EDWARD LHUYD AND THE ORIGINS OF EARLY MEDIEVAL CELTIC ARCHAEOLOGY

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The Welshman Edward Lhuyd (?1659/60–1709), Keeper of the Ashmolean Museum, was a naturalist, philologist and antiquarian. He wrote the Welsh additions to Camden's Britannia *(1695) and undertook extensive research for an* Archaeologia Britannica. *He was part of the scientific revolution centred on the Royal Society and was influenced by the flowering of Anglo-Saxon studies in late seventeenth-century Oxford. Although many of his papers were destroyed, sufficient evidence survives to assess his methodology for recording early medieval antiquities – particularly inscribed stones and stone sculpture in Wales and other Celtic areas – as well as his analysis of them. His legacy is of considerable importance and he may be regarded as the founding father of early medieval Celtic archaeology.*

During his great tour of Wales, Scotland, Ireland, Cornwall and Brittany (1697–1701) Edward Lhuyd penned a letter from Dolgellau to his friend Bishop Humphrey Humphreys of Bangor (29 March 1699),[1] enclosing a sheet with a few drawings of inscriptions he had seen on his travels.[2] These included an early medieval inscribed stone of probable ninth-century date from Llanddewibrefi, in Cardiganshire (fig 1).[3] Lhuyd described how he had the monument removed from the wall of the church so as to reveal the complete inscription, which read: *Hic iacet Idnert filivs Iacobi / qvi occisvs fvit propter predam / sancti David* ('Here lies Idnert son of Iacobus, who was slain on account of the plundering of St David'). Lhuyd's drawing is the only complete record of this monument, which commemorates the victim of a raid on the ecclesiastical foundation of Llanddewibrefi, dedicated to Wales's patron saint.[4] Today only two small fragments of the inscription survive, built into the fabric of the church, but they are enough to indicate the relative accuracy of Lhuyd's record.

Edward Lhuyd was responsible, together with his associates and a network of correspondents, for recording nearly ninety similar examples of early medieval inscribed stones and stone sculptures in Wales, over eighty of them for the first time. In addition he noted a small number of other early medieval monuments in Wales – for example, the route of Offa's Dyke[5] and a reliquary known as *Arch Gwenfrewi*.[6] He also recorded seven examples of early medieval inscribed stones and crosses in Cornwall, and various inscribed stones, grave-slabs and crosses in Scotland and Ireland, including examples from Iona (Argyllshire) and Clonmacnoise (Co Offaly); he also visited the ringfort and souterrain at Rathmulcah, near Castle Conor (Co Sligo), and the round tower at Antrim.[7]

There has been considerable discussion of Edward Lhuyd's pioneering role in the development of the discipline of prehistoric archaeology. The significance of his careful recording and analysis of a range of prehistoric field monuments, including megalithic

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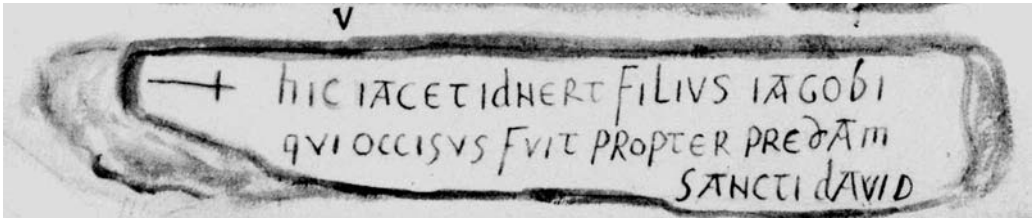E-mail: <n.edwards@bangor.ac.uk>.

Fig 1. Lhuyd's drawing of the inscribed memorial stone commemorating *Idnert* at Llanddewibrefi (Cardiganshire) sent to Bishop Humphrey Humphreys of Bangor (UWB, Penrhos V, no. 868). *Drawing*: reproduced by kind permission of Lord Stanley of Alderney.

tombs such as Newgrange (Co Meath), has long been recognized, as have his perceptive discussions of early stone tools and metal artefacts, all of which he recognized as the material remains of ancient Britons.[8] However, there has been little discussion of his role in early medieval archaeology, particularly in Wales, and to a lesser extent in other parts of Celtic Britain and Ireland.[9] The aim of this study is to assess the significance of Lhuyd's contribution to early medieval Celtic archaeology, particularly his recording of inscribed stones and stone sculpture, and examine his efforts to analyse this material.

LIFE AND INTELLECTUAL CIRCLES

Edward Lhuyd (?1659/60–1709) was born at Loppington (Shropshire), the illegitimate son of Edward Lloyd of Llanforda, near Oswestry, and Bridget Pryse of Glanfred, Tal-y-bont (Cardiganshire). Though brought up in his father's house,[10] at a time when the Welsh gentry were beginning to lose their Welsh inheritance and to look increasingly towards England in their language and culture,[11] he has been described as 'Welsh to the core'.[12] His father was a member of the landed gentry and had a keen interest in gardens and experimental science. His gardener was the botanist Edward Morgan and it is generally argued that he was instrumental in Lhuyd's precocious development as a botanist and plant collector, particularly of mountain flora.[13] At the same time Lhuyd may have been introduced to antiquarian pursuits through his kinsman Thomas Sebastian Price (d 1704), who, with others of his circle, collected and copied manuscripts and was a firm adherent of Geoffrey of Monmouth's mythical interpretation of the origins of the Britons.[14] Lhuyd went up to Jesus College, Oxford, in 1682 but never graduated. Instead he gravitated towards the newly established Ashmolean Museum, whose first keeper was the natural scientist and antiquarian Robert Plot.[15] In 1684 he began to publish scientific papers in the Royal Society's *Philosophical Transactions* and in 1686 he completed a classified catalogue of the Ashmolean's shell collection. He became Plot's assistant in 1687 and succeeded him as keeper in 1691. At the end of the 1680s and during the early 1690s his research focused on the production of a pioneering catalogue of British fossils which was finally published in 1699.[16] He was also beginning to demonstrate an interest in linguistics.[17]

However, the turning point in his development as an antiquarian came in 1693, when, through the auspices of his friend, the Anglo-Saxonist William Nicolson, he was invited to contribute additions to three Welsh counties for Edmund Gibson's new edition of Camden's *Britannia* (eventually he was to be responsible for the whole of

