdin. The name of Meneduke would, therefore, be another relic of the early history of North Britain, surviving as the name of a legendary character in *The Awntyrs off Arthure*.

Notes and References

¹ Cf. J. A. W. Bennett, *Middle English Literature* (Oxford, 1986), 178-181.

² *The Awntyrs off Arthure*, ed. Ralph Hanna (Manchester, 1974), 70; cf. Rosamund Allen, “*The Awntyrs off Arthure: Jestis and Joustis*”, in *Romance Reading on the Book*, ed. Jennifer Fellows et al. (Cardiff, 1996), 129-142.

³ Hanna, 110.

⁴ A. C. Breeze, “Did a Woman write the *Four Branches of the Mabinogi*?”, *Studi Medievali*, xxxviii (1997), 679-705.

⁵ *Trioedd Ynys Prydein*, ed. Rachel Bromwich, 2nd edn. (Cardiff, 1978), 199.

⁶ K. H. Jackson, “On the North British Section in Nennius”, in *Celt and Saxon*, ed. Nora Chadwick (Cambridge, 1963), 20-62, at 33, 41-42; Bromwich, 503-504, 562; J. M. Wallace-Hadrill, *Bede’s “Ecclesiastical History of the English People”: A Historical Commentary* (Oxford, 1988), 65, 109.

⁷ Bromwich, 411.

⁸ Francis Jones, *The Princes and Principality of Wales* (Cardiff, 1969), 12; Bromwich, 437-441, 557.

- ⁹ *Early Welsh Genealogical Tracts*, ed. P. C. Bartrum (Cardiff, 1966), 9; Bromwich, 502.
- ¹⁰ Bartrum, 91.
- ¹¹ *Early Welsh Saga Poetry*, ed. Jenny Rowland (Cambridge, 1990), 86-87.
- ¹² A. C. Breeze, *Medieval Welsh Literature* (Dublin, 1997), 9.
- ¹³ Bromwich, 502.
- ¹⁴ Rowland, 480.
- ¹⁵ *The Mabinogion*, tr. Gwyn Jones and Thomas Jones (London, 1949), 150, 151; cf. Breeze, *Medieval Welsh Literature*, 85-87.
- ¹⁶ Geoffrey of Monmouth, *The History of the Kings of Britain*, tr. Lewis Thorpe (Harmondsworth, 1966), 274; Christopher Houlder, *Wales: An Archaeological Guide* (London, 1974), 61; Bromwich, 501-502.
- ¹⁷ Hanna, 139-140; cf. also *Morte Arthure*, ed. Mary Hamel (New York, 1984), and *The Anturs of Arthur*, ed. Maldwyn Mills (London, 1992).
- ¹⁸ J. P. Clancy, *The Earliest Welsh Poetry* (London, 1970), 127; Bromwich, 468.
- ¹⁹ K. H. Jackson, *The Gododdin: The Oldest Scottish Poem* (Edinburgh, 1969), 4; Ifor Williams, *The Beginnings of Welsh Poetry* (Cardiff, 1972), 64, 77, 124; Breeze, *Medieval Welsh Literature*, 13, 14.
- ²⁰ K. H. Jackson, "The Britons in Southern Scotland", *Antiquity*, xxix (1955), 77-88, at 87-88.
- ²¹ K. H. Jackson, "On the North British Section in Nennius", 42; Breeze, *Medieval Welsh Literature*, 7-13.
- ²² K. H. Jackson, "The Sources for the Life of St Kentigern", in *Studies in the Early British Church*, ed. Nora Chadwick (Cambridge, 1958), 273-357, at 283-284, 313 n. 1.

5. *Pottery making at Silverdale and Arnside*

BY ANDREW WHITE M.A., PH.D., F.M.A., F.S.A.

People have been finding fragments of green-glazed pottery in Silverdale, in gardens in the area of Elmslack Lane, for well over a century. Since 1978 similar pottery has been found in gardens off Black Dyke Lane, Arnside. The two sites are at least a mile apart and so are quite distinct but clearly belong to the same late-medieval/post-medieval potting tradition.

