THE CIRCLE AND THE CROSS.

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Chapter XV.

THE MOUND MOOT.

*The Mound-Moot an earlier form—'Cruc, Pennocrucium, Cenn Cruaich'—Etymology of 'Gorsedd'—'Cor, χορός, corro, curia'—The Chair as a symbol of dignity—Mound-Moots possibly mistaken for cenotaphs—'Handley Down, no. 24'—Other Examples—'Cruc' as an element in modern place-names—Middle-English 'creke, a grave'—Confusion of 'cruc,' 'creke,' and 'ciric'—'Cruc' etymologically the same as 'Circus'—'Circus' develops to *circ (kirk) and 'ciric'—Cornish Rounds—Summary of the pre-Christian argument.*

What was the form of the older moot before the Brythons introduced the stone circle? Stone circle, Latin *circus*, Danish *ting* and Achean κύκλος, being all modelled upon actual barrows, we should expect to find the same feature in any earlier moot. The barrows of the earlier peoples we know were the 'bowl' or the 'bell,' and analogy would suggest that their moots were of similar appearance.

The late Sir John Rhys, after mentioning[1] that one of the titles of the Celtic Zeus was 'Chief of the Mound'

[1] *Lectures on the Origin and Growth of Religion*, pp. 202-204; *Welsh People*, p. 7.

(Irish *Cenn*[1] *Cruaich*, Old Welsh *Penn Cruc*[2]), saw the word *cruc* in the place-name Pennocrucium, mentioned in the *Itinerarium Antonini* (*route II*) as a station on the Watling street. This place is now Penkridge, 6 miles south of Stafford, but in documents of the eleventh and thirteenth centuries[3] it is called Pencric. It lies within what were the *fines* of the Brythonic Cornavii, whose capital was possibly at Viroconium (Wroxeter).[4]

Cruaich is the genitive case of *cruach*, which means a 'corn-rick, stack, a symmetrically-shaped hill, a heap.'[5] *Cruachan* is a diminutive of the same word. Both words occur frequently in Gaelic place-names, and are applied indifferently to natural and to artificial hills. Thus Cruc Mhic Dara is 'a round humpy islet' in the bay of Galway; Cruachan Aichle (now Croagh Patrick) is a conical mountain in Mayo, girt by a dry-stone rampart and famous for its close association with St. Patrick; and the great *rath* which overlooks the ancient cemetery of the kings of Connaught in Roscommon was Rath Cruachan (*hodie* Rathcroghan).[6] The Welsh forms *cruc*, *crug*, have precisely similar meanings and uses; in common speech *crug* means 'a heap or stack (of hay, straw, etc.)' or 'a barrow,' *gwyddgrug* is a 'grave-hill,' *morgrug* an 'ant-hill.' In place-names it denotes an isolated conical barrow-like hill: Cruc Mawr, 'the great *cruc*,' was the name of the knoll beside the road from Aberaeron to Cardigan, now called Banc y Warren[7]; and it is probably the initial element in such names as Criccieth and Crickhowel (Crug-Hywel, Howel's *Cruc*).[8] The old name of Old Radnor was Pen

[1] Or *Crom*.

[2] Modern Welsh *crug*, 'a barrow.'

[3] *Cart. Sax.* nos. 1041, 1317. It is Pencrik in Aethilheard's charter (*Cart. Sax.* no. 147), which exists only in a fifteenth-century copy.

[4] Lloyd, *Hist. Wales*, i, 73.

[5] Kuno Meyer, *Contributions to Irish Lexicography* (1906).

[6] The ordinary modern Irish term for a round barrow, which is written *cnoc*, is commonly pronounced *croc*: cf. *Folk-lore*, xxix, 233, where *Cnoc-na-muice* is given as an alternative to *Crook-na-muck*, 'Hill of the Pig.' In Oronsay *croch* is the customary term for a mound, e.g. Croch Sligach (shelly mound) and Croch Riach (grey mound); R. Munro, *Prehistoric Britain*, p. 120.

[7] Nennius (*Hist. Brit.* 74) calls it Mons Cruc Mare, and says that upon its summit was a *sepulchrum* with magic properties akin to those of the Bed of Procrustes. He adds that any tired traveller who made three turns (the *deisul*) about it, would never be tired again. Girald. Cambrensis (*Iter Cambriae*, ii, 3) also mentions this tumulus.

[8] The Cruc Occident of Nennius (*Hist. Brit.* 27) was perhaps Mont-Saint-Michel in Normandy (*Cruc Occident* in *Vita S. Cadoci*, 42), 'qui propter eminentiam tumulus, seu, ut loquuntur, tumba vocabatur' (*Rouen Breviary*, 16 Oct.), the Latin *tumba*

Crug or Pen Cruc, the *Cruker* of Giraldus Cambrensis, 'because it stands on a rocky eminence.'

It is easy to see how the term might be applied equally to a hill, a hay-rick, and a barrow, for the common feature of all these is the regular circular plan and the conical outline. Ninety-nine out of a hundred Welsh barrows are of this type, and to this day the Celt, insular or continental, almost invariably builds his small crops of corn and hay into circular ricks, knowing nothing of the rectangular 'stacks' of English farming.

In Ireland the same word is applied also to simple ringworks or *raths*. Thus Croaghan, Mullaghorn Hill, co. Tyrone, is an earthen ring-fort faced with stone; Rathcroghan, Roscommon, is a typical triple-walled *dun*, but the adjacent Cruachan is a mere ring-barrow; so is the Cruachan of the Luighne at Ballyara, Connaught.[1] Yet more conclusive is the case of the monument which once stood at Ballymagauran: it was a *cruc*, for its 'chief idol' was Cenn (Crom) Cruaich, but it was itself a circle of twelve[2] stones. So the term *cruc* applied also to stone circles,[3] and it seems that the circular plan was quite as essential as the conical elevation. In other words, the radical signification of *cruc* is something circular.[4]

Sir John Rhys pointed out that Pen-yr-Orsedd, still a very common place-name in Wales, signifies 'Top[5] of the *Gorsedd*,' and concluded that *cruc* in such names as Pennocrucium denoted a mound which served the purposes of a *gorsedd*, that is, of a moot. The word *gorsedd*, 'while etymologically meaning any high station or high position, and used in Welsh literature of the middle ages in the sense of a mound or tumulus, came to be the word for a throne or

merely translating the Celtic *cruc*. The Cornish forms of the word are *kryk* or *crecben* (Borlase, *Corn.-Eng. Vocabulary*), *creek*, *creeg*, *crig* and *crug*; the Breton is seen in Cruguel and Krukendo (Crucuno).

[1] Information of the late T. J. Westropp.

[2] 'Four times three stone idols,' says the original Irish verse.

[3] For some emphatic remarks upon the vagueness of the Irish use of such terms as *rath*, *dun*, *sid*, *cruach*, etc. see the late T. J. Westropp in *Proc. R.I.A.* xxxiv (1917), sect. C, no. 3, pp. 57-59.

[4] *Kirk* was the Celtic name of the divinity of the rushing wind of the Rhone valley, the mistral ('master wind'), called to this day *Cers* by the people of the Midi; Duruy, *Hist. Rome*, Eng. trans. (1884), iii, 105. The Romans adopted it under the form *Cercius*, 'the north-west wind.' These names are related to *cruc* as cyclone to κύκλος, tornado to *tornus*, *vortex* to *verto*.

[5] i.e. a prominent position near a *gorsedd*. *Pen* in such expressions is often more nearly rendered by 'near' or 'next to': cf. Pen-y-lan, Pen-y-bont.

judgment-seat.' It is the word constantly used in the Welsh Bible for the 'throne' of the Almighty, as is *gorseddfanc* (i.e. *banc*, 'bench') for the 'judgment-seat.' Seemingly in the earlier period it always connoted some sort of hill, artificial or otherwise: thus in the *Mabinogion* the oft-mentioned Gorsedd yn Arberth ('*Gorsedd* of the woodlands') is clearly envisaged as a hill,[1] possibly the very hill upon which stand the ruins of the castle of Narberth, representing a some-time royal seat of the kings of Dyfed. But in the *Triads* the term is applied to the stone circle of Boscawen-Ûn, and in the Welsh Bible again it is used to render the 'theatre' of Ephesus.[2] Yet neither Boscawen-Ûn, nor any Greek theatre whatever, could possibly be thought of as a mound.

The second element of the word *gorsedd* is identical with Latin *sedes*, 'seat'; the first element is doubtful. Sir John Rhys identified it with the common Welsh prefix *gor* (= *super*), but many other writers, and amongst them Silvan Evans and Professor Skeat, have referred it to *côr* (Irish *cora*, Cornish *coer*) meaning 'a circle, an inclosure in circular shape, choir of a church, band of singers,' and finally 'an ecclesiastical edifice' as in Bangor (anciently Banchor,[3] literally 'High choir'), Côr Illtyd, Côr Seiriol, Côr Enlli, and Côr Emrys or Côr Ambri, now Amesbury (for Ambresbury[4]) near Stonehenge. In all these cases the reference is presumably to the fact that the earliest Christian settlements of these islands were unquestionably circular in plan. Stonehenge itself is called indifferently Côr (or Gwaith) Emrys, 'Ambrosius' Choir (or Work),' and Côr Gawr, 'the Giant's Choir,' and the latter name is applied also to the traditional stone circle of Mons Killaraus (ch. x). The English word 'choir' long retained the suggestion of a body of persons standing round in a circle, and the notion of circularity, says Silvan Evans, 'is inherent in all words of which *côr* is the first element.'[5]

[1] 'From the top of the *gorsedd* they looked and listened,' *Mabinog.* p. 54; 'the highest part of the *gorsedd*' ibid. p. 60.

[2] *Acts*, xix, 29, etc. As *theatrum* was convertible with *circus* (above, ch. vi), the three terms *θεατρόν*, *circus*, and *gorsedd* had come to be synonymous.

[3] cp. the Scottish Banchory (ch. viii). The syllable forms the prefix in the name of Corwen near Llangollen, and in an inscription (*c.* 1300) upon a sepulchral effigy in the church this name is written Corvaen (i.e. Cor-maen, 'Choir of the Stone'), possibly referring to the great menhir still to be seen in the churchyard. The church, which claims to be dedicated to SS. Mael and Sulien, the latter an Armoric saint of sixth-century date, is a place of very great antiquity and unusual sanctity.

[4] *A.-S. Chronicle*, 995.

[5] *Welsh-Eng. Dict. s.v.* CORGI. *Corgi*, 'a small or worthless dog, a cur,' exhibits

Others pronounce any connexion of *gorsedd* with *cŏr* to be 'absolutely impossible'; but on the other hand the North-Welsh *corlan*, 'sheepfold,' is normally *gorlan* in South-Welsh and in Cornish—*gorlan*, 'a sheepfold, a churchyard,'[1] —and in Celtic lands churchyards were invariably circular, sheepfolds usually so. In Irish *cora*, *coer*, *cor*, may signify 'a round hill,'[2] and so too in Manx.[3] How these words are related, if they are related at all, to the Greek χορός is not clear, but Hesychius says that χορός properly means the same as κύκλος and στέφανος.[4] Primarily a 'place for dancing,'[5] the word came to be particularly associated with the circular floor (ὀρχήστρα) of the Greek theatre. It survives to-day in the χορός of a Greek church, the central and often markedly circular space between the chancel (βῆμα) and the nave, around which at certain seasons the singers move in procession. Its central point was sometimes selected as the burial-place of persons of exceptional distinction, as when Constantine was buried at the central point of his circular church of the Twelve Apostles in Constantinople.[6] The circular arena being apparently unknown in ancient Crete,[7] the question arises whether the circular χορός, like the ἱερὸς κύκλος, was not introduced into Greece by the Celts.

the derogatory prefix *cor* (unaccented), meaning 'dwarf'; cf. *cordref*, 'hamlet.' It has no connexion with O.W. *cor*, 'sheep,' for which see the next note.

[1] Polwhele's *Cornish-English Vocabulary* (in *Hist. Cornwall*, 1816). Others would derive *corlan* from an obsolete Welsh *cor*, 'sheep,' comparing Irish *caor*, Gaelic *caora*, 'sheep,' and Irish *caorlann*, 'sheep-fold'; but Silvan Evans denies that any such word was ever used in Wales. 'Corlan is not necessarily a pen for sheep, but is applicable to any circular enclosure; and the old sheepfolds were usually of that [circular] form' (*Welsh-Eng. Dict. loc. cit.* citing R. Williams, *Lex. Cornu.-Britannicum*, and Th. Richards' *Thesaurus*).

[2] Joyce, *Place-Names of Ireland*. The word appears in the name of Lough Gur, said to be expressive of its circular shape (*Journal Cork Hist. and Arch. Soc.* xxv, p. 69) and possibly in *cuirr: Hitagar dul icruaich cuirr*, 'I fear to go to the round Rick (of Croagh Patrick),' as Whitley Stokes doubtingly renders it (*Three Middle Irish Homilies*, pp. 36-7).

[3] A. W. Moore, *Manx Place-Names*.

[4] Liddell and Scott, *Lexicon*. The word κύκλος is constantly used of any circular *enceinte*, and in Dio Cassius (72, 19) it signifies an amphitheatre. From *Odyss.* viii, 260, it appears that the use of the ἱερὸς κύκλος as a dancing-floor was quite customary, and from *Odyss.* vi, 6, 5, that χορός might denote the ἱερὸς κύκλος itself. It becomes doubtful therefore whether the familiar 'Cyclic Chorus' was so called because it was a round dance, rather than because it was originally danced in the ἱερὸς κύκλος; doubtful also whether the name of 'Dance' (German *Tanz*, Cornish *Dawns*), as applied to stone circles, is not a translation of *cŏr*.

[5] *Odyss.* viii, 260; xii, 4.

[6] So with the same builder's original church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem, and with the two churches which he built in Rome to enshrine the bodies of his daughters Constantia and Helena, and of the greater Helena his empress.

[7] Angelo Mosso, *Palaces of Crete* (1907), p. 310.

In Spain, where there was a large Celtic element, traces of the same word appear in *corro*, which means 'a circle or ring formed by people who meet to talk or to see a show,' 'a circular space,' and also 'a sort of dance.' The word in this sense is said to be certainly not a derivative of the Graeco-Latin *chorus*, although *corro* in the sense of 'a race' is as certainly derived from the Latin *currere*, Spanish *correr*. Conversely the dictionary gives as the Spanish equivalent of 'circle,' *corro* and *corillo* and *cerco*[1]; so that here again one finds *corro* related to *cerco* as *chorus* to *circus*, χορός to κρίκος, *cór* to *cruc*. Similarly in Portuguese *corro* signifies 'a place in which to bait bulls, a bull-ring,' but also 'a club, society.'[2] From this again come *corral*, 'a circular enclosure for cattle,' and the Cape-Dutch *kraal*, the circular aggregation of huts which is a Kaffir village.

Reasons have been given (ch. iv) for suspecting a connexion between χορός and *curia*, and again between *curia* and *circus*; and the uses of the word *cór* make it pretty certain that this word is itself related to *curia*. The transition of *cór* from the sense of 'a circular place of meeting' to that of 'a place of Christian worship,' is precisely parallel with that of *curia* from the sense of 'a circular moot' or *circus* to that of 'a church.'[3]

It does not appear that the word *cór* is at the present day applied to any stone circle or other circular work of antiquity in Wales, but that it was at one time so used is suggested by various facts. The earliest Christian holy places in the west were certainly circular, and this is what *cór* implies. It was used of the holy places of certain of the greater saints, and in the form Bangor (for Banchor) it attached to several ancient religious foundations of special dignity, like Bangor Iscoed. In Scotland in its plural form *corau* it is probably the second element in the name of Banchory, which occurs twice, associated in each case with remarkable stone circles and with noteworthy

[1] Neuman and Baratti, *English-Spanish Dictionary*: 'El cerco formado por un numero de personas reunidas formando círculo.'

[2] Michaelis, *English-Portuguese Dictionary*.

[3] As constantly in the fourteenth century. Thus a grant made by Hugo de Boclande, *circa* 1300, mentions 'four acres of land lying *inter curiam persone de Inkpenne et la Penne*' (A. R. Ingpen, *An Ancient Family*, p. 144).

saints.[1] The name occurs also in Ireland[2] and in Cornwall.[3]

In the modern bardic *gorsedd* (fig. 1) there is no suggestion of any mound, but circularity of plan is an essential. In other words there has happened exactly the same to *gorsedd*

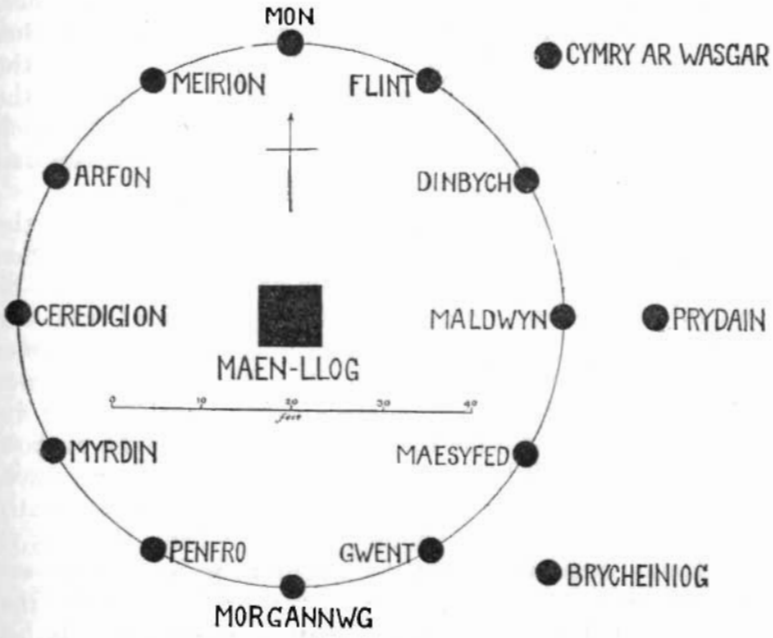

FIG. 1. PLAN OF MODERN GORSEDD CIRCLE, ABERYSTWYTH.

Erected for the National Eisteddfod of 1914. In the centre is the Altar-stone. The other stones are inscribed in 'Bardic' letters (see *Arch. Cambr.* 1846, p. 473) with the names of the donors. Commencing with the north point the twelve stones of the circle represent the counties of Anglesey, Flint, Denbigh, Montgomery, Radnor, Monmouth, Pembroke, Carmarthen, Cardigan, Carnarvon and Merioneth. The three outliers represent the Welsh Abroad (NE.), England (E.), and Breconshire (SE.). The stones stand from 6 to 8 ft. above the ground and are partially tooled.

[1] Above, ch. viii. A *circus*-like earthwork in Mochrum, Wigtownshire, is known as Corwall. 'The relics of a stone circle' subsist at Nether Corskie in Echt (Bp. Browne, *Antiqs. of Dunecht*, p. 52). Coirstone Wood, Druminnor, Aberdeenshire, surrounds a stone circle; another (now destroyed) in Banffshire was known as Core-stanes (*Proc. S.A.S.* xl, 205); a third stood on a site called Corrie Down (ibid.); and yet a fourth stands at a spot called Corrie in Farr, Caithness.

[2] e.g. in co. Down, 12 miles NE. of Belfast, where was a famous monastery founded by St. Comghall in 552. In this case the name has been explained as *Beann Chair*, 'White Church.'

[3] In Bangors, a hamlet in Poundstock near Bude.

as to *cruc* : each was originally a circular *mound* of a specific purpose, and each presently came to be a circular *superficies* of the same specific purpose ; and the similarity of *gor* to *cór* would readily give rise to some subconscious false etymology. The question of derivation is after all of no particular moment, for, whatever the prefix, the *gorsedd* was of necessity the central *focus* of a number of people gathered about it. If a speaker addresses an audience, his hearers naturally gather about him in a circle,[1] whether the speaker be raised on a platform or not ; and in the latter case the speaker does not stand in the centre of the circle with some of his audience at his back, but himself becomes one of the circle, like him who occupied the dais to preside in the moot-circles of Aberdeenshire.

There is evidence enough that a circular mound was the first, as it was the most natural, form of moot. When Homer's Zeus holds council amongst the great gods, he occupies the highest pinnacle of Olympus ' apart from the rest.'[2] When Vergil's Aeneas proclaims the funeral games in honour of the dead Anchises, he addresses his audience from a mound[3] ; and when he presides at the games he takes his seat upon something expressly built for the purpose in the *circus*.[4] When Caesar met Ariovistus in conference, the *rendezvous* was a tumulus.[5] Irish writings constantly allude to ' hills of ceremony,' upon which the native chieftains were inaugurated. Spenser noticed their use as late as 1590,[6] and in the *Cattle-Raid of Cooley* the Ultonian fighting-men parade past a mound which has been raised to provide a seat for king Conchobar.[7] On the occasion of an Irish *aenach* the chieftain and notables took their seats on or near the mound (barrow) which marked the scene of the gathering.[8] When administering the law the Brehon ' sitteth doune upon a banke.'[9] At the present time ' I was not on the *cnoc* ' is a common Irish expression meaning ' I was not present at the

[1] cf. Addison, *Spectator*, no. 1 (1st March, 1711), ' *Rounds* of politicians . . . little *circular* audiences.'

[2] *Iliad*, i, 16.

[3] *Aeneid*, v, 43. It is clear from *vv.* 75-6 that this mound was not the barrow of Anchises.

[4] *Aeneid*, v, 288-290.

[5] *Bell. Gall.* i, 43, 1.

[6] ' There is a great use amongst the Irish to make greate assemblyes togither upon a rath or hill ' (*State of Ireland*, Globe edn. p. 642).

[7] Borlase, *Dolmens of Ireland*, p. 1051, citing from the *Tain Bo Cuailgne*.

[8] O'Curry, *Manners and Customs*, i, p. cclv.

[9] Campion, *Hist. of Ireland* (1571), p. 26 ; Walker, *Irish Bards* (1786).

function.'[1] The Gaulish Mercurius took his titles from the hills whereon he was worshipped.[2] So in Wales the higher mountain-summits are especially the seats of the mighty: Cader Arthur, a peak of the Brecknock Beacons (The Van), is king Arthur's chair or throne.[3] St. Cadoc preaches from a mound,[4] St. David from a high hill[5]; and when the latter elects to preach from the level ground at Llanddewibrefi, the soil 'rose as a high mountain under his feet.'[6] The ancient Welsh court of law normally assembled upon a mound.[7] In Scotland the list of 'law-hills' is extremely long: typical examples are the mote-hills of Ellon and Errol, and that known as Dundonald in Knapdale.[8] The communal court of Whitsome in Berwickshire met at a mound called the Birlie Knowe.[9]

The same association of ideas is to be found in the Teutonic lands.[10] It is equally as prominent in the Scandinavian regions: the Norse *haugr* (*hog*, *hogue*, *howe*), like the *ting*, was at once the moot of its community and the seat of the presiding chieftain. The gods of Norse mythology 'sit upon the high seat in Valhalla' with Odin. In the *Heimskringla Saga* to sit upon a howe is spoken of as 'the manner of kings.'[11] For a king to take any other than the highest seat was to abdicate his throne. When

[1] 'Alluding to the ancient custom of holding ceremonies of importance in elevated positions.' So Macdonald, *Gaelic Dictionary* (1902), where *cnoc* is interpreted 'hill, knoll, eminence . . . council, court.' In the Outer Hebrides the communal meeting-place was known as *Cnoc-na-Combairle*, 'Council-hill' (Gomme, *Village Community*, p. 144).

[2] A small Gallo-Roman bronze found n the ruins of the temple (*ante* A.D. 250) on the summit of the Puy-de-Dome, bears the contemporary legend MERCURIO DUMIATI.

[3] So Cader Idris, Cader Fronwen. Whatever its ultimate derivation, *cader* was here felt to mean 'chair.' According to Silvan Evans, *cader* or *cadair* is the Brythonic form of the Gaelic *cathair*, and both answer to the Greek *καθέδρα*. McClure would refer *cader* to Latin *castrum*. It probably represents two distinct words which have become confused. There is further involved a third element, which appears in such names as St. Catherine's Hill (twice in Hants.) and Catherton (Salop and the Border). These appear to embody a Celtic god-name, which has been assimilated to the St. Catherine of Christian hagiology, doubtless on purpose, the saint's legendary wheel supplanting the Celtic *roth-fail* in pagan high-places.

[4] *Life of St. Cadoc*, c. 24.

[5] *Life of St. David*, § 49.

[6] ibid. § 52.

[7] See further below, ch. xix.

[8] See a long list in Gomme, *Primitive Folk-moots*, pp. 164 *sqq*. He mentions the holding of courts at the cairn on the hill of Conan, parish of St. Vigeans, Forfarshire, in 1254, 1375, and 1409; and quotes (from *Proc. S. A. Scot.*) a reference to 'the king sitting, *as use is*, in the royal seat upon the *mount* of Scone.'

[9] Gomme, *Village Community*, p. 206. Birlie (mediaeval *birlag*, *birlawe*, the modern 'by-law') reappears as the Bierlow of Yorkshire place-names, and the confusion of the original *log* (O.N. 'law') with *blaw* (O.E. 'hill') reflects the intimate association of the two.

[10] As e.g. in the numerous Malbergs (ch. xii).

[11] *Story of Harald Hairfair*, c. 8.

the hound of Eystein the Evil was made king over the men of Thrandheim, 'a high seat was dight for him, and he sat on a howe as kings do.'[1] In the *Saga of Harald Hairfair* the expression 'high seat' is to all intents convertible with *ting*.[2] In Norman England the *Mons placiti* (*placitorum*), 'Hill of pleas,' was to be met with on every hand. To be seated at all was a sign of authority,[3] and the higher the seat, the higher the dignity; and in semi-barbaric times the simplest means of providing a 'high seat' was an artificial mound.

If it be correct to think that those who built the stone circles had so far advanced as occasionally to differentiate the purely ritual from the administrative moot, marking the former by the addition of an external fosse, as at Avebury, Arbor Low, and Stonehenge, it is not unreasonable to surmise that some at least of their contemporaries may have made a like advance, and may occasionally have distinguished a purely ritual mound in the same fashion. There are fossed mounds which, otherwise inexplicable, may consistently be interpreted as counterparts of the great fossed circles; and if they are relatively few in number, this is precisely what one would expect.

Pitt-Rivers thoroughly examined such a fossed mound ('Handley Down, no. 24') near Woodcuts.[4] Perfectly circular, with a diameter of 23 feet, it was but two to three feet high. He dug it entirely over, but found nothing in it whatever beyond three pits which had been sunk in the original surface-level before the mound was thrown up. He speaks of these as so many 'graves,' but in none of them was there found any determinable trace of an interment. Each had been filled in with the chalk which had been dug out in making it, and the solitary find was the digit of a small ox.[5] The mound had a shallow penannular fosse

[1] *Story of Haakon the Good*, c. 11.

[2] Above, ch. vii.

[3] 'The importance of being seated when acting officially runs through the whole of Roman ceremonial etiquette, subordination being expressed when the people stood before the seated magistrate, equality when the senate sat in his presence' (Smith's *Dict. Class. Antiqs.* third ed. ii, 619*b*). Exactly the same was the case in the Homeric *agora*.

[4] *Excavations*, iv, pp. 149-157.

[5] Apparently a customary sacrifice to the dead in Achean Greece (*Odyss.* xi, 30), and therefore an appropriate victim to consecrate the spot where were worshipped the communal ancestors. So it was also in Rome. Bones of the ox were found in the consecration-deposit of the temple at Wroxeter; cf. Roach Smith, *Antiquities of Richborough*, p. 165, who found 'many bones of a small sort of ox in the foundations' of the amphitheatre there.

with the opening towards the south-west. Only a happy accident revealed the fact that round this 'cenotaph,' within a radius of 24 feet therefrom, had been buried no less than 52 urns each containing a cremated interment.[1] Why was this? The mound itself was proved not to be sepulchral, yet obviously it was a place of sanctity; for whether the surrounding burials be explained as those of persons who sought to be buried within the shadow of the mound, or as those of victims sacrificed at the spot, the mound itself must equally have been a *locus sacer*. It lay within a little distance of a British settlement. By all analogy it can have been nothing else than a ritual *cruc*.

As the Achean, Latin, and Celtic circle-moots were severally developed from later forms of the sepulchral ring, so presumably was the earlier mound-moot developed from the primitive round barrow; and as the circle-moot required to be hallowed by its consecration-grave, so also would the other.[2] The seats of kings would gather to themselves in their turn something of that divinity which 'doth hedge a king,' and would develop each into a recognised *focus religionis*.

Does this explain the occurrence of so many mounds, generally of considerable size, but of small elevation, which have been proved by excavation to be artificial, yet contain no discoverable interment, or none which can be regarded as original? Colt Hoare mentions them,[3] and in reference to the particular case of Hatfield barrow at Marden, Wiltshire, says that he 'could not satisfy himself that it was sepulchral,' expressing the opinion that it was 'a druidical place of assembly.'[4] Greenwell found several in the north of England.[5] Indeed all the more active barrow-hunters have met with them and wondered over their purpose.[6]

A mound in the parish of Weaverthorpe (Yorks. E.R.) was 80 feet in diameter and 3½ ft. in height. It was raised over an oval fosse (70 × 60 feet), 3 feet wide and 3½ feet

[1] They lay mostly adjacent to the entrance-way, and each had been interred separately.

[2] As the Norse *baugr* was likewise the burial-place of the chieftain's ancestors, kindred, or wife.

[3] *Ancient Wilts*, ii, p. 89.

[4] ibid. pp. 5-7.

[5] *British Barrows*, pp. 27-8.

[6] Several examples of such *tumuli inanes* are recorded in Warne's *Celtic Tumuli of Dorset*.

deep. No trace of any interment was discovered. The soil in the centre, for the depth of a foot above the natural surface, was exceedingly hard, as if puddled by trampling. The locality abounds in all the evidences of a dense population, barrows and other earthworks, flint implements, etc. The excavator pronounced it to be 'the most perplexing barrow I have ever met with.'[1]

A mound in the parish of Rudstone (Yorks. E.R.), again one of a large number of anhistoric earthworks, was of almost the same diameter (78 ft.), but as much as 6½ ft. high. Like the last, it was built over a fosse (4 ft. wide), and as in the other case, the soil about the centre seemed to have been puddled. The work had been thrown up over two smaller and earlier mounds (diams. 27 ft. and 17 ft.), neither of which was sepulchral. It contained the remains of at least thirteen interments, of which Dr. Greenwell pronounced all to be secondary or intrusive. Excavated in the natural chalk beneath it was a pit 6 feet in diameter and 5 feet deep, 'filled in with chalk rubble, and containing nothing beyond the filling-in, except two flint chippings and a quantity of charcoal.'[2]

A mound in Goodmanham parish (Yorks. E.R.) was 100 feet in diameter, but 4½ feet only in height. It was built of 'very tenacious clayey earth.' It yielded a food-vessel, placed eccentrically at a distance of 11 feet SE. by S. from the centre, with no trace of human remains.[3]

Yet a fourth 'cenotaph' was in the parish of Kilburn (Yorks. N.R.), amongst a large group of sepulchral barrows. It was 56 feet in diameter and 5 feet in height, and was curiously built of small stones enclosing a mound (diam. 29 ft.) made of alternating layers of white and yellow sand. Again there was no trace of any interment, but amongst the few finds was a small slab of sandstone bearing a cup-mark upon each face.[4]

[1] *British Barrows*, pp. 192, 202-3.

[2] *British Barrows*, pp. 233, 247-251. Something similar to this was found at Gib's Hill, the 15-foot-high circular mound lying 1,000 feet west of the stone circle of Arbor Low. The mound was built over 'four smaller mounds of indurated clay intermixed with wood and charcoal.' and near the summit was a cremated burial with a small food-vase' (*V.C.H. Derbyshire*, i, 182-3). The position of this interment, so high up in the mound, suggests that the mound was not originally reared to be a sepulchral barrow.

[3] *British Barrows*, p. 301. The position of the food-vessel is noteworthy, as there is evidence that the consecration-grave frequently occupied this position.

[4] ibid. pp. 430-1.

It will be noticed that not one of these examples is recorded to have shown an external fosse.

No people can be imagined to have built mounds of such a kind, whether the diameter were 56 feet or 100 feet, for no particular purpose; still less to have built them with such studied method as is shewn by the peculiarities of these instances. Greenwell was satisfied that none of the four was designed for a sepulchral barrow. Their purpose therefore remains an enigma unless they were 'hills of ceremony,' that is, moots. For this purpose their flattened form would well fit them.[1] The puddling noticed in some of them the excavator thought might be due to the mounds' having been built in wet weather, but it might equally well be the result of long use of the mounds as places of meeting. The food-vessel found at Goodmanham and the pit observed at Rudstone—much like the so-called graves of 'barrow no. 24' on Handley Down (p. 124)—may represent the consecration-graves, and the Rudstone mound would seem itself to have been a reconstruction, upon a larger scale, of two earlier non-sepulchral *crucs* embedded within it. The interments in the Rudstone mound, certainly not original, were probably made at a period when the true purpose of the mound was forgotten. Human nature being still the same, it is certain that what had sufficed an earlier age for its moot, would not always satisfy a later age; that one by one many of these earlier moots would be reconstructed or wholly abandoned; and that, once abandoned, they would be put to purposes useful perhaps, but wholly different from those originally intended.

A barrow (diam. 60 feet) lying 600 yards south of Old Sarum produced no interment which could be regarded as primary, although there were found some fourteen secondary burials, all inhumated, some of which were believed to be of Romano-British date. All but one of the bodies were extended, the exception being crouched in a sitting posture. This was found 'at the SE. corner of the barrow.' With the bodies were scraps of bronze and of iron, and a fragment of rude pottery of herring-bone pattern. Central or so to say principal burial there was

[1] Mention has been made above (ch. vii) of the flat-topped unfossed mounds of Old Upsala, one of which is still known as the Tingshogen, 'moothill.'

none, but just east of the centre ' the solid chalk had been cut out to form a shallow cist. This however did not contain a skeleton or burnt bones, but only some detached ox-teeth and two or three fragments of the bones of the same animal.'[1]

The mound had unquestionably been *used* as a barrow ; that it was *made* for a barrow is difficult to believe, for there was no central or principal interment. The peculiar pit with its contents is suggestive of some sort of consecration deposit. The mound had been deliberately constructed, it had the plan of the customary *locus consecratus*, and apparently it had its consecration-grave. This also may have been a *cruc*.

The list of such cases might be extended almost indefinitely. The most cautious allowance being made for cases where there is any doubt, or any possibility that the original central burial was overlooked, there remain scores of such ' cenotaphs.' It will be noticed that none of the cases cited shows an external fosse, a peculiar characteristic of sepulchral mounds. On the other hand many of them show marked elaboration of construction, and many show what, in default of any better explanation, may be regarded as a foundation deposit.

To argue from the analogy of the Achean ἱερὸς κύκλος, the Greek *prytaneum*, the Roman *circus*, and the Irish *aenach*, the original moot of the Indo-European community was the actual grave of some great leader. As society evolved, the ritual which required a veritable grave was modified so far that a merely symbolical burial sufficed. This appears to have been the evolution in Greece and in Italy ; it appears to have been the evolution also in Celtic Christianity ; and it may well have been the same in Celtic paganism. That the older barbaric procedure survived in certain cases is likely enough, as for example in the consecration of any spot of very special sanctity or dignity ; but there is no need to imagine its surviving in the case of every *cruc* in every small community. There were unquestionably very wide variations in the culture of the various peoples of the British isles in pagan times, as there are to this day, and there is no warrant for taking

[1] *Trans. Salisbury Field Club* (1890-3), i, 51.

the worst practices of the most degraded tribes as typical of all. It is this loose thinking, which would for example transfer to the Celts at large the hideous barbarities by Strabo[1] attributed *on hearsay* to the Cimbri of Germany, that has brought so much discredit upon British Celtism. The typical British Celt of the times of Caesar and Tacitus was not a savage by any means, though some British tribes, possibly even some Brythonic tribes of Britain, were undoubtedly savages.

It is certain that a discarded *cruc* frequently came to be used by other peoples as a place of sepulture. It is reasonably certain that the sepulchral mounds of one people came in the same way to be used as the moots of other peoples.[2] A generation which tears up the lettered grave-stones of its own forefathers to use them as paving cannot well find fault with those who converted into a doorstep the ogam-stone of the princess Avitoria (ch. xix) nor can we reasonably doubt that the undistinguishable grave-mounds of the prehistoric time would occasionally suffer the like utilitarian abuse. Barrows long and round have been utilised as gun-platforms and mill-balls; they have been eviscerated to accommodate reservoirs or to make shelters for shepherds; they have served to carry churches and gibbets indifferently; they have been converted into Norman *mottes* or taken to serve as boundary-marks; and quite a large number of them have done duty at one period or another as the moot-hills of Saxon hundreds or of English manorial courts, lucky to escape a worse fate. What English and Saxons did, some far earlier population might also do, in that remote period when successive Celtic tribes were entering these islands.

It is remarkable that where is found the circle-moot, there is frequently found also in the immediate vicinity a mound, and this apparently not originally sepulchral. Thus the relation of Gib's Hill to Arbor Low is parallel with that of Silbury Hill to Avebury. So again with the mound adjoining the Bull Ring, Chapel-en-le-Frith. These, it is true, are all cases of the deeply fossed ring-works which, it is suggested, are religious rather than administrative moots; but the unfossed circle of Wet Withens

[1] Strabo, § 294.

[2] This was certainly the case upon a wholesale scale in Saxon England.

in Derbyshire has likewise its adjacent mound only forty yards away, there is a mound close beside the ringwork at Castlestead (ch. ix), another close to the *circus* on Chettle Down, and other examples could be accumulated. It is conceivable that some of these mounds were the original moots of the communities which subsequently built the adjacent circles, not remodelling the older works, but constructing new ones as near thereto as might be convenient. In some cases perhaps both moots continued in use,[1] the newer circle being presumably used for debate, games, and other matters, while the mound was retained for other purposes for which it was peculiarly suitable, especially for the promulgation of law.[2] Such a differentiation was but a matter of common sense: the circle was just as suitable for certain purposes as the mound was unsuitable, and *vice versa*.

There are upon the map of England, Wales, and Scotland, a number of place-names which indisputably preserve the Celtic word *cruc*. The pronunciation of the word was *creek*, just as the modern Welsh *crug* is so pronounced as to rhyme with *league*. In south Britain *cruc* normally becomes *creech*, but the occurrence of Creke for Creech, Somerset, in *Index Villaris* so late as 1680, shows that the palatalisation was not complete 250 years ago even in Somerset.[3]

In such names as Creech, Crick, Crickley, Crich, Crichie, Crichel, the word is obvious. It is not so obvious, though demonstrably present, in forms so different as Cricket, Croichlow, Crutch, Kirkley, and even Woodcray.[4] Clearly it is a Protean element, and it is no matter for surprise to find it in Creighton, Crook, Cruckberrow, and even in Crouch and Crutch.

Penkridge, Staffordshire, lies on the little stream now called the Penk, a tributary of the Trent. No one has seriously questioned its identity with the Roman Penno-

[1] As in Rome the *Circus Maximus* subsisted side by side with the *Forum* and *Curia*, and as in Athens the Pnyx and the Dionysiac theatre were in simultaneous use.

[2] And for the execution of the law, i.e. as a place of execution, because of its greater conspicuity. Hence the multitude of 'Gallow(s) hills.' See above, ch. vii, on the Icelandic Lawhill and Hangman's hill.

[3] Prof. Allen Mawer reminds me that the same hesitation is to be seen in the present-day names in *-wick* and *-wich* (both coming from O.E. *wic*) irrespective of dialect.

[4] *Introd. to Survey of Eng. Place-Names* (1924), p. 25; *Chief Elements of Eng. Place-Names* (1924), p. 16.

crucium (*Itin. Anton.* ii) since Camden first suggested it.[1] The Saxon form of the name was Pencric, and the modern form is due to aetiology: the second syllable, its meaning forgotten, has been misconstrued and miswritten *-ridge*, the initial *c* being tacked on to the preceding syllable, which was then taken to be the name of the stream, the Penk.

As Pen-yr-Orsedd is a common name in modern Wales, its equivalent may very well have been common in Celtic England; and both Pentridge and Pentrich may represent each another Pennocrucium.[2]

Pentridge is in Dorsetshire, four miles north-east of Cranborne. Johnston cites the form Pencric from an unnamed charter of 958. The downs in the locality are so thickly strewn with barrows that they have been spoken of as 'the barrow-centre of Cranborne Chase,'[3] and the Ackling Ditch, the Roman road from Old Sarum to Badbury Rings, passes ¾ mile to the west of the village. It was clearly an important centre of population in early times, and as such it must have possessed its own *cruc*.

Pentrich is near Belper in Derbyshire, beside the Roman road from Derby to Templeborough. In *D.B.* it appears as Pentric. Three miles to the west is Crich, now pronounced with the *i* long, as in *strike*. Written Crich in 1680,[4] it was Creach in Camden's work, Cruch *circa* 1300, and in *D.B.* Crice, Crick, and Cric. If Pentrich represents 'the place near the *cruc*,' Crich apparently represents the *cruc* itself. Even in the eighteenth century the spot was 'pre-eminent for Roman discoveries,' not less than four considerable finds having then been recorded.[5]

The place-name Creech is frequent in Dorset and in Somerset. A mile outside Taunton, on the south bank of the river Tone in the parish of West Monkton, is Creech Barrow, a conical and isolated hill of 100 feet, referred to in a charter of 682[6] as 'the hill which in the

[1] Stukeley demurred on the ground that Penkridge is not upon the actual line of the Roman Watling Street.

[2] So Johnston, *Place-Names*, p. 399. The confusion of *c* and *t* is a commonplace. *Pennocrucium* itself appears in some manuscripts as *Pennocrutium*.

[3] Heywood Sumner, *Earthworks of Cranborne Chase*, p. 48.

[4] *Index Villaris*.

[5] *Archaeologia*, x, 31. That the term *cruc* should occasionally come to be the name of a community is parallel with the similar use of Latin *forum*, Irish *aenach*, English *market*, and even *church*.

[6] *Cart. Sax.* no. 62.

British tongue is called Cruc-Tan, but by us (Saxons) Crycbeorh.' Cruc-Tan means 'the *Cruc* on the Tone,'[1] Cryc-beorh means 'Cryc-hill,' and *cryc* is the Saxon transcript of the Celtic *cruc*. Cryc-beorh had in *D.B.* become Crice, and it is now Creech.[2] The map marks a Roman road on the western flank of the hill.

Here is documentary evidence that the Saxons adopted the Celtic word *cruc* and wrote it *cryc*.

North and South Creech (*D.B.* Chirche Criz ; 1280 Crech, Crych) lie at the foot of the conical and isolated hill of Creech barrow in Church Knowle, near Corfe, Dorset ; and the name of Creech barrow is identical with Cryc-beorh of the charter of 682. A field in the adjacent parish of Combe Kayne bears the odd name of Young Creech : it contained two barrows, 'apparently' sepulchral.[3] At West Hatch, Somerset, is Little Creech farm. Creech hill occurs one mile west of Cranborne, and again two miles south-east of Evercreech in Somerset. The last-named means Eofers' *cryc*. In the vicinity of Evercreech converged a number of Roman roads, the Fosse road, the Badbury-Uphill road, and a third coming from Glastonbury. The names Crich and Criche (*Taxatio*, 1291) both belonging to Dorset, cannot be identified.[4] Near Frome is Critch hill, and near Poole in Dorset is Creekmore.[5] Critchlow, again identical in meaning with Cryc-beorh, is a personal name in Somerset (Bath, etc.). And in Lancashire is Croichlow.

Crick is a parish in Northants. beside the Watling street. *D.B.* and *Taxatio* write it Crek, Creke, Creyk ; Camden has Creke, and Bridges in 1791 has Creek. It is the name also[6] of a hamlet and chapelry in the parish of Matherne St. Pierre, two miles south of Chepstow and the same distance east of the Roman Caerwent, Mon. On the Blackdown hills near Buckland St. Mary, Devon, is Crickleaze, near Northay barrow and the Roman villa at

[1] The local pronunciation of the modern Taunton is still Tahnton.

[2] There is a parish of Creech St. Michael two miles to the east (written Cyricestun in 882 by confusion with the assertive saint-name of St. Cyric). The intermediate form Creke (or Creek) occurs as late as 1680 (*Index Villaris*).

[3] Hutchins, *Dorsetshire* (1861), i, p. 364.

[4] Some of the forms Cruk, Cruch, Cruche, occurring in *Taxatio*, 1291, may refer to the extinct manor of Cruca near Bridgwater.

[5] Or Creakmoor. It has yielded an-historic remains (Evans, *Ancient Stone Implements*, 2nd ed. p. 122).

[6] Written Trikke in *Valor. Eccles.*

Whitestaunton. Crickfield (*Taxatio*, Crikfield) in Glamorganshire has its doublet in Critchfield, near Bosham, Sussex, a house under the foundations whereof was found a cinerary urn.[1] Cricket Malherbie (*D.B.* Cruchet; 1284 Cruket) and Cricket St. Thomas (*D.B.* Cruche; 1431 Cryket), two parishes of Somerset lying on or near the Fosse Way, are explained by the form Gruchet, i.e. Cruchet,[2] which reappears in Crickett, one of the twenty-four townships of the parish of Ellesmere, and also in Crickheath, four miles south of Oswestry, both in Salop. So also Cricket Hill in Hants. and Cricket Farm in Nunney, Somerset; Cricketway and Cricket's Cross in Dorset. Penncricket (lane) in Oldbury, Worc., is apparently related to Penkridge and its congeners as is Cricket to Creech.[3] Crewkerne has a different origin,[4] but it is possible that *cruc* reappears in the 'conical knoll' of Crook Hill which overhangs it. Crayke, in the Forest of Galtres between York and Thirsk, was Creac in 1607,[5] and Craike hill is a mound near Fimber, E.R.[6]

In Norfolk are North and South Creake (*D.B.* Kreic). Both lie on the old road known as the Padder's (or Peddar's) Way, and South Creake, where is a large earthwork of Roman form, has been known as the scene of Roman finds since the time of Sir Thomas Browne.[7] Johnston cites[8] a Crichetot (Crichetoft ? or Crichetoot ?) from the

[1] *Suss. Arch. Coll.* xxxvi, p. 244. In Cricklade (905 Creccagelade, 'Crecca's road') appears a personal name, seen also in Crickenby, one mile south of Dewsbury.

[2] Representing a diminutive (probably Norman French; cf. Ham and Hampnett) of *cruc*, *cryc*.

[3] Duignan, *Place-Names of Worcestershire*.

[4] In the tenth century Crucern; *D.B.* Crucha; 1285 Crukes; 1277 Cruk; 1315 Cruke, Crukerne. See *Trans. Som. N.H. and Arch. Soc.* xxxvii, pp. 12, 73; *Notes and Queries*, 12th ser. ii, 470, iii, 16. In Camden (Gough's ed. 1772) i, 179, it is Crookhorn, a form which recurs in Hants. on the Roman road from Bedhampton to Purbrook, and in Climping, Sussex.

[5] Tenth century Creic (*Cart. Sax.* no. 1255); *D.B.* Creic; 1197 Crech; 1236 Creek, Crek. Roman remains are abundant at Easingwold, a mile or two away.

[6] J. R. Mortimer in *Reliquary* ix. Johnston cites also a Crakehill in Topcliffe, Yorks.

[7] *Hydriotaphia*, 1. But the particular urns of which the finding inspired the writing of that masterpiece, are now declared to have been Saxon.

[8] *Place-Names of Eng. and Wales*: cf. Criquetot in Normandy. There is in Normandy a considerable group of place-names containing the element *crique* or *creque*; e.g. La Crique, Criquebeuf, Yvecrique. Many of these Longnon (*Noms de lieu de la France*, pp. 282-3) would refer to *Kirke*, 'church,' and in some cases the older spellings bear out this derivation. On the other hand Fabricius (*Dansker Minder i Normandiet*, pp. 291-2) denies it. A Scandinavian original might be suggested by the fact that such names are practically confined to Normandy, but the fact that most of them belong to the old lands of the Bellovaci and the heart of Gallia Belgica may point to a Celtic original.

Norfolk Pipe Rolls (1167-8). In Cornwall the word becomes *creek*, as in Trencreek[1] near Grampound, and Polcreek. In Herefordshire also, four miles south of Ross, is Pencreek.[2]

Cruc is undoubtedly the first element in Cruckbarrow,[3] the name of a hill in Worcestershire, as also in Crukton, a township of Pontesbury, Salop. There is a Crooker[4]

FIG. 2. STONE SEAT NOW IN DUNNABRIDGE POUND.
Said to have been originally the President's Chair of the Stannaries Court on Crockern Tor.

hill in Boxgrove, Sussex, and near to Crickham (Creekham) and Christon (1298 Cricheston) in Somerset is the 'strangely formed pyramidal eminence' of Crook's Peak. Such various forms lend colour to the belief that the same word is present in the name of the Crook of Lune, a

[1] Tref-an-cruc, Trencreeg, 'town of the barrow' (Polwbele, *Hist.* Cornwall, i, 136). Dr. Borlase recognised the identity of *kryk* with the Irish *cruach*, and Richard Carew (*Survey of Cornwall*, p. 34) renders Crueg braaz by 'the great borough,' i.e. 'great hill.' Cricklas is Cruc-glas, 'green hillock.'

[2] Penn Creic in *Lib. Landav.* later Pencreig.

[3] Cruckberew, Crokeborow, in 1275 (Johnston). There is another Cruck-barrow hill in Kent. Johnston would explain the name as referring to the crock-like form of the hill; but was not a crock (pot) so called because of its circular form? In the dialect of Warminster a pitcher is to this day called a 'critch.'

[4] Now written Crocker on the maps. The names Crock and Crocker not seldom have reference to the sites of ancient potteries; e.g. Crock Hill in Hants. (Heywood Sumner, *Earthworks of the New Forest*, p. 33).

prominent hill near Sedbergh, in Crike, an isolated peak (1,596 feet) south-west of Ennerdale Water, and possibly in some of the many Crooks and Crookas[1] of the northern counties. The associations of Crockern (Croken)[2] Tor, two miles north-east of Princetown, as the customary scene of the court of the Devon Stannaries, make it possible that this name also is related to *cruc*, if only by assimilation. In Salop are several Cronk Hills, recalling the Manx *cronk*, 'a hill,' itself a nasalised form of the Gaelic *croc* or *cnoc*. The map shows many Crouch hills and Crutch hills, and while the usual interpretation of the names as Cross hill (O.E. *cruc*, 'a cross') is now looked upon as dubious, Prof. Ekwall would recognise the word *cruc* in, for example, the name of Crutch in Worcestershire.[3]

The charter above quoted concerning Creech barrow in West Monkton has been taken as conclusive proof that *cruc* in that instance meant 'hill.' Such an inference is by no means above question. In the first place the word *beorh* cannot be taken as necessarily implying the presence of anything which would to-day be called a hill: much more often in place-names it signifies merely an artificial grave-hill, a barrow. In the second place, though tautology is confessedly of frequent occurrence in place-names, it is the exception, not the rule; whereas, as Prof. Allen Mawer points out,[4] the element *cruc*, if compounded at all, is usually compounded with *beorh* or one of its equivalents (*law*, *how*, *hyll*). It is doubtful whether there can be found another case in which one and the same non-Saxon term has been treated in the same uniform fashion in a score of cases ranging from one end of England to the other. Such uniformity suggests rather that *cruc* stood for something very definite for which the Saxon

[1] Inevitably confused with other names derived from the O.N. personal name *Krokr*; e.g. Crookhurst (Cumb.), Crook (Westm.), and perhaps Crosthwaite. See Sedgefield, *Place-Names of Cumb. and Westmorland*. Others again appear to belong to *crook* in the sense of a 'bend' in a road or a river.

[2] Crockerentorre in 1725 (Pearce, *Laws and Customs of the Stannaries*). Isaac Taylor wished to connect the name with the Welsh *gragan*, 'to talk.' There long remained here a monolithic stone seat (fig. 2) curiously analogous to the θωκος of the Aberdeenshire circles. See Rowe, *Perambulation of Dartmoor*. It has been removed apparently from its original site and embodied in the 'pound at Donnabridge,' where it serves as a seat for the person in authority on the occasion of the periodical round-up of the Dartmoor ponies.

[3] *Introd. to Survey of Eng. Place-Names*, p. 25.

[4] *Chief Elements in English Place-Names* (Eng. Place-Names Society, vol. i, pt. 2) p. 16.

tribes had as yet no Saxon name, and that, when used as a prefix, it had the adjectival force usual in such compound forms in the Saxon tongue.

An alternative explanation would take *cruc* to mean 'rock.' But the *cruc*-names are largely found in chalk areas where, save for a sarsen here and there, there is no rock whatever; and though the rendering 'hill' suits admirably the peculiar case of Creech barrow, it is quite as remarkably unsuited to many of the spots to which the *cruc*-name attaches, to Crichel for example.

What then did *cruc* (*cryc*) mean? Sir John Rhys held it to denote a *locus consecratus* of the Britons, marked by some sort of mound. He identified it with the Welsh *crug*, 'barrow,' and this again with *crug* (Old Welsh *cruc*) in the sense of 'rock.' Now although Welsh may have had a word *cruc* or *crug* in this sense, parallel with the commoner term *cerrig*, it is quite possible that with *cruc* in that sense the word seen in Pennocrucium has nothing whatever to do. Rhys made much of the point that it signified a 'place of assembly'; and supposing that it might mean indifferently a 'rock,' a 'hill,' and also a 'place of assembly,' it is permissible to think that it was this last-named sense which the Saxon was at fault how to express when he borrowed the term and wrote it *cryc*. If it denoted a 'place of meeting' amongst the Britons, it meant, as has been sufficiently demonstrated, a circular place of some sort, mound or ringwork or stone circle or *circus*. Three Scottish instances prove unquestionably that such was the meaning.