Wales).[18] Lhuyd's fieldwork in south Wales in 1693, and his use of a network of Welsh correspondents to provide information, were not only crucial to the acknowledged success of his part in this massive project, but also made clear to him the future direction of his life's work. In November 1695 he published a proposal seeking subscribers for *A Design of a British Dictionary, Historical & Geographical: with an Essay entitl'd 'Archaeologia Britannica'*.[19] As a result of the success of this he embarked in 1696 on a systematic campaign of information-gathering by printing a questionnaire, *Parochial Queries*. Three copies of this were distributed to each parish in Wales, eliciting over 140 responses.[20] These provided him with much relevant data, including references to antiquities, and aided him in planning his fieldwork – in north Wales from April to October 1696 – and then, with his assistants William Jones, David Parry and Robert Wynne, his great tour – primarily of Wales (1697–9), but also parts of Ireland and Scotland (1699–1700), Cornwall (1700–1) and finally a brief visit to Brittany (1701).[21] In addition to describing and illustrating antiquities, Lhuyd and his assistants recorded and collected natural history specimens and consulted private libraries and manuscript collections and, wherever possible, Lhuyd acquired ancient manuscripts and other Celtic books, such as dictionaries.[22] On his return to Oxford Lhuyd concentrated on his ground-breaking linguistic study of the Celtic languages, the *Glossography*, which was published in 1707, but this was the only volume of his proposed *Archaeologia Britannica or An Account of the Ancient Languages, Customs, and Monuments of the British Isles* to see the light of day.[23] He was belatedly elected a fellow of the Royal Society in 1708 and died unexpectedly in 1709.[24]

Throughout his adult life Lhuyd had a wide circle of friends and acquaintances with whom he met and corresponded, and some also acted as his patrons. Several of these men are now recognized alongside Lhuyd as amongst the leading intellectuals of the scientific revolution in Britain in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries and were involved in the crucial early decades of the development of the Royal Society, when it promoted antiquarian as well as scientific research.[25] A number of these men had a profound influence on Lhuyd's development as an antiquarian. Although Lhuyd clearly disliked him, it was Robert Plot (*c* 1640–96), the first keeper of the Ashmolean and secretary of the Royal Society (1682–4), who was instrumental in fostering his prodigious talents, especially as a natural scientist, during Lhuyd's early career in the museum.[26] Plot's county histories – *The Natural History of Oxfordshire* (1677) and *The Natural History of Staffordshire* (1686) – which were written according to the Baconian values of the Royal Society, made use of data gathered through questionnaires and had a separate section on antiquities at the end of each volume;[27] these volumes were undoubtedly influential in the initial stages of Lhuyd's projected *Archaeologia Britannica*.[28]

In his county histories Plot was indebted in turn to the antiquary John Aubrey (1626–97),[29] who was also an important influence on Lhuyd; the two carried on an extensive correspondence in the early 1690s.[30] Aubrey, whose family was of Welsh extraction, was the author of the unpublished *Monumenta Britannica*,[31] which relied on extensive fieldwork, accurate recording and observation, and contained some original and significant lines of analysis; it has been suggested that this should be regarded as the first work entirely devoted to archaeology in the modern sense.[32] Similarly, Lhuyd's original *Design* for his *Archaeologia Britannica* shows that Part 3 was to be concerned with British monuments in Wales 'and either older, or not much later than the *Roman* Conquest', while Part 4 was to be 'An Account of the *Roman* antiquities there and some

others of later Date, during the Government of the *British* Princes; together with Copies of all the Inscriptions of any considerable Antiquity'.[33] Aubrey also worked for many years on the natural history and antiquities of his native Wiltshire and was persuaded to contribute some observations on that county to Gibson's edition of Camden's *Britannia* (1695). Lhuyd was acutely aware of the significance of *Monumenta Britannica* and with others tried unsuccessfully to persuade Aubrey to publish it.[34] He was, however, able to encourage him to deposit most of his unpublished writings in the Ashmolean.

Also influential on Lhuyd were the naturalists John Ray (1627–1705) and Martin Lister (*c* 1639–1712), who was elected Vice-President of the Royal Society in 1685.[35] Lhuyd corresponded regularly with them during the 1690s. Both were primarily concerned with the first-hand recording, illustration and classification of natural species and their methods acted as models for Lhuyd's own work on natural history as well as influencing his methodology as an antiquarian.[36] It is pertinent to note that Ray also recorded antiquities on his expeditions and had linguistic interests to which Lhuyd contributed, while Lister also published pioneering articles on the archaeology of Roman York in the Royal Society's *Philosophical Transactions* during the 1680s.[37]

Lhuyd was likewise in regular contact with members of a different intellectual circle whose interests lay in the language, history and antiquities of Anglo-Saxon England at a time that was crucial for the development of all aspects of Anglo-Saxon studies.[38] Indeed, Parry has argued that 'perhaps the most impressive achievements of the antiquarian movement in the seventeenth century lay in the clarification of the Anglo-Saxon past'.[39] This was part of a growing sense of patriotism and of English national identity and a need to recover and order the language, history and antiquities of Anglo-Saxon England.[40] In the 1680s and 1690s, The Queen's College, Oxford, was renowned as a centre of Anglo-Saxon studies and Lhuyd knew and corresponded with several Anglo-Saxon scholars with Oxford connections. These included Edmund Gibson (1669–1748), George Hickes (1642–1715), who praised Lhuyd's *Glossography*, Thomas Tanner (1674–1735) and Humphrey Wanley (1672–1726).[41] His most important friend and correspondent was William Nicolson (1658–1727),[42] the first holder of the lectureship in Anglo-Saxon studies, established in 1679, at The Queen's College, though he resigned it in 1681 to return to his native Cumbria where he eventually became bishop of Carlisle. In Carlisle he planned, though never completed, a history of Northumbria, which would have included British, Roman and Danish – as well as Anglo-Saxon – antiquities.[43] Lhuyd's knowledge of advances in Anglo-Saxon scholarship would have made plain to him the need to record and order the language, history and antiquities of Wales and other parts of Celtic Britain and Ireland. This would have been made all the more immediate because of his realization that many aspects of the ancient cultures of the Celtic west and north had disappeared, or were fast disappearing, and that the languages were dying out in some areas.[44] In a letter to Tanner he bemoans the loss of 'our writings' in Wales and describes an eye-witness account of the burning of 'heaps of parchment books & rolls' at St Davids during the Civil War.[45]

As we have seen, Lhuyd's network of friends and correspondents in Wales was vital in helping him to gather information for his additions to *Britannia* and his subsequent research, and his work stimulated the interest and participation of his fellow countrymen. Welshmen formed the backbone of the subscribers to his *Archaeologia Britannica*, and the *Glossography* was dedicated to his most important patron, Thomas Mansel of Margam.[46] Lhuyd's long correspondence with his close friend and kinsman John Lloyd, the school master at Ruthin (Denbighshire), is particularly important and

reveals his growing enthusiasm for antiquities as he worked on his additions to *Britannia*.[47] Other contacts, notably William Gambold (1670–1728) and Erasmus Saunders (1670–1724), who knew Lhuyd when they were students in Oxford, were encouraged to record inscribed stones in Carmarthenshire and Pembrokeshire for *Britannia* on Lhuyd's behalf and Richard Mostyn communicated information on the cross known as *Maen Achwyfan* at Whitford (Flintshire) as well as excavating round the base.[48] The *Parochial Queries* also elicited valuable responses – for example, that of the parish of Llanboidy (Carmarthenshire) from David Lewis and five parishes in Anglesey from Henry Rowlands (1655–1723), the antiquarian and later author of *Mona Antiqua Restaurata*.[49] Also of considerable significance was his correspondence with Humphrey Humphreys (1648–1712), bishop of Bangor, who was, according to Lhuyd, 'incomparably the best skill'd in our Antiquities of any person in Wales'.[50]

