

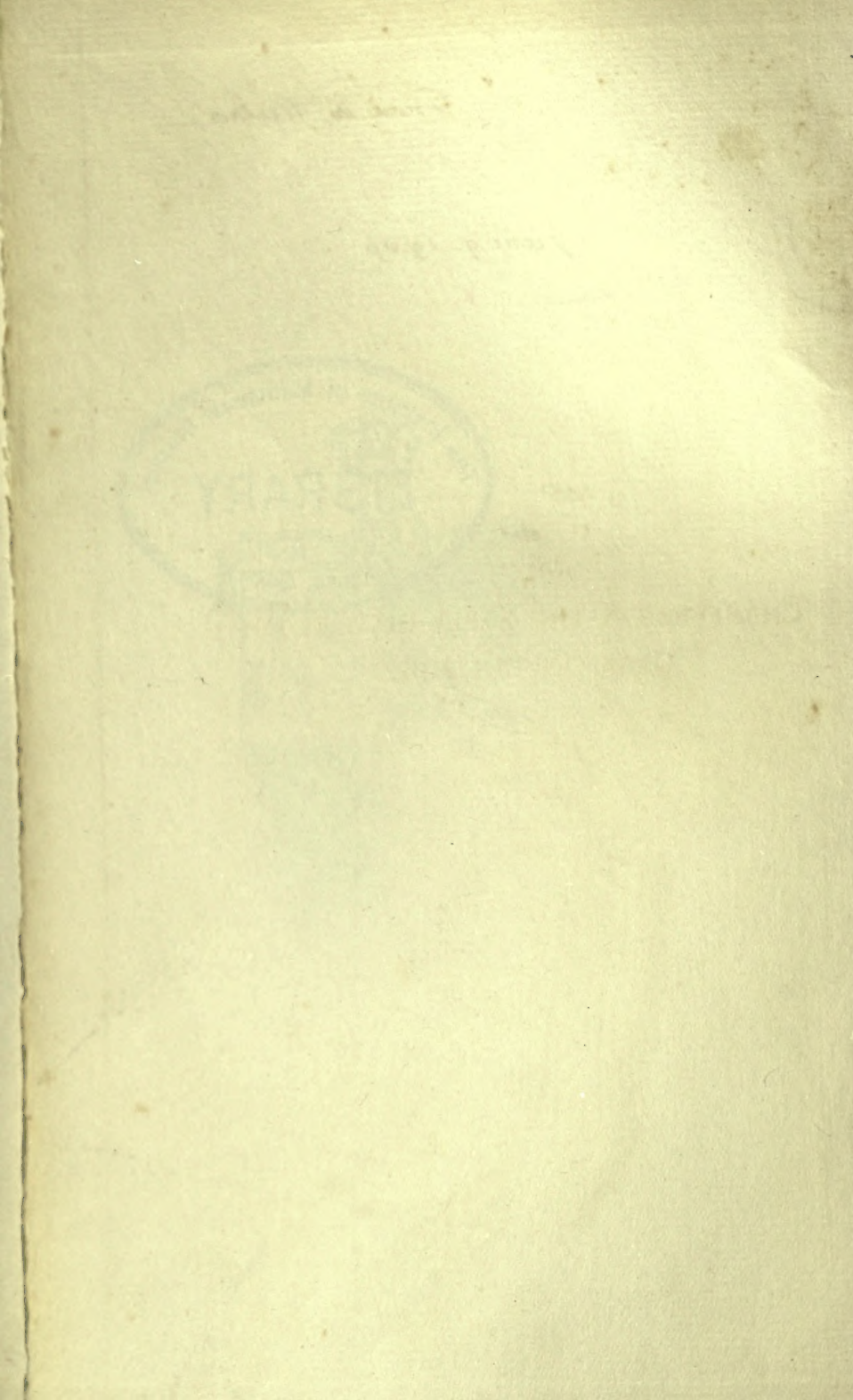
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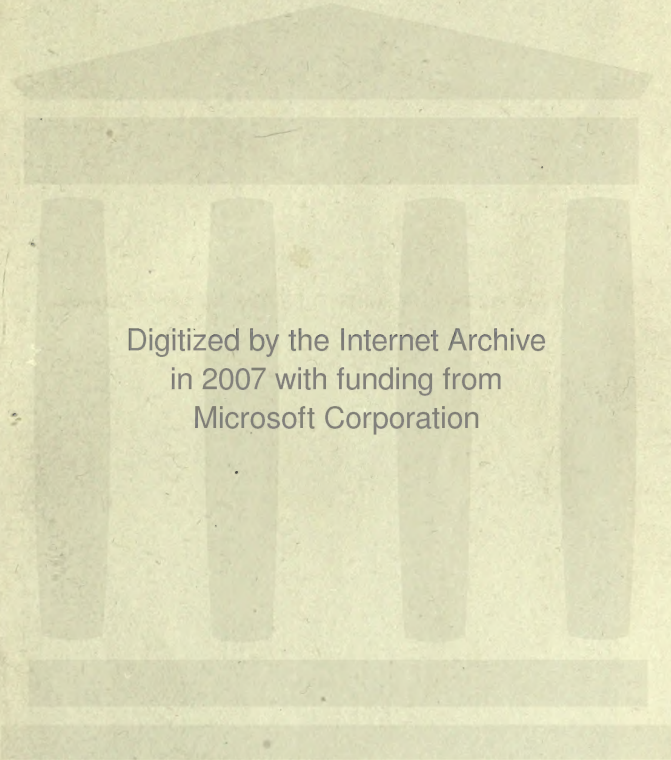
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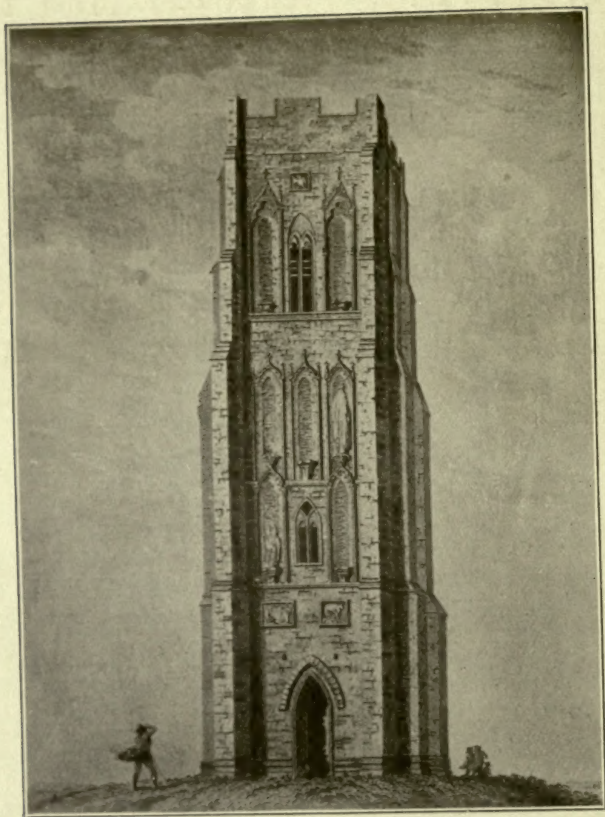


CHAPTERS ON THE EARLY HISTORY OF
GLASTONBURY ABBEY

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S. MICHAEL'S TOWER, GLASTONBURY.

CHAPTERS ON THE EARLY HISTORY OF GLASTONBURY ABBEY

BY THE REV. WILLIAM H. P. GRESWELL

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Taunton

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Preface.



IN making a short contribution to the early history of Glastonbury Abbey I feel that I need offer no apology, as the old Tor itself, although 20 or 25 miles distant as the crow flies, is visible from my windows, and invites the attempt. More often than not it is draped in the mists that sweep up the Severn Sea from the north-west and lies half hid in the mirage of the moorlands. To write about the birth of Glastonbury is to write about a creation that has sprung from the sea, that has grown up silently in the weird marshes and meres of the "sea-moor-sætas," and that loves to entangle itself in the magic mists of antiquity. Must we always adhere to the *litera scripta* in speaking of Glastonbury? It is the land of legend, romantic figures, and shadowy heroes, and there is sometimes more substance to be found in these, especially when place-names, topography, dedications, and the *consentanea vox* of antiquity confirm them, than in the *litera scripta* of the monastic *scriptorium*, where the greatest efforts of the Benedictine pens were directed to invent, to simulate, and to forge, so that the detective genius of a Stubbs can hardly winnow the true record from the false. No, we must ransack many storehouses to know and understand this ancient Somerset monastery, not the least or most unimportant of them being those of

memories and magic associations that sway men's feelings and enlist their eternal sympathies. Unlike any other monastery it has handed down from the earliest times the record of a national faith and the lamp of Christian revelation dimmed at times by errors and obscured by the turmoil of national changes, still enduring, with a vitality of its own, through British, Saxon, and Norman times. Occasionally we look through a mist and magnify accordingly, idealising what may have been commonplace, but the spirit of the place invites it. And so let it be!

WILLIAM H. P. GRESWELL.

DODINGTON RECTORY,

May 24, 1909.

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CHAPTERS ON THE EARLY HISTORY OF GLASTONBURY ABBEY

I.

Glastonbury and its Neighbourhood.



ALTHOUGH many miles distant from the shores of the Severn sea, the ancient monastery of Glastonbury is redolent of the sea. Without the sea we can understand neither its origin, history or development from the earliest times. Approaching the broad estuary of the river Parret (called in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle the Pedrida¹ or Pedreda) from the west the sailor must always notice a most conspicuous landmark visible far down the Channel, known from the earliest dawn of recorded history as Brent Knoll. It is a conical hill, somewhat broadly moulded, 457 feet in height, now peaceful enough with its two churches of East and South Brent nestling under its sides and with its green sloping pasture above, but to the eye of the archæologist it bears beneath the outward signs of cultivation certain rough marks or scars of terraces and escarpments adapted to the usages of ancient warfare. Indeed, in 1189, we know that it was called Bateleberga,² and that a Castellarium stood

1. A.S. Chronicle, A.D. 658 and A.D. 845.

2. Registrum de Soliaco. A.D. 1189.

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here. This height, looking seaward, may be regarded as the old signal-beacon pointing the way through the mouth of the river Parret to Glastonbury Tor.

Brent Knoll is said to have been given by King Arthur to Glastonbury, but according to others the historic mound was the gift of King Ina who mentions the land around the "Mons¹," as it is called in his charter, together with the boundaries of Sabrina, *i.e.*, the Severn sea on the north and the river Axe on the east. At any rate in Richard Beere's Terrier of Glastonbury lands (temp. Henry VIII) Glastonbury held the right to all wreck of sea in the Hundred of Brent and "infra Berwes," *i.e.* below Berrow, as a very ancient privilege.

The hill often struck the keen eye of Professor Freeman,² when he lived at Somerleaze, not far off, and speculated on the border frays of Saxons and British in this neighbourhood. As befitted an ancient portal to the old abbey Brent Knoll abounds in legends even to this day. Was it not miraculously piled up by some Titanic workers piling it up with shovelfull of Berrow sands?

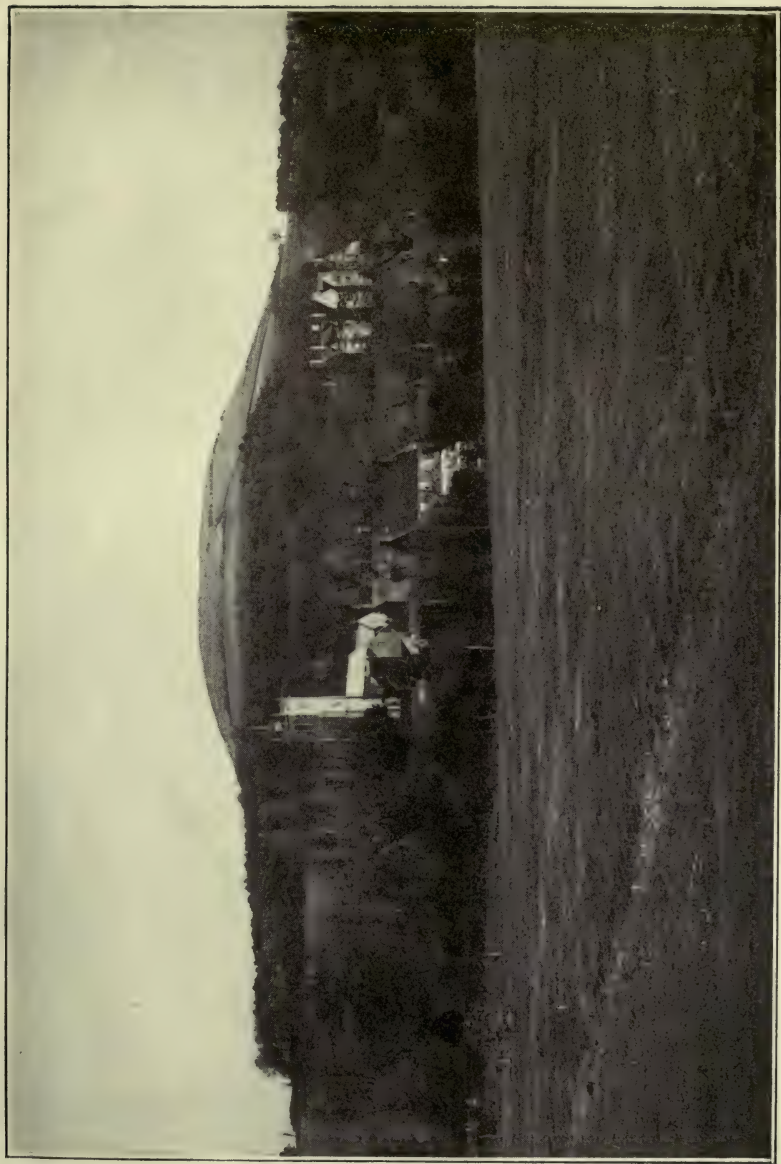
Here are the primitive instructions given in Speed's map (1610) for navigating the river Parret from the Botestall off Stolford. "To sail into the river Parret from the Westward for the Port of Bridgwater you will first make a high round hill called Brent Knoll, nearly over Burnham church which you must keep due east and then sail along till you open Bridgwater steeple. And then you are to keep the north side of Burnham church just opened till you open the river to the eastward of the Warren House of Steart Point."

William³ of Malmesbury ("cognomento Somersetus" as Adam of Domerham calls him) the great historian of Glastonbury Abbey, says that Brent Knoll was called

1. See Dugdale's "Monasticon."

2. "Life of E. A. Freeman" by Dean Stephen, vol. I, p. 255.

3. De Antiq: Glast:



BRENT KNOLL AND SOUTH BRENT CHURCH (S. MICHAEL).

"mons ranarum" *i.e.* the mountain of frogs¹—a name the rustics still give it—and in Arthurian times was the reputed habitation of a race of giants and monsters, three of whom were slain by Ider one of King Arthur's brave knights. On one of the ancient stone pyramids that used to stand before the cemetery of the monks at Glastonbury the name of Bregden was inscribed. According to Sir H. Spelman² this Bregden gave a name to "Brentacnoll and Brentmersh," just as a certain Logdor or Legder, (possibly an ancient chief), gave the name of Logderesburg or Legdersbeorg to that other ancient possession of Glastonbury Abbey, known since the Norman Conquest as Montacute (Mons Acutus). Both hills, like the famous Glastonbury Tor itself, claimed a chapel or church dedicated to S. Michael, that conspicuous saint of seafaring Celts. Below, at the very mouth of the Parret itself, was again a chapel dedicated to S. Michael, long since forgotten and ruined in the tiny hamlet of Stolford.

Logderesburg, or Montacute, was lost before Domesday to Glastonbury Abbey, but the donor of the land was said to have been a Christian preacher or dignitary of the early church, as the place-name "Bishopston" indicates in Domesday. To this day the chief tithing of Montacute is thus known. The "bishop" must have belonged to præ-Saxon times. The hill was always closely connected with Glastonbury and is, indeed, within sight of it on the Somerset moors. Here it was said S. Joseph was buried: here were found those relics of a flint cross, text of the bible, etc., which were conveyed miraculously by Tofig's kine to Waltham Abbey.³ This was the historic cross before which Harold prayed on that night before the battle of Senlac. King

1. Sometimes of "fogs," but this evidently a perversion.

2. "Concilia," p. 18.

3. "The Norman Conquest" by E. A. Freeman and "De Inventione Crucis de Waltham."

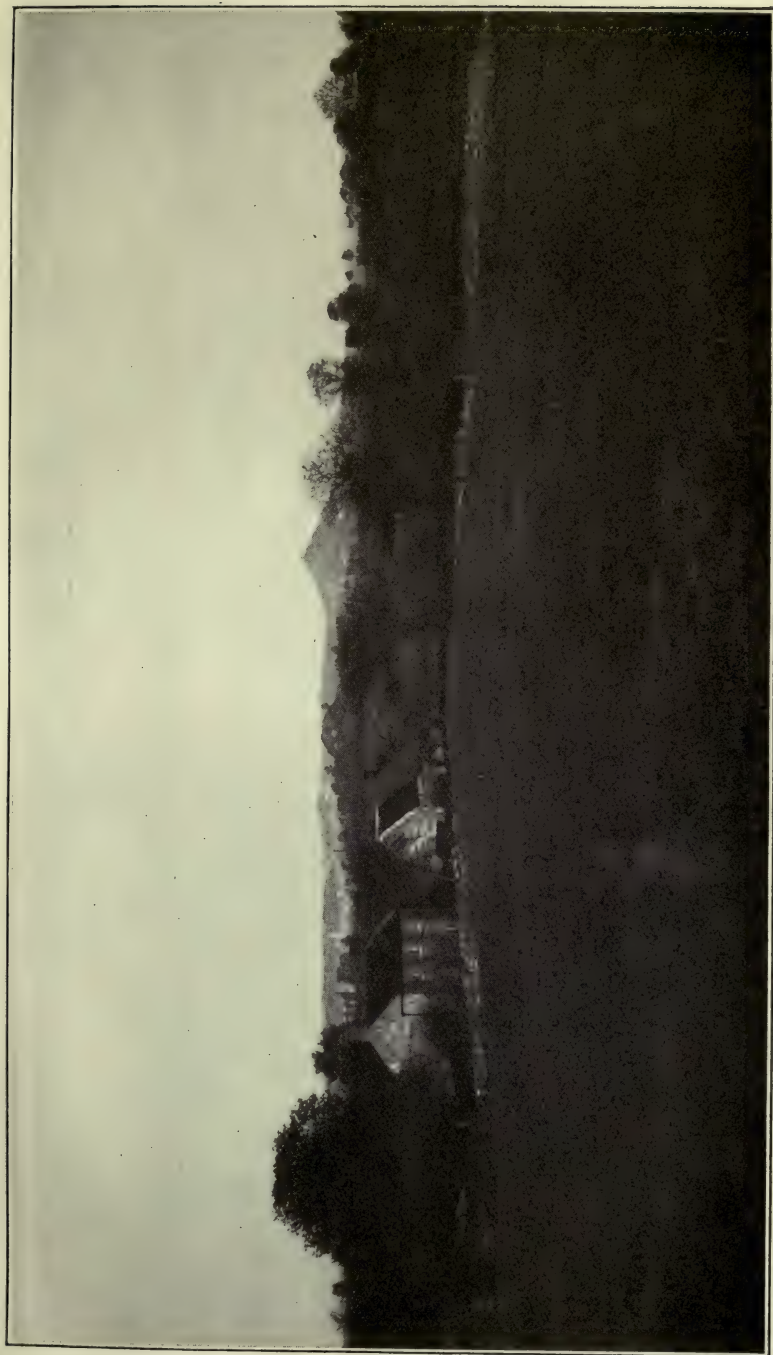
William I made Montacute—called so for the first time after one of his followers—into an early castle and fort to overawe Somerset. The place is one of the most interesting in early Somerset history.

As Brent Knoll is most conspicuous by sea so in the plain of mid-Somerset, Glastonbury Tor is most conspicuous by land. Its smooth green crown rising straight from the surrounding lowlands to a height of 500 feet rivets the attention at once. There are other “tumps” or mounds but Glastonbury Tor “*super-eminet omnes.*” As the sunlight falls upon it the delicate colouring of the turf, seen so often through a light marshy haze, seems to quiver and radiate in the distant mystery of the moorland. It looks indeed an “ynys witrin,” or “*insula vitrea,*” if the word really means some half-transparent green like that of the Greek “*chloros.*” C’othelston Tor (turris) on the ridges of Quantock invites comparison, so does Dunestorre (Dunster) further to the west, but neither of them have such a natural setting or such tender lights and shadows as this lonely Glastonbury Tor, the pride of the moorlands.

The idea of Glastonbury Tor rising from the surrounding waters and being, as it were, mirrored in the great lakes and meres is too modern to be applicable. The old Celts or British, who called it the Ynys Witrin, did not think of a “glassy island” in this sense, for their use of glass (if they knew it at all) was primitive. “*Vitrea*” was an epithet directly applicable to it, whether it was that woad grew there or because the Tor was woad-coloured.

The Island was also called “*insula Avalonia,*” either from “*Avalloc,*” a reputed chief who lived there, or from “*aval*” an apple. Let us hear what old Giraldus Cambrensis, an observant writer of the twelfth century,

1. In Baily's Edition of Forcellinus “*Glastum,*” i.e. woad, is described as a plant, the same as vitrum which wool-dyers used “*dum colore vitreo seu hyalino, cœruleo, subnigro tingunt.*”



GLASTONBURY TOR FROM THE NORTH-WEST.

Glastonbury and its Neighbourhood. 5

says of the etymology, for in his day (*c.* 1180—1200) it was evidently still an island and therefore presented its old features.

“That place which is now called Glastonia was of old called *Insula Avalonia*. For it is an island beset by marshes (*paludibus*) whence in the British tongue it has been called *Inis-Avalon i.e.*, an apple-bearing Island. For this place used formerly to abound in apples which in the British tongue are called *Aval*. an old name also was *Inis-vitrin* in the British tongue *i.e.*, *insula vitrea*. From which word the Saxons coming afterwards used to call the place *Glastingeburi*. For *Glas* is in their tongue *vitrum* and *bury* a castle or city.”

It may be noted that the old British word *Ynys* survives still on the west coast of Wales and also on the west coast of Ireland, as in *Ynys Enlli* or Bardsey off Cardigan, and *Ynysmore* and *Ynysmaan* in the Aran Islands off the coast of Galway. From the historical point of view, it will be seen how the very names of *insula vitrea*, *insula avalonia* and Glastonbury Tor are all suggestive of British, Roman and Saxon influences, each word conveying its own lesson.

Glastonbury had several satellite islands : these were (1) *Bekaria* called *Parva Hibernia*, whither Irish pilgrims turned their steps ; (2) *Ferramere* with *Westie*, *i.e.*, West Island, now corrupted into *Westhay* ; (3) *Padnebeorge* or *Pathenesburg*, a vine-growing island ; (4) *Andredesey*, *Andersey* or *Ylond* (now *Niland*) surpassing the rest of the islands in site and excellence of position, and so called because of its little church (*ecclesiola*) of St. Andrew ; (5) *Martinesei*, so called because of the church of St. Martin ; (6) *Godnei*, *i.e.*, God's Island. Together with *Insula avalonia* they made up seven privileged islands, a chartered region and immune from the ordinary law of the land.

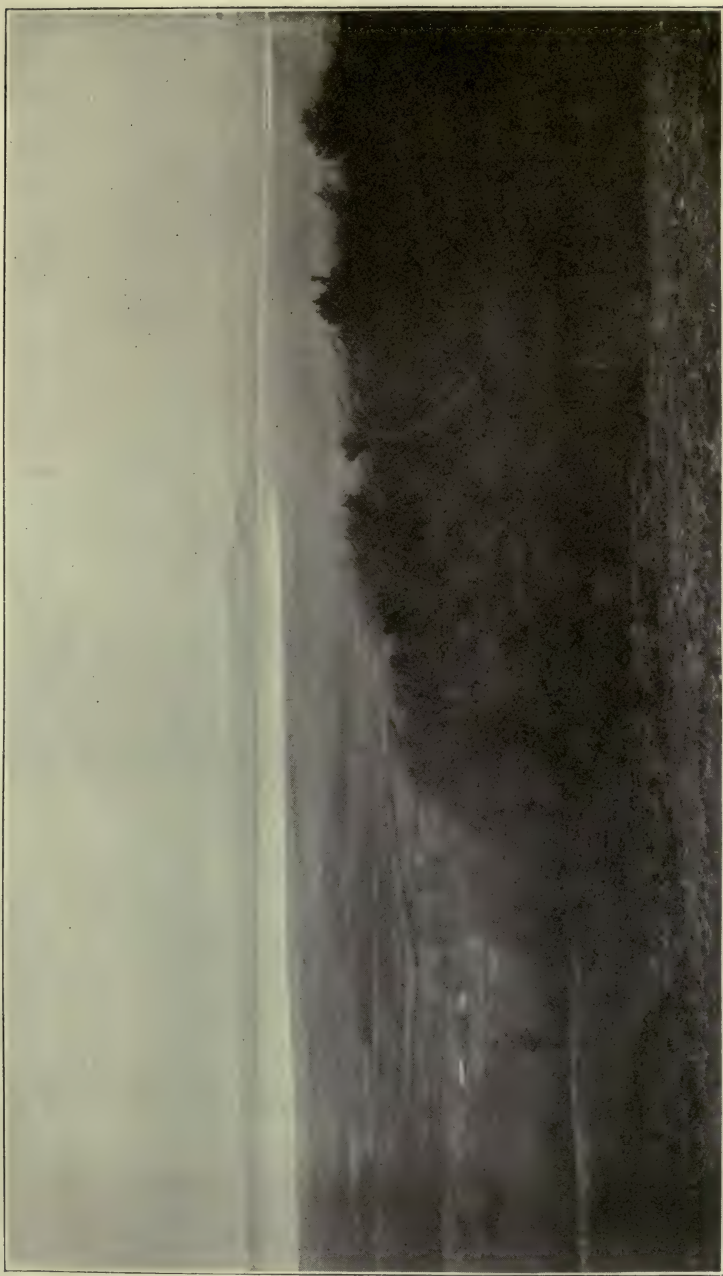
There were other little islets such as *Bledeney*, *Litleneie*, as we may gather from the old perambulation of

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that notable tract of land known as "Glaston Twelve Hides," a territorial term still known and used, but the above were the chief. In Domesday the islands mentioned are: Mere with sixty acres, Padeneborg with six acres, and Ederesige with two Hides, in addition, of course, to the "Twelve Hides of Glastonbury" which were never assessed or taxed.

As we have already hinted the first approach to the sacred island of Ynys Witrin was by way of the Severn Sea. Those who have wandered near Lindisfarne, or Croyland, may see in Glastonbury some familiar features of marsh and reedy hollow, but the main peculiarity of the Somerset monastery is that it had the long reaches of ever-restless tidal rivers stretching their fingers towards it. These rivers, whether the Parret, Axe or Brue, were always exhibiting some extraordinary phenomenon before man had been able to build his sea-wall, construct his clyse and rhine, or dig his drain and canal. The rush of the waters was useful enough where the frail boats or coracles followed after the wake of the "bore" or "eager" that swept inland for more than twenty miles up the Parret to Langport, but at times it was an irresistible enemy. The monks of Glastonbury when they were anchored at their inland island had many perilous tasks in front of them, not the least being the reclamation of their own domain, and the taming of the tidal wave.

The Parret estuary itself is still a weird and somewhat fascinating place. Uncovered by the tide it looks just what it really is—a yellow treacherous plain of mud—the familiar haunt of legions of gulls, burrow ducks, oyster catchers, and numerous other sea-fowl. The adventurous fisherman who plants his posts and sets his nets for mudsoles or shrimps can only reach his ground by means of a primitive "mud-horse," a kind of flat sleigh—and he has to be careful. To be caught in the yellow remorseless tide that runs up so swiftly and surely means death.



THE PARRETT MOUTH AND BRENT KNOLL.

Glastonbury and its Neighbourhood. 7

Here is a bank of quicksand left curved and rounded by the waves ; *there* a tier of mud fretted into miniature ridges ; yonder a heap of carrion wreckage and the waifs and strays of the distant shores, but very little to guide the wanderer or on which to plant his footsteps. Below, fathoms deep, men say lie embedded the debris of a great primæval forest where the mammoth might have browsed. Indeed its huge tusks are uncovered now from time to time.

The river Parret does not, of course, lead straight to Glastonbury, but it used to run to Downend, close under the Polden ridge, by a loop which has long been diverted and forgotten. Some of the earliest benefactions to the abbey were along the Polden ridge, and here was the especial jurisdiction of the abbots. Close to "Downend Pille" lay Peritone or Puriton, the "ton" on the Parret, more ancient probably than either North or South Petherton (also "tons" on the Pedret or Parret) further up the valley. At Peritone was the first point of landing and the first contact with an ancient land-route that climbed the Polden ridge and gradually reached an altitude of 300 feet above the marshes and meres that lay extended on both sides of it. This ridge gave a backbone to this region, running inland for many miles in a north-west and south-east direction, and took the traveller to a point not far to the west of Glastonbury Tor. Here, through "Street," the *via strata* of Roman occupation, a main road intercepted the Polden route, going at right angles to the old Roman station of Ilchester. This for centuries was probably a pilgrims' route for all those who came to the shrine of Glastonbury by way of the Severn Sea. At Domesday, the church of Puriton belonged to the "Ecclesia S. Petri" at Rome and may have been used as a kind of hostelry when the power and influence of the Roman Church had once supplanted the old Celtic traditions of "Ynys Witrin."

Some years ago at the north edge of the Polden ridge

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and about a quarter-of-a-mile to the north of the village of Chilton Polden, the property of the Abbots of Glastonbury, some interesting moulds for coining were discovered.¹ They were picked up in hundreds in a small space about six inches to twelve inches below the surface. These moulds were of Severus and his wife Julia, of Caracalla, Geta, Macrinus, Elagabalus, Alexander Severus, Maximinus, Plautilla, Julia Paula and Julia Mammæa. They elicit our wonder being found in such an apparently lonely spot. Could they all have been forgeries? or do they point to some forgotten page of past local history when Downend Pill was a busy mart and the Castle and "Burgh de Capite Montis" close by (so termed many years afterwards) were frequented places even in the days of Roman occupation? It is possible that pilgrims from Wales, Ireland and the North went to Rome viâ the Poldens. To strengthen the idea of an early Roman occupation of the Poldens it may be added that the remains of a Roman Villa have been discovered at Woolavington, next to Puriton, and a collection² of Roman pottery unearthed at "Churchie Bushes" in the adjoining parish of Bawdrip.

Downend Pill³ has long since disappeared, so has the castle and the Burgh de Capite Montis. The place-names of "The Salt Wharf," "The Bally Field" (proving an outer or inner Baily), "Barrow" or Borough Mead, still survive. So also does the old Saxon cruce or creek, the Domesday Manor, since corrupted into "Great Crook," "Little Crook," and "Parson's Crook,"—names of fields now—when the tide used to run towards Cranebridge and the old Bridgwater "Causeway,"

1. "Archæologia," vol. xiv; also "The Celt Roman and Saxon," by Thomas Wright, p. 373.

2. Som. Arch. *Proceedings*, vol. xlviii, "Stradling Collection."

3. Bridgwater Municipal Documents.



THE RIVER PARRET AND THE POLDEN RIDGE.
THE OLD LANDING PLACE.

the upkeep of which in olden time formed such a burden upon the inhabitants for centuries.

At one time Puriton and Downend belonged to the Abbey of Tewkesbury, and from one extract it is evident that the port of Downend Pill was in touch with the Severn. The Abbot of Tewkesbury arranged that lead and timber (*plumbum et maeremium*) should be shipped from the Parret up the Severn.

The other but more recent sea-approach to Glastonbury was by the tidal river the Axe, some little distance to the east, and close to the site of the modern Weston-super-Mare. The anchorage on the lee-side of Brean Down is deeper and at all times must have been more convenient for boats and vessels to ride at than "Botestal" at the mouth of the Parret. Here undoubtedly was the old Roman "Uxella" mentioned by Ptolemy; here the terminus of the Mendip Roman road. As in the case of the Parret the tidal waters of the Axe, carried the shallow boats of early days many a mile inland—as far indeed as a "Portus de Radeclif" where the Cheddar water descends and joins the Axe. What was termed the port of Axwater in former days must, we suppose, have included all the landing-places and quays on the river itself from its mouth. Old John of Glastonbury tells us how there was a celebrated lawsuit before a local jury at Combswich—that important landing-place on the Parret—about the rights of Axwater, fought out in the days of Richard II. The dispute lay between the Abbot of Glastonbury and the Crown. The abbot was charged with having bought at his own price and not the king's price four quarters of salt from a *mercator*, called Roger Brymmore, who had brought his ship the "Mary de Dertemuth" up the river Axe. An opportunity was given the abbot to answer this charge "*apud Redclyffe juxta fluxum maris*" on the last day of July, 1401, "*ad primam horam et primam tidam.*" The abbot appeared through Thomas Barton, his procurator, and

showed that he and all his predecessors had been seised "de quodam cursu aquae vocato Axwater" from time immemorial, "jure fundationis ecclesiæ B. Mariæ Glasting:" also, that certain places on either side of the same water and that the banks themselves were Glastonbury property. Further that the abbot levied and could levy his own due on salt, fish, iron and all kinds of merchandise. And the abbot won his case.

To connect Glastonbury by water with the Axe required more than one engineering feat. The greatest work was the canal known as "The Pill Row Cut" which connected the Axe and the Brue. The Brue itself required widening and deepening from the point where (as we may see in old Saxton's map of 1575), the canal joined it to Northover in Glastonbury itself.¹ Sluice gates, also, were probably erected at the mouth of the Brue and also at New Bay where the Pill Row Cut joined the Axe. All these works, however, seemed to have belonged to later times, and the obligations of Glastonbury tenants in the matter of keeping the water ways in good order were continuous. The Abbot's tenants of East Brent were required to repair and scour the "cursum aquae de Rokespulle." In the well-known "terrier" quoted by John of Glastonbury eighteen moormen, alias "challenge-landmen," were told to guard the "wallum sive murum apud Rokesbrugge." These men were called "*wikarii*" and their holding was termed a *wika*, the specification of it being found in Abbot Beere's terrier. They had to mind the walls and sluices just as others had to scour and cleanse the rhines and canals. In the de Soliaco Register (1189) they are said to be the descendants of those whose duty it was to go "ad gulets maris," a peculiar expression and meaning the openings to the sea, where, indeed, the sluices or "clyses" would naturally be placed. This early sub-

1. Som. Arch. *Proceedings*, vol. xxiv, p. 105, and vol. iv, p. 105.



THE SHAPWICK BOAT.

*Reproduced by permission of the Somersetshire Archaeological Society and Mr. Arthur Bulleid, F.S.A.
From a Photograph by Messrs. Wood and Son, Bridgwater.*

Glastonbury and its Neighbourhood. 11

division of labour shows the constant care that had always to be taken to keep the sea from these low-lying regions.

It was an ancient custom for the tenants of East Brent¹ "*tractare vina et victualia Domini apud Rokysmyll de batellis.*" Another official had to find a batellum which could carry eight men and to be himself "*gubernator.*" He was to take the Abbot when he wished either to the broad lake of Mere, or to Godney or to Brent with his men and the "*cocus*" and "*venator,*" *i.e.*, cook and huntsman, and the dogs also—in other words on hunting or fishing expeditions. We wonder what these barges were like. They must have been long and narrow, like the patterns of boats still used in the rhines and ditches, keelless and flat-bottomed, and of course more stately. Can we recall the old-world scene and picture the Abbot on his rounds of pleasure or of business, halting probably at the goodly grange or mansion house near Rook's bridge, about which the rustics still have some tradition to tell?