In Aberdeenshire the name of Crichie is especially frequent, and once at least it attaches to a sepulchral stone circle (ch. viii). In this instance the name, though uniformly pronounced as now, was as uniformly written Cruchie.[1] The moot-circle of Tullynessle (ch. viii), a typical example of the 'Aberdeenshire' type, bore the specific name of Crookmore, i.e. Cruc Mawr, 'the great *Cruc*.' The third example is Crichtoun, on the borders of Edinburghshire and Haddingtonshire, where to this day are the considerable remains of the *cruc* which gave to the place its name, a circular earthwork (300 × 200 ft.) crowning a small knap.

[1] So W. Marshall Simpson, who was born in the vicinity, tells me.

The bank, which is broad, rises but 3 ft. above the arena, and there is no visible external fosse.[1] The name Crichtoun was written Krekton in 1250, Creigchton in 1367, and, wrote Johnston in 1903, 'the Scots still sound the *ch* as a guttural.'[2]

In view of the facts, so far as they can be ascertained, it appears reasonable to conclude that *cruc*, in some at least of the place-names where it occurs, meant 'moot,' and that *cruc-beorh* and similar compounds meant neither more nor less than 'moot-hill.'

Meaning radically something circular, and specifically either a barrow or a moot, *cruc* must be allied to the Greek κρίκος (Doric κίρκος),[3] Latin *circus*, Teutonic *hrinc*, English *ring*, Russian *kroog*. It must be related also to the Anglo-Saxon *hreac* 'heap of corn' and *hrycg* 'rick.'[4] The initial consonant of the root is preserved in the Old Norse *kringla*, 'circle,'[5] and in the modern Low Dutch *krink*, 'ring.'

Cruc, *cryc*, has had a persistent tendency to interchange with *ciric* and 'church.' Thus the place (in Croscombe, Shepton Mallet) which in 702 was written Crich-hulle,[6] is now Church Hill; while conversely Long Crichel, Dorset, which was Critchill and Crichil in *Index Villaris*, was Cirichyll in 933,[7] and More Crichel was written Kerechel and Kerchulle in 1285. Particularly interesting is the case of Kirkley in Northumberland: in 1175 this was still Crikelawe, the precise northern equivalent of the southern Cryc-beorh, but exactly a century later it appears as Kirkelawe; then the earlier form reappears and persists until 1638, when Kirkley finally makes good.[8] The intermediate forms—Grekelawe, 1255; Crekellawe, 1267; Crekelagh, 1298; Creklawe, 1311—throw light

[1] For these details I have to thank Dr. Cecil Curwen.

[2] *Place-Names of Scotland*. He would refer the word to the Gaelic *criecb*, 'boundary.' It appears to be identical with the name Creich, which 'abounds in Pictland and Dalriada' (Archibald Scott, *Pictish Nation*, p. 407), and is seen also in Creighton near Uttoxeter, Staffs. (written Creygthon in *I.P.M.* ed. ii). Creich in Fifeshire had a notable stone circle (*Proc. S.A.S.* vii, p. 402).

[3] Polybius (e.g. *Hist.* xxx, 13, 2) transliterates the Latin word *circus* as κίρκος.

[4] Jewitt (*Grave-Mounds*, p. 4) mentions a Derbyshire barrow called Rick Low.

[5] As in Heimskringla, 'the *round* world, universe.'

[6] *Cart. Sax.* i, 65.

[7] ibid.

[8] Mawer, *Place-Names of Northumberland and Durham* (1920). The name of Kirklaw hill is common in Scotland, e.g. in Skirling, Peebles.

upon the rare word *creke* occurring in the Middle-English verse—

> When my cors is cast in creke,
> And depe dolven under stones,
> Ihesu, merciable and meke,
> Lese not that thou boughtest ones.[1]

Clearly *creke* represents *cryc* in the sense of a grave-mound, a barrow or cairn, and Kirkley is one of many places taking their name from a barrow-like hill. Here too possibly is the explanation of the name of 'The Creck Bottom,'[2] a small valley adjoining the church of Rotting-dean in Sussex: apparently it took its name from the churchyard, which was anciently circular and is still greatly mounded up. A large mound beside the old Salt-way on the Wolds (577 O.D.) three miles SSW. of Northleach, Gloucestershire, still bears the name of Crickley barrow; and Crickley hill probably derives its name from the group of barrows on the summit. In 1307 it was written Crekeleye, later Cruklea.[3]

There appears to be an odd survival of the word in the name of a megalith in the parish of Madron, Cornwall, a large *circular* block of granite (diam. 4 ft.) pierced by a hole (21 ins. by 18 ins.) approximately central, and planted edgewise in the ground like a target. Known to science as the Mên-an-tol, to the *indigenae* it was, and still is, known only as the 'Crick stone,' and in explanation of the name one is gravely told that an infant, if passed through the hole, is safe from the affliction called crick in the neck or in the back. This sufficiently transparent piece of aetiology leaves unexplained the name, which appears to be the same word *cruc* again in its radical sense—the 'Circle Stone.' Actual examination has proved that, wholly

[1] *Wheatley MS.* (E.E.T.S. original series 155), p. 20.

[2] On a map dated 1714. The name is now lost. The unusual presence of the definite article is paralleled by the frequent 'le Kirk,' 'le Plaistow.' The persistence of the final *k* is illustrated by 'link' (instead of 'linch, lynchet') which the tithe maps shew to have been general in Sussex until 1840.

[3] cf. Johnston, *Place-Names*, *s.v.* Crickhowell. One of these barrows is of the long type, and the hill has been fortified. The barrows provide reason enough for the name without seeking any reference to a 'moot,' although the site of a now unrecognisable circle lies not a mile away in the field called 'Stall Ground'—there was a cattle-stall in it until recent times—on Black Hedge farm in Leckhampton. The few remaining stones are said not to be in their original positions. They bear the local name of 'Roman Stones,' and a Roman road passes a short distance to the east. Johnston cites another Crickley from Cornwall.

unlike the run of megaliths, it is very nearly circular, being set to no great depth in the soil.[1]

It is remarkable that, of the place-names preserving the word *cruc*, so many are directly associated with Roman or Romano-British remains, or close beside Roman roads. Few of them being within the purely military areas of Roman Britain, it appears permissible to believe that they represent so many native settlements each with its own *cruc*.

It is equally remarkable that so large a proportion of them belong to the thoroughly Romanised areas of Dorset, Somerset and Devon. This is the region allocated to the Durotriges, a Goidelic tribe subsequently Brythonised by the intruding Belgae[2]; and after the departure of the Romans it was not so much overrun as enveloped by the invading Saxons.[3] Its Romano-British population was not evicted, but gradually absorbed by the new-comers, which at once explains how so much of the native nomenclature could survive.[4] If few or no *cruc*-names are traceable in the adjoining county of Wiltshire, this is at once explained by the fact that across Wiltshire and onwards to the Severn the Saxons drove in a solid wedge, ousting the Romano-British population in a far more effective fashion.[5] Curiously enough the hybrid name of Crycbeorh (Creech barrow) marks the exact spot at which, on the banks of the Tone, the wave of Saxon conquest paused, and Saxon and Celt settled down to live peaceably side by side. Beyond the Severn the *cruc*-names reappear. Across the midlands they are traceable in a continuous line through Crick in Northants, by Pentrich and Crick

[1] There is a good deal about the superstitious ritual of holed stones, Cornish and others, in Borlase's *Age of the Saints*. The name of 'Crick stone' has been extended in recent times to a number of other stones, or groups of stones, which have no resemblance to the Men-an-tol beyond perhaps a hole through them. See *V.C.H. Cornwall; Reports Royal Inst. Cornwall*, xvii, 270; and for the Men-an-tol in particular, *Antiquary*, li (1915), 387. 'Stones with holes in them,' from the West of England, figured among the mascots collected for the Imperial War Exhibition (*Evening News*, 14 Jan. 1918).

[2] Ridgeway, *Early Age of Greece*, i, 503.

[3] Albany Major, *Early Wars of Wessex*.

[4] It is in Dorsetshire that Romano-British villages and their *circi* are most numerous. King Alfred could still speak of the south-west counties (Wilts. and Som.) as 'lands of the *Wealhcynne* (Welsh)', and king Ine's laws provided for the security of British landowners in that quarter.

[5] Not until a century after the traditional date of the first coming of Hengist and Horsa (449) did the Saxons effect the storm of Old Sarum (552, *O.E. Chronicle*), but their onward sweep to Deorham and the river Severn was a matter of but 25 more years (577).

to the Derbyshire highlands, the territories of the Brythonic Ordovices, where the stone circles have been seen to be so methodically distributed. Is it merely a coincidence that such names should occur so markedly in the areas in which we find also the monumental evidence for the existence of the *cruc* itself ?

Cruc was a Celtic word, and the Roman, when he arrived, Latinised it in such names as Pennocrucium. There were many *crucs* in Celtic Britain, just as there were many *gorseddau* in Celtic Wales ; and as Wales has many places called Pen-yr-Orsedd, so Britain had many called Pennocrucium. The great majority of the native *crucs* would be the primitive mound-moots, but there would be also a number of the Cimbric circle-moots, which would be called by the same name because they fulfilled the same purpose, and because they too were circular, which was the radical signification of the name. Sometimes the older mound would be remodelled. Sometimes the circle-moot would be built beside the older mound.[1]

Then came the Roman with his *circus*-moot, and little by little the older fashion would give way to the new. In many places mound-moot and circle-moot would remain unchanged, but in many other cases these would be remodelled on the lines of the *circus*, or a new *circus*-moot would be built beside the older thing. In the native speech this also would be a *cruc*, but as the natives came slowly to speak a debased Latin idiom, the new word *circus* would supplant the Celtic word, and would come to be used generically of all forms of moot, whether mound, circle, or *circus*. Even the Roman was careless of final inflexions, and the Celt was impatient of them, so that *circus* would assume a form very like **circ* (*kirk*), exemplified in the Welsh *cyrch* and the Cornish *cerch*, just as the kindred word *circulus* passed into Welsh as *cyrchell*, and into Manx as *kiarkyl*. The fact that *cyrch* had the sense of ' moot '

[1] Above, ch. x. Such mounds are commonly written down as barrows, but perhaps without proof, and their frequent occurrence actually within the walls of the settlement (as at Chettle) is strongly against any such purpose unless they belong to a period when the site was deserted. It is possible that they are the moots of an earlier age. Continuity would seem to have been as stubborn here as elsewhere. Heywood Sumner (*Earthworks of Cranborne Chase*, p. 74) notices the presence of *long* barrows close beside no less than eight of these settlements in the Chase, a fact which raises a doubt whether that type of barrow be really as old as it is supposed to be in every case.

(ch. xi) is conclusive proof that the Romano-British *circus* was primarily a moot, and that the Romano-British name for such a place of meeting was not *amphitheatrum*, but *circus*.

This was the word which the Saxon found in general use when he in turn arrived upon the scene. It stood for something with which he met on every hand, at the gates of every Romano-British town and village. He could not but notice it. In the long years of his struggle with the Britons his envoys must constantly have taken part in debates in the moot of this or that community, and in after years the thing remained always with him, stubbornly holding its ground when fire and time had laid in ruins every Roman house and every native hut which once had neighboured it. He asked its name, and was told *cruc* or *circ*; and he forthwith adopted both terms.[1] The former reappears in his speech as the Middle-English *creke*, 'grave'; the latter was destined to pass by many intermediate stages (*cyrc*, *cyric*, *cyrice*, etc.) into the modern word 'church.'

That *cruc*, *creke*, *circus*, and *circ* were in origin the same was wholly forgotten, and the fact is in no way surprising. Who would to-day be conscious of any tautology in saying that he was going to Chirk to church? How many of those who are familiar with Eccles and Ecclesfield are aware that the names bespeak a church? or if aware of it, are in any way conscious of it when they speak those place-names? In the middle of the nineteenth century the town of Church in Lancashire was commonly known as Church Kirk,[2] and no one thought it odd. How closely *cruc* and *circ* resembled each other is illustrated by the Scottish name of Halkirk in Caithness: this was written Hakirk in 1222, Haukyrc in 1274; yet so late as 1504 it appears as Haikrik.[3]

[1] Wright, *Vocabularies* (1882) i, p. 36, gives "*Theatrum*, Wafungstede; *amphitheatrum*, Syneweald Wafungstede,' both from *Aelfric's Vocabulary* (tenth century), adding the note: 'Literally a *place for sights*, explaining the word according to its Greek derivation [*θέατρον*, *θεάομαι*]. This, and the translation of *amphitheatrum* (syneweald wafungstede, a circular place for sights) shew that our A.-S. forefathers were not acquainted with the use of theatres and amphitheatres, and had no words in their own language to express them.' The word *syneweald* (=*perpetuo vallo munitum*) survives in the name of Synald's attaching to parts of the Longmynd in Salop, where are the remains of circular barrows (*Notes on Church Stretton*, iii. 43)

[2] Walcott, *Sacred Archaeology*, p. 155.

[3] Mackinlay, p. 124. Similarly in France

The Celts had felt no difficulty in adopting the Latin term *circus* because it so nearly resembled their own word *cruc*. The Saxons adopted it because they had no alternative. The Aryan moot-habit they of course had ; to a fixed *place* of meeting, and that of a fixed traditional plan, they had not yet attained, being for the most part still in the condition of the Germans of Tacitus' time, with whom the moot was a matter rather of time than of place, devoid of any structural formalism. If by exception some of them had begun to envisage a definite *place* of meeting and a definite *type* of moot, this was, as mostly it seems to have been to the end of the Saxons' career, at best no more than a mound.[1] It was certainly nothing at all like the elaborate stone circles of the Belgic Celts, or even the less complex earth-circles and *circi* of Britain.

It has been suggested above that the native Celtic fashion in moots lingered longest in remote Strathclyde and Cornwall, and that this explains the presence there of so many great circles in so high a state of preservation. This view is supported, as regards Cornwall, by the so-called 'Rounds' or 'Roundagos.' Most of these are thought to have been constructed between the years 1200 and 1600 for the particular purposes of miracle-plays[2] ; but others were certainly built as late as the seventeenth century, and it is possible that the 'round' is the final development in the long evolution of the *cruc*. On the hill above Trewen (Truen, Trewern) near Newbridge, 3 miles west of Penzance, is a suggestive example, an unfossed ring-work (diam. 125 feet) in the centre of which, 'immediately beneath the turf,' was uncovered (1845) 'a circular pavement of broad unhewn granite slabs . . . about 10 ft. in diameter.'[3] Of what use such a structure could be in a miracle-play or any modern function is not apparent. On

the name of St. Cyric appears indifferently as Saint-Cirq and Saint-Cricq, to say nothing of other forms.

[1] This view is borne out by the repeated composition of *cruc* with O.E. words denoting 'grave-hills,' as noticed above (p. 135).

[2] Their Cornish name is *plane an guariou*, 'places of play *or* games' There is a village of Planguary near Redruth, though there is no 'round' there now. The name recalls the English Plaistow (ch. xxvi), and the form of the 'rounds' recalls that of the Greek theatre.

[3] Murray's *Handbook of Cornwall* (1893), p. 156. R. Edmonds, *Land's End District* (1862), p. 39. The two entrances are SE. and SW. Two pillar-stones, respectively 5 and 6 ft. in height, may be the remains of a peristalith though W. C. Borlase believed them to mark a grave (*Naenia Cornubiae*, p. 23).

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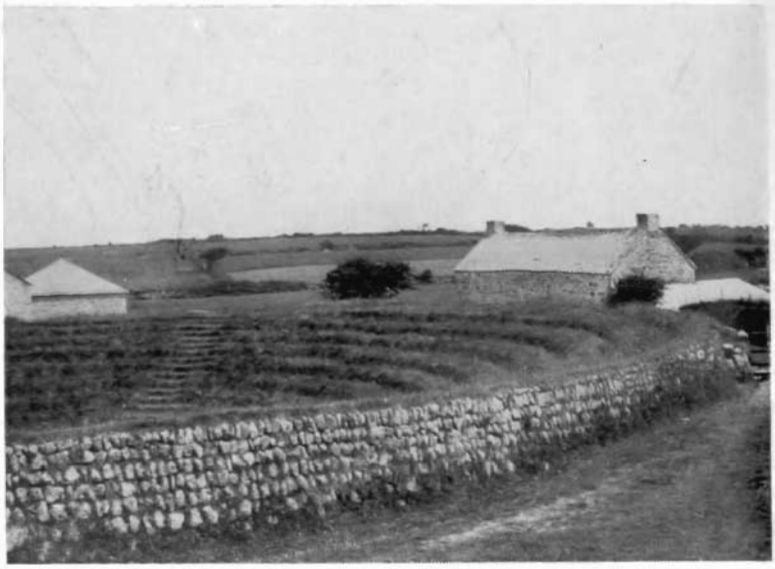


[*Cecil Curwen, phot.*

NO. I. GWENNAP PIT NEAR REDRUTH.

[*Cecil Curwen, phot.*

NO. 2. THE SAME, SHOWING CHAIRMAN'S SEAT.

the other hand its likeness to one or other sort of βοθρός, as for example those found in the circles in Crosby Ravensworth and at Pwll Mountain (ch. x), is at any rate remarkable.

The deep external fosses of the famous 'rounds' of St. Just and Perran, if contemporary, place those works in another class[1]; but both illustrate the stubborn persistence of the same Celtic tradition in this part of England. They were apparently defensive ringworks remodelled in later days, and possibly for the requirements of the miracle-plays[2]; but there is reason to think that the Celts of Cornwall never altogether abandoned the national habit of building such works. Richard Carew is witness[3] that they were still doing so in 1602, and a yet later instance is that of Gwennap Pit (plate 1), three miles from Redruth, built in 1803 in commemoration of John Wesley's preaching. It had twelve tiers of turfed seats, and could contain 2,000 persons.[4]

If Alfred denounced the *anfitheatra* of Britain as so many centres of devil-worship, this was because he took his cue from the language of the Latin patristics; for when at the *fiat* of Constantine Christianity supplanted paganism, the new faith must have stepped direct, officially at any rate, into each communal moot, whether that was mound or circle or *circus*. Indeed there was nothing else it could step into, for the *pagani* had neither temples nor structural churches. The moot served in lieu thereof.

No statute of the Church in Britain ordered the destruction of moots of whatever form: the *tumuli paganorum* are repeatedly denounced, but against the *circus* and the stone circle there is said no word, nor is there evidence of any systematic attempt to destroy them.

[1] For details see below, ch. xx.

[2] i.e. any time between 1200 and the eighteenth century. Dr. Borlase cites (*Nat. Hist. Cornwall*, p. 208) Bp. Nicholson as asserting, under date of 14th Nov., 1700, that such plays 'were acted within the memory of some not long deceased.'

[3] *Survey of Cornwall* (1602); for representing the guary-miracle or miracle-play 'they raise an earthen amphitheatre in some open field, having the diameter of his enclosed plain some forty or fifty foot' (ed. 1811, p. 192). The small size of the arena is noteworthy. It is a little less than that of the mean amongst circle-moots, larger than that of some of the Aberdeenshire circles.

[4] It is said to have been formed out of a disused mine-shaft, which accounts for there being no surrounding vallum.

In Ireland it was otherwise, because in Ireland there had been no interlude of Constantinian Christianity between stark paganism and the mission of St. Patrick. In that country therefore the saint makes active war upon Cruc Mag Slecht.

Chapter XVI.

THE CONVERSION OF IRELAND AND ENGLAND.

Elements in Celtic Paganism favourable to Christianity—British Christianity in the Roman Period—Pelagius and Germanus—St. Patrick—Activity of Irish Missionaries—Scotic Christianity enters England from the North—St. Augustine—Roman versus Scotic Christianity—The Early Bishoprics—Rapid Conversion of the Saxons—Favoured by a large surviving British Element—Condition of Ireland before the fifth century—Ireland the first field for enquiry.

Who were the first to bring Christianity to Britain,[1] and whence they came, is entirely unknown. That they came by way of Gaul would seem obvious ; that they were of the Gallic Church is quite another matter, and the interest subsequently shown in the British Church by that of Gaul can be explained without assuming that the one was the daughter of the other. There is a good deal to be said for the view that the first missioners came ultimately from Africa and Carthage, rather than from Italy and Rome. Quite possibly those are right who argue that there were no other first missionaries than traders or legionaries, who brought and spread the faith by unofficial means.[2]

[1] 'We may pass by all attempts at the discovery of an apostolic foundation for the British Church,' Bright, *Lectures on Church History*, p. 2.

[2] According to the Welsh *Triads* (18), Christianity was introduced by Bran, the father of Caradoc (Caractacus), who had been carried to Rome as a hostage with his son. Hence his was ranked as first among the 'three holy families' of Britain, the others being those of Cunedda and Brychan. There is nothing particularly improbable in the story, which is corroborated by *Triad* 35, and by *Bonedd Sant Ynys Prydain*. Tradition declares Llanilid, Glamorgan, to have been the site of the

There were Christians here in the days when Rome was still officially pagan, possibly quite early in those days, and they must have found themselves amongst a population of whom the vast majority belonged by tradition to the religion of the druidical time, just when the whole elaborate druidical system had been broken up,[1] and the newly imported Roman paganism had as yet taken no real hold upon the Britons.[2] The field was in fact cleared for the new faith, and if there is any truth in the confident assertion that Druidism taught *inter alia* the doctrine of a life after death, at the outset the new faith had in common with the old order one most important tenet of which neither the religion nor the philosophy of Rome took cognisance.[3] Origen further declares that the Celtic religion, as interpreted by the Druids, might pass for a form of monotheism.[4] Yet more important is the fact that Celtic paganism and Christianity were alike, albeit in different senses, centred in the cult of the dead; for the earliest known 'churches' of Christianity were those hewn as mortuary chapels in the rock of the catacombs. Thus both in doctrine and in ritual the two religions had very much in common. It has even been argued that the popularity of the Pelagian heresy in Britain was due to its embodying another druidical doctrine, namely that of the freedom of the will.[5]

first Christian 'church' in Wales. It is very near to Llanilltyd, of the antiquity of which there is no question.

[1] Religions, other than those invented by students and philosophers, die very hard, and that of the Britons, rooted in the primordial fact of death, would die as hard as any. The Romano-Britons may have lost their hierarchy and their organisation, but they would not lose all at once those fundamental ideas upon which that hierarchy had played and that organisation had been built up. Not even the Romans could make a people religious by law, and there is little evidence that they tried to do so in Britain.

[2] Roman official paganism of the first century was an eclectic and artificial religion made up of odds and ends; much of it had no root in the Romans' past, and such part of it as had root was scarcely official, or was thrust into the background. There is little to show that the official religion ever took any hold at all upon the mass of the Britons, the *pagani*.

[3] There was neither religion nor philosophy behind this particular doctrine of Druidism. Like everything else in the system, it was purely political: it was calculated to inspire contempt of death and reckless courage in war. So says the matter-of-fact Caesar (*B.G.* vi, 14, 5), who had been seen something of its fruits. At grips with Rome, Druidism had excuse enough for a doctrine which was not even at that date extraordinary (Strabo, § 197). Fifteen hundred years later the Aztecs were teaching the same thing with exactly the same object, but with vastly less excuse.

[4] So Borlase, *Age of the Saints*, p. 30, referring to Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils*, p. 3.

[5] This was however a doctrine upon which Roman paganism had also a good deal to say through the lips of the Stoics. But the Druids no more 'made' the religion of the Celts than the Stoics and Epicureans made that of the Greeks and Romans. See above, ch. xiii.

Tertullian declared[1] that the faith of Christ had by his time prevailed even 'in lands of the Britons so remote as never to have yielded submission to the Romans.' Origen, Athanasius, Chrysostom and others make remarks involving the same implication. Unluckily there are no means of deciding whether these utterances express literal truths or are mere 'rhetorical flourishes.' Irenaeus, listing the various Churches of the West in 176, does not mention any Church of Britain.[2] The first event in the history of British Christianity which can possibly be dated is the martyrdom of St. Alban at Verulamium.[3] Even the alleged presence of British bishops at the Synod of Arles (314) is not above suspicion, and if it were it would not justify the picture of a Roman Britain covered at that date with churches and elaborately organised by parishes and dioceses.[4] The only concrete facts upon which to go are the discovery, amidst the ruins of Roman Silchester, of a building which was probably a Christian church of about 350; the missionary activity of Ninian in Galloway *circa* 400, and his building there, at Whithorn near Burrow Head in Wigtownshire, a church of stone[5]; the survival to Augustine's days of one, or possibly two, buildings which had been used as churches at Canterbury[6]; and the admitted fact that Christianity in Wales has enjoyed an unbroken, if precarious, continuity from Roman times. This does not mean that the whole population of Wales in the fifth century was Christian, or that even where it had maintained itself in Wales the new faith was either very deeply rooted or very sincerely practised. The Christian Welsh of that date were probably a small minority of the population, whose practice as Christians left very much to be desired. Over the greater part of England the invasions and incursions of Saxons and of Picts, which

[1] *Adv. Iudaeos*, vii. Bright (*Lectures*, p. 4) believed the utterance to belong to the closing years of the second century (196-201). Newell (*Hist. Welsh Church*, p. 7) accepts it as a statement of fact, and dates it not later than 208.

[2] Dafen Jones, *Early Cymru and their Church*, p. 36.

[3] Haddan and Stubbs (*Councils*, i, 6) put it in 306. The *A.-S. Chronicle* and *Book of Llandaff* put it 20 years earlier (286). There does not seem to be any good reason to doubt the fact of the martyrdom, but there are good reasons to question the later date (McClure, *British Place-Names*, p. 70).

[4] Professor Stokes (*Ireland and the Celtic Church*, ch. i) was undoubtedly too sweeping in his assertion that 'By the close of the fourth century Christianity must have prevailed universally among the British Celts.'

[5] Bede, *H.E.* iii, iv, § 158, and below ch. xxii.

[6] Below, ch. xxii.

had destroyed most of the external tokens of Christianity, suppressed all public profession of that faith, and driven most of its remaining adherents into the fastnesses of Wales[1] and Cornwall and Strathclyde, led inevitably to a disastrous decline both of religion and of morals. Under the circumstances it is as certain as anything can be that the bulk of the Cymru, left 'as sheep without a shepherd,' would revert to the practices of paganism; and that that paganism, itself a discredited and shattered system, would preserve only what was most degraded and least desirable. The case of Christianity in Caledonia was at least as bad. St. Patrick indeed declared its people to be apostates.

In 431 the Council of Ephesus, confirming the verdicts of earlier synods, gave the evil eminence of a first-class heresy to the doctrines of Pelagius, and their much persecuted author disappears from history. He was a Celt,[2] and although he seems to have spent small part of his active life in Britain, it was but natural that his countrymen should be drawn towards the views of that 'great fat hound from Albion,' even had not the Church at large, and St. Jerome in particular, been at such pains to advertise him. 'Persecution is ever an ill way to plant a religion.' This suspicion of Pelagianism was however a reason the more for the sending of a revivalist mission to Britain, whither accordingly came from Gaul the famous bishop Germanus[3] and his less illustrious colleague Lupus of Troyes (429). In the following year these militant prelates, who had already gained an easy victory over the advocates of Pelagianism, gained one much more sensational over a pagan force, Saxons and Picts combined, who were raiding into northern Wales. This was the famous 'Alleluia Victory' (430), of which the scene is usually laid in Flintshire at or near Maesgarmon.[4]

[1] Chaucer, *Man of Law's Tale*, *vv.* 544-546,

'To Walys fledde the Cristyanytee
Of olde Britons dwellynge in this ile;
Ther was hir refut for the meene while.'

[2] Pelagius is said to be a Greek echo of his native name, which was either Morgan or Morien (*mor* = *pelagus*). St. Jerome says he was an Irish Celt: habet progeniem Scoticae gentis, de Britannorum vicinia (*Praef. ad. Comment. in Jerem.* lib. iii).

[3] Saint Germain l'Auxerrois. His name reappears in Wales as Garmon (Armon) in such forms as Maesgarmon and Llanarmon.

[4] 'The Field of Germanus.' It is a mile from Mold, and close to the borders of the parish of Llanarmon, 'The monastery of St. Germanus.'

Two years later (432) landed Patrick[1] in Ireland to commence the conversion of its people, and so successful was he that the foundations which he laid have never been uprooted. A son of the sister of St. Martin of Tours, he had been trained at Lérins and Tours for his life-work. The part taken by the Church of Gaul in safe-guarding or furthering the faith in Britain and Ireland—and even in Scotland, for Ninian dedicated his church at Whithorn to St. Martin of Tours—must be emphasised as possibly explaining some peculiarities of British and Irish usage. Whence the Gallic Church itself derived its own peculiarities of use need not be discussed here. Monasticism is the point chiefly concerned.

Tradition declares that the first Christian church in Ireland was that consecrated by Patrick near Armagh, and from that day to this called *Sabhall*,[2] 'the Barn.' His greatest day was when he met and discomfited the Druids of all the tribes of Ireland in their national assembly on the hill of Tara. He died[3] at Sabhall at a date unknown, having founded, so it is said, as many churches as there are days in the year, and consecrated no less than 450 bishops.[4]

Within a century from his demise the Irish Christians were sending missionaries of their own to Friesland, to Burgundy, and to Switzerland, and in 563[5] landed Columba at Hy (Icolumkil, Iona) to essay the conversion of the

[1] There are vague legends that Patrick was preceded by other missionaries, of whom nothing is known historically. The student has his choice between two extremes, one of which declares that there was no such person as St. Patrick, while the other avers that there were at least ten persons of that name. According to one view he represents a Euhemerised pagan god; according to another he was a converted Druid. There is as much difference of opinion regarding his birthplace. See J. B. Bury, *Life of St. Patrick*; Whitley Stokes, *Tripartite Life of St. Patrick*; and W. C. Borlase, *Age of the Saints*.

[2] Pronounced *Saul*.

[3] Even in the ninth century (Nennius, § 55) the place of his burial was unknown (cf. *Three Middle Irish Homilies*, p. 37: 'Moses and St. Patrick were very much alike in other matters,' and also in that 'the burial-places of both are uncertain'). Legend says it was at Downpatrick—St. Patrick's *dun*—but Prof. Bury sets this aside and leaves the choice between Sabhall and Armagh. If so important a fact as this be in doubt, it is clear that other so-called facts of his life must be very dubious. According to St. Bernard his relics were at Armagh in the twelfth century, and his tomb (*lipsana Patricii*; *ferta*) is frequently mentioned.

[4] In the Celtic Church only a bishop could celebrate the Eucharist, and there were no parishes and no territorial dioceses. The priest corresponded rather to what we call a deacon, the bishop to what we call a priest. The abbat of a monastery was commonly (not necessarily) a bishop, and every Christian settlement in the Ireland of St. Patrick's time was a monastic settlement.

[5] The date commonly received. Bede however puts it at 565, and so does the *A.-S. Chronicle*.

Scots of Dalriada, themselves immigrants from Ireland. In the same century Irish missionaries were very active also in Cornwall and in South Wales. In Wales and Cornwall they were perhaps revivalists only; in Scotland they came into a region where Christianity, if it had ever reached so far, was absolutely lost. Yet their success was surprising, and within a few years they had extended their activities beyond the Lowlands into Northumbria, where the work was carried on by Aidan (d. 651), Chad (d. 672) and Cuthbert (d. 687). The Britons of Wales, unable to forget and forgive, would have no dealings even as missionaries with the race which had driven them west of the Severn,[1] and it was from Ireland that the faith first came to the Saxons. It came first to those of the north (Bernicia and Deira), some of whom had assuredly seen Christianity, or heard of it, before the Roman Paulinus came to York (627) and even before St. Augustine landed in Thanet (597). That Frankish princess who became the queen of Ethelbert of Kent was herself a Christian, and for her own use as a church had restored a building which had been so used before the Romans abandoned Britain.

Landed in Kent, Augustine, if he had not known it before, speedily found that there was a vigorous, if self-centred, Christianity on the western side of the island. He made overtures to its prelates at once, only to find that there were wide differences of usage between the Roman and the Celtic Churches, and that the Welsh bishops had no intention of submitting tamely to Roman interference. It may be doubted whether there was not something strongly resembling a political motive present to the mind of pope Gregory when he resolved to send a Roman mission to England with the ostensible object of turning the *Angli* into *angeli*. Such at any rate was the suspicion of the Welsh, and Augustine's overtures were fruitless. Whether he would have been more successful had he addressed himself to the Irish or Columban missionaries, it is impossible to say. He does not seem to have attempted it. He founded his own bishopric in Canterbury, and two others in London and Rochester, all three, be it noticed,

[1] Bede, *H.E.* ii, 20, § 147.

upon the sites of Roman towns once great. There his work came to a standstill, and he himself died in 604. Twenty-three years passed before another Roman missionary, Paulinus, aroused probably by the rapid success of the Celtic missionaries in the north, came to York and there (627) baptised king Edwin of Northumbria in a little round church[1] built hurriedly of wood for the occasion. The event was acclaimed as a notable victory for Paulinus and Roman orthodoxy, but it is not by any means certain that it was so.[2] It is certain that the Celtic Church went on steadily and successfully with the work which Paulinus failed to follow up,[3] the rival 'uses' breeding constant friction until the decisions of the Synod of Whitby (664) in effect declared all England to be an ecclesiastical province of the Church of Rome. Ireland, Iona and Wales[4] successively came into line within a century or so, but Dyfnaint (Devon and Cornwall) submitted only in 936.

The see of Canterbury had been founded in 602, those of London and Rochester in 604. The contiguity of these three, and their close sequence in date, as contrasted with the wider interval of space and time which separated the remainder, suggest that the Saxons too, like others before them, had made their most numerous and most progressive settlements thereabouts; and archaeology shows that, so far at any rate as concerns Kent, this was the fact.[5] York became a see in 627, Dunwich in 631,[6] Dorchester (Oxon.)

[1] It was a baptistery only, and probably, had Paulinus not been a Roman, he would have dispensed with any building at all. The Celtic way was to baptise *al fresco*, and Paulinus himself was forced presently to fall in with it (Bede *H.E.* ii, xiv, § 133).

[2] Nennius (*Hist. Brit.* § 63) is emphatic in declaring that the actual baptism of king Edwin was the act of a Celtic ecclesiastic, whose name he expressly gives as Rum ap Urgen (Rhun ap Urien). So *Annales Cambriae*, *sub anno* clxxxii (626). By way of reconciling the contradictory statements of the Celtic authorities and the Latin Bede, it has been maintained that Paulinus was in reality a Briton who had been trained at Rome, or even that he was himself Rhun ap Urien. But Bede is at pains to describe his personal appearance, which was as little Celtic as were his views. See *Dict. Christian Biography*.

[3] Paulinus withdrew in 633, after only seven years of work.

[4] The actual dates are: South Ireland (Council of the White Field), 634 (?); North Ireland (Scoti), 704; Iona, 716; Wales, between 755-777. 'Seven hundred and seventy was the year of Christ when the Easter of the Britons was altered by Elbot, a man of God' (*Brut y Twysogion*).

[5] Thurlow Leeds, *Archaeology of the A.-S. Settlements*. He takes the view that Essex was politically subordinate to Kent at the time, and further maintains the survival of a large Romano-British element among the population. The number of churches in Essex which are built largely of Roman materials is remarkable, and the same applies to Kent; Worley's *Essex*; *Arch. Cant.* xxi (1895), p. 301.

[6] The second East Anglian see of Elmham, founded 673, seems to have subsisted for a generation only (to 706).

and Lindisfarne in 635. Lichfield, symbolising the conversion of Mercia, belongs to 656. Hereford (676) marks the advance of Christianity to the Severn; Hexham belongs to 678, as does also Lindsey in Lincolnshire; Worcester and Leicester to 680; Selsey to 681. That the six sees last named were all founded within as many years indicates that by that time the resistance of Saxon paganism was completely broken. With later sees we are not concerned, for Wilfrid's conversion of Sussex completed the nominal christianisation of all England. Nor is it needful to recount the ups and downs of the new faith. It had its reverses, as when Redwald of East Anglia (? 593-617) lapsed, and when Penda of Mercia (626-655) lived and died for the old gods of his race. But on the whole it must be admitted that the conversion of England was a surprisingly rapid matter. There has from that day to this been no such complete and speedy conversion of the nation upon any single point of religion large or small. It is clear that there was in Saxon paganism nothing at all analogous to the highly developed and highly organised system of the Celts, and the history of the internecine struggles of the Heptarchy proves the same thing. So rapid a conversion was necessarily but a superficial one. Religions die hard, and that of Woden was no exception. Some of its traces still survive, thirteen centuries of Christianity notwithstanding: many of its god-names go to make those of our familiar villages, and it would be hard to prove that in no case does a Christian church stand upon the site of a *locus consecratus* of Woden or of Freya.

As Christianity first approached England from Ireland by way of Iona and the north, it is in the north that we must look for its earliest vestiges. There we should reasonably expect to find some traces of those outward forms which are known to be the marks of Celtic Christianity—the monastic foundation with its circular *cashel* and clustered huts and diminutive non-chancelled rectangular oratories. They are still traceable. Here too we should expect to find the inevitable circular *limes*. We do—in numbers. And here finally, we might hope to find the oldest form of the very name 'church.' And again it is even so.

At what precise date the first Columban missionaries appeared in northern England we do not know, but it cannot well have been later than 600, and was probably some years earlier ; for at the close of the sixth century the Saxons would seem to have penetrated not at all into the Lowlands and only very slightly into the interior of Northumbria.[1] The population here was therefore almost exclusively Celtic, and so far likely to be receptive. Sussex, the last area to resist the Cross, was converted in 681. Thus the conversion of Saxondom was a matter of less than a hundred years. When one recalls with what obstinacy the kindred of these Saxons—the so-called Danes and the Normans—withstood all attempts to convert them, and how long was the struggle with paganism in Frisia, the speedy success of Christianity in England becomes still more a matter for wonder. Other contributory causes may be suggested, but it is scarcely to be doubted that the chief cause was the presence of a large British element in the population of many parts of the country. Strathclyde and Cumbria and Cornwall, like Wales, were British (Brythonic) until long after their conversion, and in those regions Christianity—a revivalist Christianity perhaps—was without question vigorously active long before it reached the Mercian midlands ; and the fervid Christianity of these Celts was not wholly due to the exhortations of men like Gildas and a true repentance of previous laxity. The attitude of the Welsh towards the Saxons as expressed by the Welsh bishops at Augustine's Oak[2] proves that a great part of its strength sprang from mere contrariety : they were the more stubbornly Christian because their natural enemies were otherwise. The old view of the 'cataclysmic historians' that the Saxons systematically extirpated the Celts in England is now altogether exploded.[3] Within certain very limited areas it was so, as in Sussex, where at the storming of Anderida (491) 'there was not one

[1] Thurlow Leeds, *Archaeol. of the A.-S. Settlements*, p. 73 ; cf. also pp. 44, 52-53. Dr. Beddoe drew the same inference from the evidence of craniology.

[2] Bede, *H.E.* ii, 2, § 91.

[3] The old view is that of Milman (*Hist. Latin Christianity*, 4th ed. ii, 227) : 'The re-occupation of the island by paganism is a strong confirmation of the complete expulsion of the Britons.' The evidence of craniology and of archaeology emphatically contradicts any such 'complete expulsion.' See also Vinogradoff, *Growth of the Manor*, pp. 38-42. When Alfred made his will he could still speak of the SW. counties—Wilts, Dorset, and Somerset—as Wealhcynne, 'lands of the Britons' (Thorpe, *Diplomatarium*, p. 488).

Briton left alive,'[1] and this explains why the Irish missioner Dicul and his companions made no headway amongst the South Saxons, whose ultimate conversion came from another Saxon, the Northumbrian Wilfrid.[2] Elsewhere, and especially in East Anglia and in the eastern midlands, there would seem to have survived a large Celtic population amongst its Saxon conquerors, whether as serfs[3] or as refugees in the less accessible parts of the country such as the Fens. According to Geoffrey of Monmouth[4] it was not until the days of Careticus, fifth in succession from Arthur, and only a short time before the coming of Augustine, that Theon, bishop of London, and archbishop Thadioc of York, at last abandoned their sees and fled into Wales, 'carrying with them the relics of the saints, for fear the sacred bones of so many holy men of old might be destroyed by the barbarians.' In spite of all efforts to prove the contrary,[5] there is small ground for believing that London was ever forcibly reduced by the Saxons, while certain facts in its history point very clearly to its having maintained a continuous existence throughout the dark centuries.[6] Excepting a narrow strip along the coast, the Saxon Deira, the whole of the northern counties were still British[7] in the year 600, and so also was a vast area of western Yorkshire. The rapidity with which Christianity—Scotic Christianity—overran the whole of that county and thence passed into Lincolnshire and East Anglia, is most easily explained by the presence, amid the population of those regions, of a large element which, because it was

[1] *A.-S. Chronicle.* This express statement is borne out by the place-names and the folk-lore of the county.

[2] It is remarkable that there is not in all Sussex a village name embodying the word 'church,' or any certain trace of its Celtic precursor *cruc*.

[3] The fact that a king of Wessex in Bede's time (685-8) bore the purely British name of Ceadwalla, suggests that some at least of the conquered people rose to more distinguished positions. Many critics maintain that 'Saxon Cerdic' himself bears a British name. There is a doubt whether again the name of Coifi, the pagan high priest of the Northumbrian king Edwin in 627, be Saxon or rather Celtic.

[4] *Hist.* xi, 10. The truth of this statement (which Geoffrey took from the *Brut Tysilio*) has been accepted by some writers of authority, such as Raine.

[5] For example, J. R. Green and Sir Walter Besant, who have each his own theory of its desolation, and more recently Major Godsal (*The Storm of London*).

[6] So in particular Sir L. Gomme. One very remarkable fact is that the city, albeit situated on the confines of the three great Saxon kingdoms of Kent, Essex and Mercia, never belonged to one or other of them, but remained a separate entity. Augustine's action in early appointing a bishop of London points in the same direction.

[7] A Welsh *Triad* (no. 7) explicitly says that, when all the rest of Lloegria had become Saxon, Cornwall, Bernicia (Bryneich), and Deira (Deivyr) remained British.

Celtic, was well disposed towards the Celtic missionaries and to the Celtic form of Christianity as opposed to that offered by Paulinus.[1] The assertion of Nennius[2] that there were Celtic missionaries in York at Paulinus' coming is in no way unlikely, and there is probably much more than a poet's imagination in the statement of Chaucer that certain of the lower class in king Aella's Northumbria (560-588) were secretly Christians and even possessed of Christian books.[3] The evidence of place-names[4] establishes the fact that in various localities there long survived considerable bodies of Celtic people. The monkish tale of St. Guthlac at Crowland, that he mistook for actual Britons the creatures who disturbed his peace, and was greatly relieved to find that they were 'only' devils, has its value : there is a large mass of evidence that there did survive in the Fens a considerable British population. The tough Celt had outlived the brief three hundred and fifty years of the Roman occupation. His blood has survived also the 1500 years of Saxon rule, and he is a rash Englishman who would maintain that in his own veins is no admixture of Celtic blood.

Mercia's obstinate resistance to Christianity is quite understandable, for the Saxons of Mercia were those whose relations with the Britons were naturally the most embittered. The Saxons here were late comers but aggressive ones, and the struggle between the two races, face to face with each other along the Severn, was necessarily incessant. Here in the nature of things the British element among the Saxons would be but small, for it was easy for it to make its escape across the boundary into Wales. So Mercia made an obstinate resistance. But the most obstinate of all was that of the South Saxons, where it would seem there remained no British blood at all.

It is doubtless true that Augustine and Paulinus in

[1] His assumed 'success' has actually been taken as an additional argument that he was identical with Rhun ap Urien. Whether the facts, as recorded by the partial Bede (our sole authority), justify this being called a 'success,' must be matter of opinion; and if one is to assume a British parentage for Paulinus to account for his 'success' in the north, by what assumption are we to account for that of Augustine in the south?

[2] *Brit. Hist.* § 63.

[3] *Man of Law's Tale*, *vv.* 541-550: cp. *v.* 666, 'a Briton boke writen with Evangiles.' For further evidence of this survival, see Johnson, *Folk-Memory*, chap. v, and cf. G. H.Moberly's edition of Bede's *History*, (Oxford, 1869), introd. p. vi.

[4] Ekwall, *Place-names of Lancashire*, pp. 224-237. So also Prof. F. M. Stenton in *Introd. to Study of Eng. Place-Names*, p. 181, and W. J. Sedgefield, ibid. p. 13.

Saxondom, like Patrick in Ireland and Columba in Dalriada, advisedly addressed themselves first to the ruling class. It is equally true that in Rome itself the conversion came rather through the lower classes. The conversion of the Saxons was twice as rapid as that of Rome, and this rapidity may well be due in large measure to the fact that while paganism was attacked on the one hand through the persons of its kings and thanes, the lower classes on the other hand were already in varying measure predisposed to welcome the faith of their forefathers. And here too may be part of the explanation of the stubbornness with which, as the sequel will show, certain peculiar features of the Celtic as distinct from the Latin Christianity have survived in the English Church of to-day.

The Romans never attempted the occupation of Ireland, where the old order went its downhill way without interference from the outer world.[1] If Druidism had ever boasted in Ireland any such predominance as in Gaul, no trace of the fact is discoverable. In Gaul it had made for internal peace and national unity; it was in fact the only formula for the expression of Gallic nationalism. In Ireland there appears never to have been any national unity or any abiding peace; the nearest approach thereto was perhaps a kind of 'truce of God' for the duration of such meetings as that of the national assembly at the hill of Tara. What evidence we have reveals only the decay of Druidism. When Christianity entered the field there was no organisation and no faith to withstand it: the ruins of the older organisation were everywhere, and Christianity repaired them, reconstructed them, and entered into possession. Of continuity there was no break at all. If therefore it is possible anywhere to catch sight of any traces of the fusion of the new with the old order, it should be in Ireland. Wales will rank as a good second. In Scotland we have evidence in abundance for the introduction and spread of the new faith and its outward forms, but little for the pre-existing order of things. In England itself the continuity will be the hardest to trace, and the harder as one travels further away from the Celtic regions.

[1] See F. Haverfield in *English Historical Review*, vol. xxviii, pp. 1-12. Elsewhere he himself sums up his consideration of the relations of Ireland with the Roman empire in the words 'these relations were few and unimportant' (*Roman Britain*, 1913, p. 53). Another opinion is argued by e.g. Stokes, *Ireland and the Celtic Church*, c. 1.

Chapter XVII.

IRELAND.

Ethnology of Ireland—Irish Druidism—Irish Barrows and ritual of Burial—Sepulchral origin of Irish 'Fairs'—The Eight Royal Cemeteries—Similarity of Pagan and Early Christian Grave-Monuments—Ring-Barrows, Dolmens, and Pillar-Stones—Continuity of Christian with Pagan customs—'Lis,' 'Rath,' 'Dun,' 'Cashel,' and Grave, all Circular—Christian Burial-Grounds still Circular—St. Patrick a Brython—Story of his 'Easter-Fires'—St. Bridgit of Kildare—The Burial of Ethne and Feidelm—St. Patrick's Monastic Norm—The first monasteries circular—And established on Graves—Churches within 'Raths'—Monasteries within 'cashels'—Killeens—Keeills of the Isle of Man.

The exaggerated importance attached by the Irish to death and burial is familiar to every one. This would suggest that in earlier times the feeling was even stronger, and archaeology amply corroborates this view: the sepulchral remains of Ireland are more numerous and more varied than are those of any portion of Britain; they are better preserved, not so much because of the backwardness of agriculture as because of the persistence of the feeling that such remains are sacred and inviolable; and there survives a mass of documentary evidence connected with them, much of it preserving the traditions, beliefs and practices of pre-Christian times.

There is still a very large Iberian element in the Irish race. Upon this were imposed successive Celtic strata immigrant from the Continent and Britain. The Celtic inflow began long before the appearance of the Romans in the west; the Brythonic inflow, if not actually caused, was greatly stimulated by that event, and probably went on long after it. In Ptolemy's time (*c.* 250) the Brythonic Manapii were settled in or near Wicklow. Later immigrants, landing at the mouth of the Boyne, passed up the valley of that river and made their capital at Tara, whence they extended their power over most of the island (fourth

century). Tara remained thereafter the traditional seat of the kings of All Ireland, the older kingdoms continuing or disappearing, coalescing or dividing, as fate might have it. Emain Macha, the earlier capital of Ulster, was superseded by Crinan Ailech in co. Derry; that of Connaught was fixed at Cruachan in Roscommon. Cashel (*Castell*) was the newer capital of Munster, the earlier capital being altogether forgotten. In Tara did Niall of the Nine Hostages, possibly the captor of the young St. Patrick, keep his throne (358-366), and after him continuously others of his house down to 1002. To this Brythonic royal line belonged St. Columba.

These invading Brythons were the Milesians and Firbolgs of Irish tradition. The name of the Firbolgs explicitly declares them Belgae.[1] Whence did they come into Ireland? From the mention of Irish Brigantes it has been surmised that they came from Britain; but there was a Brigantium in Spain, which lends colour to the Irish tradition that the Milesians came thence. On the other hand the name of the Firbolgs points directly to Belgica or its vicinity, for a tribe which came thence to Ireland by way of Spain or of Britain would scarcely retain the name of its original home. As classical literature has nothing to suggest any considerable emigration from Gaul, Spain, or Britain, between the second and fifth centuries A.D. or the passage through Belgica Romana of any further swarms from beyond the Rhine, the probability is that they came direct from the vicinity of the Cimbric Chersonese and Frisia, avoiding both Belgica and southern Britain because these were too strongly held by the Romans. This view is supported by the archaeological evidence of the distribution of the *lunulae*, the similarity between the flint implements of Ireland and of Denmark, the distribution of the stone circles, and other facts.

The Brythonic Milesians are said to have been attacked by the Tuatha Dé Danann, mighty wizards who all but overcame the Milesians by their spells, withdrawing after

[1] Intermediate forms of the name are provided by (*a*) that of Bolgius, who led the Tectosages into Greece in 280 B.C. and (*b*) that of Blatum Bulgium, in Annandale, the northernmost Roman station in the *Antonine Itinerary* (*Iter* ii). With Fir-bolg cf. Fir-domnann, another Irish tribal name (= Damnonii?).

their ultimate defeat to the mounds of the good people (fairies), where Irish belief has it that they still abide. It is not unlikely that the Tuatha Dé Danann were merely another swarm of invaders from the same quarter, and even of the same blood.[1] The story of their occult powers seems to mean that they belonged to the number of those with whom Druidism was a force. But amongst the Irish Druidism was never the force into which it had been moulded by the Cimbric tribes in Gaul and in Britain.

Irish Druidism, little concerned with politics, was free to give the more attention to other forms of activity, to divination and magic and the cultivation of poetry. It still boasted itself immune from taxation, and its leaders still prided themselves upon their large trains of disciples,[2] who moved about the country with their master, or dwelt in *clochauns* clustered about his *dun*.[3] But morally and intellectually the system continued to decline, so that the diviner sank to be a mere vulgar juggler,[4] and the poet used his gifts chiefly as a means of extorting money by abuse or by the threat of it. Cursing was Druidism's last prerogative.[5] But it held stubbornly by forms and ceremonies. The Druid was distinguished by a special tonsure. Irish kings maintained each his own company of court Druids, and as the king of Tara was overlord of all other kings, so the Druids of Tara were paramount amongst all Druids of Ireland.

Some allowance must be made for the animosity of Christian writers, who remembered Druidism chiefly

[1] Above, ch. xiv.

[2] The law prescribed the number of pupils or disciples which each Druid or Bard might take with him from place to place. In the reign of Conor MacNess, king of Ulster, the number of those who frequented the schools of Bards and Druids, and so avoided taxation, was one third of the whole population, and led to violent outbreaks against the system. There were similar movements of protest both before and after. One is reminded immediately of later revolts against clerical privileges and exemptions, mortmain, etc. in England. See Baring Gould in *Arch. Cambr.* 5th ser. xvii (1900).

[3] Below, p. 169.

[4] There is a curiously close analogy in the story of the decline of the troubadour to the mountebank (*joglar*, *jongleur*, juggler).

[5] Gildas (*Praefat.*) speaks of Balaam as the 'tiared magician (i.e. druid) who was going to curse God's people.' This 'cursing' was a decadent survival of the 'excommunication' of which Caesar speaks (*B.G.* vi, 13). Ceremonial cursing is not yet altogether dead in Ireland. It was associated with the practice of passing round and round a *locus consecratus*—altar or holy stone or burial-place—in the fashion called 'widdershins,' i.e. in the direction contrary to the sun's movement, registering each circuit with a pebble laid upon the central spot. For such *bullans* in Inismurray, see Wakeman, *Survey of Inismurray*, pp. 59-68, and for a unique example in south Wales see G. G. T. Treherne in *Arch. Cambr.* 6th ser. vii (1907), pp. 268-276.

as the most stubborn opponent of the new faith; but with a handsome discount on this score, it is plain that the Druidism of Ireland in the fifth century was an entirely different thing from that which Caesar had seen in Gaul. The very word *drui* had come to be merely the equivalent of *magus*, 'wizard,' and the Arch-Druid of Tara 'prides himself mostly upon his talent as a juggler.'