SOURCES

Before assessing Edward Lhuyd's contribution to the study of early medieval Celtic archaeology, some discussion is necessary of the value of the extant sources, both published and documentary. Lhuyd's additions to Camden's *Britannia* edited by Gibson (1695) are his only published work with extensive archaeological content. The original manuscript he prepared for the printer, complete with many of his pasted-up drawings, has also survived.[51] Later he made some additions and emendations which were published posthumously in the next (1722) edition of Camden's *Britannia*.[52] The additions clearly demonstrate Lhuyd's methodology, including recording and illustrating monuments at first hand wherever possible, his analysis of them, and his use of reports made by his network of Welsh correspondents. However, Lhuyd also discussed inscriptions from time to time in his *Glossography* (1707), and it is important to note that his interest in early medieval inscriptions was in large part directly linked to the evidence they could provide on the evolution of the Celtic languages.

Unfortunately, the bulk of Lhuyd's unpublished papers have not survived and it is difficult to ascertain how far he had advanced in writing up his research on antiquities at the time of his sudden death. He was in debt and intestate when he died in 1709;[53] many of the letters to him seem to have remained in the Ashmolean while his printed books were acquired by Oxford University, but in 1715 his invaluable collection of Celtic manuscripts and many of his own papers and some of his correspondence were sold to Sir Thomas Sebright, while the rest became scattered.[54] The Irish part of the manuscript collection then passed in 1786 to Trinity College Dublin[55] and the Welsh part in 1796–7 to Thomas Johnes of Hafod (Cardiganshire) where the majority was destroyed by fire in 1807. The residue of the Sebright collection was auctioned in 1807. This included thirty-six of Lhuyd's pocket memorandum books of his observations on natural history and antiquities and notes and drawings of antiquities and monuments in Wales, which were amongst the documents bought by Sir Watkin Williams Wynne III of Wynnstay. Much of this purchase perished in a fire in a binders shortly afterwards and further material was destroyed in the Wynnstay fire of 1858.[56] However, most of the rest of the Sebright collection was bought by Griffith Howel Vaughan of Hengwrt and eventually came, with other material, to the National Library of Wales, Aberystwyth.

Despite the destruction of so many of Lhuyd's papers, some manuscript material has survived and this casts valuable light on his working methods and his interpretation of
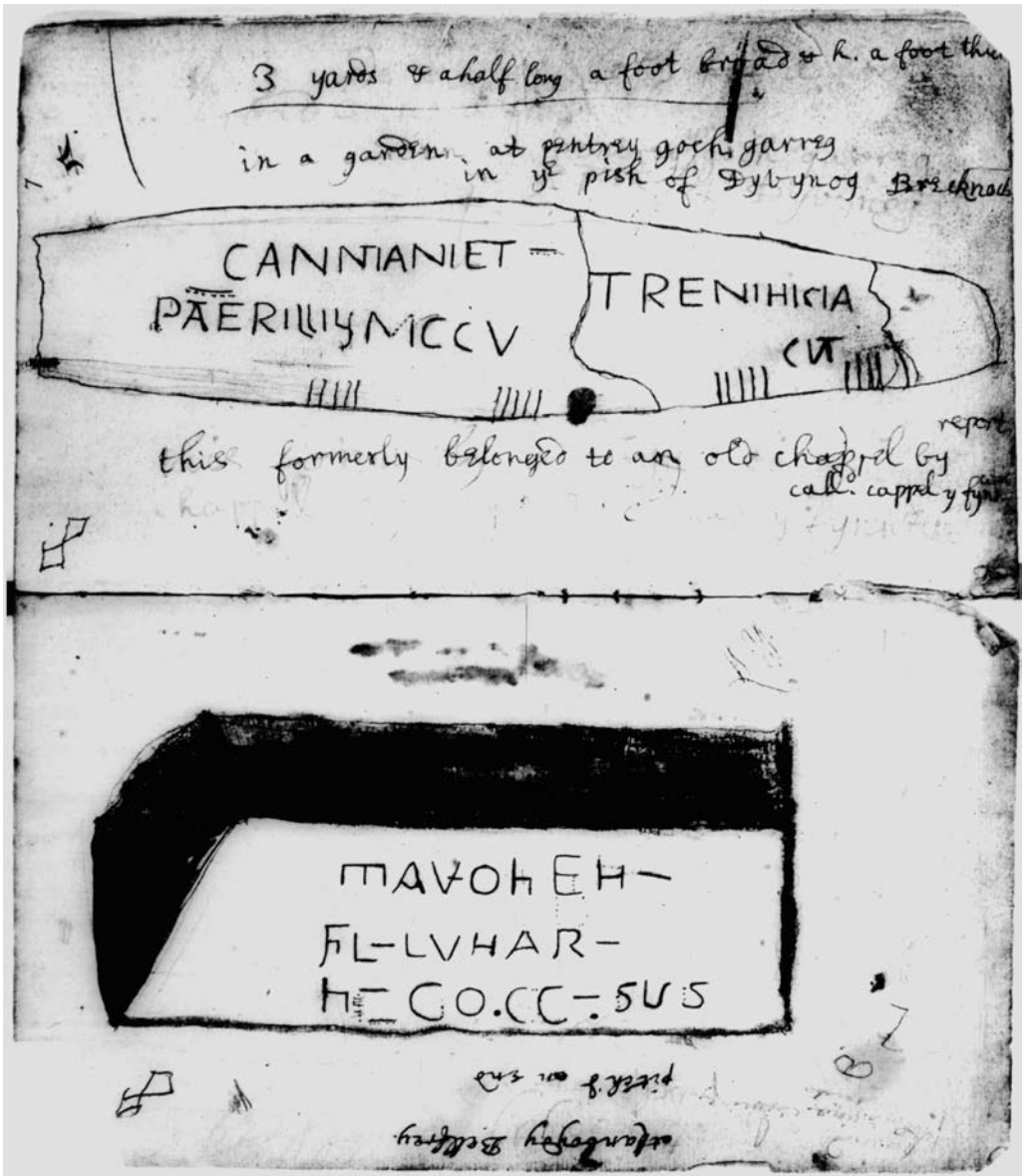
Fig 2. Lhuyd's drawings in his pocket memorandum book. *Top:* the lost ogam and roman-letter inscribed stone from Crai, Llywel (Breconshire); *bottom:* the now fragmentary roman-letter inscribed stone from Llanboidy (Carmarthenshire) (NLW, Llanstephan 185, 6–7). *Drawing:* reproduced with the permission of the National Library of Wales, Aberystwyth.