About A.D. 1500, when the Church of St. John's at Glastonbury was being resealed the materials were shipped, according to the church-warden's accounts,² in two great boats from "*The Back*" near the Temple Friars at Bristol, and brought down the Channel to "*Rook's Mills*" in East Brent parish. This was apparently by way of the Axe. At Rook's Mills part of the material was transferred to thirteen boats hired at Meare and taken thence to the bridge called Maydelode, *i.e.*, in the low lying part of Glastonbury and at a point near the station. The rest was carried by waggons to Glastonbury. In 1500 therefore there must have been means of transit both by land and water from Rook's Mills.

Meare was an extensive lake in the XVI Century and

1. Somerset Record Society, *Rentalia et Costumaria of Glastonbury.*
2. *Som. Arch. Proceedings*, vol. xlviii.

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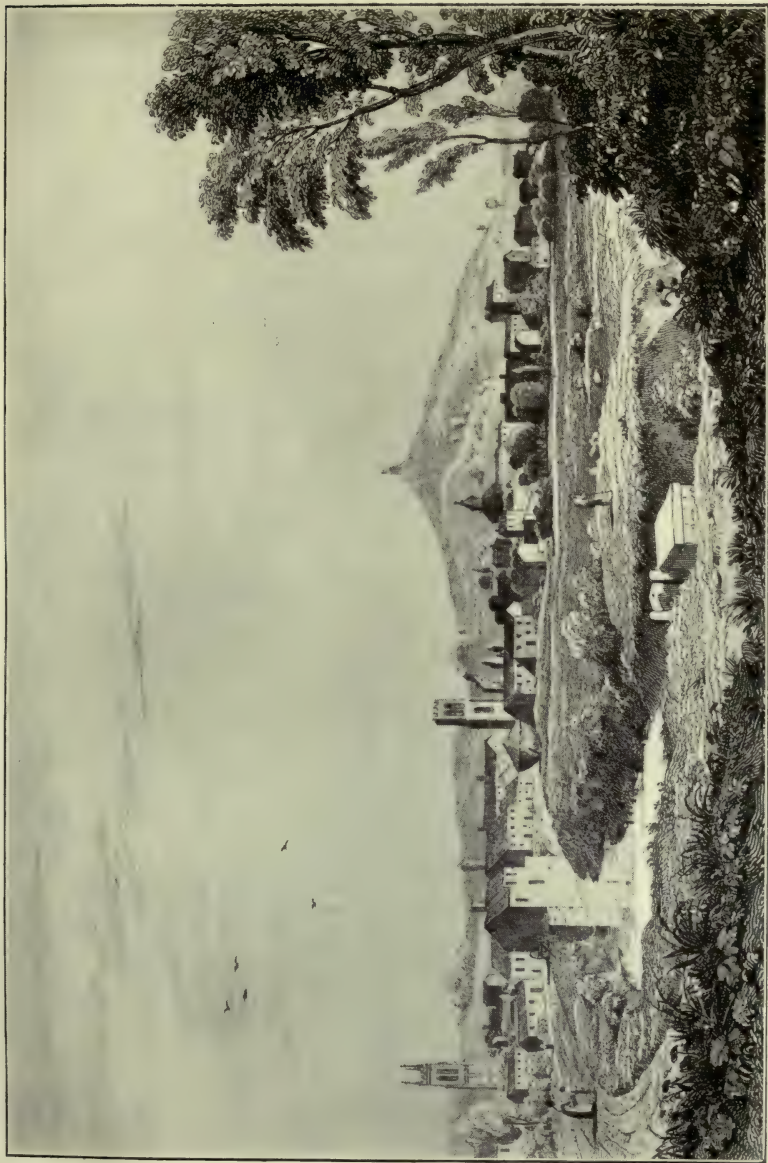
at the Dissolution reckoned to be five miles in circumference. In John of Glastonbury the celerarius or cellarer is represented as an official of the abbey whose duty it was to fish every day in Lent on Mere lake and take the catch to the Abbot. There was indeed a dispute about the fishing rights of men when Edward, Dean of Wells, wishing to enlarge his territories, sent his servants in boats¹ to the north moor of Westhay "apud Mere" towards the last fishing place to cut down and carry off "buschia" *i.e.* faggots. But the custos of the Abbots Moor took the boats (batelli) and impounded them at the Curia de Mere and won his case at Somerton Assizes. The above extracts show the character of the land at Mere in former days.

It is not known exactly when this network of waterways facilitating transit between Glastonbury and the sea was actually completed, but we do know that in the reign of Henry III a complaint was made that the Abbot of Glastonbury had broken three fisheries in the water between Glaston and Radcliffe on the Axe, and this was said² to have been done "by his boats." If this was the case the canal across Mark Moor must have existed then. To drain these moors and to protect them from high tide levels must have been a standing difficulty with the Benedictine monks. A few feet or indeed inches, this way or that, make a great difference, and even now at "Coal Yard Bridge," near Bleadon, it is customary in time of summer drought to bay back the water by means of an apparently trifling obstruction so as to benefit the stock on Mark Moor, six miles distant.

The great Dunstan was known not only as a great Glastonbury reformer, but also as an abbot who ordered or undertook great engineering works. In the boundaries of the Twelve Hides, as given by John of Glastonbury,

1. Adam of Domerham II, 569.

2. Somerset Record Society, vol. ii, p. 237.



WEST VIEW OF GLASTONBURY.
WITH CHURCHES OF S. JOHN AND ST. BENIGNUS AND S. MICHAEL'S TOWER.

S. Dunstan's dike is the name of a rhine under Kene-ward Bridge. Baltonsbury Bridge, near which the old Perambulation began on the Street side, was constructed in time of S. Dunstan by "Ulgar of the beard."

The extent of moor country owned by the Glastonbury monks may be inferred from the terrier of Richard Beere, last abbot but one. There was a moor called Hultemore, with alderwood covering 283 acres: another moor with a heath of 800 acres: a third moor called Southmoor or Allermore, containing 1040 acres, where no chase could be made by reason of the thickness of the alders and the depth of the morass: a fourth moor called North Moor of 640 acres, and Kynnyard Moor measuring 430 acres. At the time of the Dissolution there were three lordly parks—Northwood Park, in circuit four miles: Wyrral Park, in circuit one and-a-quarter miles: Sharpham Park, in circuit two long miles. The Commons, called "Glastonbury Moor" in this list, were said to be sixteen miles in circuit.

Rook's bridge, constructed by "one Rook of the Abbey of Glastonbury," is still known as a hamlet in the parish of East Brent, about a mile from Brent Knoll. There are but few signs of that former activity that must have reigned here. The Pill Row Cut, still distinguishable, looks like an ordinary "rhine" or ditch overgrown with marigolds and marsh weeds. Along one side of it runs an elevated pathway or towing track, along which men or horses dragged the "Batelli" laden with goods from the Axe. Little is left of the stonework that kept out the "maris fluxus," one of the good works of Adam of Sodbury¹ (1322). The other terminus of the "White House" below Mere is deserted.

In summer a region of quiet and great peace, the rich pasture lands spreading out on this side and on that, long since reclaimed from the "fluxus et refluxus maris"

1. See "John of Glastonbury."

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and stocked with sleek oxen ! There should still be a thought for those monks who planned and for those servants of the great Abbey who toiled to make these pastures what they are. In springtime the acres are ablaze with carpets of golden buttercups, and when the heavy grasses are cut and cleared the eye sees multitudes of small hay-ricks, like peg-tops, cut close at the bottom, just the produce of the narrow plot upon which they stand. It looks as if it were fear of the sudden rising of the waters that prompted this old-world custom, for if the floods rose it would not matter greatly if the foundations were swamped. There are many "droves" but few tracks or roads seaward ; many "lodes" or passages ; pontages, clyses, rhines and bridges, all telling their tale.

There is no old monastery, surely, that has left behind more interesting records of its work of farming, draining and general tasks of agriculture than Glastonbury. These are found in the "*Rentalia et Costumaria*" which have been preserved in all their old-world forms. The tenants are described according to the holdings that they occupy, the tasks and duties they have to perform, the suit and service they have to pay to their great feudal lord. For such indeed was the Abbot of Glastonbury. Here is the example of a five-acre tenement occupied by a certain John Burinest. From the feast of S. Michael to the nativity of S. John the Baptist he has to give every week three "handenas" *i.e.*, three days work or rather portions of the day. This work so required of him is to thresh (*triturare*) in the monastic barn, to dig (*fossare*), to inclose (*claudere*), to thatch houses (*domos cooperire*), and to build walls (*muros erigere*), until the third hour of the day. When he threshes it must be $1\frac{1}{2}$ bushels of corn, or three bushels of barley or four of oats or three of beans. And when he is employed on "hedging and ditching" it must be on the same scale as Samuel Piperwit *i.e.*, $1\frac{1}{2}$ perch if an old ditch and one perch if a new ditch. From the feast of S. John the

Glastonbury and its Neighbourhood. 15

Baptist, which is roughly speaking Midsummer day, he was required to help in the hay harvest by mowing and carrying the loads (*summagiare*). Should he be so lucky as to possess sheep he was entitled to run five in the Lord Abbot's fold between "hock day" and the time of mowing the grass. Attached to the abbey were large commons. If he has no sheep but one beast (*averium*)



he can run this on the commons. As long as he is working for the Abbot (*operarius*) he gives no rent (*gabulum*) but he must give fourpence to the "lardarium" *i.e.* salting house. Then there were certain church dues when he was married. On this auspicious occasion he was required to give five hens or fowls. The "Cherisetum," or Church scot, meant paying to the Abbot at Martinmas (Nov. 11) a certain amount of seed corn, or, in lieu of this, eggs or hens or even money. The "hurt-penny" or hearth penny was the money due for Peter's pence (*Romescot* or *Rom feoh*). There were

also certain awkward feudal restrictions about marrying his daughter or selling a colt, sometimes decided by the good pleasure of the Dominus or Ballivus. But if the tenant of five acres were inclined to be content with his lot in those days he might have felt happy and secure enough under the wing of the great Lord Abbot. Unlike many other tenants elsewhere he might leave his home in the morning in the Glastonbury domain with a fair amount of assurance that he would find it standing when he returned in the evening. In many ways he was a free tenant, and his sons might look for an opening in the Abbey itself.

There were Virgatarii also, holders of forty acres, more important men altogether, and there were tenants of half a virgate of land, and tenants of $2\frac{1}{2}$ acres who probably tilled their land well with the spade. They had rights of Common as in Weston Zoyland where there were 300 available acres of this description. Although there were lords' duties there were perquisites of "fyrebote ploughbot, husbot," and the rest. The man who had to reap corn (the liability was a "bedrip") could also carry away a portion of cut grass and corn which was called a "haveroc" or "auroc." If there was the liability to plough (carrucarius) for the lord there was the chance also of ploughing up a portion for himself on the common arable field. In certain old fields the strips of land divided by "balks" of earth can still be traced in Somerset. At the furrow ends there is still the broad headland or head right where the reeve stored his manure and compost. Sometimes these strips or panels of the field where the oxen turned were called "capitales acrae."

We may be surprised to learn that one of the great industries of the Abbey was to grow vines outdoors especially in Pathenesberg and here the tenant's obligation was to dig in the vineyard (fodere in vinea). Some phrases and words have lingered in their primitive

Glastonbury and its Neighbourhood. 17

use in the agriculture of to-day. A "plough" (*caruca*) means still a team in Somerset; a sole (Saxon *sulh*) is still the iron work of an aratrum. Mull-barton preserves the monastic "mullo," always written for "mow." The word "staddle" is the Saxon "stathel" on which the ricks were placed out of the reach of rats and mice. "Sneyd" is still used for scythe or rather a part of it resembling the "sidsnede" of the Glastonbury workmen. To "ted" *i.e.*, to scatter the hay is still in use and in the dog-Latin of Glastonbury was reproduced in the verb "teddiare." "Dreds" means a sowing of oats and barley mixed, the old monastic "dragetum." The "Hagieta" or fence of Glastonbury lives in "Haw" and "hedge."

The measures of land¹ on the Glastonbury property were these: one furlong or ferdel 10 acres: one virgate or four furlongs 40 acres: one hide or four virgates 160 acres: one knight's fee or four hides 640 acres. Sometimes a "mercator," or sailor, holds a furlong of land in addition to his usual occupation. It is worth noting that in Canada a modern township is 640 acres, and that a farm is 160 acres, *i.e.* the old hide or homestead. The coincidence seem curious. The *Parcarius* of Glastonbury also held half a virgate of land which he inherited as coming from his father-in-law. The offices of the *Parcarius* and of the *Forestarius* grew to be hereditary. They as well as the *coci* or cooks had daily rations also from the buttery hatch. Glastonbury, with its mitred and privileged abbot at the head down to the humblest *cotarii* or *bubulci*, was a self-contained and wealthy community.

A region of flood and mere long ago! of reedy wastes and alder groves, of heath and lake and pond! The surface of the land has changed but the old names survive. In the manor of Weston Zoyland and on the classic field of Sedgemoor was a Common once known

1. Liber de Soliaco.

as Rowing Lake¹ whither the king's tenants of Chedzoy could "drive or praye their cattle to Dower" of three hundred acres. The word "praye" used in the above sense lives in "Prayway" on Exmoor Forest. Glastonbury Heath and Burtle Heath are still known. It is on the peat-moors, perhaps, that the land has been less altered than elsewhere and it is along these tracts that wild bird life of the rarer kind is oftenest seen, as if the bitterns still knew through their generations where the wildest and most remote hiding-places lay.

Now and again nature reasserts her power and creates even in modern times a classic instance of a great flood along these levels such as has prevailed off and on since A.D. 430 when, according to a passage in the Iolo MSS., the "marshes were lost" in Somerset. Let the elements conspire at the time of the vernal and autumnal equinox, let the rains descend or the snows melt at some juncture when the fury of the south-west gales banks up the waters of the Severn Sea at the Parret mouth and lo! as in a transformation scene, the old primæval aspect of the moors is faithfully reproduced. Such a flood came in January, 1607, regarded in the picturesque language of an old pamphlet as "God's warning to his people of England"; again in 1660, and again in November 1702; again in 1872; again, on a smaller scale in 1882, 1891, 1903 and 1907.

Let the traveller take his stand, on one of these notable occasions, on such a distant hill as King's Hill on the Quantocks and view the scene. There, before him lie the same spaces of inland water as of old prevailed here; the same regions of flooded mere; the same up-tilted mounds or tumps—such as "toteyate" or Borough Mump, the "outlook island" near Athelney, from which King Alfred looked in anxious care when hiding in his "latebræ" of alder grove and forest. And yonder, to

1. John of Glastonbury, p. lxxvi.



THE PEAT DISTRICT.



Glastonbury and its Neighbourhood. 19

the east, the taller Glastonbury Tor crowned by S. Michael's Church—a sentinel tor indeed!—the embodiment of an Ark of Salvation in the midst of a Noachian deluge and a true “*insula avallonia*.”


In the church porches of old Glastonbury villages it is still possible to see “The Drainage awards,” and to note how the everlasting struggle with the invading waters still goes on. The duties¹ which in the days of the Abbey fell upon certain specified tenants now devolve upon the whole draining district, and occasionally cost 4d. in the £ annually upon the value of all rateable property.

If two thousand years ago (to slightly alter Ruskin's words) we had been permitted to watch the slow settling of the slime of those turbid waters by the Parret, how little could we have understood the purpose with which those little islands or eyots were shaped out of the void, and the torpid lakes enclosed within their walls! How little could we have known the glorious aim which was then in the mind of Him in whose hand are all the corners of the earth! How little could we have imagined that in the lands which were stretching forth in gloomy margins of those fruitless banks and feeding the bitter grass amongst their shallows there was a mighty preparation. And so, little by little, Glastonbury arose as the peerless Bride of the Severn Sea.

1. “*Costumaria et Rentalia*,” Somerset Record Society.

II.

Glastonbury and its Churches.

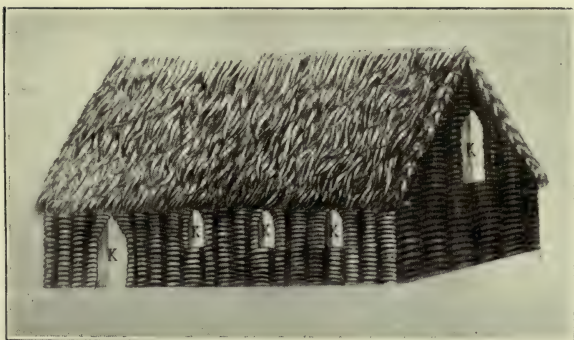
N this lonely and at first unpromising region arose the first Christian Church in Britain, described by the poet Wordsworth, in his ecclesiastical sonnets, "as Joseph of Arimthæa's wattled cell." Here the leader of the Apostolic band received a grant of land, consisting of twelve hides. The word "hide," *i.e.*, *hiwisc* or *huish*, is Saxon, and could not therefore have been applied to the original gift. Here also, it was said, Joseph himself was buried near the south angle of the little oratory¹ (*jacet in linea bifurcata juxta meridianum angulum oratorii cratibus præparatis*). But, as already noted, according to another version, S. Joseph was buried on the hill of Montacute.²

How long the "wattled cell" stood in its first place is not known. Down in the Glastonbury Lake Village, remains of fascines and of wood work, especially of alder wood, which stands long submersion, have been exhumed from the peat, so remarkable for its preservative qualities, but on the slopes of St. Michael's Tor the conditions for moorland peat do not exist.

Tradition says that when (c. 160) Faganus and Diruvianus came to Britain, they found the old church

1. John of Glastonbury, p. 30

2. De Inventione Crucis.



THE EARLIEST CHURCH AT GLASTONBURY.

(SEE SPELMAN'S "CONCILIA.")

existing, and that they added one of stone, and dedicated it to SS. Peter and Paul. They also built a chapel to S. Michael on the top of the Tor itself, where, afterwards, a church arose with monastic buildings distinct from the Abbey, and the Abbey Church below. The account (which smacks of Rome) goes on to say that Diruvianus and Faganus returned to Rome, and got a 30 years' Indulgence to all Christocolæ who visited the old church.

Thirdly, in A.D. 439, S. Patrick coming with his Irish pilgrims to Glastonbury, is said to have repaired both the "*ecclesia vetusta*," called S. Mary's Church, and also the Church of St. Michael on the Tor itself, which had become dilapidated. King Coel's remains were supposed to have been buried there, also those of the Cornish Caradocus.¹

Fourthly, in A.D. 530, S. David came and added to the buildings. Wishing in the first instance to dedicate the old church anew, he was warned (so the story ran) by Christ himself not to do so as it was already dedicated to S. Mary. As a sign our Lord thrust his finger through his hand, and this proof was shown afterwards to many by S. David himself. The remains of St. David were brought "*a Rosina valle usque Glastoniam*," by a noble matron² called Elswetha. And it was the custom of all the religious men of Wales (*religiosi Walenses*) to deposit sacred things and relics at Glastonbury. If they were bound on a pilgrimage to Rome they stopped at the sacred island.

In an account of the vision to S. David, at Glastonbury, Bishop Godwin³ says, "Let me add an ancient inscription engraven in brass, heretofore fixed upon a

1. In hac quoque insula Avallonia quæ tumulus sanctorum dicitur requiescit Coel Rex Britonum pater S. Helenæ matris magni Constantini Imp: et Caradocus Dux Cornubiæ."—John of Glastonbury l. 30.

2. John of Glastonbury l. 130.

3. "*De Præsulibus*," p. 11.

pillar of S. Joseph's chapel remaining in the custody of Thomas Hughes, Esquire, of Wells, which I myself have lately read, and thus it is (good and bad altogether) word for word. In the thirty-first year after the Passion of our Lord, Twelve Holy men, of whom Joseph of Arimathea was the leader, came hither, who built in this place the first church of this kingdom, which Christ himself in person dedicated to the honour of his mother. David, the Archbishop of Menevia, was a witness of this, to whom the Lord Himself appeared in a dream when he was desirous of dedicating it, and deterred him from his project. To give him a sign that He, the Lord Himself, had already dedicated it, together with a burying place, he thrust through the hand of the Bishop with His finger, and the hand thus pierced was shown to many the following day. Afterwards, however, the same Bishop David, the number of the Saints increasing, added a certain chancel (cancellum) on the east side of the church, and consecrated it to the honour of the Blessed Virgin, whose altar he decorated with a priceless sapphire, in memory of this deed. And, lest the place or size of the first chapel should be forgotten by means of such addition, a column or pillar was set up on a line drawn towards the south along the eastern angles, and so cutting off the chancel from it. And the length of the old church from the line towards the west was 60ft., and the breadth of it 26ft. And the distance of that column from a point midway between the aforesaid angles was 48ft." Could this space have been the beginning and origin of Galilee? It is said that the inestimable sapphire formed part of the spoils at the dissolution.

During the Abbey excavations in 1908,¹ a clay medalion was dug up with a pierced hand on it, and with the two first fingers raised in benediction, evidently in allu-

1. See Som. Arch. Soc. *Proceedings*, 1908.

Anno post passionē do-
mini. xxxi. duodecī sc̄i ex quibz
Joseph ab arimathia prim⁹ erat ih̄u
uenerūt. qui eccliam hui⁹ regni primā in hoc
loco cōstruxerūt. qm̄ xpc̄ i honorē sue m̄ris a locū p
corū sepultura p̄sencialit̄ dedicauit. sc̄o dauid mēte
uicū archieps hoc testante. Cui dñs eccliam illā dedica-
re disponēt i somnīs apparuit. i eū a proposito reuo-
cauit. nē i signū qd̄ ip̄e dñs eccliam ip̄am priū cū
cimiterio dedicarat. manū ep̄i digito p̄forauit. a sic p
forata mltis uideribz i crastino apparuit. postea uō idē
ep̄c dño reuelāte ac sc̄o m̄n̄s in eadē crescite. quēdā
cancellū i orientali parte hui⁹ ecclie adiecit a i honore
beate uirginis. cōsecrauit. Cui⁹ altā iestmabili
saphiro i uictuā hui⁹ rei mēoria insigniuit.
Et ne loc⁹ aut q̄ntitas poris ecclie
p tales angustiacōes obli-
uioni traderet. erigitur

h̄c colūna i lineā p
duos orientales āgulos
erulā ecclie uis m̄ndiem p
tracta a p̄dictū cācēiū ab ea abscin-
dente. Et erat ei⁹ lōgitudō ab illa lineā uis oc-
cidente. lx. pedū. latitudo uō ei⁹. xxi. pedū.
distācia centri istī colūpne a p̄incto me-
dio it̄ p̄oictos āngulos. xlviij. pedū.

sion to the story handed down by Godwin and Spelman. It has been conjectured that it is a pilgrim's token, and that the letters on it, MCV, mean 1105. But one of the meanings of the MCV, as given in the *Siglarium Romanum* at the end of Torcellinus's Dictionary, is "Monumentum Curavit Vivens." Could the medallion have ever been placed by some living person to mark a



TERRA COTTA MEDALLION.

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foundation stone? The dimensions of the old chapel of St. Mary are exactly those given on the ancient *ærea lamina* of Spelman, which was an ancient account even in 1500, at the time of Bishop Godwin. It is probable that this church has never altered in size from its foundation. The old cimiterium, the real "tumulus sanctorum," was surely on the south. The space occupied by the galilee, was the space between the two churches. The higher level of the ground marks the beginning of the great Benedictine church.

Fifthly, when S. Augustine came on his famous mission to Britain in the time of Gregory the Great, Paulinus is said to have resided at Glastonbury, and to have replaced the original wattle cell, rebuilding the church with timber, covering it with lead from top to bottom.¹

In A.D. 601, there was an allusion to the Old Church

1. John of Glastonbury, l. 89.

(*ecclesia vetusta*), and the gift of Ynys Witrin to Abbot Worgrez, by a Rex Dumnoniæ.¹ William of Malmesbury argues that this church must have been very old indeed, but how old, the writing forbade him to say, probably because the charter was old and indistinct. The evidence of William of Malmesbury, a Somerset man, and also a Præcentor of Glastonbury Abbey, is of course particularly valuable. He had access to many MSS. at Glastonbury which have long since perished.

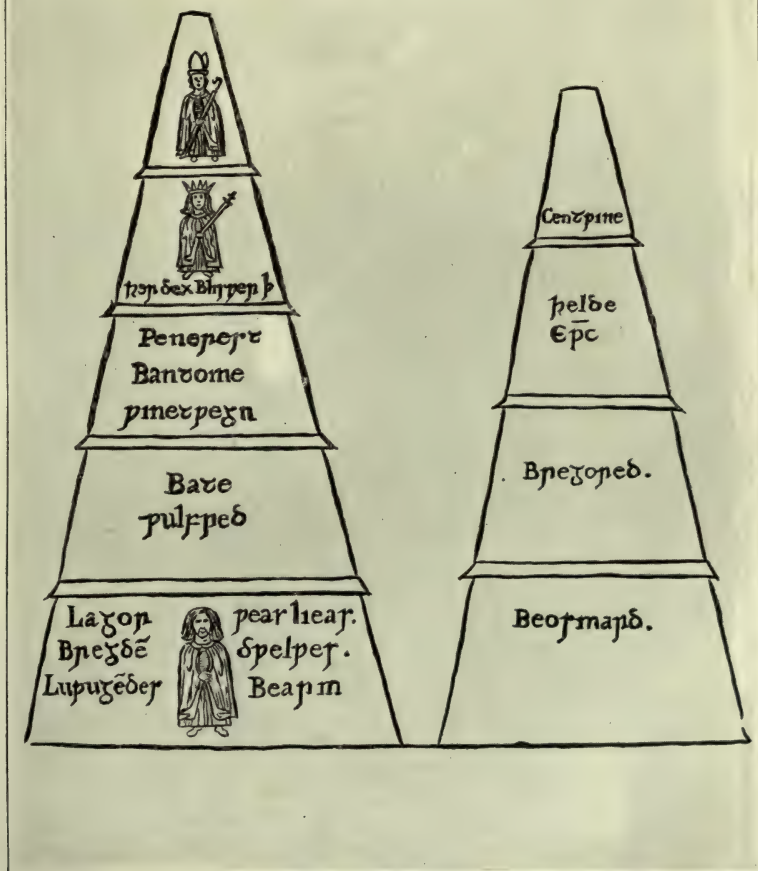
Therefore, before the coming of S. Augustine in A.D. 596 there are no less than five notices of the *Ecclesia Vetusta* of Glastonbury. The two pyramids on the west side, marking the place where King Arthur was buried, are especially interesting because they point to the fact of a "cimiterium" as well as a church, a veritable "tumulus sanctorum." The names on the pyramids commemorate both British and Saxon benefactors, and Kentwine the Saxon-King gave "Loggaresbeorg id est Montacu 16 Hides" where Logwor had previously given "Bishopston." Kentwine also gave 23 mansiones to the Abbot Hamegils "near that famous wood which is called Cantucudu or Quantock Wood as far as the river Tone."² Thus does the old church stretch its roots far back to the past and conciliate the good will and affection of all, whether Briton or Saxon.

The name of Hedde Episcopus appears on the pyramids, Bishop of Winchester in A.D. 673 and a contemporary of Kentwine. In his time the whole of Somerset fell under the jurisdiction of Winchester but why his name appears is not known whether as an Abbot of Glastonbury or as a benefactor. The more probable view is that it was in the latter capacity as he was credited with giving Glastonbury Abbey Lantocai and Leigh upon Mendip. This donation was confirmed by

1. Spelman's "Concilia," p. 20.

2. "Monasticon Anglicanum," vol. I.

*Pyramidum dictarum specimen juxta
Malmesburii descriptionem.*



THE TWO PYRAMIDS.

WITH NAMES OF BENEFACTORS, BOTH KINGS AND BISHOPS.

Cedwalla who signed with the sign of the cross although he was a pagan (*licet paganus*). This shows that the Wessex kings were not all christians. Bishop Hedde took an interest in Glastonbury and procured the appointment of Hamegils as Abbot from Kentwine. The condition was that the fratres should have the power of electing their "Rectorem juxta regulam S. Benedicti," proving that before S. Dunstan the Benedictines were known at the great abbey.

The great restorer of Glastonbury was the Saxon King Ina who in A.D. 708 pulled down the ruined buildings and erected a church "*pro animá propinqui ejus Mullonis*,"¹ cruelly killed in Kent, to the honour of Christ and of the Apostles SS. Peter and Paul. It is not said by John of Glastonbury (Bk. 1, 95) what became of the "*Ecclésia Vetusta*" which, according to one account at least, must have been dedicated to the honour of the Virgin Mary. Centuries afterwards when the privileges of the abbots were assailed, as we have seen, in that notable case about Axwater, the contention was that the Abbot held it "*jure foundationis S. Mariæ Ecclesiæ Glasting.*" The "*ecclesia vetusta*" must have lingered however both in name and in reality, for long afterwards in the time of Abbot Herlewin (1101—1120) Walkelinus le Wesseur gave the church of Winfred laying the gift "*in illa Vetusta Ecclesia quæ Alde-chirche vocatur.*" Being a monk he deposited his beard '*cum cultello meo super altare S. Petri,*' as well as the charter. This altar of S. Peter may have been inside the old church. King Ina is said to have adorned the new church with a costly chapel garnished and plated over with 2640 lbs of silver. He also erected an altar with 264 lbs of gold upon it, besides ornaments, gems and a costly palla for the altar itself. King Ina, in addition to Brent, gave Poulton and Polden (Poholt)

1. Turner's "History of the Anglo-Saxons." Bk. 1, 394. Ed. 1820.

26 Chapters on Glastonbury Abbey.

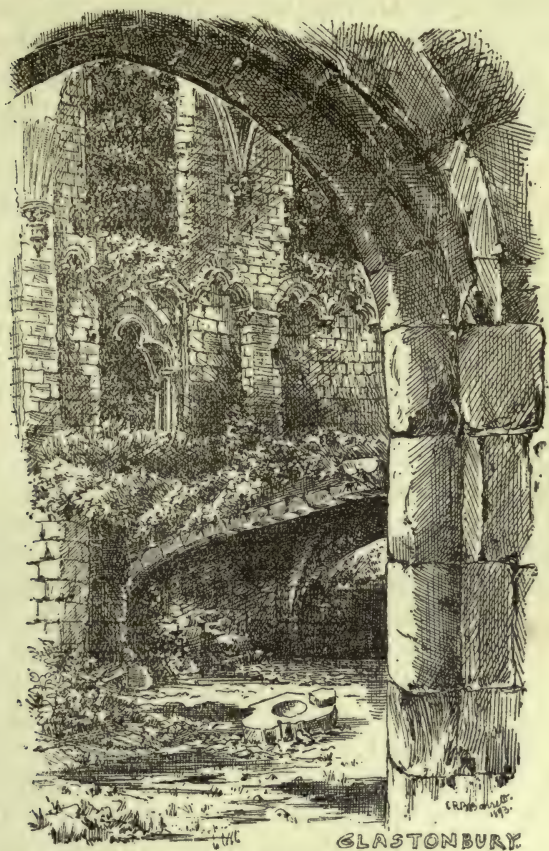
and twenty hides of land at the request of two sub-reguli, Baldred and Athelard. He lived himself close by, probably at Puriton or South Petherton (*villa quæ Pedret vocatur*) and was a great benefactor to Wells, where his obit was celebrated in the cathedral as late as 1539.¹ But he fell completely under the influence of the Benedictines and sent letters to Rome with a golden cup and many other presents asking the Pope to take Glastonbury under the protection "*Sanctæ Ecclesiæ Romanæ*." It is probable that he gave the church of S. Michael at Puriton on the Poldens to S. Peter's at Rome with which it remained until Domesday (A.D. 1086). The king ended by putting aside his royal rank, taking the Benedictine cowl and dying at Rome itself. His name still lingers in South Petherton.

William of Malmesbury gives a slightly varying account of the Glastonbury churches, writing in the reign of Henry I (1100—1135). He says: "The first and most ancient Church was built by the XII disciples of the Apostles SS. Philip and James. This lies on the west side of the other Churches. The second was built by S. David, Bishop of Menevia, on the east side of the more ancient Church and in honour of the Blessed Virgin when he designed to dedicate the old Church and was prevented by our Lord because He Himself had dedicated it. The third was made by XII men coming from the northern part of Britain, viz.: Morgen, Catgur, Cadmor, and others. And this in like fashion was placed on the east side of the old Church. The fourth and greater Church than the rest was built by King Ina in honour of Dominus Salvator and of the Apostles SS. Peter and Paul, and on the east side of the others (*aliarum*) on behalf of the soul of his brother, Mullo, whom the men of Canterbury had burnt."

When King Ina gave his great privileges in A.D. 704

1. Wells, MSS.

he laid the Act of Confirmation publicly in the wooden Church : “ Actum publice confirmatum in lignea basilica anno 704.” Here too in the old church Hemgisles, the



CRYPT OF S. JOSEPH'S CHAPEL.

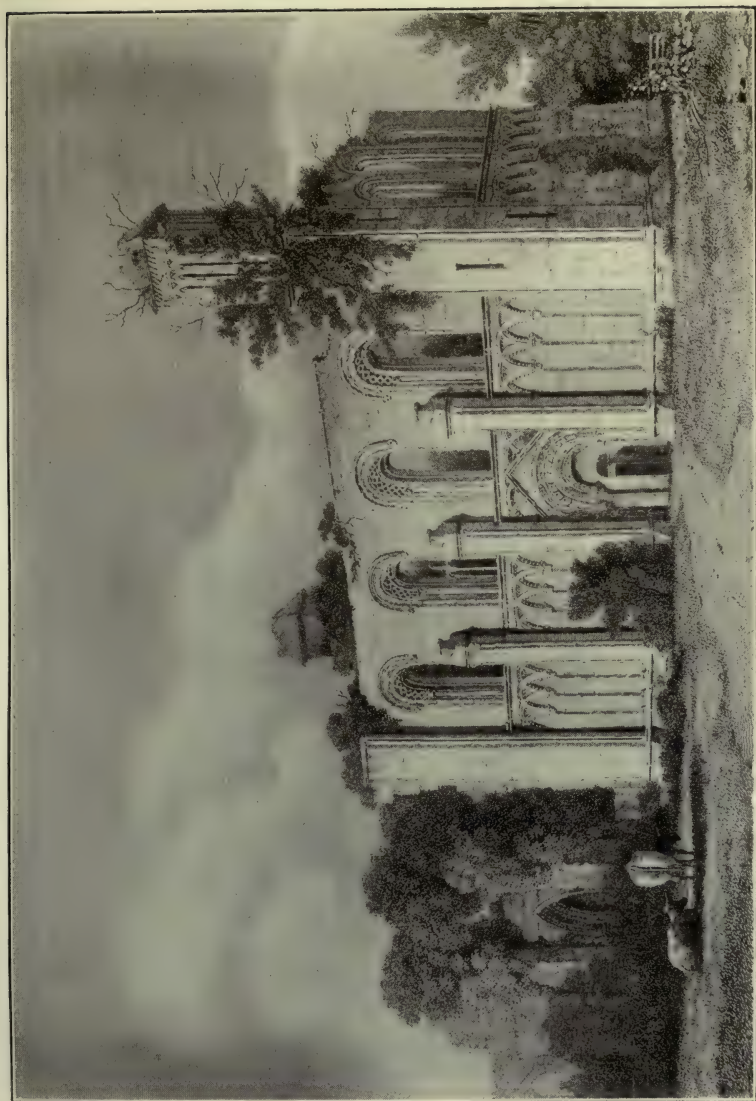
Abbot, had his resting-place. In Grose's "Antiquities," the chapel of S. Joseph is described as standing at the west end of the Conventual Church with which it was connected by an arch and a spacious portal. Dr. Stukely

28 Chapters on Glastonbury Abbey.

is quoted as saying in his "*Itinerarium Curiosum*" that there had been three buildings upon the same spot, 44 paces long and 36 wide, which must be, surely, an under estimate of the original size. He said that the roof was wanting in his day, but he alludes to the two little turrets standing at the corners of the west end, also to two more at intervals of four windows from thence, which seemed to indicate the space of ground on which the first chapel was built on. He described the Galilee as a kind of anti-chapel. Underneath was a vault, then full of water, the floor of the chapel being beaten down into it. This was wrought with great stones. Here was a capacious receptacle for the dead. Many lead coffins had been taken up and melted down into cisterns. Here was the subterraneous passage to the Tor. The sides of the wall were full of small pillars of Sussex marble. Between these the walls were painted with pictures of saints, still visible. (c. 1756).