Irish barrows show most of the various forms described in an earlier chapter. The circular form prevailed here as completely as in Britain: there is in Irish barrows a very pronounced tendency towards the oval plan, but long barrows are singularly scarce, whereas of circular sepulchral works of various kinds the country has uncounted thousands. In Irish mythology circles and barrows of every form are closely identified with god-names: the great chambered bowl-barrow at Newgrange was sacred to the god Aengus, that of Knowth to Boadan. 'There is little doubt that in the three rings of Dunainey, on the Knockainey Hill, the triad of gods Eogabal, Feri and Aine were supposed to dwell; and they had also their cairns. . . . A disc-barrow at Tara, a flat ring with small central mound, was aptly known as the Shield of Cuchulain.'[1]

Amongst the more remarkable groups of Irish megalithic monuments are those of North Moytura or Carrowmore, co. Mayo, and of South Moytura, near Cong on Lough Corrib. Petrie estimated those at Carrowmore as upwards of two hundred. They lie—or lay—within an area of about half a square mile, and amongst them 'are stone cairns with dolmens in their interiors; dolmens standing alone, but which have been evidently always exposed; dolmens with single circles, others with two or three circles of stones around them; and circles without dolmens or anything else in the centre.'[2] They appear almost without exception to have been sepulchral monuments. The group at South Moytura also included a number of simple cromlechs without visible trace of any central dolmen. One of these had a diameter of 54 feet, and there used to be at least one that was even larger.

The theory that the introduction of cremation led to

[1] T. J. Westropp, in *Proc. R. I. Academy*, vol. xxiv (1917).

[2] Fergusson, *Rude Stone Monuments*, p. 181. See also Wood-Martin, *Rude Stone Monuments of Ireland* (1888), who gives particulars of sixty-three monuments at Carrowmore.

the building of smaller and still smaller barrows, until at last no barrow at all was thought needful, may find some support from the facts in Ireland: cremation seems to have made small progress there,[1] whereas the making of sepulchral mounds, rings, and cromlechs went on with unimpaired vigour to the last days of paganism. The immense mounds of Newgrange and Dowth are amongst the largest of their kind.

Two passages are here quoted from O'Curry which give details of the sepulture of two heroes, viz. the Irish Fiachra and the Greek Patroclus.

'Fiachra then brought fifty hostages with him from Munster, and he brought a great *cain* [i.e. booty levied as a legal fine], and he went forth then on his way to Temar. When however he reached Forud in Ui Mac Uais in Meath, Fiachra died of his wounds there. His *leacht* was made and his *fert* was raised, and his *cluiche caintech* was ignited, and his ogam-name was written, and the [fifty] hostages which he brought from the south were buried alive around the *fert* of Fiachra, that it might be a reproach to the Momonians for ever, and that it might be a trophy over them.'[2]

'Aicil (Achilles) buried Petrocul (Patroclus), and he made his *fert* and he planted his *lic*, and he wrote his name, and he proclaimed him at his burial-place, and he made his *cluiche cainte*, and after this the *cuitech fuait*. The reason they used to make the *cuitech fuait* was for the good of the souls of their friends, for it was a tradition among the gentiles (i.e. pagans) that the soul for which the *cuitech fuait* was not made should spend one hundred years in hell.'[3]

In the one case we have an Irish chief buried by his own people according to their national customs; in the other case we have an Irish bard interpreting in the light of the customs of his own people the details of the burial of the Greek Patroclus; and as we are able to check the latter by the text of Homer, it becomes certain that the bard was no slavish translator,[4] but accurately reflects the Irish way.

The essential features in the two accounts are

1. The *fert*, or circular fosse.
2. The gravestone or monument (*lic*, *leacht*).
3. The funeral fire (*cluiche cainte*).

[1] Ridgeway, *Early Age of Greece*, p. 505; O'Curry, *Manners and Customs of the Irish*, vol. i, cccxix, cccxxv.

[2] ibid. i, cccxxi, translating from the *Book of Ballymote*.

[3] O'Curry, op. cit. vol. i, p. cccxxv, note, from *Book of Ballymote* (R.I.A.), fol. 241 *aa*.

[4] He does not, for example, mention the sacrifice of twelve Trojans at Patroclus' grave (parallel with the sacrifice of the fifty hostages of Fiachra). On the other hand he inserts into the Homeric account of the burial of Patroclus the detail that the mourners 'wrote his name.'

4. The panegyric.
5. The ogamic inscription.
6. The sacrifice and burial of victims.
7. The celebration of the funeral games (*cuitech fuait*).

The word *fert* (*feurt*, pl. *ferta*) seems to denote a circular fosse surrounding a place of burial[1]; but as the digging of a fosse entails the upcast of the soil, it was naturally extended to include the suggestion of a vallum also. O'Curry's editor[2] quotes from Dr. Keating without understanding what was meant, yet the meaning is clear enough; 'small *raths*' he calls them, and a *rath* was a circular enclosure surrounded by fosse and wall. Moreover Dr. Keating goes on to speak of *ferts* 'with one or two doors,' and others with no doors at all. The 'doors' in question are the breaks in the circular ring; and if the *Book of Lecan* is to be believed (fol. 258 *a*, *b*) the immature of either sex were buried in *ferts* which were not penannular, while the burial-place of a 'man of science' should have one door, and that of a woman two. A *fert* surrounded also the spots where fairs were held, for these were invariably sepulchral spots; and the word might, says O'Curry, be used of the circular defences of a camp, a house, or a church. This is certainly true of churches, simply because those were invariably built on spots hallowed by burial, and therefore commonly showing the circular *limes* which was the mark of hallowed ground.

The 'stone' set up over the pagan hero's grave survives in the tombstone of to-day, and the legend upon the headstone perpetuates 'the writing of his name.' The funeral fire—used it would seem even at inhumations symbolically, or possibly as the vehicle for sending the dead man's belongings after him—is represented by the candles which burn around the corpse when 'lying in state'; and of the old-time victims,[3] themselves parcel of the general grave-furniture of paganism, we retain

[1] *Tripartite Life of St. Patrick*: 'Fossam rotundam in similitudine fertae.' The use of *rotundus* for *circularis* is common.

[2] *Manners and Customs*, vol. i, cccxxix, cccxxx.

[3] It is to be noticed that the fifty victims sacrificed at Fiachra's grave were buried outside the *limes*. Their fate was to be 'a reproach to the Momonians for ever,' inasmuch as they were sent out of this world without the proper passports to the next one. Buried outside the *fert* they had no share in its sanctity to safeguard their bones from desecration, and not having passed through the fire their spirits could not reach the place whither went that of Fiachra himself. See Ridgeway, *Early Age of Greece*, i, p. 505.

to-day little but the symbolical wreaths of flowers. The panegyric—the modern funeral sermon and press-notice combined—has left a greater mark; in Ireland it keeps a more immediate and personal form in the 'keening' at the wake. Most important of all in regard to its later developments was the *cuitech fuait*, the funeral 'games' so-called, a term not nearly comprehensive enough, although it happily emphasises the original feature upon which so many and so varied growths were later grafted.

Dolmens and cairns and circles, says Borlase,[1] 'were not mere sepulchres of the dead, but places set apart for the *sacrificia mortuorum*, for pilgrimages, for the periodical assembling of the tribe or tribes for religious or social purposes, for the holding of fairs, for the contracting of marriages, and for unrestricted feasting and revel.' At certain of these *loca sacra* more notable than the rest, gathered and grew the heterogeneous happenings known as *aenachs*, 'fairs.' 'Fairs[2] appear to have originated in funeral games celebrated in honour of some distinguished chief or warrior, and in pagan, *even in early Christian times*, were always celebrated in cemeteries. The chieftain's judges and notables sat upon or beside the mounds raised over the renowned dead.'[3] But though in the course of time, as the name 'fair' now implies, buying and selling became the principal items in the programme, such matters were originally no part of it at all. The *aenach* was in the first instance a memorial service to the dead, celebrated at intervals of time varying in the particular case: it might be annual, or triennial as in the case of the famous fair of Carman. In the second place the gathering was utilised as a convenient occasion for a good deal of legal and administrative business. 'In addition to the promulgation of new laws, and the proclamation of peace, the old laws were rehearsed. . . . An ancient fair performed three functions: in the first place it was the great school where the people learned to know their rights and duties, the special laws under which they lived, the history of the country, the warlike deeds performed by the illustrious

[1] *Dolmens of Ireland*, p. 476.

[2] The derivation of 'fair' is from Latin *feriae*, 'holiday,' and a 'holiday' is literally a 'holy day.'

[3] O'Curry, *Manners and Customs*, i, p. cclv; cf. pp. cccxvii, cccxxviii.

dead, and the genealogies of the families entitled to rule them. In the second place a fair was the occasion of enjoyment to the people—dancing, music, recitation of poetry, feats of arms, athletic sports, horse-racing and juggling formed part of the essential business of it. And lastly it was a great market for all kinds of wares and produce.'[1] Such fairs were 'organised assemblies regulated by strict bye-laws, a breach of which was punished by death';[2] each was a general assembly of the entire people of the province, or even of the nation, and its president was the king of the province or the king of All Ireland.

There were[3] eight chief royal cemeteries of the Irish kings 'before the (Christian) faith,' viz. Cruachan[4] in Roscommon, the burial-place of the kings of Connaught; Brough on Boyne, where were laid the notables of the Tuatha Dé Danann; Tailten (Teltown) for Ulster; Luachair Ailbe for Leinster; Aenach Culé, Aenach Colman, and Aenach Ailbe, all in Munster; and for the supreme sovereignty of All Ireland, Temhair Erann or Tara.[5]

It will be noticed that so intimate, and indeed essential, was the connexion between the fair and the grave, that three out of the eight cemeteries are actually called by the name of Aenach. Sir William Ridgeway[6] gives a striking example of the abiding reality of the bond between the two; 'In a lonely spot in county Cork there is a little ancient *liss* or fort with a single circular rampart in perfect preservation; just outside the entrance stands a barrow known through endless generations as the "hillock of the fair." Here until some forty years ago there was an annual gathering of the country folk for a fair, and foot-races were run alongside of the mound. Then the landlord had the fair transferred to a village some four miles distant, but,

[1] O'Curry, op. cit. p. ccv.

[2] ibid. p. cclvi; cp. Stokes, *Ireland and the Celtic Church*, pp. 67-68.

[3] *Commentary on the Poem on the Cemeteries.*

[4] Above, ch. x, *fin.* 'There are fifty hills (i.e. barrows) at Cruachan.'

[5] The chief portions of the Irish literature bearing on this matter are printed by Petrie in his *Irish Ecclesiastical Arcbitecture* (Dublin, 1845) and in Borlase (*Dolmens of Ireland*), viz. the *Senchas na Relic* (*History of the Cemeteries*) of the *Leabbar na b'Uidbre*; the *Dinsenchus* of the *Book of Ballymote*; and the *Poem on the Cemeteries* and its *Commentary*. For the topographical importance of Tara, whence radiated five great roads throughout the island, see Stokes, *Ireland and the Celtic Church*, pp. 80, 191-197.

[6] *The Origin of Tragedy* (Cambridge, 1910), p. 35. In his *Early Age of Greece*, p. 545, he adds that the spot was Cnocan near Mallow, the 'thriving village' being Ballyclough. *Cnoc* (a mutated form of *cruc*, *cruach*) is the usual Irish term for a bowl-barrow.

though the fair was moved from a desolate spot to a thriving village, it has practically died out. Then came a road-contractor who thought that the barrow, which was made of pieces of the local limestone, would supply good cheap material for the roads. He laid ruthless hands upon the ancient mound, and soon brought to light a fine cromlech [i.e. dolmen] of four upright stones, supporting as usual a great flat capstone. In the cist thus formed were found a bronze sword, human bones and other objects. Now it is clear why the foot-races had been held there year by year from the Bronze Age down to our own time. The old chief delighted in manhood when in life, so in death his spirit was honoured by the enactment of manly sports as the seasons revolved.'

So long as the fair maintained its original association with the grave of the nameless subject of veneration, so long did it thrive. Separated therefrom, it faded and failed. The fact is typical of all Celtic religion ancient and modern alike.

The fair of Tailten was continuously celebrated down to the middle of the tenth century or even later, while as to its beginnings, the *Annals of the Four Masters* modestly place it in the year 3370 (*anno mundi*).[1] The fair of Carman, held at the Curragh of Kildare,[2] ceased only in 1033. Christianity, hopeless of abolishing out of hand institutions so deeply rooted in pagan ancestor-worship, was fain to tolerate them for centuries, and to incorporate these *fêtes*, like so many other pagan festivals, in the Christian calendar.

In their character as national or tribal assemblies, their recurrence at various yet regular periods, the presence of the king as president, the peculiar character of much of the business transacted, and their special sanctity (which was guaranteed by a formal and forceful 'truce of God'), these fairs correspond exactly with all that we know of the grand assize of Gallic Druidism and of ancient *gorseddau* in general. Their analogy with the great periodical games of ancient Greece—Olympic, Delphic, Isthmian, Nemean—

[1] O'Curry, op. cit. p. cccxxvii. John Donovan, writing in *Nineteenth Cent. and After*, could say 'the traditions of it are still so vivid, that Telltown was till recently resorted to by the men of Meath for hurling, wrestling, and manly sports.'

[2] So W. M. Hennessy. O'Curry put it at Wexford.

is also most striking, and suggests that the latter owed at least some part of their scheme and their importance to the influence of the Celtic Acheans.[1]

The great 300-foot burial-ring—Reilig na Riogh ('Cemetery of the kings')—of Cruachan, was, with few exceptions, the burial-place of the pagan kings of All Ireland of the race of Heremon, i.e. the Milesians, 'until the coming of the Firbolgs,' who preferred to be buried at Tara or at Brough. One of the exceptions was Cormac MacAirt (218-254), who, whatever his real creed, was an apostate from the faith of his times.[2] The monument[3] of the last pagan king of All Ireland, Dathi, still stands at Cruachan, where he was buried in 428. The Milesians were Brythons; so too the Firbolgs, the 'Belgic men.' As Milesians and Firbolgs would seem both to have made their way to Tara along the Boyne, their choice of Brough as a burial-place was natural. St. Patrick likewise worked up the Boyne, and began his missionary work by displaying his qualities at Brough, thence proceeding to the Belgic headquarters at Tara. The position of Brough and Tara in relation to the Boyne would seem to have a close analogy with that of Stonehenge in relation to the landing-places upon the south coast of Britain, the Solent, Poole harbour and Weymouth.

Petrie remarked[4] upon the similarity of the grave-monuments of the earliest Christian period to those of paganism. The graves of the first converts, he observed, are in fact the connecting link between the old faith and the new. 'The tombs of the early saints present a variety of forms, as in those of Aran, which are often rude sarcophagi somewhat similar to pagan cromlechs [i.e. dolmens] and kistvaens, while at other times they are small cairns enclosed by a circular or quadrangular wall.' The similarity goes vastly further than he remarked, but his notices of Christian graves beneath cairns, beneath 'sarcophagi like dolmens,' and within circular enclosures, are all very pertinent.

The most characteristic forms of pagan sepulchral

[1] cf. Stokes, *Ireland and the Celtic Church*, p. 62, who compares the great meetings of the Celtic Galatians at Ancyra.

[2] He was therefore buried apart from others, at Ross-na-Righ, on the Boyne, but on the side of the river opposite to Brough.

[3] A pillar-stone, the 'Red Pillar.'

[4] *Irish Eccles. Arch.* p. 450; cf. Wood-Martin, *Rude Stone Monuments*, p. 127.

monuments in Ireland are the cromlech or other form of ring-barrow, the dolmen, and the pillar-stone ; and it can be shown that every one of these forms was used to mark Christian graves also.

Of dolmens Ireland has hundreds. Borlase enumerates a total of 898 examples, of which 780 are beyond dispute. They are most abundant in Sligo, which has 163. But it is by no means certain that any individual dolmen is pre-Christian. At Ardnaree, Ballina, co. Mayo, is a considerable example, the capstone measuring 9 by 7 feet, which there is reason to believe was erected over the bodies of the four Maols who were executed for the murder of bishop Ceallach. Ceallach was a great-grandson of Dathi, and died not earlier than 537. The monument therefore cannot be earlier than that date.[1] Nevertheless, as Christianity tried to enforce earth-to-earth burial, the building of dolmens probably died out very speedily.[2]

Commoner than the dolmen is the pillar-stone. The Red Pillar of the pagan king Dathi at Cruachan has been mentioned. Within one grave-yard at Inismore, Isle of Aran, stands a group of four such pillars marking the graves of the 'four beautiful saints,' Brendan, Fursey, Conall and Berchan. Wrote Wakeman,[3] 'That pillar-stones, in character not to be distinguished from those of an undoubtedly pagan age, were occasionally erected over the graves of a number of our earliest ecclesiastics, is a fact which cannot be denied.'

When such a pillar-stone bears a Christian symbol, it

[1] Fergusson, *Rude Stone Monuments*, p. 233; Wakeman, *Handbook of Irish Antiquities*, p. 59. It is argued in reply that the dolmen may have been already standing there when the Maols were executed. To this it may be retorted that, if it was used as their monument, the fact proves that to the Irish of that date dolmens were places of burial.

[2] In a few cases (e.g. at Kilcornan, co. Clare) Christian symbols are carved upon the stones of the dolmen, which lends support to the view that even dolmens were constructed over Christian graves. 'Ryland in his *History of Waterford*, mentions a cromleac [i.e. dolmen] which stands in the churchyard near the sugar-loaf hill in the barony of Gualteir. W. F. Wakeman has recently discovered a cromleac [dolmen]-like grave in a Christian burying-place in county Wicklow' (W. G. Wood-Martin, *Rude Stone Monuments of Ireland*, p. 27). Borlase (*Dolmens of Ireland*, pp. 196-197) describes and figures two cases in which it is difficult to decide whether the monument is a true dolmen or an altar tomb. Both are in Roscommon, one in Churchacres, parish of Kilronan, the other in the townland and parish of Tumna. The former is marked 'altar' on the ordnance map; the latter is known as 'St. E din's grave. Both are certa nly regarded as a tars by the peasantry, and are covered w th the round pebbles used by votaries in recording their prayers (cf. the 'cursing stones,' p. 158 above). The one is 'near the church,' the other 'close to the church.'

[3] *Survey of Inismurray*, p. 75.

is probably the monument of a Christian, though even this is dubious if, as commonly assumed, the early missioners were in the habit of cutting the Christian symbol upon pagan stones.[1] But there is no ground for the sweeping statement, repeated or implied by many who mention the subject, that a pillar-stone without ogam or symbol is necessarily a pagan monument. There are scores of such stones of the rudest type standing in the churchyards of Ireland, Wales, Scotland, and even England, and it is a common argument that these at any rate must be Christian because they stand beside a church, i.e. it is assumed that the 'church' was there before the monolith. The precise reverse is the truth: these stones were there before any 'church' was thought of, and just as they had been used to mark pagan graves, so they continued to be used to mark Christian burial-places for long years before any church was built. There is nothing whatever in a pillar-stone as such to declare whether it be Christian or pagan.[2] W. C. Borlase[3] saw an example of 'a pillar-stone with an encircled cross of most primitive form' at Cahirbarool, co. Cork. It stood a quarter-mile north of a dolmen (Lackparknalicka) and close to another dolmen-like grave'; and he remarks that there seemed to be in the locality many such monuments transitional between paganism and Christianity.

'At a little distance to the east' of the site of the church of Kilcoo, Fermanagh, is a sepulchral monument which W. F. Wakeman calls one of the most singular he

[1] In the *Life of St. Sampson* (seventh cent.) the writer asserts that he had personally seen the cross carved by the saint upon a menhir in Wales, around which he had found dancing a number of British heathens.

[2] Examples of such stones marking Christian places of burial in Wales will be cited in due course. Tradition declares that a pillar-stone—the saint's pillow-stone—was set up over St. Columba's grave in Iona. St. Cadoc set up another over the grave of his murdered architect Liugwri (*Vita S. Cadoci*, c. 17). Under the tower of the church at Constantine was a massive megalith; are we to believe that it was brought and set there after the church was built? So with that which once carried the pulpit at Llandyssilio Gogo (p. 267). For a number of other examples, see Johnson, *Byways*, pp. 38-42. Three enormous megaliths (respectively 29, 18 and 14 feet in height, and covering a space of ground measuring 110 (Span.) feet in circumference, are actually included within the nave of the church of the hermitage of St. Miguel de Arrechinaga, in Basque-land, 25 miles from Bilbao (see Borlase, *Dolmens of Ireland*, p. 648). There is no particular reason why even the 29-foot menhir at Rudstone, Yorks, should not have been erected by Christians over another Christian. It may have been a pagan 'idol,' but the presence of the church close beside it is so far as it goes, evidence that the stone marked (*a*) a place of sepulture and (*b*) a Christian grave.

[3] *Dolmens of Ireland*, p. 33. J. P. Condon, writing in 1916 (*Journ. R.A.S.I.* vol. xlvi, pt. 2, p. 159), says that he could not find it.

had seen in Ireland. ' It seems indeed in a most remarkable degree to combine the pagan idea of a monumental *leact* with that by which our earliest Christians were moved. . . It is a mound composed of earth and small boulders, with a circle of ten stones enclosing a space four yards in diameter, in the centre of which stand the relics of what has been a well-fashioned cross.'[1] It is, in fact, a combination of the simplest form of bowl-barrow with the cromlech, and in the centre, in lieu of the unhewn 'pagan' pillar-stone, is an elaborately carven cross. Were the latter absent, or but a little more mutilated than it is, few probably would hesitate to pronounce the whole a purely pagan monument.

Nor is the cist more reliable as a proof of pre-Christian sepulture. ' Stone-lined graves would probably be found in every ancient cemetery in the diocese of Down,' wrote Rev. Jas. O'Laverty in 1879, who mentions fifteen Christian cemeteries in which he knew that they had been found, and adds that such graves had been found also at nearly all the ancient churches in the diocese.[2] Even the rounded pebbles or *echini* which the pagan laid in the graves of his dead have their counterpart in Christian Ireland, where a white pebble not seldom accompanies each burial, even within unquestioned Christian graveyards.[3]

There was thus continuity between paganism and Christianity in every single one of the points thus far considered. The one point remaining is the *fert* or precinct, and least of all was there any lack of continuity here. The pagan burial-place was circular ; circular was the Christian graveyard also.

In pagan Ireland indeed, and for a thousand years longer, the circular figure was universal, alike where men lived and where they were buried. *Lis* and *rath*, *dun* and *cashel* and *cathair*[4] were all invariably of this plan, and of

[1] *Journ. R.S.A.* (*Ireland*) 1879, p. 32, where is a woodcut.

[2] *Journ. R.S.A. Ireland* (1879), p. 105. In Ireland, it will be understood, cemeteries are much more numerous than churches.

[3] ibid. p. 107.

[4] *Rath* is the generic term including all the rest, and it seems impossible to establish any hard and fast line between one and another of these terms. The Celtic *dun* is the A.-S. *tun*, Germ. *zaun*, 'a fenced enclosure.' It is usual to apply *cathair* and *cashel* to the larger stone-built defensive enclosures, *lis* and *rath* to the smaller. According to Whitley Stokes the radical meaning of *rath* is simply 'earth-rampart' or 'earth-bank.' It appears in Wales as *rhath*, in Scotland as *rath*, in Roman Britain as *Ratae* (Leicester ; cf. Ratumagus, Rouen), in modern England in the name of

this plan only, by law: the chief's residence[1] and the commoner's hut were round; graves and cemeteries were round; so were places of assembly and courts of law; and so we may suppose were all other *loca consecrata* of paganism.

When the Irish became Christians, their burial-places—'churchyards'—were still round; and as the circle had been the symbol of sanctity in pagan times, so the symbol of the new faith became in Ireland less the cross than the circle charged with the cross. With the pagan Irish as with the Celts of Britain and Gaul, the presence of the circle in some form or other, actual or symbolical, was essential to the peace of the dead. Christianity could not shake that prejudice. Christianity did not even try to shake it.

St. Patrick was a Brython.[2] He had therefore the more reason to address his first efforts to the Brythonic Irish, to those of the Wicklow coast[3] first of all, and next to the Brython chief-paramount Leoghaire[4] in Tara. Being a Brython, he had too intimate a knowledge of Brythonic burial-customs to make unnecessary and tactless difficulties. His policy was that of compromise.

The Life of St. Patrick tells how the saint, on his way to Tara, came on Easter eve to the vicinity of the great Brython cemetery at Brough, and proceeded to prepare for the Pasch by 'lighting a sacred and blessed fire, as the custom was.' Now it was the druidical custom at this

Ratby. In modern Ireland it forms the first element in more than 700 names of town-lands (Joyce), and reduced to *-ra* is the final element in such names as Moira (= Moyrath). See McClure, *British Place-names*, p. 265, n. The origin of the word is unknown: the *N.E.D.* offers no derivation. It was Latinised by monastic writers as *atrium*. For these works in general see Dunraven, *Notes on Irish Arcbitecture*; Westropp, *Early Forts of Ireland*; Stokes, *Life of George Petrie*, p. 235; Anderson, *Scotland in Early Christian Times*, p. 77, note. *Raths, duns*, etc. continued to be built through the middle ages; for examples as late as middle of thirteenth cent. see Champneys, *Irish Eccles. Arcb.* p. 6; ibid. p. 12, 'the type is ancient though examples may be modern.'

[1] By the Brehon laws the proper residence of a king was the *dun* with a trip'e *enceinte*. Mrs. Armitage points out (*Engl. Hist. Review*, xix, p. 451) that this is identical with the *Castellatio trium scannorum* [*scamnorum*] which is declared by the *Leges Henrici Primi* (x. § 1) to be the right of a king. This is yet another example of the tacit adoption of ancient Celtic usage by a later age and race.

[2] His native name was Succath or Sucat, said to be identical with the modern Welsh *bygad* 'warlike.' Patricius, his Latin (monastic) name, became, on the lips of the Goidelic Irish, Cothrige.

[3] The territory of Ptolemy's Manapii.

[4] He was brother of Niall of the Nine Hostages.

period of the year to order the formal extinction of all fires, which were presently rekindled from a ritual flame lit by the Arch-Druid in Tara ; and any one failing to conform to the custom was liable to excommunication. The saint's fire naturally attracted instant attention, and Leoghaire forthwith set off to find and punish the offender. 'The magicians (i.e. Druids) advised the king not to enter the circle of St. Patrick's fires, lest their magic influence should overcome him, but to remain outside the circle.' From this one may perhaps infer that the sacred fire, druidical or otherwise, was conceived of as lit within a circular *limes :* had it been literally a ring of fire the king would not have needed his magicians to warn him against passing through it. The tale at any rate shows that the circle had a religious significance. Further it plainly suggests that the Irish custom previously referred to,[1] of rekindling all domestic fires from that of the parish priest on 1st May,[2] is itself an inheritance from paganism. St. Patrick's Easter-fire, it seems, coincided with the May-fire of the Druids, and one may guess that one reason for subsequent efforts to enforce upon the Celtic Church the Roman date of Easter, was the wish to dissociate wholly the Christian from the pagan act of ritual.

[1] Above, ch. viii.

[2] The Beltane fire ; *Beltine* was an Irish name for the month of May, and 1st May was called *La-Beltine*, Beltane day (Polwhele, *Hist. Corn.* i, p. 49).

In Wakeman's *Survey of Inismurray*, pp. 54-56, is described the *leac-na-teinidh* ('stone of fire'), a quadrangular cist with sides of 3 ft. 3 ins. orientated exactly east and west, and therefore not coincident with the *teampull-na-teinidh* ('church of fire'), the Christian oratory enclosing the cist. The tradition of the island is, that upon a certain day of the year, from the fire burning in this cist used to be rekindled all other fires in the island. This looks like a survival from paganism, and suggests that the *cashel* of Inismurray was once a druidical settlement; see below, p. 203. The sacred fire played a particularly prominent part in connexion with a divinity called Brigit. She was goddess of poetry, healing and mechanical skill, but also the Gaelic Vesta. Her great sanctuary was at Kildare, 'the *kil* of the oak-tree,' and here the sacred fire was kept perpetually burning by her nineteen priestesses. Christianity usurped the *kil* and adopted Brigit as a saint, the favourite companion of St. Patrick; but it dared not quench the fire ; so her *kil* became the site of a Christian monastery, wherein the sacred flame still burned without intermission until the days of the Reformation. She is the St. Bride of England ; see Macbain, *Celtic Mythology and Religion*, pp. 128-130. Willis Bund (*Celtic Church of Wales*, p. 442) suggests a more prosaic explanation for the perpetual fire of Kildare.

A similar story about a perpetual Easter-fire, from which others must be kindled, is told of St. Kieran (Piran). It may be added that the sanctuary at Kildare was of a circular plan ('Sepe virgeo et orbiculari, Girald. Cambr. *Topog. Hibern.* ii, 34).

This transformation of the Celtic fire-goddess into a Christian saint scarcely distinguishable from the Mother of God—she is actually so spoken of in old Irish writings—is a vivid example of the way in which paganism and Christianity passed one into the other ; see Herbert, *Cyclops Christianus*, pp. 110, *sqq*.

The saint came to Rathcroghan,[1] the royal residence on the plain of Roscommon. Here at the well of Clebach he baptised the two daughters, Ethne and Feidelm, of king Leoghaire, and administered the Eucharist; and the princesses dying very shortly after, were buried together in one grave near the well. Their relatives, after the customary mourning, 'buried them near the well and made a circular ditch in the fashion of a *fert*, because this was the manner of the Scoti and (other) heathen. With us it is called *relic*[2] or *fert*. It was dedicated, together with the bones of the holy women, to God and St. Patrick and his heirs for ever; and on that spot he built a church of sods.'[3]

These daughters of the Brython king of Tara were buried, therefore, in the fashion of their race and faith before them, within a ring-barrow.[4] This, as has been shown, was the final form of the pagan Celtic barrow; and the story implies that the details of the burial were left to the princesses' people, the Druids of Cruachan and others.[5] All that Patrick could do was to claim this particular barrow for the God of that faith in which the princesses had died, in token whereof he built there a church of sods. This, if historically true, was an unmistakable distinction; but of this alleged 'church' more anon. Meantime it is clear that in every other external feature, this, the first of all Christian graves in Ireland to be described, was exactly like a pagan barrow, in fact was a pagan barrow with a Christian interment. And we are further

[1] It was an ancient fort of the Gamanradii, a tribe of the Firbolgs or Belgae (Todd, *St. Patrick, Apostle of Ireland*, p. 451). It was also a famous druidical establishment, and the king had sent his daughters there for education (Stokes, *Ireland and the Celtic Church*, p. 86).

[2] i.e. *Reliquiae*. The word occurs frequently on the map of Ireland meaning 'cemetery,' e.g. Relickmurray near Cashel. It followed the Celtic missioners to Man, to Scotland, and even to Steepholm in the Severn sea.

[3] *Tripartite Life* (ed. Stokes, ii, 317).

[4] Todd (*St. Patrick, Apostle of Ireland*, p. 456) notices this point, but fails to see its value. Leoghaire himself long withstood St. Patrick's efforts, and although ostensibly converted at last, died a pagan still. He caused himself to be buried 'after the manner of his forefathers,' looking towards the land of his hereditary enemies, the men of Leinster. Stokes, *Ireland and the Celtic Church*, pp. 77-78; Willis Bund, *Celtic Church of Wales*, p. 130.

[5] The narrative implies that the conversion of the two princesses was fiercely resented by their people, for there was 'great wrath' against St. Patrick 'because the girls had received the faith and gone to Heaven.' Their two guardian-Druids, Mael and Caplit, both became converts to Christianity, which possibly means that they forthwith put themselves under the protection of St. Patrick, in a natur l fear of the manner in which king Leoghaire might avenge the death of his daughters, their charges

told why : these things were of the *mos gentilium*, and as such Patrick had to accept them. He could not do away with them, so he compromised, and 'built a church.'

Here is documentary evidence, such as it is, that Christian churches in Ireland were built upon barrows. 'Under the floor of the little church in Monasterboice in Louth, a cist was discovered containing fragments of pottery of the usual sepulchral type, together with a celt of polished stone.'[1] This also was a church on a barrow. Other examples will be forthcoming later from Wales and Cornwall, Scotland and England. It would seem then that an original 'church' might be merely a burial-place.

Again the *Life*, in reference to the foundation of a monastery, tells us that 'In this wise did St. Patrick measure out the *fert*, viz. seven score feet in the *lis*[2] (enclosure), twenty-seven feet in the great house,[3] seventeen feet in the kitchen, and seven feet in the oratory. So it was ever his usage to found a monastery.'[4] According to the Brehon laws seven score feet was also the standard diameter of a royal *dun*, i.e. it must not be less, though it might be very much larger ; and according to the same laws the 'great house' of a *brughfer*—the highest grade in the social scale—likewise measured twenty-seven feet, his kitchen seventeen feet. St. Patrick's monasteries therefore were planned and built upon a scale to bring them within the measure of settlements of the first rank. The extreme exiguity of the oratory is noteworthy.

The *fert* was something circular, girt by a fosse and vallum. So were *cashel* and *dun* and *lis*. This may be the reason why St. Patrick is said to have 'measured out the *fert*' for a monastery. But as the *fert* was primarily a place of burial, there is reason to suspect that the use of this word for the monastic enclosure points to the essential

[1] Borlase, *Dolmens of Ireland*, p. 789. It is usually laid down that Christian burials may be distinguished from pagan by the absence of all grave-furniture, excepting such insignia of rank as belonged to bishops, kings and such. This is undoubtedly true of later periods ; it is not likely that it was true of the earlier time, and some years would elapse before the new Christian rule could supersede the pagan tradition. The king's daughters at Clebach would be buried with the insignia of their rank, and the unknown person beneath the church at Monasterboice, the celt notwithstanding, was probably a Christian and a 'saint.'

[2] This term is possibly used as expressive of the simplest form of defensive enclosure, with one fosse and one vallum only.

[3] Usually explained as the refectory.

[4] *Tripartite Life*, i, 237. Baldwin Brown, *Arts in Saxon England*, i, 197 ; Romilly Allen, *Monumental Hist. Brit. Church*, p. 47.

presence of a burial within it, i.e. a consecration grave; and that just as the *fert* as barrow was made a *locus consecratus* by the grave within it, so the *fert* as monastery was consecrated by a burial. Baring Gould has concluded that a burial was an essential preliminary for the foundation of a monastery.[1] The term *fert* however, being a direct loan from paganism, was distasteful to Christians of a later time, who did their best to replace it by some other word. Dr. Reeves cites nineteen place-names still in use which embody the term, but of these three only attach to Christian sites.[2]

The primitive monastery in Ireland was circular because it was a settlement, and all settlements were circular. The circular form was further, as in the *fert*, the mark of sacred ground. But it did not *make* the ground sacred. This required a burial. If the burial was that of a *gentilis* the spot was thereby consecrated to paganism; but if the burial was that of a baptised Christian, the spot became then—and not till then—consecrated to Christianity. The graves of the king's daughters at Clebach were in fact the consecration-graves of a new *locus consecratus*.

There are in Ireland numbers of circular churchyards and burial-grounds. Very many of these are within actual *raths*, with one or two or three lines of defence. Many others have neither fosse nor vallum, yet are still circular.

[1] 'In order to secure a site for a monastery some one must be buried in it'; Baring Gould, *Arch. Cambr.* 5th ser. xvii (1900), p. 256. Compare Columba's procedure at Hy, ch. xxii. In Whitley Stokes, *Three Middle Irish Homilies*, are passages about Columba's church-building activities which seem to be covert allusions to the same grim truth, as when (p. 113) the saint 'shewed Boite's grave and marked out his church'; cf. ibid. p. 35—'Daire gave a site for a high church (*ardeclaise*) to St. Patrick in the stead where the *ferta* is to-day, when the building of the close [i.e. the surrounding *casbel*] was finished.' Both passages support the view that barrow and church were the same thing.

[2] See the list in *Churches of Armagh*. The modern forms vary considerably, e.g. Ardfert and Clonfert, side by side with Farta, Fartagh and Fertagh. In the middle ages the word *fert* came to have the meaning of *miracula*. Near Ardmachae (Armagh), says *The Book of Armagh*, was a spot named *Fertae Martyrum*, where for a time St. Patrick dwelt with his followers. *Fertae Martyrum* means simply 'graves of the holy men,' the word *Martyr* having lost all connotation of martyrdom, as happened also with Welsh *Merthyr* ('place of demise'). See also Plummer, *Vitae S.S. Hibern.* The same word reappears in the same sense in the French Montmartre and Martres-les-Veyre, a spot near Clermont Ferrand in Auvergne, famous for the finds made in a Gallo-Roman cemetery there.

Writers of various degrees of credibility furnish many examples of kings giving such and such enclosures to this or that saint, and this explains some at any rate of the large number of ancient Irish churches planted within *raths*. The *rath*, although built as a domestic enclosure only, was uniformly circular. It was therefore already a *locus consecratus*, although not in the same sense as was the barrow.[1] All that was needed was the burial of a *fidelis* within its circular *enceinte*, and therewith the erstwhile *rath* became a Christian burial-place, in no respect different from a barrow save in the larger proportions and perhaps greater complexity of its enclosing earthworks.

The church of Donaghpatrick was built within the royal *rath*, quadruply ramparted and ditched, of Conall MacNeill, brother of Leoghaire, king of Meath, close to Tailten, the royal cemetery and scene of the famous fair of Teltown. Within another *rath* stood St. Patrick's church of Armagh, though the earthwork has wholly vanished. St. Bennan's church of Kilbannon was set within the *dun* of Leoghaidh, the local chief; and Aodh Finn, chieftain of Breifny, made over his *cathair* to St. Caillen for a monastery.[2] The church of Dundesert, co. Antrim, stood within a *dun*: 'the outer ditch was of the breadth of a moderate roadway, and the earth excavated from it had been heaped up inside to form a rampart carrying up the slope to about the height of sixteen or twenty feet from the bottom. The whole face of the slope was covered with large stones embedded in the earth. Concentric with this enclosure, and about seven yards within it, was another ditch with a rampart on the inner side similarly constructed, and in the space enclosed by this stood the church. The ditches and ramparts were nearly circular, and there were two level entrances paved with stones, one at the north-west and the other at the south-east side.'[3] The monastery of Nendrum, founded in the fifth century by St. Machaoi, a convert of St. Patrick, stands within the inmost ring (diam. 70 yds.) of a fort

[1] It is more than possible that every *rath* of pagan date had its own consecration grave. It would seem that the Irish dwelling-place, no less than the Roman, was in a special sense a sacred place.

[2] Romilly Allen, *Mont. Hist.* pp. 47-48, where see references.

[3] Anderson, *Scotland in Early Christian Times*, p. 79; Reeves, *Antiqs.* of *Down, Connor and Dromore*, pp. 181-196.

covered by two outer circumvallations with an interval of thirty yards.[1]

In the Ireland of those days every dwelling-place was of necessity fortified, as it was for centuries afterwards; and when no longer needed for defence, the same vallum was naturally retained for the sake of seclusion as well as from conservative sentiment. 'A.D. 1162. The separation of the houses from the church of Derry was made by the *comharba* of Columcille . . . they removed eighty houses, and Caiseal an Urlair was erected by the *comharba* of Columcille; and he pronounced a curse upon the person who should come over it.'[2] Even as late as 1266 a broad and deep trench was cut round the church of the Franciscan monastery founded in that year at Armagh.[3]

Unquestionably many of the earliest Irish monasteries had their origin in the grant of pre-existing earthworks, but as time went on and the new faith attained greater security, the monks built similar enclosures, earthen *raths* and stone *cashels*, for themselves. A stone found at Termonfeckin, co. Louth, bears the legend 'Pray for Ultan and Dubthach, who made this *cashel*.'[4] T. J. Westropp cites further the cases of Skellig on Caher island, of Magharees on Glendalough, and of Sier Kieran; while as examples of *cashels* taken over by the monks from secular owners he cites Cashel in Cork, Temple-na-Raha near Ruan in Clare, the Rock of Cashel, Inismurray, and possibly Rath-Michael in Dublin.[5] According to Wakeman the secular enclosure may be distinguished from the ecclesiastical by its greater strength, and he very pertinently asks how any Irish saint of the sixth century could undertake the construction of such a work as the *cashel* of Inismurray: 'How many masons and other artificers, and what time, would it take to collect the necessary material and complete such a structure? What would be the use of a fortress to men untrained to martial exercises, even if their number was sufficient to watch and guard the gates and defend the wall?'[6] One may remark that they had the greater

[1] See Lawlor, *The Monastery of Saint Mochaoi of Nendrum* (1925).
[2] *Annals of the Four Masters.*
[3] ibid.
[4] Westropp, *Stone Forts of Ireland*, p. 59.
[5] ibid.
[6] *Survey of Inismurray*, p. 25.

need for elaborate defences if they were indeed ' untrained to martial exercises,' which is perhaps by no means true.

To the saint Aed MacBric there came a professional ' builder of raths,' offering to construct one for him. The saint sent him on to a friend who required one. The builder ' dug deep moats and threw up banks forming three concentric rings, and this was called Rath Balbh. The payment was as many sheep as the builder could drive away.'[1] So there were professional builders of such works, and the requirements of a saint in this kind were understood to be very much those of a chief or other great layman.

There is no doubt that the success of Patrick's mission in Ireland was largely due to policy. He brought his first efforts to bear on kings and chieftains, confident that, if these were converted, the masses would quickly follow their lead. In no other way could he have hoped to combat so powerful a combination as was offered by the organisation of Druidism and the superstition of the people ; whereas a converted king was in a position not only to protect the new faith, but also to endow it generously from the number of his many fortresses. When the missioners entered into possession of such a fortress it became a monastic settlement[2] ; and as has been seen it was invariably circular. So also was the burial-place pagan or Christian, barrow or churchyard. The circular figure was the outward and visible sign of Celtic religion whether pagan or Christian, and Celtic missionaries carried that sign abroad wherever they travelled. As time went on the defences of the monastery might sometimes become less formidable ; a time might come when they would be formal only. But always, so long as Celtic Christianity went its own way as distinct from that of Rome, the circle was there ; and the less formidable settlement, demarcated perhaps by the shallowest of fosses and ramparts, or by a mere retaining wall of stone, brought one back again to the primitive barrow and the *fert*.

[1] Cited by Baring Gould in *Arch. Cambr.* 5th ser. xvii (1900), from *Vitae SS. Hibern.* p. 340.

[2] All early Christian settlements in Ireland were monastic, i.e. some one lived there apart from the world without, whether alone or with companions.

Cannon Island abbey, co. Clare, was built about 1190 and on the Roman plan. It occupies the centre of a circular *cashel* of which about one-third remains. The rest was pulled down, it would seem, to provide building material for the abbey. But the circular precinct remains unaltered.[1]

Bishop Mochulla and seven converted soldiers built (*c.* 620) a church at Tulla in Clare. It stands within an oval ring. When it was desired to enlarge the precinct (before 1087), a second ring was constructed concentric with the first, but with double the diameter.[2]

The Irish *kil* or *killeen*[3] provides the connecting-link between the pagan and the Christian place of burial. This is commonly a flat platform of earth, always circular or oval, rising some four feet or so above the surrounding ground and generally girt by a revetment of dry stone, or by a low earthen rampart with or without revetment. Some examples have or have had also a peristalith.[4] They have one entrance only. They are in fact nothing but barrows, some of the simplest 'bowl' type very greatly spread by time, others of the 'ring' type, and some few again shewing traces of the fosse which characterises the 'bell' barrow. A typical example near Bunratty Upper at Kylebay has traces of a possible outer fosse, 'but otherwise it is a ring-mound 9 to 12 feet thick and usually 5 ft. high,' enclosing an area 75 ft. in diameter.[5]

The number of these *killeens* is very great, in Kerry especially, where the ordnance map marks 217 or more. In the northern counties they are fewer, because many have

[1] Information of the late T. J. Westropp.

[2] *Idem.* Father Smiddy cites (*Essay on the Druids*, p. 174) an old description of Clonagh, co. Kildare: In it was a piece of ground surrounded by a ditch, and in the centre of the circle was a stone cross, a church, and two yew trees, from one of which hung a bell.' So here again the enclosure was a circle.

[3] Otherwise *keel*, *killena*, *kealuragh*, *cilura*, *caltragh*. These are described by Rolt Brash, *Ogbamic Inscribed Monuments of the Gaedbil* (1879). See also Romilly Allen, *Mont. Hist.* pp. 77-79; and R. Macalister in *Proc. Camb. Antiq. Soc.* xxxvii.

[4] 'I cannot decide whether this was an original feature, as built in between the blocks of an older circle,' writes T. J. Westropp of the dry-stone wall of a *kil* at Caugher, Bunratty Upper, co. Clar (*Journal R.S.A.I.* xlvii, pt. i, p. 8). And again of a *killeen* near Kilquane,' co. Clare, the same writer says it lies 'on a rising ground near a marsh. . . The enclosure is a low mound with a few blocks set in it.' cf. on Yspytty Cynfin, below, p. 268. Rolt Brash (p. 88) cites examples at Killacloyne, Caskan, and Mitchelstown, in co. Cork; and at Derrygurrane, co. Kerry, and explains as signifying 'Cemetery of the pillar-stones' the names of Killgullane and Kealagowlane (co. Cork) and Gullaun-na-Killeen (co. Kerry).

[5] Westropp, loc. cit.

been destroyed by an intrusive population which was and is regardless of the sanctity in which the native Irish still hold them. To the true Irish they are *loca consecrata* still, and no one ventures to disturb them unless it be for the burial of suicides or of unbaptised children. The names by which they are known are indifferently Christian and pagan, they are mostly remote from any church, and excepting a few instances where there has arisen a Christian chapel on the spot,[1] there is no discoverable trace of any building. Excavation shews that some of them contain cremated burials,[2] which apparently means that such *killeens* are pre-Christian ; yet their sanctity has never been forgotten, and Christian burials are still made in such of them as have been re-consecrated by the erection of chapels within them. W. G. Wood-Martin describes[3] such a *caltragh* standing amongst the multitude of pagan burial monuments of all types at Carrowmore as ' a bare circular enclosure 92 paces in diameter, originally surrounded by a circle of large stones, most of which have been cleared.' Rolt Brash unhesitatingly pronounces them pagan, and Wood-Martin suggests that this example at Carrowmore was ' probably the burying-ground of the commonalty of the district,' as distinguished from the invididual sepulchres within stone circles covering the soil in the vicinity, ' which would appear to be those of a family or a chief.'[4]

Killeen Cormaic, co. Kildare, reputed to be the burial-place of a king Cormac of Munster, is of oval shape, about 230 paces in circumference, ' It is enclosed by a boundary wall about 5 ft. in height, and the level of the ground within the precinct is flush with the top of the wall. It contains no trace of any buildings.'[5]

This description applies *verbatim* to any one of a multitude of Christian churchyards in Wales, Cornwall, and elsewhere in England, save that usually there is a

[1] Whence such names as Temple-na-Killa, co. Kerry, and Kil-templa, co. Limerick. So perhaps also Kealkill and Kilkilleen (co. Cork), ' where we have *keal* and *killeen* applied to the cemetery, *kill* to the church ' (Rolt Brash, p. 90).

[2] Rolt Brash, p. 90. He cites the name of Tinnekilla, co. Limerick, ' the cemetery of the Fire,' as ' evidently indicative of cremation having been practised there.' Possibly it has reference rather to a sacred fire like that of St. Brigit at Kildare (p. 170, n.).

[3] *Rude Stone Monts. of Ireland.*

[4] ibid.

[5] R. Macalister in *Proc. Camb. Antiq. Soc.* xxxvii (1896), p. 140.

church within them. On the other hand the description of the *caltragh* at Carrowmore is precisely that of scores of anhistoric circles in these islands. It is not straining probability to suggest that while some of these *killeens* are pre-Christian, others belong to the period of transition, and others actually to Christian times, the peasantry adhering stubbornly to the *mos gentilium*, as happened at the well of Clebach, while accepting a new consecration. A large proportion of the Irish ogams have come from these killeens.[1]

The practice of using them as burial-grounds for suicides and the unbaptised is itself an admission that, though *loca consecrata*, they are not all of exactly Christian consecration. Such victims of mortality must be buried somewhere, yet the feeling that they do not altogether deserve Christian sepulture is as old as the faith itself. The Englishman buried his suicide

> at four cross-roads,
> With a stake in his inside;[2]

the kindlier Irishman gave to such persons what, to use his favourite epithet, he would call 'qualified' burial.

But be they wholly pagan, or wholly Christian, or indifferently either, their plan is invariable. They are without exception circular or oval,[3] and they bear generically the same name (*kil*) as do hundreds of similar circular precincts which we know to have been consecrated by or named after the early Irish saints.

A close parallel to these *kils* of Ireland is offered by the *keeills*[4] of the Isle of Man with their surrounding enclosures. Of these there are still some scores

[1] Forty-nine out of 120; see Romilly Allen, *Mont. Hist. Brit. Church*, pp. 79 *sqq*. 'I find it,' he says, 'harder to believe that they are Christian and that their sanctity has been forgotten, than to believe with Rolt Brash that they are pagan and that their sanctity has never been forgotten.'

[2] The stake was to pin the ghost securely down and prevent its 'walking.' The cross-roads were chosen so that, if nevertheless it should walk, it might have the less chance of finding the right road home again.

[3] The old churchyards in some parts of the country, e.g. in the Aran isles, are generally oval, as are a very large number of pagan Irish barrows.

[4] Frequently miscalled 'Treen churches.' The native Manx term is *skeeylley*; e.g. Skeelley Vraadan, now Kirk Braddan, 'Braddan's church.' Of the whole number of parishes in the island (17), all but one used to be called Kirk-, and at a still earlier date Skeeylley- or Keeill-; which is proof that the latter term antedates the Norse settlement in the ninth century. Modern archaeologists appear to confine the name *keeill* to the building. Older archaeologists used it of the enclosure, and this is certainly the more correct use. Of its identity with the Irish *kil* there can be no doubt at all. A frequent *modern* name for the field containing a *keeill* is 'chapel field.'

remaining in various stages of decay, there being some fourteen still recognisable in the parish of German alone, although not one of the whole number is now used either as a place of burial or as a place of worship. Yet so strong is the local feeling of respect for them that as late as 1910 some tenants refused on any consideration to allow the sites of *keeills* situated upon their farms to be explored.

The *keeills* are places of burial, the enclosures sometimes demarcated by an earthern vallum, the inner area artificially raised. Some of them have been revetted with a rude dry-wall, the garth flush with the revetment and from 3 to 8 ft. above the ground without. Some are constructed upon knolls and others upon the level. There is commonly a well or spring in the immediate vicinity. The so-called 'church' was a mere rectangular cell, usually twice as long as broad, built up of sods, earth and stone, or occasionally of stone only. The average inner measurements are about 16 ft. by 8 ft. Others are larger, in one instance as much as 60 ft. long, but these are obviously later in date, for the stones are rudely dressed and laid with mortar. They seem commonly to have had an eastern light of the rudest and smallest type, and a door in the south wall, and many show the remains of an altar at the east end.[1] Commonly, but not invariably, there is one such 'church' in each enclosure, and it is to be noticed that it is rarely or never in the centre of the enclosure, but the 'church' of a *keeill* in Lezayre 'had been raised about the middle of a circle of large stones' such as is seen in some of the Irish *kils*.

In the last-named instance at any rate there can be no question that the original plan was circular, but in most cases the site has been much altered, by cultivation or otherwise, so that it is rarely possible to recover with certainty the original form. P. M. C. Kermode, who has made the *keeills* his peculiar study, and to whom are due many of the details here given, recalls only three instances.

[1] Frequently it is not in the centre of the east wall. In a building at Ballahimmin it is in the south-east corner; it is 4 ft. 6 ins. long, and covers just half of the wall. Its front is formed of one great slab of stone which the investigators believe to have been *in situ* when the altar was made, possibly part of a cist which has been utilised as an altar. They are at any rate clear that the stone was there before the building, which is proof that the latter, rude as it is, is still relatively late.

One of these, in the parish of Patrick, is a pronounced oval (99 by 81 ft.), and yielded cross-slabs of sixth-ninth centuries. The second, on Ballaqueenie in Marown, is likewise oval (160 by 130 ft.), 'surrounded by an embankment with an outer ditch.' The third example, Keeill-Woirrey (*i.e.* 'Mary Church') in the parish of Kirk Maughold, he describes as 'practically rectangular (126 by 90 ft.) with rounded corners'; but as this was in use as a burial-ground little more than a century ago, it is quite possible that its plan has been tampered with. The frequent discovery of graves under and outside the present boundaries of the garths is proof that these have frequently been altered.

The whole of the enclosure is usually filled with burials, and burials in 'lintel-graves' of precisely the same character are also found within the buildings. In some cases the walls overlie such burials, shewing that the building is a later addition. The graves are mostly orientated east and west. There is, as a rule, no grave-furniture of any kind, but in some few cases there have been found pottery and flint-flakes, and round white pebbles are constantly associated with the interments. In more than one instance also there have been found traces of cremated burials. The pottery the investigators write down as of Bronze age, although they admit it has no ornamentation such as is the only clue to the date of such pottery. The flints they take to indicate neolithic interments. There is not sufficient reason for either attribution.[1] The evidence goes to show only that the enclosures were built to serve as burial-places—that they were barrows—and that they were used as Christian places of burial. The shards and flints are not proof of the antiquity attributed to them, but are merely survivals from the ritual of pre-Christian times.

[1] In the account of the *keeill* on Ballahimmin (*Second Report, Manx Arch. Survey*, 1910, p. 16) they write that 'it is quite clear' that there had been here 'a large artificial mound [barrow], which had in the course of centuries settled down to about 4 feet, in which were burials of the Bronze age.' They do not adduce the needful evidence for its being of that date. Some 'broken fragments of thin pottery' were found within the building, but they are not further particularised. Two piles of calcined bones were 'minutely exam ned for any article of bronze or flint, but nothing was found.' Some two or three worked fl nt-flakes were found subsequently, but these do not prove the site to be either of the Bronze age or of neolithic date. The mound was 6–8 ft. in height, its area about 50 by 30 ft. only.