those early medieval monuments that he had either recorded for himself, or that had been drawn to his attention. Firstly, Lhuyd had gathered an enormous amount of material towards his *Archaeologia Britannica* as a result of replies to his *Parochial Queries*. As we have seen, some of the replies themselves have survived, but Lhuyd also brought
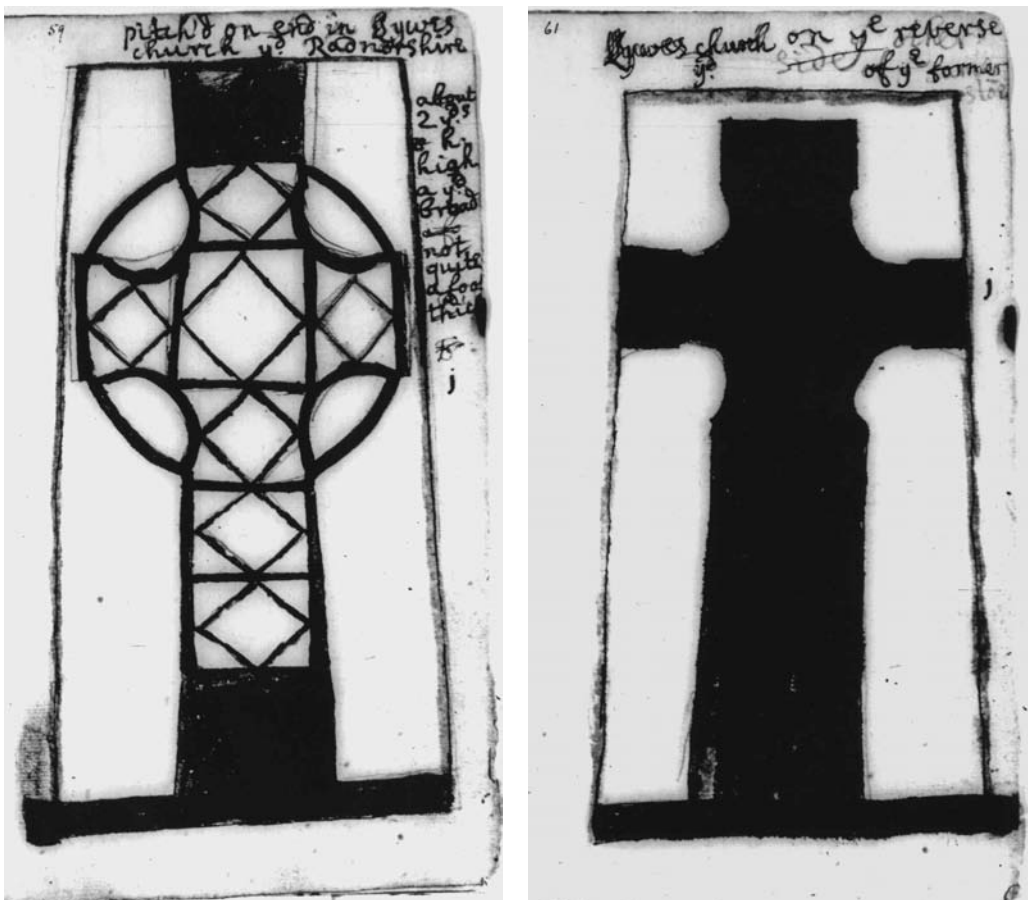
Fig 3. Lhuyd's drawings in his pocket memorandum book of the cross-slab from Llowes (Radnorshire). *Left*: front; *right*: back (NLW, Llanstephan 185, 59, 61). *Drawing*: reproduced with the permission of the National Library of Wales, Aberystwyth.

many of the replies together and added information to these from his travels. The resulting compilation also includes several mentions and valuable illustrations of early medieval antiquities, including the reliquary *Arch Gwenfrewi* from Gwytherin (Denbighshire) and a Latin inscribed stone from Llanfor (Merionethshire).[57]

Secondly, a few of Lhuyd's pocket memorandum books are still extant. One of these, written partly in English, partly in Latin and partly in Welsh, depending on the subject matter, includes what appear to be notes and illustrations of a variety of antiquities made on the spot during his great tour of Wales in 1698.[58] These comprise monuments mainly from the counties of Brecon, Radnor and Merioneth, though there are also examples from Carmarthenshire and Montgomeryshire; they include several early medieval carved stone monuments with illustrations – for example, the lost stone inscribed with ogam and roman letters from Crai, Llywel (Breconshire), the now incomplete stone inscribed in roman letters from Llanboidy (Carmarthenshire) (fig 2)[59] and the cross-slab from Llowes (Radnorshire) (fig 3).[60]
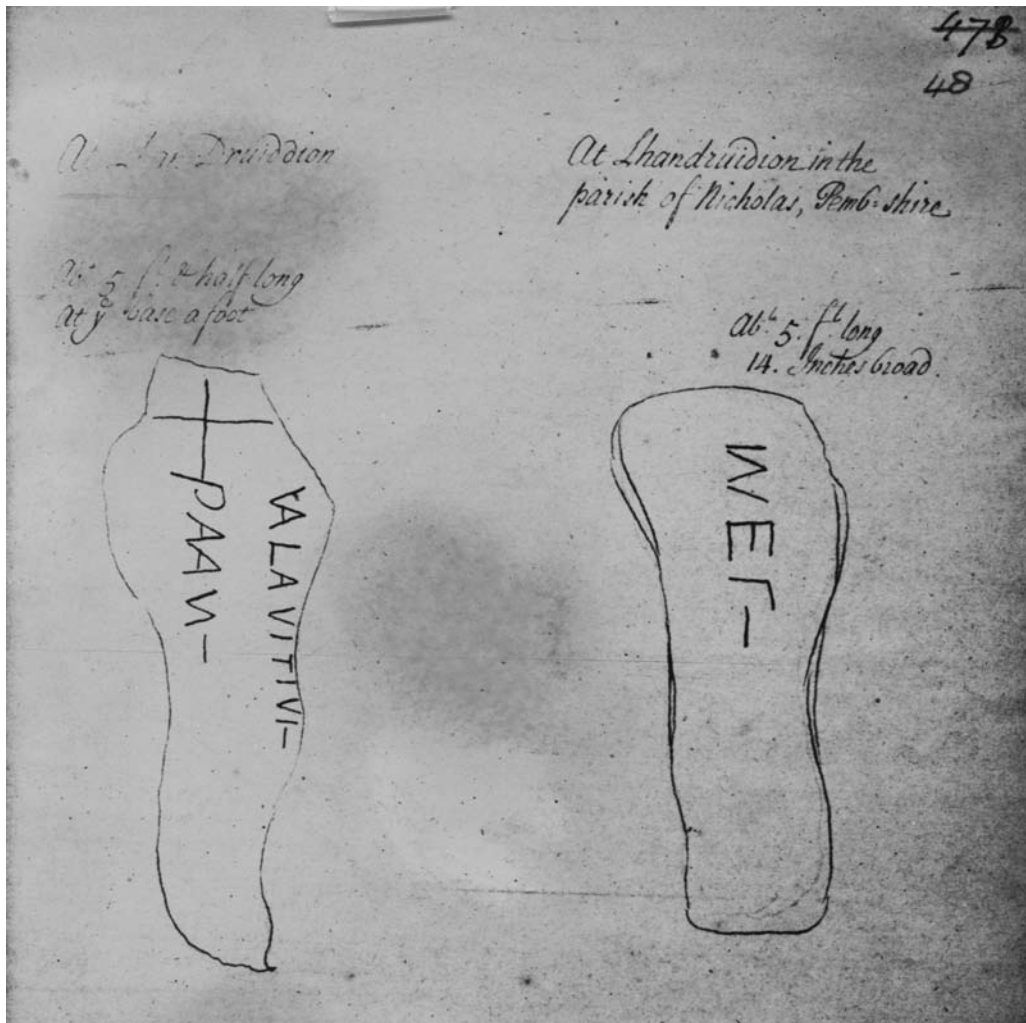
Fig 4. Drawings of two inscribed stones from Llandrudion Farm, St Nicholas
(Pembrokeshire) (BL, Stowe 1024, fol 48). *Drawing*: reproduced by permission of
the Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Wales and
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Thirdly, Lhuyd's own correspondence contains many examples of letters charting his
deepening interest in antiquities and reporting on his discoveries, sometimes including
quite a lot of detail and illustrations. In others we can see him trying out ideas or seeking
advice on his interpretations. His surviving letters to Humphrey Humphreys of Bangor
are particularly important because the collection also includes five loose sheets[61] with
Lhuyd's drawings of a variety of early medieval and other monuments he had seen in
Cornwall, Scotland and Wales, including the inscribed stone at Llanddewibrefi already
mentioned.