In papers concerning a Glastonbury relic in the Castle of Naworth, Cumberland,¹ there is an interesting notice on a "tabula" of a "capella sanctorum Michaelis et Joseph et Sanctorum in cimiterio requiescentium." Being translated from the Latin, it runs thus: "Our sacred fathers of old knowing the dignity and sanctity of this holy cemetery erected a certain chapel in its midst, which they caused to be dedicated to the honour of St. Michael and the saints resting there, beneath the altar of which they heaped together the bones of the dead, and the relics of saints, although they could not be identified in such a multitude, and they appointed masses to be said daily. This chapel, almost in ruins through age, was repaired afresh in the year 1382, by order of Lord John Chinnoek, the abbot, in honour of the saints sleeping in the aforesaid cemetery and chapel, of whom the earliest was Joseph of Arimathea, that noble Decurio

1. See Som. Arch. Soc. *Proceedings*, vol. xxxiv.



ST. JOSEPH'S CHAPEL.

LENGTH 60 FEET BREADTH 36 FEET; WITH GALILEE ON THE EAST.

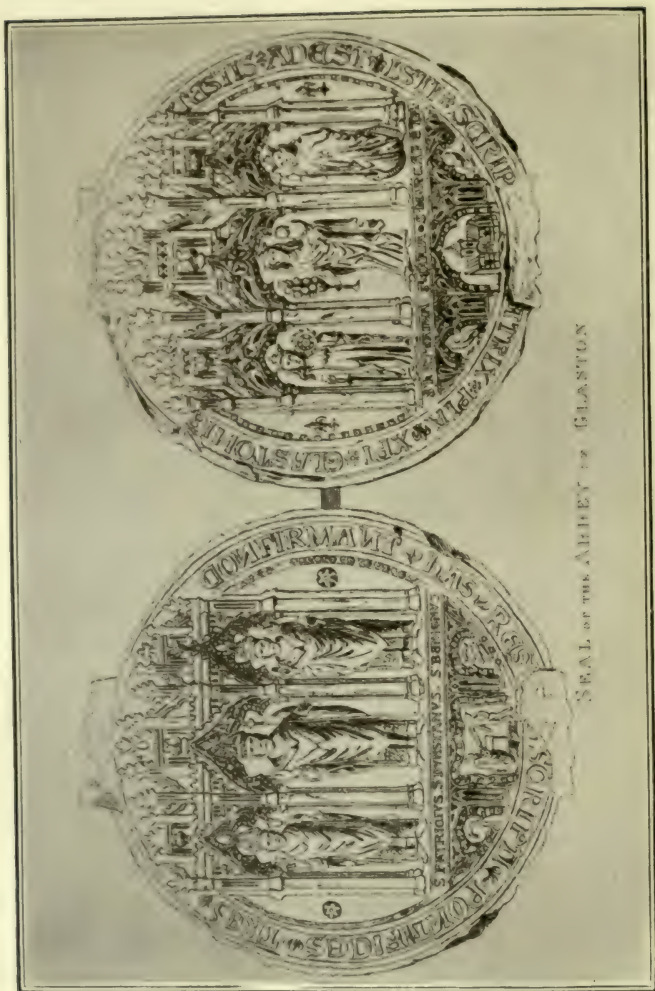
who buried our Lord. In whose memory the aforesaid abbot caused three pictures to be made in this same chapel showing how Joseph, with the aid of S. Nicodemus, took down our Lord from the cross and buried him, and also a picture of our Lord was made according to the tradition of the fathers in stature and size, placed in the centre. And may the Lord grant to all here and everywhere resting in Him, and also to all those praying for them life and eternal peace."

The Rev. J. A. Bennett, who saw this Glastonbury relic himself at Naworth, thinks that this passage raises the question as to whether there was another chapel in the cemetery as well as that of S. Mary's chapel. Could there have been a kind of separate mortuary chapel? The dedication of S. Michael and S. Joseph, seems to include both the old chapel and the one founded under the Tor itself. William of Malmesbury alludes to it (*see* Hearne).

Further, there is a reference in the "tabula" to the Gesta Arturi, his descent "de stirpe Joseph" (*i.e.*, the patriarch we presume): to Arviragus, the British chief in the reign of Domitian (A.D. 81—96), mentioned by Juvenal, who is supposed to have given Joseph of Arimathea the first plot of land; also to the "XII discipuli SS. Philippi et Jacobi, who founded the first "Ecclesia Glastoniensis," which seems to involve a little confusion: also to SS. Phaganus and Diruvianus: to S. Patrick, to SS. Benignus, Bridgida, Kolum Kille (Columba), David, Paul and Acca. The last named was a bishop of Hexham, in Northumberland, disciple and companion of St. Wilfrid, and a contemporary of Bede. There is a reference also to the translation of St. Dunstan: to the *capella argentea* made by King Ina; to the "Duæ Pyramides," and also a treatise "De Sanctitate Vetustæ Ecclesiæ." It has been suggested that this tabula was a monkish programme written to attract pilgrims. It is interesting, anyhow, for its allu-

sions which embrace Ireland, Wales, and the North of England. Possibly the S. Paul alluded to was the bishop and confessor of Brittany, born of noble parentage in Britain, who passed over to the continent and accepted the bishopric of Oxism, called afterwards S. Paul de Leon. He died A.D. 579. If so, the allusions have a wider scope.

What, however, can we conclude from these somewhat diverse accounts of "the Old Church," and the subsequent additions to it before S. Augustine and before the days of King Ina? The dedications vary as new buildings arise. Why are SS. Philip and James introduced? or SS. Peter and Paul? Probably there are *two* sets of traditions and *two* sets of influences at Glastonbury with which we have to deal. There was the simple story of S. Joseph and the XII followers to begin with. His name is of course persistent. Then there were the Benedictines, who, in obedience to their Mariolatry, introduced the Virgin Mary. In addition, they brought in the dedication of SS. Peter and Paul—a very common one in Saxon monastic times—and also SS. Philip and James. The nave of the great Benedictine church probably covers the relics of many churches. S. James it must be remembered, was the great Roman saint of Compostella, who attracted many pilgrims. Glastonbury had a surfeit of saints' bones and saints' relics. The name of S. Martin was great to begin with, but afterwards it was pushed out. It lingered long in "Martinmas," one of the chief rent days of Glastonbury. S. Michael's name of course adhered to the old chapels. Generally speaking, it is not hard to distinguish the old Celtic influences from the later additions of the monks, as shown in the dedications. For the sake of clearness it may be always desirable to call S. Joseph's chapel by this name, and not S. Mary's chapel. The great Church should keep the Norman dedication of St. Mary (1186).



SEAL OF THE ABBEY OF GLASTON

The seal of the old abbey is interesting, but there is, apparently, no allusion to S. Joseph. There is a representation of an ancient building which may be the "Ecclesia Vetusta." There are six figures on the seal. On one side the Virgin Mary, holding in one arm the Holy Babe, and in the other the traditional pot of lilies. On her right is S. Katharine, and on her left S. Margaret. S. Margaret (July 20) was a virgin and martyr of the third century, her martyrdom taking place at Antioch in Pisidia during one of the Christian persecutions. From the earliest times she has been honoured by the Church, and the Greeks commemorated her (July 17) under the name of S. Marina. She was invoked in Litanies in England in the seventh century. The Council of Oxford, in 1222, appointed her feast to be kept as a holiday of the second rank, and by the Council of Worcester in 1240, the women of England were enjoined to abstain from servile labour upon it. Sometimes S. Margaret is represented as bearing a cross (as in the seal) with which she is subduing a dragon, a symbolism not unlike that of S. George of Cappadocia.

S. Katharine was a virgin and martyr of the fourth century, who suffered martyrdom at Alexandria during the reign of the Emperor Maximin II. The Emperor Basil in his Greek menology, relates that S. Katharine was of royal descent, and famed for her learning. She silenced some heathen philosophers whom Maximin had commanded to reason with her. She was condemned to be tortured by an engine made of several wheels joined together, and armed with sharp spikes, and hence a wheel is her usual emblem. Her name was venerated in the Eastern Church, and it is remarkable that both S. Margaret and S. Katharine represent the Eastern Church. The old church of Montacute, the town or berg of "Logwor," already alluded to as the ancient property of Glastonbury, was dedicated to S. Katharine. A holy well near Edinburgh still bears her name.

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Hector Boethius, in his history of Scotland, says of it : "About two miles distant from the town a fountain flows, on which drops of oil float in such abundance that however much you take away, none the less remains. They say that it arose from a drop of the oil of S. Katharine brought to S. Margaret from Mount Sinai." S. Margaret here was the Queen of Scots, who died A.D. 1093, who honoured S. Katharine by building a chapel here. King James the VI of Scotland held this well in veneration, and ordered that it should be carefully built over and repaired. Apart from these legends the most interesting deduction is that by old tradition Glastonbury was beholden greatly to Asia Minor and the East. This connection is capable of further illustration. The queens of England held S. Katharine in great honour. Queen Matilda, the wife of Stephen, founded a hospital of S. Katharine in A.D. 1149, near the tower of London. This was enriched afterwards both by the gifts of Queen Eleanor, wife of Edward I, and by Philippa, the queen of Edward III, both of whom visited Glastonbury Abbey on notable occasions. Katharine of Aragon also contributed to these benefactions.

On the other side of the Glastonbury seal are the figures of St. Dunstan in the centre, with S. Patrick on his right and S. Benignus on his left, both representatives of Ireland and proving Irish influences at the old monastery. We might have expected to see S. David as the representative of Wales.

Round the female figures on the seal runs the Latin legend "*Scripta Matrix Pia XPI Glastoniæ testis adest isti,*" the word *matrix* (not *mater*) recalling probably some doctrinal distinction. The virgin as the witness to the foundation recalls the old story. Round the male figures run the words "*Scripti Pontifices tres confirmant has res.*" The details of the beautiful seal deserve a close study. Below the figure of S. Dunstan is surely the allegory of his famous conflict.

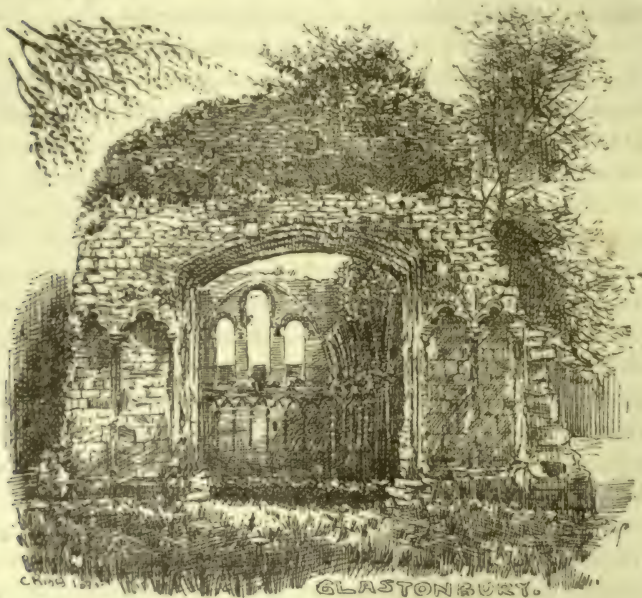
King Ina's foundation and Church at Glastonbury continued for some time, until the date of the Danish inroads which practically destroyed the monastery (A.D. 878). "*Desideravit notos incolas*" is the phrase by which William of Malmesbury describes its desolation. The Danes were probably attracted by the wealth of Ina's shrine. A new foundation was laid, A.D. 942, by S. Dunstan and King Edmund, the monastic offices being restored after a model brought over from France, whence also came a colony of Benedictine monks. A question has sometimes been raised whether S. Dunstan introduced the Benedictine rule at Glastonbury. John of Glastonbury, as a Benedictine monk himself, called S. Dunstan a splendid ray of light (*splendidum solis jubar*), but, as above noted, it is probable that the Rule was already in vogue, wherever the influence of S. Augustine and his followers, all Benedictines, had penetrated.

In the days of the Normans there was a great change at Glastonbury, in accordance with that resolve of the great Conqueror to substitute Normans for Englishmen wherever he could, both in Church and State. In consequence of a well-known dispute, Turstin, the Norman Abbot (who had succeeded the Saxon Egelnoth), introduced soldiers to reduce the rebellious monks to obedience. The quarrel throws some light upon the Church and its buildings, as these soldiers are said to have found their way into the Chapter House, driving the monks into "The Great Church," upsetting shrines and images and killing the monks at the altar. Herlewin, the successor of Turstin (A.D. 1101—1120), is then said to have laid the old church level with the ground, spending £480 on the foundation of a new fabric.

We are met with a difficulty here, as the old church here described must either have been that restored by S. Dunstan or the fabric described in the gift of Walkelinus le Wesseur as the "Aldechirche," which was made when Turstin was abbot, *i.e.* S. Joseph's chapel.

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More alterations and certainly more magnificent additions were made under Henry de Blois, nephew of Henry I (A.D. 1126—1171), who was Bishop of Winchester as well as Abbot of Glastonbury. He is said to have rebuilt from the very foundations the Belfry, the Chapter-House, the Cloisters, Refectory, Lavatory, and



THE WEST END OF "THE GREAT CHURCH."
LOOKING WESTWARDS TOWARDS "S. JOSEPH'S CHAPEL."

Infirmery, with its Chapel. He also built a large and magnificent palace near the church (probably on the south side), together with an outer gate, a brew-house, stables for horses, etc. In addition he bequeathed a number of sacred relics.

The glory of the buildings was however short-lived. In 1184,¹ a few years after the death of Henry de Blois

1. See Collinson's History of Somersetshire.

the whole monastery, except part of the Abbot's Lodgings and the tower was burned down. King Henry II, whose interest in Glastonbury is well known, helped to restore the monastery and a new church of S. Mary was built up as quickly as possible, being dedicated by Reginald Bishop of Bath in A.D. 1186. The Abbot Michael of Ambresbury (A.D. 1235—1252) spent large sums on restoration.

The misfortunes of the old church and monastery did not however end here. The great earthquake of 1274 (according to others of 1275) and noted by Capgrave and Nicholas Trivet, threw down the great church of S. Michael on the Tor together with the buildings there, and apparently extended its devastations to the monastery and town below. The Chapter House must have been totally destroyed as Geoffrey Fromund (A.D. 1303—1322) laid the foundations of a new one. As this Abbot gave vestments for the use of the chapel of S. Mary this must have been standing in his day.

The following is the notice of the Glastonbury earthquake by Capgrave who was born in 1393, a little more than 100 years after it had happened. "In 1274 an earthquake in London, Canterbury, Winchester. It threw far away a great church of S. Michael which stood on the hill fast by Glastonbury and left the ground plain." Nicholas Trivet calls the earthquake a "*terrae motus horribilis*" and further notes that it took place "*feria quarta infra Octavam Nativitatis Virginis gloriosæ.*"

From an allusion in the Bath Chartulary¹ the well known galilee existed in 1294. It was stipulated in a deed that a chaplain should say daily the placebo, dirige, commendation mass and other canonical hours "in aurora diei" at the altar of All Saints, "built in a place called Galilee, which is situated between the great monastery and the chapel of the Blessed Mary

1. Somerset Record Society.

the Virgin for the souls of the Kings of England, the Bishops of Bath and Wells, the Abbots and Monks of Glastonbury and especially for the souls of the said Gilbert of Woolavington, Rector of the Church of Hunespille and of his parents, benefactors and also for the soul of Richard Pike and all faithful departed."

Adam de Sodbury, who succeeded in 1322, was credited with giving eleven great bells,¹ six in the tower of the church and five in the clocherium, a separate belfry (?). In this case it would appear that the tower if it had suffered at all in the earthquake had been restored or rebuilt. William de Monington (A.D. 1341—1374) made the vault of the choir and of the Presbytery, to which he added two arches. John Chinoc (A.D. 1374—1420) is said to have rebuilt the ruined cloisters, dormitory and fraternity which must have been destroyed by the earthquake. He also finished the Chapter House begun by Geoffrey Fromund.

Richard Beere (A.D. 1492-1524) vaulted the east part of the nave of the Abbey church and founded Edgar's Chapel. In Archer's Inventory of Glastonbury there is an allusion to it: "In the new chapel there is a very fair tomb of King Edgar copper gilt." For a long time it was doubtful whether a separate building was meant or merely an interior chapel, but recent excavations by Mr. Bligh Bond² have sufficiently proved that this chapel was a separate building, and that it was a prolongation eastwards of the great Benedictine church. This "new chapel" was partly the work of Abbot Beere and partly that of Abbot Whiting, the last abbot of Glastonbury.³ Abbot Beere also constructed on the north

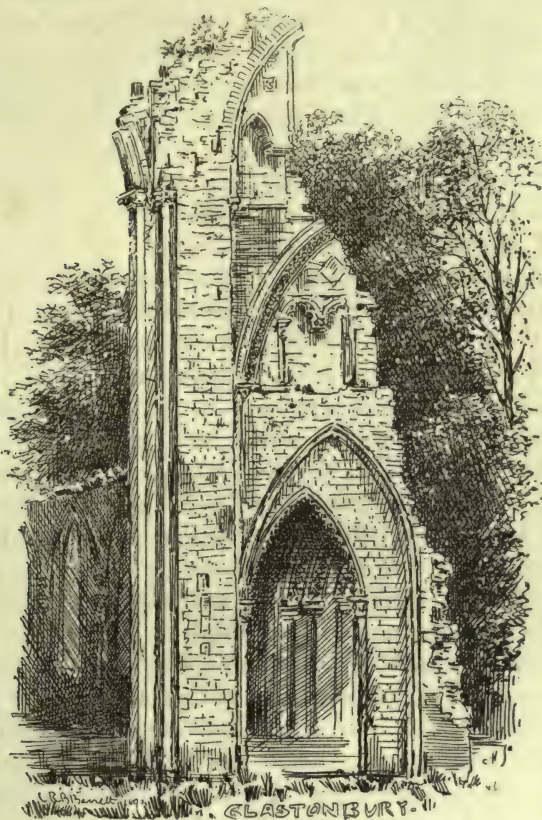
1. There is a notice of bells at Glastonbury at an early date after the restoration by S. Dunstan. It is said that when the remains of the great Abbot was brought to Glastonbury and the bearers were at "la hawte" i.e., the sacred inclosure, the bells of the Abbey rang of their own accord. This was the monks' story. But of course they may have invented the bells.

2. Som. Arch. Soc. *Proceedings*, 1908.

3. See also Leland.

side a chapel of our Lady of Loretto, and on the south end a chapel of the Sepulchre.

According to an old computation the Church of Glastonbury was 594 feet in length : S. Edgar's Chapel lying



"A keyless arch,
Where youth and age can dream."

at the east end, and concluding with an apse. Such at least seems to be the right theory. The reason why King Edgar should have been thus honoured so many hundred years after his death is not altogether apparent. During

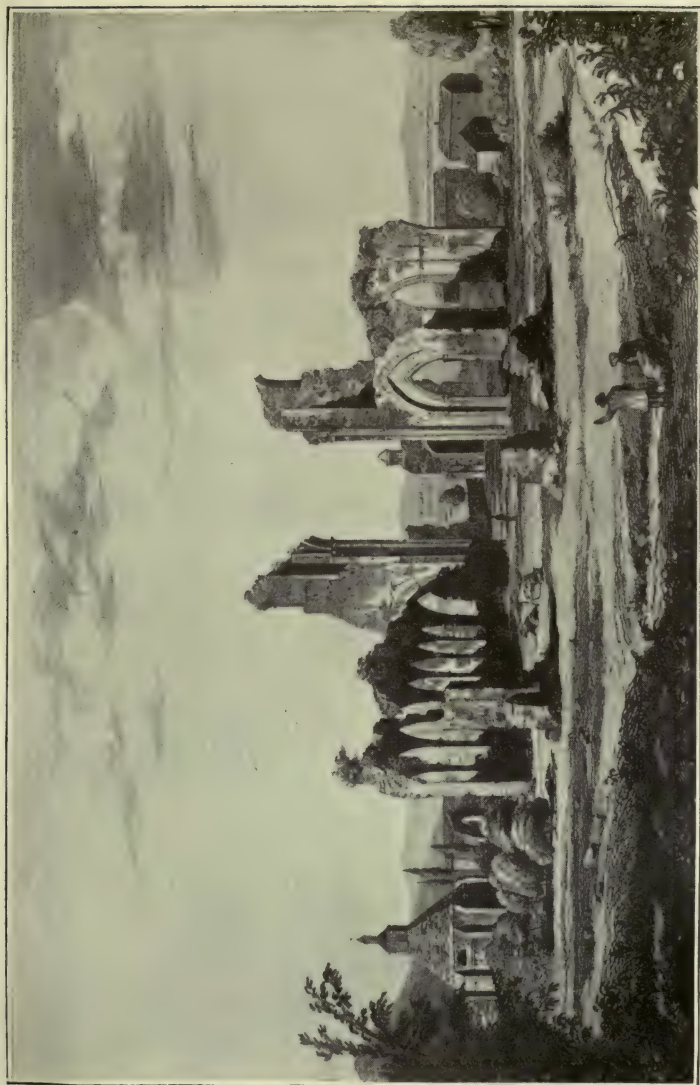
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his lifetime he was a great benefactor of the Abbey, and his charter was one of the most important that the monks possessed, both in what it gave and also in what it confirmed to them. But he was completely under the power and influence of S. Dunstan and the Benedictines. He is called in Henry II's charter, "Saint Edgar father of Saint Edward." King Edgar was proud of his descent from the Welsh kings and the old Romano-British dynasty and King Arthur. The Tudors inherited these feelings, and, possibly, this chapel may have been meant as a compliment to the Tudor dynasty and old Welsh traditions.

It is extraordinary that such a building as S. Edgar's Chapel should have so long eluded the notice of experts altogether. Glastonbury is somewhat puzzling, as the ruins are those really of *two* churches, that of the original chapel of S. Joseph, and, connected by a galilee or court originally, the great Benedictine church. The "*vetusta ecclesia*" was supposed to have been built on the reputed site of the "wattled cell," and is, therefore, from one point of view, the most interesting. The great Norman church, planned and built by the Norman abbots, and exposed to fire and probably shaken by the earthquake, stood as a distinct creation of a very magnificent order. The ruins we see now are the ruins probably of the splendid conceptions of Henry of Blois.

The ground plan of the great abbey is shown in the *Proceedings* of the Somerset Archæological Society (1908). We may await with interest the result of those excavations which are now being conducted, which will expose and lay bare the eastern extensions. Perhaps the most interesting revelations of all may come when the nave of the great church is carefully explored.

The church that stood on the lofty Tor has of course a distinct history. As far as antiquity goes it is second only to the Abbey Church. Here it is said that SS. Faganus and Diruvianus first erected a small oratory to the honour of S. Michael the Archangel. Whether



RUINS OF THE GREAT CHURCH—LOOKING WEST.
ABBOT WHITING'S KITCHEN ON THE SOUTH.

this building was added to by S. Patrick in any way is uncertain (as some assume),¹ but the Abbots of Glastonbury enlarged the plan, and built not only a church and monastery, but also dwelling-houses and offices. The expense and trouble of carrying all the building material up to the top of the Tor, a height of five hundred feet, must have been very great. A Fair was granted by Henry I, "apud monasterium S. Michaelis de Torre in insula Glastoniæ," which belongs to the "*cantaria abbaciæ Glast.*": to last for six days, *i.e.* five days before the Feast of S. Michael, and on the day itself of S. Michael. Before this a Fair used to be held for two days, *i.e.* on the vigil of S. Mary, and on the day itself.

This church was, of course, subordinate in every way to the great Abbey below, and the Fair was granted in favour of the Præcentors of the Abbey for the time being, of whom William of Malmesbury was one. The buildings on the top of the Tor itself must have been most conspicuous until they were all thrown down by the earthquake of 1274-5. They were rebuilt and a new church and tower erected, the latter surviving until the present day. At the west end of this tower is carved a figure of S. Michael, the Archangel, holding a pair of scales, in one of them a bible and in the other a devil, a piece of symbolism that can be seen also on the tower of S. Michael at Minehead.

At the foot of the Torre and in the ancient hamlet of Edgarley a chapel, dedicated to S. Dunstan, used to stand, converted at the Dissolution into a barn. In the Island of Beckery or Beccary there was also a chapel to S. Bridget. On the Island of S. Martin there was an Ecclesiola to S. Martin, from which, as already noted, the island itself was named, and on the Island of S. Andrew another Ecclesiola from which, in a similar way, this island also was named. In the Life of S.

1. Collinson's "History of Somersetshire," vol. ii.

Gildas there is also the mention of an Oratory, by a stream near Glastonbury, in which the saint passed the last years of his life.

In later times there sprang up in the Polden parish of Edington a hermitage called "Spralesmede," to which endowments were made towards the end of the twelfth century by the Dominus de Edington (A.D. 1199). It was in a lonely place on Burtle Heath, and becoming rich enough to support three hermits instead of one, it was called a "Priory of S. Stephen" under the patronage of Glastonbury. This transition from the uncongenial life of a solitary in the midst of the damp fens and marshes to the more sociable conditions of a Priory is worth noticing. Curiously enough, Spralesmede was returned as an "Augustinian Priory,"¹ not a Benedictine institution.

What was termed "The Jurisdiction of Glastonbury" was a special and privileged region, meaning a spiritual sway not only over the sacred inclosure of the sixty acres of the abbey, defined by the Hagieta, etc., and the tract known as "The XII Hides" from time immemorial, but also many parishes outside, lying principally along the Poldens. In King Henry's great charter there were seven enumerated churches and parishes that fell under the special jurisdiction of Glastonbury, viz.: Strete, Pilton, Dicheseat, Scapewica (Shapwick), Morelinge (Moorlinch), Sowi (Middlezoy and Weston Zoyland).

The manor of Moorlinch (the word "linch" meaning a slope or steep bank) was not mentioned in Domesday, but the church, together with the chapels of Catcott, Chilton, Edington, and Sutton Malet, was valued in Pope Nicholas's taxation at 31 marks, under the jurisdiction of Glastonbury. The "sacrist" of Glastonbury had a pension from it of 7½ marks. To this day the

1. Drokensford's "Register."





A BENEDICTINE MONK

churches of Moorlinch, Sutton, Edington, Greinton, Stawel, Catcott, and Chilton, are called "The Seven Sisters of Polden," and were served personally by the monks of Glastonbury.

The Charter of King Ina, who died as a Benedictine monk at Rome, may be quoted in full as an example of the way in which the Benedictine monks secured and strengthened their position and obtained especial jurisdiction at Glastonbury. It runs as follows :

"In the name of our Lord Jesus Christ ; I, Ina, supported in my royal dignity by God, with the advice of my Queen Sexburga, and the permission of Berthwald, Archbishop of Canterbury, and of all his suffragans : and also at the instance of the princes Baldred and Athelard, to the ancient Church, situate in the place called Glastonbury (which Church the great High Priest and chiefest minister formerly through his own ministry and that of angels sanctified by many and unheard of miracles to himself and the eternal Virgin Mary, as was formerly revealed to S. David,) do grant out of these places, which I possess by paternal inheritance and hold in my Demesne, they being adjacent and fitting for the purpose, for the sustenance of the monastic institution and the use of the monks, Brente, ten hides, Sowry (Middlezoy and Weston Zoyland) ten hides, Pilton twenty hides. Dulting, twenty hides, Bleden hida, (Bleadon) together with whatever my predecessors have contributed to the said Church.

"To wit, Kenwalch who at the instance of Archbishop Theodore, gave Ferramere, Bregarai, Coneneie, Martinsei, Etheredsei.

"Kentwine, who used to call Glastonbury 'the mother of Saints' and liberated it from every secular and ecclesiastical service granted it this dignified privilege, that the brethren of that place should have the power of electing and appointing their ruler according to the Rule of S. Benedict (A.D. 676-688).

“Hedda, the Bishop, with permission of Caedwalla who, though a heathen, confirmed it with his own hand gave Lantocai; Baldred, who gave Pennard six hides: Athelard who contributed Poelt (Poeldon) sixty hides, I, Ina, permitting and confirming it.

“To the piety and affectionate entreaty of these people I assent and I guard by the security of my Royal grant against the designs of malignant men and snarling curs, in order that no Church of our Lord Jesus Christ and the eternal Virgin Mary, as it is the first in the kingdom of Britain and the source and fountain of all Religion, may obtain surpassing dignity and privilege, and, as she rules over choirs of angels in Heaven, she may never pay servile obedience to men on earth.

“Wherefore the chief Pontiff Gregory, assenting and taking the Mother of his Lord and me, however unworthy, together with her, into the bosom and protection of the Roman Church; and all the princes, archbishops, bishops, dukes and abbots of Britain consenting, I appoint and establish that all lands, plans and possessions of S. Mary of Glastonbury be free quiet and undisturbed from all Royal taxes and works, which are wont to be appointed, that is to say expeditions, the building of bridges and forts and from the edicts or molestations of all archbishops and bishops, as is found to be confirmed and granted by my predecessors Kenwalk, Kentwin, Caedwalla, Baltred in the ancient Charters of the same Church.

“And whatsoever questions shall arise whether of homicide, sacrilege, poison, theft, rapine the disposal and limits of Churches, the ordination of clerks, ecclesiastical Synods, and all judicial enquiries, they shall be determined by the decision of the Abbot and convent without the interference of any person whatever.

“Moreover, I command all princes, archbishops, bishops, dukes and governors of my Kingdom, as they tender me honour and regard, and all dependants, mine

as well as theirs, as they value their personal safety, never to dare enter the Island of our Lord Jesus Christ and of the Eternal Virgin at Glastonbury, nor the possessions of the said Church, for the purpose of holding courts, making enquiry or seizing or doing anything whatever to the offence of the servants of God there residing.

“Moreover, I particularly inhibit by the curse of Almighty God, of the Eternal Virgin Mary, and of the Holy Apostles Peter and Paul, and of the rest of the Saints, any Bishop on any account whatever from presuming to take his Episcopal seat or celebrate Divine Service, or consecrate altars, or dedicate churches, or ordain, or do anything whatever, either in the Church of Glastonbury itself, or its dependent Churches, that is to say, Sowy, Brente, Merlinch (Moorlinch), Sapewic (Shapwick), Stret, Budecalech (Butleigh), Pilton, or in their Chapels, or Islands, unless he be specially invited by the Abbot or brethren of that place.

“But if he come upon such invitation, he shall take nothing to himself of the things of the Church, nor of the offerings, knowing that he has two mansions appointed him in two several places out of this Church’s possessions, one in Pilton, the other in the village called Poelt (part of Poeldon), that, when coming or going, he may have a place of entertainment. Nor even shall it be lawful for him to pass the night here unless he be detained by stress of weather or bodily sickness, or be invited by the Abbot or monks, and then with not more than three or four clerks.

“Moreover, let the aforesaid Bishop be mindful every year, with his clerks who are at Wells, to acknowledge his mother Church of Glastonbury, with litanies, on the second day after our Lord’s Ascension, and should he haughtily defer it or fail in the things which are above recited and confirmed, he shall forfeit his mansions above-mentioned.

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“The Abbot or monks shall direct whom they please, celebrating Easter canonically, to perform service in the Church of Glastonbury, its dependent churches, and in their Chapels.

“Whosoever he be (of what dignity, profession, or degree, it matters not), who shall hereafter, on any occasion whatsoever, attempt to prevent or nullify this, the witness of my munificence and liberality, let him be aware that, with the traitor Judas, he shall perish, to his eternal confusion, in the devouring flames of unspeakable torments. The charter of this donation was written in the year of our Lord’s Incarnation, 725, the fourteenth of the Indiction, in the presence of King Ina and of Berthwald, Archbishop of Canterbury.”

The clauses of King Ina’s Charter that touch upon the relation of Glastonbury to Wells are instructive. The Abbey was simply an “Imperium in Imperio” and a direct challenge to all Episcopal authority. In King Edgar’s Charter the same privileges are claimed even more imperiously. Both charters, even if forged, were acted upon and illustrate the Benedictine methods.

“Moreover, I confirm and establish what has hitherto been scrupulously observed by all my predecessors that the Bishop of Wells and his ministers shall have no power whatever over this monastery and its Parish-Churches: that is to say, Street, Merlinge, Budecal, Shapwick, Sowy or their chapels, or even over those contained in the Islands that is to say Beokery, otherwise called Little Ireland, Godney, Martinsey, Patheneberg, Adredseia, and Ferramere, except only when summoned by the Abbot for Dedications or Ordination.

“Nor shall they cite their priests to their Synods or chapters or to any of their courts, nor shall they suspend them from their holy office, or presume to receive any right over them whatever. The Abbot shall cause any Bishop of the same provinces he pleases to ordain his monks and the clerks of the aforesaid Churches, accord-

ing to the ancient customs of the Church of Glastonbury and the apostolical authority of Archbishop Dunstan and of all the Bishops of my kingdom, but the dedications of the Churches we consign to the Bishop of Wells if he be required by the Abbot. At Easter let him receive the chrism of sanctification and the oil from the Bishop of Wells according to custom, and distribute them to his aforesaid Churches."

It may be added that the great Charter of Henry II confirmed all previous charters going back to King Ina and indeed King Arthur himself (as well as King Alfred) "which Charters of Privelege I have caused to be carefully examined and read before me, being all made and confirmed to the Church aforesaid formerly called by some the mother of the Saints and by others the grave of the Saints" etc.

The terms of King Canute's Charter¹ ran thus :

"Wherefore I Cnut with the advice and according to the decree of Ethelnoth our archbishop and also of all the priests of God and by the consent of all my nobles for the love of the Kingdom of Heaven and for the pardon of all my crimes and forgiveness of the sins of my brother King Edmund do grant to the Church of the Mother of God at Glastonbury all their rights and customs in my Kingdom and all Fines leviabie in their lands. And I grant that their lands should be free and exempt from all disturbance and intrusion just as my own Royal land is free."

The old annotator quaintly writes :

"In so great reverence was this church and churchyard held where these were interred that our forefathers did not dare to use any idle discourse or to spit therein, and, without great necessity, enemies and naughty men were not suffered to be buried therein ; neither did any bring any hawk or dog or horse upon the ground,

1. Spelman's "Concilia."

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for, if they did, it was observed that they immediately died."