In some of the buildings have been found ashes and other traces of fire. In one case[1] a heap of burnt bones lay beneath the floor of the altar. These are probably the remains of the household fires lit by the devotees who made their homes here, and belong to the early time when the cell was as much *habitaculum* as *oratorium*. So with a quern-stone found within the 'church' of a *keeill* on Ballacarnana-beg in the parish of St. Michael.

Nothing has been found which can strictly be called architectural. In rare instances have been found slabs showing rude sculpturings of the cross in some form or other. A curious feature is the frequent occurrence of blocks of white quartz built into the walls. The 'church' at Ballahimmin in German parish had its western end constructed in the form of two semicircular bastions with the doorway between them. 'Glittering white quartz' was freely used in their construction, and 'would be conspicuous from a distance.' One is reminded of the familiar 'white monastery' or 'white church' of tradition and of place-nomenclature.

In very many cases the burials extend for a long distance from the enclosure as it now is, showing that either the boundaries of it have been altered, or that its use as a place of Christian burial continued over long centuries of time. A grave-stone at Keeill-Woirrey shows that an interment was made there as late as 1802.[2] Not seldom it is thought that the parish church stands upon the site of an original *keeill*, e.g. at Kirk Michael and at Ballaugh.

The parallelism between these *keeills* and the Irish *kils* cannot be the result of accident. Manxland received its Christianity from Ireland in the fifth century, its first bishop being St. Maccaldus of Down. The *keeills*, enclosures and buildings alike, preserve the features of the primitive Christianity of the Celtic West. That some of them actually overlie pagan barrows is what one would expect, though it has not yet been proved. The enclosures and the mounds are probably in many cases coeval with St. Maccaldus, but the buildings are most certainly later;

[1] Keeill Pherick-a-Dromma, in German parish.

[2] For the facts about the *keeills*, see the various *Reports of the Manx Archaeological Survey* (1909). Earlier material may be found in Train's *History of Isle of Man*; *Arch. Cambr.* (1866); and A. W. Moore's *Sodor and Man* (1893), pp. 27-28.

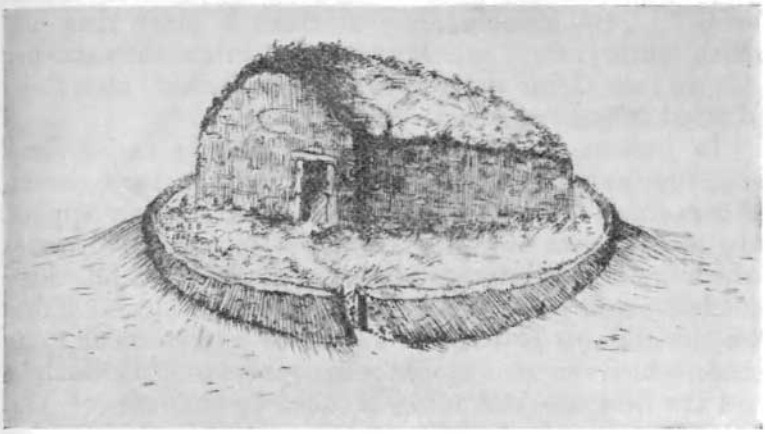


FIG. 3. THE MANX CABBAL OF THE FIFTH CENTURY.

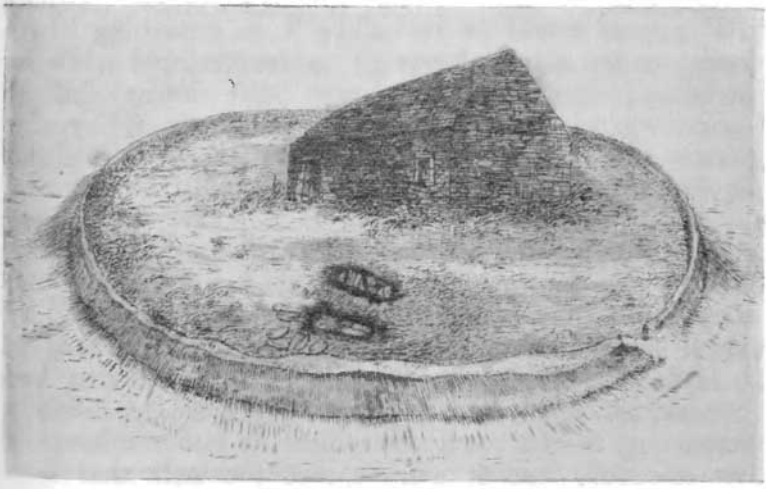


FIG. 4. A MANX KEEILL OF THE SIXTH CENTURY.

The drawings here reproduced were published in the *Proceedings* of the Manx Society, vol. xv (1868), in an article by Dr. J. R. Oliver. They were made therefore sixty years ago. Apart from the plans and photographs to be found in the *Reports of the Archaeological Survey* (I.O.M. Nat. Hist. and Antiquarian Soc.) there seem to be no other known attempts to portray the *keeills*. P. M. C. Kermode declares that the drawings 'are not to be relied upon for architectural details,' but they make it quite clear that the artist understood the typical *keeill* to be circular.

they must obviously be later than the mounds they stand upon.[1] Very possibly none of them is older than the tenth century, for if one thing is more certain than another it is that the Celtic way was to build its earliest 'churches' of wood and not of stone.

In present-day speech not merely has the native *keeill* been supplanted by 'church' wherever a structural church is concerned, but the intrusive word is commonly applied 'to any remnant of a pagan burial-place and to old stones which are held in superstitious regard. . . . On a hill-ridge not half a mile from where I am writing (Dalby, *I. of M.*) are the remains of what I take to be a very small stone circle, which the local people assure me is an 'old church'; and the field in which it lies is called by the farmer 'The Church Field.'[2]

According to one view Patrick was not so much a missionary as an organiser, and found Christianity already to some extent a fact in Ireland, in the south especially. If so, it must have been a very formless thing, and Patrick's first concern would be to reduce it to something like a system under a formal *regula*; as for example when he introduced monasticism—he may have learnt this at Lérins, where it is said there were numbers of Egyptian monks—and laid down a fixed formula for the size and requirements of a monastery. To him also is attributed the building of the first church at Sabhall. At Clebach he builds an *ecclesia terrena*. The admission that it was of earth only is strongly suggestive that the story is true; irresponsible imagination would have asked us to believe that it was at least a *domhnach*, if not actually a *basilica*. It is possible that Irish Christianity had hitherto had no buildings at all, and that the saint was thus tactfully introducing the Latin way, in which the structure was the first essential; and it will be seen presently that such was actually the development wherever Celtic Christianity was introduced. It is more probable that the *ecclesia terrena* was nothing but the barrow itself, 'a Christian place of meeting built of earth.'

[1] In the case of the building at Keeill Pherick-a-Dromma (Pherick is Patrick), the foundations of the building were sunk into the mound to the level of the original surface; but this does not in the least go to prove that the mound was raised after the 'church' was built.

[2] Private letter, dated 6th June, 1923.

CHAPTER XVIII.

IRELAND (*continued*).

'Clochauns,' cells, and oratories—Origin of the Rectangular Church—Early Churches built of wood and turf—Early Ritual all al-fresco—Oratorium and Habitaculum originally identical—Traditional Churches of St. Patrick, St. Tassach, and St. Perran—Dolmens and Christianity—Similarity of Druidical and Christian Settlements—Christianisation of Pagan Monuments—Inismurray—Impossible Date alleged for Irish Stone Churches—Architecture a weak Point in Ireland—Earliest Churches called 'Houses'—Irish Names for the Structural Church—The Term 'Kil' is native Irish and signifies 'grave'—Christianity's Compromise with Paganism—The Wheeled Cross.

Patrick's formula for a monastery has been already quoted. The oldest[1] monastic settlements of Ireland—oldest, that is to say, in type—present certain uniform features: there is always an enclosing wall[2] of more or less circular plan, commonly built or faced with dry stone. Within this is gathered a varying number of buildings, some mortarless, others mortar-built, but all very small and almost wholly devoid of ornament. Some of these are oratories, others the dwellings of those who used these oratories. There may be several oratories within one enclosure, and in such cases the largest is commonly styled by some term equivalent to 'church,' or even 'cathedral,' but there is little difference even in point of size, and none are large. The earliest type is a single rectangular chamber, the length about twice the breadth. There is as yet neither nave nor chancel. At the one

[1] The stock examples are those at Inismurray, Ardoilean, Oilean Tsenaig, and Inisglora. It will be shewn that any attempt to date their existing remains is more than doubtful.

[2] The only exceptions are where, as at Skellig Michael, there is no room for such a wall, or no need, because of the isolation and consequent security of the site; cf. the case of Eilean na Naoimh, Garveloch island, cited by Anderson, *Scotland in Early Christian Times*, p. 95. But even at Skellig Michael the burial-ground of the monastery shews the essential sub-circular (oval) form.

end is an altar and above it the solitary window-light ; at the other end a single door ; but there is little or no attempt at true orientation.[1] The other buildings are *clochauns* or bee-hive huts, dry-built, with one room only and one door. In the oldest examples there is externally scarcely any discernible difference between the oratory and the *clochaun*. The difference is internal, for whereas the chamber of the *clochaun* is as a rule circular, that of the oratory is uniformly rectangular.[2]

The cause of this rather curious distinction between the sacred building and the profane is reasonably clear. The *clochaun*, the immemorial round hut of the Celt, was so built even in Christian times, because it had always been so built ; and as this was the only known fashion of building in stone, the oratory likewise, if built of stone at all, was originally of bee-hive plan *outside*. The rectangular chamber was due to foreign influence. To the earliest Irish and British a structural church was of rectangular plan because they had never known or heard of a structural church of any other plan.[3] It is hardly necessary to seek for any more recondite explanation of the fact.

[1] For the distinction between church and oratory see Anderson, *Scotland in Early Christian Times*, p. 73, *n*. In the text the word 'church' is used much in its modern sense, i.e. to denote a building wherein a number of people may meet for worship ; by 'oratory' is meant the building in which a holy man prayed, or sometimes dwelt and prayed.

[2] Wakeman (*Survey of Inismurray*, pp. 35-37) remarks that the *clochauns* there, while externally circular, internally are squarish like the oratories. They appear to be transitional between the circular plan and the rectangular which rapidly followed upon the introduction of the rectangular oratory. There is no question that the original type from which all were evolved was the primitive 'bee-hive,' circular within and without. Champneys (*Irish Eccles. Arch.* p. 19) also notices 'a cell rounded outside and square within' at Church Island, Lough Currane, Waterville.

[3] Even in Rome early Christian *chapels* at any rate were square-ended, and the apsidal form did not come into vogue in *churches* until the fourth century. It is quite possible that Patrick had never seen an apsidal church ; it is more likely that he purposely followed the plan which least resembled any pagan form of building. The statement that he established 'four-cornered churches' in divers places, as Champneys remarks, 'certainly suggests that another shape was known in Ireland in his time,' (*Irish Eccles. Arch.* p. 23), another shape of *building*, that is to say, but not necessarily another shape of *church*. Such quadrangular buildings are mentioned in several places of the *Tripartite Life* (see Whitley Stokes' ed. i, 237 ; ii, 321), and hence 'it has been supposed . . . that Patrick usually built round churches. It is not improbable that Patrick introduced this custom (i.e. of circular churches) from Britain, and it has been suggested that the word *Cor* is a trace.' So writes Newell, *Hist. of the Celtic Church* (London, 1895), p. 23. It is extremely doubtful whether, Withorn excepted, there existed any such thing as a structural church of any kind in the Britain of Patrick's time, let alone a circular one. The only 'church' of the Britain of that era would seem to have been the cemetery, the circular Christian barrow ; and circular barrows, though conceivably not Christian ones, were familiar things in Ireland long before the fifth century. If he built structural buildings at all, they would be oratories only, and of the humblest kind. Of any circular structural

But a very brief experience would tell the builders that to construct a building of more or less circular plan about a rectangular chamber involved a great waste of material, time and labour, while the gradual improvement in the art of building would lead to the same result.[1] The building gradually assumed the rectangular form externally: the side walls lost their original batter, and the roof, which had at first been made in bee-hive fashion by bringing each course of stones further inward than the last, was presently constructed with wooden rafters, and ultimately came to be a true vaulting with *voussoirs*. This again was the natural course of development from the bee-hive. There yet survive examples of oratories in which all four walls batter inwards to the ridge of the vault. Next come those in which the end walls rise vertically, while the side walls still shew a continuous batter from ground to roof. Thirdly we have those in which all four walls are vertical for a part only of their height. Latest of all is the oratory with vertical walls roofed with timber or vaulted with stone. This, however, was the slow evolution of centuries.

Possibly a few of even the very earliest oratories, in places where wood was scarce—and there are many such places in Ireland—were built of stone; but turf, wood, or wattle-and-daub,[2] were certainly the general rule, and timber lends itself more readily to rectangular forms.

'church' there is no trace in Britain until centuries after Patrick's time, and the apse is almost wholly unknown to Celtic architecture in the British Isles. Introduced by the Roman Church after 700, it utterly failed to make good even in non-Celtic parts of Britain, disappearing altogether in the thirteenth century.

[1] Orientation may have had something to do with it; one cannot well find the eastward position in a bee-hive building. But the early oratories rarely shew much regard for orientation. That of St. Bennan in Aran stands north and south, so did that of St. Cuthbert at Farne, and so apparently did that of St. Ethelburga's monastery at Barking (ch. xxiii). See on such 'transverse churches' (*ecclesiae sinistrales*) Todd, *St. Patrick*, p. 410. Jocelin (*Life of St. Patrick*) is authority for the assertion that the saint's first 'church' at Sabhall was so built. Walafrid Strabo remarks that little attention was paid to the orientation of early churches. Very possibly the insistence upon the rectangular plan was in part due to the wish to get away from all association with paganism, of which circularity was the symbol. Excepting a possible case (St. Blane's church, Bute) in the Scottish isles mentioned by Anderson (*Scotl. in Early Christian Times*, p. 111, *note*) there is no known instance of an ancient circular church in the Celtic regions. The round church at Orphir in the Orkneys is mortar-built, probably the work of Earl Haakon in the twelfth century (Anderson, *op. cit.* p. 29, *note*) and modelled upon the church of the Holy Sepulchre; and the same crusading influence expressed itself in the few circular churches of England (the Temple church in London, and those at Northampton, Cambridge, and Ludlow). In Norway some of the eleventh-century 'stave churches' have a circular plan.

[2] Kilclief, co. Down, formerly Kilcliath, means the '*kil* of the hurdles.'

A church of turf would in a very few years come to present the appearance of a mere grass-grown mound of earth; and this is said to be exactly the description of one now existing at Micklibaer, as it was of many of the keeill churches of the Isle of Man. If it is recorded that, when St. Kieran built at Duleek in the fifth century a church of stone, 'stone-building was as yet unusual among the Irish,'[1] the statement is doubtless true.

If the 'churches' of the ascetics of Cyrene, in the Libyan desert, were made of materials as perishable and on a scale similarly exiguous, as Sulpicius Severus asserts,[2] this does not in the least imply that Ireland borrowed the thing and the fashion of it from the East. It proves nothing beyond a parallel evolution in East and West.

The smallness of these earliest oratories is remarkable; Patrick's rule required but 'seven feet within the oratory' (p. 172).[3] This is usually taken as proof of the poverty of the early church, or of the low development of the art of building.[4] But had neither of these factors been present, as they certainly both were, the earliest oratories would have been no bigger. To worship under a roof was entirely alien to the sentiment of the early peoples, and particularly to those of Celtic blood, and they did not require any building for congregational purposes; so that there was no need for larger edifices, even if we assume that the possible congregations were large. The original

[1] *Vita S. Mochuae* (Plummer, *Vitae SS. Hiberniae*, ii, 187). Duleek is said to represent Daimleac, 'stone-house.' It is mentioned in *Annals of Ulster* under date 753 (Daimliacc). The very fact that a few really ancient buildings were so called is proof that they were the exceptions to the rule. The records mention the use of timber in the oratory of St. Moling and that of Rathain na Suanaigh (Rahen, nr. Tullamore, King's Co.). The latter is said to have required 1,000 boards, but we are not told of what size they were. See O'Curry, *Manners and Customs*, iii, 33; Champneys, *Irish Eccles. Arch.* pp. 26-27.

[2] They were *vilibus contexta virgultis* and no more ambitious than the ascetic's hut (*tabernaculum*), in which a man could not stand without stooping. See the passage quoted in Bingham, *Christian Antiqs.* bk. viii, i, 13. Here then, as in Ireland, we have hut and oratory, and apparently nothing to differentiate the two. Sulpicius died in 425.

[3] See Romilly Allen, *Mont. Hist. Brit. Church*, p. 92, where the dimensions of sixteen are given, ranging from 10 ft. by 6 ft. to 18 ft. 2 ins. by 10 ft. 4 ins. One of those at Skellig Michael is 8 ft. by 6 ft. At Inismurray a mortar-built 'church' is only 9 ft. by 8 ft.

[4] Dr. Anderson (*Scotland in Early Christian Times*, p. 128) quotes with approval Petrie's view (*Eccles. Arch. Ireland*, p. 191) that the smallness, uniformity, and meanness of early Scottish and Irish churches was due 'less to poverty, lack of skill, or of originality, than to a purposed wish to preserve the tradition of the earliest Christian churches of the continent before the time of Constantine.' Had he written 'earliest cells of the Christian Irish' the sentence would have needed no emendation.

oratory was not a church as we understand it at all; it was the private residence as well as the chapel of the holy man who lived in it. Its development into all that a church now is was extremely slow. At first it contained a rude altar, a bench or seat, and occasionally a well, but nothing more. There was not often a font within the building, but invariably a well or spring near by. Church furniture, ornaments, treasures, there were at first none or very few. In early Ireland, and indeed throughout the British Isles where Celtic Christianity came, the 'church' was of the least importance. The only *ecclesia*, i.e. place of meeting, was the *locus consecratus*, the hallowed burial-ground under the open sky. Even mass was celebrated *al fresco*, and only this fact can explain such legends as that of St. Patrick's driving his chariot over an erstwhile friend of his who was celebrating mass.[1] It is probable that there did not exist in the Ireland of his time, nor for many centuries afterwards, any 'church' into which a chariot could have been driven. At Inismurray the altars are for the most part out of doors, and the first missioners used portable altars 'to be laid upon unconsecrated altars when celebrating mass upon a journey, or when access to a consecrated altar was impossible.'[2] This is equally true of the Celtic Christianity of Wales and of England.[3]

[1] *Tripartite Life*, p. 235. The victim was St. Secundinus. The width of the doorway of the supposed oldest type of Irish ecclesiastical buildings is little more than 2 ft. At Walsingham, Norfolk, 'people never failed to go and see the "Gate of the Knight," a gate which had stretched itself so as to give miraculous shelter to a man on horseback, hard pursued by his enemies' (Jusserand, *English Wayfaring Life*, p. 153). This legend is an obvious attempt to bring the facts of one age into conformity with those of another and later age. A man on horseback, or even in a chariot, might easily have driven into the 'church' of older times, for the 'church' then was what we call the churchyard. The change of meaning had occurred long before the fourteenth century, and to explain the inexplicable was invented the legend of the church door which miraculously expanded.

[2] Wakeman, *Survey of Inismurray*, p. 60.

[3] The fragments of what is believed to have been St. Cuthbert's portable altar are preserved at Durham—a small slab of oak, 6 ins. by 5½ ins. and ½ in. thick, overlaid with a cover of silver. It is believed to have served the purpose of an altar before St. Cuthbert's time. The silver cover has a design incorporating the wheeled cross, and the form of the cross is the peculiar Early Irish crutched cross, the interspaces filled in with Celtic braid-patterns. Simeon of Durham says that something similar was found upon the breast of bishop Acca, when his tomb was opened (*c.* 1000). See Bp. Browne, *Theodore and Wilfrith*, p. 162; Howorth, *Golden Age of the English Church*, iii, 98. St. Cuthbert died 687; Acca was a contemporary of Wilfrid, and died 740. That these prelates used portable altars suggests that there were many places where there was as yet no consecrated altar, and therefore no structural church. In Seebohm's *Tribal Custom in A.-S. Law* (1902), p. 103, is a citation from *Lex Frisionum*, tit. xiv, which proves that there too the existence of altars where there was no church was frequent.

If, for whatever reason, a holy man decided to make his home upon a *locus consecratus*—and it would not occur in every instance—he naturally provided for himself a roof therein, but upon the humblest scale. This was in the first instance at once his house and his oratory. To separate the one from the other was a later development, and even then the two remained under one and the same roof.[1] To construct separate buildings for oratory and dwelling-house was the third stage in the evolution. If as time went on the special sanctity of the place or of its occupant drew to it other disciples, for these, as might be required, were built *clochauns*; and there grew up perhaps such a cluster of huts and oratories as one sees at Inismurray—a monastic settlement.

Upon the spot he had chosen, dwelling actually upon the grave-mound of one of the faithful, the holy man spent his life. Within his oratory he lived and prayed, and within it he hoped to be buried, as indeed often happened.[2] By his death and burial the place became doubly sacred. Should he pass away 'to fame unknown,' the little oratory might fall to decay and disappear even from memory, together with his own name; but the sanctity of the precinct could never pass, for its circular *limes* bespoke it holy ground, and others of the faithful would seek to be buried therein. If he left behind him a greater name for holiness and power, his place of burial became a *focus religionis* of a special kind, a place of pilgrimage: the oratory within which he had made his orisons, and the altar beneath which he was finally buried, would be carefully preserved from decay, repaired, re-built, perhaps enlarged, to continue through the centuries as his visible memorial. Thus says Marianus Scotus, himself an Irishman, as his name declares:

> In the year 1043 died Amnuchadh the Irishman, an anchorite in the monastery at Fulda . . . . . For ten years have I stood upon the spot where he lies, above the feet of him, and daily said the mass.[3]

[1] Proof that this was so in Wales, Scotland, and England will appear later. It was the rule wherever the Celtic type of Christianity went, and was one of the radical differences between that and its Roman rival. Champneys has an appendix upon the matter, *Early Irish Arch.* p. 230. This much of truth is to be found in S. O. Addy's *Church and Manor*, where is collected a mass of evidence, that *wherever Celtism penetrated* the identity of church with dwelling-place persisted stubbornly.

[2] 'It was the rule for the anchorite to be buried in his cell' (Stokes, *Ireland and the Celtic Church*, p. 180).

[3] Colgan, *Acta Sanctorum*, p. 205.

Marianus was therefore immured within the same chamber or cell in which had lived and died his predecessor Amnuchadh, and the latter was buried within the cell wherein he had died, his head beneath the altar, so that anyone standing there to officiate after him must literally stand 'above the feet of him.' Here is the Celtic oratory surviving complete at Fulda, Hesse-Nassau, in the eleventh century.

Two miles from St. Patrick's church of Saul (Sabhall), co. Down, at Raholp, are the ruins of the 'church' of St. Tassach. It is the usual rude rectangular building, 28 ft. by 16 ft. 8 ins. interior measure, built of unhewn stone set in clay without mortar; and it still has the characteristic single east light. Before it was 'improved' it had also a single west doorway. Its only furniture is the altar at the east end, and under this is the saint's grave, so placed that the dead man's head and shoulders lie actually beneath the altar, his feet beneath the pavement before it.[1]

Precisely similar was the arrangement found when in 1835 the shifting of the sands revealed the long-lost oratory of St. Perran (Kieran) in Cornwall, save that here there were beneath the altar three graves of three several recluses who had here made their homes.

What befell the prime founder might equally befall any of the disciples whom he gathered about him: these too would die and find burial where they had prayed, and over the grave of any one of them might arise another 'church'; for it appears from Bede's account of Ethelburga's Scotic monastery of Barking (*c.* 676) that the inmates of such monasteries were up to that date at liberty to choose their own places of burial anywhere within the *limes*, and only later arose the practice of reserving a definite part of the area for use as a cemetery.[2] This fact may be the sufficient explanation of the occurrence of several 'churches' within one precinct, as at Inis-

[1] *Journal R.S.A.I.* (6th ser. vol. vi), 1916. St. Tassach was traditionally one of the three chief artificers of St. Patrick, a maker of bells and shrines. The large dimensions of his church prove that this is not the original building of the fifth century.

[2] *H.E.* iv, 7, § 275. So with St. Fechin's foundation (664) in Ardoilean, off the coast of Connemara: 'Within the enclosure,' which has a mean diameter of 108 ft. only, 'there are a number of stone crosses and flags sculptured with memorial crosses, probably sepulchral monuments' (Anderson, *Scotland in Early Christian Times*, p. 86).

murray, Skellig Michael, and Clonmacnois, where there are ten. This is at any rate a more satisfying view than the suggestion that such multiple churches arose at a date when the builders were still unable to erect any single edifice of an assumed sufficient capacity. If, as there is good reason to believe, the buildings in question are of genuinely ancient foundation, they belong to an age which had not yet attained to the conception of a single collective structural place of worship.

In some cases, however, the saint was buried outside the oratory, as was St. Manachan at Teampulmanachan, Dingle, under 'a mound of a size fit for the burial of a giant,' at its head his ogam-stone bearing crosses on the east and west faces. In this case the grave is a barrow pure and simple. Welsh saints, as will be seen, usually hoped to be buried in the centre of their *llan*; and St. Cuthbert dug his own grave outside his oratory at Farne and apparently at the centre of the precinct.[1]

What is the reason for this peculiar predilection for building 'churches'—nothing is said of other kinds of buildings—in timber rather than in stone[2]? So far as is known, the pagan Celt availed himself eagerly of stone in preference to wood wherever he could; and there is no doubt whatever that he made it a rule to employ stone, if it were to be obtained, for all his *religious* constructions. Is this possibly the sufficient reason why early Christianity expressly discountenanced the use of that material[3]? Certain facts seem to point in this direction, and assuredly there must have been some very forceful reason at work to prevent the use of the one material which lay ready to hand throughout the major part of the Celtic areas, in which conversely there is, and apparently always was, frequently a notable absence of timber.

Mention was made above (ch. xvii) of the indubitable construction of a dolmen in the latter half of the sixth century. The dolmen was a stone-built sepulchral

[1] Below, ch. xxii.

[2] Williams (*Eccles. Antiqs. of Cymry*, p. 187) tried to answer the question by a reference to *Isaiah*, lx, 13, or alternatively opined that it was 'perhaps the result of temporal circumstances.'

[3] Does a similar feeling explain the gradual disappearance of cist-burial and the substitution of firstly uncoffined burial, and thereafter burial in wooden coffins? In the same way the earliest graveyard crosses were made, not of stone, but of wood (below, ch. xxiii), at any rate in Saxon England.

chamber, and in Ireland at any rate it was commonly the central feature of a sepulchral *limes*. It was the scene of certain recurring acts of ritual in the nature of funeral feasts. Was it possibly in a sense the forerunner of the structural Christian church? Was the attitude of Christianity in discountenancing the building of stone 'churches' prompted by its desire to prevent any too close association of the oratory with the dolmen?

A famous dolmen near L'Ancresse in Guernsey was explored in 1837, and some account of the results was published in *Archaeologia*.[1] The chamber, one of the largest known, measured internally 45 ft. long. The western end was 15 ft. wide, and the chamber narrowed somewhat towards the east. The height of the roof above the original floor was 8 feet, and the roof was formed of five immense cap-stones set transversely, dividing the whole into as many sections. Lukis was of opinion that the chamber had originally been much smaller, that the western end was the original portion, and that it had been enlarged from time to time by the addition of further side-posts and capstones towards the east.[2] The whole was

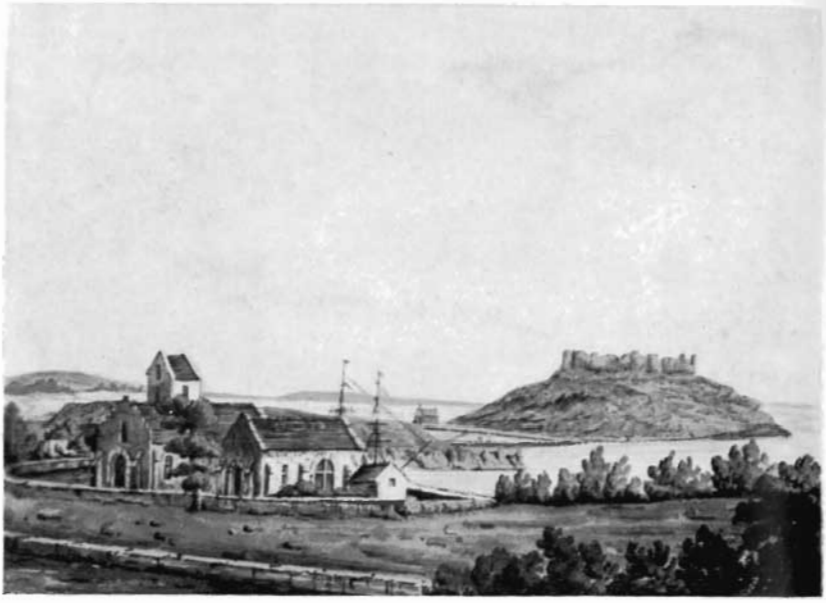
[1] Vol. xxxv. (1853), pp. 254 *sqq*. The writer was F. C. Lukis. An earlier account had appeared (vol. xvii, 245), which Lukis very rightly called most unsatisfactory. His own account, however, leaves much to be desired in the way of accurate detail, measurements, etc.

[2] He believed the same thing to have been done in the case of the great dolmen of Dehus, also in Guernsey. Upon the *under* side of one of the capstones of this dolmen has been detected (1916) an extremely rude carving of a human face, and Lukis mentions (*Archaeol.* xxxv) other cases where occur carved stones so placed as to leave no doubt that they had subsequently been utilised for building the dolmen. In other words, the dolmens are later than the carvings, at least in some cases. French archaeologists believe the carvings to be of the Bronze (S. Reinach) or even of the Neolithic age (Dechelette), but it is doubtful whether the evidence is sufficient. A much later carven block was found under the chancel-entrance of the church of Sainte-Marie du Castel in Guernsey in 1878. Yet another 'dolmen idol' stands to-day in the churchyard of St. Martin, Guernsey. It was found beneath the church, which is thought to occupy the site of a megalithic burial-chamber, and has a number of large boulders built into the lower part of its walls. These 'idols' cannot be compared with the gross phallic figures found in the fabric of the church of Old Llandrindod (p. 267) and elsewhere in Wales. The more elaborated examples found in south-east France are much less suggestive of idols than of memorial *cippi*. Those from Saint-Sernin in Aveyron, and from Les Maurels in Tarn, might well be rude effigies of priests in their robes, and those parts of the carving which are held to represent the legs of the idol are almost indubitably the pendant ends of stoles or girdles with their fringes. See Dechelette, *Manuel d'Archeologie*; S. Reinach, *La Sculture en Europe avant les influences Greco-Romaines*. Lieut-Col. T. W. M. de Guerin remarks (*Trans. Guernsey Soc. of Nat. Science*, 1919, p. 4) of the 'idol' of Sainte-Marie du Castel that it must have been 'an object of worship' so late as the sixth century, when Christianity was first introduced into Guernsey, for it was 'evidently' thrown down and buried at that date; but there is not the least reason to believe that it was thrown down until the church of Sainte-Marie was built, which would not be until many years later.

surrounded by the usual circular peristalith, shewing that it was a *locus consecratus*. The original floor was a rude pavement laid upon the natural surface, and in the soil which had accumulated over this were found human bones, coarse red and black urns, amulets and beads of stone and clay, and pins of bone. Over this stratum had subsequently been made a new floor, with ' many cart-loads of limpet-shells and a little yellow clay,' and in this again were found more bones and urns. The urns in all amounted to nearly 150. There was evidence that, in the process of making the second floor, many of those in the lower stratum had been disturbed, broken, or thrust aside into the interstices between the side-props of the dolmen. No metal whatever was found except ' a kind of armlet ' made of ' a highly decomposable alloy of copper,' and no other relic whatever except an annular bracelet fashioned from a single piece of jet—these two objects were found together—bones of fishes, oxen, goats and boars, and burnt granite querns. Two remarkable observations were made : in the first place, ' in no instance had the urns been used to contain the ashes of the dead ' ; and in the second place, whereas the human bones in the lower stratum had been sometimes inhumated, sometimes incinerated, those upon the second and later floor showed no trace of burning. Upon the older floor they were found curiously disposed : the unburnt bones lay in jumbled heaps at either end of the dolmen, while the burnt bones, arranged in similar heaps, lay in the middle ; each heap was made up of the bones of either sex and of all ages, and each heap was surrounded by a ring of round flat pebbles, the urns lying within these rings or near them.[1]

Lukis evidently believed the whole to be of immense antiquity, but upon what grounds except the general preconception of his times is not clear. It is plain that the dolmen had been used as a mausoleum, but at what date remains wholly problematical. Those who buried their dead in the second and later stratum had clearly

[1] In the same volume of *Archaeologia* (xxxv) are some notes of the same writer upon the exploration of an *allee couverte* in Alderney. Under the floor, along one side of the chamber only, was found a series of box-like cists made of thin slabs of stone. Each cist was about 1 ft. square, and contained a skull and various odd bones rudely thrown together. No pottery or trace of other relic was discoverable, though ' fragments of numerous urns lay in the primeval deposit around.'



NO. I. CIRCULAR CHURCHYARD OF ST. SAMPSON'S, GUERNSEY, IN 1814.
From a dated water-colour drawing signed 'John Varley.'

NO. 2. UNIDENTIFIED CIRCULAR CHURCHYARD.
By the same artist.

discarded the practice of cremation,[1] but they had seemingly discarded little else of the earlier ritual. They still deposited urns with the dead, and seemingly for symbolical reasons only. The substitution of inhumation for cremation might be due to the influence of Christianity, and the almost total absence of grave furniture might have the same explanation. The use of the same mausoleum for so many interments in common points in the same direction. The quern stones suggest that the chamber had once been occupied as a residence, as do the bones of animals, but it is definitely stated that no trace of charcoal was discoverable. Nevertheless it might be possible to make out a very good case for the thesis that this dolmen at L'Ancresse represents the transition from paganism to Christianity, from the pagan dolmen as a mere burial-vault to the Christian oratory, at once vault and *habitaculum* and *oratorium*.[2] The very name of it points in this direction, for *Ancresse* means a female anchorite.[3]

Lukis remarked the fact that to some dolmens have been added off-sets 'intended to afford additional room,' of which he found several examples in the Channel Islands, but he further observed that 'there are, not uncommonly, certain recesses of large size communicating freely with the cromlech' (i.e. dolmen), as in a case in the parish of St. Clement's, Jersey, several cases in Brittany, and at Wayland Smith's cave on the Berkshire hills near Wantage. Where these occur, the entrance from the main dolmen is, he said, uniformly barred by a sort of lintel in the shape

[1] Bertrand, *La Gaule avant les Gaulois* (1891), p. 128. He cites from Closmadeuc, *La Question des Dolmens*, two cases of undisturbed dolmens in Morbihan, one at Tumiac, where every corpse had been inhumated, the other at St. Michel of Carnac, where all had been cremated.

[2] The island was christianised from Brittany, by St. Sampson of Dol and St. Magloire, in the sixth century, but its material progress was small until the tenth century, when (962) monks from Mont-Saint-Michel founded the abbey of Vale. Of the various parish churches the oldest is said to date only from 1100. Up to that date the Christianity of the island must have been essentially Scotic. There is to-day small trace of the circular form in any of the churchyards, but a water-colour (purporting to be by John Varley) dated 1814 shews that such was then the form of the churchyard of St. Sampson (pl. II, no. 1). It is a curious fact that of the nine dolmens still remaining in the island, all the finest are in the parish of Vale. Lukis (*loc. cit.*) remarked that all have a surrounding circle of stones, and the diameter of the circle is in all cases the same, viz. 60 ft. As the presence of the stone-circles points to a purpose primarily sepulchral, so their uniform diameter suggests that all are the work of the same people, and therefore of much the same age.

[3] Local tradition confounds *ancresse* with *ancrage*, and says the place was so called as standing near what had once been a convenient anchorage or landing-place.

of a long transverse block of stone laid across the gorge, 'unless the division be otherwise evident.' As to the off-sets, there is no question that they were sepulchral, and that they were constructed that the dead therein laid might share something of the peculiar sanctity of the dolmen. The 'recesses' were, it would seem, likewise sepulchral, and their arrangement and disposition provide a curious analogy to the side-chapels and mortuary-chapels annexed to mediaeval churches,[1] and to those other features of an earlier time, of doubtful purpose, which are commonly spoken of as *exedrae* and were certainly used as burial-places.[2] Fergusson[3] believed the dolmens to have been rather chapels than tombs, and W. C. Borlase took the same view: they were, he says, 'no mere tombs intended to be closed for ever, but sacred shrines in which the spirits of the dead were worshipped, and which were constructed with the view of being accessible'[4] to the worshippers. The suggestion here advanced is one which brings into harmony all the various theories: it connects the dolmen with the sepulchral cist and the chambered barrow at the one end of time, at the other with the primitive Christian 'church.'[5] It provides a reasonable explanation for the puzzling evidence both of immense antiquity and of relative modernity which various dolmens afford,[6] accounts for the indisputable indications of a regular architectural development in the whole series, explains the close association of some of the number with undeniably Christian rites and cults, and—not its least merit—furnishes what has heretofore been wholly lacking, viz., something from which the structural church of stone may have taken its origin.

[1] cf. Gostling, *Bretons at Home* (1909), p. 223, on dolmens of cruciform plan foreshadowing the structural church, and on the use of dolmens as mortuary-chapels.

[2] Early canons prohibit burial within churches, 'except in the *porticus* and *exedrae*.' A very large number of Irish dolmens are placed east and west.

[3] *Rude Stone Monuments.*

[4] *Dolmens of Ireland*, p. viii.

[5] cf. for example that in Llanhamllech, known as *Ty Illtyd*, 'St. Illtyd's House.'

[6] The dolmens of N. Africa are to be counted by thousands, and yield relics in copper and in iron. Each dolmen is, in some districts, surrounded by its own stone circle, and was built to be free-standing. See Orsi in *Bulletino di Paletnologia Italiana*, xxiv. Sepulchral circles in the Deccan surround cists which are actually dolmens in miniature, constructed exactly as a child builds a house of cards, and contain implements of both copper and iron (*Hyderabad Journal of Archaeology*, 1916). There are some present-day archaeologists who are prepared to admit that British dolmens were the work of people who knew the use of metal, even of iron (W. J. Perry, *Manchester Memoirs*, 1920-1).

Near Plouaret in Côtes du Nord, mid-way between Guingamp and Morlaix, is a tumulus carrying a small church of the Seven Sleepers. The tumulus covers a spacious dolmen, which serves as crypt to the church: it contains an altar and a rude carving of the sleepers, and is lighted by a window pierced through the south wall of the chamber. Objects in stone and bronze have been found within the chamber; and *circa* 1702-4 was built the church above it. There are only two possible alternatives here: either the dolmen was pre-Christian or it was not. If it was pre-Christian, we have an incontrovertible case of the continuity of the *religio loci* in defiance of the changes of creed. If it was not pre-Christian, then this particular dolmen is very far from being prehistoric.

The case of Plouaret is by no means unique. The great tumulus of La Hougue Bie, mid-way between St. Heliers and Mont Orgueil in Jersey, covers a great dolmen and *allée couverte* measuring 70 ft. over all, and is itself crowned by the remains of a couple of chapels, the larger dating from the sixteenth century, the smaller possibly from the twelfth century. At Saint-Germain-sur-Vienne, five kilometres north of Confolens in Poitou, the uprights carrying the capstone (15 ft. by 12 ft.) of a fine dolmen have been replaced, apparently in the twelfth century, by pillars with bases, shafts and capitals complete, and about the whole was built a church to which the dolmen served as crypt. The church has disappeared, but there still remains an altar beneath the capstone. The church (tenth or eleventh century) of Cangas-de-Ones in Spain surmounts a cairn, within which is a circular dolmen approached by an *allée couverte*. The dolmen serves as crypt, and has yielded objects in stone and copper, which are of course set down as 'prehistoric.' A large dolmen half a league outside Poitiers was a place of pilgrimage until late in the middle ages.[1] In one of the Manx *keeills*

[1] An early print of it is reproduced in Bertrand, *La Gaule avant les Gaulois* (1891), p. 194. It is close to a great necropolis, which was apparently in unbroken use from pagan into Christian times. According to Jean Bouchet's *Ann. d'Aquitaine* (1535), p. 128, it was the scene of an ancient annual fair (*La Foire de la Pierre Levée*); which is consistent with what is known of the scene and origin of most ancient fairs, the Irish *aenachs* not excepted. From this association of dolmens with buying and selling probably arose their local name of *Tables des marchands*, as at Locmariaquer.

the later 'church' appears to incorporate part of a pre-existing dolmen (p. 180), and the church of Stainton, Pembrokeshire, stands above two dolmens (ch. xx). It is surely easier to believe that in such cases the dolmen was actually reared to be the grave-chamber of Christian dead, than to believe that Christianity had merely usurped the grave-chambers of pagans. Such usurpation could only be possible if Christianity was more powerful than we have reason to believe, the *religio loci* of a pagan's grave much less persistent and forceful than we know it was.

The most and the largest of Welsh examples are to be found at Dyffryn Golwch, 'Valley of worship,' within a few miles of the traditional earliest Christian settlements in that country at Llanilid, Llancarfan, and Llantwit Major. The dolmen at Marcross bears the name of Illtyd's House; another in Gower, the 'Stone of Cetti,' bears the name of the saint who was likewise the eponym of the parish of Kilgetty in Pembrokeshire.[1] So in Cornwall, the finest dolmens, e.g. Lanyon Quoit and Mulfra Quoit, stand in the immediate vicinity of such remains as those at Chysauster and Bosporthennis, which can hardly be of other than Christian age. In the Channel Islands it is the same: the finest of the monuments of Guernsey are grouped in the parish of Vale, which was also the first Christian settlement upon the island.

Of the dolmens known as Les Dehusets, in the parish of Castel in Guernsey, is told the significant legend that this 'was the site first chosen for the erection of the Castel church, but every night the fairies, or goblins, carried away all that had been built by day and deposited it on the spot where the church now stands.'[2] The tale plainly implies that the use of the dolmen as a place of worship continued far into Christian times.

The prevalent view that these monuments are the handiwork of a supposed race of 'dolmen-builders,' who

[1] Richard Fenton repeatedly remarked upon the constant association of dolmens or similar 'relics of druidical worship' with Christian antiquities (*Tour through Pembrokeshire*, pp. 19, 136, 356).

[2] De Guerin in *Trans. Guernsey Soc. Natural Science* for 1921, citing *Folk-lore*, pp. 220-221. A possible explanation of this and similar legends will be advanced later. The name of Les Dehusets or Les Tuzets, constantly applied to dolmens in the Channel Islands, is the Breton Duz or Duzik (the goblin that haunts dolmens), and both derive from the Gallic *Dusii* (*daemones quos dusios Galli nuncupant*), mentioned by Augustine (*De Civit. Dei*, iv, 23).

at some remote period made their way hither from the East by way of North Africa and the western shores of France, is based upon the single fact that along this line dolmens do occur, and frequently in immense numbers, whereas off this line they are unusual, or even unknown. Now the regions in which the dolmens are most numerous are Moab,[1] North Africa and Ireland, and it is curious that these three regions were also the scenes of most remarkable manifestations of early Christian zeal; while from North Africa, and necessarily by way of France, Christianity was carried into Ireland. Is it not possible that the dolmens were in many cases, perhaps even in most cases, the work of the earliest zealots? At any rate, while there is a considerable mass of evidence to connect the dolmen with Christianity, there is in reality very little to connect it with a very remote paganism.

Welsh legend asserts that Saint Brynach (fifth century), being refused hospitality at Cilymaenllwyd in Carmarthenshire, slept under a *maen llwyd*. The legend can refer only to a dolmen,[2] and points to the use of such things as habitations. One of the finest of the Welsh dolmens is to be seen in Anglesey at Bryn Celiddu, which may just as well mean 'Culdees' Hill' as 'Black Hazel Hill,' the usual translation. In the parish of Bryncroes ('Hill of Cross') near Pwllheli was a dolmen, and the adjoining farmhouse is called Mynachdy, 'Monk's House.'

Irish folk-lore avers that the dolmens are the 'beds' of two historical persons, Dermot and Graine: Graine, who was a daughter of Cormac MacAirt, being betrothed to Fin MacCoul, ran away with her lover Dermot (Diarmid O'Duibhne), with whom she was a fugitive for a year and a day,[3] and each night the pair built and slept in another dolmen. It is an odd coincidence that the 'churches' founded by St. Patrick, i.e. the traditional number of the traditionally earliest churches of Ireland, should also be as many as the days in the year.[4] Be it remembered also that, as the father of Graine had foresworn the faith

[1] C. R. Conder, *Heth and Moab* (1883). Merrill (*East of the Jordan*, p. 439) notices that they not seldom stand at commanding points on the line of Roman roads.

[2] There was a fine dolmen on Maen Hir farm in this parish (*Inventory Carmarthenshire*, no. 85), and there still remain others in the vicinity.

[3] Wakeman, *Handbook of Irish Antiquities*, p. 51.

[4] The tradition is at least as old as Nennius (§ 54).

of his fathers (above, p. 165), she was also herself possibly a convert to something resembling Christianity.

The cases in which two and three, or even four and five, dolmens are found grouped in one cluster may be compared with the familiar groups of multiple ' churches ' clustered within one Christian precinct.

The earliest Christian monastic settlement in Ireland outwardly presented nothing new. A cluster of *clochauns* within and about a circular *rath* or *cashel*—this is the precise appearance of the remains of St. Fechin's settlement on Ardoilean off the coast of Galway[1]—was in pre-Christian times a familiar sight all over Ireland, for this was also the exact appearance of the settlement where dwelt the Druid teacher with his retinue of disciples.[2] If it came into the mind of any Irish king to evict th Druid and his followers, and to hand over to some Christian missioner their settlement as it stood, there would be no outward sign to betray the change. The thing did happen, for Druidism was past praying for, whereas Christianity was a vigorous and assertive force. In literal truth, as Baring Gould puts it, ' Christianity crept into the empty shell of Druidism.'[3] This helps to explain the presence of so many churches within *raths* and *cashels*, and in closest association with the remains of the older faith, megaliths, holy wells, and famous cemeteries. Doubtless as the old faith waned and the new grew ever bolder, it would seek to plant itself in or near all spots particularly associated

[1] See Petrie, *Ancient Architecture of Ireland*, p. 424. The wall of the *casbel*, 'nearly circular,' has a mean diameter of 108 ft.

[2] The Druid might have his own *dun*. In the *Leabbar-na-h'Uidri* a Druid builds a *dun* and his wife whitens it with lime. Their white-washed cottages and farmsteads are to this day a distinctive feature of the Celtic areas of the British Isles and of France. ' They beheld an island . . . and a *dun* therein, with a high white wall about it, as if it were all one stone of chalk . . . and outside these were large houses all round the *dun*, of the colour of white snow.' And again, ' The woman who was wife of Nuadat was Almu. . . . The Druid (Nuadat) built a *dun* . . . and she rubbed her hands to its walls until it was all lime-white ' See O'Curry, i, cccviii: Baring Gould in *Arch. Cambr.* 5th ser. xvii, 274. So there were female Druids as well as male, an important fact as explaining the prominent place attaching *ab initio* to women in Celtic Christianity, e.g. St. Brigit, the particular friend of St. Patrick. An alleged canon of St. Patrick concerns the dress of the wives of priests, and the *Laws* of Howel Dda recognise them. Marriage of the clergy is one of the Celtic features which throughout the ages defied the Latin rule, and still distinguishes the Anglican from the Roman priesthood. See Willis Bund, *Celtic Church of Wales*, pp. 289 *sqq.* Clerical celibacy was enforced in Rome so early as 385.

[3] *Arch. Cambr.* 5th ser. xvii, 275; O'Curry, i, cccciii: cp. ibid, i, cccviii, where he remarks that the whole social system of pagan Ireland, centring in the *dun*, passed without change of constitution or of the law of succession into the new Christian system.

with paganism; but this would be a later development. For the moment, while its existence was precarious, it would be glad of a second-hand *rath* for protection.[1]

Later also would be the public display of the symbols of the new faith, the carven cross and the turret for the bell—the oldest Irish church architecture has no towers or steeples—for such things bespeak a time when at last

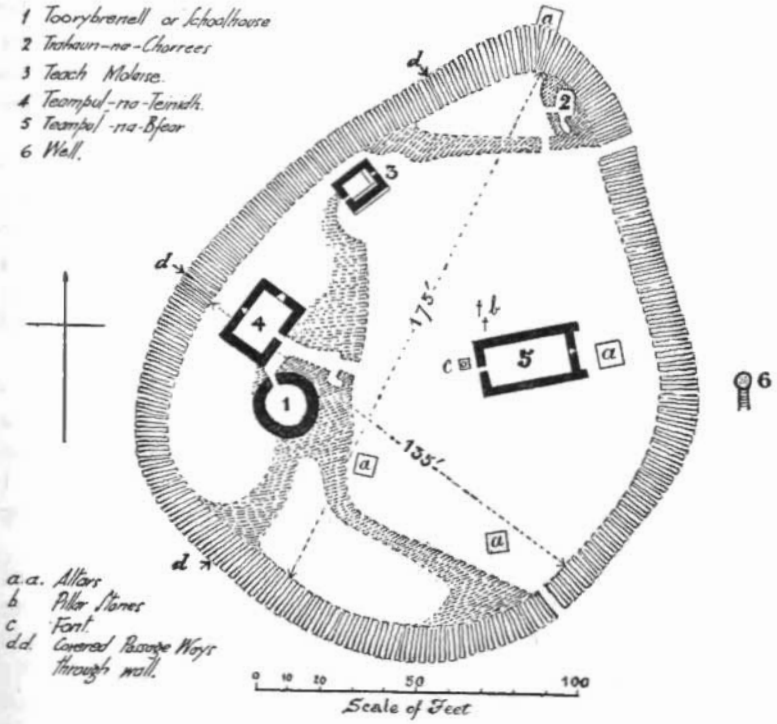


FIG. 5. PLAN OF THE CASHEL, INISMURRAY.

Christianity enjoyed a measure of security. Not until then would it venture to disturb the old monuments, and to carve Christian symbols on pagan gravestones. That it did not bodily cast down such mementos of paganism

[1] See Stokes, *Ireland and the Celtic Church*, ch. x, on the insecurity of life and church property in the eighth century.

and centres of unfaith, is proof that it was fain to walk warily.

Inismurray[1] is a rocky island in Donegal Bay, $4\frac{1}{2}$ miles from the coast. Its whole area is 209 acres. Its chief feature is the great *cashel*, in plan roughly heart-shaped, measuring actually 175 ft. by 135 ft.[2] The enclosing wall is of different dates. The older part is much thicker and of ruder construction, and shews on the inner face remains of the peculiar stairways, as of the diminutive gateways, which characterise the earliest Irish fortifications. The later portions are relatively feeble, and built of smaller stones. All are undressed and mortarless. Within this *enceinte* are the remains of one isolated *clochaun*, of another cell (*Trahan-na-Chorrees*) built within the mass of the north-east wall, and of three 'churches.' There are further two pillar-stones and three *al fresco* altars.[3] Outside the *cashel* to the north-west is the 'church of the women,' and south of this the 'sweat-house'; and round the whole island are distributed a number of *leachtas*, 'stations,' and other vestiges of long continued and ancient religious observance.

The *clochaun* (*Toorybrenell*, otherwise the 'school-house') is almost circular, with a diameter of 13 ft. and a height of 14 ft. (internal measurements). It is a true 'bee-hive,' built of undressed stones without mortar, and Wakeman was emphatically of opinion that it is older than any of the so-called churches.[4]

The other cell (*Trahan-na-Chorrees*, 'the place of prayer'), much ruinated, is apparently of equal age. The floor is sunk after the fashion of a pit-dwelling.[5] It was of oval plan, and appears to have had two chambers, the larger measuring only 7 ft. from end to end.[6] Tradition declares that here the monks assembled for vespers, but in view of its small proportions, as Wakeman remarks, 'it is difficult to conceive how they could have sung, at least

[1] See for all details, Wakeman, *Survey of Inismurray*.

[2] The area is approximately two-thirds of an acre.

[3] A fourth altar has been removed and 'rebuilt' on the external face of the north corner of the *casbel*.

[4] Externally it 'presents . . . much the appearance of a sepulchral mound or cairn' (*Survey*, p. 29)

[5] Like that of the 'hermitage' at Teampull Benain, Isle of Aran, and that of St Cuthbert's oratory in Farne.

[6] St. Patrick's standard measure for the oratory.

with any effect, in so small a place'; and he suggests that vespers were usually sung outside it, where there is a small level expanse of grass, the *trahan* serving for shelter in very severe weather.

All the 'churches' are built with mortar and cement, and most of the stones have been rudely dressed. That called *Teach Molaise*, 'St. Molaise's House,' measures internally 8 ft. 10½ ins. by 7 ft. 10 ins. The 'Church of the Fire' (*Teampull-na-Teinidh*) measures 17 ft. 4 ins. by 11 ft. 4 ins. The largest of all, 'The Men's Church' (*Teampull-na-Bfear*), otherwise 'The Monastery,' is as much as 25½ by 12 ft. All these have perpendicular walls.

'Molaise's House' has a stone roof, which is in part a reconstruction. The single east window is built with sloping jambs, its round head carved out of a single stone. The doorway (4 ft. 7 ins. high, and 1 ft. 9 ins. wide) has perpendicular jambs, and is presumably a reconstruction. The building contains an altar of uncemented stones, and a narrow bench of similar construction runs the length of the south wall both inside and out.

The 'Church of the Men' is a plain oblong room, with east light and west doorway. The roof (now gone) was not of stone. Window and door are seemingly original, but that the building is of later date than the *Teach Molaise* is shewn by the prolongation of the north and south walls to form *antae* at the east end.