Two other manuscripts – BL, Stowe MSS 1023 and 1024 – are potentially of great
value but need to be used with care because they are copies of Lhuyd's papers, not

Fig 5. Two inscribed stones from Llandrudion Farm, St Nicholas (Pembrokeshire).
Photograph: Crown © Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Wales.
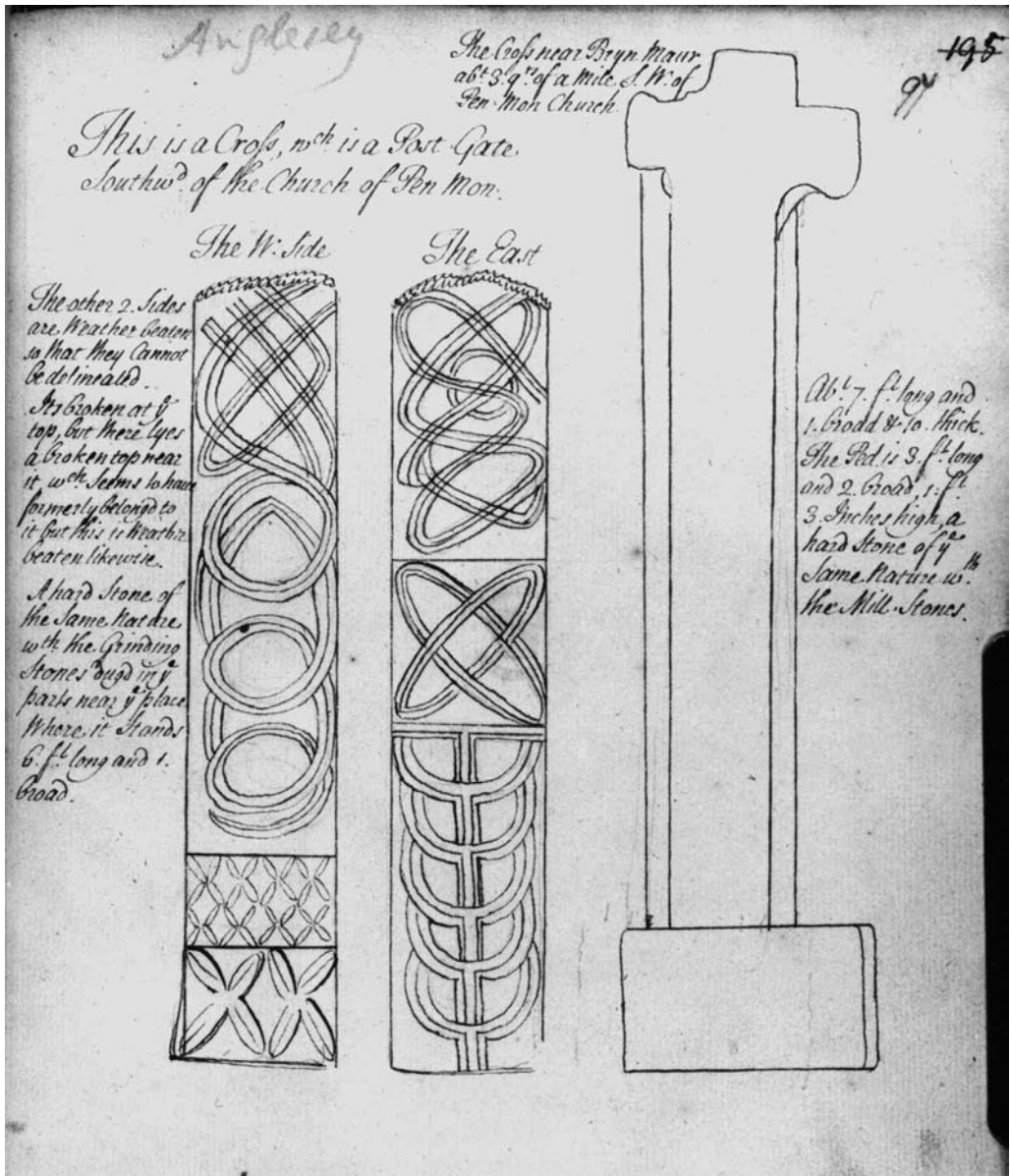
Fig 6. Drawings of a lost cross-shaft and cross from Penmon (Anglesey) (BL, Stowe 1023, fol 97). *Drawing*: reproduced by permission of the British Library.
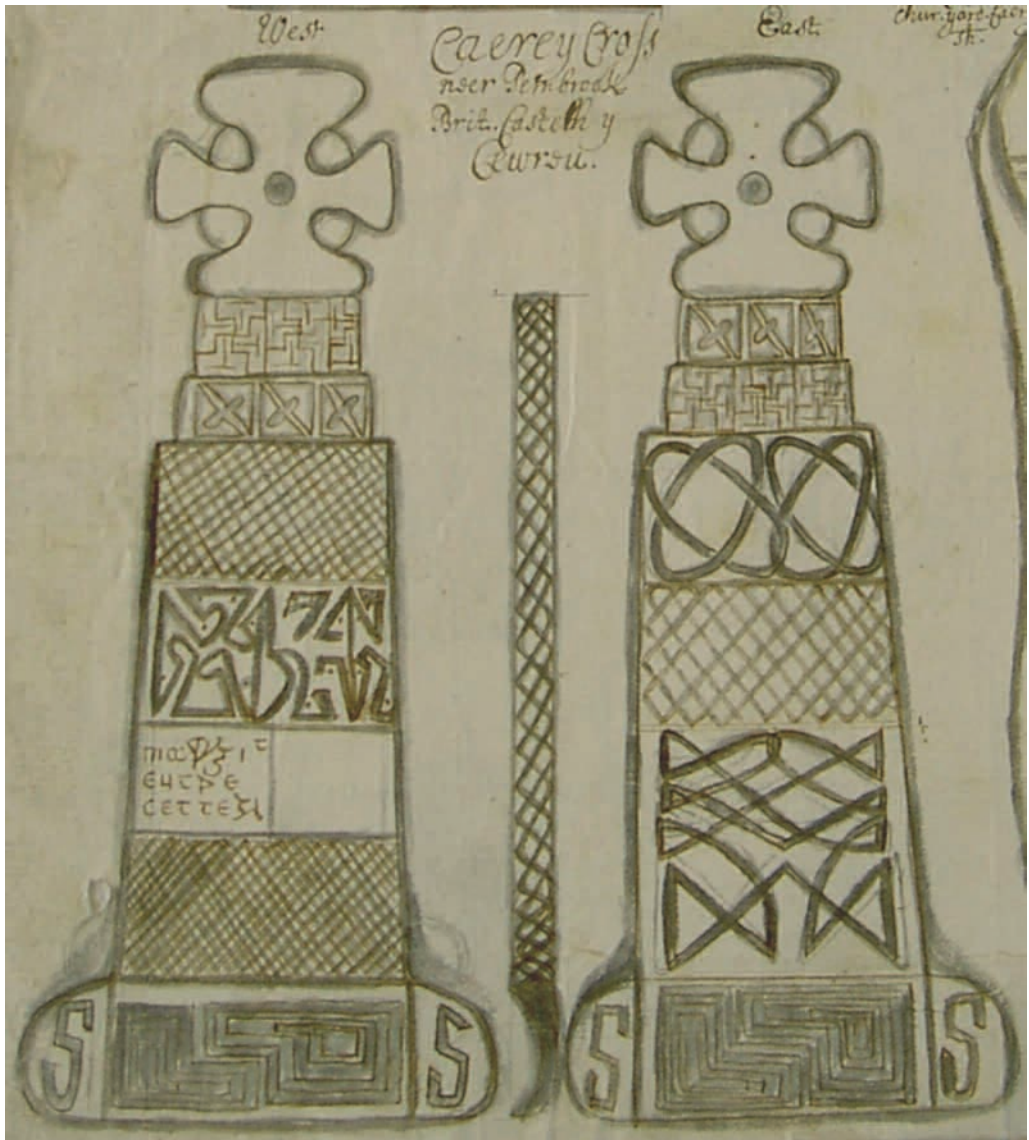
Fig 7. Lhuyd's drawing of the Carew cross (Pembrokeshire) (UWB, Penrhos V, no. 869). *Drawing*: reproduced by kind permission of Lord Stanley of Alderney.