The story of rediscovery of the Silverdale site seems to begin in 1865. In that year James Murton of Silverdale sent some examples of pots to a meeting of the British Archaeological Association, together with a note describing the discovery of pottery of a coarse kind, and "ovens or kilns", on rising ground at Silverdale. The exact whereabouts are not recorded, but it would be reasonable to think of it as being the area of Potter Hill/Elmslack Lane. H. Syer Cuming, an expert of that period, ascribed the pottery to the early 17th century and commented that the chief item of manufacture seemed to be spigot-pots, i.e. vessels with a hole near the bottom for a spigot to be inserted.¹ We would now term these "cisterns" or "ale-jars". Further correspondence from Mr Murton and from Dr Walling of Preston (a native of Silverdale), the same year, took the story on a little by recording further examples, including one with a stamp impressed into it, and by speculating that the clay for the pottery could have come from the area of Clay Holes Moss, over a mile away.²

The next chapter opens with the work of Dr J. W. Jackson of Manchester University at Dog Holes Cave on Warton Crag in 1909-12.³ Jackson was what we would call today a palaeontologist, rather than an archaeologist. His interests lay

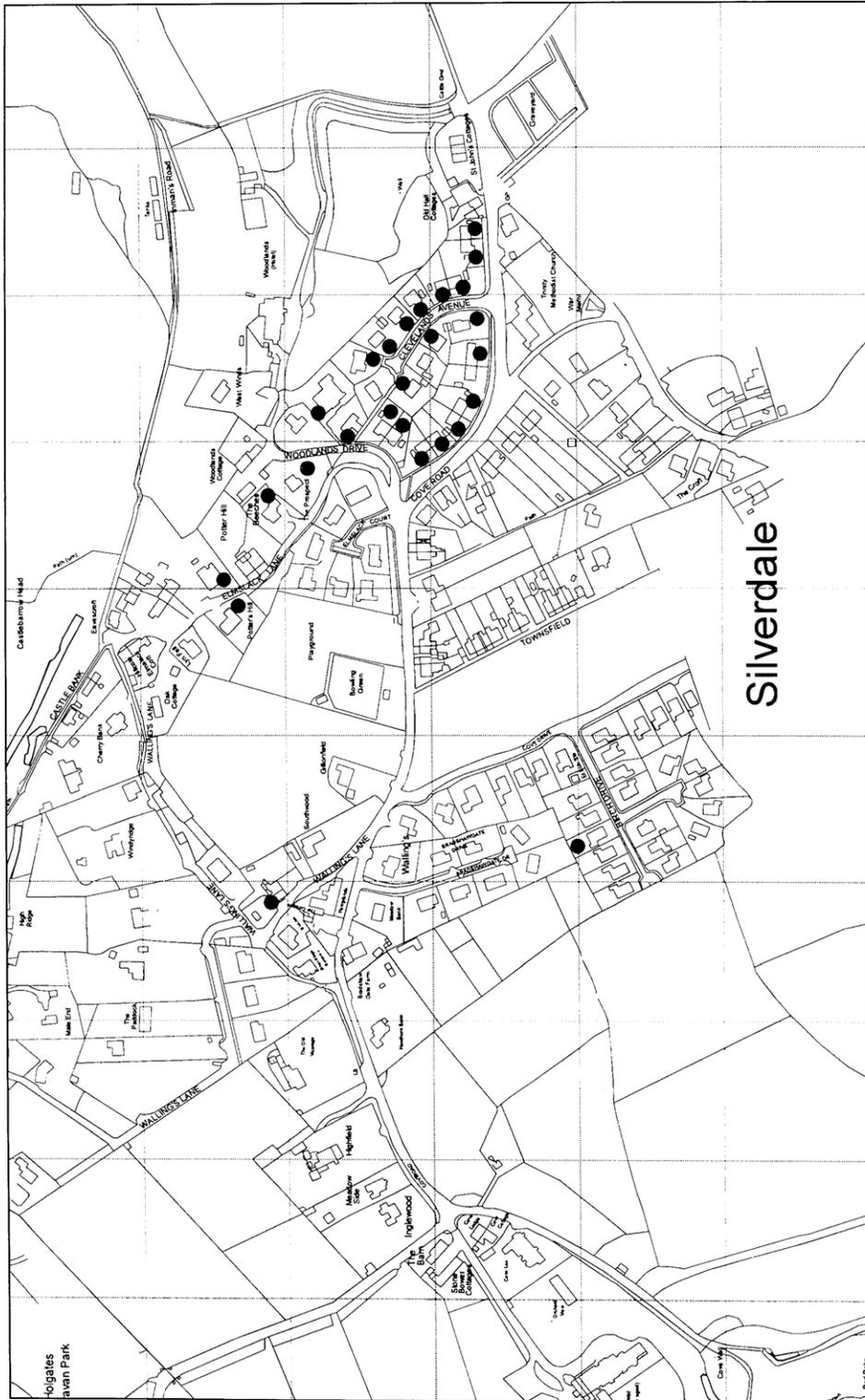


FIG. 1 Map of Silverdale showing the distribution of pottery finds (Based on Ordnance Survey with permission of H.M. Director General).

principally in the field of animal remains, hence his dig in the caves at Warton Crag. He should also be remembered as a link with the discovery of Tutankhamun, since he accompanied Howard Carter's expeditions to Egypt in the late 1920s. In 1912 a house called Beechwood was being built in Silverdale. Pottery and fragments of baked clay from the kiln structure were found during its construction and Jackson, as the nearest practising archaeologist, was called in to see it. While he wrote nothing on the find he did note it on his Ordnance Survey map as "Old Pottery"⁴ and a small collection of the finds, given him by a Miss Price or Prince, went back to Manchester University. There was at that time no Museum in Lancaster. Many years later the Keeper of the Manchester Museum handed the finds back to the City Museum in Lancaster.