The *Teampull-na-Teinidh* Wakeman pronounces to be the most modern of the three, 'not older than the fourteenth century—it may be even considerably later; but that it stands on the site of an earlier structure is extremely probable.' Within it is the hearth above described (p. 170).

The much re-modelled *Teampull-na-Mban* or 'Church of the Women,' outside the *cashel*, is a few feet larger than the last-named, measuring 28 ft. by 13 ft. Wakeman unhesitatingly attributes it to the later fourteenth or early fifteenth century, while allowing that parts of its walls must be referred to a very early age.

The 'sweat-house,' like the *clochaun*, is a stone-roofed mortarless structure, 5½ ft. by 4 ft. 2 ins. internally, and

about 5 ft. high. Its only feature is the entrance, a mere hole 2 ft. square, the jambs slightly sloping.[1]

This group of buildings at Inismurray is universally cited as typical of the oldest Irish monastic settlements. It is certain that it represents the activities of many centuries, and Wakeman may very well be right in thinking that the *cashel*, and possibly the *clochauns* also, are pre-Christian.

It is at the same time clear that not one of the so-called churches is an original building. Only the *Teach Molaise* has even a possible claim to the immense antiquity generally attributed to such Irish buildings, and even this has been altered or re-constructed, perhaps more than once. This must be so if the record of the *Annals* speaks truth, and Inismurray was really 'burnt[2] by the Danes' in 802. On the other hand there is no reason to doubt that St. Molaise settled here in the early half of the sixth century (520-540), and that he was associated with St. Columba and St. Odhrain, the latter's disciple.[3] Two of the 'stations' on the island still bear the names of these saints.

Is it permissible to suggest that this was in fact a druidical foundation which Christianity usurped? It has been seen[4] that such settlements were in no wise dissimilar; Druidism had a fondness for the seclusion of islands[5]; and the singular hearth in the *Teampull-na-Teinidh*, with the traditions thereto attaching, points in the same direction. Some early saint may well have come hither, finding the place deserted and partly ruinated.[6] On the

[1] For the use of these substitutes for Turkish baths by the Irish until quite recent times, see appendix to Wakeman's *Survey*. He quotes Prof. H. Hennessy for the statement that the latter had seen at Prague and Nuremberg in 1879 baths designated 'Romische-Irische Bader.' This would seem to be an obvious survival of the influence of Celtic missionaries in the Danube lands, though Champneys pronounces it unlikely. The 'sweat-house' is a national institution in rural Russia still, but is never called by a name suggesting an Irish origin.

[2] In the same year they burnt the monastery of Iona. We know that that monastery's buildings were of wood for more than a century after Columba's time. We know that its church was of timber as late as the eleventh century. The probability is that the same was the case at Inismurray, and that the alleged burning of the monastery is the literal truth. If so there can be little on the site, the *cashel* and 'stations' excepted, which is older than 802.

[3] The island was known as Inis-muiredaich even in St. Molaise's time, which may mean that Molaise was not the first Christian to make it his home; for there was, it is said, a Muiredach, bishop of Killala, in St. Patrick's time But the name was a common one, and the Muiredach here concerned may have been the builder of the *cashel* and a pagan, whether pirate king or Druid.

[4] See the quotation cited above, p. 200, n. 2.

[5] cp. the case of the Isle of the Priestesses (Sena), above, ch. xii.

[6] Would any secular chief have selected for his *casbel* a site so barren, so straitened, and so often and so long cut off from the mainland by the weather? There is but one practicable landing-place on the island, and weeks may go by when this is unapproachable.

spot where now is 'St. Molaise's House' he may have reared the building which was at once his dwelling and his oratory. The very name of it, not less than the details of the building—its tiny size, and particularly the stone bench within, which is still called 'St. Molaise's Bed,' and the corresponding *stoep* without—all bespeak it originally a man's dwelling-place, and are doubtless original features preserved when the edifice was re-built with mortar and dressed stones. As time went on the place became a considerable settlement as such things went, and of very special sanctity, but perforce it was always on but a small scale. The Danes may have found 'holy books and bells and pastoral staves' here; they can have found but little else to plunder. And when the Dane was no longer an enemy the narrow limits of the island, with barely 130 acres of cultivable soil, must have prevented its ever becoming a rich or populous community. The altars, it is to be noticed, are for the most part in the open air, and the ambition of the monastery, even as late as the fourteenth century, did not rise to anything in the way of a church bigger than the *Teampull-na-Bfear*. The name of this building and of the *Teampull-na-Mban*, in conjunction with the cross-wall which divides the *cashel* into two portions, suggests that, like so many other early Celtic monasteries, this may at one period have been double, i.e. of both sexes.

All things considered, it is impossible not to doubt the reality, or at any rate the traditional details, of the 365 'churches' alleged to have been built by St. Patrick at least three-quarters of a century before St. Molaise's time. It is more than likely that when the *Life of St. Patrick* came to be written, there were 365 buildings which laid claim to be of his foundation, for one or both of two sufficient reasons: in the first place experience had taught the clerics of that age that there was great profit to be got of any connexion, whether real or fictitious, with St. Patrick; and in the second place, the Latin rule not recognising a church as such unless it had been consecrated by a bishop, a very great number of oratories would, in default of other proof of their episcopal consecration, be claimed as buildings of St. Patrick's own foundation, such a claim having the further recommendation that there was little or no possibility of refuting it.

There is in fact little ground for the popular view that the tiny 'churches' of Ireland, and their congeners of Scotland, actually go back to the dawn of Scotic Christianity. All authority declares that the earliest churches of Ireland were of materials other than stone, and if that was so, all trace of those original buildings must have vanished long ago, even had there been nothing in the way of human outrage to expedite their destruction. In Ireland such outrage was the rule: the liberty to plunder and burn churches, to murder priests and laymen indifferently, was an important part of the divine right of Irish kings. Cormac of Munster, himself not only a king but an abbat, if not also a bishop, did not scruple twice to sack Clonmacnois, and to burn the archbishop of Armagh out of his church[1]; and when no danger threatened in that kind, the clergy, monks and bishops alike, levied formal war one upon another.[2] What the native spared the foreigner despoiled: Inismurray was looted in 802, and the even more inaccessible monastery of Skellig Michael in 823. Moreover Ireland had learnt nothing of the Roman art of building with cement and mortar; and if the Roman tradition failed, as it did fail, to perpetuate itself in Wales, where the earlier Roman Christianity was never wholly lost, there could be no chance of its making good in the sister isle. But a building of undressed dry stone, however carefully constructed, could not in such a climate survive for many centuries the stress of weather. On the other hand the primitive native fashion of building continued to be followed without interruption, as it is to this day.[3] That the Irish did such brilliant things in illumination, in literature, in science and in missionary zeal, as early as the seventh and eighth centuries, is no proof that they did the like in architecture; and if the Christianity of the fourteenth century was content with a building so small and rude as for example

[1] Stokes, *Ireland and the Celtic Church*, p. 199 *sqq*.

[2] ibid. p. 109-110.

[3] Petrie was at first prepared to claim a fifth-century date for cemented buildings; more recent authorities doubtfully put them as far back as the ninth century. The oratory of Gallarus shews a vast advance on those of Inismurray, but this is no proof that the latter are really older; for one has to reckon with conservatism of style, traditional reverence for a primitive model, and local inequalities of culture. The most reasonable view is that which admits the immense antiquity of the sanctity of the spot, but gravely doubts that of the particular building upon it.

the *Teampull-na-Mban* at Inismurray, all allowance made for conservatism and sentiment, what must have been its capacity some seven centuries earlier? It is a plain fact that Ireland has never, from that day to this, distinguished itself in the matter of architecture, and the same is true of the Celt in general. The most that can be conceded is that remains like those of Inismurray and Skellig Michael probably preserve to some extent the plan and arrangement of the very earliest Christian constructions; but that for example the oratory of St. Gallarus[1] at Kilmalkedar is a veritable specimen of the building of the sixth century cannot be proved and is very unlikely. At the most it may stand upon the spot where had stood a sixth-century building. More accordant with the probabilities is the cautious attitude of Dr. Joseph Anderson, when speaking of those Scottish examples which are admittedly modelled upon the Irish plan, and are usually regarded as of the same date. 'It must be borne in mind,' he writes,[2] 'that the antiquity of the type is one thing, and the antiquity of the specimen is a totally different thing.' The type may well be as old as that of any Irish Christian building in stone, and very probably is so; the various specimens of the type may be of any age from that to the Reformation, and the probabilities are all against their dating from the *terminus a quo*. The *clochaun*, as has been said, has not ceased to be built even to-day. There is documentary evidence that in some cases the Christian settlement, as late as 1162, was exactly as we imagine it in the fifth century.[3] There is similar evidence that St. Gormgall was living in 1017, with a few other 'holy men,' precisely the same life on Ardoilean, Connemara, as other saints had lived there in the days when that settlement was first founded by St. Fechin, abbot of Fore, in 664.[4] As was the life, so we may suppose to have been much of the environment of these Celtic Christians; the one would

[1] Cited by Romilly Allen (*Mont. Hist.* p. 59) as the best example of the class of isolated (non-monastic) buildings 'without cells or enclosing walls.' The fact that the building has no defensive wall is proof that it belongs to a later time, when such walls were no longer essential to safety, while the style of the architecture proves the same thing. Indeed the same writer cites it as an example of a great advance upon e.g. Skellig Michael (p. 59). Whether it be as old as he suggests—'perhaps a thousand years,' is still doubtful.

[2] *Scotland in Early Christian Times*, p. 101.

[3] Above, p. 175.

[4] Anderson, op. cit. p. 86, note.

change as little as the other, and a rigid conservatism, abetted by the national unprogressiveness, would rebuild the old cells and oratories and *cashels* in precisely the original way from century to century.[1] Even the names of the saints which attach to such buildings are of little value in fixing their dates : 'the date of foundation,' wrote James Parker, 'only proves that there was nothing earlier than that date, and says nothing as to the date of the existing fabric, which may have been rebuilt half a dozen times.'[2] It is doubtful whether there exists in any of our islands an ecclesiastical building which preserves intact its appearance as it was 1000 years ago.

The word 'church' has for long centuries carried with it certain suggestions of fashion and dignity which conceal the truth. It led Bede in the eighth century to speak as if England had had 'churches' in numbers long before his own time ; it leads modern writers to commit the same anachronism with regard to Christendom in general. The first Christianity of Ireland had no structural churches because it had no use for them. A church as we understand it is a building in which a congregation meets for worship. In its earliest form in Western Christendom it was the common oratory in which met the members of a monastic community. But we have evidence that for many years before such a community thought of erecting a common oratory, its members had each his own ; indeed in the first instance each *clochaun* was also an oratory. The feeling that God is more greatly glorified in a magnificent church is a later sentiment of Latin origin, directly opposed to the Celtic instinct that a tiny cell of the very barest kind was more consistent with a proper humility of mind in the devotee. Holy Writ bids one retire to one's closet to be alone with God ; it says nothing at all about churches as we understand them. Therefore those early Christians who founded their practice rather upon Holy Writ than upon Latin tradition, saw no need to build great churches. At first, as St. Patrick's rule declares, the oratory—it measured 7 ft. only—was the least conspicuous thing in the

[1] See the case summarised in Champneys, *Irish Eccles. Arch.* ch. iii, with quotations from Sir J. Y. Simpson, Miss Stokes and Rolt Brash.

[2] *Gent.'s Mag.* 1864, p. 6.

monastery. The 'great house,' or refectory, was fifteen times as big, and the community evidently met for meat, but not for prayer. Even the provision of a *separate* oratory of whatever size was an advance upon the older way, in which *clochaun* and oratory were identical; and this older way persisted as long as there were recluses like St. Cuthbert.[1] It is quite possible that no church—not even a monastic church—was built until the eighth century.[2] Of the three rectangular buildings on Skellig Michael—two 'oratories' and one 'church'—the latter only is big enough to accommodate the whole of the small community, apparently only six monks, and 'by its technique' this building 'is proved to be of a later date.' Such was certainly the case in England,[3] and while there is no reason why things should have moved more rapidly in Ireland, there are many reasons for supposing that they moved much more slowly. In view of the anarchic savagery of the country it is inconceivable that Christianity in the early centuries should have courted attack by erecting spacious and elaborate churches and filling these with valuables, when congregations other than monastic there were none, and paganism was yet a virile adversary. It is more than doubtful whether the Irish of those times could under any circumstances have raised a building such as that which legend alleges St. Patrick to have raised at Donoughmore, 60 ft. in length,[4] and it is idle to cite in support of the legend the supposed foundations of the royal palace-buildings at Tara.[5] We do not know to what date those foundations belong, and Patrick was not secular monarch of All Ireland with a whole nation to obey his behests. The *Annals of Ulster* mention the burning of 260 persons in a *wooden* church in 849, but it would require a very small building to hold 260 persons when taking refuge from danger therein, and at a date when there was no seating to cumber the space.[6] The building

[1] See below, ch. xxii: cp. Wilde, *Lough Corrib*, p. 107: 'the domestic *cloughaun* and the wattled hut furnished the types from whence the stone oratory or monastic cell and the wooden *duirtheach* were derived—partly church and partly dwelling-house for the officiating cleric.'

[2] Baldwin Brown, *Arts*, i, p. 197.

[3] See on Abingdon monastery, ch. xxiii.

[4] See above, ch. xvi, p. 174.

[5] Stokes, *Ireland and the Celtic Church*, p. 70. The banqueting hall is said to have been 759 ft. long and 90 ft. wide. The site is said to have been abandoned in 583. No one thinks of citing as historical evidence the descriptions of royal palaces in the *Mabinogion* and the *Mort d'Arthur*.

[6] The 'Black Hole' of Calcutta, in which

of churches of wood certainly continued till the twelfth century.[1] The earliest stone church for which Champneys[2] can find 'definite authentic mention,' is one at Armagh in 789. It is said however that there exists a record that 'in 787 died Cronan of the stone church of Ferns.'[3] The language shows that at that date a church of stone was still something very much out of the common.[4] The first Christians of Ireland were content with the lowliest huts only. Far more important in their eyes was the holy ground, ground that was sanctified by the burial of one of the *fideles*—his barrow. It was necessarily circular, for such was the *mos gentilium*, whether it were merely a mound or one or other form of ring-barrow. This was the *kil*, 'grave(yard),' and on it or within it was built the tiny hut-oratory of a solitary, or the clustered huts of several devotees who formed a community. Very literally they 'dwelt amongst the tombs.' It is significant that many of the reputed oldest of such buildings in Ireland are called, not churches, but 'houses,' e.g. Teach Molaise, at Inismurray, and 'St. Flannan's House,' attached to the north side of the cathedral at Killaloe, co. Clare.[5] Similarly in the Scottish Isles we have Tigh Beannachadh, 'The Blessed House,'[6] on Gallon Head, Isle of Lewes.

If fortune willed it the spot grew in veneration and acquired a specific name. It might be called the *kil* of him who was first buried there, or the *kil* of the recluse who had made the spot his abiding-place. And if fortune still favoured, his original hut—of turves, or wattle, or timber—would be rebuilt in dry stone, still later perhaps with mortar, would become in fact a 'church.' But the name remained. *Kil* it was in the beginning, and *kil* it is still in hundreds of cases; and even when foreign

were packed 146 people, measured only 18 ft. square; yet anyone reading that no less than 146 people were assembled in one room, would naturally envisage a very handsome apartment. A church 34 ft. long and 17 ft. wide would hold 260 persons more comfortably than the 'Black Hole' held 146.

[1] *Vita S. Malachiae*, vi, 14.

[2] *Irish Eccles. Arch.* p. 36.

[3] Grattan Flood, *Hist Dioc. of Ferns* (Waterford, 1916). This diocese was founded in 598.

[4] Skene (*Celtic Scotland*, ii, 291) suggests that the new fashion of building in stone rather than in wood was due to the peril of 'the firebrand of the Danes.'

[5] 'It is impossible to say whether this building was a church or a dwelling-house; if tradition be right it was a house' (Addy, *Church and Manor*, p. 64; Petrie, *Eccles. Arch. Ireland*, p. 121).

[6] Anderson, *Scotland in Early Christ. Times*, p. 120. Champneys (*Irish Eccles. Architecture*, p. 230) has an appendix on the 'Intermixture of church and dwelling.'

influence for a time introduced some other term—the Saxon 'church,' for example, in co. Down—the old name has almost always re-asserted itself to-day.[1] But that later generations, familiar with churches as we understand them, should have applied that term to these tiny oratories, however natural it may be, is very unfortunate.

The usual Irish word for the structural church is *Teampull*[2] (Latin *templum*). *Domhnach*[3] (Latin *dominica*), sometimes corrupted into *Donough*, is not uncommon. *Daimleac*, 'church of stone,' is also used. *Baslic* (Latin *basilica*) is found occasionally.[4] The word *eaglais* (*ecclesia*) is uncommon, in place-names particularly, and is only occasionally used of the structural church.[5] The Welsh *llan*, Cornish *lan*, is quite exceptional, e.g. Lanronan in Down, and Lambeg, 'the little *llan*,' in Antrim and Down. Excepting in names of obvious Norse or English importation, *kirk* and *church* are never found; *kirk*, as would be expected, belongs entirely to the north-east.[6]

In the traditional view the word *kil*, ubiquitous in Ireland[7] and common in Wales and Scotland, is borrowed from the Latin *cella* in the sense of a 'church.' Yet it does not appear that the word *kil* is ever applied to the structural church, nor does Ducange give any instance

[1] Temple Fion, ('white church') was 'White Kirk' in 1437. Kilclief, a present-day parish (Cill Cleithe 1001, Cill Cleath 1034), was Kirkcleth in *Valor Eccles*. In Harris's *County Down* (1744) appear also Kirkiel, Kerkstown (Kerkistown), and Kirkcassock, all absent from the *Gazetteer*. The modern Cardonell was formerly Kirkdonell (ibid. p. 73). Yet the Saxon word has occasionally made good on spots of ancient sanctity. Thus Church Island in Lough Currane, Waterville, was founded by St. Finan the Leper, in the sixth century; and Churchfield, a townland in Culfeightrin, co. Down, was anciently Magheratemple (Reeves, *Eccles. Antiqs. Down*, p. 282).

[2] This forms the first element in about ninety town-land names and fifty parish names of Ireland.

[3] Monkish writers assert that this denotes a church founded by St. Patrick upon the *Dies dominicalis* (Sunday). It is in reality a corruption of *dominica* 'the Lord's House,' and belongs to a time when Latin Christianity had prevailed and everything possible was done to bring the Irish into conformity with the Roman *regula*. From this last word was even coined another Irish term, *regles*, meaning a church built according to the Roman rule (*regula*). The very existence of this name implies that the majority of Irish churches were *not* in accordance with the Roman rule.

[4] It survives in the name of Baslick, Barony of Castlereagh, co. Roscommon, which is mentioned in *Annals of Ulster* as Baslec (763) and Baislic (845).

[5] It is 'usually applied to the body of church members,' says Ian Hannah in *Arch. Journal*, lxxii (1915), p. 91.

[6] Westropp (*Journ. R.S.A.I.* vol. xlvii, p. 4) mentions near Killone, co. Clare, a *cathair* named Cahir-na-kirka, which he explains to mean either 'Fort of the Grouse' (cf. the Irish Coolkirky), or 'Fort of Oats.' In the Irish part of Ireland there is no discoverable trace of the *kirk*-word in any form.

[7] P. W. Joyce notes 3,400 place-names in Ireland commencing with this word.

of *cella* used in the sense of 'church.'[1] *Kil* is apparently as Irish as anything in Ireland.[2]

Kil appears in Welsh as *cil*, in Cornish and Breton as *kil*, in Gaelic as *cul*, *cil*, *kil*, *cell*.[3] It comes from a root signifying 'concealment,' which appears in all the important Indo-Germanic languages, e.g. Greek καλύπτω (hide), κλέπτω (steal); Latin *celo*, *occulo* (hide), *clam* (secretly); German *hüllen* (hide); Anglo-Saxon *helan* (hide); Icelandic *hel* (death); modern English 'hell.'[4] In Irish it gives *celim* (I conceal), *celgg* (deceit), and also *ceal*, *cel*, with inflexions *cill*, *cille*, meaning 'death,' or 'grave,' i.e. the place where the dead are hidden.[5] The Gaelic *kil* also meant a 'grave': a parish and village in Perthshire bear the name of Killin (for Kil Fin), and 'a spot near the village . . . has from time immemorial been pointed out as the grave of Fingal. This was once the site of the church and also of the churchyard.'[6] In Galloway

[1] 'The earliest sense of the word seems to be that of a monastery or nunnery, generally of small size, dependent on some larger house' (*N.E.D. s.v.* CELL).

[2] So Rolt Brash (*Ogbamic Monuments of the Gaedbil*, p. 91), citing the admission of Dr. Ledwich 'that *kill* was a native term and signified grave.'

[3] To be distinguished in all Celtic languages from another word, frequently identical in form, signifying a 'wood,' Irish *coille*, Welsh *coil*.

[4] Chaucer, *Parson's Tale*, § 10: 'the cause why that Job clepeth Helle "the lond of derknesse," understandeth that he clepeth it . . . *dirk*, for he that is in helle hath defaute of light material, . . . covered with the derknesse of deeth.' Bosworth quotes passages where A.-S. *hell* = *sepulcrum*. In *A.V.* the Hebr. *Sheol* is translated 31 times by 'hell,' 31 times by 'grave' (*N.E.D*). In Lincolnshire and Derbyshire to 'hell' a stack or a house means to roof it; in Cornwall roofing slates are called 'helling'; in the Midlands 'helling' means a coverlet; and in Sussex a building covered with Horsham slates is said to be 'stone-heeled': cf. to 'heel up' potatoes, i.e. to cover them with additional soil (Lincs.).

[5] Kuno Meyer, *Contributions to Irish Lexicography*. See also Borlase, *Dolmens of Ireland*, pp. 787, *foll.*; *Ulster Journal Archaeol.* vi (1900), pp. 128-132. Mackay (*Gaelic Etymol. of the English Language*, London, 1877) hazarded another explanation: '*Ceil*,' a cell, church, now written *kil*. These churches were so called from being covered over, unlike the druidical circles, which were open to the sky.' It is rather curious that the English 'cell' should have reverted occasionally to the same meaning as *kil*; e.g.

> 'each in his narrow cell for ever laid,
> the rude forefathers of the hamlet sleep.'
> (Gray's *Elegy*.)

This usage probably comes direct from the Latin *cella*, but *cella*, excepting that it comes from the same Indo-Germanic root—a truth which Rolt Brash (*op. cit.*) definitely asserted—has nothing to do with *kil*. Borlase (*Dolmens of Ireland*, p. 768) says that 'there are some reasons for thinking that . . . *kil*, independently altogether of the Latin loan-word, may once have been applied to dolmens and cists,' as also (ibid. p. 791) to circles of standing stones. 'The Irish *cille* was not the monastic site, nor was it the dwelling of the founder. It was synonymous with the . . . burial-place of the saint. Not however of saints alone.' O'Donovan, in *Trans. Ossianic Soc.*, says, 'there are numerous *cills* or places of burial which were never dedicated to Christian purposes at all' (ibid. p. 787). 'We may infer . . . that the primitive idea of the Irish *cille* was inseparably connected with that of sepulture' (ibid. p. 789). 'In the popular language,' wrote Father Smiddy (*Essay on the Druids*, p. 175), '*Cill* means a grave-yard.'

[6] Mackinlay *Pre-Reform. Church*, p. 80. The actual site of the so-called 'Grave of Fingal' is marked by a large stone.

kill seems to have meant any small place of shelter.[1] The Welsh *cil haul* means 'a place of hiding from the sun,' *cil golwchwyd* 'a place of retreat for worship.' In one form or other *kil* attaches almost universally to the old burial-places—the circular and oval *kils* and *killeens*—of Ireland, of which the number is so great as to have given names to no fewer than 3,000 town-lands.[2] Many of these are qualified in a fashion that suggests nothing Christian, e.g. Kilnamuck and Kilmacat.[3] If we do not find them named after the great figures of pagan Irish story, it is perhaps because they were less often the burial-places of illustrious individuals than of the unconsidered rank and file. But possibly for that very reason the word *kil* has outlived all later names for a burial-place.

As the evidence shews, Christianity in Ireland made good by fastening upon the native reverence for the dead. Its first step was always to consecrate a burial-place, and this would naturally in many cases bear the name of him who made it. Hence perhaps some of the multitude of Kilpatricks, Kilbrides, and Kilcolmans.

Kil, says O'Brien,[4] 'doth not properly mean a cell.' It does not; it meant the burial-place only. In hundreds of existing *kils* and *killeens* there is no discoverable trace of any cell or other building whatever. The name Kildomnach[5] signifies merely the 'graveyard with the church,' in contradistinction from the vast number of *killeens* which had no building at all.

Christianity set an entirely new fashion in erecting buildings which were also dwelling-places of living men upon the spot where lay the faithful dead. The building

[1] D. McRitchie (*Anc. and Mod. Britons*, II, p. 5), citing the word from the *Gallovidian Encyclopaedia*, glosses it 'an out-house.'

[2] *Ulster Journ. Archaeol.* loc. cit.

[3] Respectively 'Pig's *Kil*' and 'Cat's *Kil*.' More famous are Kildare and Killarney, respectively the '*kil* of the Oak' (a sacred oak tree of St. Bridget) and '*kil* of the Sloes': cp. on the sacred fire at Kildare, above p. 170. Borlase (*Dolmens of Ireland*, p. 1115, citing *Windele's MSS., Cork, West and N.-E.* p. 289), says that at Kilabban 'is neither church nor cell, but the remains are as pagan in their aspect and character as can well be conceived,' viz. a tumulus about 20 ft. in diameter, three pillar-stones around it, and on the top a *bullán* (basin-stone): cp. ibid. p. 421, the Dallan Crom-na-thittim (a small circle, diam. 9 ft. formed of 5 stones about 4 ft. high), near Knocknakilla, co. Cork, 'is itself called the *cill*'; ibid. p. 788, Killaracht = Kilarracht = '*kil* of the idol.' Other examples, ibid. pp. 790-792.

[4] *Irish Dictionary* (1839). Malcolm MacFarlane's *School Gaelic Dict.* (1912) has '*cill*: church, cell, burying-ground,' and in T. O'Neill Lane's *English-Irish Dict.* (1904) *cill* is given as the equivalent of 'grave.'

[5] Usually explained as *Cella dominica*.

was not a church as we understand it but an oratory, a tiny chapel wherein another of the faithful might watch and pray above the dead. It had no special name that is recorded, nor was it the essential thing. The essential thing was the burial-ground about it, or rather the burials themselves, the 'relics.' It was a natural development, furthered by the Irish predilection for retiring to 'deserts'[1] and leading the solitary life, that the building with its saintly inmate came presently to be regarded as of more importance, the more natural as the occupant not seldom made of his oratory his place of burial. In that way the barrow which had heretofore been merely one *kil* amongst other *kils*, might come to be known as the *kil* of that particular saint. Thus would be multiplied the number of the *kils* named after St. Patrick, St. Bride, St. Columba and others.[2] To give one instance only: St. Odhrain was actually buried at Iona, and the place of his burial was called *Reilic Orain*, St. Oran's Grave. Yet on Inismurray also is a *Reilic Odhrain*, an enclosure of very early date, walled with dry stone, and having in the centre an altar which forms one of the 'stations.'[3] This may be a case of mere commemorative dedication, for St. Oran, from the peculiar circumstances of his death and burial, became as it were the tutelary of graveyards[4]; but quite possibly the altar was claimed or believed to cover some actual relic of the saint. In either case it illustrates the duplication of such names upon spots very far apart.

That the Irish word *kil*, 'a grave,' should come to be confounded with the Latin *cella* in the same sense of 'a hermit's cell,' was inevitable. Latin was the language of the Church, and *cella* was the obvious way to Latinise *kil*. As early as the fifth century Sidonius Apollinaris (*ob.* 488) uses *cellulanus* for 'hermit,' and κέλλα appears in a Greek life of St. Pelagia[5] of the same century. As

[1] See Stokes, *Ireland and the Celtic Church*, p. 178. Disert or Desert is, he says, 'one of the commonest names of town lands and parishes' in Ireland. In *Annals of Ulster* the term is of constant occurrence, rendered always by Hennessy as 'hermitage.' It reappears alike in Wales and in Scotland, e.g. Dysart in Fifeshire. The church of Glenorchy—its garth is still almost circular—was anciently known as Clachan Diseart.

[2] Ireland has 35 Kilbrides, 24 Kilcolmans. In Scotland the number of Columkilles is even greater.

[3] Wakeman, *Survey of Inismurray*, pp. 149-153.

[4] W. G. Collingwood in *Antiquary*, vol. xliii (1907) p. 175. He is speaking of Claodh Odhrain in Tiree. Tiree was closely associated with St. Columba.

[5] Quoted by Stokes, *Ireland and the Celtic*

cella (= *celula*) meant originally merely a 'hiding-place' or 'hidden place,' the confusion might well be thought to be no confusion at all. It may be that the name of the Culdees (Keldei, Keledei, Colidei), 'that ascetic order who adopted a solitary service of God in an isolated cell,'[1] owes something to the same confusion of *kil* with another word or words (Lat. *cella*, Ir. *cele*). Certainly the Culdees were in a special sense 'dwellers among the tombs.'[2]

The occasional presence of a Christian church within what was originally to all appearance a pagan *killeen* is the obvious outcome of that same spirit of compromise which led Mellitus to advise the conversion of pagan Saxon *templa* into Christian *ecclesiae*, and prompted Willibrord to gather relics in Rome to be introduced into Friesic cemeteries.[3] Every *killeen* was a focus of ritual to the pagans about. Christianity dared not desecrate the spot. It could only hope to bring it to a new consecration, and the symbol thereof, perhaps the means thereto, was to erect within it a building under Christian dedication. The name of Kildomnach, 'the graveyard with a church,' could arise only when the multitude of *kils* had no distinctive buildings.

The earliest known form of the Christian symbol in Ireland is that called St. Patrick's cross, or the wheeled cross, a circle charged with a cross in the shape of four radials of equal length. In the usual view this symbol is derived from something precisely similar found upon Christian monuments in the East and Egypt.[4] It would

Church, p. 180, *n*. The Irish family of Kirkpatrick originally bore the name of Kilpatrick, Latinised in early deeds as *de Cella Patricii*—so a distinguished member of the family has assured me.

[1] Skene, *Celtic Scotland*, ii, ch. 6. The accepted derivation is from O.I. *cele* 'associate, fellow, sometimes servant,' and *de* 'god.' See *N.E.D.* The link with *kil* is provided by such a Gaelic form as *cuil* 'place of retreat,' which appears in Culbrandon, 'St. Brandon's Hermitage,' in the Garvelock Isles, and perhaps in Culross, Fife, the place of St. Kentigern's birth and training, Culmaile (the ancient name of Golspie, Sutherland), and Culmalin (1471 for Kilmallie, Lochaber) — Kil Moling (1296, Kilmalyn): cf. such Irish forms as Cullen = Killeen, Culkey = Kilkea, and Culmullin = Kilmoling.

[2] As long ago as 1668 John Spotswood (*Hist. of Church of Scotland*) wrote that the first Scotic missionaries to Scotland 'being solitary, were in such reputation for their holiness of life, as the cells wherein they lived were after their deaths turned into temples and churches. And of this it came that all the churches afterwards erected were called Cells, which word I hear is yet retained amongst the Irish Scots. The priests they termed Culdees . . . from their living in these cells, where people assembled to hear service.' He found confirmation of this view in the spelling of the name Kelidei, and Johnston (*Scottish Place Names*, p. xcviii) accepts it, interpreting it as 'men of the nook *or* recess.'

[3] Bede, *H.E.* v, ii, § 1.

[4] See Champneys, *Irish Eccles. Arch.* p. 75, and references there given. It is not

appear to have been of wide diffusion in pre-Christian times,[1] but nowhere did it become so general as in Ireland, or receive such artistic treatment. Among the pagan Celts the *Rothfail* ('wheel of destiny') appears to have been a solar symbol[2]; and its adaptation to the symbolism of Christianity merely required the reduction of the radials from eight or six to four only. That it owed its popularity and subsequent wide dissemination to Celtic Christianity is unquestionable; it followed the Irish missioners into Wales and Cornwall, England,[3] Strathclyde[4] and Scotland.[5] As the simple circle was the pagan symbol of death and the grave, there was a certain felicity in 'surcharging' this sign with the Christian symbol. It is a fact that the true wheeled cross seems to be found with few exceptions upon sepulchral monuments only; and Coffey remarks that amongst the rare cases where the cup-and-ring-mark is found on the continent, occurs one in the Eringerthal, Valais, Switzerland, where it is

by any means certain that 'the circle was originally a wreath,' though that seems to have been the origin of the circle surrounding the Chi-Rho monogram.

[1] It occurs for example, associated with non-Christian symbols, on the jambs and lintels of Spanish *despoblados* and Portuguese *citanias* (Marcel Dieulafoy, *Art in Spain and Portugal*, p. 50). Dupli ated on either side of two parallel straight lines in wall-paintings at Almaden, Spain, it is explained as of 'true Bronze age' and representing a chariot (Burkitt, *Prehistory*, p. 296).

[2] See Rhys, *Lectures*. It is the characteristic decoration of the golden *lunulae* or 'sun-discs,' which, though abundant in Ireland, are scarcely found elsewhere except in Denmark and the adjacent islands such as Zealand. A specimen was found in the Trundholm Moss, Zealand, in 1902. They are attributed to the Bronze age, but they more probably came to Ireland at a much later date with one or other of the invading Belgic tribes from the Baltic and Jutland. The same *motif* is freely used on Roman monuments found on the line of the Wall, most commonly on altars to Jupiter, Sol and Apollo, but a sepulchral stone from Cilurnum bears two perfect specimens of St. Patrick's cross. The *lunulae* appear to have been badges of rank (like brooches, which are a matter of legislation in the Brehon laws), and they would pass from paganism to Christianity with other insignia. Warren (*Celtic Liturgy*, pp. 120-1) cites from Stuart (*Sculp. Stones of Scotland*, i, p. lxxxvii) a carved stone from Invergowrie, representing ecclesiastical figures wearing *lunulae*. See also Coffey, *Bronze Age in Ireland* (1913) p. 64.

[3] It occurs upon Roman tiles found at Iwerne, Dorset (*Reliquary*, 1896, p. 112), and at Kingston-by-sea in Sussex, and in the Roman villa at Chedworth (Glos.), where it is associated with three examples of the six-rayed cross and with the *labarum*.

[4] Thrice on one of the side-slabs of the Aspatria cist.

[5] At Kirkmadrine, Wigtownshire, and at Whithorn, are pillar-stones bearing the Chi-Rho monogram, and in the example at Kirkmadrine the monogram is surrounded by a circle. These are commonly believed to be the oldest Christian monuments in Scotland. They have however nothing to do with the true Irish wheeled cross, and may very possibly go back to the days of Ninian, as Romilly Allen believed (*Mon. Hist. Brit. Church*, p. 83). Anderson (*Scot. in Early Christian Times*, 2nd series, p. 253) quotes a couplet from a tombstone at Milan whereon is carved the same symbol as at Kirkmadrine :—

'Circulus hic summi comprendit nomina regis,
Quem sine principio et sine fine vides.

In other words, the circle was, in the symbolism of Latin Christianity, identical in meaning with Alpha and Omega.

associated with the symbol of St. Patrick's cross. In the proto-Christian barrow at Warren (Pemb.) the two symbols were found upon two separate stones within one grave.[1]

But that the simple circle without further embellishment had no specifically Christian meaning in the symbolism of Western Christianity is conclusively proved by the single fact that, so late as the thirteenth century, it was the statutory brand of the Jew.[2] Its earlier associations, if any, must obviously have been anything but Christian.

It is hardly possible to doubt that in Ireland some at any rate of the older pagan sites were deliberately usurped by Christianity, as Patrick is said to have built his 'great church' of Donoughmore actually upon the site of Cruc Mag Slecht, the most sacred of all such spots in Ireland; and so closely does Celtic Christianity correspond with Celtic paganism in many of its beliefs and practices, that it is well-nigh impossible to say where the one ends and the other begins. Certainly the rites observed by the pilgrims to Croagh Patrick, as described by W. C. Borlase,[3] are more pagan than Christian. It does not follow that the usurpation was immediate, and such a thing is unlikely. Some time would require to elapse before it could safely be attempted, and the attribution of such a policy to Patrick himself is of no value. That saint, it may be believed, was too clever to risk the consequences while paganism was still a power. The old gods were not to be so easily dethroned. There is much to support the view of those who maintain that early Christianity was merely 'Paganism veneered with Christianity,'[4] and even the view of those who believe that Celtic paganism, finding the old gods losing favour, forthwith adopted first the Roman Apollo, then the

[1] Below, ch. xx.

[2] The *Rota Iudaeorum*, which all Jews were compelled to wear on the breast when they appeared in public. See Ducange, *Lexicon*, *s.v.* Rota and Circulus. He cites from *Concilium Arelatense*, *Statuta Ecclesaie Ruthenensis*, and *Statuta Eccles. Nemausensis*. The Council of Arles was in 1234. The Statutes of Rodez (Aveyron) belong to 1289. Those of Nîmes, as printed in Martene et Durand (*Thesaurus Novus Anecdotorum*, Paris, 1717) are attributed to 1364, which appears from internal evidence to be an error for 1264. This correction I owe to Dom. H. Dumaine.

[3] *Age of the Saints*, pp. 45-8.

[4] St. Bernard (*Vita Malachiae*, c. 8) said much the same of the Irish Christianity of the twelfth century; cp. O'Donovan, *The Four Masters*, 'Nothing is clearer than that Patrick engrafted Christianity upon pagan superstition.'

Christian Christ; that Patrick was himself a 'Druid'; that his very name is not personal at all, but the name of an order in the pagan hierarchy; and that in effect Christianity took hold upon the Irish because it was offered to them in a form almost as much pagan as Christian.

The further question whether Christianity deliberately occupied the sites of pagan cemeteries is different, and unanswerable, for the dead cannot return to tell us in what faith they died. For the daughters of king Leoghaire was built a barrow in accordance with their dignity; but what became of the many lesser converts who died in the early time when as yet the provision for Christian burial was limited? They would presumably be buried in the local *killeens*, or if separately, at any rate with no such costly grave-mound as that of the king's daughters; and in the early days, when the Faith was still new and hesitant, it is certain that there would be little regard paid to the various provisos which were subsequently enforced—earth-to-earth burial, the east-and-west position, the exclusion of grave-furniture, and so on. Such restrictions could come into force only when paganism was becoming moribund, Christianity waxing powerful. It is a transparent probability that many an early Irish convert would be laid to his rest with accessories for the most part precisely like those which had accompanied his pagan forbears; and the evidence shews that, so far as concerned the circular barrow—the most important accessory of all—this was the fact. His burial-place might become a Christian grave-yard, or it might be wholly forgotten, and we have no means at all of knowing whether the nameless person buried under the church at Monasterboice was really a Christian by profession, or whether, on the strength of the poor polished celt which his friends laid with him, he should be condemned to Limbo or further.[1] All that can be said is that the subsequent building of a church on the spot raises a presumption that he may have been a Christian; but that there can be no certainty is proved by the parallel case at Carn Brea in Cornwall

[1] So C. H. Kains-Jackson (*Our Ancient Monuments*, p. 81), speaking of the relics found in Irish graves: 'These discoveries within certain barrows and chambered tombs have been too generally taken as fixing the date of the original interments in purely pagan times.'

(p. 288). History knows no hard and fast dividing lines. The tradition of years unknown bade men bury their dead in barrows, and archaeology tells us that each successive age and race continued to make at least occasional, yet deliberate, use of the barrows of the men before it, certainly down to the days of St. Guthlac (ch. xxiv). Archaeology does not tell us that Christianity did not do the like; rather it declares that Christianity did exactly the same. And prejudice and books apart, that is what one would expect, especially as primitive Christianity, like Celtic paganism, was fast-rooted in the cult of the dead.

Chapter XIX.

WALES.

Ethnology of Wales—Romans in Wales—The Ancient Welsh Kingdoms—Etymology of 'Llan'—Relations of Wales with Ireland—The Churchyard of Eglwys Cymmin; Reconstruction of the Facts—Welsh Monasticism borrowed from Ireland—The making of the 'Llan'—SS. Cadoc, Gwynlliw, and Illtyd—Circular Churchyards in Wales—Llanelwedd—Monastic Settlements of Irish Type—St. Cybi—The 'Mynwent'—The Right of Sanctuary—Early Dedications—Poem of 'The Warriors' Graves'—Various Forms of these Graves—The Mynwent again.

Prior to the Roman conquest the population of Wales closely resembled that of contemporary Ireland, and its speech was uniformly Goidelic. In the north of the country the Brythonic Ordovices, the 'Hammer-men,' had already begun to find a footing, but had not yet reached so far as Anglesey when the Romans interfered. After the departure of the Romans the Brythonisation of the country was resumed vigorously. Modern Welsh is a wholly Brythonic speech, but the idiom of the south is still markedly different from that of the north, and the difference between the two is due probably to a racial difference older than the subsequent infusions of English, Norman,

and Flemish which have accentuated it. North Wales is relatively New Wales. For the older Wales one must go to the extreme south, to Carmarthenshire and Pembrokeshire, whose affinities are with the Irish Goidels beyond the sea.[1]

The view that the Romans never effectually penetrated into such part of Wales as lies west of a line drawn through the meridian of Maridunum (Carmarthen) is now abandoned.[2] There was never any convincing reason why they should have left unoccupied what is now Pembrokeshire, while its fertility, its many convenient harbours and waterways, and the constant need of defending these from the attacks of Irish pirates,[3] are very strong reasons to the contrary.[4] Very probably this district, being a remote and outlying part of the country, enjoyed but a minor share of Roman patronage, and for the same reasons lost the traces thereof more speedily than did more favoured districts nearer to the main centres and arteries of administration. The Romanisation of the rest of the principality was certainly more complete, yet even there it seems to have been superficial only. Fortresses were built and roads were constructed in the customary Roman way, but beneath the Roman military system the national life went on largely unchanged.[5] If even in remote Dyfed the upper class became bi-lingual, as inscriptions prove, neither there nor elsewhere did the native speech perish ; and if the wild character of the country militated against

[1] Lloyd, *History of Wales*, i, ch. 2. It was in the extreme north-west (Mona) that British Druidism found its last asylum. The counties of Carmarthen and Pembroke correspond to the old Welsh kingdom of Dyfed (Demetia), and the earlier race was also very strong in Deheubarth, the 'South Land' of the Silures, which included Glamorganshire. In Pembrokeshire, says Lloyd (i, 25), 'neolithic ideas survived until a late period.' The presence of disc-barrows at Pendoylan (ch. iii) points however to an infiltration of Brythonic blood into Glamorganshire at a date possibly, not necessarily, prior to the arrival of the Romans, and in Pembrokeshire and Gower are some faint traces of settlements made by peoples akin to the Saxons. See Nennius, § 14, with *A.-S. Chronicle, anno* 918.

[2] *Antiquaries' Journal*, iii (1923), p. 265. In *Arch. Cambr.* 7th ser. iii (1923), p. 21, Dr. Mortimer Wheeler shews that the belief of some of the older antiquaries, that there stood a Roman station (*Ad Vigesimum*) at Castle Flemish in Pembrokeshire, was founded on fact.

[3] See Stokes, *Ireland and the Celtic Church*, pp. 16 *sqq.* Both the Irish settlements in South Wales and West Wales (Somerset, Devon and Cornwall), and the migration of the Scoti from Ulster to Argyllshire, probably belong to the fourth century, in which flourished also Niall of the Nine Hostages, King of All Ireland (358-366).

[4] cf. Giraldus Cambrensis, *Itinerary through Wales*, i, 12.

[5] Lloyd, *Hist. Wales*, i, pp. 64 *sqq.* 84-89.

any very complete Romanisation of the people, it has at the same time preserved to an extent as yet little appreciated much of what the Roman wrought, and especially his roads.[1]

It was not the Roman's way violently to interfere with the social and religious organisations of his subjects. In Britain, and therefore in Wales, an exception had to be made to this rule in so far as Druidism was a political force; but there is no proof, and as little likelihood, that the old religion was banned when Druidism was broken. When presently Christianity was emancipated (311), the natives might hide, but they would certainly not altogether forget, the ritual and the practices of the older religion; and when the Romans withdrew the old faith would struggle to lift up its head again.[2] But the opportunity was too transient: Christianity had already taken root,[3] and when it was menaced by the recrudescence of paganism from within and by the attacks of Picts and Saxons from without, the threatened lapse was countered and defeated by the joint efforts of the Gallican and the Irish Churches. The 'emotional Celt' of Wales became in the sixth century a more earnest Christian than he had ever been, and the forces which would have revived the older faith were cleverly moulded to introduce into Wales a monasticism precisely like that of Ireland, until Wales also overflowed with 'saints.' Probably the strong and persistent Goidelic element in Wales was largely responsible for the fact.[4]

From very early times the people of Wales had been organised on an elaborate system of *trefs* and *cantrefs*, their lands on an equally thorough system of *maenwrs*. As these have no discoverable relation to anything Roman,

[1] Down to the fourteenth century Wales remained entirely a pastoral country, in which roads would be of little use, and would therefore tend to disappear much more rapidly than in Saxon England with its settled, if rude, village life. Leland, *Itin.* v, 54: 'There is no place yn al these commotes where the people dwell *vicatim*, but al *sparsim*.'

[2] 'There is no mention of British Druids after the conquest of Mona until (Nennius, § 40) Vortigern, excommunicated by Germanus, invites to his help druids, who probably came from North Britain.' E. C. Quiggin in *Encycl. Brit. s.v.* Druids.

[3] 'Rome's parting gift of a new religion was the greatest of all she bestowed' on Wales. Lloyd, *Hist. Wales*, i, 89.

[4] Girald. Cambr. *Description of Wales*, i, 18: 'They show a greater respect than other nations to churches and persons belonging to the Church, to the relics of saints, bells, holy books, and the Cross. . . Nowhere will you find hermits and anchorites more ascetic and more spiritual.' So even in the devout twelfth century the devoutness of the Welsh was remarkable.

and as we have no knowledge of any later period of history wherein one powerful central monarchy might be conceived to have introduced them, one is obliged to assume that these were survivals from an earlier time. *Tref* and *cantref*, being founded originally upon the fluid fact of population—not until the thirteenth century did the population of Wales even begin to assume a stable condition—have disappeared; the *maenwr*, bound up with the unshifting soil, remains to some extent a fact to this day.

On the withdrawal of the Romans, Wales broke up into a number of petty kingdoms, each at war with all the rest. Of these the four greater were Gwynedd, Powys, Gwent and Dyfed[1]; while the two lesser kingdoms of Ceredigion (Cardigan), and Morganwg (Glamorgan), though occasionally independent, were mostly subject to one or other of their stronger neighbours. These possibly represent in some sort rival entities of the pre-Roman time, but the fact is not at present capable of proof. All came in time to recognise an overlord or *Gwledig*, whose claim to that title, as with the Saxon Bretwalda, was his momentary power; and upon occasion all might voluntarily revert to the old Celtic custom of appointing one person as the supreme authority for dealing with an emergency.[2] But of one organised nation under a strong hereditary sovereign there is no trace until the time of Howel Dda (tenth century), nor should we expect it. To the four greater kingdoms corresponded the four early sees of Llandaff,[3] Llanelwy (St. Asaph),[4] Bangor, and St. David's.

[1] In a very rough sense these correspond to north-west (Gwynedd), north-east (Powys), south-east (Gwent), and south-west (Dyfed) Wales. Dyfed and Gwent fought to possess Morganwg (Glamorganshire); Powys, Gwynedd, and Dyfed, to possess Ceredigion (Cardiganshire). In the twelfth century Gwent had disappeared, and Powys had extended over most of mid-Wales; Girald. Cambr. (*Description of Wales*, i, 4) names as the three royal *curiae* of Wales Pengwern for Powys, Aberffraw for North Wales, and Dynefor for South Wales.

[2] cf. Girald. Cam r. *Description of Wales*, i, 2. *The Triads* (17 and 34) confirm this, asserting that Caswallon son of Lludd, Caradoc son of Bran. and Owain son of Maxen Wledig, were the 'three conventional monarchs' of the island of Britain. 'They were called the "three conventional monarchs" because they were so privileged in a convention of the country and neighbouring country, within all the limits of the nation of the Cymry, and a convention was held in every dominion and commot and hundred of the Island of Britain and its adjacent islands' (*Tr.* 34). *Triad* 17 calls them the 'three jury monarchs,' because their powers came to them 'through the juratory election of the country and nation, when they were not elders.'

[3] All Welsh tradition declares that Llandaff was the site of the first 'church of God' in Wales.

[4] Writing in the twelfth century, Giraldus Cambrensis still speaks of it as 'the poor little cathedral of Llan-Elwy or St. Asaph . . .

Every one of these kingdoms must have had its own royal centre, its recognised places of assembly, and its own royal cemeteries, but there are reasons enough why we cannot to-day recover them.[1] The suspension of kings and kingdoms during nearly four hundred years of Roman rule would inevitably break most of the threads of continuity; the gradual spread of Christianity, and thereafter the masterful intrusion of Cunedda with his Brythonic Christian followers, would make impossible the resuscitation of the old order. It had been otherwise in Ireland, where the Roman had never interfered, and Christianity, which found the old order in full activity, merely adopted it so far as might be. The Irish never had excuse to forget the ways or the graves of their forefathers.

In the *Mabinogion* we read frequently of the '*gorsedd* in Arberth.' This place, now Narberth, was a royal seat of the kings of Dyfed. Close thereby, in the extreme west of Carmarthenshire, in the parishes of Llanglydwen, Llandyssilio East, and Cilymaenllwyd—'the burial-place at the Hoar Stone'—is a notable group of monuments, menhirs, dolmens, cairns, barrows, and circles,[2] which may represent a royal cemetery of that kingdom. The presence close by of the ancient monastic house of Whitland (Ty-Gwyn), reputed the foundation of Paul Hên in the fifth century,[3] to some extent confirms this suggestion. In south Glamorganshire again Welsh tradition locates at Llanilltyd (Llantwit Major) one of the 'Three Perpetual Choirs' of Britain, and the only one of the three which belongs to Wales; and the presence of a multitude of antiquities—dolmens and barrows and earthworks of all kinds—bears out the implied importance of the place, as also do the indisputable facts that in this part of Wales were set both the still more famous monastery of St. Illtyd at Llancarfan, and the chief of Welsh cathedrals at Llandaff. We owe to the remoteness of these coastal areas of South

to which Powys is subject' (*Description of Wales*, i, 4). Architecture, never a strong point with the Celt, has made even less mark in Wales than it did in Ireland (see above, ch. xviii). The founder of Llanelwy was Kentigern (sixth century).

[1] Amongst such may have been the cemeteries at Cors y Gedol (circles, cairns, cromlechs and menhirs), that near Harlech, that of Cop'a'r leni near Prestatyn, and the Beddau Gwyr Ardudwy. Cynddelw is said to call the church of Meifod a 'cemetery of princes.'

[2] *Inventory Carmarthenshire, ad. loc.*

[3] This is the usual view. Some modern authorities try to prove that it was at St. David's.

Wales, and to the consequent persistence of a large Goidelic element, the fact that it is still possible to recognise these indications of an older order of things. In central and northern Wales the population has suffered greater changes, and change of population means the destruction of that local folk-memory which in archaeology is frequently the major part of the evidence.

The '*gorsedd* in Arberth' is described as a lofty mound, and there is abundant evidence that amongst the Welsh it was the custom to hold meetings, judicial meetings in particular, at such mounds. Probably every *cantref* and every *cymmod*, if not also every *tref* and every *maenwr*, had its own such mound.[1] The word *gorsedd* came indeed in the *Laws* to signify a court of law,[2] and it was customary, in cases of disputes about land, to meet on the land which was the subject of the law-suit,[3] a special mound being thrown up on the spot for the purpose. In place-names the word seems usually to denote a mound, whether natural or artificial, 'possibly because it was a royal habit to hold sessions on elevations of the kind.'[4] It was always circular; it was in fact a *cruc*, and to this day all over Wales any circular mound may be so called. In old Welsh the word *breyr* signified one who owned free land, 'a baron, he that presided in the court of a barony (which was held in the open air) on an eminence or *bre*[5]; in fact *breyr* meant a mount-man, that is, a man of the court, because the court was held on a hill or rising ground.'[6]

The original British Church was extremely poor. There would be no change for the better upon the departure of the Romans, but rather the contrary, for in the breakdown of civil authority the Church stood to lose what little

[1] *Inventory Carmarthenshire*, no. 745, mentions for example a mound in the parish of Talley, known as Twrla, 'the mound of laws,' with the remark that the name 'points to the structure as a seat of commote jurisdiction.' At its base is a very large menhir. Local tradition declares that Llywarch Hen (vi cent.) used to hold his court on the mound called Castell Llywarch near the church of Llanfor (Llanfawr), Bala. Beside this mound stood the stone circle called Pabell (*Arch. Cambr.* 1919, p. 568).

[2] See for example *Laws*, Cod. Ven. II, ii, 51; Cod. Dim. II, viii, 15, etc.

[3] Lloyd, *Hist. of Wales*, i, 302.

[4] ibid.

[5] Owen Pughe, *Welsh-Eng. Dict.* (1891).