originals. This two-volume compilation comprises records and accompanying illustrations of a large number of early medieval inscribed stones and stone crosses, as well as later medieval and early modern sculpture, inscriptions and effigies, Roman antiquities and prehistoric monuments, mainly from Wales, but also from Scotland, Ireland and Cornwall. Most were noted during Lhuyd's journeys of 1696 and 1697–1701.[62] Copies of some letters to Lhuyd have also been included. This material, probably largely from Lhuyd's pocket memorandum books, was copied after his death for the herald and antiquarian Sir John Anstis (1669–1744), a Cornishman, and the monuments at the beginning of the compilation are mainly from Anstis's native county. Lhuyd had been in touch with Anstis concerning Cornish manuscripts[63] and the latter had contemplated the purchase of Lhuyd's manuscripts and papers after his death.[64] However, there has been some confusion over the identity of the copyist. For many years the hand was identified either as that of Anstis himself or one of Lhuyd's assistants – most likely William Jones. Close scrutiny of the handwriting and spelling has since demonstrated that the copyist cannot be identified, though he was not a Welshman.[65]

Examination of the entries and illustrations of early medieval inscribed stones in the two manuscripts suggests that, although the outlines of the monuments, where they are shown, have been simplified, and any shading largely dispensed with, the letter forms have been copied with considerable care. This may be exemplified by comparing the copies of the drawings of two inscribed stones which Lhuyd recorded at Llandrudion Farm, St Nicholas (Pembrokeshire), with the surviving inscriptions on the monuments (figs 4 and 5).[66] Although Lhuyd's own notebook drawings have not survived for comparison, it is evident that, even though the outlines of the monuments are no more than poor sketches, the letter forms are remarkably accurate. Indeed, the value of the record for the modern archaeologist is indicated by the fact that on St Nicholas 3 (figs 4 and 5, left), a second line in the inscription has been noted. Today the only trace of this on the monument is the bottom of the ligatured VA on the right edge of the carved face; the rest has fractured away. Drawings of crosses in the Stowe manuscripts may have been less faithfully reproduced. Such monuments – for example, a lost cross-shaft and cross from Penmon (Anglesey) (fig 6)[67] – often appear greatly simplified, and their iconography and ornament are sometimes confused. Direct comparisons are not possible but Lhuyd's surviving illustration of the Carew cross (Pembrokeshire) bears some of the same traits (fig 7).[68] The proportions of the cross are poorly reproduced, but the ornament, though simplified, is fairly accurately indicated, as is the inscription.

CONTEXT, METHODOLOGY AND ANALYSIS

As we have seen, Lhuyd's interests lay mainly in the inscribed memorial stones of the fifth to earlier seventh centuries and in the later stone sculpture, particularly monuments with inscriptions, although he did record some other early medieval antiquities. The emphasis on inscribed monuments was in tune with contemporary antiquarian values,[69] the origins of which stretched back to William Camden, but he was drawn to these primarily because of his interest in Celtic philology. Although in Wales the early medieval inscriptions, with one exception, were in Latin, they still provided valuable evidence on Celtic name forms and early British scripts.