Since the 1960s the speed of rediscovery has increased, as a result of building work and greater local interest. In the early 1970s Mr and Mrs Masheter, of "The Prospect", found considerable quantities of pottery in their garden and enlisted help from Lancaster City Museum in identifying it. They had heard local stories of the 1912 find and this helped to establish the facts with the current regime at the Manchester Museum. Subsequently the County Archaeologist for Lancashire, Ben Edwards, followed up a number of local finds from gardens and, in an article in *Contrebis*,⁵ established the approximate spread of the pottery finds as Cove Road, nos. 4-18 (even), Woodlands Drive, nos. 2-8 (even) and "The Prospect", and Clevelands Avenue, nos. 1, 3, 7 and 2-12 (even). The focus is around the area covered by map reference SD 463757. In 1977 the present writer gave a brief conference paper on the site and this was subsequently published.⁶

Since then more finds have continued to be made. These include Birch Drive, no. 6; Wallings Lane, no. 4 ("Bradshaw House"); Elmslack Lane, no. 8 and "Pottery Hill". The two former extend considerably the western limit of the scatter of pottery. Or do they signify another focus? We shall not know until more gardens have revealed, or failed to reveal, pottery.

At Arnside similar pottery was found in Black Dyke Lane in 1978, centring upon SD 461786, when a bungalow "Rowan Bank" was being built. The owner lived at Sale, near Manchester, and reported the find initially to the Manchester Museum. The information was passed on to Lancaster Museum and, in turn, the then County Archaeologist for Cumbria, Tom Clare, was notified. Subsequently pottery was found in the next gardens at "High Bank" and "Meadow Bank". While conducting adult education classes at Arnside in the early 1980s the present writer was also shown some wasters from "Loen", the house next door to "Meadow Bank". Thus the wasters spread through at least four gardens, and the kiln itself may lie at the upper end of the garden of "High Bank", above the terraced area.⁷ No excavation has ever taken place here, nor has any documentary research been undertaken to establish the original ownership of the land, as far as I am aware. The proximity to the old-established "Salt Cotes" is suggestive of a line of enquiry.