[6] Hubert Lewis, *Ancient Laws of Wales* (1889). *Breyr* is therefore, in formation (*bre-gwyr*) as in meaning, precisely analogous to the Saxon terms *ciric-man* and *gemot-man*. See further Gomme, *Primitive Folk-moots*, pp. 98-102.

property it had. When therefore the great Cunedda,[1] himself possibly half a Roman and certainly a Brython, became Gwledig, with an authority reaching from the Clyde to the Severn Sea, and openly took Christianity under his protection, it was a stroke of high policy which won for him the firm adhesion of all the Christians of Wales. Cunedda is mentioned in the *Triads*[2] as 'the first in the island of Britain that gave lands and privileges to God and his saints,' and he ranks with Brychan and Caw as one of the three chief of those who founded families of 'saints.' In ancient Ireland all or any Christian was termed a saint, and much the same would seem to have been the case in Wales; so that when we are told, for example, that Brychan was the father of some fifty saints, it means merely that he succeeded in setting up in the world this number of sons and daughters, all professed Christians. As it is usually expressed, this entailed the formation of so many new 'religious' tribes—side by side with those pre-existing, each with its own local centre and its own *regulus*. This is only another way of saying that it meant the creation of so many new communities, each with its own oecist. The matter presented no difficulty amongst a people who for the most part still lived a tribal life in a land where there was indefinite room for it.[3] Christianity in fact availed itself of this feature of Welsh society to effect a peaceful penetration, and under the veil of a legal fiction gradually to substitute the village community for the tribe.[4]

The new settlement was in Wales called a *llan*, and the founder of it was just as much a *regulus* as was the head of any other tribe; but being also a Christian he was therefore a 'saint,' and the *llan* and its belongings were looked

[1] He is said to have flourished about 330-370, but this is possibly half a century too early. Tradition says he was a North Briton, so that he may have learnt his Christianity in Strathclyde among the Southern Picts, and from the same source as did Patrick. The Picts, as has been seen above, were Brythons.

[2] *Triad*, xviii.

[3] cf. *Vita S. Gundleii* (in Rees, *Lives of the Cambro-British Saints*, Llandovery, 1853; hereafter referred to as *C.B.S.*), ch. 4, of the angelic vision which revealed to the saint the destined site for his *llan*: 'The land which thou shalt possess, though now not cultivated, shall be tilled by oxen and *shall be called thy domain*.'

[4] Seebohm, *Village Community*, pp. 205, 225; Girald. Cambr. *Description of Wales*, i, 7, 8. etc. Peculiar emphasis is laid, in their several *Lives*, upon the activities of the Welsh saints as agriculturists. They act upon the precept *Laborare est orare*. In the north of Scotland it is a local saying that all the best land is to be found where St. Columba and his disciples made their settlements.

upon as belonging to 'God and his saints' in the same way as other tribes belonged to whatever pagan divinity they most affected. Each settlement was the *llan* of its founder, and in hundreds of cases the modern village still preserves his name. There are more than 500 *llan*-names of parishes in Wales to-day, and while some of these have been fathered upon other eponyms—Our Lady, or St. Michael, or some other canonical saint—far the greater number still commemorate those very worldly 'saints' who first founded them, carving for themselves out of the wilderness new holdings and new homesteads. Here and there were to be found other *llans* owing their origin to some hermit or other devotee who here sought a retreat from the world, one whose life and purpose more closely corresponded to saintliness as we understand it. Of such were SS. Cadoc and Illtyd, Beuno and Teilo and Dewi Sant (St. David). But as a general rule the Welsh 'saint' was no saint at all, and only very superficially a Christian.

The word *llan*, 'a clearing, level space,'[1] originally contained no suggestion of any church, or indeed of any building whatever. It denoted merely the area within which the founder had decided to make his home, and it would be demarcated by the customary means of fosse and vallum, and consecrated by a burial.[2] There is no doubt at all that the *llan* was originally always circular. To this day the occasional squatters upon the unenclosed hill-sides

[1] The derivation is said to be from Lat. *planum*, like Span. *llano*, 'a level field'; cf. *llawn* from *plenus*. In the Latin *Lives of the Saints*, *planus*, *complanatus*, *planities*, are repeatedly used of such religious settlements; e.g. when St. Cadoc has selected his site at *Nantcarfan*, his first care is *in planum redigere* (*Vita S. Cadoci*, 5). The older form *plan* is preserved in such Breton names as Plancoet (= Llangoed), 'clearing in the wood,' and in the Cornish name for the 'rounds,' *plane an gwariou*. There is a village of Planguary near Redruth. The town of Carmichael, Lanarkshire, was Planmichael in the twelfth century (Mackinlay, p. 62). Commonly it appears in Cornish and Breton as Lan- (prefix). In Scotland generally it is rare, and in Ireland it is rarer still. It occurs as a prefix once only in Manx (A. W. Moore, *Surnames and Place-names of I. of Man*, p. 155).

[2] The term 'was applied originally to a burial-ground, and subsequently came to be used of the building erected on that site' (Dafen Jones, *Early Cymry and their Church*, p. 100). It does not appear ever to have denoted a building save by implication only, just as the word 'farm' connotes a farm-house. That it meant a burial-ground before it implied any structural church is archaeologically true, but whether it was ever used of a burial-ground before Christianity is unknown. In his account of St. Cadoc's making his first *llan* at Nantcarfan (*Vita S. Cadoci*, 5) the scribe remarks that the Saint was fulfilling the mandate, 'Prepare ye the way of the Lord, make his paths straight; and it is quite possible that the tendency to restrict the word o Christian settlements only arose from the scriptural text and had direct reference thereto. The Latin *planum* was sometimes used in the sense of 'cemetery'; see Ducange.

of Wales frequently surround their clearing with a circular fence[1]; and in Wales, as in Ireland, this was the immemorial fashion of a homestead. It was also the immemorial and invariable fashion of a barrow, and, as has been remarked, the *llan* was a burial-ground before it was a settlement. The Cornish Polwhele a century ago wrote: 'We use *lhan* (*sic*) for a church probably because the Druids before Christianity sacrificed and buried their dead in a circle or enclosure of stones.'[2] The logic is confused, but the passage proves that to its author's mind a *llan* was, even in Cornwall, of necessity circular.

Within its *clawdd*—fosse and vallum—gathered the saint and his disciples, and there they built the huts which were also originally their several oratories. The spot was naturally known as the *llan* of the founder, whoever he might be. In course of time it might come to possess a church, and the church might become the important feature of the settlement, which itself might develop into a village and ultimately into a parish. The fact that so many *llans* are modern villages with churches has given rise to the popular belief that *llan* itself means 'church.' It does not. The Welsh word for a church is *eglwys* (*ecclesia*), and there is no other.[3] In its original sense *llan* is still the suffix in many words in common use,[4] as occasionally also in place-names; and there are numberless *llan*-names in Wales where no church is to be found and for that matter no village.[5]

[1] The same thing may be seen as far east as the slopes of the Clee hills, Shropshire (1917).

[2] *Hist. Cornwall* (1816), i, 133.

[3] 'The fact is that the church was only a portion of the *llan* or monastery; the other buildings have long since disappeared, but the church still remains and retains the old appellation of the entire establishment'; Lingard, *Hist. A.-S. Church* (1845), ii. 382. In the language of South Wales the question is 'Are you going to the *llan*?' In the speech of North Wales it is 'Are you going to the *eglwys*?' In Wales, as in Ireland the Saxon word 'church' is intrusive, and is found mostly in the south, where foreign influence has been strongest; e.g. Newchurch (a church and parish 3 miles north of Carmarthen, whereof the name belies its very great antiquity), and Frowlincherche (i.e. Frauleinkerke, 'Church of the Virgin,' an obviously Flemish name), parish of Llawhaden, Pemb.

In the parish of Carew, 5 m. ENE. from Pembroke, occurs the name of Crickchurch, which is a modern error for Critchurch (i.e. Christchurch), as appears from the churchwardens' account of the seventeenth century. There was a burial-place thereby (information of Rev. W. G. Spurrell).

[4] *Corlan*, 'sheep-fold'; *ydlan*, 'cornyard'; *corffian*, 'graveyard'; Rhuddlan. Not seldom a modern *llan* is due to confusion with an original *glan*, 'bank (of a river),' e.g. Llandaff ('Taff-bank'), Llangammarch, Llanelwy, etc., or to confusion with *nant*. 'a valley' (e.g. Llancarfan and Lanteglos), or *llwyn* 'a grove.'

[5] e.g. Llanmilo in Pendine, Carm. Milo was a Norman warrior, and *llan* here means simply 'settlement,' 'place of

Many of these were doubtless monastic settlements which died out. Those which did not die out might owe that good fortune to a variety of causes, and in some cases it was due to the real saintliness of the founder. He became a force in his own day, gathered about him a school of disciples, and dying left his body to be buried within his *llan*, to be a source of strength and revenue to the whole settlement. Some of these grew up to be the Welsh equivalents of the great English monasteries of pre-Reformation times, owning vast property and revenues.

These Welsh monastic foundations would be in every respect like those of Ireland, but possibly smaller and poorer. In Ireland Christianity stepped straight into the heritage vacated by Druidism, whereas in Wales such heritage had been unclaimed and uncared for ever since Rome had broken Druidism ; and Christianity suffered accordingly. This is one reason why Wales has no Inismurray, no Clonmacnois. Another reason is that Celtic Christianity in Wales earlier underwent alteration from intrusive Latinism than was the case in Ireland. But had neither of these reasons been active, Wales would still have been second of the two, because of the smallness and poverty of the country. Llantwit and Bangor Iscoed[1] excepted, it is not pretended that any early Welsh monastery rivalled those of Ireland. Nevertheless Christianity did the same work in the one country as in the other, and there is no question that the *llans* were the force which weaned the Welsh from their pastoral and tribal[2] life, and brought them unwillingly to dwell in villages. The *Lives* make much of the part played by the founders in encouraging agriculture. It was they who turned the people from the nomad life of shepherds and hunters and bandits to that of settled agricultural communities. The Welsh saints themselves looked always to Ireland for help material, intellectual and spiritual. It was not solely because Goidel naturally

residence,' with no implication either of a church or of saintship. The modern Llanmilo is merely a large country house. The older Llanmilo is a homestead a mile away inland ; and in the valley leading from the one to the other stands the dismantled castle of Milo (known as Castle Lloyd, and commonly mistaken for a British fort), which gives its name to the farm.

[1] Destroyed by Aethelfrith of Northumbria in the year 607, it never recovered. Bede (*H.E.* ii, 2, § 94) endorses the story that it had mustered 2,100 inmates.

[2] Girald. Cambr. *Description of Wales*, i, 17.

sought unto Goidel: on the other side Saxon paganism largely cut off Wales from the world beyond.

The early contact of Wales with Ireland, though difficult to determine with exactitude, is none the less a certainty. Welsh tradition is full of it from north to south, but the visible evidence is to be found chiefly in Dyfed, exactly where one would look for it; for the coasts and rivers of Pembrokeshire and Carmarthenshire offer excellent harbourage for ships, whereas little of the kind is to be found on other parts of the Welsh coast. In the Roman era the havens were probably even more numerous, for the now harbourless coast between Pendine and Laugharne seems to have had its own. To Dyfed tradition brings the Deisi,[1] an Irish tribe expelled (third century) by Cormac MacAirt from Meath, from whom was descended a long line of kings of Dyfed, amongst them Vortipor, himself in turn ancestor of Elen, the wife of Howel the Good (tenth century). Here tradition locates the Gwyddelod Ffichti, 'painted Picts,' i.e. Scoti, who long resisted the southward extension of Cunedda's power[2]; here are to be found the greater number of the ogam-stones of Wales; here are situated the greater number of those Welsh place-names compounded with *cil* (Irish *kil*)[3]; and here, perhaps alone in Great Britain, is a way-side altar with a pillar-stone bearing the wheeled cross, and the round pebbles—a complete replica of an Irish cursing-altar.[4] Even some of the churches of the district

[1] Their name survives in that of the barony of Decies, co. Waterford. Vyrnwy Morgan (*Philosophy of Welsh History*, p. xx) quotes the assertion that even in Queen Elizabeth's time some parts of the country were so overrun by Irish that only the clergy of the parishes were Welsh. Otherwise the district was markedly the home of ancient survivals, not merely from the Goidelic, but from the Iberian time.

[2] Nennius (*Hist. Brit.* § 14) distinctly says that the Irish held Gower and the adjoining mainland of S. Wales until expelled by Cunedda and his sons. In the *Life of S. Carannog* (*C.B.S.* p. 97), who was grandson of Cunedda and contemporary with St. David, we are told that 'the Scoti were masters of Wales (*Britanniam*) for 30 years,' and that they dethroned his father Ceredig, the eponym of Cardigan (ibid. p. 101). One of St. David's chief opponents is said to have been one Boya, who is called a Scot, a governor and a magician, i.e. he was an Irish Druid (*C.B.S.* p. 124). See also Stokes, *Ireland and the Celt. Ch.* p. 16.

[3] e.g. Kilgetty (Pemb.), Kilgerran (Card.), Cilrhedyn and Cilycwm and Cilymaenllwyd (Carm.). The Irish name of St. David's settlement in Menevia is Cell Muine or Cell Muny (*Latine, Civitas Kelmunensis*) and from Rhygyfarch onward all who mention it lay emphasis upon the peculiar holiness of its cemetery. It was 'a place whence few shall go to hell, for every one who shall have been buried in the cemetery of that place in sound faith shall obtain mercy' (Rhygyfarch's *Life of St. David*, 14). In Wales, as elsewhere, *cil* meaning 'burial-place' is almost invariably a prefix. The suffix seen in Llanycil near Bala (Merion.) is another word meaning 'wood.'

[4] It is known as the 'Holy Stones' (Ceryg Sanctaidd). For a description of it, see *Arch. Cambr.* 6 ser. vii (1907), p. 267.

have vaults[1] formed of untooled voussoirs spalled with smaller stones and rudely grouted with cement, exactly reproducing similar Irish work, of the fourteenth century. The *Lives of the Saints* abound in allusions to the intercourse between the two countries. St. Cadoc's teacher is one Tathan (or Meuthi), *religiosus Hibernensis*, a *presbyter* living a hermit's life with twelve *ministri* at Caerwent.[2] St. Cadoc himself spends three years in Ireland, *discendi gratia*, to complete his training, and returns 'with a numerous train of Irish and Welsh clergy,'[3] one of them his famous disciple Finian Macmoil; and he employed as his architect an Irishman named Liugwri, whose ability led to his being murdered by his envious Welsh fellows.[4] The saint habitually wore a gown of Irish frieze.[5] It has been suggested that the Christianity of Ireland was itself borrowed from Wales,[6] for which there is little evidence or likelihood. So far as can be gathered Wales always looked to Ireland as her spiritual teacher, and the Welsh saints shewed scarcely anything of that passion for mission-work abroad which characterised the Irish. In Wales, as Willis Bund has remarked, the key-note of religion is not catholicity, but individualism.

The churchyard of the parish of Eglwys Cymmin[7] in Carmarthenshire has probably enjoyed an unbroken continuity as a Christian *locus consecratus* from the fifth century to the present time. It has enjoyed also an entire

[1] For example Penally, near Tenby, and Eglwys Cymmin. Bishop Gower of St. David's used precisely the same vaulting in some of his secular building in Pembrokeshire in the fourteenth century. These vaults are formed without springs, the walls gradually converging to the roof-line.

[2] *Vita S. Cadoci*, i; *Vita S. Tathei*. The site of St. Tathan's monastery, readily identified from the *Vita*, was 50 yds. outside the east gate of Roman Caerwent, and a stone sarcophagus, found upon the spot in 1910 and believed to contain his remains, has been translated to the parish church of Caerwent. See J. G. Wood, *Saint Tathan* (Newport, 1912).

[3] *Vita S. Cadoci*, 7, 8.

[4] ibid. 17.

[5] ibid. 14.

[6] It was doubtless reinforced by British Christians flying before the advancing Saxons, and they would naturally for the most part cross from the west (i.e. Welsh) coast.

[7] It bears a fourteenth-century dedication in honour of St. Margaret Marlos, due to the patronage of her uncle the great Sir Guy de Brien, whose beautiful canopied tomb is in Tewkesbury abbey church. She had married Sir Robert Marlos, who held land in the parish. The same dedication is found at Llandawke (2 miles east) and at Pendine (2 miles south), and nowhere else. Guy de Brien himself was lord marcher of Laugharne, and lord of the manor of Eglwys Cymmin. He claimed descent from St. Margaret of Scotland, and died *circa* 1393. The church stands upon the line of a very ancient road which comes from the direction of Laugharne westward by Tafarn Diflas and the Ceryg Sanctaidd to Eglwys Cymmin, and so on to the farm of West Pwll, heading direct for the ancient Gorsedd yn Arberth (Narberth).

immunity from alteration. Here, if anywhere, one should be able to discern some of the original features of the earliest Welsh Christianity, and by good fortune there

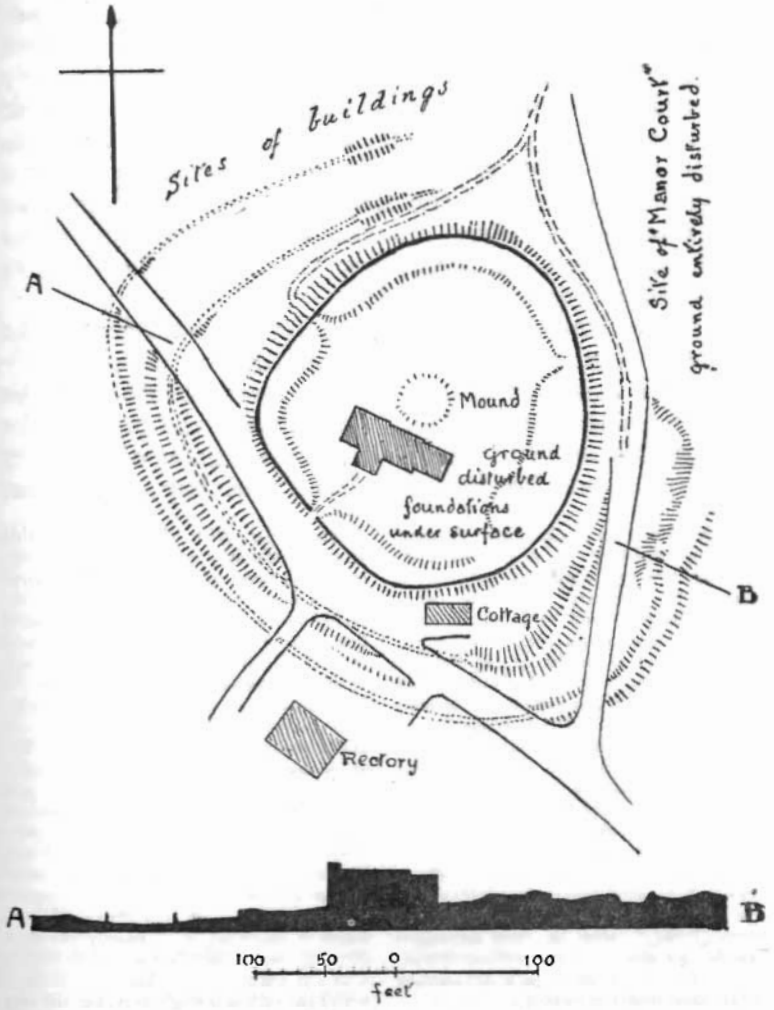


FIG. 6. CHURCHYARD OF EGLWYS CYMMIN, CARMARTHENSHIRE.

survive a great number of these features. Of the building itself nothing need be said here, save that the central portion of the church, measuring 23 ft. by 15 ft. only, may very well reproduce the form of the earlier wooden

oratory, and that, as the plan shows, it occupies an eccentric position near the south side[1] of a circular churchyard having an average diameter of 70 yds. and an area of just one statute acre (English). The orientation of the church is 24° south of true east.[2] The churchyard is surrounded by the greatly-spread remains of an earthen vallum, of which the exterior face has been perpendicularly revetted with stone. Outside this was a deep and wide fosse, and beyond this again a second and a third vallum. These outer defences are in some part intact along the south-west segment of the circle, and to a less degree on the south-east. Along the remainder of the periphery they have been destroyed, but there are indications to prove that they once existed.

The earthwork then was an exact reproduction of the triple work known in Ireland generically as a *rath*,[3] specifically as a *dun*, and by the Brehon Laws described as the proper residence of a king. Now Cynin, the person who has left his name to the parish, was a *regulus* of the fifth century, a grandson[4] of Brychan; and Brychan, as has

[1] This would seem to have been the usual position, obviously to avoid interfering with the *mynwent* (p. 248). It was so in the case of St. Cuthbert's *mansio* in Farne, and at Barking; and it is so at South Malling in Sussex (ch. xxv).

[2] The point of sunrise on the Patronal Day (10th June) is 23° *north* of east. It is a demonstrable fact that numbers of the most ancient churches in Great Britain, as in other countries, and particularly in Italy, are built with but small reference to the east and west position. If, as is usually held, their dedications are for the most part of late origin (*circa* eleventh century), whereas the churches themselves are of much earlier date, it is clear that the original structu es cannot have been purposely orientated to the points of sunrise on the several patronal days. Perhaps, when the later dedication was decided upon, that saint was occasionally chosen with whose sunrise-point the existing fabric most nearly coincided.

[3] 'A great number of the churches in S. Wales are situated in close proximity to pagan *raths*. This is especially the case in Pembrokeshire" (Romilly Allen, *Mon. Hist. Brit. Church*, p. 49). It is not clear on what gronnd the said *raths* are called pagan, and it is more than possible that many of them are early Christian works (*llans*), and some even of Norman construction. Lewis (*Topog. Dict.* 1843) mentions that circular enclosures near Steynton (Stainton) in Pemb. were called *rhaths*; and Spurrell (*Welsh Dict.*) gives *rhath* 'a cleared spot, plain,' which is very much the meaning of *llan*. The word was undoubtedly borrowed from the Irish immigrants (not necessarily at any early date), and the Welsh seem to have used it as carelessly as do the Irish: thus a large *mound* between Haverfordwest and Poyston is called 'The Rath.' The O.M. marks a number of *raths* on or near the north-western coast of the county, and there are traces of others in the parish of Llanspyddid in Brecknockshire (*Arch. Cambs.* 7 ser. iv, p. 208). It is not found in N. Wales. Up and down the country is found the word *garthen* applied to similar circular enclosures; e.g. the Garthen in Llangynyw (Mont.) which is described as of exactly the same area and construction as the *rath* at Eglwys Cymmin and another in Llanerfyl (Mont). where the vallum is single only, but the area is again the same. This must be the Teutonic *garth*, which in the Welsh form *gardd* is in common use for 'garden.' Welsh uses also *garth*, 'fold, enclosure.'

[4] His father is said to have been St. Tudwal, very possibly the Totaval read upon a stone lately found (1920) near the church of the neighbouring parish of Llansadwrnen (*Arch. Cambr.* 6 ser. xx, p. 190).

been said, was probably in part at least Irish, tradition declaring that his mother was an Irish princess. Professor Rhys indeed thought the name of Cynin to be Irish.[1] Cynin was also an abbat, a bishop, and the father of a daughter named Avitoria, whose ogam-stone, inscribed with a bi-lingual legend,[2] is one of the chief treasures of the church, where it was found in 1880. A mile or so to the north is a site still known as Parc yr Eglwys, where tradition declares there stood an earlier church.[3]

There seems to be little difficulty or risk in reconstructing history from these evidences. The earthwork was a secular residence of Cynin, possibly at one time his principal residence; and Cynin was a Christian like his father, and a man of education in his day.[4] His place of worship was the spot now called Parc yr Eglwys. On the death of his daughter, probably within this very *dun*, he decided to consecrate the spot to God, and to make the interment of Avitoria its consecration-burial. As the precinct was already circular, of suitable area, and provided with its own wall and fosse, nothing was needed but to consecrate it. So there she was buried, and in all likelihood her grave was in the centre of the precinct,[5] surrounded by a number of pillar-stones, on one of which her father 'wrote her name'; and either then or later was built an oratory. Cynin himself removed elsewhither, either to Llangynnin, or to Trawsmawr, four miles north-west of Carmarthen. His own gravestone with its Latin legend was found in the churchyard of Llanfihangel Croesfeini, 'St. Michael Stone-crosses,'[6] in the parish of Newchurch and three miles from Carmarthen.

The first and natural consequence of these proceedings

[1] *Inventory Carmarthensbire*, p. 40.

[2] The legend runs AVITORIA FILIA CUNIGNI—AVITORIGES INIGENA CUNIGNI. Upon his own sepulchral stone at Llanfihangel Croesfeini his name reads CUNEGNI. There seems to be no sufficient reason to doubt that Cunignus, Cunegnus, Cynning, Cynin, and Cymmin are one and the same. There is a Llangynnin 10 m. sw. of Carmarthen, and a Caer Gynnin at Tafarn Spite.

[3] For further particulars see Treherne, *Eglwys Cymmin* (Spurrell, Carmarthen, 1918), and a paper by the same in *Arch. Cambr.* July, 1907.

[4] So the *Triads*: 'Brychan gave to his children and grandchildren a liberal education, that they might teach the Christian faith to such of the Cymru as were unbelievers.' Brychan was contemporary with Cunedda.

[5] There is a considerable mound in the centre of the churchyard, though of slight elevation. Beneath this, at a depth of 6 ft., were found (1919) some six skeletons laid side by side with heads to the east, and also part of the skeleton of a lamb. Sir Arthur Keith pronounces the human bones to shew no features inconsistent with a date of the fifth or sixth century.

[6] Now destroyed.

was that the older burial-ground at Parc yr Eglwys was superseded and presently abandoned. The oratory by Avitoria's grave, originally the normal oblong hut of wattle or timber, came through many reparations and alterations to be the parish church ; and presently, re-built in stone, assumed at last the present plan,[1] nearly a thousand years after Avitoria's death. By that time at any rate Avitoria's grave was wholly forgotten, and her monument probably fallen ; and a new patron, Sir Guy de Brien, casting about for a new dedication, decided in favour of his saintly niece, whose nunnery was distant but three miles to the east at Llandawke.[2]

The churchyard of Eglwys Wrw,[3] in north Pembrokeshire, resembles that of Eglwys Cymmin, though, with the exception of the inner vallum, the traces of any earthworks which once surrounded it are difficult to recognise. The present church, which is dedicated to St. Cristiolus,[4] was built in the sixteenth century, but the earlier building stood until queen Elizabeth's time on the north side of the new church and in the centre of the graveyard.

It is recorded[5] that Maelgwn Gwynedd, prince of Powys, surrendered to St. Cybi a royal residence (*caer*), within which the saint at once proceeded to build a church. The date would be the first half of the sixth century.

The two *Lives* of St. Findian, the one Irish,[6] the other Latin, relate how the king of the district gave to God and the saint 'the fortress wherein kings were wont to dwell,' on the bank of a mere which Findian miraculously caused to become dry.

There is therefore documentary evidence for the transfer of secular sites to the Church, and their consecration as 'churches' ; and the archaeological evidence bears out the other.

We are further told[7] that St. Gwynlliw built a church

[1] This dates only from the end of the fourteenth century, when Guy de Brien added the chancel. There had apparently been an earlier extension westward.

[2] Llandawke is unexplained, but the name Castell Toch in the same parish may embody the same name.

[3] Referred by Baring Gould and Fisher (*Celtic Saints*, iii, 215) to a dubious St. Gwrw.

[4] A saint of the latter part of the fifth century, a nephew of St. Germanus and son of Emyr Llydaw (Llydaw the Armorican).

[5] *C.B.S.* pp. 187, 501.

[6] Translated by Whitley Stokes in *Book of Lismore*. St. Findian (of Clonard) is yet another instance of an Irishman's coming to do mission-work in Wales.

[7] *C.B.S.* p. 449, *note*. Gwynlliw Filwr (St. Gundleus) married a grand-daughter of Brychan and became the father of St. Cadoc.

beside his *caer* (at Newport, Mon.), to which the position of Parc yr Eglwys, a mile or so from Cynin's *dun* at Eglwys Cymmin would seem to provide a parallel.

Such as it is, the evidence of archaeology supports the view that the Welsh monastic settlement was imitated from that of Ireland; from which it would seem to follow that the earlier Christianity of the Roman-Britons was not monastic. Cynin himself was possibly half Irish, and he dwelt in a *dun* constructed according to Irish requirements. Earthworks of this type, small, symmetrical, compact, well built and triple-walled, and placed on relatively low ground, are not common in Wales, where the prevailing types are those of the hill-forts, of little regularity, rough workmanship, and no particular scheme of defence.

The facts further suggest that in Wales the *eglwys* was older than the *llan*, and so it unquestionably was in its original sense of a *place* of Christian meeting. The word did not acquire the sense of a *building* till some centuries afterwards.

Like the early Irish saints, those of Wales made a practice of withdrawing from the world sooner or later, and seeking places of retirement in the wilderness. The Irish *disert* reappears in Wales as *diserth*, and there are to this day three parishes in the Principality deriving their names therefrom; so many indubitable instances, that is, of the hermit's oratory growing up to be a parish church.

What was the manner of procedure in founding a *llan* upon a site as yet unoccupied, we are told, more or less directly, in several of the *Lives* of the Welsh saints.

St. Cadoc,[1] desirous of withdrawing from active missionary life, casts about for a suitable abode in the wilderness. He finds it in a wild valley ringed on all sides by hills, and miraculous assistance provides for him a 'level clearing' (*planum*, i.e. *llan*) amongst the rocks and brushwood. He is advised in an angelic vision how he shall determine the precise spots for his *templum*, *dormitorium*, and *refectorium*, to be dedicated in the name of the Holy Trinity. On the spot first indicated he erects

[1] He was a grandson of Brychan, and is said to have received part of his education in Ireland.

monasteriolum insigne, lignorum materie, 'a fine little cell of timber.' The next step is *vastum acervum de terra erigere*, 'to raise a great mound of earth,' and *in eodem pulcherrimum cimiterium facere*,' to lay out an exceeding fair graveyard therein,' to the end that 'the bodies of the faithful dead might be thither brought and there buried round the periphery (*circa ambitum*)[1] of the *templum*.' Leading to this he makes four wide paths 'down the four hill-slopes surrounding his cell (*cellam*).' Finally when all this is done, he 'caused to be thrown up in another spot a circular earthwork on the plan of a town (*tumulum in modum urbis rotundum*[2] *de limo terrae exaggerari*), and so to be reared (*in tumulum erigi*) what the Britons in their speech style Castell Cadoc.' The traditional scene of the settlement is Llancarfan[3] (Glam.), six miles east of Llantwit Major, subsequently the site of St. Illytd's vastly greater monastic settlement.

The writer of this *Life* is thought to have been of the twelfth century,[4] that is, of a time when the Normans were firmly planted in many parts of Wales, and along all its marches, and when the Roman type of monasticism was universally established in England. It must be assumed that he had before him manuscripts, whether Latin or Welsh or possibly Irish, of a far earlier date; but that he tampered with his originals after the fashion of his kind is clearly proved by two facts: firstly, he conceives a monastery to be necessarily made up of a church, a dorter, and a refectory; and secondly, he attributes to Cadoc the building of a Norman castle.

The Welsh monasteries of Cadoc's time, if they

[1] *Vita S. Cadoci*, 5 and 6. S. O. Addy (*Church and Manor*, p. 124) would emend to *circa aditum templi*, but *ambitum* is the reading of the MS. (*Cotton MSS.* Vespasian A xiv). *Templum* possibly translates *llan* of the Welsh original. At any rate it means 'precinct'—a correct Latin usage—as it unquestionably does again in *Vita S. Tathei*, where it is pointedly distinguished from the 'church' (*oratorium*) within the precinct (*fundavit templum, in quo constituit duodecim canonicos . . . singulis horis constitutis visitantes oratorium*).

[2] *Rotundum* for *circularem*, as in the account of St. Patrick's *fert* at Clebach (ch. xvii) and *passim*.

[3] Originally Nant Carfan, as *C.B.S.* declares. If *Llan* were original, the form of the name should be Llangarfan. The legend that St. Germanus founded a 'choir of saints' at Llancarfan (a transparent attempt to claim for Rome the Christianisation of Wales) seems to have juggled with Welsh phonetics to support its case: *Carfan* (*Garfan*) has been treated as a compound word (it is really the name of the stream) representing an original Carman (Garman), and this has been purposely confused with Garmon (Germanus). See Willis Bund, *Celtic Church of Wales*, p. 110, and the references there cited.

[4] *C.B.S.* p. 320, note.

resembled their Irish models, were innocent of any such specialisations as dorters, nor had they any 'church' as we understand that term. In Ireland the only essentials were the cemetery, the circular *limes*, and the *clochauns* which served at once as dwellings and as oratories; and to suggest that Wales was in advance of Ireland at that date in such matters is contrary to all tradition and all evidence. The scribe apparently found in the manuscript before him some typical monkish story of an angelic vision, and how the saint was guided by a wild boar[1] to the spot where he should build his 'monastery.' This brief account did not satisfy the taste of some 700 years later, and of a Latin monk withal. He therefore took upon himself to amplify the story with mention of such amenities as dorter and frater; but it is to be noticed that he gives of these features no detail whatever, which is in itself good evidence that there was nothing at all about them in the manuscript from which he was 'translating.'

The description of Castell Cadoc is yet more certainly an anachronism: it would stand to-day as a very fair description of any one of a score of castle-mounts of admittedly Norman construction.[2] It was the Norman way to build first a castle, and thereafter to provide for spiritual needs by building a church; or very commonly a castle was built close beside an existing church. There is some reason to believe that there was once just such a castle close beside the monastery at Llancarfan, and, its real origin forgotten, it would naturally become associated with the name of the saint and in the long run regarded as his work—Castell Cadoc. Whether or no this occurred, the twelfth-century scribe was evidently familiar with the normal facts of his own day, when castle and church usually stood side by side. He was troubled by the traditional account that St. Cadoc's settlement became a great teaching school, wherein was assembled a *familia* of 500 souls—clerics, soldiers, artisans, and poor—exclusive

[1] The intervention of some sort of animal in such cases is a regular part of the machinery in such tales, and in Welsh accounts the animal is frequently a wild boar, as in Irish legend it is frequently the Black Pig.

[2] e.g. the fine examples at Llampeter Velfry and Eglwys Wrw. There is, or was, just such another beside the church of Llanilid, some nine miles from Llancarfan, and there are numbers more scattered over the shires of Glamorgan, Carmarthen, and Pembroke.

of serfs and casual visitors.[1] As it did not appear to him possible that all these could be accommodated within the bounds of the monastery as described in the text before him, the worthy man felt bound to provide some sort of secular dwelling-place for the lay portion of this crowd, and therefore hit upon the idea of incorporating the *castell* into the tale.

The account, it will be observed, makes no mention of the specific construction of any church. The thing emphasised is the 'cemetery exceeding fair.' This is the primary consideration, the nucleus of the whole settlement; to it lead all the four paths, and to it everything else is subordinated.

Of the plan of the saint's *cimiterium* there is nothing definite said, but there is nothing whatever to suggest that it was in any way different from the normal Scotic and Welsh *locus consecratus*. Every Scotic monastic site was circular, and every Celtic burial-place was also circular. St. Cadoc's site was at once monastic and a burial-place, and for both reasons it must have been circular. Very possibly this is implied in the odd phrase *circa ambitum templi*. When we come to deal with the Welsh *mynwent*, it will transpire why the burials were to be 'round the periphery,' but not promiscuously over the whole area of the *templum*.

The only terms in the narrative which must or may imply any sort of roofed building, are *monasteriolum* and *cella*. The four roads lead over the hills about the *cella*, and the saint builds a *monasteriolum* of wood.

In strict language *monasteriolum* means 'a place where one person dwells alone,' not (as nowadays) a place where an unlimited number of persons lead a celibate life. *Monasteriolum*[2] should therefore mean 'a little place wherein to dwell alone.' It was a building, for it was made of timbers. It was at once the saint's dwelling-house and his oratory. Celtic practice required no more.

[1] *Vita S. Cadoci*, 15. In the *Triads* St. Cadoc figures as one of the 'three blessed trainers of British youth.' But when the saint made his *llan* in Nantcarfan he was still a small man on the threshold of his career.

[2] Bede uses it (*H.E.* iv, xiii, § 289) of the small settlement of the Irish missioner Dicul and his five or six brethren at Bosham, Sussex. *Monasterium* was constantly used by ecclesiastical writers as convertible with Latin *ecclesia* (A.-S. *mynstre*). See Ducange, *Glossary*; Bingham, *Christian Antiqs.* viii, i, § 2.

What then did the scribe mean by saying that the four great roads were expressly laid out to lead to the *cella?* Why did he substitute *cella* for *monasteriolum*, unless the *cella* were something different? There can be very little doubt that the word intended is the Celtic *kil* (*cil*), i.e. the burial-ground. This was the all-important thing. The roads did not lead merely to the saint's little wooden oratory, in which he sought privacy from the world, but along those roads, as the narrative asserts, the dead were to be brought for burial[1]—brought to the *kil.*

Naturally the saint must provide for himself a roof of some sort, and he placed it within the customary *limes.* The *limes* was circular, and the ground so enclosed was the *llan*, *corfflan*, or graveyard, which however did not become consecrated ground until one of the faithful had been buried there. This explains why the *cimiterium* comes first of all in the sequence. There does not occur in the whole detailed account any mention whatever of a 'church,' or of anything answering to a 'church.' The outstanding fact is that, before there could be anything of the sort, it was needful to have a *cimiterium.* It is this, and not a building, which is 'dedicated to the glory of God.' To put it bluntly, the first essential to a *llan* was a barrow.

Under angelic guidance Saint Cadoc presently founded another monastery 'near the mountain Bannawc, reputed the centre of Scotland. . . And upon a day, as he was digging the earth round the monastery he was to build,'[2] he had other miraculous experiences connected with the finding of certain giant bones. The text shows that he was digging the customary circular fosse which was to demarcate the barrow, i.e. the *llan.*

On yet another occasion, we are told, he 'built a church' (*ecclesiam*) for his disciple Macmoil, and 'wrought a vallum about it.'[3]

[1] On the Latinisation of *kil* by *cella*, see above, ch. xviii. This confusion cannot have arisen until Latin Christianity, or at any rate the Latin tongue, was established in Ireland, but it was inveterated before the thirteenth century. The author of the *Vita S. Cadoci* may therefore be acquitted of any deliberate intention to mistranslate; he was himself misled. Both *kil* and *ecclesia*, in Celtic lands, originally meant *coemeterium* and nothing else, and each assumed a new meaning under Latin influence.

[2] *C.B.S.* p. 57, *Cum terram circa construendum monasterium foderat* (? *foderet*). The translator (*op. cit.* p. 350) entirely misses the point of the gerundive. The reading in *Nova Legenda Angliae* (1516) is *dum terram ad construendum monasterium foderet.*

[3] *C.B.S.* p. 88, *munimine vallavit.* The translator has (p. 385) 'built a church *to*

St. Gwynlliw, building for himself a *habitaculum*, 'accordingly (*consequenter*) marked out a cemetery, and in the midst of it built a church (*templum*) of planks and wattle, which he daily visited with incessant prayer.'[1] And again, selecting a spot in a mountainous wilderness, he 'marked out a cemetery to the glory of St. Mary, and there built a church (*templum*), where he lived in prayer and fasting, with no companions but his servitors and his live-stock (*bestias*).'[2]

In the *Life of St. Illtyd* the procedure is so far precisely the same. The saint chooses his own *habitaculum* and Bishop Dubricius marks out for him firstly a *cimiterium* and secondly an *oratorium*.[3] Finally we are told that 'when all these had been demarcated, he founded a church (*ecclesiam*), building a four-square wall of stone above the surrounding fosse.'[4] It is at any rate clear that the *ecclesia* came last of all in the sequence. As the *oratorium* was already provided for, it is not clear why any *ecclesia* is mentioned at all, and this is the only passage in the *Lives* where oratory and church are spoken of as possibly different things. At this period of his career St. Illtyd was but a novice, and whatever may have been the requirements of his *familia* at a later date, he had as yet no need of anything beyond the ordinary. It is probable that the writer of the *Life* has again been misled here by the facts of his own age, or at least that he has attributed to St. Illtyd the erection of some church which arose in far later times upon the site in Hodnant made sacred by St. Illtyd's memory. Dr. Jos. Anderson cites as a specimen of the earliest Christian remains in Scotland

Macmoillus,' although the text goes on to state that Macmoil was there installed as prior. Rees (*ad loc.*) identifies with Mamhole, anciently Masmoil, a hamlet in the parish of Bedwellty, 5½ m. south of Tredegar (Mon.), where is a church dedicated to St. Sannan.

[1] *C.B.S.* p. 148.

[2] *C.B.S.* p. 150. The right of sanctuary extended to animals as well as to human beings (below, p. 251).

[3] *C.B.S.* p. 164. St. Illtyd's name, Latinised as Iltutus, survives in that of his great monastic foundation of Llantwit Major (otherwise Cor Illtyd, Bangor Illtyd, or Caerworgan), where were said to be gathered 2 401 monks, divided into seven 'churches,' 49 'companies,' and 343 'colleges' of 'seven saints' apiece. It ranked (*Triad* 84) as one of the three 'perpetual choirs' of Britain. St. Illtyd was by birth a Breton, the teacher of Gildas, and belongs to an earlier date than St. Cadoc.

[4] '*Fundavit ecclesiam munimine lapideo facto et quadrangulari super ambientem fossam*' (*C.B.S.* p. 164). The translation (ibid. p. 472) is again hopelessly at fault. It reads: 'he erected a church of stone materials and surrounded it with a quadrangular ditch.'

those upon the Brough of Deerness in Orkney, where eighteen rude mortarless cells are grouped within the remains of an earlier stone-revetted vallum around a lime-built church measuring internally 17 ft. 4 ins. by 10 ft. 2 ins. This 'church' is in plan precisely like the early Irish oratories, an oblong chamber with but one (east) window, and one (west) doorway. The cells and the vallum also are exactly like other such monastic remains in Ireland. The 'church,' being lime-built, is clearly a reconstruction of a later date,[1] and it is surrounded by the remains of 'a quadrangular enclosure, which has consisted of a stone wall about 3 ft. thick'; i.e. just such a *munimen lapideum et quadrangulare* as is spoken of in St. Illtyd's case.[2] It would seem then that a quadrangular enclosure is not in itself out of the question, but it cannot be shown that any enclosure of that plan was built in St. Illtyd's time. Conceivably the same thing happened at Hodnant and at the Brough of Deerness. A holy man chose the spot for his *desertum*, and built for himself a cell, presumably of wood and wattle. As time passed the sanctity of the spot increased,[3] but the original cell fell to decay, and presently other devotees, making the spot their home, rebuilt it in more permanent fashion, albeit without greatly altering its plan. This might be centuries later—in the case of the Brough it may have been 500 years later—when men were becoming familiar with the rectangular Roman precinct. And further to protect the restored oratory they built about it a *munimen quadrangulare*.

Amongst all the diversity of detail in these various accounts of the making of a *llan*, one fact is invariable, viz. the thing is first and foremost a place of burial. Further it was apparently as invariably circular. The only interpretation of these facts is that the earliest Welsh Christians, when desiring to make a *locus consecratus*, began with a

[1] It need not be later, however, than the existing cells, some of which may themselves be reconstructions reared upon the foundations of earlier *clochauns*.

[2] See the plan in *Scotland in Early Christian Times*, p. 102. The enclosure measures about 55 ft. by 40 ft. The same writer mentions (p. 171) another example on the Brough of Birsay, also in the Orkneys, where the dimensions are exactly double.

[3] Dr. Anderson (*op. cit.*) emphasises the fact that, though there is no tradition of the particular saint concerned with the Brough, the sanctity of the spot was evidently very great and very abiding.

barrow; and the making of the barrow preceded the building of any oratory. In Wales therefore, as in Ireland, the structural church came last in the evolution, and before any structural church was built the only *ecclesia* (*eglwys*) of Wales was a place where one or more of the faithful were buried, i.e. a Christian barrow.

The Welsh *llan* being to all appearance a copy of the Irish monastic settlement, it cannot have been introduced into Wales much before the year 500, nor does the generality of Welsh tradition claim for it a greater antiquity. Before that date the Christian place of meeting in Wales was not *llan* but *eglwys*, not a monastic settlement but a barrow. The name of the *locus consecratus* at Eglwys Cymmin is consistent with this view, Cynin being supposed to have lived in the fifth century. So is the name of the yet earlier *locus consecratus* at Parc yr Eglwys close by. Eglwys Cymmin was not called Llangynnin, because it never was a *llan*. So also with Eglwys Wrw within its *rath* of Irish type. There are in Wales in all six ancient parishes where *eglwys* is thus used, and always has been used, instead of *llan*.[1] It is not needful to claim for them all an antiquity as great as the fifth century, but on the other hand there is no reason why they should be less old. Certainly Eglwys Cymmin is entitled to rank amongst the very oldest recognisable Christian *loca consecrata* in Wales, and therefore in the United Kingdom. From the sixth century onward it would seem that monasticism gripped Welsh Christianity so firmly that for some centuries almost every new *locus consecratus* was a *llan*, the greater monasteries sending out lesser ones, colonies as it were of the mother-*llan*, until the whole country was covered with them and divided amongst them into so many potential parishes, amongst which survived here and there other *loca consecrata* of non-monastic origin, whether through the special patronage of a great man—as with Cynin at Eglwys Cymmin—or because of the peculiar sanctity of the place—as was the case e.g. at Clynnog.

The documentary evidence suggests that the primitive holy place of Christianity in Wales was normally enclosed within a circular *limes*, and this suggestion is borne out

[1] *Eglwys* has disappeared from a few other place-names, e.g. Gumfreston (Pemb.), which was anciently Ecclies Gunniau.

with overwhelming force by the evidence of the existing churchyards. Ignoring those—Eglwys Cymmin and Eglwys Wrw for example—which have been built within pre-existing *raths*, the list of Welsh churchyards which still retain the circular form would fill several pages with forbidding names. In Carmarthenshire alone there are more than a score,[1] not counting those in which there is evidence to show that, whatever their shape to-day, it was originally circular. They are to be found in every part of Wales, in the Brythonic North as freely as in the Goidelic South, and in the great majority of cases they are demonstrably ancient foundations. In Pembrokeshire is the churchyard of Mathry. In Flintshire the church of Llanarmon (yn Yale), of which the name preserves that of him who won the 'Alleluia Victory' in 430, has a circular *corfflan*, as have those of Cilcain and Meliden. That of Efenechtyd in Denbighshire has been mentioned before, and it is significant that the name signifies 'the monastery.' Elias Owen writing of the Vale of Clwyd, remarks 'the churchyards of this district are commonly circular.'[2] In Carnarvonshire are those of Carnguwch and Llanaelhaiarn; in Cardiganshire Llanwnws, Llangeitho, Bangor-Teifi, and Ciliau Aeron; in Montgomeryshire Llangadfan (enlarged in 1910), Caereinion, Llanerfyl, Llanmerewig; in Merionethshire Llandecwyn, Llanddwywe-is-y-Graig, Llandrillo and Pennal; in Breconshire those of Llangynog, Devynock, and Llanddewi 'r Cwm; in Radnorshire Diserth, St. Harmon, and Lanyre; in Monmouthshire that of Bassaleg; in Glamorganshire that of Penrice in Gower. These are but isolated examples amongst many circular garths. They are in fact ubiquitous and, if relatively fewer in some parts than in others, this is to be explained by greater Norman or English interference in those parts. To build or rebuild churches was a

[1] According to Mr. E. Lauder of H.M. Board of Agriculture there are traces of circularity in 72 cases out of 82. In 21 of the 72 cases the yards are actually circular to-day, while 13 others are partially so; and these are 47 per cent. of the whole. Amongst them are Cilymaenllwyd, Cilrhedyn West, Llandilo Fawr, Llanpumpsaint (Tithe map, 1839), Llansawel, Llanddeusant, Llanybyther, Myddfai, Newchurch (Tithe map, 1846; a road now carried across it), Llandyssilio, Llangadock, Llangan, Llangathen, Llangeler, Llangynog and Llandawke.

[2] *Stone Crosses of the Vale of Clwyd.* So Hughes and North, *Old Churches of Snowdonia* (1924), p. xxv: 'Where the ancient boundaries of churchyards can be traced, they are generally found to enclose a more or less circular space.'

Norman's hobby, and in indulging it he doubtless spoilt the shape of many an old churchyard.

The churchyard of Pentreath in Anglesey, five miles from Beaumaris, has been enlarged, but a considerable portion of it is still circular, and along the side and adjoining the new annexe the original *limes* is apparent in a bold sweeping scarp, and the surface of the older circular garth is considerably higher than the adjoining land. At Llangynog (Carm.) the churchyard, still circular, is surrounded by a pronounced vallum and an exterior fosse, in which latter are found fragments of burnt stone, ashes, and chips of flint, a 'foreign' stone in this district. At St. Harmon,[1] Radnorshire, the circular yard is girt by a continuous rampart rising in places 4 ft. above the interior surface and as much as 10 ft. above the ground outside. It is not surprising that such features should have been taken for the traces of ancient 'camps.' Thus of Llanwinio (Carm.) one reads[2] that 'the churchyard, which is a rough pentagon, suggests the site of an early camp, and the suggestion is strengthened by the proximity of an old cottage named Dan y Gaer ("below the camp").' An early bilingual ogam-stone was found here, with the symbol of the wheeled cross. Again at Meidrim: the church (St. David's) 'stands in what has almost certainly been a prehistoric earthwork. To the west is a remnant of the bank that surrounded the position, and there are slight traces of the exterior ditch.'[3] So too with Llanmerewig (Mont.): 'the churchyard is nearly circular and has every appearance of having been a small prehistoric hill-top enclosure. It is surrounded by an earthen bank, outside which a modern stone wall has been built.'[4] Speaking of the church of Llanbedr in Anglesey, R. Fenton wrote (1810) that 'the present cemetery seems to be formed out of an old *caer*.'[5] The same inference has been drawn of scores of churches which stand within *raths* in Ireland, and of yet others in Scotland and in England. 'Camps' in a sense these earthworks doubtless were,

[1] The church was described so late as 1908 as 'a small and simple structure placed *on a little eminence* in a dreary plain surrounded by mountains.'

[2] *Inventory Carmarthensbire*, no. 589.

[3] ibid. no. 624.

[4] *Inventory Montgomerysbire*, no. 621.

[5] *Tours in Wales* (*Cambr. Arch. Assoc.* 1917, p. 265).

but not in the sense present to the minds of those who have called them so; for those who built them and dwelt within them were neither military men nor prehistoric, but the pioneers of monastic Christianity at any date between the fifth and eighth centuries, occasionally perhaps much later. There seems evidence enough to date the earliest of them as not earlier than the end of the fifth century, but when the fashion of building them ceased it would be hard to say; possibly not until Celtic monasteries ceased to be founded, and the Latin *regula* prevailed all over Wales.[1]

Scattered up and down the country are to be found also in places where to-day is neither trace of there ever having stood a church, nor other hint of the fact than the name, fields bearing such names as Parc yr Eglwys,[2] 'church field,' or Parc y Cloddfa, 'graveyard field.' One such has been mentioned already (p. 233), a mile or so from the present church of Eglwys Cymmin; another lies two miles west of the church of Marros (Carm.). In the latter case there are still visible considerable portions of a series of three broad ramparts with corresponding fosses enclosing a circular area, wherein excavation brought to light the remains of a dwelling, apparently of wood, with a rude hearth or pitched floor, and the shards and other oddments which bespeak it a habitation. This was probably the site of the original 'church,' i.e. the cell of the holy man, at once his dwelling and his oratory. In the other case destruction has gone too far to allow any exact determination of the plan. To both sites attaches the tradition that 'the old church stood there.' Another Carmarthenshire example is in the parish of Trelech a'r Bettws, where a field called Parc yr Eglwys still retains 'the faint traces of an oval enclosure'[3]; and there is a fourth in the parish of Llangynnin.[4] In not a few cases the field itself is circular or oval, as for example Cloddfa[5] Ffynnon, a now secularised

[1] There is a recorded case of an Irish missioner's building a *rath* upon the Scottish coast as late as the thirteenth century.

[2] Similarly Kirk Park in Scotland. 'In Mordington parish, Berwickshire, is a field known as Kirk Park, where the parish church once stood' (Mackinlay, *Pre-Reformation Church*, p. 126).

[3] *Inventory Carmarthenshire*, no. 761.

[4] ibid. no. 495.

[5] Or Claddfa. According to Silvan Evans *Cloddfa* = 'quarry,' *Claddfa* = graveyard: cf. The A.-S. *graef* = grave, *graefel* = quarry. Both the Welsh words are connected with *clawdd*, 'dyke' (cf. *claustrum*), the reference being to the 'dyke' surrounding the burial-place.

oval field in the parish of Eglwys Bach,[1] five miles south-east of Conway, and a mile or so north of the present parish church. There being no reason whatever to doubt that these names are ancient, the cases go to prove that wherever there was an *eglwys*, whether or no there was also a monastic settlement, the plan of the precinct was still circular.

About half a mile north of the present church (St. Matthew) of Llanelwedd, Radnorshire, is a small piece of ground known as Cae Henllan ('Old Church Field), whence the local tradition declares were brought the stones of an older church to help in building the new one. The ground in question crowns an inconsiderable knoll, and is circular in plan, surrounded by an inner fosse and an exterior vallum. The vallum, 12 feet in width, rises some 3 feet above the natural surface of the soil without, and the garth again rises with the gentle swell of a depressed barrow to a height of some 7–8 ft. above the bottom of the shallow fosse. From fosse to fosse the diameter is 45 paces. The entrance seems to have been at the north-east. In effect the whole is an excellent example of the ring-barrow, and as such it would probably have been recognised but for the name attaching to it. Some tentative excavations (1910) which revealed 'the foundations of a rough wall and also some pitching,'[2] appear to confirm the local belief that it was actually the site of the original 'church' of the parish.