It is clear that Lhuyd greatly admired William Camden and was influenced by his scholarship, which included the recording of inscriptions. In March 1692 he wrote a

letter to his kinsman John Lloyd, saying that he was contemplating writing a *History of Wales* and enquiring about 'an unaccountable inscription' noted by Camden, on the early inscribed stone from Clocaenog (Denbighshire).[70] Later in October 1693, while engaged on writing his additions to Camden's *Britannia* after fieldwork in south Wales, he wrote to John Lloyd enthusiastically of Camden: 'I look upon Mr. Camden to have been one of the most learned, judicious, and ingenious writers in his kind that ever England or perhaps any other countrey has produc'd … But as to what we can adde or correct, I make no question were he alive, but he would be thankfull for it.'[71]

Like the work of John Leland in the first half of the sixteenth century, Camden's *Britannia* (1586) showed the value of seeing things at first hand. *Britannia* was structured to demonstrate that Britain was a province of the Roman Empire but also showed an interest in the native British. It is worth noting that Camden visited Wales in 1590 and had some knowledge of the Welsh language. He also became increasingly aware of the value of artefacts, particularly coins and inscriptions, whose texts could be used in understanding the past. In 1600 he visited Hadrian's Wall with Robert Cotton, and nearly eighty Roman inscriptions were noted, many with illustrations, in the 1607 edition.[72] In Wales, in addition to the monument from Clocaenog, Camden also recorded and illustrated the early medieval inscribed stone on Margam Mountain and noted a second at Eglwys Nynnid (Glamorganshire) on the basis of information sent to him by Francis Godwin, Bishop of Llandaff.[73] He also mentioned two fragmentary ninth-century cross-shafts from Redgate (Cornwall), one with an inscription naming *Doniert*.[74] Although there is no direct evidence, Lhuyd is also likely to have been influenced by Camden's *Remains concerning Britain* (1605).[75] This contains, not only an important discussion of the early languages of Britain, but also a significant contribution on epitaphs, highlighting the fact that Britons had been commemorated in epitaphs since the time of the Romans.[76]

Other antiquarians in Wales and Cornwall, contemporaries of Camden, were also beginning to note examples of early medieval inscribed stones and stone sculpture. The work of the Pembrokeshire antiquarian George Owen of Henllys (*c* 1552–1613), who had met and corresponded with Camden and contributed material to the 1607 edition of *Britannia*, was known to Lhuyd, who described him as a 'learned and ingenious person'.[77] Owen was the first to note the cross in the churchyard at Nevern (Pembrokeshire) and probably the cross-carved monument with an inscription from St Davids known as 'Arthur's Stone'.[78] Lhuyd was also familiar with at least some of the work of the Glamorgan antiquarian Rice Merrick (d 1587), who visited the Latin- and ogam-inscribed stone at Eglwys Nynnid, though, thinking it was in Welsh, he completely misunderstood the Latin inscription and took it to commemorate the mythical Morgan, eponymous founder of Glamorgan, a misconception followed by Camden.[79] Later, *c* 1660, the Merioneth antiquarian and collector of manuscripts and books Robert Vaughan of Hengwrt (*c* 1592–1667) noted in his *Survey of Merioneth*, a work with which Lhuyd was familiar,[80] three Latin-inscribed stones from Trawsfynydd, Llanfor and Llanuwchllyn, the last of which had come to light in the Roman fort of Caer Gai, a site mythically associated with King Arthur's foster brother Cai.[81] Lhuyd certainly knew of the first – known as *Bedd Porius* ('the Grave of Porius') (fig 8)[82] – and was informed about the second in a reply to his *Parochial Queries*,[83] but he had only briefly visited the Hengwrt collection,[84] and there is no evidence that he knew about the third for which Vaughan's note is the only record. Both Vaughan and James Ussher (1581–1656) appear to have recorded the inscription on the Pillar of Eliseg
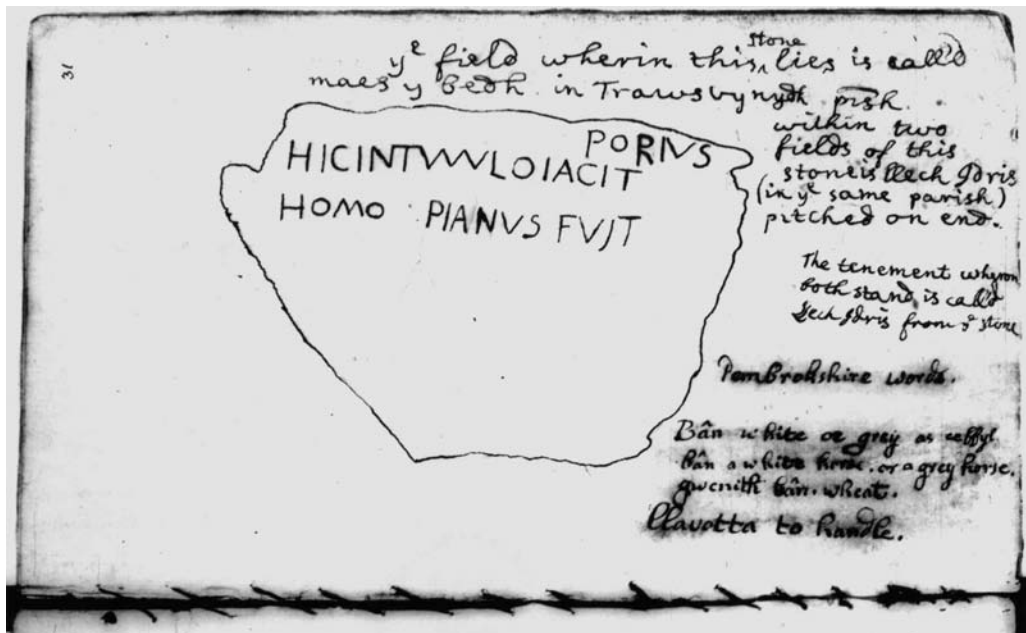
Fig 8. Lhuyd's drawing in his pocket memorandum book of *Bedd Porius* ('the Grave of Porius'), Trawsfynydd (Merionethshire) (NLW, Llanstephan 185, 31). *Drawing*: reproduced with the permission of the National Library of Wales, Aberystwyth.

(Denbighshire) before it was reportedly thrown down during the Civil War, though Lhuyd first learnt of it by finding a reference in one of John Aubrey's manuscripts.[85] Roger Mostyn drew his attention to the cross known as *Maen Achwyfan* (Whitford, Flintshire), which had also been noted by Aubrey.[86] In Cornwall at least four monuments had also been noted prior to Lhuyd. In addition to the cross-shafts at Redgate noted by Camden[87] and several other antiquarians, the inscribed stone at Castledore was recorded as early as *c* 1540 by Leland and that at Worthyvale, which was thought to bear Arthur's name, by Richard Carew in 1602.[88]