The pottery itself mostly consists of wasters, over-fired, distorted and shattered pots which failed in the kiln. The fabric can be reduced (grey) or oxidised (reddish), although it is clear from examples, which are found elsewhere, that the intention was for the fabric to be reduced. It is very fine with almost no inclusions and can often be soft enough to mark paper. The lead glaze is usually an olive green/bronze colour, although over the oxidised fabrics it often appears brownish. Again, away from the

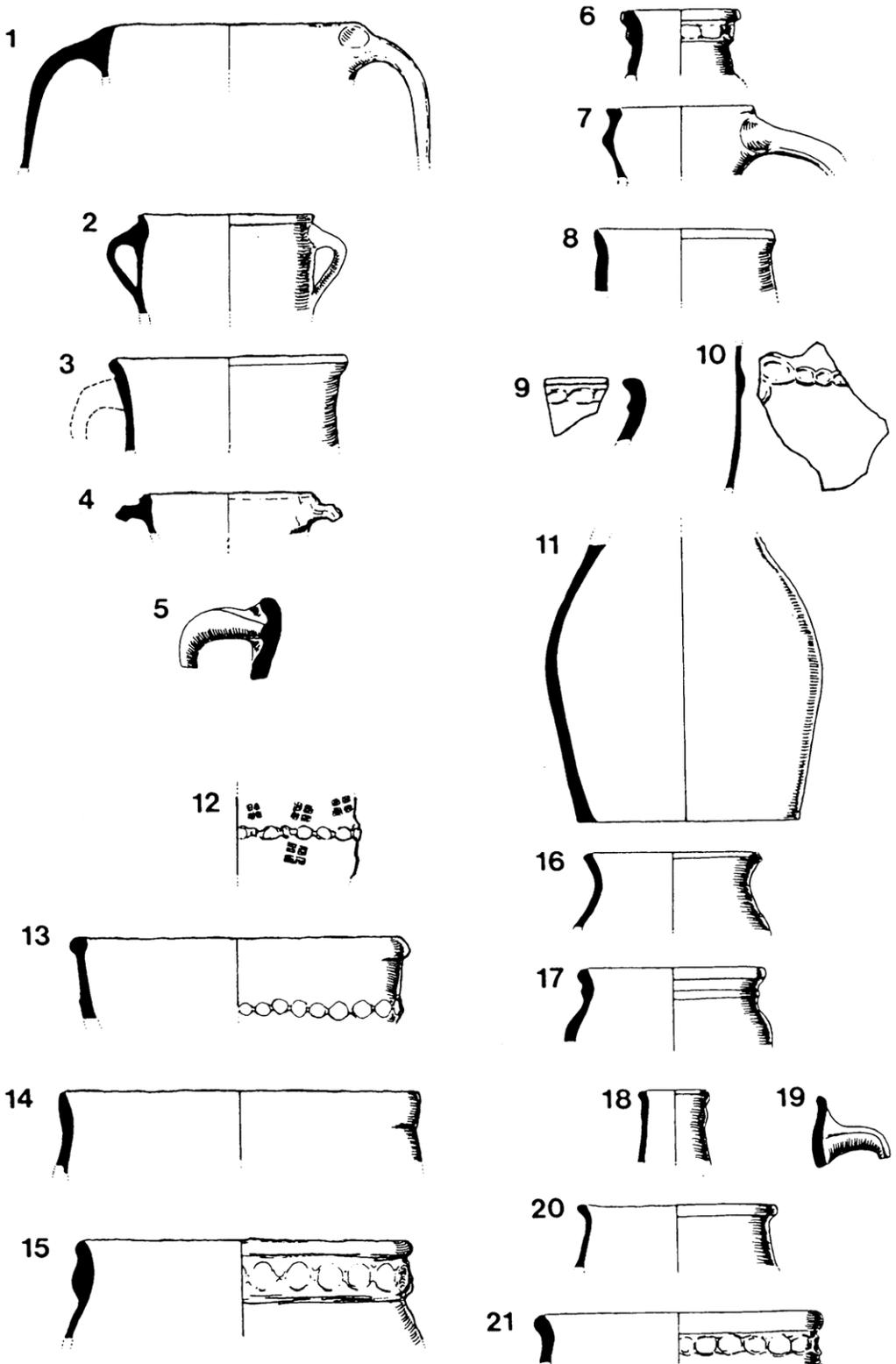
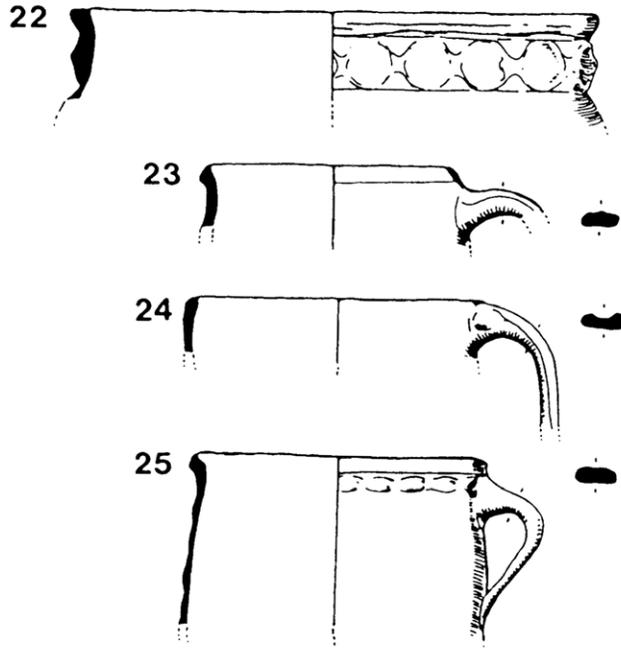