If in Wales there has as yet been recognised nothing equivalent to those monastic *cashels* and *raths* which are so abundant in Ireland,[3] it is safe to say that it is only for the lack of seeking. The reviving interest in Welsh antiquities will probably soon detect some of the number. There is no reason to think that the outward forms of Christianity in Wales were in any essential point different from those of Ireland. There is known a considerable

[1] i.e. Bach ap Cadfan, a well-known saint. The present church, however, is dedicated to St. Martin, and its graveyard is rectangular.

[2] *Inventory Radnorshire*, no. 335. Not 50 yds. away to the east, on another slight knoll, is another unmistakable barrow of the 'bowl' type, apparently originally revetted with stone; and about ¾ mile to the south-east is the diminutive disc-barrow locally known as the 'Cockpit.'

[3] 'No vestige appears to remain of any early Welsh monastery' (Prof. Tyrrell Green, *Trans. Cymmrodorion Soc.* 1916–1917, p. 67).

number of Welsh ring-works, larger or smaller, enclosing the ruins of huts, and it is quite possible that some of these represent deserted monastic *llans*.[1] Such things must have existed in Wales, and a possible example is to be seen in the parish of Llangybi, Carnarvon, three miles from the sea-coast of Tremadoc Bay.

The church of the village stands within a garth still in part circular, and there is proof that until recent years it was wholly so. The church is said to have possessed originally only an eastern light and a door at the west end; in other words to have been of that most primitive plan common to Ireland and to Wales. Somewhat to the north is a spring known as Ffynnon Cybi, 'Cybi's well' and on the summit of the hill (700 ft.) beyond the spring is a ruined ringwork of stone called Carn Pentirch. Within it is a vast litter of loose stone in which may be seen a number of circular depressions of small size, strongly suggestive of the ruins of bee-hive huts. One is greatly tempted to see here the ruins of a considerable monastic settlement of the familiar Irish plan. Welsh tradition declares that the bones of the saint—he was of sufficient importance to find a place in the *Lives*—were carried off (961) to Ireland by the pirate sons of Alboic, king of that country; and it is usually held that the resting-place of his relics had been at Holyhead, where also was Maelgwn's *caer*, which likewise became a *llan* of Cybi.[3]

The *Laws* of Howel Dda[4] give elaborate details of the right of sanctuary (*nawd*, *noddfa*), the building of a church, and the demarcation of a graveyard (*corfflan*). Amongst

[1] They have probably been overlooked simply because of the mistaken belief that such *llans* should shew obvious traces of structural 'churches,' which in reality belong to a later age. In the parish of Llandyssilio-Gogo (Card.) is a farm called *Ciliau* (pl. of *cil* = 'cells'), and near it a circular enclosure 200 ft. in diameter, surrounded by a rampart of loose stones and divided into three compartments (Lewis, *Topog. Dict.*). Tyssilio, son of Cadell Deyrnllwg, belonged to the sixth century. In the parish of Llanddeiniolen (Carn.) certain enclosures used to be called *Corlanau Gwyr Môn* ('Folds of the Men of Mona'). *Corlan* in North Welsh and Cornish means a 'churchyard.'

[2] i.e. The *llan* of Cybi, the saint to whom Maelgwn Gwynneth made over a royal *caer* (p. 234). He belonged to the house of Cystennin Gorneu (the 'Cornishman'), and was therefore a kinsman of Geraint, prince of Dumnonia (Devon and Cornwall). There is another Llangybi in Cardiganshire.

[3] Dr. Mortimer Wheeler, in *Y Cymmrodor*, xxxiii (1923), pp. 98-101, pronounces the *caer* to be late Roman work, possibly a small coastguard station. St. Cybi's church, which occupies a large part of the small area, is a mediaeval structure. Holyhead is now (1925) wishful to resume its older name of Caergybi.

[4] Codified in the earlier half of the tenth century. Different authorities give various dates between 926 and 943.

these recurs constantly mention of something termed the *mynwent*.[1] It is spoken of as if, like the church itself, it was something too familiar to need description, and the context shews that, again like the church, it was something included within the graveyard. The *Laws* speak of it as a *locus consecratus* of peculiar sanctity: the penalty for brawling therein is specially determined, as it is for brawling in the church itself; those entering it must leave their weapons at the gate of it; and it is one of the places wherein a man may walk about in sanctuary. It was further a recognised place for the holding of courts of law. Finally it was a place of burial for persons of special note. All the authorities are agreed that the name of it represents the Latin word *monumentum*.

Now in the earliest explicit directions for the demarcation of a churchyard (*corfflan*) it is laid down that the area thereof shall be thus determined:—

> 'A legal *erw*, with its end to the *mynwent*, shall be its breadth, and this encircling the *mynwent* shall be its compass.'[2]

The term *erw* is elsewhere as a rule used of superficial measure only,[3] and that a measure of very variable extent.[4] But four facts are clear: (1) the *corfflan* was something different from the *mynwent*; (2) the *corfflan* was conceived of as necessarily circular; (3) the *mynwent* was the central feature of the *corfflan*; and (4) the disposition of *corfflan* and *mynwent* had nothing to do with the presence or position of any structural church.

According to the accepted interpretation the *mynwent* was a court next to the church, the *corfflan* was 'a more outward yard encompassing the other on every side, in which they buried their dead.'[5] There is no existing

[1] Specifically used in modern Welsh of a consecrated burial-ground, a churchyard, and so used in the Welsh prayer-book. Of unconsecrated burial-grounds is used *claddfa*. *Corfflan* is rarely heard, but in North Wales *corlan* ('sheepfold') may be used. The Welsh are historically correct in their refusal to extend the term *mynwent* to a Nonconformist burial-ground.

[2] Aneurin Owen, *Ancient Laws of Wales*, i, 140; ii, 360.

[3] It would appear however, like the English rod and furlong, to have been used of lineal measure also.

[4] Herbert Lewis (*Welsh Laws*, pp. 122 *sqq.*) gives the values thus:—

Venedotian Code (North Wales).
1 *erw* = 960 sq. yards English.
Demetian Code (West Wales)
1 *erw* = 512 sq. yards English.
Gwentian Code (South Wales),
1 *erw* = 729 sq. yards English.

Another authority would argue it equivalent to 4,320 sq. yds. English, or little short of a statute acre.

[5] Williams, *Eccles. Antiqs. of the Cymry*, p. 188, citing Wotton, *Leges Walliae*,

fact in Welsh ecclesiology to bear out this view, nor can those who hold it suggest any reason for the existence of the *mynwent* except that it was intended as a sanitary precaution, i.e. to keep the graves of the dead at a certain distance from the 'church.' All the evidence, however, shews that Christianity did not in early times take any such precaution, but rather the contrary; and if the *mynwent* was a place where the dead were not to be buried, the reason for its peculiar name (*monumentum*) is not apparent. That name, if it means anything, signifies that *mynwent*, then as now, meant a place of burial; and the evidence indicates that it was moreover a burial-place of very peculiar sanctity.

Opinions differ as to the value of the *Laws* of Howel, but while it is quite possible that they may have been greatly altered in certain of their details during the lapse of centuries, it is not credible that a law relating to the elemental and all-important matters of religion and burial should have been materially altered. These were not matters in which any one had an axe to grind, or in which the memory of custom could speedily fade. Statutory innovation in such a matter at such a date is almost unthinkable, and there is every presumption that the law quoted above embodies the normal practice of its time, though some corruption of the text may easily have occurred to fog the manner of its expression.

Now in regard to the *loca consecrata* of Celtic paganism it was seen that for their consecration there was required a burial—that they did not become consecrated places until the consecration-grave was made and filled. The Rev. S. Baring Gould points out that there is evidence to shew that the same feeling held good in regard to early Christian monastic sites: 'In order to secure a site for a monastery, some one must be buried in it,'[1] and when Columba made his settlement at Hy he consecrated it by the burial of a monk of his own retinue, a sufficiently obvious case of what we should to-day call human sacrifice. Other proofs of similar practices are adduced by the same writer, but the barbarism would seem speedily to have

ii, 8, 12, 19; Pughe's *Welsh Dict. s.v.* Erw. So also Richards, *Welsh Dict.* (Dolgelley, 1815) *s.v.* Corphlan.

[1] *Arch. Cambr.* xvii (1900), p. 256.

died out, for in describing the manner in which Ceadda hallowed the soil for the building of his monastery at Lastingham (*circa* 654), Bede explains that he did it by fasting and praying for forty days, i.e. for a continuous Lent, ' for such, he said, was the practice of those from whom he had learnt the rule of regular discipline in consecrating to the dead by prayer and fasting every new spot acquired for the building of a monastery or a church.'[1] Ceadda's teacher was the Irish bishop Finan of Lindisfarne, the successor of Aidan, who had himself been a pupil of Columba in Hy. As Finan became bishop in 651, we may, infer that the earlier savage method of consecration was already set aside by that date.[2] Hy was founded in 563 : so long at any rate persisted the pagan belief that a human life was necessary for the hallowing of holy ground. That belief abandoned, the hierarchy substituted another, that burial was not permissible to Christians excepting in hallowed ground. But it is a fact of everyday experience that the laity at large, at any rate in this country, have never wholly abandoned the older belief that burials themselves make holy ground, with the necessary corollary that the greater the number of the dead, the greater the sanctity of the spot.[3]

In the days of Howel the Good (tenth century), as his *Laws* declare, the *mynwent* was the basic fact, the point from which the whole cemetery began. In pre-Christian times the basic fact in a *locus consecratus* was the interment of a human being, and the same held good of a Christian *llan*. It follows that the two things must be one and the same—that the *mynwent* was originally the burial-place of the person, whether pagan or Christian, whose interment was the consecration of the whole *llan*, but that in Howel's time it had come to be the central point only, the place of honour, reserved either for the actual

[1] *H.E.* III, xxiii, § 218.

[2] So far, that is, as the bishopric of Lindisfarne, and the influence of its *alumni*, extended. We have no authority for the inference that it was nowhere followed after that date ; and the practice of building a church or a monastery over the grave of any of the distinguished *fideles* who had made a more normal end, or over the place where had fallen any large number of the faithful, has never ceased at all. As late as 1851 Gambier Parry, of Highnam (Glouces.), built a church over the grave of his wife at Highnam.

[3] Illustrations are hardly necessary. To this day the road-men carefully renew from year to year the marks which tell where fell the victims of lightning beside a certain road in Sussex. Presumably they never heard of a *fulguritum* or a *bidental*.

burial, when opportunity offered, of some person whose bones would lend additional sanctity to the whole, or for the reception of relics of such a person.

To Celtic Christianity all graveyards were *ipso facto* sanctuaries, and it is known that this feeling was itself inherited from pre-Christian times. The *mynwent* therefore was doubly a sanctuary as the *Laws* declare. The right of sanctuary reached even to animals feeding in the churchyard, and the privileges of the sanctuary might extend to long distances therefrom, their boundaries marked by ditches, stones, or other means. In Scotland the stones thus used were called girth-stones,[1] and the limits of the sanctuary of Torphichen, Linlithgow, connected with a preceptory of the knights of St. John, were four, 'each about a mile distant from a central stone in the churchyard.'[2] There can be little doubt that the 'central stone in the churchyard' represented the original *mynwent*. Like the other girth-stones at Torphichen it was marked with a cross, and says Walcott, 'before the middle of the eleventh century there was always a central cross erected in churchyards.'[3] This again can only be the successor of the stone or stones which marked the earlier *mynwent*. In course of time the older and wider privilege of sanctuary was restricted to the churchyard only, whence in the language of English documents of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries '*sanctuarium*, and its equivalents, almost always mean churchyard.'[4] Still later it was, save in special cases, limited to the structural church or even to some part only of that church, and so far was the churchyard from affording sanctuary to a fugitive that his pursuers were accustomed to camp within it to watch him,

[1] A.-S. *Grith-stanes*. The ancient ruined church at Orphir in the Orkneys was commonly called the 'Girth house' as late as 1861 (*Arch. Journal*, xviii, 228).

[2] *New Statist. Acct. Linlithgow*, p. 49. So again at Ripon. Girald. Cambrensis (*Description of Wales*, i, xviii) says that the limit of sanctuary in Wales extended usually '*quantum armenta mane ad pascua exire et vesperi redire possunt.*' The church of the parish of Darowen, 6 miles NE. of Machynlleth (Mont.), stands within the township of Noddfa, 'the place of sanctuary'; and three girth-stones, each called *Careg Noddfa*, stood at as many points about a mile distant from the church.

[3] *Sacred Archaeology* (1838), p. 192. The passage seems to imply that as yet there was no structural church on that spot, if it does not also imply that the churchyard was invariably circular.

[4] E. Peacock on Myrc's *Instructions to Parish Priests*, v. 330, 'wythynne chyrche and seyntwary.' Wilkins' *Concilia*, ii. 183: 'Ecclesiarum sanctuaria, quae populariter coemeteria nominantur' (Synod. Cicestrensis, 1292, cap.i.) The word *sacrarium* was occasionally used in the same sense; see Ducange.

and the earlier privilege of the churchyard required to be re-affirmed—but only partially—by law. Finally it came to be maintained that not even the structural church could afford sanctuary unless there could be adduced proof that such church had been properly consecrated by a bishop, a condition which ruled out a multitude of ancient churches of Celtic foundation.[1]

Lingard[2] challenged the view that early British churches had no dedications, and that the Celtic 'saints' left their names to their several *kils* and *llans* in default of any other dedication. If the *Lives of the Cambro-British Saints*[3] and the *Life of St. Patrick* be accounted dubious evidence, we have still the authority of Bede for the dedication of John of Beverley's *n ansio* to St. Michael,[4] of Ethelburga's cemetery at Barking to St. Mary,[5] and for yet another St. Mary's at Lichfield in the time of Chad.[6] The variety of such dedications was probably small at first, so that in the rush of Christianity's first expansion there would come to be a perplexing multitude of Mary-churches, Michael-churches, and so on. To distinguish one from another there could be no more natural way than to speak of each foundation by the name of the earthly saint who was most prominently connected with it, whether as founder or otherwise[7]; and in the upshot his name would inevitably overshadow, or even actually efface the original dedication. When subsequently Roman Christianity supervened, there might arise such double dedications as that of Llanfair a Chyrig, where however we have no means of knowing whether the dedication to St. Mary (*Fair*) is original, or

[1] See Jusserand, *English Wayfaring Life*, and especially *appendix* x thereto, citing a case from *Year Books* (Rolls Series, 1863) i, p. 541. The question whether the building was or was not 'a true church, duly consecrated' was left to the inquisition of the customary jury of twelve. Churchyard sanctuary was theoretically abolished in 1623 (Walcott, *Sacred Archaeology*, p. 157).

[2] *Hist. A.-S. Church* (1845), ii, pp. 381-385.

[3] St. Cadoc's monastery at Llancarfan is dedicated to the Holy Trinity (p. 33); St. Beuno dedicates a church to the Lord Christ (pp. 14, 301); St. Gwynlliw makes a cemetery and a church in honour of St. Mary (pp. 150, 456); St. Illtyd's church is founded 'to the honour of the Supreme and Undivided Trinity' (pp. 163, 472). The greater number of Trinity dedications are said to be late. Old Llandrindod for example has superseded an earlier Lando =Llanduw, 'Church of God.'

[4] *H.E.* v, ii, § 362.

[5] ibid. iv, x, § 281.

[6] ibid. iv, iii, § 265.

[7] Prof. A. Hamilton Thompson reminds me that the same thing happens to-day Churches built by private benefactors, in industrial areas, and more especially in Lancashire, are often known popularly by the names of the founders rather than by their official dedications. For example, Christ Church, Didsbury, is usually spoken of as Roberts' church.

secondary and due to the Cistercian influence.[1] Of the long list of Llanfairs in the modern clergy-list, the most are distinguished by geographical or topographical epithets, while in Llanfairfechan and Llanfair-Talhaiarn the distinctive is a personal name indeed but no part of the dedication. The difference is like that between e.g. a 'church of St. Peter and St. Paul' and the church of Paul's Walden, i.e. of Walden belonging to the dean and chapter of St. Paul's in London.

The pagan Welsh buried their dead as did their kindred of Great Britain and Ireland. Barrows and cairns are to be found broadcast over the country. Mostly they are 'bowls' and 'bells,' but inferior forms of the ring-barrow occur here and there.[2] The disc-barrow proper, is very rare (ch. iii).

Megalithic monuments also, if numerous, are much less abundant than one would expect. There are few really fine dolmens,[3] and cromlechs and *menhirs* rarely approach the proportions of those to be seen in England and in Brittany. The three principal types of megalithic monuments are however all represented, and the larger circles belong for the most part to the more Brythonic areas of the principality.

In Old Welsh writings are mentioned the burials of various notabilities of pre-Christian time: thus Bronwen the daughter of Llyr was buried 'in a four-sided grave (cist) upon the banks of the river Alaw' in Anglesey. In 1813,[4] at a spot still known as Ynys Bronwen (Bronwen's Isle),

[1] Chyrig (Cyrig) is St. Cyric, but whether a local Welsh saint, or the better-known St. Cyric of the Roman Calendar, is uncertain. The place in question lies north of Whitland (Carm.), and became the property of the Cistercians. The churches of Llanilid a Churig, Glam., and of Capel Curig, Carnarvon, are dedicated to SS. Cyric and Julitta jointly (*C.B.S.* p. 609, *note*). This however is a Latin conjunction; the original British pair seem to have been Curig and Ilud. See Baring Gould and Fisher, *British Saints, s.v. Curic and Julietta.*

[2] In Flintshire the barrows 'are exclusively round of form.' In Montgomeryshire there is 'one exception to the otherwise universal type of circular sepulchral mound,' and this exception—the group of eleven mounds at Llanfihangel-yng-Ngwynfa—is very possibly not sepulchral at all, and therefore no exception. So of Radnorshire. The citations are from the Introductions to the *Inventories of the Royal Commission for Wales and Mon.* (1911–). The same appears to be true of Carmarthenshire. The mound at Newmarket, Prestatyn, called Copp'a'r leni, is reputed the largest barrow but one in Great Britain. The list of known Welsh long barrows is very short.

[3] One of the largest groups is that at Dyffryn (Glam.), one of which—the St. Nicholas dolmen—is claimed to be the finest in the British Isles.

[4] *Mabinogion.* The matter was reported in the *Cambro-Briton*, ii, 71, and the urn found with the burial is now in the British Museum.

was discovered exactly such a grave with the remains of a female there buried ; and there is no doubt that tough tradition had handed down not merely the fact of a burial which took place at that spot nearly 2,000 years before, but even certain details of that burial. In the light of such proof of the value of Celtic tradition in matters of sepulture the poem called *The Warriors' Graves*[1] becomes a very valuable document indeed. It purports to give the burial-places of some 200 of the hero-figures of old Welsh tradition ; and while some of these are described as being 'near the church (*eglwys*)' or 'in the *llan*,' and may therefore belong to Christian times,[2] others are unquestionably pre-Christian burials. Among them are mentioned (*v.* 63) the grave of Mediawg, 'a quadrangular grave (*pedrifal*) with four stones round the front (*ae pedwar mein amytal*) ;' the grave of Meigen the son of Rhun[3] (*v.* 17), lord of a cantref, 'in the circular space (*yn yr amgant*)' ; and the grave of Tarw Torment, 'in the *mynwent* of Corbre.'[4] Each of the three types of grave here described[5] has its replica in confessedly Christian Wales. The 'circular space' of the grave of Meigen was perpetuated in every *llan* and in every *eglwys* ; the pillar-stones reappear when St. Cadoc erects an upright stone near the burial-place of his architect Liugwri,[6] and St. Illtyd buries his teacher Samson in his *llan* between 'upstanding square stones'[7] ; and as late as the tenth

[1] *Englynion y Beddau*, from the *Black Book of Carmarthen* (twelfth cent.), printed in Skene's *Four Ancient Books of Wales*, i, p. 309.

[2] This is not by any means certain, for *llan* may have been in use in the sense of 'barrow' before Christian times, if *eglwys* was not.

[3] Possibly the person whose name is disguised in that of Caerhun (Carn.) of which the church stands within a Roman camp. Rhun was a son of Maelgwn Gwynedd.

[4] Apparently a personal name. Cairbre Musc was one of the traditional heads of the Deisi, who migrated from Ireland to Wales; but Corbre cannot be identified with any person or place that is Welsh.

[5] It may be added that in the same poem are mentioned the 'graves on the beach,' where were buried Sanant, Carwen, and others. This proves, if proof were needed, that the Celts of Wales, like those of other countries, did not always make their barrows in the high places of the earth.

[6] *Vita S. Cadoci*, 17.

[7] 'In medio quadrangularium lapidum recte insistentium' (*C.B.S.* p. 171). If the exact number of stones is not here specified, it may perhaps be seen at the so-called grave of St. Non, mother of St. David, near to St. David's cathedral. [Like others of the saints, St. Non has more than one place of burial; her tomb is shewn in the parish church of Dirinon (explained as *Terra de Nonna*) in Brittany]. So too in the churchyard of Towyn (Merion.), where are 'four small menhirs marking off a quadrangular space. Graves are dense about it, but no interments are made within. Here originally stood the Cadfan stone, now removed to the church for preservation' (Baring-Gould and Fisher, *Lives of the British Saints*, ii, 6). Saint Cadfan (sixth century) founded the

century the *mynwent* was regarded as the burial-place *par excellence* of every churchyard. The pillar-stone, with or without ogams, is said to be a peculiarly Goidelic form of monument.[1]

The *mynwent* was the central grave of a pagan barrow—originally perhaps the barrow itself, regarded as the memorial of some one great personage—the *raison d'être* of the whole, the consecration grave which made it a *locus consecratus*. The pagan grave might be marked in various ways—by a dolmen covered or uncovered, by one or more pillar-stones, by a grave-slab, or conceivably by nothing but the central position; but in some form or other it was invariably surrounded by the circular *limes* which denoted holy ground. When Christianity supplanted paganism the *limes* was retained as a matter of course, and the *mynwent* was likewise retained, but with a difference. Heretofore it had been the *raison d'être* of the whole barrow, which was certainly not generally intended to be used thereafter as a promiscuous burial-ground. But in the Christian period the *mynwent* was not so much the *raison d'etre* of the holy ground about it, as an additional guarantee of the sanctity of that ground. If the *limes* were constituted, as in the case of the king's daughters of Clebach,[2] and as appears to have been the case with Avitoria at Eglwys Cymmin,[3] expressly for the burial of some person or persons of distinction, then naturally the bodies of such persons would be buried in the centre, the place of honour, and would in fact constitute the *mynwent*. But such cases would probably be the exceptions, and most *llans* would of necessity make shift without the death of any one of the rank of a saint or a princess. Nevertheless the *limes* required its traditional

church of Towyn. Perhaps the four stones in the parish of Walton and Womaston, Radnor, have a like origin (*Inventory Radnor*, no. 615 B). The reader will remember that if the peristalith were limited to four stones, they might none the less stand on the circumference of a circle whereof the grave is the centre. This is the arrangement in some Scottish burials also (R. Munro, *Prehistoric Scotland*).

[1] There are scores of pillar-stones still standing in Welsh churchyards. In that of Tregaron (Card.) are four, two of which have inscriptions, while the others are plain.

[2] p. 223.

[3] The sanctity of a burial-place might survive the loss of its *raison d'etre*. On the spot where had been murdered the shepherdess Machuta, St. Tathan founded a church (*ecclesia*, *martyrium*), but presently translated her body to his own *llan* at Caerwent. Yet the original *martyrium* is said to have survived to be the present-day parish church of Llanvaches, two miles west of Caerwent.

consecration by burial, as is proved by the story of the hallowing of Hy. Whether the body of such an inconsiderable person was commonly laid in the *mynwent* may be doubted. It is much more probable that in such cases the *mynwent* remained for the time being a cenotaph, until chance should provide an occupant of sufficient dignity. As a rule this would be when the founder himself died, so that the provision of a *mynwent* in that case reduces itself to exactly the same procedure as when Augustine builds his own mortuary church at Canterbury, and when Cuthbert makes provision for his own burial in his *mansio* at Farne.[1]

In other cases, and increasingly as the cult of relics developed, there would be secured some relic or other to be deposited in the *mynwent* and serve the same purpose. The *Laws* of Howel Dda belong to an era when, this cult being at its height, it was felt that every new foundation must necessarily have its relics, and the *mynwent* was the spot reserved for their reception. In Ireland, it will be remembered, as in Man and in Scotland, *relic* (*reilic*, *rhullic*) was synonymous with *fert*, 'grave.'

Such buildings as were erected within the *llan* in the earliest Christian times would be exactly similar to those of contemporary Irish Christianity, i.e. mere huts or cells. In Wales as in Ireland originally the same roof covered oratory and dwelling house,[2] and the development therefrom of what we call a church would follow much the same stages. The earliest cells were certainly built of wood or of wattle in Wales exactly as in Ireland.[3] Cadoc's

[1] Cuthbert expressly commanded his disciples never to leave his body, wherever that might be laid, and they followed it through many translations to its final resting-place at Durham. So when St. Cadoc died there was built over the sepulchre a church 'into which no Briton is permitted to enter,' lest he shall steal the saint's bones, and 'from the taking away of that very precious deposit, all the miracles and the whole influence of the saint should, together with the dust of his precious relics, be carried away' (*C.B.S. Vita S. Cadoci*, 36).

[2] *C.B.S. Vita S. Gundlei*, 8. The saint makes his residence within his cemetery, living there with his servitors and his cattle. His 'church' on the same spot is 'full of clothing, food, and many precious things,' cheeses amongst them (c. 13). Obviously it was the saint's dwelling-house, larder, dorter and oratory all in one, for a robber (c. 14) steals 'the chalice and ecclesiastical vestments.' The building is spoken of as *templum*, *ecclesia*, and *habitationis locus* indifferently. So *Vita Cadoci*, 55; the saint builds a church (*ecclesia*) for his disciple Macmoil, 'that he might himself find lodging therein (*quo hospitaretur*),' on his journeys between Llancarfan and Gwent. In this use of the 'church' as a *hospitium* may be found the origin of some of the many places called *Ystyty*, some of which may be a good deal older than is usually supposed.

[3] At Trelystan (Mont.), 3 miles SE. of Welshpool, still remains a wooden church,

monasteriolum was of wood, as was that of St. Brynach, and that of St. Gwynlliw. Cadoc is said indeed to have built monasteries of stone at Bannawc in Albania (Scotland)[1] and in Brittany,[2] but these are emphasised as unusual cases. He had another *oratorium* at Neath, and this also was built of wood; and when the buildings at Llancarfan were destroyed by fire, he rebuilt them still of wood only. If stone was used at all in the early days it would be mortarless, and no trace of any such buildings could well survive until our times.[3] By the time when building in stone had come to be general, the practice of raising a chapel over the *mynwent* had also arisen.[4] If the sanctity of the spot survived, the chapel would remain, at any rate in some instances, even when the times demanded a 'church' as we understand that term. There is at the present day a cardinal example in Wales at Clynnog in Carnarvonshire, where the ancient building, known as the Eglwys y Bedd ('church of the grave'), still stands in the churchyard beside the larger and later fourteenth-century church, and probably covers the actual grave of St. Beuno,[5] the *genius loci*. At Eglwys Wrw (Pemb.)

said to date from the early part of the fifteenth century only (*Inventory Mont.* no. 908). The earlier name for Nannerch (Flint) was Capel Gwiel yn y Rhos, 'The wattled church on the moor.' The church of St. David in Ewias, now familiar as Llanthony Priory, was in the time of Girald. Cambrensis 'covered with lead and built of wrought stone ... not unhandsomely constructed,' on the very spot where the humble chapel of David the archbishop had formerly stood, decorated only with moss and ivy (*Itin. Wales*, i, 3). This was in 1187, but even so late the narrator implies that the greater number of churches in Wales were still built of timber only, for he frequently mentions their burning (e.g. Llywel, near Trecastle, i, 1; others in Powys, ii, 12). The same writer tells us (*Desc. of Wales*, i, 17) that in his time the Welsh 'do not erect sumptuous palaces, or lofty stone buildings, but content themselve with small huts made of the boughs of trees twisted together, constructed with little labour and expense, but sufficient to endure for the space of a year.'

[1] *Vita S. Cadoci* 33.

[2] ibid. 32.

[3] Professor Lloyd (*Hist. Wales* i, p. 209) declares that there was no stone-buil church in Wales before the eleventh century. Probably there was none of squared and mortared stone, but it is only reasonable to suppose that there may have been some of unsquared dry masonry like that of Cuthbert at Farne. Welsh, like Anglo-Saxon, has no native word for a 'mason'; *adeilad*, now used of any building, originally denoted carpenters' work. St. Kentigern built his monastery at Llanelwy 'of planed wood after the manner of the Britons, and not of stone, as it was not then the custom' (Rev. J. Fisher in *Arch. Cambr.* 1914, p. 238). For the probabilities of the survival of any earlier churches, cf. such entries as that of *Brut y Tywysog.* under the year 1047, 'All South Wales lay waste.'

[4] The earliest reference in Welsh to the consecration of an *ecclesia* occurs in the *Annales Cambriae, sub anno* 718; *consecratio Michaelis Archangeli Ecclesiae.* So *Brut y Tywysog.* 717. This has been equated with Llanfihangel Talyllyn, Brecon, but doubtfully. There are said to be 94 present-day dedications to St. Michael in Wales. It was one of the earliest and most popular.

[5] See *Arch. Cambr.* 1914, pp. 271 *sqq.* St. Beuno died not later than 642 (Baring

there stood until the days of queen Elizabeth a similar chapel, side by side with the newer church, and local belief forbade the burial of any one in the chapel 'because the saint would cast the body out.'[1]

At Pennant Melangell (Mont.), the tomb of the eponymous saint (Monacilla), reputed an Irish princess, was included within a small chapel contiguous with the east end of the church, and long used as a vestry; but her remains have been removed and deposited in the churchyard.[2] This chapel was known as Cell y Bedd ('church of the grave').

In the parish of Llangristiolus in Anglesey is a circular barrow, about 6 ft. high at the centre, on which stood until the nineteenth century vestiges of a building known as Capel y Mynwent. The name is exactly parallel to that of Capel y Bedd at Clynnog and that of Cell y Bedd at Pennant Melangell.

These examples may throw light on some other cases where there are two buildings within one graveyard. They further explain why the present-day church, even in a churchyard which preserves its original circular form, is, if old, so frequently eccentric. In Howel's time it is clear that the *mynwent* and the *eglwys* were still distinct entities, and the *mynwent* occupying the centre, the *eglwys* was necessarily eccentric. Churches which occupy the central point of a circular garth will be edifices of a later time, accordant with the Roman way of building so that the church, or rather the altar within it, should actually overlie the tomb. Welsh tradition is not altogether without some indications of the fact.

The name of Merthyr (*Martyrium*) is common in Wales,[3] as in Merthyr Tydfil (Tydfil was a daughter of Brychan) in Glamorganshire, Merthyr Cynog (Cynog was a son of the same Brychan) in Brecknockshire,

Gould and Fisher, *Lives of the British Saints*), and tradition says that Cadwallon ap Cadfan gave him the site for his 'church' in 616, in exchange for 'a sceptre of gold worth 40 (or 60) cows' (*C.B.S.* p. 17). Richard Fenton, writing in 1810, said that 'lately there were on the middle of the floor (of the chapel) stones piled as on a grave, and covered with a board on top' (*Cambr. Arch. Assoc.* 1917, p. 324).

[1] See Fenton, *Tour through Pembrokeshire* (1812), p. 531.

[2] *Arch. Cambr.* 1848, p. 137. The building, which is entirely devoid of architectural merit, is now derelict (1918).

[3] A list of 29 examples is given in A. W. Wade-Evans, *Life of St David* (1923), p. 92. He remarks that they are 'found in those parts of Wales where Irish influences are known to have prevailed.'

Merthyr Dyfan in Glamorgan, Merthyr Mawr (Glam.), Martletwy (Pemb.), the absolute Merthyr (Carm.), and Mathry (Pemb.), 'church of the holy martyrs.' All these signify merely the 'burial-place' of some person, saint or other.

In the long interval of time which elapsed ere Wales was rich enough to need or to wish for churches on a larger scale,[1] a good many *mynwents* had lost their sanctity. The precise why and wherefore thereof may not be easy to explain in any particular case, but that the popularity of saints waxed and waned is a commonplace of hagiology. Possibly through some unforeseen accident the *mynwent* sometimes remained unoccupied, at any rate by its intended tenant, for not even saints can determine the place of their demise, still less that of their burial; and the Welsh saints were extraordinarily restless, rarely staying in any one spot for any length of time.[2] Sometimes the relics enshrined within it were stolen, as befell the bones of St. Cybi (p. 247); in other cases the relics were deliberately removed from their resting-place by those who venerated them. This is known to have happened repeatedly in mediaeval times, and a similar practice may possibly explain certain otherwise inexplicable happenings recorded in the lives of the earlier saints. When, for example, St. Patrick is ordered to abandon the *llan* which he had established in the *Vallis Rosina* (St. David's) and pass on to Ireland, he is said with seeming inconsequence to have 'raised from the dead' one Cruimther who 'had there lain buried near the sea for twelve (*aliter* fifteen) years,' and to have taken him to Ireland.[3] On the face of it this is merely another example of monkish mendacity, but it becomes understandable enough if we suppose that Cruimther (the name means only 'priest') was the person

[1] There was a great impetus to architecture and outlay in the times immediately following the accession of Henry VII (Tudor) to the English throne. Very few buildings erected before the twelfth century would be of a quality to survive until that date, and probably not very many of those erected after 1100 would endure so long without very considerable repairs. Prof. Freeman has a good deal to say about (chiefly southern) Welsh ecclesiastical architecture in various papers of *Arch. Cambr.* (II, i, 41, 108; ii, 177; iii, 161; III, ii, 231; iii, 307). The subject is interesting, especially when he writes of it, but the fact remains that the Welsh Celt, like the Irish Celt, has never achieved anything very remarkable in masonry.

[2] See on this point Baring-Gould and Fisher, *Lives of the British Saints*, i, pp. 3-4.

[3] Rhygyfarch's *Life of St. David*, § 3. According to Nennius (§ 54) the saint in his lifetime raised from the dead nine several persons.

whose burial had hallowed Patrick's original *llan* at St. David's, and that his relics were exhumed and translated to Ireland to serve the same purpose again. The further assertion that the revived 'priest' was afterwards made a 'bishop' may be due to a confusion with some one or other of the various Irish saints named Donan; for Giraldus Cambrensis declares[1] that the real name of the 'dead man' was Dunawd, and both Donan and Dunawd are said to represent the Latin Donatus.

Again poverty might prevent the building of any permanent chapel, or the keeping of it in proper repair; and if no chapel were built over the spot, it is certain that with the lapse of centuries the original monument, whatever its form, would suffer. A time would, and did, come when the most devout of Welshmen forgot the significance of the rude stones which had meant so much to his forefathers, and saw in such things only the traces of paganism or, more abominable still, of papistry.[2] Were not such stones the familiar ornaments of pagan sepulchres on every surrounding hill? And did not Christianity fulminate against the worship of stocks and stones? They would be first neglected, then upon any convenient excuse overthrown or removed, and the *mynwent* would pass out of memory. The very meaning of the word was early forgotten: it came to denote the same thing as *corffian*, the grave-yard at large.[3]

Again the case of Eglwys Cymmin suggests what probably occurred in a multitude of cases. The bones of Avitoria, the king's daughter, furnished the *mynwent* of the original burial-ground, and made the precinct there and then a *locus consecratus*, while as yet there was no structural church. To judge from what remains, her grave, which was in the centre of the *rath*, was surrounded by a number of small pillar-stones,[4] i.e. a cromlech, and

[1] *Vita S. Davidis*, 2.

[2] This was the excuse advanced for the attempted demolition of the Ceryg Sanctaidd at Tafarn Diflas (p. 229, n. 4).

[3] It is thus used in the Welsh prayer-book of queen Elizabeth.

[4] These are large water-rolled stones unquestionably brought from the sea-beach, and probably from beyond Pendine Head, three miles away. Similar stones, presumably brought thither for a like purpose, have been found in the churchyard at Alphamstone, Essex, which was originally circular. The Indians of Central America go to the same or even greater labour, bringing water-worn stones from long distances to fence or mark a grave (Joyce, *Archaeol. of Central America and West Indies*).

amongst them one which told her name. In time the new *locus consecratus* superseded the older one at Parc yr Eglwys a mile away,[1] and at some date unknown there was built an oratory of wood. So far all was well. But Avitoria was after all but a king's daughter only, her father's darling doubtless, but we have no hint that she was distinguished beyond other women of her times in respect of saintliness; and a father's love was no adequate substitute for greatness in herself. With him and his perished the memory of his dead daughter, and her *mynwent* gradually lost its sanctity and even its name. Then one fine day came a builder belonging to a generation that knew not nor cared for Avitoria or the meaning of ogams. He was altering or enlarging or repairing the church, and by happy chance, though he pulled up Avitoria's grave-stones to use them for material, he did not smash the ogam-stone from which we learn so much.[2]

This view of the origin and meaning of the *mynwent* accords with all the evidence of archaeology and satisfies all the requirements of the *Laws*. Such a sepulchral monument would be quite sufficiently roomy for a man to walk about in.[3] It would naturally have an entrance,[4] at which one might leave one's weapons. It would as naturally have a specially sacred character. And it would be the actual centre from which was measured, upon the radius of a 'legal *erw*,' the circular *limes* of God's acre.

Of particular significance is the fact that the *mynwent* was peculiarly a place of assembly for purposes of law and justice. It was not only a place of sanctuary; it was also a *gorsedd*, a *cyrch*, a moot, and in a peculiar sense a 'holy moot.'

[1] This is the local tradition as to the relative age of the two sites.

[2] It was found in 1880, serving as a step in one of the churchyard paths. Others of the pillar-stones are still embedded in the walls of the church, where the builder put them, or half-buried in other parts of the grave-yard.

[3] It is perhaps not needful to think that, from the language of the *Laws*, it *must* be so large, but only that it was sometimes so. Four stones only, set at the corners of a square of 6 feet, would make an excellent *mynwent*, and would give 4 square yards to move about in, quite as much as fell to most captives of the time.

[4] With the expression 'door of the *mynwent*' used in the *Laws*, cf. the Irish '*fert* with one door, two doors,' above. p. 161.

CHAPTER XX.

WALES—(*continued*).

The Barrow of Churchways in Warren—Ystpetty Cynfin Church built on a peristalithic Barrow—Churches and Stone Circles—Eglwys-y-Gwyddel—Taliesin and Round Churches—Pagan Monuments on Christian Sites—Upkeep of the Churchyard Wall—Funeral Games, survivals of—Origin of Urnfields—'Meini Campau'—Dancing, etc.—Welsh words for 'Circle'—West Wales (Cornwall)—Its connexion with Cambria—Bradanrelice (Steep Holm)—Circular Earthworks in Cornwall—Cornish equivalents of 'Llan' and 'Kil'—The 'Rounds' of St. Just and St. Perran—Upton Castle in Lewannick—Multitude of minor Ring-works—'Church-fields' and Rounds—Circular Churchyards in Cornwall—Early Cornish Oratories—Carn Brea and Porth Curnow—Christian Inscriptions relating to Barrows—Other Evidence.

That early Welsh Christianity, like that of Ireland, adopted out of hand the circular form of the pagan burial-place, is clear. The evidence will further prove that many of these churchyards were themselves neither more nor less than actual barrows of the familiar pagan type.[1]

It would probably be impossible to find a more illuminating example of the first beginnings of Christianity in Wales than that provided by Edward Laws from Warren, a parish five miles south-west of Pembroke, in the very heart of Dyfed. The account, too valuable to be mutilated, is here reprinted in full.[2]

'In 1800 Col. Lambton drew my attention to a large tumulus close to his house at Brownslade and about half a mile from Warren church. This we opened. The tump stands in a sandy field known as "*Churchways*"[3] on the edge of the burrows[4]; it is *circular, with the diameter of 75 ft., and rather flat, not being raised more than some 8 ft. in the centre.* From its shape and

[1] Newell (*Hist. Welsh Church*, p. 23): 'Old churchyards in Wales are often round, and possibly the ashes of rude pagan forefathers lie in many such with the ashes of their Christian sons and successors.'

[2] From *Hist. of Little England beyond Wales* by Ed. Laws, F.S.A. (London, 1888), p. 57.

[3] The italics are not in the original.

[4] The local name for sandhills.

construction a careless observer would pass it by as one of those natural hillocks of blown sand which abound on the burrows in the neighbourhood; but on closer inspection, the surface is found to be strewn with bones, mostly human, which the rabbits have thrown out from their holes. We commenced operations on the south-eastern side, where the bones seemed thickest, and found that this portion of the barrow consists of blown sand, in which skeletons of men, women and children are *packed in tiers at least three deep*, like pigeons in a pie. Some of the bodies were protected by an enclosure of long water-worn stones about the size of ninepins, but *without any covering;* others lay in the bare sand; *they were all oriented.* With these bones we found *a piece of fine bronze*, which might have been an ear-ring, or a finger-ring, I think the former; and a small brass ring with a rude pattern of spots punched on it. On the following day a small stoup, roughly hewn out of a block of red sandstone, 14 ins. by 8 ins. was found in this part of the tumulus. Mixed with the human bones were small quantities of *bones of oxen* (*bos longifrons*), and *sheep or goats*, with a few *limpet-shells* and a *flint flake*; but as these occur in the burrows it might be accidental.

'We then laid bare a place rather to the north of where we had been digging hitherto, and found a skeleton oriented, and surrounded by made ground [clay] and rough dry masonry, but without any covering. With this body there was a horse's nipper, a calf's tooth, and the jaw of a sheep or goat; with some shells of oyster and limpet.

'By this time we had accumulated so many human bones, that decency suggested we should proceed to their re-interment. For this purpose we selected *the centre of the barrow*, and had not sunk more than 3 feet when we struck on a large slab (flat stones had hitherto been conspicuous by their absence). It proved, as we anticipated it to be, the covering stone of *a kist-vaen, measuring about 4 ft. by 3 ft.* In it we found portions of a human skeleton much decayed, mixed with charred bones and animal bones, and *apparently of an older date than the others*, which were all as well preserved as recent bones. In the kist-vaen there were *bones of oxen* (*bos longifrons*), *sheep or goat, and roebuck; a well-burned, wheel-turned potsherd*, which resembled those discovered by Col. Lambton in the adjacent camp, and not like such as are usually found in barrows in Pembrokeshire; and along with these was *a piece of chert about the size of half a brick with a cup bored on each side*, the borings being immediately opposite to each other with a diameter of 2 ins., and the same depth, the inside of them being as highly polished as though they had just then left the lapidary's hand. Then we came on a block of red sandstone 2 ft. long and 6 ins. wide; on it were scratches like Vs and Ys, resembling those known as masons' marks. The last and most curious discovery was *a flat piece of limestone*, 7 ins. wide by 10 ins. long, *on which was roughly inscribed a cross within a circle*, with a V or arrow-head in one segment. We found nothing more, although we dug down to the sand; still we discovered that *although the privilege of burial in this mound was so appreciated that in places the dead were laid in four tiers, no interments had taken place near the kist-vaen.*

'Having reserved three skulls for the inspection of the late Prof. Rolleston, we put the other bones in the pit and covered them up. We then began to look about the surroundings of our tumulus, and found adjoining the remains of a wall enclosing a space of about one-eighth of an acre, and at the

further end of the tumulus two small buildings. One of them has in the memory of man been used as a cottage; the other, the labourers declared, was the ruins of a chapel, some saying they could remember an east window. It is very tiny, being only 16 ft. by 12 ft. and is pitched with water-worn stones; it stands east and west. The native legend about it is, that "they" tried to build a church, but "the other people" would not let them, and pulled it down again.'

Prof. Rolleston pronounced the skulls to be those of a people 'not older than the Romano-British time.'

The excavator was in doubt at first as to whether the burials he discovered were pagan or Christian or both, ultimately inclining to the belief that they were those of an Irish missionary and his disciples and their descendants. In view of the facts adduced in earlier pages the conclusion is irresistible that the individual burials were those of a people who had indeed adopted something of Christianity, but had not by any means discarded all that belonged their earlier paganism.[1]

Archaeology tells us that in pagan times a barrow was raised over the grave of the mighty dead; that the dead man's grave (primary) was central to the barrow; that this central grave was the *mynwent*; and that lesser folk resorted to such mounds as burial-places. The evidence further tells us that Christianity adopted the circular form of the burial-place and also the central *mynwent*. This grave-mound at Warren shows the pagan and the Christian faiths and practices inter-blending. It had been built originally to be the burial-place of that nameless person whose *cist-vaen* occupied the central position, the 'honour-point.' He was buried in the huddled attitude of the Stone-age folk, in a cist of Stone-age type,[2] with the relics of his funeral feast about him, with the shard of

[1] The earlier spelling of Warren was Woran, 'what language I know not,' writes the late Henry Owen. In his *Pembrokeshire* (Cymmrodorion Record Series), pt. ii, p. 342, note, he suggests that the original may have been some such farm as Myfran, mutated to Fyfran, and finally written Woueran, which form is actually found in the *Black Book of St. David's* (1326); and he cites (op. cit. p. 314) other local names such as Crickwarren (Crugmarren, Cilmarren) in Carm., Crickmarren (Crukemarran, Crugmaharen). There was a chapel at the last named place. These all point to a personal name, and some such original as Llanfyfran or Llanfaharren, would explain the mutation.

[2] Cist-burial died out because Christianity insisted on earth-to-earth burial, but in Wales cist-burial continued to be practised even by the commonalty until the most recent times, and in the Latin church it is to this day the privilege of the chosen few. The cist has become a sarcophagus, but there is no other difference. Both St. Cuthbert (687) and S. Etheldreda (695) were buried in sarcophagi (Bede, *Vita St. Cuthberti*, xxxvii; *H.E.* iv, xix, § 311).

pottery, and with the pagan symbol of the cup-marked stone. Each and all of these features were inherited from an immemorial pagan tradition. But the body had not been burnt, there was no funeral furniture in the shape of weapons and other personal worldly treasure, and, most significant of all, side by side with the cup-marked stone was another marked with the cross and circle, i.e. the older pagan symbol surcharged with that of Christianity. The dead man therefore was a Christian, but one at whose heart-strings the older faith still tugged hard; or possibly at his burial his pagan kindred did what they dared to bury him according to pagan tradition, just as happened, we are told when Feidhelm and Ethne were buried at the Well of Clebach (ch. xvii). Either way his burial was the consecration of that circle of ground, and made it a *locus consecratus*. Thither therefore were brought others after him,[1] and in increasing numbers, until they lay three and four deep 'like pigeons in a pie'; but none dared trespass upon the *mynwent*, the primary central burial, the consecration grave, even as none dared trespass upon the spot set apart in his churchyard of Towyn for its founder St. Cadfan (p. 254, note 7). These later comers were all Christian: they carried with them no grave furniture, they boasted no monuments, they lay all duly east and west, they were laid 'earth to earth.' This was unquestionably a Christian graveyard, and unquestionably one of the very earliest. And it was neither more nor less than a barrow.

The excavators found no trace of building upon the mound, no 'church,' because the whole dates back to a time when as yet churches were not. Later it would seem was built an oratory, a mere cell 16 by 12 feet, placed east-and-west 'at the further end of the tumulus.' Not in the centre, be it observed, for the centre still belonged as it had always belonged, to the nameless occupant of the *mynwent*. It was not even within the *original* circular precinct at all, for that was already full of burials which must not be desecrated. So the cell was built as it were

[1] Laws remarks that the bones of the later interments were in a far better state of preservation than those of the primary interment, whence he argued that there was a considerable interval of time between the two. But as even the central interment was Christian, the interval cannot have been very long. The difference in the bones is probably explicable by the different methods of burial: bones within a cist would perish far more quickly than others laid actually in the dry sandy soil.

on the edge of the barrow, and a new *limes* was presumably demarcated embracing within it the older one. In time there was made a new *locus consecratus* half a mile away, and a new church (St. Mary) was built there. The older one was supplanted, and at last forgotten, precisely as occurred at Eglwys Cymmin. But the name of the field preserves its memory to this day, for 'Churchways' is a transparent corruption of Church-haye, 'the churchyard.'

The first Christian place of burial in Ireland that we hear of was the *fert* at the Well of Clebach, and that was nothing but a pagan barrow under a new dedication. Here in Wales the earliest example forthcoming is again nothing but a barrow. In Scotland we shall find the same thing. It is plain that in each country Christianity took over the accustomed externalities of sepulture, and made them its own. This is not the same thing as to assert that Christian burials within pagan burial-places were officially sanctioned, but it is as certain as can be that in the days when adequate provision for the burial of Christian dead was still lacking, some of these would be laid by default within pagan tumuli.

Why was the original site at Churchways abandoned? Possibly the reason was the advent of some new 'saint' who made his *llan* by choice, not beside the older *limes*, but at another spot, and in course of time brought this into precedence. Possibly there happened here the same thing that occurred at Eglwys Cymmin, and the sanctity which had belonged to the barrow at Warren was transferred to another *nynwent*. Or possibly the transfer was analogous to that promoted by archbishop Cuthbert in England in the eighth century (ch. xxv). One way or another such transfers did happen, as the many *parcau yr eglwys* suggest,[1] and as the case of Llanelwedd (p. 246) proves.

If fortune had willed it otherwise, and that nameless barrow at Churchways had continued to be the centre of the Christianity of its district, there would have come a

[1] At Dolwyddelan (Carn.) local tradition declares that the parish church, now situated in the town in the valley, once stood on the top of a hill known as Bryn y Bedd, 'Grave Hill.' There is no reason at all to question the truth of the tradition, with the proviso that it need not mean that there was ever any structural church on Bryn y Bedd. A burial-place there certainly was, and therefore a *place* of worship (*eglwys*), but not necessarily any *building* at all.

time when authority or sentiment required that it should be decently fenced. Then the edge of the spreading mound would have been trimmed, a revetment built, and there would have resulted something precisely like hundreds of Irish *killeens* and scores of Welsh parish churchyards as they now stand.

The little church of Old Llandrindod, Radnorshire, is unquestionably built upon a simple bowl-barrow which formed the central feature of the tiny churchyard, itself also circular in the main, albeit distorted by recent small additions.[1] The church of Llanyre, in the same neighbourhood, stands upon the remains of a similar barrow, and has similarly suffered enlargement on a circular plan, the scarp of the original barrow remaining intact for most of its periphery.

Certain alterations made in 1890 in the church of Llandyssilio Gogo (Card.), 'made it desirable to move the pulpit, which was found to rest upon a huge unhewn stone, so large as not to permit of its being taken out of the building; and it was buried where it stood.'[2] There can be very little doubt that this unhewn stone was the grave-mark of some nameless great one there buried. In course of time there was built a church, seemingly actually over the *mynwent*, as at Clynnog and at Eglwys Wrw. Long afterwards, when pulpits came to be required, the stone was used as a convenient base whereon to set the pulpit. An earlier generation of Christians did not remove that stone because they knew what it really was. A later generation declined to remove it because it had always been there, though they had forgotten why. Last of all came our own generation, to whom neither reason was sufficient, and the most ancient stone in the whole fabric

[1] The rounded summit of the barrow makes an arc of a height of 5 ft. along the north wall of the church, which still retains its rectangular plan, and another arc only less pronounced along the east wall. Owing to the *natura loci*, the levels of the adjacent ground vary from as little as 2 ft. (south) to as much as 15 ft. (north) below the summit of the barrow. The church was restored in 1894, when there was found embedded face-down in one of the walls an extremely gross phallic slab. That the mound is of made earth and of considerable depth is proved by the fine growth of the trees (oak and ash) which spring from its edge, only some 6 ft. away from the western corners of the building, and by the presence of graves close up to the eastern and southern walls. Elsewhere the natural rock lies very near the surface. Local tradition declares there was a yet older church of Llanfaelog (St. Maelog, a saint of sixth cent.) near by. Its site is described as 'almost suggesting a small encampment' (*Arch. Cambr.* 6th ser. xvii, p. 400).

[2] *Arch. Cambr.* 1918, p. 143. The shape of the churchyard is circular.

of the church, the veritable corner-stone, was 'buried' under the plea of 'restoration.'[1]

The pagan barrow sometimes displayed as it were a revetment in the form of a peristalith.[2] This type was always rarer than others, but there remains at least one indubitable example in the churchyard of Yspytty Cynfin (Yspetty Cenven or Kenwyn; Y Spittye Kinwen, 1646), a chapelry of the parish of Llanbadarn Fawr (Card.), near the Devil's Bridge. Here the church (St. John) stands within a mounded circular[3] yard, and built into the dry-stone revetment are several[4] immense blocks, one of them doing duty as a gatepost at the entrance. The largest, which stands in the wall of the churchyard on the east, rises 11 ft. above the ground. Local tradition declares that there used to be many more of these megaliths, and that some were broken up to furnish material for the repair of the church or to build the retaining wall.[5]

This burial-ground at Yspytty Cynfin was evidently a peristalithic round barrow. Whether it was built to cover the bones of a pagan or of a Christian may never be known, but manifestly it came to be used as a place of Christian burial, and therefore of Christian worship; and in due course therefore it required to be fenced. It was fenced like other Welsh churchyards with a stone revetment, and this was naturally made by filling-in the intervals between the megaliths.[6]

Two very remarkable facts are recorded of this same chapelry. Firstly, the members of the community claim

[1] Had this stone once itself served as the preacher's platform? At the entrance to the hamlet of Iveston, parish of Leadgate, Durham, stood (or stands) a solitary monolith, and 'at the end of harvest one of the villagers used to get upon it and address' the others; whence came 'the tradition or fable that St. Ivo preached from it.' (Arnold-Forster, *Studies in Church Dedications*, i, 506). The church, a modern one is dedicated to St. Ivo.

[2] See above, ch. iii.