The king's writ did not run in Glastonbury XII Hides, and this was clearly brought out during the notable visit of Edward I and his queen to Glastonbury at Easter, 1224.¹ The king had fixed beforehand the assizes for Easter Monday to be held on that day wherever he was. He was then the guest of the abbot, and his *justiciarii* wished to hold their court there. But the abbot and the monks objected, saying that it would be contrary to their historic "*libertates et immunitates*." So King Edward, wishing rather to add to the privileges of the abbey than to diminish them, ordered the assizes to be held at Street, outside the XII Hides.

Another test case arose during this royal visit, when a quarrel arose between some of the king's bodyguard and a certain Philip, brother of John de Cogan.² The latter drew his knife on the bodyguard, and was immediately seized and thrust into prison, but at the instance of the abbot, "*tanquam insulæ Regalitatem habens*," he was released, and a fine exacted through the abbot's bailiff. In the same way, when Walter de Eversleghe, the king's seneschal wanted to provide "*hospitia*" as usual for the royal party, he was forbidden to do so by the abbot as contrary to the privileges of the XII Hides, "*quia nullus Rex aut ejus ministri aliquod habent officium regium in eadem libertate exercendum*." So the duties of the king's marshal were handed over to the abbot's marshal, Richard Pyk, the former giving his *virga* or rod to the abbot's representative, in the very presence of the king. Richard Pyk alone proved the measures of the bushels of wheat and corn to be provided. The immemorial rights of the abbey could not well be further insisted upon by the abbot.

1. Adam of Domerham, ii, 588.

2. *Ibidem*.





The town of Glastonbury had its own hall for courts and sessions, and for the meeting of its sheriffs and justices of the peace within the liberties of the XII Hides. There was also a gaol for prisoners. A sheriff's court was held once at Hockday, *i.e.* on the fifteenth day after Easter, and again at the Feast of S. Michael, at which all the free tenants of the XII Hides attended. The tithings which paid fines and service to this court were those of Pathenesberg, Northlode, Mere, Wotton, and Westhay, West Pennard, Bradley, Baltonsborough, Estrete, Edgarley. The sheriffs of the XII Hides held their courts from month to month, and there were two coroners elected by writ of the lord abbot, and removable at pleasure.

In the census of 1841 the Hundred of Glastonbury XII Hides was scheduled thus : Baltonsborough parish, 2,700 acres ; West Bradley with Parbrook, 300 acres ; Glastonbury S. Benedict and Glastonbury S. John, town and parish, 7,950 acres ; Meare with the hamlet of Godney, 7,820 acres ; Nyland with the tythes of Batcombe, 590 acres ; West Pennard parish, 3,270 acres ; North Wootton parish, 1,980 acres ; total, 24,610 acres. This of course is by no means an exhaustive list of the Glastonbury property, being simply that which fell within the definition of the XII Hides. This enclave of 24,610 acres was practically a small palatinate in itself owing fealty only to the great lord abbot.

It is not, therefore, a matter of wonder that a controversy about church jurisdiction should spring up between Wells and Glastonbury, and that it should have lasted 450 years. The episcopal subjection, however, seems to have been typified at any rate once during the year, when, soon after Easter, Glastonbury Abbey presented at Wells a tribute "as from S. Dunstan to S. Andrew," of a loaf, a pig, a kid, and a skin of mead. It was the duty of a Glastonbury official to help in carrying the loaf to Wells, which we may conclude was of a considerable size

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("debet juvare ad magnum panem Beati Dunstani portandum apud Welles.") The chapter accepted the offering and presented it to the bishop. The Glastonbury bearer received an exennium or complimentary fee, and made one in return. Or were these gifts simply an interchange of compliments? Bishop Savaric solved the question of supremacy by being both Abbot of Glastonbury and Bishop of Bath and Wells.¹ But Savaric was a powerful personage.

The Benedictine monks, however, were in practice always defying episcopal authority, and the active and zealous Bishop Drokenesford (d. 1329) found it necessary to issue the following warning, on the occasion of a visitation to Glastonbury, on Monday after Ash Wednesday, in 1312-1313: "Since owing to the illicit oaths of secrecy, made to defeat correction, the truth cannot be detected, we now warn you that all such devices are unlawful. We annul and recal such oaths and pronounce Excommunication (reserving Absolution to ourselves) on all who have joined in them or refuse to answer our enquiry."² Bishop Drokenesford did not approve of an "Imperium or Imperio" in his diocese. Finding also that an irregular election had taken place at Spraulsmede, under the patronage of the abbot, he quashed it and appointed his own nominee.

On the bench ends of South Brent, the old Glastonbury church, there is still to be seen some old oak carving with curious figures, which have provoked the curiosity of visitors. On one is the figure of a fox hanged by geese with two young ones yelping below, then a monkey at prayers, with an owl perched on a branch above its head, below, again, a monkey in an erect position holding a halberd. On another is a fox³ vested in canonicals, with a crozier in its hand and a

1. A.D. 1199.

2. Drokenesford's Register.

3. Collinson, "History of Somersetshire," vol. i, p. 201.

mitre on its head; above a young fox chained with a bag of money in its right paw. On each side are depicted figures of geese, cranes, and other fowls chattering at him, and below is a young fox turning a boar on a spit; on the right another monkey with a pair of bellows blowing up the fire.

These carvings evidently had reference to the eternal quarrel that went on between the abbey and Wells, each party abusing and ridiculing the other. The fox in canonicals with crosier and mitre might be an historical portrait of S. Dunstan. In the year 1754 a seal was found¹ in the ruins of Glastonbury Abbey, on which was represented the figure of S. Dunstan, mitred and holding a crosier. The abbots of Glastonbury were always mitred abbots. Or, possibly, the allusion might have been to a bishop. However, as it stands, it represented a pretty quarrel between seculars and regulars, not very edifying to the parishioners of South Brent.

As late as the reign of Henry V, the parson of Street, a Glastonbury church, wrote complaining that the abbot and convent of Glastonbury had taken away his plough and imprisoned his men, because he had sued them for tithes. But how could such bickerings between Wells and Glastonbury be consonant with any theory of episcopal church government?

In the "Valor Ecclesiasticus" the "jurisdiction of Glastonbury" appears amongst the deaneries of Somerset as a distinct and separate ecclesiastical region. In the maps it lies to the east of the Bridgwater deanery, and to the west of the Cary deanery. On the north is the deanery of Poulet. Collinson² gives this list of Glastonbury Church patronage. The abbot presented to the vicarages of Doulting, with the four chapels of East and West Cranmore; to Downhead and Stoke

1. Collinson, "History of Somersetshire," vol. ii, 273.

2. *Ibidem*.

Lane; to East Brent, East Pennard, Bradley, Butleigh, Baltonsbury, Mere, Moorlinch with Catcott, Chilton, Edington and Sutton (Malet); to Middlezoy, Othery, Westonzoyland, Shapwick and Ashcott. He also possessed the rectories and advowsons of Lympham, Marksbury, Wrington, Batcombe, Ditchheat, Mells, Street, and Walton, High Ham, Puddimore-Milton, Greinton, and West Monkton. The whole profits of the curacies of S. John, Glastonbury, S. Benedict (or S. Benignus), Glastonbury, together with West Pennard, belonged to the monks.

At the present moment, under "Glastonbury Deanery," the following parishes are included: Baltonsborough, Burtle, Butleigh, Catcott, Chilton Polden with Edington, Glastonbury S. John the Baptist, Glastonbury S. Benignus, Godney, Meare, Middlezoy, Moorlinch with Stawell and Sutton-Malet chapelries, Othery, Shapwick with Ashcott chapelry, Street, Walton, West Pennard, and Westonzoyland. This deanery, with its long history and associations, must certainly be reckoned to be by far the most interesting of all deaneries in England to the church historian.

The parochial churches of Glastonbury S. John and Glastonbury S. Benedict, which exist and flourish right up to the present day, illustrate in themselves the true idea of parochial as apart from monastic administration. They are survivals, and, indeed, proper survivals, of the old idea of the ancient British system of secular clergy, which S. Dunstan did his best to eradicate. As churches they deserve a study in themselves, having outlived the abbey and the Benedictine monasteries.

Outside its immediate neighbourhood the abbey of Glastonbury flung her influence far and wide. Sometimes the explorer may find a specimen of the holy thorn growing in a deserted place by the site of a ruined Glastonbury homestead and chapel, as once at Durborough near Stoke de Courcy. The rustic folk re-



ST. DUNSTAN, ABBOT OF GLASTONBURY, A.D. 966-988,
AND ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY, A.D. 961-988.

member still the tradition and the story of the mother church at Glastonbury. Their fathers would journey down to the old thorn to see it blossom on Old Christmas Day. In Cornwall there was an island of S. Michael of Lamman or Lamorran, given by a pious founder to Glastonbury. Here arose a priory¹ and a community who owned lands at Portlo, flourishing under the protection of Richard, Duke of Cornwall. In South Wales, Robert de Haia, by concession of Robert Fitz Hamon, gave to Glastonbury the Ecclesia de Basselec, together with the Ecclesia de Mayhayn, the Ecclesia de Bedewas, the Ecclesia de Menedwiselehuyn, the Ecclesia de Maponoil, and the Capella de Coittarnen.

Yet further afield in Ireland, a cell arose in Norman times at Kilcumin, in Tipperary,² founded by Philip de Wigornia, constable of Ireland, and the prior of Kilcumin had separate lodgings in the great abbey of Glastonbury. The Ecclesia de Winfrod, like that of the Cornish church, seems to have disappeared before the time of the Dissolution, but it was given solemnly enough by the donor in Norman times.

The church influences of the "fons et origo" of Christianity in England were subtle and far-reaching. The late Professor Freeman, a keen Somerset archæologist, as well as a Somerset resident, once said that Wrington Church tower, built of old by Glastonbury masons and architects, was the finest square tower in all England, and, possibly, in the whole world. The late Sir Charles Barry took the proportions of this tower as the model of the "Victoria tower" of the Houses of Parliament in Westminster, when rebuilt by him after the fire of 1835. In the heart of London we can detect the magic force of Ynys Witrin handed on from century to century. In the picturesque and deserted nooks of Eng-

1. Adam of Domerham, ii, 599.

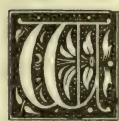
1. John of Glastonbury, p. 171.

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land, by way of supreme contrast, amidst the songs of birds, and close by the running brooks, the holy thorn still lives and blossoms, bringing with it always in bleakest times the lessons of resurgent Faith and Hope.

III.

Glastonbury and the Severn Sea.



WITH the final growth and development of Glastonbury the writer of this book is not concerned. Its wealth grew until at the dissolution in 1540, the annual value of the estate represented a modern rent roll of £30,000 or £40,000 a year. The land won from the waters in its neighbourhood proved to be some of the very richest in England. What was and is still known as "Whitley Hundred," was practically a Polden Hundred, where the first endowments were given, covering an area of nearly 50,000 acres.¹ The Hundred of Brent, with Wrington, was also a Glastonbury Hundred, and totalled 18,210 acres. Bempstone Hundred, which included Breane, Mark and Wedmore, totalled 24,530 acres. These Hundreds formed a huge and fertile block of land in mid-Somerset, over which the Abbot's authority was supreme. Indeed, no king was greater or more autocratic in his domain.

The offices and buildings of the great abbey were in keeping with its wealth apart from its magnificent church. There were the "king's lodgings," at which royalty was entertained; there was the lofty room, with arras hung on one side, and described by Archer: the chamber called paradise; the offices of the fermerar, of the almoner, of the sub-almoner, of the cellarer, all

1. Census of 1841.

hardly less stately in their way than the abbots' five chambers. As became a great barony there was an armoury, with all the paraphernalia of war, and in the stables and parks nearly 50 horses stood. All was on a spacious scale, the great hall on the south side of the cloisters measuring 111ft. in length, and 51 in breadth. The broad court belonging to the abbey, was 491ft. in length, and 220ft. in breadth. It is said that Abbot Whiting bred up nearly 300 pupils for the Universities, young men of noble rank, besides others of less exalted station. His abbey was therefore a kind of school or court. On Wednesdays and Fridays, weekly, the poor of the country were relieved. On great occasions it was said that Abbot Whiting could entertain 500 guests.

Thus, to use Wordsworth's phrase, the high pomp of Glastonbury had displaced the simplicity of the "wattled cell." It is not our object to trace the causes which led to the downfall of Glastonbury, as this constitutes a well-worn page in our country's annals. Like all human ideals the Benedictine system had become materialised, and, further, in its abuse of power, and in its unmeaning worship of relics (of which there were vast quantities at Glastonbury), trading on the superstitions of the vulgar, it forfeited respect, because it had neglected truth. In one sense the earliest chapters of Glastonbury are the most romantic and the most interesting. Who were the first pilgrims? How did they come? What connection was there with the great outside world? The earliest chapters of Glastonbury are in reality the earliest chapters of our own national history.

At first sight there is a resemblance between Glastonbury and such an abbey as Croyland or Crowland, where, in A.D. 716, Ethelbald, king of the Mercians, founded a Benedictine monastery in honour of S. Mary, S. Bartholomew, and S. Guthlac, the celebrated hermit, endowing it with the Island of Croyland, formed by the four waters of the Shepisea on the east, Nena on the west,

Southea on the south, and Asendyk on the north, together with a portion of the adjoining marshes and fisheries. Here, from a topographical point of view, is almost a replica of the Somerset monastery. What were called the "Washlands" of Croyland correspond to the "Drownnds" of the moors and marshes of Glastonbury. But the story of Croyland, as told by Ingulph, differs widely from that of Glastonbury. There was no Celtic period, no romantic past to diversify the annals of Croyland, and to invest them with the charm of the "insula Avalonia." From the beginning Croyland was a Benedictine monastery.

Perhaps Glastonbury may be classed more appropriately with such a Celtic shrine as Hy or Iona, if it is capable of being classed with any other monastery. The saint Columba¹ came to Iona in A.D. 565, and converted the Picts to the Christian faith "who at that time dwelt in the north moors, and whose king gave him Iona, together with five hides of land." Columba had with him twelve companions, a fraternity on the same model as Ynys Witrin.

Or there may be some points of resemblance between the Ynys Witrin of Somerset and Ynys Enlli, *i.e.* the Island of Bardsey, lying off that lonely promontory of Carnarvon, in North Wales. Here was a Celtic community, and hither, so it is said, fled the remnants of the monks of Bangor, when smitten by Ethelfrid. Here, too, could be found a community, mentioned by Giraldus Cambrensis, in A.D. 1180, called "Cœlibes vel Colidei," a very interesting mention of the ancient Culdees or Quietists of those days, in the language of Giraldus, "religiosissimi viri."

But however interesting Iona, Bardsey, or, indeed, Lindisfarne all were in the history of Celtic christianity, they lay *outside* the usual highways of traffic. Not so

1. "Saxon Chronicle."

Glastonbury. The long arms of the Severn Sea brought the monastery in touch with the life of many tribes and nations. From Tewkesbury to Tintagel was practically one and the same sea. In South Wales lay "Isca Silurum"; in Dumnonia, the famous "Isca Dumnoniorum." Further still, yet joined by the waterways of ocean, lay North Wales, Strathclyde and Hibernia; southward, the old kingdom of Armorica and Brittany. Call the Severn Sea an *Ægean*, and *Ynys Witrin* a *Delos*, round which maritime life centred, and to which sea-faring pilgrims found their way, and there is a parallel which will explain much. History does not follow land routes invariably, but, oftener than not, is guided along the water-ways of the earth. It must be remembered, also, that the Parret river kept Glastonbury in touch with Langport, an inland port, twenty-five miles from the channel, and close to the Roman road that passed through Ilchester. Thence a short route to southern ports, and so to the Continent.

History also teaches us that among great nations themselves there is often a world within a world, a world of city-loving men, gregarious in their habits, a world of pastoralists who love the plains, and a world of adventurous sailors exploring along bays, promontories, lakes and coast lines. The sea gives to the latter their peculiar character, their separate development, and even their peculiar language and modes of thought. Even to this day the boatmen of Galway, coasting and fishing from point to point, are almost distinct from the cattle and stock farmers of the interior. There is a certain freemasonry—if not something much stronger—affecting their hearts and temperaments which binds the men of the sea coasts and islands together, and makes them clannish. The sea bound the "*Sea-mor-saetas*" together.

The reputed speech of William Bodener, the poor Cornish fisherman, who spoke Cornish as late as 1776, points again to that lingering race or clan distinction

that outlasted so many great convulsions and political changes. He said :

“ My age is three score and five. I am a poor fisherman. I learnt Cornish when I was a boy. I have been to sea with my father and five other men in the boat, and have not heard one word of English spoken in the boat for a week together. I never saw a Cornish book. I learned Cornish going to sea with old men. There are not more than four or five in our town who can talk Cornish now.”¹ And so with Dolly Pentreath, who died in 1778, Cornish, as a spoken language, disappeared, and Prince Louis Lucien Buonaparte rightly set up a memorial to her. It is the occupations of the sea that keep up and perpetuate certain distinctions until they seem to become inherent and hereditary. It is something deeper than a mere superficial freemasonry of the waters. In Solon’s “Attica,” the root distinctions were indicated when the people of Attica were divided into (1) *Pedieis*, or those who lived in the plains ; (2) *Diakrii*, those who lived on the hills ; (3) *Paralii*, those who inhabited the shores and lived as sailors and merchants.²

These are root distinctions, and they endure through centuries. The great Celtic race had not only its dwellers on the mountains and on the plains, each with their occupations of hunting, tilling the soil, and pasturing flocks, but those also who were “toilers of the sea,” men born with the sounds of the sea ever in their ears, and with the perilous wanderings along the coasts and promontories always before them from the cradle to the grave. It is strange that when Cæsar mentioned the tribes of Gaul, and divided them into three classes, that he did not make some particular mention of the Gaulish seamen. He had converse with the “mercatores,” who

1. “Specimens of Cornish,” by J. Trenoodle, London, 1846.

2. Grote’s “History of Greece,” vol. ii.

alone knew well the ports, harbours, and estuaries of Britain. Still both he¹ himself, as well as his legionaries, were even ignorant of the rise and fall of the tides on the British coast.²

If we adopt this theory of race distribution, it may help us much in the task of allocating distinct spheres to the ancient inhabitants of Gaul and Britain. The chiefs and princelets of the land were always different from the captains and sailors of the primitive ports; the "essedarii," or chariot-drivers of Cæsar's Commentaries entirely distinct from the "nautæ" and "mercatores." The strongholds of the maritime people would be on such places as Brent Knoll, Worlebury Camp near Weston-super-Mare, or the impregnable rock of Tintagel. Or perhaps on such an inland fort as Hamdon Hill, which was in touch with a tidal river like the Parret. The names of such tribal leaders as Logwor, Bregden, amongst the British and the sub-reguli of King Ina's time, as well as Cornish and Welsh chieftains, constantly occur. In Gaul and Armorica there were also many tribal leaders, the political system, both of Gaul and Britain, not yet being organised into one homogeneous state. The kingdom itself of Wessex took a long time to consolidate.

Granted, therefore, that there was always, and from time immemorial, a shifting maritime element drifting backwards and forwards between the opposite coasts, like a sort of flotsam and jetsam of the seas, this will explain much. Certain ethnical and linguistic problems may receive light, questions of migration assume a new

1. *De Bello Gallico*, iv, 29.

2. It is a curious thing that Plinius Secundus (c. A.D. 23), says in his description of Britain that the tides rose eighty cubits (bk. ii, 99), and the authority given is Pytheas, the great geographer of Marseilles, born about three hundred years before Cæsar's invasion. This points to a knowledge of Britain obtained by way of the Spanish ports. "*Octogenis cubitis supra Britanniam intumescere æstus Pytheas Marsiliensis auctor est.*"

colour, if we think of a gradual infiltration of sea influences, not a wholesale race movement.

Ralph de Diceto, in his "*De regibus Britonum*," remarks that from the time of Hengist there were six separate kingdoms, alluding, of course, to what really became the kingdoms of the "Heptarchy" or "Octarchy," but in addition there were many "*reguli Britonum qui residui erant; qui hodie Carnowallenses et Wallenses dicuntur*." Many of these were descendants of the old sea kings and sea chieftains who existed, surely, long before the "vikings," or dwellers in the creeks of Britain. These, indeed, were pirates only from the north.

Glastonbury, as a sea monastery, was from the earliest times the spiritual centre of Christian "*Celtica*." With the annals of the old monastery are interwoven all those episodes of maritime adventure and of mercantile intercourse which lie at the very beginnings of our island history. Even before the first Christian pilgrims sailed up the Parret, we feel sure that the Glastonbury Lake Village, which has been unearthed with all its old-world fragments of whorls, spindles, amber ornaments, querns, whetstones, loom-weights, tin rings, bronze handles, etc., meant a very early chapter of continental trade, and that there was a well known trade route thither. We search amongst the kitchen-middens of the Lake Village for the origin of the Christian monastery that arose, in all probability, as a natural sequel to it. Along the paths of the sea came, surely, the first messengers of the Gospel. All the early notices, therefore, of the trade, the shipping, the articles of commerce, throw a much desired light upon maritime "*Celtica*," and, incidentally, upon Ynys Witrin.

Strabo (B.C. 63—A.D. 21) describes "*Celtica*" as reaching from the mouth of the Rhine to the northern extremity of the Pyrenees near Aquitaine, Britain having as its most easterly extremity that part of Kent opposite the mouth of the Rhine. This, of course, was

continental Celtica. Britain, he thought, was parallel to the shores of this Celtica.¹ Along the coasts of Northern and Western Gaul itself there were four passages (*διάρματα*) from which voyagers generally crossed from the mainland to the island of Britain. These were at the mouths of the Rhine, the Seine, the Loire, and the Garonne, but those who crossed from the country about the Rhine did not sail from the mouth of the river, but from the country of the Morini, who bordered on the Menapii where Cæsar crossed. Posidonius (B.C. 135), a still earlier geographer, found a trade route between Britain and the people of Vannes, *i.e.* of Armorica.

The "mercatores" mentioned by Cæsar knew both Gaul and Spain, and must have been intimately acquainted with the south and west of Britain. Indeed, the sailors of ancient Devon and the sailors of S. Malo fought and traded together along the seas in what has been called the "Armorican Confederacy." Cæsar himself has drawn attention to this remarkable league, at the head of which were the Veneti, productive of so many results in forming our insular and national character.²

We know very little of this maritime confederacy, the members of which must have been well acquainted with the tin trade of Britain and the depôts of the "Cassiterides," wherever we place these islands, either the Scilly Islands, or islands off the coast of Spain, or islands nearer Britain itself. The continental workers in bronze may or may not have known where this tin came from, but, probably, it was a trade secret. The annals of the "Armorican Confederacy" have never

1. Tozer's "Strabo," bk. iv. See, also, the Journal of the Royal Geographical Society, May, 1893, paper by Sir Clements Markham.

2. Hujus est civitatis longe amplissimi omnis oræ maritimæ regionum earum quod et naves habent Veneti plurimas, quibus in Britanniam navigare consuerunt et scientiâ atque usu nauticarum rerum reliquos antecedunt . . . omnes qui eo mari uti consuerunt habent vectigales.—"De Bello Gallico," bk. III, chap. viii.

been written, and the schoolboy knows more about the Ætolian and Achaian leagues of Greece than about this league, which may have been the nursery of our maritime adventurers. Few have heard of the Veneti and associates, yet who can assign a limit to their wanderings? Sir F. Palgrave¹ has reminded us of that one great migration which took the Veneti of Gaul to the head of the Adriatic Gulf to found that wonderful maritime power of Venetia, the marvel of the Middle Ages. A migration more mysterious than that of the Gauls who went from Gallia Narbonensis to Galatia in Asia Minor!

Palgrave writes: "Waste not your oil! Give it up that speechless past . . . yet close by that inexplicable morbihan memorial on the excavated walls of the Roman station the Celtic city was replaced whose people, deserting their habitations, established the Adriatic Island Queen. Just as the Galatians of Narbonensic Gaul became Asiatic Galatians so did the Gaulish Veneti become the Veneti of Italy. Their place in Celtica and in Brittany, thus deserted, was filled by Celts from Wales and Cornwall . . . in the lesser Brittany the Loegrians introduced their language and their laws, settling another Cornouille opposite our Cornwall and another Gwynneth recalling the Gwynneth of Siluria, another local habitation for Tristan and the morholt symbolised in the fable of S. Michael's guarded mount surrounded by the submerged shore."

This emigration from Britain to Gaul—such a notable event in seafaring Celtica—seems to have been noticed by the Roman Procopius, who wrote: "vast numbers migrating from Britain go with wives and children to the Franks, *i.e.* to Brittany, who plant them in the deserted parts of the land." Such a migration of "paralii" helped to create on both sides of the channel a

1. "History of Normandy and England," vol. i, p. 467.

certain solidarity of law, language and religion, binding the Celtic clans together, and contributing to the idea, in course of time, of a Celtic christian church.

Festus Avienus,¹ a Roman writer (A.D. 300-400), describes the vast Oestrymnian Gulf from which rose the Islands of the Oestrymnides. Across this sea was two days' sail from Gaul to "The Sacred Island," inhabited by Hibernian people. The sailors were proud, clever and active, constantly engaged in the cares of commerce, furrowing the wide strait, and the sea abounding in monsters, with a new sort of boat constructed partly with hides of leather.

That there was a brisk trade in the western seas and in the Severn Sea especially, we know from the writings both of Gildas (born *c.* 516) the earliest British historian and missionary, who ended his days at Glastonbury, and also from Nennius (*c.* 780-800). They corroborate the Roman writers, and Gildas in his general geographical description of Britain remarks how it was divided by the arms (*bracchiis*) of two noble rivers, the Thames and the Severn, along which the luxuries of foreign lands used formerly to be conveyed.²

If the Veneti were the most celebrated Celtic tribe or nation in Gaul, the question arises : who were their compeers and allies in Britain itself? Without doubt they were the Dumnonii. From a passage in Cæsar it may be inferred that even at that remote date young men of Dumnonia³ took service in foreign fleets and were adventurous fighters in Continental wars. If Gaul had its *Paralii* and *mercatores*, so indeed had Britain. In the Severn waters, the Dumnonii were the great seafaring race, and Dumnonia, with its ancient correlatives of Duffneint or Deunon, still lives in the modern Devon

1. Elton's "Origins of English History," p. 27.

2. "*Per quæ flumina olim transmarinæ deliciæ vehabantur ratibus.*"

3. See Elton's "Origins of English History," and "*Origines Celticæ*," by E. Guest, vol. ii, p. 181.

or Devon. The ancient capital of Dumnonia was "Isca Dumnoniorum," or the modern Exeter, a town that merged very slowly with the Saxon conquerors,¹ and preserved on parallel lines both a British and Saxon life. This is a fact which struck Professor Freeman when he examined the evidence for the slow Saxonisation of parts of Wessex.

This Dumnonian kingdom being chiefly a sea kingdom and a riverine kingdom, was of a somewhat shadowy and elusive character. Just as the Phœnicians wandered as traders and explorers over the waters of the Mediterranean, so these Paralii, if we may so term them, of the Celtic race, wandered over all the waters of Celtica; and, perhaps, as pirates, for the pirates of the seas date far back in history, and existed in Homeric days, as we infer from the question put to Telemachus by Nestor.² Like Chaucer's mariners the Celtic sailors knew not only that suggestive harbour of Gothland in the Baltic seas, but also every creek in Bretagne, *i.e.* Brittany, and the coasts of Spain itself.

Those who extol the maritime skill of the men of Devon, and laud the exploits of Sir F. Drake and the Elizabethan seamen of Devon ports, may not always pause to think how remote their ancestry is; how, together with the seamen of Brittany and S. Malo, who have given France some of her most famous corsairs and fighting admirals, they represent the traditions of centuries. They were known as "mercatores" in Cæsar's time, they were the pilots for centuries of the stormy straits and channels—just as now the Severn sea pilots are the hardest and most skilful in the world—and they have been to the fore on every occasion. King Alfred, when he first built up his navy, trusted to the assistance of the Celtic and Armorican portion of his subjects rather than to the Saxon. It is probable that the

1. "William of Malmesbury," p. 134.

2. "Odyssey," iii, 72.

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Mediterranean was well known by repute to these seamen, as well as the northern seas.

A traffic route from the South of Gaul to Africa, Carthage, Alexandria, and the East, is indicated in the picturesque narrative of a Gaul, who, in the fifth century, describes in the dialogues of Sulpicius Severus (the Christian writer of that period, and the biographer of St. Martin of Tours), a voyage in the Mediterranean. He started from the port of Narbona, in Gallia Narbonnensis, crossed to Carthage, landed at North Africa, where he visited a lonely anchorite, and sailing to Alexandria, went a pilgrimage to the Holy Land. He also saw and described the monasteries of the Nile, and the life of the monks of Nitria. Such a voyage just lifts the curtain that hangs over the navigation and travel of those days, and proves how the Mediterranean was traversed from end to end by merchants and pilgrims, and how the doctrines and tenets of Christendom were carried from harbour to harbour. The port of Narbona, and of Marseilles became a travellers' port of call between east and west. The ship he sailed in was a "*navis oneraria*" or merchantman, bound for Alexandria. The voyage from Narbona to the coast of Africa, under the favourable circumstances experienced by the traveller, took five days. The return journey from Alexandria to Marseilles occupied thirty days. The traveller was absent three years, and almost experienced a shipwreck off the Syrtes. The crew, like St. Paul's shipwrecked sailors in the Acts, let down two anchors in rather shallow water, and got to land in a "*scaphus*," *i.e.*, a small boat. These adventures¹ both by sea and land were retailed to Sulpicius on his return to Gaul, and became known to the monkish followers of St. Martin in their home on the Loire. Thence doubtless to Britain, the mouth of the Loire being one of the passages to Britain according to Strabo.

1. *Sacræ Historiæ Sulpicii Severi.*

The first Charter of Glastonbury was given by a Rex Dumnoniæ in A.D. 601.¹ The land called Ineswitrin was given to the old church (*Ecclesia Vetusta*) together with five cassates of land, at the petition of Abbot Worgrez. William of Malmesbury adds: "Who this king might be the antiquity of the instrument prevents our knowing, but that he was a Briton cannot be doubted, because he called Glastonbury Ineswitrin. Moreover, it is proper to remark the extreme antiquity of a church which even then was called the old church." The monastery of Inyswitrin was, therefore, a Dumnonian monastery to begin with, and lay within the territory of a Dumnonian prince. That there was a church in Dumnonia at a very early date we gather from the letter of Aldhelm in A.D. 704, who wrote a kind of pastoral charge to Gerontius, king of Dumnonia, and to all the priests of God living in Dumnonia (*cunctis Dei sacerdotibus per Dumnoniam conversantibus*).

S. Boniface or S. Winfred, the famous apostle of Germany, who suffered martyrdom in A.D. 755, was a Dumnonian (or Devonian), whether he was trained in Exeter (*ad Escan ceaster*), or, as some have supposed, at Axbridge, near Glastonbury, where, under Bleadon hythe, Bishop Forthere² bequeathed land to Aldberht, the head of a monasterium there. Not far off was a church of S. Martin, and if both this and the old monasterium have disappeared, it may have been due to the ruin brought about by the Danish hordes. At all events, if Ynys Witrin and its neighbourhood were the nursery of S. Boniface,³ it only proves again how the sacred island dominated and instructed all religious thought at a very early time. Little is known of this remote time, and it was hardly to be expected that the

1. Spelman's "Concilia."

2. Kemble's Charters, No. LXIII.

3. "Somerset and Dorset Notes and Queries," vol. xi, p. 172.

Benedictine monks would lay much stress on the fact of Ynys Witrin being the spiritual centre of Dumnonia first of all, and then of Celtica.¹

Where was the actual boundary of this kingdom of Dumnonia? Who were the Dumnonii in the catalogue of Celtic races? Claudius Ptolemæus (A.D. 150) placed the Dumnonii to the west of the Durotriges in Britain, giving them, amongst other towns, Uxelis or Uxella,² generally supposed to be the Axe, or the town on the Axe, *i.e.* the modern Axbridge. This is just the place where, in after years, we know that Glastonbury had her first endowments, and amongst them a port or anchorage, "*jure Ecclesiæ S. Mariæ.*"

C. J. Solinus (A.D. 401—450) said that a stormy strait (*turbidum fretum*) separated the Dumnonii and Silures, a description which agrees very closely with that of Ptolemy.³ This would place Dumnonia in North Somerset, as far as the Parret or the Axe, probably the latter, if we include Axbridge. The custom of the Dumnonii was always to exchange goods by barter and to refuse all money transactions (*nummum refutant*), a fact which explains why no Dumnonian coinage exists to enlighten us.

Mr. Elton⁴ evidently adopts the view that although racially these Dumnonii might not be different from the rest of the inhabitants of Britain, they were, at any rate, distinct from them territorially. "These Dumnonian tribes," he writes, "were isolated from their eastern neighbours by a wide marsh of wood and fens," alluding

1. In Kemble's Charters (No. LXIII) is the following: "I, Forthere, servant of the servants of God, for the redemption of my soul, grant one cassatum to Aldberht, abbot of the abbey near the Axe (*fluvium Aesce*), upon the harbour which is called Bleadon hythe, near the small island and the church of the Blessed Martin the Confessor, A.D. 712." This seems to be a solitary notice of this conventus. The hythe still exists.

2. See Müller's "Ptolemy."

3. "*Silurum quoque insulam ab ora quam gens Brittana Dumnonii tenent turbidum fretum distinguit.*"

4. "Origins of English History," p. 235.

to the moors round Glastonbury and the marshes of mid-Somerset. Prebendary Earle, in his account of the North Petherton district and King Alfred's Athelney retreat¹ (A.D. 878), evidently thinks that the Pedrida or the Parret was "a natural limit dividing nations." Florence of Worcester, in describing the Danish inroad of A.D. 997, places Watchet (now in North Somerset) in Devonshire, which evidently means Dumnonia. We catch a glimpse here of the boundaries of Dumnonia reaching up to Ynys Witrin, and including it in its magic circle.

Gildas, in his well-known Epistle, reproved a certain Constantine, the tyrannical whelp of the unclean lioness of Dumnonia, certainly a mention of a kingdom or principality, just as Vortipore, in the same passage, was said to be the ruler over Demetia. Perhaps they may be described as Reguli rather than Reges, after the custom of those days. The heptarchy preceded the simple rule of Egbert, and Wales herself was divided into three portions. Moreover, this Constantine² of Dumnonia was supposed to have been a king of Cornwall likewise, who abdicated his throne and preached the Gospel to the Picts and Scots. Near Helston, in Cornwall, in the Union of Falmouth, there is the parish of S. Constantine. The sites of two decayed chapels are discernible at Bonallock and Budokvean, and, near the parish church, where formerly stood a cross, a pot full of silver coins of Arthur and King Cnut was found towards the end of the seventeenth century.³ But, surely, one fact can be established in those remote times, that here, in the eastern corner of Dumnonia, a Christian "Ecclesia Vetusta" existed, and here was an object of worship to Dumnonian princes. The Rex may have been only a sub-regulus, as the grades of kingship goes, who gave Ynys Witrin,

1. "King Alfred's Jewel."

2. Aberdeen Breviary, and Whitaker's "Cathedral of Cornwall."

3. Lewis's "Topographical Dictionary."

but, just like Baldred and Athelard, the sub-reguli of King Ina, who persuaded him (*hortatu*) to give twenty hides of Polden to Glastonbury afterwards—but still a man of note, favouring the Christian cause.