Fig. 2 Pottery of Silverdale type 1:4 (Drawn by I. Frontani).



kiln the usual colour is olive green. We must remember that what remains at the kiln site usually consists of failures. The range of vessels is quite limited, consisting of large heavy farmhouse and kitchen items; bowls, jars, jugs, possibly chafing-dishes, and above all, ale-jars with bung-holes. Decoration generally consists of thumb-pie crust strips but a few vessels bear impressed grid-iron stamps and very occasionally, seal-like prunts. It is likely that the potters concentrated on an area of production which did not attempt to compete with imported wares of the period, such as cups and dishes, or even the products of more advanced English potteries. The retreat into utilitarian wares is very characteristic of late and sub-medieval country potteries.

Why did they make pottery here? Silverdale and Arnside were not the most propitious places in which to manufacture heavy fragile items. Apart from fuel (supposing that the area was then as wooded as it is now) they had few advantages. Clay sources are no better than elsewhere, while transport out must have been a problem. It may be that sea transport took away the finished products from Silverdale Cove or the former inlet near Arnside Station. While we might assume that wood was the natural fuel, access to it may not have been guaranteed. It would depend upon the potter's tenure. Poor quality coal was widely available in North Lancashire,⁸ while turf from coastal salt-marsh and from low-lying wetlands is another possibility, and even more likely at Arnside, where it had been in use for salt-making since the Middle Ages. Mr Beale of Elmslack Lane has demonstrated the possibility that usable clay was widespread in the area, not just from the Haweswater area. Large and convenient supplies of clay were crucial to potting, and we should expect a very local source.

Where did the pottery go? After many years of fieldwalking and excavation we can be sure that Silverdale/Arnside type wares were the characteristic local pottery in the

16th and 17th century. They occur very widely in Lancaster, the Lune valley, and even in Kendal and the Kentmere valley. It is likely that they were taken to Lancaster market for redistribution. However, we should be cautious in ascribing too much to Silverdale/Arnsdale. There may have been other potters working in the same tradition elsewhere in the North-West. It is very likely that there are other production sites waiting to be found, especially as we know almost nothing of how Kendal was supplied, and that is a prime area for seeking out medieval and sub-medieval pottery sites.