[3] G. Eyre Evans, *Cardiganshire, Its Antiquities*, p. 131. The author tells me that the churchyard was enlarged in 1901 and that the older part is well-nigh circular in form and mounded up.

[4] They are usually accounted three; others make them five, by including fallen blocks now embedded in the wall.

[5] See *Cambr. Journ.* 1858, p. 205; *Meyrick's Cardiganshire*; Eyre Evans, *Cardiganshire* (1903), p. 180. Cynfin is usually taken to represent Cenvaen, 'Stone ridge.'

[6] The name Yspytty is usually referred to *hospitium* in the sense of property of some Latin abbey. G. Eyre Evans (*Cardiganshire*, p. 180) would so explain it here, the place having been a hospice of the Cistercian house of Strata Florida; and thus he would also account for the dedication to St. John. Conceivably the name may be older, and this church, like that of Macmoil, was founded by some saint *quo hospitaretur*; see above, p. 256, n. 2. The Roman trunk-road (Sarn Helen) passed at no great distance from the spot.

and exercise the right to choose their own Vicar; and secondly, there was annually held in the chapel a meeting 'for the purpose of athletic contests.'[1]

Writer after writer during the past century has spoken of this spot as an indubitable example of the conversion of a druidical circle into a Christian church.[2] Whether such a view is right or wrong, depends entirely upon what the writers mean by a 'druidical' circle. There is no doubt at all that it is a genuine case of the Christianisation of a sepulchral cromlech identical in appearance with those of paganism. There is a persistent tradition that the churchyard of Llanfihangel Nant Melan, Radnorshire, was made within the ceinture of a stone circle. The garth is still circular, albeit no trace remains of any peristalith.

A third form of the pagan sepulchral *limes* was the simple ring of standing stones without a mound, the cromlech or stone circle proper, rarely of great area. In the parish of Llangenydd, Glam., is a field known by the name of Cae'r Hên Eglwys, 'Old Church Field,' in which stand the remains of a stone circle, itself known as Yr Hên Eglwys, 'The Old Church.'[3] Another, in the Vale of Neath, is called Yr Hên Llan.[4] Of yet a third, near Bridgend, also called Yr Hên Eglwys, the local tale is that here the inhabitants worshipped before the present church (at Lalestone) was built.[5] On the mountain between Llanwddyn and Pennant Melangell is 'a circular enclosure surrounded by a wall, called Hên Eglwys, supposed to be a druidical relic, or probably the remains of an ancient cemetery.'[6] On the Eglwysegl rocks near Llangollen are the remains of a large stone circle.

[1] G. Eyre Evans, *Cardigansbire*, pp. 179, 180. 'Probably,' he writes, 'it is the only parish in Wales which elects its Vicar on such a democratic system ... The parishioners used to remain in their chapel through the night, trying their skill in such pastimes as casting the bar.' Yspyt y Cynfin is not now a parish. He mentions (*loc. cit.*) that there used to be sports of the same kind at Yspytty Ystwyth.

[2] *E.g.* Malkin, *Scenery and Antiqs. of South Wales* (1807), p. 187; Curtis, *Antiqs. of Laugharnesbire* (1880), p. 64; Prof. Tyrrell Green, *Aberystwyth and District*, p. 114. When (1797) the old cathedral of Arras was demolished, it was found that the foundations of the apse rested upon huge monoliths, upwards of 15 ft. in length. The site (on Baudimont, where stood the Gallo-Roman capital of the Atrebates) was 'traditionally a scene of worship since pre-Christian times,' and the monoliths have been interpreted as the remains of a stone circle.

[3] *Royal Commission Anct. Hist. Monts. Wales and Monmouth; Minutes of Evidence*, i (1912), no. 1898.

[4] ibid.

[5] Mulkin, op. cit. p. 187; Johnson, *Byways*, p. 31.

[6] Lewis, *Topog. Dict.* s.v. *Llanwddyn*. This village and its original church are now drowned under the waters of Lake Vyrnwy.

Still more suggestive is the occurrence near Towyn (Merion.) of three sites bearing the name of Eglwys y Gwyddel.[1] One of these is a small circle with a diameter of 26 feet only, and of the six stones remaining the highest stood in 1874 but 3 ft. 7 ins. out of the ground.[2] Seeing that the word *eglwys* was never, so far as is known, applied profanely, it is difficult to explain its use here except on the supposition that the people who so used it either knew stone circles to have been places of worship, or saw in the circular plan of this cromlech the familiar symbol of their

FIG. 7. EGLWYS Y GWYDDEL, TOWYN, MERIONETHSHIRE.
From a drawing by J. T. Blight in *Arch. Cambrensis*, 1874, p. 235.

own creed, the circular *limes*. In either case the name bears out the writer's argument. But if it be remembered further that *Gwyddel*, commonly now rendered 'Irishman,' is in reality the English word 'Goidel,' the question arises whether the names were not given to these circles by a people which had indeed adopted Latin Christianity, but remembered the essential difference between the Latin and the Celtic forms of the faith. In Celtic Christianity

[1] Baring Gould and Fisher, *British Saints*, iv, p. 196. They stand respectively on Mynydd y Bwlch Glas, in Coed Perffednant, and on Mynydd Ty'n Llwyn, and the name appears to vary between *Gwyddel* (sing.) and *Gwyddyl* or *Gwyddelod* (plural). The site in Perffeddnant is marked by the remains of a very small building: *Inventory Merioneth* no. 543.

[2] *Arch. Cambr.* 1874, p. 234. There are signs that the number of stones was originally greater: *Inventory Merioneth*, no. 533A.

the church was of no importance, the circular *limes* was everything. This was a circular *limes*, and therefore by inference a place of worship, or of burial, or of both. It was in fact such a structure as might, by a Latinised Welsh Christian, contemptuously be said to be the sort of thing which, to the Irishry and their kindred Goidels, served for a church—Eglwys y Gwyddel.

There is another circle of stones on a hill near Yspytty Cynfin, said to be called 'The Temple,' and yet another in the same locality is termed 'Gilgal.'[1] Circles in Tir-y-Myneich (Llanbrynmair) and in Breconshire go by the name of Yr Allor, 'The Altar' (ch. x). A passage in one of the so-called poems of Taliesin contains the words *eclie retunde, phalatie Cesarie*[2] (*? ecclesiae rotundae, palatia Caesarea*), and while the poem as a whole seems thus far to have baffled the translators, the phrase quoted appears to mean 'churches round and palaces of Caesars.' Inasmuch as Wales is almost wholly innocent of any trace and any tradition of a circular structural church,[3] it is unwise to cite the line as evidence that the earliest Welsh 'churches' were of that plan.[4] It would be far more agreeable to the evidence to translate the words *eclie retunde* as 'circular meeting-places,' and to maintain that the writer of the poem was speaking of such things as the *Eglwys y Gwyddel* above described, or of those circular churchyards which are to this day ubiquitous in Wales, *eclie* (i.e. *ecclesiae*) being used in the original sense of places of Christian assembly. As the poem is as yet unexplained, and withal of unknown date, it is not worth further notice.

Welsh writers repeatedly assert that the Druids of Siluria embraced Christianity, that Christian worship was performed in the circles which were beforetime the scenes

[1] Horsfall-Turner, *Wanderings in Cardiganshire;* G. Eyre Evans, *Cardiganshire*, p. 180. The term *gulgul* is given as a Breton name for a stone circle. One suspects a reference to *Joshua* iv.

[2] Skene, *Four Anct. Bks. Wales*, ii, 111. According to one view it is one of the most ancient poems of those which bear Taliesin's name, dating from sixth century at latest; according to another, it was written in the thirteenth century.

[3] The only ancient church in Wales showing even a circular apse is said to be that of Llanfair P.G. in Anglesey, of which the foundations underlie the present building. (*Trans. Cymmrodor. Soc.* 1916–1917, p. 60).

[4] As does Williams (*Eccles. Antiqs. of the Cymry*). 'Probably,' he says, 'the first churches were of circular form'—(p. 173). So they were if 'church' or *eglwys* be taken in the only sense which the words can have borne at the date intended, *i.e.* circular barrows at which Christians met for worship.

of druidic ritual,[1] and that the first priests of the new faith in Wales were themselves Druids. It were much to be wished that authority for these statements were forthcoming; in default it can be said only that they seem to be extremely probable. So much one may admit without committing oneself to all the claims of Bardic writers. Nothing would be more likely than that Druidism should seize upon the new and vigorous faith, seeking thereby to recover the position it had lost.

'Near Mare Cross [i.e. March Croes, now Marcross, near Llantwit], Glamorgan, is an ancient cromlech [dolmen] called the Old Church, the inhabitants believing that these rude structures were once places of worship.'[2] In Llanhamlech, Brecon, a ruined dolmen goes by the name of Ty Illtyd, 'St. Illtyd's House.'[3] Like the Irish *teach*, the Welsh *ty* was frequently used of churches, and it is not impossible that dolmens so styled may at an early period have served the purpose of oratories.[4] The church of Stainton, near Haverfordwest, is built over a pair of dolmens.[5]

Pillar-stones are extremely common in Wales. Numbers of them stand within the churchyards, ranging from the rudest untooled blocks to the most elaborate 'Celtic' crosses like those of Penally. They bear every kind of lettering from simple ogams through bi-linguals to pure Latin. 'Rude pillar-stones with inscriptions are sometimes found side by side with those having an incised cross, but no lettering, as at Trawsmawr in Carmarthenshire, and the inference is here also that both were erected at the same period.'[6] A stone at Llanerfyl (Mont.) has the

[1] Williams, *Eccles. Antiqs. of the Cymry*. pp. 61, 69, 169; W. Owen Pughe, *Introd. to Llywarch Hen*, p. lx.

[2] Nicholson, *Cambrian Traveller's Guide*, 2nd ed., p. 491.

[3] Williams, *Eccles. Antiqs.* p. 173. Camden (*Britannia*, ed. 1722, ii. 707–8) calls it 'St. Illtyd's hermitage or cell.' It is described by Westwood (*Lapidarium Walliae*, p. 67), who illustrates from the *graffiti* within it two figures analogous to the circle-and-cross design found at Warren (p. 263). He adds that 'within a few paces of it was a circle of stones called Maen Illtyd, some of which were remaining in Lhwyd's time.'

[4] *Arch. Cambr.* 1919, p. 541, where is cited also, from Landeleau (St. Teilo) in Brittany, the small dolmen called Ti Sant Heleau, 'St. Teilo's House.'

[5] *Arch. Cambr.* 1896, p. 354; 1898, p. 182. They were found about 4 ft. below the floor of the nave and were of small size, 'either small dolmens or large cists.' A fine ogam-stone bearing the wheeled cross was standing in 1876 'in the middle of the churchyard,' doing duty as a modern gravestone. (*Arch. Cambr.* 1880, p. 292; 1881, p. 217).

[6] Romilly Allen, *Mont. Hist.* p. 85.

inscription: HIC IN TUMULO IACIT ROSTECE FILIA PATERNINI AN. XIII IN PA[CE].[1] The wording declares that Rostece was a Christian and that she was buried 'in this barrow.' The 'barrow' in question was possibly what is now the churchyard of Llanerfyl: it is circular, and the stone stands upon it. At any rate here was a Christian who was buried in a 'barrow.' The same formula occurs elsewhere in Wales,[2] and notably on the Porius stone at Trawsfynnydd[3] (Merion.), and there is no showing that either monument is pagan. If it be objected that *tumulus* in these inscriptions means merely 'grave' (*sepulcrum*), that objection will not apply to yet a third case at Penmachno (Carn.), where is a stone bearing the Christian symbol of the *labarum* and the inscription: CARAUSIUS HIC IACIT IN HOC CONGERIES LAPIDUM (here with in this pile of stones lies Carausius).[4] The symbol declares that Carausius likewise was a Christian, and his gravestone actually surmounts a small cairn. Names of Christian import attach to many a Welsh cairn to this day, as to Tomen Sant Ffraid, 'Saint Bride's Grave,' in Cwm Teuddwr. A small tumulus, crowned by two large stones 6 ft. apart, in the parish of Glyn in Brecknockshire, used to be pointed out as the grave of the great St. Illtyd.[5]

'In a field in the grounds of Court Herbert, near the Abbey of Neath, stood some years since, and probably still stands, a tall upright menhir raised upon a small mound of stones, doubtless of pagan origin, but upon which, at a more recent period, the emblem of the Cross had been inscribed by early Christian converts.' So wrote Westwood in 1877, voicing the then accepted view that any such monument must, if uninscribed, have been necessarily

[1] *Inventory Montgomerysbire*, no. 398. The older reading of the name was RESTICE.

[2] Westwood, *Lapidarium Walliae*, p. 64.

[3] The old reading of this stone was PORIUS HIC IN TUMULO IACIT. HOMO XTIANUS FUIT. Later authorities prefer to read the penultimate word as PLANUS, although unable to explain the meaning until Egerton Phillimore in 1919 suggested that it was an attempt to latinise the not uncommon Welsh *Wyneb clawr*, Irish *Clarainech*, a *sobriquet* meaning 'flat-faced,' *i.e.* disfigured by leprosy, a leper. See Westwood, *Lapidarium*, p. 161: *Arch. Cambr.* 1885, p. 143; ibid. 1919, p. 252; ibid. 1920, p. 223.

[4] Westwood, *Lapidarium Walliae*, p. 175; Mitchell, *Past in the Present*, p. 89. Westwood remarks that this case 'proves that the raising of cairns or mounds of stones is not necessarily evidence of the paganism of the person interred beneath the mound,' referring to *Arch. Cambr.* 1863, p. 257. For another example of an undoubtedly Christian stone standing upon a cairn, see *Lapid. Walliae*, p. 82.

[5] Lewis, *Topog. Dict.*

pagan, if inscribed, necessarily a palimpsest. In the light of what has been said and seen in previous pages, this view becomes unconvincing. The usurpation of a pagan monument—menhir or otherwise—by Christianity may have happened sometimes ; but that every such monument which bears a Christian symbol has been so usurped is a matter which possibly could not be proved, and in itself is highly improbable. The early Christians appear to have used precisely the same sepulchral monuments as their pagan forbears and contemporaries, and the presumption is that in the first instance they would not add any Christian inscription or symbol, this being a later development.

The old Welsh saying that ' 'Tis a good enough stone provided it be Christian ' (*Da yw'r maen gyda 'r Efengyl*), would seem to be a genuine memory of those days of transition in which all the manifold variety of stone structures—menhirs and dolmens and cromlechs and the rest—erstwhile regarded as the necessary apparatus of paganism, were slowly winning to a new consecration. If a Christian stone were ' good,' the implication is that there were other stones which were non-Christian and therefore ' bad ' ; and it is further implied that the consecration alone mattered. Thus the saying becomes an explicit admission that there had been a time when menhir and circle might be indifferently pagan or Christian, and there was no outward feature to distinguish the one from the other. And this is precisely the conclusion to which independent evidence has brought us. None the less the words would seem to imply further that, though stone might be tolerated, there was something preferable, that is to say, the wooden structures which were, so to speak, the peculiar mark of the *regula Scotica*.

In the light of these and similar instances it becomes idle to discuss the question whether a Christian church ever usurped a pagan site. We have churches standing upon barrows of every kind, and in the closest association with every recognised form of pagan monument. We see the forms of the same monuments perpetuated in those above Christian graves, as the circle of the barrow is perpetuated in the circular churchyard. We have traced the Christian *mynwent* back to the primary interment, and at

Churchways in Warren we have seen a primary interment attended by abundant tokens of paganism and also by the Christian token of the wheeled cross. Further than this it is hard to see how it were possible to go, unless the dead were to rise up from their dust to tell us more. It would seem that there can be found in Wales an unbroken continuity of certain religious forms from the remotest days of paganism to this present year of grace. Mr. W. Clarke found, when professionally engaged in connection with the rebuilding of the nave, anhistoric urn-burials laid at a depth of 25 ft. below the present surface under the floor of the cathedral church of Llandaff. This may not prove a purposed continuity through the ages, but on the other hand a purposed continuity can hardly be disproved.

If the churchyard was originally a barrow, this at once explains the constant finding of urns and other evidences of supposed 'pre-Christian' interments within such precincts. At Llangorwen, 'in cutting a foundation for this church (1840) an urn containing some human bones was dug up on the south side, between the porch and the east gable of the nave; and since then, in digging a grave about 15 yds. from the church, and between it and the little river, more bones were found. In both places the earth was blackened, and appeared to have been acted on by fire.' [1] The case of the churchyard of Penmynydd in Anglesey, where each burial was accompanied by a white quartz pebble, was mentioned above (ch. iv). The churchyard of Marros (Carm.) was unenclosed in the first half of last century, and when the present enclosing wall was built (1868), there were found a number of large sepulchral urns.[2] The details of this discovery are unluckily not so precise as could be wished, but it points plainly to the fact that this churchyard also was once a barrow; and that the barrow had become so much spread that in building the wall the line was drawn across a part of it. The same explanation may cover such cases as that of Wing, Bucks, where a number of skeletons were found outside the churchyard wall, but so near to it that they could only be regarded as 'strays,' and were duly

[1] G. Eyre Evans, *Cardigan, Its Antiquities*, p. 243.

[2] Curtis, *Antiqs. of Laugharneshire*, p. 322; *Inventory Carmarthenshire*, no. 621, note.

re-interred within the churchyard.[1] It is known however that interments were frequently made, not in the actual barrow, but around it, and it is quite possible that in this practice is to be seen the origin of urn-fields, of which the original nucleus, the central barrow has disappeared. As the evolution of the barrow was steadily towards a less and less elevation, such a result would in some soils inevitably follow.

The wall of the churchyard at Eglwys Cymmin used to be kept in repair by the farmers occupying the parish lands, each of whom was liable for the upkeep of a section proportionate to the extent of his holding. Built into the revetment are blocks bearing the initials of some of those responsible in the eighteenth century, the junction between one section and the next being sometimes very clearly marked. The same custom prevails, or has prevailed, in English churchyards, e.g. at Areley Kings in Worcestershire, and at Cowfold in Sussex.[2] In Ireland the Brehon Laws required each tenant to construct his share of the lord's *rath*, and in the Isle of Man 'owners of *Treens* were obliged to keep their portions of the churchyard and its fence in order.'[3] It can hardly be doubted that the custom, attaching to churchyards, goes back to the provision made in the Brehon Laws, and is yet another trace of Celtic influence in the Church of the British Isles.

At Areley Kings the limits of the various sections of the wall—the garth is still in great part circular, but most of the wall has disappeared—were marked in the eighteenth century by 'mere-stones,'[4] now no longer visible, and

[1] De Baye, *Industrial Arts of Anglo-Saxons* (1893), p. 125; *Archaeologia*, xxxv. pp. 379–381. De Baye says: 'it is found that the churches were built, if not on the sites of ancient cemeteries, at least very near them.' He cites further examples at Mentmore, Bucks, and at Lewes (? S. Malling). The same thing has been noticed in the case of many Manx *keeills*.

[2] Other examples are given by Addy, *Church and Manor*, pp. 133–134. A particularly good instance occurs at Llanwyddalis (Card.), where 36 parishioners were liable, their liabilities ranging from ¼ or ⅓ share to a whole 'perk' (perch), or even a second perk. (Eyre Evans, *Cardiganshire*, p. 219).

[3] A. W. Moore, *Manx Place Names*, citing from the *Ballaugh Register* of 1600.

[4] Burton, *Hist. of Bewdley*. Each section here was known as a 'panie' (? panel). Amongst those responsible in the seventeenth cent. was one Sir Harry Coningsby, who died 1701. He chose to erect as his portion of the fence a solid wall of red sandstone blocks, some 16 ft. long and 4 ft. high. The other persons concerned were presumably content with less enduring materials; at any rate there is no other trace of a wall around the garth, and to judge from the position of Coningsby's 'panie' the garth had already lost part of its circularity in his time. When he died he

possibly sunk into the ground. They were perhaps of no great size. But supposing they had been fairly large and durable stones, set upright along the boundary of a circular churchyard, one can easily see how later generation might find herein the vestiges of a true cromlech. Such a happening as this will hardly account for the immense 11 ft. megalith in the ceinture of the garth at Yspytty Cynfin, but the facts inevitably raise the question whether possibly there was some connection between the number of stones in a genuine stone circle and the numbers of the community to whom it belonged, whether as graveyard, moot, or temple.[1]

There has been mentioned in connection with Yspytty Cynfin and Yspytty Ystwith (p. 268) something that looks like a survival of the funeral games which were a necessary adjunct of all commemoration of the dead. In Ireland the custom is scarcely yet defunct, and there are abundant traces of its survival up to recent times in all parts of England and Scotland. As regards Wales the evidence does not seem to have been so carefully collected, but there is no reason to doubt its existence. As these games in Ireland developed into the great fairs of the country, it is in the Welsh fairs that the evidence must be sought. There used to be a great annual sheep-fair at Marros (Carm.) on the patronal day (St. Lawrence), and the scene of it was round the churchyard. It was discontinued only some fifty years ago. A few fairs are still kept up, as for example that of Llanuwchllyn, near Bala.

caused himself to be buried under this wall of his building, and to be carved upon it the polyglot rhyming legend : LITHOLOGEMA QUARE REPONITUR SIR HARRY (A pile of stones. And why ? Here doth Sir Harry lie).

[1] This suggestion has been often mooted ; e.g. Hutchinson (*Hist. Cumberland*, I, 250) surmised that the number of stones forming the circle of 'Long Meg's Daughters' at Salkeld might 'denote the number of delegates entitled to be present at the convention there held.' As the Celtic tribal system otherwise set considerable store by numerical proportions (as in *tref*, *cantref*, etc.), there is no obvious reason why such a theory should be altogether wrong. The normal number of stones (10 to 12) in the Aberdeenshire circles may very well have corresponded with some *theoretical* unit of population in that locality, and the frequent nineteen stones of the Cornish circles to another and larger unit in West Wales. The ancient Welsh name of the present parish of Monington (Pemb.) was Eglwys Wythur, 'the Ecclesia of the Eight men,' which seems to suggest that when that *ecclesia* came into existence, the number of freeholders was eight only. We find similar variations in the numbers of the responsible persons in English parishes : 24 is a common number, 16 not uncommon, and the figures vary from as few as 12 to as many as 48. See Addy, *Church and Manor*, pp. 257–267, and cp. the *Douzainiers* of the Channel Island parishes, whose number is usually 12, but may be 16 or even 20.

Known as Ffair Wyl Ddeiniol, it preserves the church's dedication to St. Deiniol.

Possibly a trace of these ancient games is to be seen in the name of *Maen* (pl. *meini*) *Campau*, 'Stone of games,' attaching to some of the Welsh megaliths, as for example near the great circle on the lower slopes of Penmaenmawr (ch. x), almost in the shadow of the great anhistoric fortress crowning the hill.[1] There being no space on the hill itself for such amusement, and no nearer open ground available, it is probable enough that this circle—it is known as the *Meini Hirion*—was in fact a *rendezvous* for something of the kind,[2] whether or no the participants remembered that the origin of their sports was a funeral-feast. They may very well have forgotten it, as the Romans had forgotten the origin of their *circus* and their amphitheatre. On the other hand such names may have arisen from the actual use of such spots as *rendezvous* on holidays—not at all unlikely in a thinly peopled land and amidst a scattered population—or from the same association of ideas as led Cornishmen and Mecklenburgers to dub so many of their stone circles 'Dances.' Yet even here the association of dancing with such monuments may itself be a case of genuine folk-memory: dances were as much a part of the old Celtic ritual as of that of the Greeks or of the Jews, and we know that they were part of the *cuitech fuait* of the Goidels of Ireland.[3] We have seen dancing associated

[1] There seems to be a good deal of doubt to what megalith the name really applies. Some speak as if it were identical with the *Meini Hirion* at Penmaenmawr. Others say it was a single pillar-stone a little distance from the *Meini Hirion*. The author of the *Gossiping Guide to N. Wales* states confidently that it is a pillar-stone by the path from Penmaenmawr to Talyfan, and that beside it are the remains of another great circle.

[2] The usual place for all such constructions was outside the walls of the community, but a great stone *in the churchyard* at Efenechtyd, Denbighshire, known as the Careg Gamp, was 'formerly used in the rustic sports of the village' (Lewis, *Topog. Dict.*).

[3] For some curious talk about the possible origin and import of old Welsh dances, the 'Cheshire Round' and others, see Peter Roberts, *Popular Welsh Antiqs.* Morris dancing was the traditional pastime at Whitsuntide, he says, and 'in many parts of the country there were formerly patches of ground levelled for dancing, (*op. cit.* p. 127). In Homeric language the Welsh had their own χοροί. 'Till within the last few years it was customary for the young people of the parish [Meifod, Mont.] to assemble at this place (Ffynnon y Clawdd llesg) on the eighth Sunday after Easter to drink the water, and afterwards to retire to some green spot and spend the remainder of the day in dancing; a similar practice prevailed near a fountain of clear water on Gallt y Main, at the other extremity of the parish, whence, after drinking the water, the company retired to a fine green fenced on four sides like a Roman camp and called Brvn y Bowliau, where they spent the rest of the day in athletic exercises. . . . The practice has been discontinued for some years.' (Lewis, *Topog. Dict.* 1843).

to this day with the *circus* at Ham Hill (ch. ix.), and we shall find other sorts of games associated until the last century with the once peristalithic ring-work at Kirkby Ireleth (ch. xxiv). Dancing was part of the Beltane sports of Scotland, which were themselves connected with 'druidical' remains (ch. viii), and in Iona St. Michael's Hill was the annual scene of a curious kind of cattle-dance. These odds and ends of evidence are the very flotsam of Time, but they are none the less evidence of what has been.

The Welsh name of *Meini campau* recalling that of *Plane an Gwariou* ('place of games') applied to the Cornish 'Rounds,' and that of Plaistow, which recurs in many parts of the English map and bears precisely the same meaning ('place of play'), it becomes a question whether the 'plays' in Cornwall too were not originally of some other kind than the miracle-plays of the thirteenth to seventeenth centuries. It may be added that one explanation suggested for the name of Maumbury (ch. ix), connects it with 'Maumet,' whence come also 'mummer' and 'mummery.'[1]

Welsh speech has the words *cron* (*gron*) and *crwn* (*grwm*) meaning 'a round,' 'circle,' 'sphere'; and *crwn* (f. *cron*), 'round,' 'circular,' 'spherical,' *crwm* (f. *crwn*), 'bent,' 'curved.' These are all related to Latin *corona*, Greek κορώνη, English *crown*, and *crwm* is the first element in *cromlech*, as is the Irish equivalent in *Crom Cruaich*. Castell Crwn was the name given to two circular ringworks, each with single vallum and fosse, in Mynachdy ('Monk's Town') in Anglesey,[2] and in Scotland the same term is said to be applied to any circle of stones.[3] Welsh has also the substantive *cant* (*gant*), 'an annular fence,' 'ring-work,' The Latin *circus*, *circulus*, reappear in the forms *cyrch*, *cyrchell*, equivalent in meaning to the more

[1] In Chaucer's time *maumettrie*. The word really signifies 'worship of Mahomet,' and arose at a period (twelth cent.) when the Moslem creed was regarded as the type of all 'idolatry,' or worship of false gods. In view of the attitude assumed by the earliest Christian writers, alike in Italy and in England, towards 'amphitheatres' generally, it is not altogether impossible that the name of Maumbury may be an echo of a similar feeling, and may preserve the popular belief that such a place was above all a *deofulgild-hus*.

[2] Lewis, *Topog. Dict.* Cae Crwn is a field containing hut-circles, in Merionethshire (*Inventory* no. 159).

[3] Watson, *Place-Names of Ross and Cromarty*.

common *cylch*, itself said to be related to κύκλος.[1] None of these appears to be applied specifically to any particular antiquity in Wales.

'West Wales' once included not Cornwall only, but much of Somerset and all of Devon, an area throughout which the Celtic element was very strong and very persistent.[2] Until the fight at Dyrham (577) Glastonbury[3] was a stronghold of Celtism, and latterly at least of Christian Celtism, taking rank as one of the 'Three Perpetual Choirs' and boasting itself the oldest Christian church in England. Ina and his Saxons reached the Parrett and fortified Taunton about 700. Thereafter 'West Wales' meant the smaller area beyond the river. It was still readily accessible from the real Wales, for the sea-passage from Glamorgan was but 15 miles or so. The modern name reflects the earlier, for Cornwall literally means 'Peninsular Wales.' The final conquest of the country by the Saxons only occurred in the time of Athelstan (926).[4]

Tradition is full of allusions to the active intercourse between Welsh and Cornish Christianity. Cystennyn, surnamed Gorneu, or 'The Cornishman,' is the reputed progenitor of at least ten great Welsh saints, including St. Cybi. Tradition tells of the activity of Saints David, Teilo, and Samson, in Cornwall, and existing dedications confirm tradition. As Llancarfan lies in that part of Wales which is nearest to Dyfnaint (Dumnonia), it is no matter of surprise that St. Cadoc should be represented as travelling hither. He particularly affected the islands of Flat Holm and Steep Holm in the Severn Sea. On one of these, then called Echni, he is said[5] to have displayed his

[1] So Sylvan Evans and Sir John Morris Jones. Possibly *cylch* may be but another spelling of *cyrch*, just as in Switzerland we find *kilch* instead of *kirch*, both from *circus*. In *Triad* 23 of Dyfnwal Moelmud (*Myvyr. Archaiol.*, ii, 922) both words appear with identical meaning, *cylch* once, *cyrch* twice, and the sense in all cases is 'moot.' In the parish of St. David's the word survives in a sense analogous to the English 'township': the parish is divided into four *cylchau*, respectively distinguished as *Cylch y* Dref, Mawr, Bychan and Gwaelod.

[2] There is a considerable number of purely Celtic church dedications in Somerset.

[3] McClure (*British Place Names*, p. 275) endorses the view that its original name was Glastenic (*glasten*, Corn. and Bret. 'oaks').

[4] Athelstan appointed to the see of Bodmin the Cornish bishop Conan, on the latter's submission to the see of Canterbury in 936. The Celtic Church of West Wales had been independent until that date, except for a temporary submission under bishop Kenstec before 870. Warren, *Celtic Liturgy*, p. 4.

[5] *C. B. S.* pp. 25, 26.

miraculous powers more than once, and there also was buried one of his disciples, Gwalches by name. In the *A.-S. Chronicle* (*anno* 918) one of these islands appears under the name of Bradanrelice[1] ('the isle of the grave of St. Bradan'), apparently Steep Holm; so that the Celtic name would seem to have been for a time adopted by the West Saxons until supplanted by the Norse *holm*; and further there must have been some sort of Christian settlement upon the island. It is said that there are still the remains of an ancient burial-ground to be seen there.[2] The later priory of St. Michael on Steep Holm very probably occupied the site of that earlier foundation.[3]

W. C. Borlase remarks[4] on the triple division of Cornwall according to the prevailing church-dedications and other indications. In West Cornwall and the region of the Land's End these are preponderantly Irish[5]; in North Cornwall they are Welsh; and in South Cornwall, and the vicinity of St. Michael's Mount, they are Breton. This is precisely what one would expect. The county was one in which met three several streams of influence from those three lands over-seas, and it is from the literature of those lands that we learn what little we know of the lives and acts of the saints of Cornwall. Literature of her own she has none to speak of. But the stubborn Celtism of the people is remarkable. 'Here at the quiet limit of the world' the Brython found in his turn an asylum with the Goidel whom he had supplanted, and here he has left some of his very finest moot-circles. The Saxon made but small impression here. There are a few names in *-stow* (Virginstow, Morwenstow, Warbstow, etc.) in the north, creeping down the western side of the peninsular as far as Padstow. In 1291 Padstow (St. Petrock's Stow) was

[1] In one MS. only. As the others have Steep Holm, the identification is clear. The final *e* of Bradanrelice may represent—*ea*, (island). Bradan can scarcely be Saxon, and is presumably Celtic. Kirk Braddan in I. of Man was anciently Keeill Vraadan (Braddan's burial-ground); which is exactly the meaning of Bradanrelice. But who this Bradan was is unknown. There are said to have been 14 saints of the name. The church of the parish of Brendon, near Barnstaple, is dedicated to St. Brendan.

[2] Murray's *Somersetshire*.

[3] Rev. E. H. Bates Harbin in *Proc. Somerset Arch. and Nat. Hist. Soc.* lxii (1916), pt. ii, pp. 26–45. Leland is the sole authority for the statement that Gildas at one time took refuge on the island and there wrote his *De Excidio* (*c.* 560). A tombstone decorated with a cross is said to have been found on Flat Holm (*C. B. S., Vita S. Cadoci*, c. 25, note), but it seems to have been lost.

[4] *Age of the Saints*, p. 122. He has chapters on Welsh, Irish and Breton Saints in Cornwall.

[5] See H. Jenner, F.S.A. *The Irish Immigrations into Cornwall* (presidential address. Roy. Corn. Polytechnic Soc. August, 1916).

already known as Alderstow (The Old Stow), for it had been superseded by the new church of St. Petrock—a Welshman, says Leland, who had spent twenty years in Ireland—at Bodmin. But the only purely Saxon saints to leave their mark in the land were Dunstan,[1] Werburgha,[2] and Neot, the alleged kinsman of king Alfred.[3]

All over West Cornwall occur the most striking remains of circular fortifications of the typical Irish kind. Long before Polwhele's time it was surmised that these must be of Irish origin, and the belief that they are so is now fairly general. H. Jenner has pointed out[4] that the well-known group of 'huts' at Chysauster, to which still attaches the popular name of 'The Chapels,' is to all appearance the ruin of an Irish monastic 'cashel.' This Irish influence belongs to the later part of the fifth and the beginning of the sixth centuries, the period of the first enthusiastic outburst of Scotic missionary zeal, and it came mainly from Munster.

Lan—(the Welsh *Llan*) is to be found all over Cornwall; it occurs more than 160 times, and frequently in parish names, e.g. Lanherne, Lanhydroc, Laneast, Lanlivery, Lanreath, Lansallos, and Landewednack. It was once still commoner; for example, Gulval was Lanesly in 1291.[5] Even when the *lan* has dropped out of the parish name, it frequently survives in that of the church-farm. The Welsh *Merthyr* reappears in Merther (with church of St. Cohan or Coan), a parish five miles west of Tregony, in Merthyr Uny, parish of Wendron, and in Mertherdarva, parish of Camborne. The last-named appears also as Menadarva, where *mena* represents the Breton *menehi*, *menechi* ('place of sanctuary'); and this again gives such other modern forms as *Menhays* and *Menas*. As in Wales

[1] See Arnold Forster, *Studies in Church Dedications*, ii, 102.

[2] Eponym of Warbstow.

[3] He has churches at Lanlivery and Lanreath.

[4] *Roy. Corn. Polytechnic Soc.* 17th July, 1913. He further suggested that the name of Chysauster might possibly mean 'House of the Sisters,' i.e. sisterhood, and point to its having been a primitive nunnery. A piece of land near the old manse at Aberdour, Fife, was still (1842) known as 'Sisters' Land,' as having once been the site of a Franciscan nunnery (Lewis, *Topog. Dict.*). The name of Chysauster is said however to be Chy Sylvester in a Subsidy Roll of 1327, and the change is entirely accordant with Cornish phonetics. (Information of C. H. Henderson).

[5] Madron, says W. C. Borlase (*Age of the Saints*, p. 128), was perhaps once Landith. But Madron itself, he states (ibid. p. 164), stands for Llanbadarn. Bridgerule was earlier Llan-Bridgit, and Perranzabuloe was Lanpiran in *D.B.*

and Ireland, the *ecclesia* word is rare: the Cornish form is *eglos*, which appears in Egloshayle and Egloskerry, and in Treneglos, Treveglos (cf. Welsh Trefeglwys), and Lanteglos (Welsh Llaneglwys). It was commoner however at one period: in *Domesday*, for example, the modern St. Buryan figures as Eglosberrie.[1] *Kil* is about as frequent as in south Wales, though it does not occur as a parish-name: Killannoon in St. Erth (the *kil* on the Down), Killagerrick in Duloe (the *kil* of the rocks), Kilgear in Boconnoc (the *kil* of the fort), Kilhellan in Tywardreath and Killahellan in Camborne (the *kil* of St. Hellan), Kilmar and Kilmarth (? the *kil* of king Mark), and Killyow, a plural form corresponding to the Irish *cealla* (Kells). *Lis* is very common. *Rath* appears not to occur at all, and *cashel* only in its Brythonic form of *castell*; but Dinnurrin (i.e. Dingerein, Dinas Geraint) was the name of a famous monastery of the ninth century, and may suggest the conversion of a secular *caer* or *rath* to ecclesiastical purposes. St. Dennis in mid-Cornwall is probably another example of the same thing, the Norman dedication having been prompted by the sound of an earlier *dinas*. There is still a circular entrenchment surrounding the church.[2]

These facts leave no doubt that early Christianity entered Cornwall, or re-entered it, with precisely the same outward seeming as it bore in Ireland and in Wales—in the form of the circular monastic precinct (*llan*) and the circular burial-ground (*kil*). There is a scrap of folk-memory pointing the same way in the local tradition that the chief of the Scotic saints of Cornwall, St. Piran (Kieran), taught the Cornishmen to build their peculiar 'rounds.'[3] He had, says the story, already taught them the art of tin-mining, and to protect the mines he introduced the 'round.' The Celts of Cornwall had mined tin for centuries before the saint was born, and they had also built Celtic *duns* as long or longer; but nothing is more

[1] Elsewhere Eglosverygan. Other instances from *Domesday* are Heglosenuder (manor) representing the present St. Enoder, and Egloshos, representing Eglos-Rose (Phil-leigh). Church-farms so named are common; e.g. Eglosderry ('Oak Church') in Wendron, Eglos-crow ('Shed Church') in St. Issey, Eglos-Erme in Erme, Egloshayle in Roche, Eglos-Merther in Merther, Eglos-Hellans in St. Stephens-in-Brannel. I owe these examples to H. Jenner, F.S.A.

[2] *Report Roy. Inst. Cornwall*, xv, 108.

[3] Hunt, *Popular Romances of the West of England* (1881), p. 275.

probable than that St. Piran played a chief part in introducing amongst them the peculiar Irish monastic cashel.

It may be added that the occurrence of the vocables *din*— (= *dinas*, *dun*) and *gear* (= *caer*, *cathair*) in the names of places which are known to have been at one period monastic settlements, is proof that their peculiar fortifications were a principal feature in such settlements in West Cornwall.

The 'rounds' at St. Just and Perran seem to be as old as any of the kind. Each is a perfectly circular enclosure contained within a vallum of earth and stone, and each has an exterior fosse. The arena at St. Just is 126 feet across, the height of the wall 7 feet above the arena and 10 feet above the fosse without, its width at the summit 7 feet; that of Perran has a diameter of 130 feet, a fosse 5 feet deep and the wall rises 8 feet above the area. Each, when first constructed, might have passed for a native Irish *rath*, and each is sufficiently near to St. Patrick's norm of 140 feet over all. Both have been converted into amphitheatral arenas by the simple expedient of setting tiers of seats along the inner face of the vallum. At St. Just there are six such tiers built of stone, each having a 'tread' of 14 inches wide and a rise of 12 inches, the flat summit of the vallum providing another tier. That of Perran has also seven rows in all,[1] but here there is no evidence of stones having been used. The seats are merely cut in the soil of the vallum.

When St. Gouzenou, the Cornish Winnow, was about to make a monastic establishment, he directed his brother St. Majan to take a pitchfork and draw it in a circle round the site selected. 'St. Majan did so, and lo! the fork formed a deep moat, and cast up a mound of earth within, resulting in a circular enclosure defended by moat and embankment.'[2]

[1] The details are from Borlase (*Antiquities* and *Nat. Hist. Cornwall*) and Polwhele (*Hist. of Cornwall*, vol. i), who give plates illustrating both. Polwhele thought them to have been 'origianlly designed for British courts of judicature,' referring to Gibson's *Camden* p. 17. The number of 'rounds' now remaining (according to *V.C.H. Cornwall*) is but five, of which two (at Newlyn East and at St. Columb Major) are said to be undoubtedly modern. There were others, now destroyed, at Landewednack (near the church), at Ruan Major (also near the church), at Ruan Minor, and at Treleaze. They are almost confined to West Cornwall.

[2] Baring-Gould, in *Arch. Cambr.* 5th ser. xvii, 267, quoting from Le Grand, *Vie des SS. de Bretagne* (1837), p. 660.

The work known as Upton Castle, near Lewannick, would seem to be nothing but a typical Scotic *cashel* with its (later) oratory, of the approved type to be found alike in Ireland and in Scotland. The interior circumference of the *cashel* (which is very regular in plan, and built of dry stone roughly piled between two facing lines of flat elvan stones) is 240 feet. The entrance seems to have been at the north side, covered by something which in its ruinated condition suggests a bastion and is perhaps not original. Within are two buildings: the first is a cell (24 feet square) abutting upon the face of the *cashel*; the other, also rectangular, but much larger (42 feet by 24 feet) and disposed east and west, occupies the centre of the *cashel*. Both buildings, the larger in particular, are of far later date than the surrounding wall. Local tradition declares that the place was used as a cell of the Priory of St. Stephen in Launceston, and it is probably correct.[1] There is nothing upon the spot to traverse the view that it was originally the *desertum* or *mansio* of some early Christian recluse, subsequently reconstructed and appropriated by later monastics. That all memory of the founder's name should have perished is not surprising. Cornwall, Wales and Ireland have saints in legions, but all have scores of such ring-works whose founders are wholly forgotten.

There is probably no English county in which there survive so large a number of smaller and feebler enclosures, mostly of circular plan, and all alike in their construction; 'Simple walls of earth and stone, with a ditch outside . . . scarcely a parish in the Launceston Division but has one or more.'[2] They are commonly written down as 'village-sites,' and in some instances they probably were such, but it is remarkable that a very large number of them are closely associated with a present-day 'church-town,' as at Linkinhorne, Lawhitton, and Crowan; while at Sithney, near Helston, is one which is now enclosed as 'a small field, roughly circular,' and known as 'The Garland.' 'There is a local tradition that it was once a graveyard. It is the property of the churchwardens.'[3] The writer of the above suggests that 'Garland' may

[1] *Journal Roy. Inst. Cornwall*, IX, 344; XV, 114.
[2] *Report Roy. Inst. Cornwall*, XV, 108.
[3] J. B. Cornish in *V. C. H. Cornwall*, I, 470.

represent *caer-llan*. It is much more probable that it stands for *gorlan*, which Polwhele gives as meaning 'churchyard, sheepfold.'[1] The same writer remarks upon the undefensible position occupied by many of these works: 'they stand on low ground, and in most cases where the land slopes to a river or a stream . . . commanded on all sides. . . . From this it would seem that, to the men who threw up these earthworks, the hills with their castles were of no moment.' On the other hand it is a regular characteristic of the early Christian settlement, alike in Ireland and in Wales, to affect the vicinity of wells and streams, and to avoid the higher ground.[2]

In West Cornwall there are no 'nucleated' villages. Each parish is divided amongst a number of farms, one of which stands beside the church and is therefore known as the 'church-farm' or the 'church-town'; but the genuine Cornishman will speak of any one of the others, with its commonly diminutive cluster of barns and byres, as equally a 'town.' He has forgotten his Celtic term, has adopted and keeps the Saxon term as it was understood before Chaucer's time. But further, on scores of such farms is to be found a field called in the tithe-maps the 'church field,' or equally often 'round field,' i.e. the field where once was a 'round.' Whatever these may represent, whether the original circular homesteads (*tates*) of the Irish townlands as described by Seebohm,[3] the circular moot of a Celtic community, or that circular place of burial which from the eighth century was essential to every township, it is fairly clear that the Cornishman had learnt and still retains the word 'church' in a sense which it has ceased to bear in English for some 500 years—'the round.'[4]

[1] *Cornish-English Vocabulary*, in his *Hist. Cornwall* (1816). Similar place-names are common is Cornwall, e.g. Tregorland (anciently Crucgorland) in St. Just-in-Roseland, Gorland or Gurland in St. Just-in-Penwith, Gurlan or Gurlyn in St. Erth. They are exactly parallel to the survival of *Church* and *Kirk* in place-names upon the Saxon map, often where there is no discoverable church. In Devonshire, three miles west of Church Staunton, occurs Garlandhayes, which both in formation and in meaning is apparently an exact parallel to the common English Churchhay(es).

[2] In some of the coastal parishes the church, as at St. Just-in-Roseland and at Mylor, stands actually on the shore and barely above tide-mark, exactly where one may believe a Christian missionary to have made his first landing and his home. Beside the church of Mylor stands an unusually lofty wheel-headed cross, 17 ft. in height, with a cup-and-circle mark decorating the front of the shaft. Tradition declares it to mark the grave of Mylor.

[3] *Village Community*, pp. 223, *sqq*.

[4] For the suggestion that such fields were so named as being made over to the parish-church in lieu of tithes, there is no warrant whatever.

The raised, revetted, circular or oval[1] churchyard is so common in Cornwall, in that part especially where Irish influence was most felt, that most people have never noticed it, or if they have, have not thought it deserving of comment. The assertion of Polwhele that in Cornish the same word (*gorlan*) did duty for a churchyard and a sheepfold indifferently, points in the same direction as does his further observation[2] that in Cornwall 'we use *lhan* for church, probably because the Druids . . . buried their dead in a *circle* or enclosure of stone.'

Amongst many examples of the kind may be mentioned the churchyards of St. Buryan and Newlyn East. There are others less perfect at Lamorna, Landewednack, Wendron, St. Erme, Madron and Towednack. Gunwalloe, originally circular, was altered in 1889; and the long-desecrated burial-ground of Merther Uny in Constantine, now used as a garden, is still of irregularly oval plan and still goes by the name of the 'churchyard.' Those of St. Mawnan, Philleigh, St. Allen and St. Dennis still show the circular area surrounded by a considerable vallum more or less well preserved. It is hardly too much to say that the circular area is recognisable in the case of almost every old churchyard, except where a temporary prosperity has swept away its traces.

The garth of Lewannick also is circular and revetted. The name commemorates St. Winnoc, a Breton of the fifth century, by marriage related to St. Non the mother of St. David, whose name is preserved in that of Altarnon. The church itself is dedicated to St. Martin of Tours, and was very early a place of pilgrimage. It boasts two ogam-stones, the vicinity abounds in wheel-crosses of the Irish type, and outside the schoolhouse still stands a pillar-stone, beside which was found an interment in a cist-vaen.[4]

The salient characteristics of the early Cornish oratories are thus summarised.[5] The plan is that of a simple parallelogram of from 20 by 10 feet to 35 by 17 feet, the length being commonly just twice the breadth. The eastern portion was the chancel, demarcated by a slight

[1] There is a marked tendency in Cornwall towards the oval rather than the circular plan, and W. C. Lukis remarked (*Prehistoric Monuments of Cornwall*) that the 'ovate' form of barrow is 'usual in Cornwall.'

[2] *Hist. Cornwall* (1816), i, 133.

[3] Illustrated, with other examples, in Blight's *Churches of West Cornwall*.

[4] F. Nicholls and H. Dewey in *Journ. Roy. Inst. Cornwall*, lviii, 44.

[5] By Rev. W. Haslam in *Trans. Exeter Dioc. Arch. Soc.* vol. ii.

stone step, for the chancel-arch is the rarest exception in Cornwall. The door is on the south side, and 'I have invariably found a stone bench running along the base of the wall on the inside, and the floor sunk 2 or 3 steps lower than the ground without the edifice.' As with the oratories of Ireland and Wales, there is always a well or spring close at hand. They are thus in all the more important features precisely like the earlier Scotic oratories.

The chapel of St. Piran, amongst the sandhills by Perranzabuloe ('St. Piran in the Sands'), undoubtedly stands upon an ancient site, quite possibly as old as the saint's era, but it is not in itself an original fabric, as the architectural details sufficiently prove. So says W. C. Borlase,[1] and he cites as perhaps the most ancient buildings in Cornwall the Chapel at Madron, that of St. Dellan in St. Buryan, and a third on Gurnard's Head, where the building, which stands within the vallum of a cliff-castle, is associated with a cluster of hut-circles.[2] None of these however shows any trace of the bee-hive method of building, for which one must go a mile south to Bosporthennis in the same parish (Zennor), where are two conjoined huts in bee-hive style, one circular, with a diameter of 13 feet, the other rectangular, measuring only 9 feet by 7 feet. There seems no avoiding the suggestion that these represent respectively the *habitaculum* and the *oratorium* of a recluse of the very earliest days of Christianity.[3]

W. C. Borlase excavated in 1879 the stone cairn of Carn Brea[4] near the Land's End. Upon this had stood a 'chapel' of unknown dedication, which was destroyed about a century ago. The cairn was found to be sepulchral, and to have been used as a burial-place by peoples of very different periods. The surface-soil revealed relics of comparatively modern date, below which was a stratum containing remains attributed to the Roman era; below this again was a cist-vaen; and at the bottom of all an elaborate interment in a rude square stone-built pit covered over with its own oval mound. It would seem

[1] *Age of the Saints*, p. 107.
[2] ibid. pp. 51, 181.
[3] The ground on the south is ploughed (1919) up to the wall of the 'bee-hive,' and here the writer has picked up scraps of pottery of Romano-British type.
[4] Not the more famous hill of the same name near Camborne, which ranks as one of the finest hill-forts now remaining in Cornwall. The other was likewise fortified, and there are ruins of circular huts within its wall.

then that the barrow marking this original interment had, as so frequently occurred, attracted other burials in succession, the mound being raised with each fresh burial until it grew to be a conspicuous cairn—the first land to be sighted by home-coming sailor-folk. There seem to have been other cist-vaens, besides the one explored, which had been wholly or partially destroyed in the process of building the chapel.[1]

J. T. Blight[2] raised the question whether this was a case of the accidental usurpation of a pagan *locus consecratus* by Christianity, or whether it was intentional. In view of the evidence it is at least possible that some of the burials in the cist-vaens were Christian; that these had been placed *more gentilium* in an existing barrow; and that the subsequent chapel was a purposed occupation of a site known by tradition to have been hallowed by Christian burial. That the nameless person who built the first chapel[3] here should have been ignorant of the real nature of the mound is wholly improbable.[4]

At Porth Curnow, a few miles away, in the parish of St. Levan, another chapel stood upon a mound in which was found, two or three yards from the walls of the building, the sepulchral urn accompanying the original interment.[5] The size of the chapel (48 ft. by 20 ft.), and the facts that it had a chancel-arch, and that the chancel was of different width from the nave, prove that it was of no very great antiquity. Again it may be urged that the builders were ignorant of the true nature of the mound which attracted them. It is conceivable, but it is in the last degree unlikely.

Here at any rate are two Christian places of worship reared upon mounds which are known to have been barrows, in which the interments had all the usual evidences of pre-Christian date. Anyone who looks at the churches of Cornwall, of West Cornwall in particular, will feel a doubt whether the greater number of them do not stand upon barrows. There is no other way of accounting for the curious recurrence of the rounded precinct, its

[1] W. C. Borlase, *Age of the Saints*, pp. v–x.

[2] *Churches of West Cornwall*, p. 91.

[3] The architectural features of the building shewed that, in its existing form, it was not of the earliest date. It had, for example, a string-course round it (*Age of the Saints*, p. 181).

[4] cf. the case of St. Guthlac at Crowland (below, ch. xxiii).

[5] *Age of the Saints*, p. x.

markedly raised area, and—in most instances—its dominating position.

There remains however evidence yet more convincing —*littera scripta manet.* Amongst the admittedly most ancient of the inscribed stones of Cornwall is the Carnsew stone at Hayle, which records that HIC IN PACEM (*sic*) REQUIEVIT someone,—a lady apparently, a Christian most certainly—who lay 'in the barrow beneath' (HIC IN TUMULO IACIT).[2] The stone was found in, and still stands close beside, a tumulus, now largely destroyed, and it explicitly tells us that the earliest Cornish Christianity permitted the burial of the *fideles* in barrows.

The parish of St. Issey was in early days Egloscruc (Bp. Brantingham's *Register*, 1375–1410) or Egloscruke (Stafford, 1410—1420).[3] This means the 'Church of the Barrow,' or the 'Barrow-church'; so the barrow was also an *ecclesia*, i.e. it was a Christian barrow. The name of the parish of Altarnon points the same way: it means the 'Altar of St. Non,' and 'the earliest stone altars were tombs.'[4] In this case the origin of the name is to be found most probably in the existence of a barrow consecrated by the saint and bearing as token thereof an *al fresco* altar like those to be seen at Inismurray. Borlase[5] points out that the Cornish form *Altar* is Irish (*altair*), not Welsh (*allor*). Cornish tradition declares that St. Non, the mother of St. David, was buried here, but the tradition probably arose out of the name.

The peculiar wheeled-cross of St. Patrick is more common in Cornwall than in any other part of England, and a notable example of its rudest and earliest form, a mere pillar-stone with the *roth-fail* head, is to be seen at St. Clement's, the shaft bearing in degraded Latin capitals the inscription IGNIOS VITAL FILI TORRICI. It is rather singular that ogam-stones are decidedly rare in the county.

[1] *Journal Roy. Inst. Cornwall*, 1872, p. 71.

[2] Hübner, *Inscript. Brit. Christianae*, p. xx: cf. the examples from Wales, above, p. 273.

[3] *Age of the Saints*, p. 135.

[4] ibid. p. 138.

[5] He bids us also 'remember fables of saints like St. Crantock bringing their altars with them, *around which to raise their churches*' (*Age of the Saints*, p. 130). These are no fables, but refer to the Scotic portable altars. Anyhow they reared their 'churches' literally round about their altars, for the church of those days was the barrow itself, within or upon which stood the altar, itself destined in some cases to be the saint's tomb. 'Tombs seem to have been the first altars, and mausoleums the first churches of Christendom,' wrote Lord Lindsay (*Christian Art*, i, pp. 6, *sqq.*).