Furthermore, these Dumnonian sea-traditions imparted to Ynys Witrin that peculiar atmosphere it possessed far back in the centuries. Her fame flew abroad on the wings of the sea-winds; her glories spread through the utmost bounds of maritime Celtica. Merchants brought their offerings and pilgrims sought the shrine. Of the first Celtic missionaries James Martineau has said, that they were blown by the Spirit of God silently over the wastes, and, like the downy seed of plants, settled in some quiet corner, and there took root under God's fostering care. It seems true enough that wherever there was a Porth or Pill in the Severn Sea, there they anchored and began their silent work.

When a great national hero arose like King Arthur, who for the time posed as the champion both of the Christian faith and also of a nation, then these sailors of the Severn Sea were not slow in spreading his fame in Celtica. From bay to bay, from river to river, from headland to headland, the story of his exploits spread. Fame has its exaggerations as well as its true story, and fame grows, as Virgil tells us. Perhaps in the half-mists of Celtica, and in the romantic scenery of its wind-swept cliffs, the shadowy Arthur obscured with his mythical drapery the real Arthur. What was told at Aberthawe and Porth Kerig, those old anchorages in the Severn Sea not far from Caerleon, lost nothing in the repeating amongst the Armoricans, and the Celts of the Isle of Man and Strathclyde. So Arthur grew, till from a chieftain he became a king, then an emperor, and lastly a demigod of romance.



THE GLASTONBURY BOAT

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IV.

Glastonbury and the Sailor Saints.

FROM the description already given it may be inferred what a convenient and natural channel was afforded by the Severn Sea to the earliest missionaries. S. Michael greeted them when they landed at Botestal at the mouth of the Parret, S. Michael's Church faced them on the slopes of Brent Knoll, and S. Michael finally seemed to hold a protecting ægis over them from the great Tor itself.

It is interesting to know what kind of boat these primitive pilgrims used in their voyages. In the old Glastonbury records there is frequent mention of "batelli," in which the tenants of the great abbey conveyed along the moors and canals the goods and merchandise of the monks, and sometimes the Abbot himself. But possibly these batelli were a kind of barge adapted to the inland navigation of the moors, not to the outside seas. (See p. 11).

In the excavations of the Glastonbury Lake Village a boat of pre-historic type was exhumed, and is still to be seen at the Glastonbury Museum. It is a "dug-out," probably made of an oak trunk, and with its flat bottom is not unlike the type of boat found on the Parret to the present day, and adapted for shallow waters such as might have prevailed to a large extent over the moors. The remains of a larger vessel, long known on the moors as "Squire Phippen's big ship," were discovered in the same locality and, to all intents and purposes, as firm

and strong as ever, owing to the wonderful preservative qualities of the peat. Unfortunately the timber¹ was destroyed, before it could be examined and reported upon by archæologists.

On Edington, the well-known Glastonbury manor, three paddles,² evidently belonging to some ancient coracle, were discovered in the peat, and it is very probable that the coracle or currogh—either on a larger or smaller scale—was the favourite boat used by the Sailor Saints both in Severn waters and also on the flooded moors of the interior. Stillingfleet³ has recorded that Irish writers have left descriptions of their curroghs or light boats covered with leather, useful for transporting an army but not suited for a sea-fight. Adamnanus, in his life of S. Columba, describes a larger sort, in which S. Cormac put to sea with all the parts of a ship propelled by sails and oars and fit to carry passengers. He was out at sea fourteen days in it. In the church of Wick S. Lawrence, close to the channel, there is a carved representation in wood of such a primitive ship, steered with a single oar and sails of leather. There must have been some distinction between the larger and smaller specimens of this class. In King Alfred's Orosius, the Cwenas (c. A.D. 400—500) carried their boats overland, just as a Canadian might now-a-days carry his birch canoe over a portage, and so made war upon their enemies. Others were mere cockle-shells, described by Spelman as "*coquæ*," fit only to carry, and so frail that even the lash of a salmon's tail might upset it. Such a "*coqua*" figured on the tessellated pavement of an excavated Roman villa⁴ on the Severn near Lydney. Sidonius Apollonius said of the sailors of the

1. Som. Arch. Soc. *Proceedings*, vol. i, p. 52.

2. "Stradling Collection," Chilton.

3. "*Origines Brit.*," vol. i, p. cxxii, and "*Cæsar de Bello Civili.*"

4. See "*Glossary*," also "*Giraldus Cambrensis*," and Elton's "*Origins of English History*."

British seas that it was mere child's play for them to cleave the waters in a hide-boat (*assuto glaucum mare findere sulco*). Solinus, also, after paying a tribute to the stormy character of the British seas, added that the sailors navigated it in wicker boats (*vimineis alveis*) covered with the hides of oxen (*tergorum bubulcorum*.)

The type of skin-boat seems to have lasted a very long time—more than a thousand years—for Giraldus Cambrensis, writing about A.D. 1170, says in his "Topography of Ireland":—"I heard some sailors relate that having been driven once by a violent storm during Lent to the Northern Islands and the unexplored expanse of the Sea of Connaught they at last took shelter under a small island. The storm abating they saw the features of an unknown land and from this land they saw a boat rowing towards them. It was narrow and oblong made of 'wattled boughs' (like the boat described 1000 years previously by Lucan) and sewn with the hides of beasts. In it were two men stark naked excepting for a broad belt round their waists, and they had long yellow hair falling below their shoulders. They came from some part of Connaught and spoke the Irish language. They said they had never before seen a large ship made of timber."

The Viking boats were, of course, of a very different class, and specimens of them are extant. So were the "*Cyalæ sive galeiæ*" which King Alfred called into existence to fight the Danes.¹ It must be noted that his best shipbuilders were natives of South Wales. So indeed were the best captains.

The ships also of the ancient Veneti, described by Cæsar,² were probably merchantmen, and may have been

1. Warrington's "Wales," vol. i, p. 215; also Berkley's "Naval History," p. 69.

"Quo tempore fuit Rex Alfredus naves longas quas cyalas sive galeias appellat in quibus armatis impositis jussit maris semitas observari."—*Chronica Majora* Matthew Paris, A.D. 897.

2. "De Bello Gallico," Bk. iii, 13; also "De Bello Civili" for "*Corpus navium viminibus contextum*."

the prototype of what Spelman has called the "*Hispanæ Cogones*" with reference to their origin. The kind of boat, however, of which we are in search of, is the simple pilgrim's boat, not of a large description generally, but useful for exploring creeks, bays and marshes, and handy for the purposes of fishing. Into such a boat Taliesin, the gold-tongued bard of King Arthur's Court, is said to have leaped as it floated past him, and so escaped from those pirates who had taken him captive. Perhaps such a boat as is seen on the Dee at the present day, only a little longer.

Gildas himself, our first British historian, was one of the most notable sailor saints of the Severn Seas, and is said to have lived on the Island of "Echin," or Steep Holm, in mid-channel, where he existed on fish and birds, being miraculously supplied with a stream of water "which has flowed and will flow for ever." On "Ronech," or the Flat Holm, lived S. Cadoc, who has left his name to Cadoxton in South Wales, also to a "Fons Cadoci" and a "Cadokes Pulle" or Pill in the neighbourhood of Basseleck¹ or Barselake, an old Glastonbury Manor. Here these anchorites lived, cultivating the habits of asceticism and of piety amidst the roar of the tempest and the clang of the wild fowl. However, even at this early date pirates were not unknown in the Severn Sea, and a party of them disturbed the devotions and meditations of Gildas,² who fled thence in his boat to Ynys Witrin and there, beside a stream, built a Chapel to the Holy and Undivided Trinity, with a cell adjoining. (See p. 40).

In his "Celtic Scotland" (vol. ii, p. 49), Mr. W. Skene traces the monasticism of the Celtic church back to Tours and to S. Martin. It spread into Bretagne, where the monasteries of Landonart and Landevenech

1. "Adam of Domerham," ii, p. 604.

2. "Life of Gildas by Caradoc of Lancarvan."

were founded, thence to Wales through Bishop David, Gillas (Gildas) and Docus, *i.e.* S. Cadocus.

S. Cadoc was the son of S. Gundleus, prince of Glamorgan, and grandson of Braghanus, prince of Brecknock. In his youth S. Cadoc put himself under S. Tathai, an Irishman by birth, in a school of learning and piety at Gwentonia or Caerwent in Monmouth, and in course of time founded Llancarvan.

These Monmouth monasteries were undoubtedly great centres of Christian teaching and of missionary enterprise. That they perished so utterly must be ascribed to the continual devastations of the Danes. The "Foresta de Dene" was, according to Giraldus, so called from them where they could obtain supplies of iron for their swords and weapons. The Forest itself provided them with timber. In A.D. 877-8¹ they appear to have wintered in this region before descending upon the North Coasts of Dumnonia and the Parret Valley, where King Alfred lay hid.

In later times the Steep Holm was occupied by a Priory founded by Maurice de Berkeley, the third Lord Berkeley, in the reign of Edward II. This lonely spot is supposed to be on the dividing line between the counties of Somerset, Gloucester and Bristol, its companion islet, the Flat Holm, being in Wales. The difference between high water mark and low water mark on these islands is very great, *viz.*, between twenty and thirty feet. What the continual rush of these tidal waters is here may well be imagined. It was on the Holms islands that the Danes landed in 918 after their repulse from Watchet, making it a headquarters of piracy.

Higher up the Severn is the Islet of S. Tecla, so named after a Virgin and Abbess of that name (Oct. 15), who was one of those devout women invited by S. Boniface, the Dumnonian Saint, to Germany to

1. "Saxon Chronicle."

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educate Christian nuns. Lower down the Channel is the Island of Caldey, which was long a cell of S. Dogmael's in Wales, now the seat of a modern Benedictine community. The Island of Barry, near Cardiff, is so named after S. Baruch, who lived there.

We owe a great debt to Gildas, as he is almost our sole British authority on the history of those remote days, and he writes without the bias of a Benedictine monk. He pays a tribute to the love of travel inherent in the British "Sacerdotes" of his day, whom it delighted to cross the seas and to pass over great regions (*maria transmigrare terrasque transmeare spatiosas*). It is one of the most direct statements there is of the inter-communication between the members of the Celtic Church in Gaul, Britain, Armorica, and elsewhere. Perhaps Gildas takes too gloomy a view of his country and his countrymen, especially when he calls Boadicea, the British Warrior Queen, by the opprobrious name of "a deceitful lioness," and her supporters "crafty foxes." It was a stretch of sympathy with the secular arm of Rome which made him hand down the proverb that "Britons were neither brave in war nor faithful in peace."

Another famous sailor saint, was S. Samson, the well-known Welsh bishop, who "went to a certain island" not far from the monastic establishment of St. Iltutus (Iltud or Llanwit major) in Glamorgan. On one occasion S. Samson received the blessing of the great S. Dubricius, when he crossed the Severn Sea to visit his mother and his relations. S. Samson went from Wales to Brittany, where he became Bishop of Dôl, being present at the second council¹ of Paris (A.D. 552), when he subscribed himself in great humility as "a sinner and a bishop." Perhaps he had some contrition for leaving the Welsh diocese, on account of a plague there, leaving

1. "Chronicles of the British Church," by J. Yeowell, p. 146.

his followers to themselves. Moreover, he is said to have taken with him the Archbishop's "Pall,"¹ and this was the reason why the Archbishops of Menevia went so long without this symbol of their office.

The monastery of S. Iltyd is said to have been built originally by the famous S. Kieran or S. Pieran, whose name is still remembered in the romantic old parish of Perranzabuloe,² *i.e.* S. Pieran in the sand (zabulum). There is no more romantic relic of former days than this old Cornish church, excavated by the zeal of the antiquary from its bed of drifting sands. The simple shape of it may, in all probability, be that of the original places of worship, founded by these sailor saints who first came to Perran Porth. Not far off is "St. Perran's Well," to which miraculous efficacy was attributed, and within a mile or so, "S. Perran's Round," one of the ancient Cornish amphitheatres. In the time of Edward the Confessor here was a college, with a Dean and Chapter, and here a notable sanctuary. If we except St. Neots, the historical church and college founded on the river of S. Neots, a branch of the Fowey, and in honour of that mysterious and all-powerful S. Neotus, a kinsman (?) of King Alfred, there is no spot more interesting in Cornwall than Perranzabuloe. In Tintagel also was a chapel dedicated to S. Perran.

Mr. Collins Trelawny, when, in his excavations at Perranzabuloe, he brought to light the old building, rightly called it "The Lost Church Found," meaning by this that he had helped to display and revive a whole chapter of British Christianity. The Celtic "sacerdotes" had not preached and travelled in vain. There was no fanfare of trumpets; no elaborate Charter of privileges drawn up by a monk belonging to a great order pledged to carry out its own aggrandisement. They were simply messengers of the Gospel of Peace.

1. "Godwin de Præsulibus S. Davids," also "Cressy."

2. "The Lost Church found," by Rev. Collins Trelawny.

Here is a passage from the "Anglo-Saxon Chronicle," pregnant in its meaning, and certainly revealing a world of voluntary abnegation, and a flash of Christian zeal :

"A.D. 891. And three Scots (in this case Irishmen) came to King Alfred in a boat without any oars from Ireland, whence they had stolen away, because they wished to be in a state of pilgrimage—they recked not whither. The boat in which they came was made of two and a half hides, and they took with them provisions for seven days, and then about the seventh day they came to Cornwall, and soon after to King Alfred. Thus were they named Dusblane, Macbeth and Maclimmm."

King Alfred himself, as we know from his biographer, Asser, used to worship at the church or cell of S. Guerir and S. Neot (Neotstock) in Cornwall.

The *Liber Landavensis*, quoted favourably by Professor Freeman as authentic, a storehouse of information, and written by Urban, Bishop of Llandaff (c. 1132), gives an interesting account of a certain S. Algar, a "vir Angligena," and born in Devonshire. Like Taliesin of King Arthur's time, he was captured by pirates and taken towards Ireland. It was his fate—in this case a fortunate one—to be shipwrecked, and so he managed to land on the "Insula Enlli," *i.e.*, Bardsey, an island "quæ more Britannico vocatur Roma Britanniæ," to which British pilgrims found their way like the great Dubricius himself.

S. Fingar, also called Guinger (Dec. 14), born in Ireland, converted by S. Patrick, and a pilgrim to Cornwall, was slain by a certain "Teudrick Prince of the Dumnonians," A.D. 455. Within the sphere of his life and works he covered both Ireland and Cornwall, and subsequently both he and his companions were honoured in the cathedral of Vannes, in Brittany.

In Brittany itself, S. Machutus, Maclovius, or S. Malo, was honoured as a great saint (Nov. 15), being nearly related to S. Samson. In his infancy he was trained

under the influence of S. Brendan, in the monastery of Llanccarvan, in Glamorgan. In old deeds of S. Augustine's, Bristol, there is frequent mention of the hill or "mons" of S. Brendan in the suburbs of Bristol, showing how the name of this sailor saint must have reached the old west-country port.

The mention of S. Brendan, or San Borondon, and S. Malo, recalls the legends that have long clustered around their names : how about the middle of the sixth century these saints set out in search of certain islands possessing the delights of Paradise, lying in the midst of the ocean, but inhabited by giants and infidels. Then follows the story of the discovery of the island, and of the conversion and baptism of the heathen giant, Mildum. The belief in this shadowy island lasted long after the time of Columbus,¹ and it is laid down as one of the Canary Islands in a French map as late as 1704. Poets have made capital out of it, and here was the garden of Armida where Rinaldo was detained enchanted ; here the fabled island of the Seven Cities ; here the place where Enoch and Elijah remained in a state of blessedness until the final day. Whether the island was a deception, like that of the "Fata Morgana," seen at times in the Straits of Messina, where Reggio hangs reflected at times, or simply a creation of the Spaniard's brain, matters not, but the fact that a Severn sailor saint should be accredited with the intrepid story of its discovery and of its Christianisation, is interesting to those who follow the seafaring history of these saints.

Dubricius (Nov. 14) was the great chief of British saints and Archbishop of Caerleon. He was called Demetus,² *i.e.* a Demetian born on the banks of the Wye, his mother being of noble extraction. He was great in learning, and established schools (*erexit scholas*) on the

1. Washington Irving's "Life of Columbus," iv, p. 329.

2. "Itinerary of Cambria," by Giraldus Cambrensis, and "Yeowell," p. 143 ; and "Godwin de Præsulibus."

banks of his native river, and attracted many pupils. He is said to have crowned Uter Pendragon, and after him King Arthur himself, his son. On one occasion he is said to have summoned a synod at Llandewi Brevi, in Cardigan (A.D. 519), and not far from Bardsey itself. He resigned his archbishopric in favour of S. David, and died A.D. 522. His bones were taken up and removed by Urbanus, Bishop of Llandaff, to the church there (May 7, 1120), and laid before the altar of Our Lady, towards the north.

The little church of Porlock, that notable landing-place on the North Somerset coast, is dedicated to S. Dubricius. It is not said whether this dedication goes back to the time when Dubricius himself lived, or whether, indeed, the great Welsh saint ever visited the place. But it is not unlikely that he did. Close by is Culbone, that small and romantic little church, called after S. Columbanus, who also left his name to a quondam royal chapel in Cheddar Wood. So, indeed, did S. Nectanus, a favourite saint with Queen Gytha, who was honoured with a chapel at Hartland, in North Devon. Near Porlock, the parish church of Timberscombe is dedicated to S. Petrock, who gave his name to Padstow, *i.e.* Petrockstow.

Carantacus provides a particularly interesting link between the coasts of Wales, North Somerset, and Cornwall. He was the son of a Cardigan prince,¹ and brother of S. Tyssul, and founded the church of Llancrannog, in Cardigan, where his fair day was May 15 (O.S). He is also remembered at Crantock, in Cornwall, and tradition says that he passed over into Ireland. In one of his wanderings Carantacus crossed the Severn Sea, taking an altar with him, and this altar was lost during the voyage. Then follows the story how the wandering saint met King Arthur and a certain "Cato," whoever

1. See Capgrave; also Wytford's "Anglican Martyrology."

he was, and heard a thrilling story of a venomous serpent in a place called "The Carre," which King Arthur was endeavouring to kill or tame. The king told the saint that he knew where the altar had drifted—apparently a locality known as Guellit—and would tell him if he would bind the serpent in "The Carre." Carantacus saw the serpent and tamed it, placing his stole upon it, making it as obedient as a calf. The thing seemed miraculous to the beholders, and a proof of the divine power and mission of Carantacus. Somewhat in a similar way it may be remembered that Columbanus was credited with the power of taming wild nature.

The story with its accessories sounds very much like a legend made up on the spot, with some moral behind it of the power of the stole, *i.e.* Christianity as preached by Carantacus, behind it. Curiosity impels us to ask if there was ever any such place as "The Carre"? In old dictionaries¹ the word is used to denote a marshy place, and is applied by Sir Henry Spelman in his "Life of King Alfred" to the country round Athelney, where was a vast "alder-karre" that nourished a great store of deer. It is a somewhat curious coincidence that Carhampton, anciently written Carntoun, on the north coast of Somerset, and with a dedication to S. Carentoc himself, provides us with such a place. Indeed, to this very day there is a well-known spot known as "Carrmore." In 22 Edward III there was a quit-claim by John, prior of Bath, to Lord John de Mohun, Lord of Dunster, in the Hundred of Dunster and close by, for a right in a piece of meadow lying in "Caremore," and containing two acres. Also, in 1380, there is mention also of "27 reapers in Karremore." Also, in the "Valor Ecclesiasticus" (1560), under Dunster deanery, Cleeve Abbey held so much rent in Carmore, a distinct piece of land. In King Alfred's will, Carhampton is called Carumtune,

1. Baily's Dictionary.

and is part of the royal demesne inherited from Ethelwulf, his father. The Domesday Carentone has a church and a priest.

With regard to the dedication itself, Leland in his Itinerary reminds us how Carantacus left his name to this "Carantokes Town or Carntoun," and it was on the Feast of S. Carantoc¹ that payment used to be made from the parishioners to the Priory of Dunster close by. It is not often that a legend handed down by Capgrave about the doings of a saint find such a "local habitation and a name." Who can doubt that here, in this great "Carre," the saint himself was known, a church founded and a dedication given, lasting down to the present day. There are many picturesque accessories, but they may be discarded, and the stratum of historic truth preserved.

Further, if Carumtune was royal demesne in Ethelwulf's time, as we know it was, as part of the land of the "Weal-cynne," in King Alfred's will, lying in Dumnonia, may it not have been King Arthur's demesne also? The Saxon conquerors, like the Norman conquerors afterwards, probably took over the royal demesne wherever it was. Carumtone, like Tintagel and Triconshire, may have really furnished a territorial nexus between King Arthur and King Alfred.

As if to corroborate the legend still more, and fix the locality of the marsh of the Carre, it is interesting to know that in S. Decuman's church close by, and on the bosses of the Holy Cross chapel, are figures of a dragon and serpent. In Old Cleeve church the same representation occurs, also in the wooden screen of the church of Norton Fitzwarren, also on one of the bench ends of Crowcombe church.² Oral tradition within living memory has handed down stories about the great snake which had its habitat in Shervage wood below Danes-

1. "Dunster and its Lords," by Sir H. Maxwell-Lyte.
2. See "Land of Quantock," by Rev. W. Greswell.



THE SEVERN SEA AND ST. DECUMAN'S.

borough on the Quantocks, slain by a woodman with his axe, also about a flying dragon at Kingston, near Taunton, which destroyed the oxen and the ploughman at his work. It may be added that around the pastoral staff of the Bishop of Bath and Wells is carved the legend of the dragon, a subject copied from the pastoral staff of Bishop Savaricus (1192—1205), which was found in his tomb. The figure apparently is that of S. Michael, who with a sword grasped in both hands is plunging it into the sides of a reptile with legs and talons like a bird. The same allegory appears on the oak carving of the old "misereres" stored in Wells Library.

There is an enduring vitality about place-names in North and West Somerset. They have survived the crash of centuries, and all the dynastic and other changes that have swept over the country like nodules and pinnacles of hard rock that defy the winds and storms. The boundaries of the ancient Manor of Taunton Dean, one of the oldest if not the oldest manor in the kingdom, as given to the ancient See of Winchester, by Ethelard and Frithogytha, can still be traced with accuracy. A place-name—Triscombe on the Quantock hills—is still a boundary of parishes as it was 1,400 years ago. One manor in West Somerset, not far from Carhampton and adjoining the sea-coast, viz.: East Quantockshead, has never been bought or sold since the Conquest. This is the oldest possession of the Luttrell family.

Next to Carumtune or Carhampton on the north coast of Somerset, is S. Decuman's parish, known as the mother church of Williton. Here, so the story goes, a Welsh saint of the name of S. Decumanus was guided miraculously across. Leading the life of an eremite here he was slain by a son of Belial, and honoured afterwards as a martyr. The place was sometimes spelt S. Decombes, and as such appears in certain maps. Further up the channel, and near the romantic woods which crown

the hill above Weston-super-Mare, and to the west of Worleborough camp, is the little village of Kewstoke, so called after S. Kew, a saint known also in Cornwall. A path leading up the slope from the bay is still called S. Kew's steps. Along this path the saint is said to have passed for his daily devotions.

Higher up, S. Congarus (Nov. 5), also called S. Docunus, built an oratory for himself at Congaresbury, and there appointed twelve other brethren to carry on the service of God. Passing from Somerset to Glamorgan he founded a monastery not far from the sea-coast, where he died. S. Docunus or Congarus is often mentioned in the synods of Llandaff. There is an abiding tradition that Congresbury, together with Banwell, were early centres of church life. King Alfred¹ gave the monasteries that existed here in his day to Asser. Might not the beginnings of it all have been due to S. Congar or Docunus?

Some distance up the Avon, and within the beat of the tidal wave, lies the village and manor of Cainesham or Keynsham, the demesne of the Crown at Domesday, and the site, later on, of the abbey. Keynsham has always been derived from Keyna, a British virgin, who lived about the year A.D. 490, and, according to Capgrave, daughter of Braghanus prince of Brecknockshire. In her youth this lady had many suitors, but, deaf to their overtures, she consecrated herself by a perpetual vow, and so was called Keyn-Wyryf or Keyna the Virgin. Determining to leave her native country and to seek some retired spot, she crossed the Severn, and came to a woody spot up the Avon. Here she requested the prince of the country to be allowed to spend a life of solitude and retirement. The prince was ready to grant her petition, but at the same time informed her that the whole place was so infested with serpents that neither

1. Asser's "Life of King Alfred."

man nor beast could live there. To this the virgin replied that she would be able to destroy them, and so it happened that through her prayers the whole venomous brood was converted into stones. S. Keyna left her name, also, to a small manor and place close to S. Decuman's Church, still called Kentsford. (See p. 31).

This latter allusion to the fate of the snakes and dragons may possibly explain the perpetually recurring mention of these monsters. All along the shores of the Severn Sea, especially in the blue lias formation, are numerous fossils, such as ammonites, which look like snakes curled up and frozen into stone. Here and there, also, large lizards and sauri are uncovered, such as may be viewed in the Oxford Museum. Finds, also, of mammoth tusks and teeth are quite common along the uptilted strata, and generally are handed over to such a local museum as that of Taunton. Given the scriptural idea of the evil qualities and loathsomeness of the serpent, and the local inference seems clear. Here, indeed, the very shape and form of old-world monsters stood revealed. It might fly like a pterodactyl, or simply crawl like a "worm." The wooden carvings that have been handed down preserve more than one type of reptile.

Not only on the North Somerset coast, where the fringe of these Celtic saints is certainly remarkable, but elsewhere in Celtica the same kind of story of recluses prevails. In the days of S. David, bishop of Menevia, a certain anchorite made his home on the Isle of Ramsey. He was always employed either in prayer to God or in preaching to others, "many being drawn to him by the sweet odour of sanctity to learn of him the ways of truth and life." Amongst these being a certain Honorius, son of Trefriauc, a British prince, who received S. Justinian upon his first coming to Bardsey. The saint was at length slain in his hermitage by the sons of Belial, and being honoured by the British church as a martyr, his body was translated from the island to the

opposite shore, where a church arose dedicated to him. The Welsh name of Ramsey was Ynys-yr-Hyrdod, an island two miles in length and one in breadth.

The English kings for a considerable period worshipped at the shrines of these Celtic saints. William the Conqueror went on a pilgrimage to Menevia in 1097; Henry II, during his Irish expedition, did honour to the place; and, in 1230,¹ Henry III went to worship at the shrines of the Breton saints in Armorica, embarking at S. Pol de Leon on October 20th of that year. To this day Celtic celebrations are held at Brest and elsewhere in which French, Welsh and Cornish representatives all take a share (1908). On the other hand "l'Eisteddfod Nationale de Llangollen" has been recently an object of interest to Bretons, showing the strength of old traditions and the common ground of Celtic sympathy.

Professor Freeman, in his history of S. David's, alludes (p. 40) to the Pfos-y-myneich or the Monks' Dyke, and quotes a tradition to the effect that it was formerly named Ffordd Brenin William, *i.e.* the way of King William, but wherefore the bearers of this tradition could not say. But may it not be in commemoration of the famous visit of William the Conqueror? There was also the Meidv-y-Saints, *i.e.* the Saints' Lane, close by, from a tradition that the clergy of Llanbadarn-Fawr in Cardiganshire came anciently at stated intervals with offerings to the church of S. David, and that the canons and clerks of the latter church met them in procession at a place called Port Halog, and conducted them along the *Via Sacra*.

Of a somewhat different kind are the dedications to those saints and martyrs during the Dioclesian persecutions, which broke out A.D. 303. Such are those of Julius and Aaron in the churches or chapels of ancient

1. "Dawn of the Constitution," by Sir J. H. Ramsey.

Caerleon. In King John's reign (A.D. 1201) the church "SS. Julii et Aaron atque Albani" (the latter the protomartyr), at Caerleon, was given to the abbey of Bec by the Norman de Candos. Juletta and S. Cyrique or Cyricus were also Dioclesian martyrs, and in Glamorgan the dedication of Llanulid is Ilid and Churig. Elsewhere in Wales Porth Curig recalls the one and Llanulid Chapel under Defynog recalls the other.¹ "Curig" was also an alternative name to Williton, close to S. Decumans.

A S. Donatus—not the heresiarch of that name—who appears also to belong to this period—has left his name to Doniford, *i.e.* S. Donat's Ford, and also to the famous manor and place of that name on the shores of Monmouth. S. Pancratius is said to have suffered at Rome in the Dioclesian persecution. There is a "Pancras" hamlet² in Old Cleeve parish, close to Carhampton, which appears in the 1841 census; and the dedication of Bagborough, a Quantock parish, not far off, is to S. Pancras.

In distant Tintagel Castle there was an old chapel of S. Juliet, which looks like S. Julietta. For this chapel, in 11 Richard II,³ John Slegh, the king's butler, and keeper of the king's castle at Tintagel, pays money on account of vestments, *viz.*: a chesuble, albe, scarves, maniples. This dedication may prove the extreme antiquity of the castle itself.

It is at Glastonbury, however, that all the chief saints of Celtica, whether from Wales or Ireland, look for their apotheosis. Ynys Enlli might be a great abiding place, so might Iona, but the Ynys Witrin was the greatest of all. It was the spiritual mother of all. Here we look for notices of S. Patrick, S. Bridget, S.

1. Som. Arch. Soc. *Proceedings*, vol. ix, "Taunton Priory"; also Birch's "Cartularium Saxonicum, A.D. 904."

2. Som. Record Soc., vol. I.

3. Issue Rolls, 1388.

86 Chapters on Glastonbury Abbey.

Indractus, S. David, and others, and here, indeed, we find them.

S. Patricius or S. Patrick, the patron saint of Ireland (March 17), bishop and apostle, is said to have come to Glastonbury, and there to have ended his days as abbot, dying towards the end of the fifth century, c. A.D. 472. In an ancient catalogue of the saints of Ireland, published in Ussher's "Antiquities," no fewer than 350 are given, and these were chiefly those who assisted S. Patrick in his conversion of Ireland. After his death, another class was commemorated, chiefly confined to the sixth century, and a third class later on down to A.D. 664. These last were chiefly hermits, living in lonely places. Many of these Irish saints owed their instruction, it is said, to S. David of Menevia and other British priests, attesting to the interchange that went on between the primitive churches in this part of Celtica. S. Patrick was also said to have been under the tuition of his uncle, S. Martin of Tours, who ordained him deacon,¹ Germanus of Auxerre making him priest. There is also a story that S. Patrick visited Rome, and was made bishop by Pope Celestinus, but here we feel in rather an uncertain atmosphere. It was, no doubt, a good policy on the part of the monkish chroniclers to say that these British saints and prelates—like S. Boniface—took their orders from Rome, but what did Rome know or care about Hibernia in those distant days? The Roman legionaries had not conquered Ireland as they had Britain, and the popes like Gregory the Great knew little about Britain. However, the life of S. Patrick² is full of uncertainties, even his parentage and place of birth, and ordination being a matter of dispute. It seems certain that he came to Glastonbury, and that, like S. Carantacus and S. Keyna, he had the reputed

1. "Chronicles of the Ancient British Church," by James Yeowell, p. 91.

2. Spelman's "Concilia."

power of destroying snakes. Into his life and work we must read the same symbolism.

The name of S. Martin of Tours used in connection with S. Patrick points to a connection with the Gallican church, which is illustrated in many other ways and by many pieces of collateral evidence. Sulpicius Severus,¹ the ecclesiastical writer of the fourth century and himself a Gaul and a devout follower of S. Martin of Tours, whose life and miracles he has written upon somewhat fully, writes of "our Churches" (*nostræ ecclesiæ*) i.e. those of the Aquitani, Galli and Britanni. The link is implied and indeed expressed. S. Martin himself was commemorated in S. Martin's Church, existing before the coming of S. Augustine, and also at Glastonbury in Martinseie or the Island of S. Martin.

William of Malmesbury describes how S. Patrick's body at Glastonbury lay on the right side of the altar in the old church, and that the care of posterity had enshrined his body in silver. Hence the Irish had an ancient custom of frequenting the place to kiss the relics of their patron.

With regard to S. Bridget the same writer adds that she came over to Glastonbury, but whether she returned or not is not certain. Nor was it sufficiently ascertained when she died, but she left at Glastonbury some of her ornaments, *e.g.* her necklace, scrip and implements for embroidery, "which are yet shown in memory of her sanctity and are efficacious in curing divers diseases (c. A.D. 1200)." It is certain that in North Somerset there are two church dedications to S. Bridget, viz., at Brean and Chelvey. Up the river Parret at Cannington, not far from the old port of Comwich, there is a field called "S. Brides" to this day. In Bridgwater there was a Church to S. Brigida,² the actual site of

1. "Sacrae Historiæ," Bk. ii, ch. lvii.

2. "Hist. MSS. Commission, Bridgwater," p. 312.

which is now lost. There was a Bridewell Lane¹ in Banwell, near Congresbury, and at Glastonbury the "Manor of Bride," and a chapel in honour of S. Bridget in the Isle of Bekaria.

The story of Indractus and his sister and companions is an interesting one, as it brings together by an early notice Irish, British and Saxon history in the days of King Ina. S. Indractus² was son of a king of Hibernia, and in company with his sister, Drusa or S. Dominica, went to Rome on a pilgrimage and returned thence to Britain, landing at a port called Tamerunta, which may be on the Tamar in South Devon. Arriving at Glastonbury, he desired to go and pray at S. Patrick's tomb. At that time King Ina, king of the West Saxons, was living in a Vill called Pedret (Villa nomine Pedret), which may be the Domesday Peritone, or Puriton, or perhaps either North or South Petherton. His followers were living in little settlements round him (*in villulis per circuitum dispersi sunt*) alluding no doubt to the first Saxon settlements on the Poldens. Amongst these was a certain Hona, a son of Satan, who, tempted by the wealth he thought Indractus had with him, murdered him and his sister S. Dominica, and his followers, throwing them down a well. They were described as sleeping at Shapwick, on the Glastonbury moors. But the murder was revealed to King Ina in a miraculous way. Going out at night and looking over the moors he saw a column of fire reaching up from the earth to the heavens. Following this, with his retainers, he was guided to the well, where the dead bodies of Indractus and his companions were found. Indractus was taken up and given sepulture on the left horn of the altar and opposite the grave of S. Patrick. The date given was 678, but a note adds that it was when Ina was living

1. "Collinson," ii, 259, 265.

2. Colgan's Works, Fourth Vol. of "Hist. MSS. Commission," pp. 610, 611.



DOWNEND AND THE RIVER PARRET.

(FROM FOLDEN RIDGE.)

and not reigning that this occurrence took place. In the "*Martyrologium Anglicanum*" S. Indractus's day is February 5th. The date of S. Patrick's death is somewhat uncertain.

The story of S. Benignus is also told, how he came from Ireland to Glastonia and met S. Patrick, who said: "Set out on your journey and when you come to the place the Lord shall show you plant your staff and see how it will grow." S. Benignus then went through woods and marshy places till he came to Ferramere and there founded the "*Monasterium Ferramerense*," making his cell there by divine appointment.

We can scarcely wonder, therefore, that part of Glastonbury XII Hides, viz., the Isle of Becaria—still living in Beccary Mills—was called *Parva Hibernia*. No less close were the associations between South Wales and Glastonbury. The trifling distance between the mouths of the Usk and Parret would bring Caerleon and the old "*Tumulus Sanctorum*" within the limits of a short pilgrimage. Indeed, for certain purposes of early British church history, Caerleon and Glastonbury must always go closely together. There was a deep meaning in that reported journey of S. David, the great Archbishop of Wales, to Glastonbury to hold a special dedication in company with his seven suffragan bishops. He seemed thereby not only to acknowledge the close connection of the Monastery with the Welsh church, but to acknowledge its sanctity and central influences. Glastonbury always looked seaward, not southward to Canterbury or Winchester.