Finally, we can consider the date of the pottery and the identity of the potters. The finds seem to be characteristic of the 16th and 17th century, from archaeological evidence, and belong to a more widespread tradition of the period. How early it began we do not know. Examples have been found at Cockersand Abbey, Lancs.,⁹ and it would be tempting to ascribe them to the pre-1539 period, before the Dissolution. However, as with most abbeys, Cockersand was partly occupied as a house after 1539, so they may date from then. The names of the potters have long been sought. It was quite common for potters to be farmers too, the two trades supporting each other. Without land and access to clay and fuel, they would not get very far. So, we should be looking for well-established local families who passed the trade down from generation to generation. Recent work at the Lancashire Record Office has suggested some possibilities. At this period wills were often accompanied by probate inventories, lists of the deceased's property, compiled by three or four neighbours. Much depended on the care and interest of these neighbours, the age of the deceased (had they passed on the trade to a son?), or even the time of year (if the potter had just fired a kiln recently, the whole stock might be inventoried, or not mentioned at all if it had all been sold).

A search among members of the Hadwen family revealed:

WRWK 1596 Robart Hawdwen
Extensive range of farm gear and
"Item a sark* with olde potts xiid"
out of a total value of £43 19s. 02d.

*one might expect "ark" here but the word definitely starts with an "s".

WRWK 1674 James Hadwen
Mostly farming gear but
"Item in potes and pipes* 13. 00. 00"
out of a total value of £97 13s. 10d.

*I have no idea what sort of pipes. There is no indication that tobacco pipes were made here, and it was in any case very unusual for them to be made alongside pottery.

WRWK 1599 Thomas Hadwen
Mostly farming gear but
"Item ale potts & pitchers xiid".

These seem to be significant. Most people had some pottery but in probate inventories it was usually regarded as of little or no value. To itemise it is unusual.

James Hadwen's £13 worth is relatively very valuable – more than the value of his cows. Robart's pottery may not mean much but Thomas' "ale potts & pitchers" are just how we would describe Silverdale pottery. The family connection enhances each small reference. If twelve pence seems very small value for someone's stock in trade we should think again. Most items in a probate inventory were of a capital nature; horses, carts, ploughs etc. were bought very rarely and lasted for years. Pottery, on the other hand, could be made quickly and frequently, many times in a year. Probate inventories freeze a moment of time and conflate large and small, property and turnover stock.

So, it seems that members of the Hadwen family were probably potters. Were they alone? Who was working at Arnside? My liberal use of question marks shows how many loose ends there are and how many opportunities for local research. Who will take this up?

Notes and References

- ¹ *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, 21 (1865), 85.
- ² *Ibid.*, 353.
- ³ *Transactions of the Lancashire & Cheshire Antiquarian Society* 27 (1909), 1-32; *ibid.*, 28 (1910), 59-81; *ibid.*, 30 (1912), 99-130; *CW2*, xiii, 55-58.
- ⁴ Jackson's archive is now at Buxton Museum in Derbyshire.
- ⁵ B. J. N. Edwards, "Late Medieval Pottery Kiln(s) at Silverdale", *Contrebis* 2.2 (1974), 41-5; *ibid.*, 3.1 (1975), 41.
- ⁶ A. J. White, "Silverdale", in P. J. Davey, (ed.), *Medieval Pottery from Excavations in the North West* (1977), 102-3, 121.
- ⁷ Correspondence in Lancaster City Museum.
- ⁸ P. J. Hudson, *Coal Mining in Lunesdale* (1998).
- ⁹ Finds from the 1920s excavations of the Abbey site are in Lancaster City Museum.

6. *A broken top quern stone from Fallen Yew farmyard, Underbarrow, Kendal* (SD 89 467923)

BY JOHN MARSH

Mrs Mary Wharton of Kendal informed me of the existence of a broken rotary quern stone top in the farmyard at Fallen Yew, Underbarrow, Kendal. The quern stone was not too difficult to find as it formed part of the top stones of the ramp to the first floor of the yard barn.