Allusion may be here made to "S. David's Flood," by which the country folk still describe a high tide at Wyke S. Lawrence, near Congresbury. At Yatton, close by, is a Bishop's Well.¹ S. David has certainly left his name to a S. David's Well not far

1 See "*Land of Quantock*," by Rev. W. Greswell.

from Quantock Farm on the Quantocks, also to a S. David's Well at Elworthy Barrows on the Brendon Hills, and as a dedication-saint to Barton-David near Somerton. In Wales itself the S. David dedications are strictly local and are grouped together¹ where the personal influence of the archbishop must have been felt, *i.e.* chiefly in South Wales. The cathedral of S. David's lay in the territory of his maternal grandfather. Few or none appear in North Wales. To the class of S. David dedications belong all the foundations of churches erected by primitive christians from c. 500—550. At later times the Roman Catholics changed or added to the S. David dedications, and S. Kilpeck, instead of being S. David only, became S. David and S. Mary. After the 10th century, Mr. Rice Reese says: "that of all the religious foundations in Wales not one was dedicated to a Welshman." S. David was canonised at Rome 500 years after his death. The task of tracing dedications is useful to the historian, as it often proves the influences of Rome and of mariolatry. Sometimes an original dedication to SS. Peter and Paul will end in becoming a dedication to S. Peter alone, as in the case of the parish of Over Stowey, in Somerset. In Glastonbury we have seen how the dedication of S. Mary tended to obscure that of Joseph in the original church of primitive times.

1. "Welsh Saints," by Rice Reese, p. 56.

Glastonbury and the Celtic Church.



THE Celtic church stands for one of those creations of the past that attract and tantalise the student by its possibilities. To deny its existence is to deny the plain facts of history, to relegate its ambitions to the realm of unfulfilled projects is to do it an act of injustice. For centuries the Celtic church lived and moved and had its being. It was a Celtic fire of somewhat intermittent intensity, now and then smouldering like a block of Celtic peat and languishing in its life, but, anon, showing itself up in bursts of zeal and enthusiasm. The sailor saints and pilgrims were, perhaps, its best exponents, as they furnish the most attractive pages of its dim and distant past. In its first conception the Celtic church, with its bands of Twelve Apostles going forth into the boundaries of the Celtic world, was apostolical.

The very phrase Celtic church provokes a contrast. It was not, of course, "the Anglican church" to begin with, and when King Ina married Guala and absorbed the Celtic sovereignty as he thought by this act then, as the old annalist remarks, what was called Britannia was called Anglia. King Ina, great benefactor as he was to Glastonbury, represents the great change that came over the spirit and conception of the British church. King Ina, although, as a secular sovereign, he might have maintained his splendid position as an heir

to the traditions of the British kings on the one hand and as head of the old Celtic church on the other, abandoned everything when he put on the Monkish habit and died at Rome a Benedictine monk. Still, by this act of abdication and renunciation even King Ina could not obliterate an old ideal and nullify the course of our ancient church history.

Constantine, when he transferred his rule from the West to the East left the field clear at Rome for the ambitious Popes and college of cardinals, who were assisted in due course of time by such an order as that of the Benedictine monks. The work of these monks, who, it must be remembered, were the chief historians of the age, was to assimilate and appropriate whatever foundations of Christianity already existed and, by their *post factum* annexations, to strengthen their own station and prerogative. If history is silent about the early movements of the Christian British church it is because the monks were silent. When the monkish annalist was not silent he occasionally showed himself a past master of distortion and invention as many a forged charter proves.

S. Augustine had heard of Glastonbury, and in an epistle to Gregory is supposed to have made an allusion to it thus :

“In the west part of Britain¹ there is a certain Royal Island called of old Glascon, large in circuit, compassed about with lakes and waters, plentifully abounding in fish and furnished with most things required for man's use, and (which is the special thing) dedicated to holy uses. Here the first disciples of the Catholic Law found an ancient church, not built, as was reported, by men's hands, but prepared by God Himself for the benefit of men, and which by miracles was showed to be consecrated to Himself and the blessed Virgin. To which they (*i.e.* the first disciples of the Catholic Law)

1. “Godwin de Præsentibus,” p. 10 and “Stillingfleet's Antiquities,” vol. 4, 12, 13.

adjoined another oratory made of stone, which they dedicated to Christ and S. Peter."

Who were the "first disciples of the Catholic Law" (*primi catholicæ legis neophytæ*)? Could this have been an allusion to the well-known story of the visit of S. David to Glastonbury when, in company with his seven suffragan bishops, he desired to dedicate afresh the "old church" there, but was warned, (see Chapter II), by the Lord Himself not to do so as it was His work and dedicated to the Virgin Mary? Or could it have been an allusion to S. Patrick and the Irish pilgrims of the Island of Beccaria, as S. Patrick himself had been already taken over as an asset by Rome and ordained by Pope Celestinus, if we can credit the story? The fact is the monkish chroniclers were at a loss what to say. They could not well disparage Glastonbury, as her work was too well known, her influence too widely spread. They could simply say that here, somehow, (for their stories differed), was a temple not made with human hands, and that the "old church" which stood there was dedicated by Christ Himself to the Virgin Mary. This would be in accordance with their accepted Mariolatry. (*See, also, King Ina's Charter, Chap. II.*)

Again, why did not Pope Gregory and S. Augustine know something more definite about Glastonbury? The Roman annalists and apologists pretended to have the original history complete, chapter and verse. Bishop Godwin de Præsulibus (A.D. 1600) writes thus: "If we will believe an ancient manuscript of the Vatican Library at Rome, mentioned by Baronius, Joseph of Arimathea was not only driven out of Jerusalem at the time of the general dispersion of the disciples after the death of Stephen, but was carried to the seaside and there put into a ship or boat without either stern (rudder?) or tackle, together with Lazarus, Mary Magdalen, Martha and others, and so turned loose into the sea where they were protected by the powerful goodness

of God from the danger of drowning and brought safe unto Marseilles in France, whence, saith the author, Joseph sailed into Britain and there ended his life." If true, Pope Gregory should have known this story and not have asked those well-known questions about Britain and the Angli in the market at Rome.

In Elizabethan times Father Parsons, the notable Jesuit and the great Roman apologist of those days, endeavoured to show in his "Three Conversions" of Britain that this country was first converted in apostolic times, and that S. Peter himself first preached in Britain! This was a tribute to the missionary zeal of S. Peter, but we do not know that it was ever supported by facts. Moreover, it conflicts with the statement of the Roman Bishop Treculphus, who said that Philip the evangelist (or the apostle) preached in Gaul and having much to do with the Druids there¹ who passed between Gaul and Britain, sent twelve missionaries, whereof Joseph of Arimathea was one who came to Glastonbury (A.D. 63).

The *second* conversion took place A.D. 170, when a certain British king called Lucius was supposed to have sent to Pope Eleutherius to ask for missionaries, and amongst these were S.S. Faganus and Diruvianus who built the church on Glastonbury Tor where, apart from the Abbey itself, a community arose. The *third* conversion, of course, took place under Pope Gregory the Great, who certainly displayed a wonderful ignorance of previous attempts at evangelization, even although made (as pretended) under the auspices of the Holy See. Father Parsons together with Campion busied themselves about a possible *fourth* conversion of Elizabethan England. With what results history has recorded.

The fact is that the Roman Pontiffs in all their world-wide experience had never encountered such a develop-

1. "Godwin de Præsulibus."

ment as that of the spontaneous growth of a Christian church in "Celtica" amongst a sea-faring people. To use a modern instance, it was as if the spectacle of a full-blown "Melanesian" diocese were suddenly paraded to their view. They could understand continental developments and "city Bishoprics," as they might have seen in North Africa, but what of these insular outposts? Of course they had to be brought into line somehow, with a strong arm if gentler measures failed, and so the keeping of Easter at the right time and the form of the tonsure were both made Test questions. It was the way, especially in which the British bishops were approached that angered them. It might be well to discuss uniformity in essential matters, but the discussion should take lines along which high-born British "sacerdotes" could go with respect to their ancient work and offices.

Nicholas Trivet, a distinguished Dominican (1330) who studied at Paris and wrote a history of England, has this remarkable passage—quoted by Spelman in his "Concilia" (p. 111): "When therefore S. Augustine had come to England he found in Wales an Archbishop and a most noble Abbey in the district (civitas) of Bangor divided into seven parts in each of which 300 monks were living by their own labour. Their Abbot was called Dynochus (Dinoth) a wise cleric and well instructed in the seven liberal arts. Augustine coming to him demanded that he should show submission to him as a Legate sent by the Pope and the Roman Curia into this land, also he asked that he should assist him by preaching (prædicando)—but Dynochus refused both things."

Trivet is certainly a convincing and honest historian as may be gathered at any rate from his "Annales" of the days of the Edwards, and when we know that from his own statements he was able to consult Continental as well as English sources, his words should carry weight.

But what was the position and status of Glastonbury in this church of "Celtica"? It was certainly not that conveyed by the word metropolis, or a bishop's "settle," as the Saxon phrase went. It was something even wider and greater. It was the place whither S. Patrick and the Irish pilgrims bent their steps; it was the place whither S. David, the Archbishop of Menevia, himself was constrained to come, not as a "diocesan" in any shape or form, but simply as a pilgrim doing homage to a shrine. It was the retreat of Gildas, harassed by the pirates of the Severn Sea; it was the refuge of all those who were harassed by even greater evils, and desired the peaceful surroundings of a holy place. Later on, when another régime prevailed at Glastonbury, and the Benedictines set up their rule, the place of pilgrimage in the Celtic church shifted to Menevia, or even the shrines of the Breton saints.

The greater and perhaps the most important question is whether this Celtic church, such as we can only dimly sketch it after the lapse of centuries, ever could have lived on and left its mark as an organisation. History is an attractive study, and sometimes the hypotheses of history are even more fascinating than the realities. For a moment it may be well to think of the Celtic church (1) as a missionary church, contrasting it with the Roman ideal; (2) as a church with its own canons, constitutions, synods, services, and general discipline—such a contrast must be necessarily brief as the field is wide; (3) as a church with a distinct body of sound doctrine.

It is easy to see how Celtic apostolic methods, founded upon Scripture¹ to the letter, differed from the Roman methods of founding a church or evangelising a people. There was no particular theory, "de propaganda fide"; no bishop, "in partibus infidelium," to begin with; only a simple fraternity. The world was certainly before

1. Matt. x and xxviii.

them, but it was not mapped out in dioceses *beforehand*, nor was it defined by longitude or latitude. Nor was a Celtic mission in the least like a Jesuit mission, graded beneath a distant general of a militant order. Their marching orders were simplicity itself. To show the vast difference which time and doctrine brought into the Roman church, Cardinal Lavigerie¹ had to acknowledge the doctrine of the Infallibility of the Pope before he began his great missionary enterprises in savage Africa. It was against his will and his liking, for, like S. Martin of Gaul, he thought that the less missionaries had to do with canons and councils the better. Canon law has more often than not hindered the beginning and progress of a church, and ruined missionary enterprises in Africa itself.

The Celtic church seemed to combine mission work with its monastic system, and especially the gift of preaching. Perhaps S. Augustine must be credited with sagacity in asking Dinoth to assist him, "*prædicando*," the especial weapon of the pre-existing Celtic church. It was a very strong weapon with S. Carantacus, S. Dubricius, and S. David, and all the Celtic sailor saints. The Roman system was of too cloistered a nature, and the Benedictine rule itself made too great a demand, as we feel sure, upon the time and services of the monks who lived under it. This weakness in the Roman system was discovered in course of time, and so the Dominicans and Franciscans, and lastly the Jesuit order, arose to fill up a gap. The Benedictines mumbled their stereotype services, but the preaching friars travelled through the world. The Jesuit emissaries were laymen or clerics, as fitted their rôle, but they laboured outside the monasteries. The Benedictines never worked well with bishops.

The discipline of the Celtic monks resembled that of

1. "Life of Cardinal Lavigerie," by R. F. Clarke, S J., 1889.

S. Anthony and the Egyptian fraternities. There were rules, but no "Rule" like that of S. Benedict; no partition of the day into "seven canonical hours." Caradoc of Llancarvan, in his "Life of Gildas," says that he fasted like the eremite S. Anthony; that he prayed in a hair shirt, and whatever was given him he handed over to the poor; he abjured meat and preferred herbs; even his bread was mixed with ashes, and he drank only water; and he abstained even from milk and honey. The signs of mortification were visible in his face, and he allowed himself but little sleep. Gildas, however, was not an eremite or a Simeon Stylites in any sense, as he had with him, even during his sojourn on the Steep Holm, a "familia," *i.e.* monkish attendants. He was a great "prædicator," or preacher, and every Sunday used to preach, "apud maritimam ecclesiam," by the seaside in the Pædian region of Wales, to an enormous multitude of people, as a bishop nowadays might preach at such a place as Blackpool. Kings feared him as a man indeed who ought to be feared ("timebant timendum").

A similar character to Gildas in the early Gallican church was S. Martin (*c.* 400) the disciple of S. Hilary, who, retiring from the immediate precincts of the "majus monasterium," *i.e.* Marmoutier, built for himself, as Gildas did near Glastonbury, a cell and chapel of wood, two miles distant from Marmoutier, on the banks of the Loire,¹ close to the rocks of the sloping hills. There he gathered a few devotees around him who had all things in common, not buying or selling, but working with their hands, and clad in rough garments. Many of these devotees were nobly born, and this was often the case with the preachers of the British and Welsh churches, such as S. David himself, and the family of Braghanus, Prince of Brecknock. Those of most exalted station led the way as Christian recluses and Christian preachers

1. "Sulpicius Severus Vita S. Martini."

not organised under an iron "rule" but rather as voluntary agents.

Elsewhere we learn that the Celtic monks divided their time in a very simple fashion, combining manual labour and devotion in a reasonable way.¹ They rose at cock-crow in the morning, and going into their church or chapel remained there occupied in prayer until daylight dawned. The day itself was passed in labour, with intervals for necessary food and refreshment, until the evening, when, at the sound of a bell they went into their church or chapel again, and remained "until the stars appeared." They then partook of a frugal meal in the refectory and retired to rest.

In the rule of S. Columba the day was apportioned to (1) prayer, (2) work, (3) reading. (*See Skene, vol ii, p. 508*). The rule and the traditions of the Celtic church were kept up in Iona. These were replaced by the Benedictine usages. Bishop Dowden has written that with S. Margaret the queen of Scotland, brought up as a devoted adherent of the Roman church, one great chapter of Scottish history closed and another began. The peculiar character of Celtic Christianity came to an end leaving few traces behind it.

Giraldus Cambrensis, describing how the Church of God in Wales flourished in the time of S. David, says that in many places monasteries were founded and congregations of faithful christians were gathered together.² To all these David was a mirror and an example. He was instruction to those who heard him, a guide to the religious, life to the needy, protection to the orphan, the stay of the widows, a father to the young, to monks a rule, and to seculars a pattern, and all things to all men, that God might be glorified.

In course of time some small Celtic "familie" developed into large monasteries, and, although, as at

1. "Semita sanctorum."

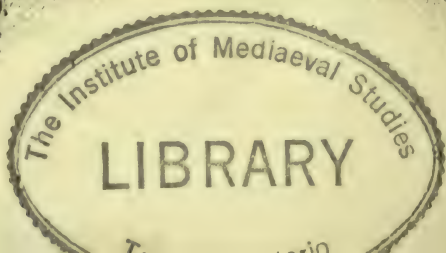
2. "Vita S. David."

Bangor, we hear of an almost incredible number of monks, or "sacerdotes," still they must have been very numerous. The "Three Choirs" of Britain, of which Glastonbury was one, were fully and numerously attended, if we may believe what is handed down about them. The germ of Celtic Christianity quickly grew and flourished with an automatic life, whether at Glastonbury, Llan Ilut Mawr, Amesbury, or Tours. But were the activities of this church entirely confined to monastic zeal and to such rounds of religious service as the Welsh Triads, which a somewhat too mathematical description of the "Three Choirs," might lead us to suppose? Was there any framework of church government or of episcopal organisation?

As an episcopal organisation it may be objected that the Celtic church was weak. Very often in Wales and Cornwall the bishoprics seemed to follow the lines of tribes and clans and small principalities. This may be true, but the same objection may be raised against the early Saxon bishoprics. Still, whether weak or not over the particular area that episcopal rule was exercised, the bishop was sufficiently master in his own province. The best account of the early Welsh church is found in the "*Liber Landavensis*." There we shall find that the episcopal see of Llandaff was clearly marked out and defined at a very early date. Bishops were elected at a synod owing no allegiance to Rome; the Welsh church had its own suffragans; it had its own pallium; it had its own laws and its own ecclesiastical discipline. But the church neither needed nor did it acknowledge a papal legate.

Bishop Godwin mentions the fact that there was a very ancient book¹ belonging to the church of Llandaff, commonly called S. Telian's book, which furnished him (A.D. 1600) with his account of the bishops of Llandaff.

1. "*De Præsulibus*."



In it he found that S. Telian (alias Eliud) made a journey to Jerusalem in company with S. David, and was there consecrated bishop of Llandaff. Whatever we may think of this account it may be noted that Jerusalem was certainly a more appropriate place to receive consecration than at Rome.

In the synod of Llandaff¹ (A.D. 560) held by Oudoceus, the third bishop of Llandaff, Mouric, the king of Glamorgan, was summoned to answer for a murder, and was excommunicated. After remaining under the ban of the church for two years the king repented in sackcloth and ashes. The powers thus exercised by the synod of Llandaff were essentially different from those exercised by Pope Innocent III, who sent Pandolph, his legate, to excommunicate King John. In the case of the Llandaff diocese it was a synodal punishment executed for a gross outrage against the moral law, and the curse was not œcumenical. There was no idea of sinning against the chair of S. Peter and disobeying the occupant thereof. A congregational or synodal penance is different from the penance exacted by the "vicegerent of God upon earth."

In another synod² a certain Guidnert, who had killed his brother, was arraigned and also excommunicated by S. Oudoceus. The crosses were laid and the bells silenced in all the country, "from the mouth of the Guy to the mouth of the Tavy," for three years. At last Guidnert sued for pardon, and it was granted by S. Oudoceus, who sent him on a journey or pilgrimage to the archbishop of Dôl, in Cornu-Gallia, *i.e.* Cornouille, because of the very ancient friendship which the sacred fathers of the Celtic church had with one another, viz. : S. Teilaus with S. Samson, the first archbishop of the "Dolensis Civitas." Also, for another reason—because the penitent Prince Guidnert, and the Britons, and the

1. Spelman's "Concilia."

2. Spelman's "Concilia," and "Liber Landavensis."

archbishop of that land were of one tongue and one nation ("unius linguæ et unius nationis") although separated by the sea. So Guidnert was better able to seek pardon in Brittany because he could speak and understand the language and converse with the archbishop.

Spelman, in his "Concilia," quotes the doings of a "Concilium Cambricum" in A.D. 465; also a "Synodus Britannica" in A.D. 512; also a "Synodus Panbritannica" in A.D. 519. This last synod was held under the presidency of David, archbishop, and was chiefly summoned to deal with the well-known Pelagian heresy. He also quotes the proceedings of several synods in the reign of King Alfred (870-901). Thus, for a period of 400 years, synodal and diocesan proceedings were held and registered in the Welsh dioceses.

In Bishop Samson's day the seven Welsh suffragan bishops were, according to one account, those of Exeter, Bath, Hereford, Llandaff, Bangor, S. Asaph, and Furnes, in Ireland. According to another account, Llandaff, Lanpatern in Cardigan, Bangor, S. Asaph, Hereford, and Chichester. Another list enumerates the *Episcopus Llandavensis*, *Morganensis*, *Banchorensis*, *Paternensis*; and amongst the *Wiccii*, the bishops of Bath, Hereford, Chester, and Worcester, together with the bishop of Furnes, in Ireland.

On the question of christian doctrine the Welsh church, through the archbishop of Caerleon, was represented in the general church council of Arles (A.D. 314), and also of Ariminum (A.D. 359). The first civil wars that divided christians were those that raged around Donatism and Arianism.¹ Donatus was a Numidian bishop of North Africa, and his sect arrogated to themselves especial privileges and an especial position in the christian church. This question divided North Africa for 300 years, till Mohammedanism came and destroyed

1. "History of Latin Christianity," Milman, vol. ii, 300-311.

the christian church. The Donatists considered themselves as the "elect of God," and the only legal holders of church government and of church discipline. The Emperor Constantine himself delegated the dispute about "Donatism" to the bishops of Gaul and Italy, the three Gallic bishops being those of Cologne, of Autun, and of Arles. The Catholic party of that period was in favour of one harmonious christian confederacy, no single branch of the church being greater than another. But this idea, based upon a comprehensive spirit, and approved of by the Emperor Constantine, did not commend itself to the fiery zealots of African Donatism. Nor, as time went on, did it commend itself to the Roman bishops sitting in the chair of S. Peter, who insensibly fell into the position of Donatism which they had condemned.

The Pelagian heresy, which had its origin with Pelagius, a Welshman, whose name means one "born near the sea" (pelagus), spread throughout Western Christendom, and was a disturbing factor everywhere. Although it originated within what may be termed the Celtic church, the heresy was promptly met and answered by the leaders and spokesmen of the Celtic church. Pelagianism was a difficult and abstruse heresy to combat, dealing with the origin of evil and man's free will. Dubricius himself was a great "malleus hereticorum," and when we read that Aurelius Ambrosianus sent over from Caerleon to implore the assistance of both Germanus and Lupus, two Gallic bishops, to fight the evil, we have proof again of the solidarity of the Celtic church on points of doctrine. Caerleon, Dôl, and Tours, were all agreed, and took counsel together for the sake of orthodoxy.

In the doctrines of the early Celtic church we search in vain for any signs of the doctrines of "Transubstantiation" or of Mariolatry. Their dedications of churches, generally in honour of some great christian

preacher, seem to remind us of this. Their theology was that of the fourth or sixth century, their religion simple. We have a picture of a primitive church unsullied by any subservience to "False Decretals" by which weapon Pope Nicolas (d. 867) prostrated the independence of the Teutonic church under Hincmar, Archbishop of Rheims. A learned Anglican Welshman of recent times, Dr. David Powel, summed the whole position up when he wrote, "Gregory the First Pope of Rome, anno 596, sent the monk Augustine to the Angli, who obtruded upon them the old Roman Religion crowded with mandates and traditions of men. For the Britons had received the more pure doctrine of Christ long before Amongst them prevailed the preaching of Truth and the pure worship of God such as had been handed down to the Churches and the Christians by the Apostles themselves."

It would be unreasonable to look for an advanced style of architecture or of church building in the early Celtic church. Their places of worship were simple like the old church of Perranzabuloe in Cornwall. Their cells also were primitive, built without mortar, like Macdara's cell off the coast of Galway and others. A Celtic church placed even on a plan alongside the noble creations of Norman and Gothic work must provoke a smile. But the Saxon churches themselves were, as far as we know, no great improvement upon them. In the sixth century and onwards Bishop Ussher¹ reminds us that the Celtic christians were a persecuted sect, and had to retire to remote corners in Wales and Cornwall. Art cannot flourish under persecution. Nevertheless, Celtic work, whether on old Celtic crosses or on ornaments, shows a great beauty and finish of its own. Celtic work in wood-carving was probably very elaborate. The Celtic sculptor might, under instruction have developed a noble decorated style of his own.

1. "Ecclesiastical Antiquities."

One great bond was that of language. How could the common people understand a Benedictine monk imported from abroad? How could this monk preach to them? Far different was the system of the old Celtic church with types of preachers addressing the people in the vernacular. The *lingua franca* of old maritime Celtica lasted long, as has been already hinted, and we have the authority of learned Welshmen that up to A.D. 1800 the remnants of the old race living in Cambria, Cornubia, and Armorica could still understand one another. (See Chapter III).

Whether at Arles or Dôl there was a community of interest, an identity of Doctrine and a similar heritage of christian traditions between the leaders of the British and of the Gallican church. The independence of the latter church on the question of Roman supremacy was best shown in that notable dispute between S. Hilary and Pope Leo (A.D. 445), described by Dean Milman in his "History of Latin Christianity."¹ S. Hilary, as the champion of the Gallican church and of the Gallican usages "inflexibly resisted all the authority of the Pope and of S. Peter, and confronted the Pope with his own metropolitan powers." It was a case of Donatism again, only Donatism lurked at Rome itself. S. Hilary stood forward as the champion of Confederacy versus Absolutism.

S. Martin, the Gallican Saint, whose name lived, as we have seen, at "Martinseie" at Glastonbury, and lives even yet in "Martin's-street" in the old Glastonbury village of Baltonsbury—the saint who followed faithfully in the footsteps of S. Hilary—is yet another link between the ancient British and Gallican churches. At Glastonbury Abbey itself "Martinmas" was one of the chief days on which payments were made to the Abbey.

Bishop Lloyd, a recent Bishop of Worcester, in his "Historical Account of Church Government" (Oxford

1. Vol. I, p. 247.

1842), has said, "From this plantation of S. Martin's in France, monks came over to Britain," and "among the South Picts there was a monastery of S. Martin at Whitherne, founded by S. Ninian, and S. Ninian saw S. Martin and lived with him." S. Patrick of course, was the nephew of S. Martin, who died A.D. 401.

Bishop Lloyd also reminds us that among the sundry offices in the monastery of Hy, there was a prayer in commemoration of S. Martin. The legend of the "Seven Sleepers" was preserved at Marmoutier, where there is a chapel of the "Seven Sleepers." The tradition still lives in Somerset, and is kept up by the popular name given to dormice by the rustic folk, *i.e.*, Seven Sleepers. The influence of the Gallic Marmoutier on Glastonbury, and the old British church was great in other ways. S. Martin's Liturgy and the "*Gallorum Cursus*," were well known at Glastonbury.

The relics of Glastonbury, superstitious as they were, may still give us a clue to the original saints of the British and indicate the actual influence and connections of the old abbey itself. In addition to those extraordinary and fictitious remains—such as portions of manna, part of the stone on which Jacob dreamed, Aaron's rod—there are other relics of a deeply historic character and calculated to attract many pilgrims. As if to prove the unity of the Celtic church in divers regions we shall find memorials of holy men of Ireland, Cornwall, South Wales, Strathelyde, Armorica, and Gaul. There are memorials also showing an eastern source and sympathy and communication with the Eastern church. As to Ireland there were "*duo ossa de Sancto Patricio*," "*una costa de Sancta Brigida*," and "*duo ossa de Sancto Benigno*." On November 9th, S. Benignus was commemorated, who, as we have seen, lived at Ferramere, where according to some accounts he was buried, his remains being afterwards translated to the Abbey of Glastonbury in A.D. 1091, where innumerable miracles were wrought at his tomb.

Amongst the good works wrought by John of Taunton, Abbot from 1274-1290, there was the repair of the chapel of Beccary and also of the Capella de Godenye, thus keeping alive the memory of S. Bridget.¹ When the prior of Kilcumin came to his lodgings at the great abbey he must have felt at home amongst Irish traditions even after the Norman Conquest. Quite recently the old chapel at Beccary has been explored, and the foundations of apparently two chapels discovered.

The relics of S. Columkille have a peculiar meaning at Glastonbury Abbey. Born in Ireland of the noble race of Neil in A.D. 521 S. Columkille was brought up in the school of S. Finian in company with many Irish saints. His history is well known: how he preached to the northern Picts, whom he converted together with their powerful king Bridius; also, how he received from him the Isle of Hy and established there his congregation of saints. He died, aged 77, in A.D. 597, just at the time of the mission of S. Augustine. The spiritual descendant of S. Columkille was S. Cuthbert (Nov. 17) whose relics also were preserved at Glastonbury. He was the favourite saint of King Alfred, and his church at Wells commemorates him. Some relics of the northern saints were brought to Glastonbury as a safe place during the terrible Danish inroads.

From South Wales there were "*duo dentes de S. Iltuit*" (Nov. 6) esteemed "*inter Walenses famosissimus*." To show the spiritual unity of the Celtic church it must be remembered that S. Iltuit was remembered at Dôl, also, that at Bangor 100 monks of S. Iltuit chanted the Psalms night and day. There was "*os unum de S. Cadoco*" one of the greatest saints and teachers in South Wales. Many of these Celtic saints were called confessor, in the sense of "confessing" or "professing" the truth of Christianity, not as "confes-

1. See "*Adam of Domerham*," vol. ii, p. 573.

sors" in the modern sense. S. Cadoc was the saint who, it will be remembered, lived as a hermit on the Flat Holm when S. Gildas lived on the Steep Holm. The memory of S. Gildas, called Sapiens and also called a "nobilis historiographus" in Adam of Domerham, was most carefully preserved at Glastonbury as we should expect. His relics were enumerated in the old list and, in the Library of Glastonbury, his book "*De Excidio Britanniae*" lay open for all to read. There were relics also of S. Budoc, Confessor, Patron of the Priory of Pille in Pembrokeshire.

From Cornwall there was a portion "*de corona S. Cunoglassi Episcopi Cornubiæ*," pointing to a very ancient Cornish episcopate. There were also relics of S. Petroc, whose tomb and shrine, in Leland's time, were in the eastern part of the church at Padstow. At Bodmin there was another S. Petroc,¹ Bishop of Cornwall in the ninth century, whose body reposed in a church dedicated to God in his name at Bodmin, the ancient name of which was Bosmara, *i.e.* the abode of monks. If the relics of S. Medardo at Glastonbury were those of S. Madern or S. Maddern, Confessor, here is an interesting Cornish link. Not far from the Land's End there was a chapel and a well named after S. Madern which, up to recent date, used to be visited on Thursdays in May and more especially on Corpus Christi Day. Here, in 1640, was wrought a wondrous cure on John Trelille, a cripple for 16 years, so it was said, who washed in S. Madern's well and lay on a stone called S. Madern's bed. The Glastonbury relics of S. Rumonus are those of a Bishop of Tavistock (Oct. 23), brother of S. Tidewallus, and recall a chapter in ancient Cornish church history. There used to be a S. Martin's Nunnery in Cornwall, and an ancient church of Constantyn, of more than ordinary note in Domesday: also

1. See "*Memorials of British Piety.*"

a chapel of Neotstoke, all pointing to ancient foundations. Glastonbury Abbey once held the *Insula S. Michaelis de Lamman* (*see* ch. ii) and land in Portlo and near Lanstaventone, in the neighbourhood of Lamorran.¹ In the young women's window at S. Neots is represented Brychan, king of Brecknock, with his offspring, 24 in number, all of whom were confessors or preachers in Devon and Cornwall, of whom S. Nectanus was one known at Hartland. S. Morwenna was another of whom the abbey had relics. She was buried at Morwenston. "In villâ quæ Modwenstowe dicitur S. Mudwenna quiescit" (Leland).

The connection of Glastonbury with Gaul and "Little Britain" was symbolised not only by S. Martin's Island and S. Martin's Church, but also by the relics of S. Martin, "*porciones tres*" (A.D. 316-401), and also by the relics of his great master, S. Hilary of Tours. There were the relics also of S. Winwaloc, abbot of Tauracum, in "Little Britain"; also those of S. Samson, archbishop of Dôl, and really a link between S. David's and Dôl—at both of which places S. Iltuit had been equally well known. In the Glastonbury list of relics it is said that the archbishop of Treves had given a large number to the old abbey. Together with these may be mentioned "*pars de brachio de Germano*," of Auxerre; also the "*magnum os et quasi tota testa capitis S. Sadwoci abbatis narbonensis ecclesiæ, item de vestimentis*." There were relics also of Abbot Grimbald, archbishop of Mentz, called in by King Alfred for the reformation of his kingdom, who died in A.D. 904; also of S. Agatha, virgin and abbess, who was called over from Britain to Germany, from Wimborne in Dorset, by S. Boniface, archbishop of Mentz. There was no relic of S. Boniface at Glastonbury, apparently, although the abbey seemed to have possessed a church called S. Winfrod.

1. "Adam of Domerham," ii, 599.

Had Glastonbury any great knowledge of or sympathy with the eastern church? There were several relics of S. Bassillei, amongst them the "*medietas tibiæ*," rather a curious possession. S. Basil the Great of Cæsarea (A.D. 329-379) introduced into the western churches the antiphonal method of chanting the Psalms; he was the chief organiser of the monastic communities of eastern Christendom, his rule being based upon the rule of S. Anthony or of Macarius, and not upon the usages of Rome in any way. S. Basil is said to have inspired the genius of Hooker, and to have called forth the admiration of Gibbon. Mr. Prothero, in "*The Psalms and their Influence on Human Life*," writes thus:

"Now in the spirit of Antony and the anchorites of the Egyptian desert the storm-beaten Islands of the Atlantic Ocean were tenanted by eager Solitaries living in their wattled chapels, stone oratories and wooden shrines in Ireland and Scotland, and Columbanus at Luxeuil, Donatus at Fiesole, S. Gall in Switzerland, were amongst the Celtic saints who made their influence felt."

This is a tribute to the all-pervading influence of the Celtic church, of which the monastery at Glastonbury was the "*ocellus*." There was a relic of S. Maurice at Glastonbury, who was presumably the Emperor Maurice who was martyred at Chalcedon in A.D. 601.¹ There were relics, *i.e.* "*Ossa S. Georgii and Feretrum S. Georgii*," at Glastonbury, the patron saint of England and of Cappadocian fame.

Milman writes of S. Basil that his opinions concerning the monastic life were far more moderate and practical than the wilder and more dreamy theories that ran to very extravagant extremes in the desolate regions of Libya and Syria, especially in the case of "*Hermits*" and Solitaries as opposed to "*Coenobites*."

1. Milman's "*Latin Christianity*."

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Industry was to be the animating principle of these settlements. Prayer and psalmody were to have their appointed hours, but by no means intrude upon those devoted to useful labour. These labours were strictly defined, such as were of real use to the community. Agriculture was especially recommended. The rule of S. Benedict was more insistent upon the forms of religion, and became an instrument of aggression and a political lever towards aggrandisement. The early British monasteries were in spirit more akin to the teaching of S. Basil. A friend of Basil was the famous Gregory of Nazianzen, the son of Nonna. It is a curious coincidence that the mother of S. David was Nonna, and that there was a church called "S. Nones" after her in Pembroke. May not the name and fame of Nonna have reached South Wales from the east? In the library of old Glastonbury was the "*Regula Cassiani*." Could this have been the Cassianus of oriental birth who was known at Bethlehem, at Egypt, at Constantinople, who received his orders from Chrysostom, and afterwards settled at Marseilles, in Gaul? His "*Monastic Institutes*" may have been read at a very early date at Glastonbury.

If again the "*Ossa Cæsarii*" were the reputed relics of Cæsarius, the younger brother of Gregory Nazianzen, known under that name, here is another eastern connection. In a well-known passage, Dean Milman, vindicating the position of the eastern married clergy—so different from the Roman system—remarks: "Gregory of Nazianzum was born after his father was bishop, and had a younger brother Cæsarius. Gregory of Nyssa and Hilary of Poitiers were married." ("*History of Christianity*," vol. iii, p. 281).