The millstone grit stone had been shaped on the sides in the usual bell like form and had a flat, though not completed, grinding surface at the base. No feed hole had been started on the top of the stone nor was there any sign of the side (handle) hole usually associated with such querns. An attempt had been made to start a hole through the stone from the grinding surface but this appears to have resulted in the stone breaking before any real distance had been gained, and a sizeable flake is missing from the hole to the side of the stone. It would appear to be that this quern



PLATE 1 Broken rotary quern – side view.

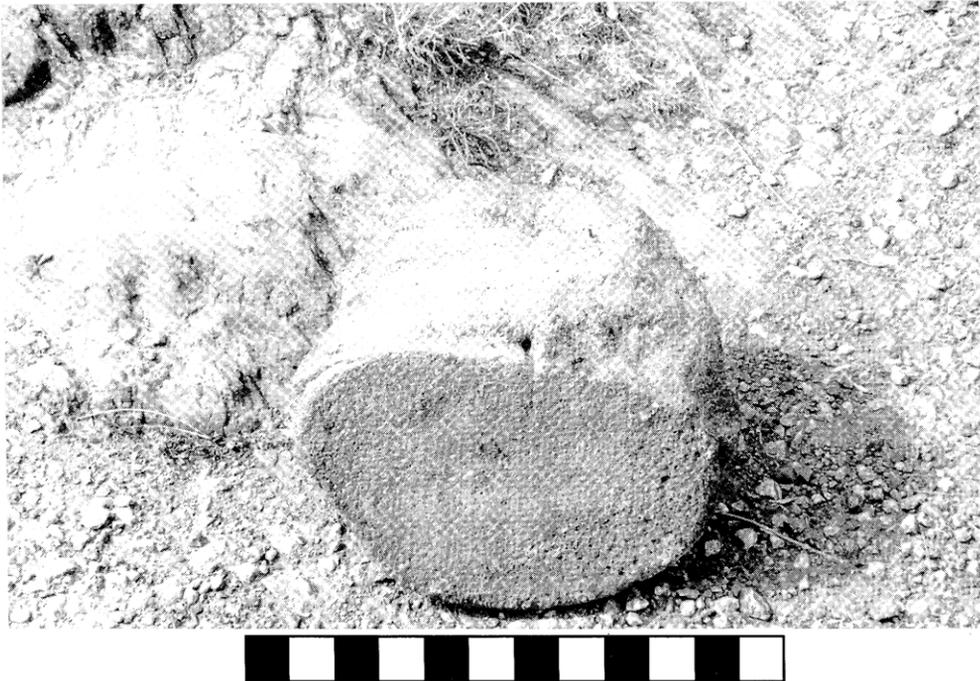


PLATE 2 Broken rotary quern – base and flattened-off side.

stone was being manufactured when it fractured.

As can be seen from Plates 1 and 2 the stone is larger than normal. (The scale is one foot or 30 mm). The stone was found many years ago by members of the Atkinson family, when a wall was being taken down to facilitate the filling in of a pond near the footpath to the nearby deserted village of Lindreth (now Lindeth). It was taken to Fallen Yew farmyard as “an interesting looking stone”.

I must thank both Mrs Wharton and Mr John Atkinson of Underbarrow for their assistance. They have deposited the broken quern stone at Kendal Museum.

7. *The Diary of Isaac Fletcher: a correction*

BY ANGUS J. L. WINCHESTER

Since the publication of Isaac Fletcher’s diary in 1994,¹ I have discovered that the identification of Samuel Parrot offered on p. 438 appears to be incorrect. The Quaker minister of that name referred to by Fletcher was almost certainly Samuel Parrot (c.1719-1783) of Grassrigg, Killington, Westmorland, who was a minister from c.1756 and died in 1783 aged 64 years. This revised identification is based on the record in the Library of the Society of Friends (London), “Ministers Deceased”, p. 152.

Reference

¹ Angus J. L. Winchester (ed.), *The Diary of Isaac Fletcher of Underwood, Cumberland 1756-1781* CWAAS Extra Series XXVII (Kendal, 1994).