William of Malmesbury says in his "*De Antiquitatibus Gl.*" that when King Kenwalch gave (or confirmed) Ferramere 12 Hidas, Beckary, Godney, Martin's Island, and Andredseie, "*Abbati Berthwaldo*," it was at the

intervention of Archbishop Theodore (A.D. 668). It looks as if the archbishop took a deep interest in Glastonbury, and as he was a Grecian, born of Tarsus, in Cilicia, and a man of deep learning, Glastonbury may have garnered some of her eastern traditions and customs through him.

The "*bracchium Sanctæ Helenæ in duobus frustris*," recalls other associations, viz., those of the mother of Constantine the Great, whose memory was doubtless cherished with a deep meaning at Glastonbury Abbey, where lay the remains of her father, King Coel. At Glastonbury also were some of the relics of S. Matilda, or Maud, Queen of England, and wife of Henry I. As daughter of S. Margaret of Scotland she was a close follower of all her virtues. There may be some dynastic association here. The kings of Scotland were once regarded as representatives of the old English dynasty, in consequence of the marriage of Malcolm III to Margaret, sister of Eadgar Ætheling. The abbey was deeply tinctured with Saxon traditions from the days of King Ina. There were relics to a S. Rufina also, and we may well wonder whether this association was with the young British wife of that name (Claudia Rufina), whose praises Martial sang. Lastly, there lay amongst this strange and in some ways most suggestive assortment of heirlooms, the *vas* in which was contained that flower which the virgin held in her hand when she received the Salutation of the Angel, "*Ave Maria*," bringing us to the thought of the supreme adoration of the virgin introduced by the Roman missionaries overshadowing that of Christ Himself.

One of the most interesting points in the history of the Welsh church is its actual and relative position in the days of King Alfred (A.D. 870-901). It is a well-known fact that owing to the Danish inroads and devastations the christian religion, and with it the Benedictine monasteries, was almost obliterated. King Alfred had a

difficulty to find learned monks for his foundation at Athelney, and in his letter, "ad Wulfugium Episcopum," prefixed to Gregory's pastoral, he complained that there were very few this side of the Humber ("cis Humbrum") who were able to understand their own prayers in English ("in Anglico sermone") or could translate any Latin phrase into English. South of the Thames there was not a single one capable of doing so when he mounted the throne.¹

That his subjects could not understand their own prayers must partly be attributed to the Benedictines, who neglected public services and simply cultivated the "cloister" virtues. That there was general ruin in England, and especially in the religious world,² must be attributed to the Danes, who were primarily attracted by the wealth of the Benedictine monasteries. Asser, in his "Life of Alfred," says that no one of his nation, noble and free by birth, was willing to enter the monastic life, except children, who could be no good judges. The Benedictine example had not made many converts. King Alfred's monastery at Athelney was an enlargement of a previous institution dedicated to S. Egelwine, a hermit, and the saintly brother of King Kenwalch, and his name was long perpetuated, although afterwards, when the Benedictines took Athelney over, we find Athelney quoted as a *monasteriolum*, dedicated to S. Peter alone (A.D. 1009). But in King Alfred's original conception of Athelney, and in his appointment of the head of it, and in the composition of its earliest occupants, some priests and deacons, and some of them very young, there is nothing to suggest the stereotype pattern of a Benedictine institution. The original dedication was to the Saviour and S. Egelwine.

In his perplexity King Alfred sent to "old Saxony"

1. "Tam sane pauci fuerunt, ut ne unum quidem recordari possim ex Australi parte Thamesis, tum cum ego regnum occæperam."

2. Spelman's "Concilia," p. 379.

for John, a great "philosopher," and amongst the monks were also some "galli," who, together with the Armoricans, were drawn there, as Asser, his biographer, notes, by the fame and success of the great christian king and reformer of law and religion. In South Wales itself, and in the see of Menevia, notwithstanding the Danish attacks, which must have been severe all along the coasts of South Wales, from S. David's Head to Monmouth and Caerleon, there was still some learning left, especially in the person of Asser, the archbishop of Menevia.

To illustrate the dependence of Britain still further upon foreign sources, there is extant a letter from Fulco,¹ archbishop of Rheims (883-900), to King Alfred, introducing and recommending to his notice Grimbald as a priest of piety and learning. In Asser's life it is recorded that King Alfred invited "out of Gaul" Grimbald, "a venerable man and good singer and adorned with every kind of ecclesiastical discipline and good morals and most learned in Holy Scripture." At the same time, "Many Franks, Frisons, Gauls, Pagans, Britons, Scots, and Armoricans, noble and ignoble, voluntarily submitted to his dominion." The dominion of King Alfred seems in this case to have been a spiritual dominion, founded upon his spiritual influence, and wholly different from the dominion of the Benedictines. Indeed, his system would clash entirely with that of the Benedictines.

King Alfred's friendship with Asser furnishes a most remarkable chapter in his life. Much as the king was indebted to Phlegmund of Canterbury (A.D. 889) and Werefrith, bishop of Worcester, who assisted him in the restoration of true religion and learning—much also as he was indebted to Denewulf, whom (as the story goes) he raised up from being a hog herd at Athelney² (A.D. 879) to the position of bishop of Winchester,

1. "Carew MSS.," Historical MSS. Commission.
2. "Godwin de Præsulibus."

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immediately after his victory at Edington over the Danes—King Alfred owed still more to Archbishop Asser. It was to Asser that King Alfred turned as to his own "Father in God" and Diocesan. He wished to bring Asser from Wales to Wessex, and gave him the two Somerset monasteries of Banwell and Congresbury, which seem to have been the real spiritual "incunabula" of Wells itself. He also gave him Sherborne and the oversight of Exeter and Cornwall.

This seems like a return to the old Welsh or Celtic arrangement, where, at one time—in Bishop Samson's time—there were Welsh suffragan bishops both at Exeter and Bath. The oversea charge was not an uncommon one, apparently, as it had extended to Furnes, in Ireland, and so when Asser promised to live six months on one side of the Severn and six months on the other, he would simply be carrying out an old arrangement which of course time and the Saxon Conquests had almost effaced. Could the great Alfred have seen in the old Celtic church some admirable features both of learning and discipline which he might appropriate himself for the building up of his kingdom?¹ It was "on the sacred solemnity of S. Martin" (Nov. 11) that the king began with Asser to study the rudiments of Divine Scripture, with a view of making his own famous "Enchiridion," or manual of devotion, and there may be some significance in this anniversary, S. Martin being such a conspicuous figure in the Celtic church.

It is a somewhat curious circumstance, upon which historians² have commented, that the honours paid by Rome to S. Edmund and S. Edward, as saints in their calendar, were never given to England's greatest king. The king's constant appeal to the simple words of Holy Scripture, his translations of religious works into the language of the common people, his general religious

1. Asser's "Life of Alfred."

2. Spelman's "Life of Alfred."

feeling altogether was essentially different from that of Rome, and Spelman's conclusion is that he was feared and suspected rather than admired at Rome. King Alfred, who had visited Rome, respected the see of Rome, and sent "alms" (not tribute or vectigal) there, but at the same time that he made his voluntary offertory there he also reserved a portion for Jerusalem.

His gift of a "pall" to Asser may, under these circumstances convey a deep meaning with it. Some have thought that this "pall" was simply a "palla," *i.e.*, an altar cloth or rich covering, but it seems to have been a "pallium." It will be remembered that the pall of the Welsh archbishops was taken away by Archbishop Samson to Dôl, and used there for many consecrations. At Menevia itself this pall had not been replaced for some reason or another, perhaps, it has been suggested, through poverty. Could King Alfred, by a generous and gracious gift, have restored this emblem of an archbishop's authority to Asser, and, at the same time, have asserted some kingly principle of investiture?

King Alfred does not appear as a restorer of the Benedictine Abbey of Glastonbury, or, indeed, a donor of any land grants. Possibly, in his eyes, the Benedictines had not justified their charge, or deserved well of their occupancy, and so Athelney might arise—within sight of the sacred Tor—and carry on the traditions of the place and neighbourhood under new auspices.

The complete independence of the Welsh Episcopal Church was asserted and defended many centuries ago, especially by Giraldus Cambrensis, himself half a Welshman and half a Norman, in the reign of Henry II. As he was born in Pembroke and was archdeacon of St. David's, he was well qualified to state his case. In his well-known "Itinerary of Cambria,"¹ Giraldus says that "up to the time of the Saxon invasion of Wales (referring

to the time of Henry I), the bishops of Wales were always consecrated by the archbishop of Menevia, and he, in like fashion, was consecrated by suffragans, no profession or subjection being made to any other church."¹

In the reign of Henry II the question of independence had no reference to Rome (as the Norman Conquest had very securely rivetted the power of Rome about the neck of England), but to Canterbury. The whole question, however, as it was then stated and decided is very clearly put by Collier.²

"About this time the famous Giraldus Cambrensis, archdeacon of S. David, was elected bishop by the chapter of that See and going to Rome before his consecration, he happened to examine the Pope's register, where he found a letter of Pope Eugenius III to Theobald, archbishop of Canterbury. This letter was written upon a dispute between Theobald and Bernard, bishop of S. Davids, the latter claiming a Metropolitan See. Now the Pope had declared in favour of Theobald for the present turn and obliged Bernard to pay canonical obedience to him, yet His Holiness had promised to give the cause a new hearing. Giraldus, lighting upon this letter, revived the claim and challenged the bishops of Llandaff, Bangor, S. Asaph, Chester, Hereford, and Worcester for his suffragans, and refused the See of Canterbury the oath of canonical obedience. But Archbishop Hubert managed the matter so powerfully against him that he forced him to make his submission, got his election annulled, and another consecrated in his stead."

Sir Henry Spelman,³ to use his own words, cherished the memory of the Welsh archbishopric all the more

1. *Episcopi Walliæ a Menevensi antistite semper sunt consecrati et ipse similiter ab aliis tanquam suffraganeis est consecratus, nullâ penitus alii ecclesiæ factâ professione vel subjectione.*

2. "Church History," vol. i, p. 410.

3. Spelman's "Concilia," p. 27.

because it flourished before S. Augustine. He deplors the fact that with the loss of the "*Menevensis Episcopatus*" there perished all memory of that most ancient British church which owed no fealty to any Patriarchate but in its own British sphere (in orbe suo Britannico) carried its dignity proudly before it. Such is the testimony of one of the greatest Stuart antiquaries.

It may be said that this story of the old Celtic or British church is an old story long forgotten, and so buried under the débris of the centuries that even its memory may cease to interest us. The Pelagian heresy, which Archbishops Dubricius, David, and the rest did so much to combat, no longer appeals to us—at any rate under that name,—the schism of Donatism has disappeared or taken a new name according as the "very elect" look upon their prerogative and interpret their own particularism. The "first four councils" have been succeeded by numberless other councils—such as that of Trent—which have confused the issues of doctrine and of theology, so that if the archbishops of Caerleon, who attended the Church Councils of Arles and Ariminum, could live again, they would wonder in what new world of conciliar theology they were living. The old fountain, they might think, has been terribly defiled by time.

Looking abroad to Gaul and Hibernia, the old church which had its primitive life and enthusiastic preachers there in the far distant centuries has scarcely an original lineament left. The mantle of Elijah has fallen upon strange shoulders. Gaul has long become a spiritual wilderness. Hibernia, where S. Patrick laboured, is now a land of chronic unrest, whence the leaders of militant christianity on this side and on that have no place to go to, as they had in Glastonbury of old, there to reflect upon the greatness of God and the nothingness of man.

Still there is something to be extracted from old traditions, some common ground in primitive ideals. An

excursus back to the "first four centuries," or, indeed, to the "first six centuries," at a time before the Benedictines had fixed their "rule" in "Brittannia Magna" and "Brittannia Parva," may convey some salutary lessons. In the history of the Gallican church there are periods of preaching and of progress, long before the days of the special pleading of the Ultramontanes, long before the French kings were dubbed their "most Christian majesties" as the tools of popedom. Of old, the Breton sailors and the Celtic people generally listened to the great message of christian peace and followed it as warmly as the dwellers round Caerleon and Ynys Witrin. There was a common ground in the Majus Monasterium or Marmoutier of Tours and in the sacred precincts of Glastonbury, a spiritual link between the ecclesiola of Martin's Island in Glastonbury and S. Martin's Cell near the banks of the Loire. Can the dry bones, as in the vision of Ezekiel, ever live again and a new body arise?

For a short period of twelve years (1621—1633) William Laud was bishop of S. David's. He was an antiquary as well as an ecclesiastic, but, strangely enough, it is impossible to discover from a single hint that this centre of the old British church ever appealed to him with an ecclesiastical interest. Yet as a British see and once as a British archbishopric, independent of Rome in its origin, it might have appealed to him and helped to establish the theory also of an Anglican church independent of Rome. He might have shown that the best sort of Saxon piety grew out of British piety and that really the Island story was all one in religion. But Laud had other thoughts in his mind.¹ Practically he was an absentee bishop from his diocese, holding only two ordinations there and having, as Mr. Hutton reminds us, only two applicants for ordination, one of whom was rejected.

1. "Life of W. Laud," by W. H. Hutton, also by Canon Bevan.

In these days of new ideas and of new developments, of new dioceses and of new archbishoprics in the Pan-Anglican world, the thought of the old and historic archbishopric of Caerleon must occur to the student of our church history. Might it not live again? Not indeed extending over the country of the Wiccii or ancient Mercia, nor, indeed, over Bath and Wells, but over the Welsh dioceses as they now stand? The traditions of this archbishopric would be of most undoubted antiquity, its claim to recognition great. The glories of Caerleon no longer exist but, not far off, is a modern world in itself, a busy hive of men, a port of ships going backwards, forwards, over the whole world to such distant bournes in the Pacific as to "New South Wales," and to anchorages innumerable. And with Caerleon we associate Glastonbury. The old Abbey has a new lease of life before it under the wings of the Anglican church. Might it not become again a source of inspiration? Might it not become in some way a missionary college—a college of S. Martin or of S. David, sending forth enthusiastic workers to Celtic Britain again and crossing the easy barriers of the Severn Sea? Not a college of S. Augustine, the disciple of S. Benedict and the follower of his "rule," for this introduces an idea that seems after all somewhat alien to the original spirit of Ynys Witrin. The Welshman of to-day might welcome back an archbishopric of Caerleon or Llandaff, restored after the old model with its roots deep down in the history of the land, and he might welcome a college at Glastonbury taking him back to his own patron saint, S. David, and the earlier examples of apostolic times.

VI.

Glastonbury and its Kings.



IN the early history of Christianity there is no more important figure than Constantine the Great who restored liberty to the Christians after the terrible persecutions of Dioclesian, promoted learning in the Roman Empire, and presided over the famous Council of Nicæa in A.D. 325. The foundation by him of Constantinople in A.D. 324 marks, as Dean Milman says, one of the great periods of change in the history of the world.¹ Upon Rome itself the effect was to remove the secular arm, and give free play to the papal power. In any other city the Pope would have in vain asserted his descent from St. Peter, and the long habit of connecting together the name of Rome with supreme dominion, silently co-operated in establishing the spiritual despotism of the Papal See. All this of course neither Constantine nor his contemporaries could foresee.

Most authorities are agreed that the mother of Constantine the Great, the Empress Helena, was a Christian and a British lady, and that Constantine himself was born in Britain. Also that he was proclaimed Emperor after the death of his father, Constantius, at York,² A.D. 307.³ It must be remembered that the British Isles were

1. Dean Milman's "History of Christianity," vol. ii, p. 330.

2. See also "Eusebius Pamphilus," also "Eumenius."

3. Collier's "Church History," 1. 25.

well known over all the Roman Empire; that they had been the scene of many warlike actions since the days of the Emperor Claudius; that Roman legions were planted there for a considerable period, especially at *Caer Leon* (*castrum legionis*) and many other places. Roman villas and Roman remains testify, as at Bath, Silchester, (*Calleva Atrebatum*), *Caerleon*, *Caerwent*, and scores of other places, to the presence of a great civilization, lasting till A.D. 450. Intermarriages between the British and the conquering Roman race must have been frequent even in the lower grades of society. We have the authority of Zosimus for saying that Constantius, the father of Constantine, had his chief residence in Britain. The circumstances under which he came to Britain merit a short review.

For some years preceding his arrival, Britain had been famous all over the Roman world for the revolt of Marcus Aurelius Carausius, that British adventurer who, although deputed for the time to keep watch and ward over the English Channel and the narrow seas on behalf of Dioclesian, hoisted his own flag, took over the navy of the day, and assumed the Imperial purple. The outlines of this extraordinary revolt are hidden in darkness, and, as this movement took place when the Emperor Dioclesian was on the throne, it would be interesting to know whether it was in any fashion prompted by the Dioclesian persecutions which raged certainly in and near *Caerleon*. Amphibalus the teacher of Albanus, Britain's proto-martyr, and Julius and Aaron were all citizens of *Caerleon*. William Stukeley in his medallic history of Carausius assumes that he was a "Menapian" of S. David's, not a Batavian. In Ossian's poems, Carausius figures as Caros, and is called "The King of Ships."

However this may be, Carausius by his romantic and adventurous career gave form to the idea of Britain's imperial position amongst nations, resting, on the one

hand, upon the prestige of the Cæsars, and, on the other hand, upon the strength of a fleet which kept the seas efficiently and preserved her ramparts entire. He indicated what had long been implied in the ancient "Armoric Confederacy," viz: the power of the Celtic Paralii. His coins, struck in Britain itself, are very numerous—more than 300 types—many of them found in or near Bath. On the obverse of one is a galley with four rowers; on another "Laetitia Augusti," with a galley; on another "Ubertas Augusti," with Neptune standing on the prow of a vessel joining hands with Carausius holding a spear. Indeed, on some types a female figure holding a trident can personify nothing but the maritime genius of Britain. In 1900 a good collection of Carausius coins was found at Sully, near Cardiff, and on one of them, a silver Denarius, was the legend "Expectate Veni."

In 1891, a hoard of coins was found on Tickenham Hill,¹ in the Parish of Easton-in-Gordano, and amongst them those of Carausius, Dioclesian and Maximian, each bearing on the reverse Pax Auggg, i.e., the peace of the three "Augustorum" or reigning emperors—for the triple repetition of the letter "g" seems to involve this. Diocletian had the government of the east with Nicomedia as his residence, Maximian had Italy and Africa, with Milan as his residence, Carausius claimed Britain as his island empire, together with Gaul, having Gessoriacum or Boulogne as his headquarters. This idea of a *condominium* in the Roman world, founded on sea-power, was a new one, and it seems that it was not acknowledged abroad. Carausius was regarded as a pirate and an usurper, and in A.D. 292, Constantius Chlorus was sent to depose him, having Britain, Gaul and Spain as his provinces, and Treves as his residence.

It would be interesting to claim Carausius not only as

1. Som. Arch. Soc. *Proceedings*, 1905.

a Menapian, *i.e.* an inhabitant of South Wales, but also as a Christian. That well-known stone at Penmachno in North Wales has the name of Carausius on it as well as the "Chi Rho" monogram. But as Carausius died A.D. 293, the famous symbol could only have been engraved after the victory of Constantine, and as a *post factum* tribute. The end of Carausius was a tragic one, and well-known. He was murdered by his friend and comrade in arms Allectus, who proceeded to take his place as one of the three "Augusti" of the Roman Empire. His reign was short-lived, his defeat by the troops of Constantius Chlorus taking place in A.D. 296. But both Carausius and Allectus bequeathed, if they did not discover, a great historical idea, *viz.*, the exaltation of Britain and of Britons, so far regarded by Romans as *penitus remoti*.

When Constantius Chlorus came to Britain after the overthrow of Carausius and Allectus, he came as a friend to Christians.¹ Eusebius said that he never joined with the other emperors, *i.e.* Dioclesian and Maximian, in destroying churches. Sozomen says that he gave full liberty to the Christians and that their churches flourished under him. Britain and Gaul, in those dark ages of persecution, must have attracted the favourable notice of all Christians. Here at any rate was one region in the great Roman empire where they might be tolerated, one place where they might worship in peace. Along the shores of the Severn Sea, in Wales, and in Caerleon itself, the home of many time-expired legionaries (as the numerous inscriptions found there prove), the seed of the gospel might have quietly floated. Perhaps at Isca Silurum (Caerwent) the faith may have prospered. And so at old Glastonbury itself.

In King Alfred's edition of "Bede" the mention of Constantius and of Constantine runs as follows: "In

1. See Stillingfleet's "Origines."

these times Constantius, who in the lifetime of Diocletian held and ruled the kingdom of Gaul and Spain, and who was a mild man and good for his age, died in Britain, and left his kingdom to his son Constantine, the good emperor who was born of the woman Elena. Eutropius writes that Constantine was born in Britain and took to the empire after his father." Eutropius was a Roman historian of good repute, who held the office of a secretary under Constantine the Great, and was, therefore, likely to know the truth.

The passage in "Bede" upon which King Alfred improved, runs thus: "At this time Constantius who while Diocletian was alive governed Gaul and Spain, a man of extraordinary meekness and courtesy, died in Britain. This man left his son Constantine, born of Helen his concubine, emperor of the Gauls. Eutropius writes that Constantine, being created emperor in Britain, succeeded his father in the sovereignty."

It will be noted that the royal editor omits the word "concubine" as applied to Elena and further adds that Constantine was born in Britain, a fact ignored by Bede.

It has been one of the puzzles of ancient history to ascertain for certain where and how Constantius Chlorus met Helena his wife. British authorities have said that Helena was the daughter of King Coilus. Could Coel have been a king or prince of importance amongst the brave Silures or some region of the Dumnonii? Or was he king at Colchester as some have suggested, amongst them the doubtful "Richard of Cirencester" and that old retailer of fables, "Geoffrey of Monmouth," who lived in the twelfth century? Most of the Saxon writers and monkish annalists have omitted to say much upon this period of our Island history. Was it because this period was British and preserved British traditions? The Saxon Benedictine monks were not slow to give the Pagan and Woden pedigrees of the Saxon kings, but,

strangely enough, they forgot the Romano-British pedigrees which were certainly more honourable.

Glastonbury, however, as we should expect in the "tumulus sanctorum" of British Ynys Witrin, takes over King Coilus. As already noted (Chapter II), John of Glastonbury (1, 30) reminds us that "in this tomb of the saints rests Coel Rex Britonum, father of S. Helena, the mother of Constantine, the great Emperor, also of a Caradocus Dux Cornubiæ." In this puzzling historical point there are here, as elsewhere, two classes of evidences to deal with, the voice of tradition, local and otherwise, and the pens and manuscripts of the Benedictine monks. Sometimes in Glastonbury one appears, sometimes another. But what is the "litera scripta" worth of many of those old Benedictines who wrote in a scriptorium? One monkish version of the founding of Ynys Witrin is that the Isle of Avalon, together with the XII hides was given to the first pilgrims by three pagan kings, Marius, Arviragus and Coilus. But manifestly this is confusing. It has already been pointed out that the very word "hide" is of Saxon origin, and could only have been used after A.D. 450. Still the tradition that there was a prince called Coilus may be true enough. In despair some fanciful writers have conjectured that Coilus must have been the original of "Old King Cole" of the nursery rhyme, forgetting the anachronism involved of the "pipe." Mr. Baring Gould, who has written a picturesque account of "The Lives of Saints," evidently adopts the light vein of historical criticism here, forgetting perhaps that Geoffrey of Monmouth, whom he quotes, is hardly a sober historian. History, however, cannot be settled by the *obiter dicta* of picturesque commentators.

Adam of Domerham (1, 45) hands down a tradition that Coilus had a son Lucius, who was the first Christian king of Britain, in whose days SS. Faganus and Diruvianus came to Glastonbury.¹ Churches in South

1. "Giraldus de Instructione Principum."

Wales were dedicated to S. Fagan, and he may have been a real saint, although old Adam of Domerham places both Coilus and S. Fagan too far back. In saying also that Coilus had a son called Lucius, Adam of Domerham may have fallen in with some Roman and Benedictine theory of history, connecting Lucius and Pope Eleutherius, which theory finding so much of real importance and of real antiquity at Glastonbury, took everything over without much regard for dates and persons. King Coilus may surely have been a real prince, and the name itself may possibly have been a dynastic name, and a Coilus have succeeded to a Coilus as an Amurath to an Amurath for many generations.

In a note appended to the "*Sacræ Historiæ*" of Sulpicius Severus, an old commentator on the text, remarks that the Empress Helena was described as "*Rheaviensis*." This he assumed to mean that she came from the town or district of Rhages, the same as Edessa, situated in the far east. But may not the town and district be, with greater reason, that of Rheged in South Wales, lying between the Swansea and the Caermarthen rivers? According to Mr. E. Guest,¹ Southern Rheged lay between the Silures and the Demetæ. This of course is only a supposition, but, if there is anything in it, the birth place of Helena, and the realm of King Coilus would be brought to the Severn Sea, and in close proximity to the celebrated monastery of Ynys Witrin, and its "*tumulus sanctorum*," where it was claimed that he was buried, presumably as a Christian.

Amongst the finds of Roman coins on that notable Roman station at Ham, in Somerset Hill (1882-3), there is a third brass coin of Helena, mother of Constantine the Great. On the obverse, "*Flavia Helena Augusta*:" on the reverse "*Securitas Reipublicæ*," representing a female figure walking to the left with a palm branch

1. "*Origines Celticæ*."

in her right hand.¹ This coin, as well as others, should fix the titular and rightful position of the Empress Helena. She became by her marriage with Flavius Constantius Chlorus one of the celebrated "Flavian" gens, the gens of the great Vespasian, known both in Great Britain and in the East—notably during the celebrated siege of Jerusalem. Both east and west claimed Vespasian as a soldier of renown." "Vespasian's camp," on the borders of Selwood forest, marks his exploits in Britain. Helena bore the palm as a pilgrim to Palestine.

All the disparaging stories fabricated and handed down from one generation to another about the Empress Helena, should be discounted by the mute but surely irrefragable evidence of coins. If it was true that she was only the "concubine" of Constantius, would she then have been called Flavia Helena Augusta? Long ago this charge was met by Josephus Egyptius, when he wrote that Constantius married Helena after she had been betrothed by the consent of her parents (*parentum consensu desponsata et in uxorem ducta*). Moreover, if Helena had been only a concubine, would the Roman Church have placed her amongst the saints and given her the title also of Empress? Further, it seems clear from Sulpicius Severus, who wrote his "Sacrae Historiæ," not far from Tours, and not long after her time, that she reigned together with her son. In one passage he writes how: "Helena mater principis Constantini, quæ Augusta cum filio conregnabat" went to Jerusalem and destroyed the idols and pagan temples, building a basilica on the site of our Lord's birth, and also of His passion. Hence she was (by some at least) called "Stabularia," as she commemorated the stable of the birth. Others, indeed, have twisted the word into a commonplace and even an opprobrious meaning, amongst them Gibbon (whom Baring Gould evidently adopts as his

1. Som. Arch. Soc. *Proceedings*, vol. liv, p. 122.

authority), the apologist of saints and martyrs and the sceptical historian—

“Sapping a solemn creed with solemn sneer
The lord of irony, that master-spell,”

thus meeting on this strange common ground of decrying the first great Christian empress of British birth.

However, it is well in this instance to be on the side of the angels, and to endorse Dean Milman's¹ opinion about the Empress Helena as “a blameless and devout woman, who used the legitimate influence of her station, munificence and authority over her imperial son, to give that splendour, which to her piety appeared becoming, to the new religion: to communicate to the world all those excitements of symbols, reliques and sacred memorials which she found so powerful in kindling her own devotion.” To Milman she was in striking contrast to the Empress Irene, who lived after her and passed an evil life. Eumenius in his well-known panegyric of Constantine might well say that Britain was fortunate in acclaiming him emperor first—he the son of Constantius and Helena!

We turn over the leaves of our histories in vain to find a counterpart of the great Flavia Helena Augusta, backwards to the annals of imperial and decadent Rome. Here we meet with such characters as Sabina Poppæa, the mistress of Nero, and Messalina, the wife of Claudius, and many others of unbridled lusts and licentiousness. Forwards, in the centuries, when monastic theories had degraded the idea of noble womanhood, we meet with more than one queen swayed by the sophism of a Dominican, or perverted by the crafty arguments of a Jesuit father confessor. The Empress Helena stands, surely, midway in the centuries as a noble woman upon whom the light of the gospel first shone. The old shrine of

1. “History of Latin Christianity,” vol. ii, 283. See Stanley's “Sinai and Palestine.”

130 Chapters on Glastonbury Abbey.

Glastonbury did well to cherish the memory of her father, and also to preserve her relics.

Constantine the Great seemed to hold the western type in honour. There was that well-known order of his written and placed upon the altar of the church of S. Sophia in Constantinople, that no Roman emperor should intermarry with any foreigner except the Franks, because Constantine himself was born in the country of the Franks.¹ By the "Franks" the later Greeks comprehended all the western Europeans, including Britain, whence also Constantine summoned to the first council of Arles (A.D. 314) the three British bishops of York, London and Caerleon: he may have done so in order to honour them especially as representatives of the land where he had first put on the imperial purple. When he died Constantine left to his eldest son (as the most honourable part of his empire) Britain, Spain and Gaul. Had not Treves been the imperial centre of his father, Constantius? Better, indeed, than Constantinople itself!

The first council of Arles (A.D. 314) was not a large one, but taking place when it did and under the auspices and reign of Constantine the Great before the council of Nicæa (A.D. 325), it is of great interest to Britons. We know little about Eborius, bishop of York, Restitutus, bishop of London, and Adelfius, bishop of Caerleon, beyond their names, nor do we know whether they were metropolitans, but they must have represented some kind of episcopal organisation. In this council the bishop of Rome, Silvester, was not present, but he was treated as *par inter pares*, and is addressed by assembled bishops as "most beloved brother" in a letter sent to him. But the council was regarded as complete as far as it went without him, and was summoned by the Emperor Constantine. These important points in the early history of the British church are emphasized by Collier.

1. See "The Ecclesiastical History of Great Britain," by J. Collier, p. 24.

This council was summoned *causa Donatistarum*, i.e. for the sake of dealing with the Donatists, and it is evidently this council that the British Gildas had in his mind when he wrote "*De Excidio Britanniae*," especially when he reproved the British *Sacerdotes* for wandering about outside their dioceses and contravening the second canon, which insisted that where a *Sacerdos* was ordained there he should minister. This first council of Arles was essentially a Gallic council, and in the list of delegates¹ the British representatives are placed amongst them, proving their close associations. This carries out exactly the expression used by Sulpicius Severus,² the Gallic historian, who spoke of the churches of Aquitania, Gaul and Britain, as "our" churches, to which allusion has already been made. With regard to this council also, it may be noted that Constantine summoned eleven representatives from Africa, a far larger number than those from Italy and Sicily.

At a council of this sort, summoned by the British-born Constantine, it is clear that the British delegates were brought into contact with the Christian church in its wide extensions not only in Europe but also in Africa. The allusions to Africa are not infrequent in old Gildas, whom we may claim as a Glastonbury historian, and again in Sulpicius Severus.

Occasionally we are at a loss to explain the lofty ideas and the magnificent conceptions that loom upon us, as through a magnifying mist, of Arthurian times. If Arturus Rex existed he could, according to some, have only been a Dumnonian prince. Further, there is also the golden and almost unaccountable thread of Christian chivalry and Christian adventure. How can we reconcile all this with what at first sight were barbaric times? But here on the very threshold of the enchanting subject we question whether these were barbaric times.

1. Spelman's "*Concilia*."

2. "*Sacræ Historiæ*."

At any rate the surface of the land contained many glorious creations of Roman magnificence. Even Bath and Caerleon tell their own story. As late as the reign of Henry II, Giraldus Cambrensis¹ hands down that well-known description of the remains of Roman magnificence at Caerleon, the favoured abode of Rex Arturus.

Here, he says, the legions sent from Rome used to winter, and so it was called the "Urbs Legionis." Here was an ancient and famous city formerly built nobly of walls of solid masonry. Here you might see many signs still remaining of former grandeur; palaces of immense size, with their gilt roofs reflecting the pride of the Romans, raised first by Roman nobles; here a vast tower upraised, there the baths, yonder the remains of temples and theatres, all inclosed by walls, some of them still standing in their magnificence. You will find these subterranean buildings, aqueducts, and underground channels, and what is most wonderful to notice, the skilfully wrought chambers of the hypocausts. The site of the city is a noble one on the Usk, fitted for navigation as the tide flows in, a city adorned with woods and parks. Hither also foreign ambassadors came of old to the famous court of that great king, Arthur; here was the great archbishopric, etc., etc.

The old world surroundings of Caerleon, like many other Roman centres, such as Bath itself and Silchester ("Calleva Atrebatum") must have induced thoughts and reminiscences of Imperial Rome. That mind must have been dull that did not respond to the plain view of the noble ruins in front of it. If the ground of Britain was littered indeed with the ruins of the past pointing to some great age of Roman civilisation lasting, more or less, for 400 years, so indeed the history of Britain was full of more than one inspiring picture. The Romanised Britons could not forget it. The history of Britain,

1. Itinerary.

especially in the days of Carausius, Constantius, and Flavius Maximus, was crowded with romantic adventure. No longer a mere province, but a self-constructed western empire, with its arms stretched out across the channel to continental domains!

What Carausius had conceived (although he was stigmatised as a "pirata" by some of the Roman annalists of the day for dissociating himself from the great Roman empire as centralised at Rome) that Maximus tried to achieve. He called himself Flavius, and was therefore presumably of the same Flavia Gens as the great Constantius. Ambition stirred Flavius to a vast enterprise—no less than the throne itself of the Cæsars. Rome was rotten at the heart, and Rome was falling into decay, and the destinies of Rome seemed to lie at the disposal of the tumultuary vote of soldiers. Why not make a bold bid for Rome was the thought of Flavius Maximus—this Romanised Briton! the reputed descendant of Constantius himself. Moreover, Maximus and his empress were both Christians and disciples at the feet of S. Martin of Tours (*c.* 400), as appears in the history and writings of Sulpicius Severus.

Flavius Maximus set up his capital at Treves just as the Constantine dynasty had done at first. To consolidate his power here Maximus stripped Britain of the flower of its youth, bent on thrilling oversea adventures, and so left Britain defenceless and open to the attacks of the Picts and Scots. But he failed in his great and ambitious projects and fell before the walls of Aquileia. These were stirring and great memories, and they were the inheritance of every noble Romanised Briton who lived after him and reflected upon them. To Rex Arturus these chapters of island history were well known and must have fired the genius of Taliesin, the bard of the knights of the round table, and sent their echoes far and wide along the coasts of Armorica, Ireland and Scotland.

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Dean Milman, in his "Latin Christianity," seems scarcely to have done justice to Maximus. Perhaps he had not closely consulted Sulpicius Severus, who says of Maximus that he was a man "to be celebrated for every virtue of life if he could only have refused a diadem thrust upon him by a soldiers' tumultuary vote. Once taken, this diadem could neither be put off nor could it be kept without force." He used often to call for S. Martin and treat him honourably in his palace. His whole conversation was about the present, the future, the glory of the faithful, and the eternity of the saints. His wife, still more of a worshipper of S. Martin, even desired, like Mary Magdalene, to sit at his feet and wash them with her tears.¹

Gildas dismisses Maximus in very much the same way as he dismisses Boadicea, the British warrior queen, and evidently had an eye solely to the failings rather than the virtues of Maximus. Orosius calls him *vir probus*, and Sozomen says that he went to Italy, and contemplated his invasion of Rome because of innovations that had been threatened "to his ancestral faith and the ecclesiastical order," a somewhat tantalising reference, as it may have meant so much at this particular period of Latin Christianity.

Maximus is said to have set up Conan in Armorica or Brittany, and so, perhaps, laid the foundation of an independent life here. Palgrave, in his "History of Normandy," has written: "Not of the blood of Rome the barbarians claimed to be her heirs . . . the purple-clad barbarians swayed the fortunes of the world. The first real king in Germany, Ariovistus, became king by the gratitude or favour of the first of the Cæsars . . . every leader of a barbarian tribe, every aspirant to dominion, every barbarian who won the diadem in a province of the empire, liked to wear the insignia of

1. See Sulpicius Severus, "Vita S. Martini."

empire. Ethelbert impressed the Roman wolf upon his rude Kentish coin. The fair-haired Germans traced their ancestry back to the heroes who fought in the Trojan war." This key explains much in the dark period of our own island history. And when the blood of the Romans and of such "gentes" as the "Flavia Gens" was really grafted upon the foreign stemmata, there was the added impulse and notion of inheritance. Indeed, the whole province of *Flavia Cæsariensis* was called so after the *Flavii*.

In another passage Sir F. Palgrave has aptly remarked: "The dominion of the Bretwalda began by being an imitation of the imperial sovereignty of Rome. Accustomed to the presence of their own provincial emperors since the glorious days of their own Carausius, the Britons still considered their country an empire. The reminiscences of Carausius cast a gleam upon the fabled Arthur: we discover Aurelius Ambrosius and Vortigern contending for the diadem which had graced the brows of the British Constantine."

In the midst of it all the Christian thought was predominant. Had not the Empress Helena inspired the Christian world by her journey to the Holy Land and to Jerusalem? Had not she seen the holy places themselves and built a church for Christian worship there? Nay, had not she discovered the Cross itself of Christ? Was not her example, that of the first crusader, therefore, a worthy one? The search for the Holy Graal, the holy vessel said to have been brought to Britain by Joseph of Arimathea, who had caught therein the last drops of Christ's blood, looks as if it were a chapter of spiritual knight-errantry consequent upon and a natural corollary upon that search for the Holy Cross. What wonder then that Glastonbury and Caerleon led to inspiring thought and to deeds of chivalry!

The spiritual thought could not be separated from the thought of worldly dominion, and if the ambitions of

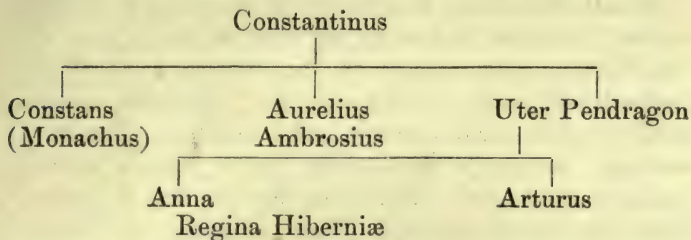
Rex Arturus and his knights went far beyond the idea of a narrow Welsh or Dumnonian principality, was not the example of Carausius and of Maximus inspiring enough to lead them on? Nor did the Celtic imagination fail the hereditary bards and singers, men whose main object was to sing of the illustrious deeds of their forefathers and at the same time to prompt the present generation to works of high enterprise. They had in view

“ An Island Empire resting on the power
Of Celtic kings and seers, like that realm
Which Hellas built amidst her circling Isles—
A Delphi somewhere and a Delos rock—
Some law, tradition, tongue, and common fame
Some ancient homage and some right Divine,
A Roman custom and a Christian faith,
From Bretagne to the utmost Orcades.
Here great S. Patrick of a royal line,
Here Cambrian David, preacher of the Word
Through Ireland, Wales and far Armorica,
S. Bridget, Columban and Carantacus
Dubritius, Kew and wonder-working Keyne,
With many a Celtic name of lesser note,
Along the Severn Sea their blissful pilgrimage
Plied east and west amidst the tawny waves.
Till last not least the beacon fame of one
Who summed together in an Epic round,
The hopes, fears, fortunes of the Celtic race
Great Arthur fired the lonely wind-swept shores.”

We are certain, however, of one thing and this is that the name and the traditions of Constantine were always kept in the Scotch, Welsh and Cornish genealogies, and in these genealogies the romantic figure of Arthur was very often included. When he was buried at Glastonbury it was at the spiritual centre of his race, the mausoleum of Coel. In the old court genealogies¹ which were very common in Edwardian days, the British, Saxon and Norman names appear in order, with a very picturesque background, going back now to Trojan

1. Ashmolean Rolls, Oxford, especially no. 26 (and line 27).

ancestors such as Assaracus and Aeneas, and now again to biblical antecedents, but agreeing generally in the Arthurian descent. In one of them giving the descent of Edward I, the line passes thus for three generations :



King Arthur¹ himself before he died appointed a nephew Constantine, the son of Cadur the Duke of Cornwall, to succeed him.

This looks as if Constantine were the favourite name of king Arthur's dynasty, and leads us to the assumption that it was so adopted from the original association with Helena, the wife of Constantine. At Ynys Witrin the part which the British-born Constantine played in the great outside world would naturally attract and rivet attention. Round this great and commanding personality were centred all the hopes of Christendom, just recovering from the Dioclesian persecutions. That famous vision in the sky revealed to Constantine gave a battle-cry to the whole world. "By that conquer" was the motto of the cross.² The "Chi Rho" monogram, although not yet discovered at Glastonbury, has been identified on stones at S. Just and Penwith in Cornwall, and at Kirkmadrine and Wigtown. Very early Christian

1. Warrington's "Wales," bk. 1, 119.

2. "After his victory over Maxentius, Constantine caused the famous Labarum to be made, which for a long time was borne at the head of the imperial armies. The shaft of this celebrated standard was cased with gold: above the transverse beam, which formed the cross, was wrought in a golden crown the monogram, or rather the device, of two letters which signified the name of Christ. And so for the first time the meek and peaceful Jesus became a God of battle."—Milman's "Latin Christianity," vol. ii, 287.

crosses have been found also on stones near Margarn¹ in Glamorgan, also at S. Clements, Truro, and Castledôr in Cornwall. The Glastonbury seal shows the "Chi Rho" (*q.v.*).

In A.D. 712, King Ina, the great benefactor of Glastonbury, thought that when he took in marriage Guala, the Welsh representative of the last king of Wales, Cadwalader,² he was taking over the "Coronam benedic-tam," together with Cambria and Cornubia. This royal marriage between a Saxon king and a British princess meant a great deal. Here was the old British throne! Here the British crown! Here the survival from the remote past of some original consular rule in Roman days, hallowed by Celtic churchmen with traditions of Ambrosius, King Arthur, and, in the far distance, the purple of the Caesars, and of the great Constantine himself. At Glastonbury itself, the tumulus sanctorum, the dynastic steps were shown from King Coilus. Even the barbaric splendours of a Cerdic and of Woden ancestry paled before the new alliance.

Intermarrying with the British was only a natural thing for the Saxon conquerors of Wessex to do. In Romanised Britain they were face to face with a far higher civilisation than they or their forefathers had ever known in Frisia or Old Saxony. Guala (*propter quam vocata est Wallia*, says the commentator, with a doubtful attempt at etymology) brought to Ina the

1. "Monumental History of the Church," by Romilly Allen," p. 82.

2. Cadwalader, son of Cadwallon, succeeded to the nominal sovereignty of Britain in A.D. 660. Disheartened at the victories of the Saxons he went to Rome in A.D. 686, and died in A.D. 703. With him the title of the king of the Britains as a paramount or suzerain chief ceased, and such parts of the British Isles as were not conquered by the Saxons were governed by different chiefs, such as Strathclyde, Cornwall and Wales. In the Triads he is styled one of the three princes who wore the golden bands, being emblems of supreme authority which were worn around the neck, arms and knees. He was also called one of the three blessed kings on account of the protection he afforded to the fugitive Christians. There is a church dedicated to him in Mona, and another in Denbigh.—Turner's "Hist. of the Anglo-Saxons," vol. 1, p. 382.

prestige of an imperial lineage, and there is no doubt that Ina was dazzled by Rome, and by the Roman imperial and secular connection. The followers of Ina took British wives also, as their king had done. It was in the neighbourhood of Glastonbury and Pedret or Petherton, and also in Wells and Taunton that the great consolidation of the Wessex kingdom, which was to be summed up in Egbert, Ethelwulf and Alfred, took place. Where else could the dynastic story be better told and preserved than at the old monastery itself? King Ina built Taunton Castle, and is supposed to have had a palace (still so called) at South Petherton. His obit¹ (as already noted) was kept at Wells in 1539. What was inherited by the Saxon dynasty from the British kings was passed on, naturally, to the Normans. This was done on the female side when Henry I married Maud, daughter of Malcolm, the king of the Scots, by Margaret, sister to Edgar Atheling. By this marriage the Saxon and Norman lines were united both in blood and title. S. Margaret appears, it will be remembered, on the great seal of Glastonbury. (See p. 31).

When Edward I conquered Llewelyn in 1283, there were found² at Carnarvon amongst the spoils of war, and the treasures of the Princes of Wales, the bones of Constantius, father of Constantine the great, a fragment of the true cross, known as the rood of S. Neot (or in Welsh crosnaith), and the crown of King Arthur. All these relics were suggestive in their way. By the bones of Constantius the old Roman imperial connection was symbolised, the Welsh descent being *ex regiâ stirpe*. The very name Constantinus meets us in the "Tyrannus Dumnoniæ" mentioned by Gildas; in the valiant Geraint son of Constantinus, who fell fighting at Llongporth (Langport). S. Neot may have been that Cornish saint

1. Wells MSS.

2. "Chronicle of Nicholas Trivet" and "Matthew of Westminster," and "Dawn of the Constitution," by Sir J. Ramsay.

(perpetuated in the Neotstoke or S. Neots of Domesday), the friend of King Alfred and brought up at Glastonbury, who, as John of Glastonbury¹ remarks, journeyed to Jerusalem, whence he may have brought the crossnaith. Or had the crossnaith a still earlier history dating back to the finding of the true cross by the Empress Helena herself?

By the crown of King Arthur was symbolised that "Benedicta Corona" which King Ina took, together with Guala.

In that remarkable speech or address of King Edgar,² the descendant of Ina and Alfred, addressed to the elders of the churches and monasteries, about the abuses which had crept in and defiled the religious life of the day, the king uses these remarkable words: "Ego Constantini vos Petri gladium habetis in manibus. Jungamus dextras: gladium gladio copulemur ut purgetur Sanctuarium Dei." The expression "I have the sword of Constantine," is a significant one, and is full of a deep historical meaning. King Edgar thought that he inherited this imperial power, and in his charter to the abbey of Malmesbury (A.D. 974) he subscribes himself "Ego Edgarus totius Albionis Basileus (an eastern title) necnon maritimarum seu insularum Regum circum habitantium," and in another, "Ego Edgar Basileus anglie et Imperator, Insularum," i.e. of a sea empire.

It will be remembered that when the Empress Helena was credited with the discovery of the true Cross at Jerusalem, the nails of it were afterwards inserted round the head of Constantine in that famous statue³ erected at Constantinople, representing the rays of the sun, as a kind of nimbus. According to another account the nails of the Passion were turned into a bit for the war-horse of the emperor, symbolic of the military power of Con-

1. John of Glastonbury and Vita S. Neoti.

2. "Adam of Domerham," ii, 667.

3. Milman's "Latin Christianity," vol. ii, pp. 337-349.

stantine. In his statue he held in his hand the sceptre and the globe, emblematic of universal dominion. It would be interesting to discover whether the crown of Arthur, which fell to Edward I as part of the booty of war, was ever kept or described.

In early British history there are certain undercurrents of history very powerful in their influences, but ignored at the time by historians who may have neither sympathy nor perception. The monastic writers of the day—especially the Benedictines—were not to be trusted, their chief endeavour being to bring the society into bondage under S. Peter at Rome. The sword of Constantinus—to use King Edgar's phrase—was not much use to them unless it could be wielded at the discretion of the representative of S. Peter at Rome, and for his exaltation. On the other hand, in the minds of the people of these islands the Constantine traditions must have meant, broadly speaking, Christian traditions, not Papal traditions or Benedictine aspirations. Herein lay great differences. Constantine takes us to the east and to the eastern church.

The spell of Rome's temporal power did not mean the prerogative of S. Peter's chair. The days of the Ultramontane special pleaders were not yet. Gildas himself wrote : "It is also promised to every good priest whatsoever thou shalt loose upon earth shall be loosed in Heaven." With him the true priest was the Rock. It was the iniquity of the false messengers of the gospel that aroused the wrath of Gildas, together with wickedness in high places. In his capacity of general mentor he would have spared neither pope nor erring cardinal.

In the days of Gildas Rome was imposing as the conqueror of the world, sinking down certainly beneath the combined attacks of the barbarians, but still great in the legacies she bequeathed to succeeding generations : her laws, her arts, her civilization, and her military system. There were many signs of Roman greatness in such

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places, as already noted, in Caerleon itself, and in the roads that led to and from it everywhere in Britain. But these very roads did not lead to the chair of the supreme pontiff, or to the "limina apostolorum," or to any British school at Rome.

It is around the tomb of Rex Arturus, however, that so much centres at Glastonbury, and from time to time the kings of England have shown their interest in the story of it. As late as the reign of Henry VII the Prince of Wales was called Arthur,¹ in memory of the celebrated king of the Britons, from whom Henry wished it to be thought that he was descended. In recent times the late Prince Consort revived the old office of constable and governor of Tintagel Castle, the reputed birthplace of the king. It was in 1245 that Richard, king of the Romans, entertained David of Wales there as his guest, the castle being of most undoubted antiquity. It was just such a sea-fortress as would suit some bold Dumnonian chief whose kingdom was of the sea.

King Arthur, after the famous battle of Camlan (so the story ran), was buried at Glastonbury in A.D. 542. A wild tale was propagated amongst the population that the king had withdrawn into some magical region, from which at some time he was to re-appear and to lead the Celts in triumph. Henry II, who twice visited Wales, had heard from an ancient British bard that Arthur was interred at Glastonbury and that two pyramids marked the place. These pyramids long remained at Glastonbury, and have been represented, together with their inscriptions, in Spelman's "Concilia" (p. 21). At the bidding of the king the monks dug between the pyramids until they came to a leaden cross lying under a stone, which had this inscription: "Hic jacet sepultus inclytus Rex Arturus in insula Avallonia." This, Giraldus Cambrensis saw himself and handled. (See Chap. II).

1. Lingard, vol. v, p. 385.

Below this, at the depth of sixteen feet from the surface, a coffin of hollowed oak was found, containing bones of an unusual size.¹ The leg bone was three fingers' breadth longer than that of the tallest man present. This man was pointed out to Giraldus. The skull was large and showed the marks of ten wounds (*cicatrices*). Nine of these had concreted into the bony mass, but one had a cleft in it, and the opening still remained, which was apparently the mortal blow. Giraldus has also recorded that the bones of one of King Arthur's wives were found there together with his, but distinct, and lying at the lower end. Her yellow tresses lay apparently perfect in substance and colour, but when a monk too eagerly grasped at them and raised them up they fell to dust. The bones were removed from their original position into the great church of Glastonbury, and placed in a magnificent shrine.²

This account is circumstantial enough, and there is no reason whatever to doubt the truth of Giraldus. Whether in this particular instance it was simply curiosity that impelled Henry II to begin his investigation at Glastonbury, or simply a desire to establish some genealogical fact in his own ancestry, does not appear. Nearly 100 years afterwards Edward I, together with his Queen Alienora, visited Glastonbury (A.D. 1278) in state. His object then was to convince the Welsh, with whom he was just on the point of opening a campaign, that King Arthur, their idealised champion, (who they thought

1. "Giraldus de Instructione Principum."

2. "Os enim tibie ipsius (arturi) appositum tibie longissimi viri . . . et juxta pedem terre illius affixum, tribus digitis trans genu ipsius se porrexit. Os etiam capitis . . . capax erat et grossum adeo ut inter cilium et oculos spatium palmalem amplitudinem longe contineret. Apparebant autem in hoc vulnera decem aut plura quæ cuncta præter unum majus cæteris (quod hiatum grandem fecerat, quodque solum lethale fuisse videbatur) in solidam convenerant cicatricem.—Giraldus Cambrensis "De Instructione Principum."

The inscription on the coffin ran thus: "Hic jacet sepultus inclytus Rex Arturus cum Wennevereia uxore sua secunda in insula Avalonia."

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would rise again and lead them to victory) was really dead and buried.

The ceremony of the visit has been somewhat fully described by Adam of Domerham. The royal visit was timed for Easter, and the Archbishop of Canterbury, Robert Kilwarby, came to administer the holy chrism by leave of the Abbot and convent—so the jealous monk writes. The Archdeacon of Wells was present, the Bishop being away, and showed the oil and balsam, the monks serving, although the Wells clergy (Wellenses) fought against it. But the archbishop broke off the dispute. On Easter day the archbishop, as on the three previous days, performed the solemn services. On Easter Monday the assizes were held “outside the XII Hides,” as already noticed (Chapter I), and on Easter Tuesday the king and his whole court were entertained by the monks.

In the evening the lord king caused the sepulchre of King Arthur to be opened. Then in two chests (in duabus cistis), with their pictures portrayed (imaginibus depictis), they found the bones of the aforesaid king, of a wonderful size; also the remains of queen Gwunnara, lying separately. The skull of the king showed a cut across the left ear and marks of the blow of which he died. With each of the bodies clear writing was found. On the morrow the lord king took the bones of the king and of the queen, and wrapping them each in a precious cloth (palliis preciosis) replaced them in their chests setting their seals upon them and commanding that the sepulchre should be placed before the great altar (ante majus altare).

The heads of both the corpses were kept outside to attract the worship and attention of the people, the following writing being placed before the relics :—

“ Here are the bones of the most noble King Arthur, which in the year of our Lord, 1278, on the 13th of the kalends of May, were placed here by King Edward, the

noble king of England, in the presence of the most serene Alienora, the consort of the aforesaid king, and the daughter Domini Ferandi, king of Spain : of magister William de Middleton (tunc Norwycensi electo, *i.e.* Bishop of Norwich) ; magister Thomas de Bek, then Archdeacon of Dorset and treasurer of the aforesaid king : Lord Henry de Lacy, Earl of Lincoln ; Lord Amadeus (comite Salvinia vel Subaudia) and many other English magnates.

Another royal visit was made to Glastonbury in the time of Adam de Sodbury, who in 1331 entertained king Edward and queen Philippa at a vast expense.¹ The Abbot is said to have spent £800 on this visit which represented a very large sum for those days. Edward III took the opportunity of going with his court (*cum sua curia*) to Wells when he celebrated his birthday.

* * * * *

The royal visitors of 1909 will find stately Glastonbury in ruins. But as eternal hope has spread her wings over the sanctuary in past time, so now the motto will be "resurgam." Rescued from its uncared for state by the noble and persistent efforts of the Bishop of Bath and Wells, the old abbey, dedicated henceforth to the uses of the Episcopal Church, lives again. The form of the new existence is hidden from our view, but that chapter of war between an abbot and a bishop has long been closed, and the dawn of another day is in sight. The Glastonbury thorn is showing flower again !

" A place whereat to dream
Clothed in the fresh blossoms of another Spring ! "

In the past Glastonbury offers us two pictures : the first somewhat faint and shadowy ; the second, bolder in relief and certainly more instructive from the standpoint of warning and admonition ; viz : the picture of the Celtic

1. John of Glastonbury.

missions, and then that of Latin Christianity under the Benedictines. Imagine for a moment the characters portrayed in the two pictures of the past. In the first a Celtic anchorite alternating his long and voluntary vigils with frequent preaching, like a Savonarola, to the outside world ! An absorbed study of the sacred book was followed by eloquent exposition, the soul being chastened with self-imposed austerities, and the Celtic intellect fired into sudden flashes as the rebuke went forth (like that of old Gildas), to kings and princes and sinners in high places. He gathered his similes from the Hebrew, his diatribes from Isaiah and Ezekiel, his burning eloquence from the wild scenery of the Celtic shores.

At all ages the thoughts and rhetoric of a sea-faring folk are different from those of an inland people, being more random, wild and tempestuous, yet more often penetrated and refined by a faith in the unseen, and a trust in a higher power imposed upon them in their daily work as men occupying themselves in great waters, seeing the wonders of the deep and the marvels of the Creator. What has been termed the Celtic note has been often sounded in life and literature. In religion it is the very oldest note of all. Who but a strangely poetical people would have cherished all those dreams of a restored Arthurian dynasty, and the coming of a new age ? Who but the Celtic prophets could have consecrated their dreams by heroic struggles and heroic resolves ? What pathos lies around the reputed end of the great Cadwalader ! What romance indeed around Llewelyn !

The Benedictine picture gives us men like Dunstan with an ordered intelligence, a great character from the mechanical point of view in human nature, ambitious, self-seeking and striving for power at all hazards. Round a life of this sort cling legends and miracles in abundance, grossly superstitious in the main, and invented for a purpose. There is little human or humane about Dunstan. He worked on his own anvil, and the

sparks he struck were not those of human sympathies. The ordinary Benedictine, tied to his routine and cultivating his ideal inside, could not and did not appeal to the great outside world. When the gates closed behind the Benedictine they closed upon a life that might beat its wings in vain against the barriers unless it found an outlet in a bishopric or abbey. But these offices were only for the few. After all, to use Wordsworth's phrase, it was a "Benedictine coop."

The ruins of Glastonbury itself tell in their mute and suggestive fashion these two tales of human effort and of human ambition. The chapel of St. Joseph tells one story, more ancient, more fascinating, and in some respects more instructive than the story of the great Benedictine church standing to the east of it. The galilee, or porch, stands between the two creations, and it is a porch indeed that evokes memories. From the sacred well in the smaller and more primitive plot—fortunately unaltered in its size and dimensions through the centuries—to King Edgar's chapel, with the king's associations of the sword of Constantine the Great, how many transitions are implied. For the two churches are not merely puzzles for the ecclesiastical architect, but studies in our history, like an old palimpsest written over and over again and hard to decipher.

In treating such a subject as Glastonbury it is impossible to exorcise the imagination. This faculty must not be of the vain, random and inconclusive kind, but an almost divine gift of Restoration. It is—as Ruskin says—to traverse the scenes of history, to force the facts to become again visible, so as to make the same impression upon us as if we had witnessed them. Without it there can be no good architect, for the man who tries to restore—carefully and technically no doubt—but without the dreams and aspirations of the past, will fail in his task. Further, the imagination should not be too diffuse, so as to waste itself and fall back upon vacuity,

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but picture one thing at a time and brood over the inevitable contrasts between the old and the new. Let it not weary of itself. The cinematograph must not move too fast.

Yonder, on Polden Hill, the imagination may be requisitioned to call up that old windmill that used to flog the air with its creaking arms on Glastonbury ground, for many years a mark for sailors who crept up in light boat or coracle the shifting reaches of the Parret. The mill itself was symbolical of much in ancient days, the baronial rights (for the abbot was a baron), the dues for grinding, and the manifold contributions that the miller gave at Michaelmas or Martinmas to the abbot's court. Indeed, the mill itself was one of the old "*venticia molendina*" built by an abbot.

Again, imagination is needed to take even a wider flight at Polden Hill, and where now fat oxen wander at ease, knee-deep in pasture, picture again that circling sweep of the river Parret itself, near Downend, foaming with the tidal bore and carrying on its broad bosom the merchandise of the land. There were the islands, the outer and the inner island, through which the railway train now thunders, there the deep and treacherous bog, there the osier bed and alder grove, and there the boats of the fowler or fisherman gliding from one covert to another, and yonder the Benedictine servant setting his nets for the eels or salmon that would serve for the refectory table.

Or, again, along the exposed ruins of "The Abbot's Causeway" may not imagination call up the living personages of those gorgeous and magnificent times, the abbot and his retinue, the stately trappings of a ceremonious age, the proud and defiant bearing of such an abbot as Turstin; the grandeur of Henry de Blois, the nephew of Henry I and bishop of Winchester and pope's legate in England, as well as abbot of Glastonbury; or, further back in time, the great Dunstan, who may indeed have

planned the causeway itself. They pass by in shadowy files, each with his story and life history, each with his work and purpose, and each with his niche in sacred Glastonbury, proud to have his sepulture there at last.

After the Norman Conquest, in Glastonbury Abbey there was an incident behind which lay a great deal when that celebrated dispute arose between Turstin and the monks of Glastonbury. Turstin, the proud Norman, was thrust into the office of abbot by William the Conqueror from being simply a monk of Caen. How the Saxon fraternity must have writhed beneath the foreign yoke ! and how the passions of a national revolt must have been fanned by every petty regulation by which the Norman maintained his will against all the old ways ! until, indeed, when Turstin chose the chants of William of Fecamps (another hateful William) and compelled the monks to abandon their old Gregorian chant and to sing his own tune, the smouldering ashes of national discontent leaped into a flame. Soldiers broke into the chapter house, the monks fled to their altars, and there the Norman abbot himself spared them not and slew them. The roods, images, and shrines of the saints were overthrown, and the holy place was defiled with blood. Even the Conqueror could not countenance this impious deed, and Turstin had to leave.

Indeed, the imagination may run riot from one congenial field to another, and yet we may feel sure that the pictures summoned back to the canvas had once a true original. The question is, how far back can we go in the case of this old monastery and still know and feel that the figures come within the circle of reality and of living, breathing existence. Circle winds within a circle, curve within a curve, like the involved plait-work of such a Celtic-inscribed stone as that of Llanwit Major, or like the circular knot-work of the cross shaft at Kells. We dare not unravel the story with too much completeness, we dare not deny the existence of one circle without

impugning the validity of the other, and so let the beautiful patchwork of old and new fall to pieces.

Then there is that other peculiar plait-work of Geoffrey of Monmouth, illustrated to the full with marvellous scroll-foliage and abnormal beasts. What a pity it was that Geoffrey threw away his splendid chance! Monmouth was just the place wherein to write the history of that great struggle by sea and land between Briton and Saxon! The walls of Caerleon should have inspired the Monmouth historian—so also those magnificent remains of Roman times that Giraldus saw. Or Gildas should have written about King Arthur and Glastonbury, as he was indeed well fitted to do. But, the story goes, that because his brother was slain by King Arthur, therefore he condemned the national chief to silence as far as he was concerned. And perhaps we cannot blame Gildas. For want of better evidence we must fill in the characters of those days where and how we may—place Gerontius or Geraint at Langport (if this be Llongporth), where that great battle for the Parret valley was fought between Saxon and British—place Arthur here, there, and everywhere, as leader in those twelve notable fights—yet feel never quite certain. For want of the exact knowledge we may betake ourselves in the quivering moonlight to Cadbury Camp, and dream around its triple ramparts. They are solid enough, and must have sheltered those hosts of men, whilst beyond and around it rose that notable British city, imitating the glories of Caerleon, with domes and ramparts, now gone for ever in ruins and absolute decay. Yonder stands the Tor of Glastonbury with its S. Michael's Church, an inspiring centre of this British life and chivalry.

Perhaps it is as well that it should be so. Had Geoffrey written like a Livy or a Thucydides, in concise and well-arranged chapters and books, with dates and paragraphs in orderly sequence, there would have

been no room for the fascinating guess-work of the archæologist, no region available for the attractive half-lights of a mysterious past! *Omne ignotum pro magnifico!* So let it be! They must have been majestic those British heroes! They must have been inspired those British Sacerdotes who prayed around that holy thorn! They must have been mighty those giants who lived around Brent Knoll! They must have been terrible those venomous serpents sought out and overcome by the men of God! The stoles tamed the serpents and made them docile as calves (*quasi vitulos*) as the stole of a Celtic sailor saint, Carantacus, tamed, as we have seen, some monster in the great Karre. All was marvellous around the shores of the Severn Sea and the sacred Ynys Witrin! And so let it be!

In Ynys Witrin was the eternal "Frith" or Peace of God! In Ynys Witrin there was an inviolate sanctuary! In Ynys Witrin the earthly kings' Writ did not run, alone of all places in the kingdom! Only the Writ of the Almighty guarded the sacred spot with the archangel S. Michael on the Tor!



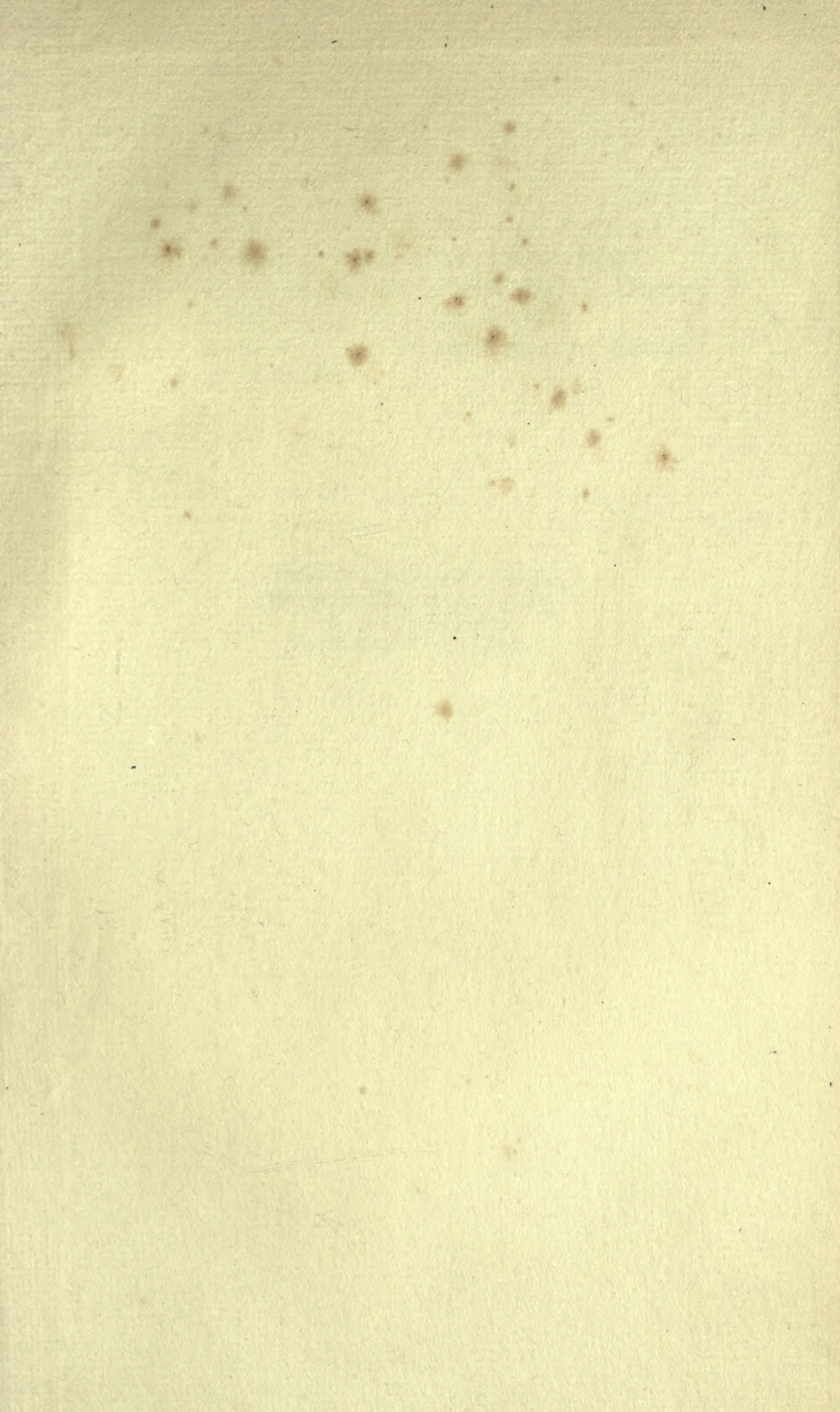
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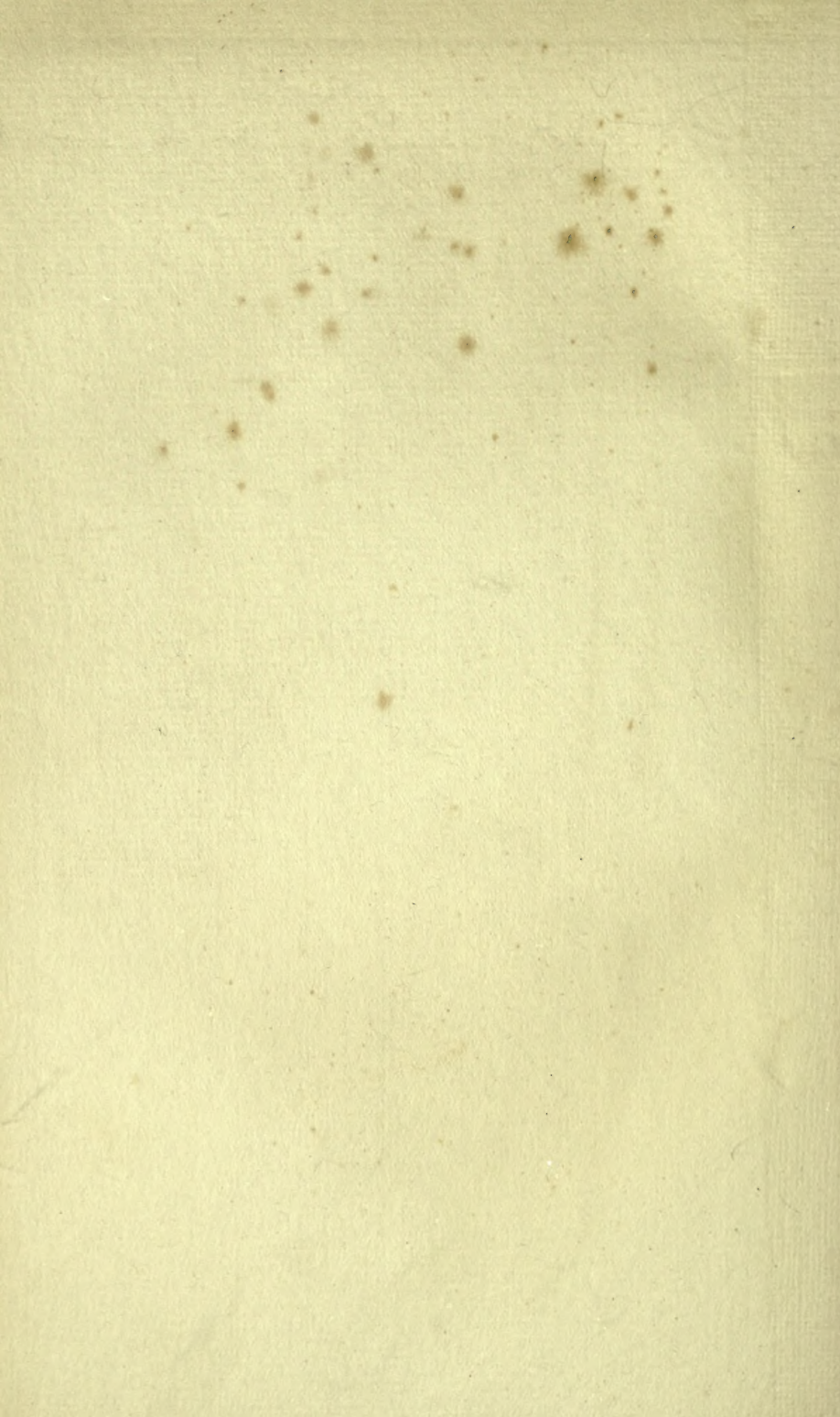
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