Likewise, from the late sixteenth century onwards, Camden and others were beginning to record major examples of Anglo-Saxon sculpture. The Ruthwell (Dumfrieshire) and Bewcastle (Cumbria) crosses attracted attention at an early date because of their runic inscriptions and were noted by Camden in 1607.[89] Later William Nicolson was also interested in these monuments. In 1685, at the instigation of William Dugdale, he had visited Bewcastle and he commented in some detail on the form of the cross-shaft and the Christian iconography and other ornament, as well as puzzling over the runic inscriptions.[90] Nicolson first saw the Ruthwell cross in 1697 and wrote enthusiastically to Lhuyd, describing the iconography, copying the runic inscriptions and seeking assistance with their decipherment.[91] There are also occasional records and illustrations of monuments without inscriptions. Examples include Robert Plot's illustrations of the cross-shafts from Checkley in his *Natural History of Staffordshire* (1686)[92] and the crosses and hogback grave-covers forming the so-called 'Giant's Grave' at Penrith (Cumbria), which were visited and drawn by Dugdale in 1664–5.[93] In his additions to Camden, Nicolson noted the local hearsay that the latter group of

monuments marked the grave of Sir Ewen Caesarius, Knight, 'a famous warrior of great strength and stature', and that the bears on the hogbacks were 'in memory of his great Exploits upon these Creatures'.[94]

Lhuyd's interest in the early medieval Celtic inscribed stones and stone sculpture complemented the growing awareness of such Anglo-Saxon monuments amongst his contemporaries. However, Lhuyd recorded such monuments in far greater numbers, particularly in Wales, but also in other Celtic areas, and in so doing he laid the foundations for the study of such monuments in the future. His methodology should also be regarded as a major advance on that of both his predecessors and his contemporaries. It combined his scientific training – the importance of systematic data gathering, fieldwork, accurate observation and recording, logical ordering and analysis – with his linguistic skills, and his appreciation that historical interpretation should not be founded on myth but grounded in empirical evidence.

It is also possible to trace the maturing of his methodology and analysis over the years. We have already seen how Lhuyd went about gathering his data by consulting the work of others, drawing on his wide circle of correspondents (including a network of those with local knowledge) and, in 1696, prior to his great tour, issuing his *Parochial Queries* throughout Wales. Such questionnaires were a well-established method of data gathering in this period[95] and Lhuyd had already sent out a brief request seeking relevant information for his additions to *Britannia* in 1693.[96] Emery has shown that Lhuyd was most influenced in the form of his questionnaire by that of Thomas Machell, the Westmorland historian who was the first to organize his questions (issued in 1677) into sections on geography, history and antiquities and to seek information at parish level. Regarding content, Lhuyd was more influenced by Plot,[97] but if we compare Robert Plot's questionnaire – issued in 1674 prior to writing his *Natural History of Oxfordshire* (1677) – with Lhuyd's *Parochial Queries*, it will be seen that the latter is a significant advance, making use of Lhuyd's experience to date, especially in his research and fieldwork for *Britannia*.

Plot's questionnaire, which shows Baconian influence, consists of twenty unnumbered questions seeking a very broad range of information, mainly concerned with natural history, but also with questions on wonders, machines, local dialect words and antiquities. One question asks for any information on 'ancient sepulchres of men of gigantic stature, Roman generals or others that are notable'. Another asks about finds of 'ancient money, urnes, lamps, Lachrymatorys, or other ancient British, Roman or Saxon antiqiteys' and a third enquires about 'any ancient Manuscript bookes? Or any other rarity's of Antiquity?'.[98] Lhuyd's *Parochial Queries* is much more ordered and specific.[99] It is divided into two main parts – the first concerned with geography and antiquities, the second with natural history – together comprising thirty-one numbered questions. All manner of antiquities are covered, often giving the Welsh terminology and occasionally examples. These include information sought on the 'Interments of great Men', 'Barrows … or artifical Mounts … Camps and old Entrenchments', 'Roman Ways, Pavements' and 'Stones pitched on End in a regular Order', urns, fibulae, coins and a variety of other artefacts as well as on manuscripts, their subject, language and hands, and whether they were ancient or later copies. He also specifically includes crosses and 'The old *Inscriptions* in the Parish, whether in the Church or elsewhere; a Collection of all being intended up to the Time of *Henry* the eighth'. He specifically asks those who respond to distinguish 'always betwixt Matter of Fact, Conjecture & Tradition' seeking short accounts '& some Directions in Order for a further *Enquiry*'

assuring that he or one of his assistants will visit each parish to follow up on the information given.

We can gain an impression of Lhuyd's approach to fieldwork through his correspondence, his published additions in *Britannia*, his one surviving memorandum book containing extensive antiquarian material[100] and surviving copies of notes and illustrations. As early as 1687 he had copied the inscription at Trawsfynydd commemorating *Porivs*.[101] His methods of recording had been established by the time he had completed his seven weeks of fieldwork in south Wales in 1693. He wrote to John Lloyd that, despite opposition, 'I thought it necessary to take a journey into S[outh] W[ales] because I had but few acquaintance there, from whom I might receive any information'.[102] He visited several early medieval inscribed stones and crosses in Glamorgan. His description, with accompanying illustrations, of the inscribed stone from Cefn Gelli-gaer[103] demonstrates the high calibre of his work (fig 9):

> On the Mountain call'd *Kevn Gelhi Gaer*, not far from *Kaer-Phyli*, in the way to *Marchnad y wayn*; I observ'd (as it seem'd to me) a remarkable monument … It's well known by the name of *Y maen hîr* ['the long stone'], and is a rude stone pillar of a kind of quadrangular form, about 8 foot high; with this Inscription to be read downwards. [drawing of the inscription]
>
> It stands not erect, but somewhat inclining; whether casually, or that it was so intended, is uncertain. Close to the bottom of it, on that side it inclines, there's a small bank or intrenchment, inclosing some such space as six yards; and in the midst thereof a square *Area*, both which may be better delineated than describ'd. [plan]
>
> I suppose, that in the bed or Area in the midst, a person has been inter'd; and that the Inscription must be read *Tefro i ti* or *Deffro i ti*; which is Welsh, and signifies mayst thou awake.[104]

In the 1722 edition Lhuyd corrects his reading to *Tefroiti* or *Deffroiti* and deletes his supposed meaning, suggesting instead that it is a British name.[105]

The location, local name, shape and height of the monument are all noted, as are the letter forms of the inscription and the fact that it was set vertically on the stone; the associated earthwork is also carefully recorded and the value of the illustrations realized. Today nothing survives of the monument's setting[106] and the inscription is fragmentary. Although Lhuyd's reading of the latter is not entirely correct, his illustration of the letter forms suggests their relative accuracy and may be read as the Irish personal name *Nefroihi*.[107] The inscription is shown, as are most in his additions to Camden, set within a rectangular frame and with considerable care taken over the letter forms, but there is no indication of how it was positioned on the monument and this may have led to the lettering being mounted and initially printed upside down. This was corrected in the 1722 edition.

With the crosses, however, Lhuyd was usually more interested at this stage in the inscriptions than in the rest of the monument since, with the exception of the drawing of *Maen Achwyfan*, which had been supplied by Richard Mostyn,[108] he only illustrates the inscriptions. For example, he records a cross-shaft and another monument in the churchyard at Llantwit Major,[109] but only provides drawings of the inscriptions on both broad faces of the former (fig 10) together with largely correct readings,[110] saying: 'These Inscriptions I thought worth the publishing, that the curious might have some light into the form of our Letters in the middle ages'.[111]
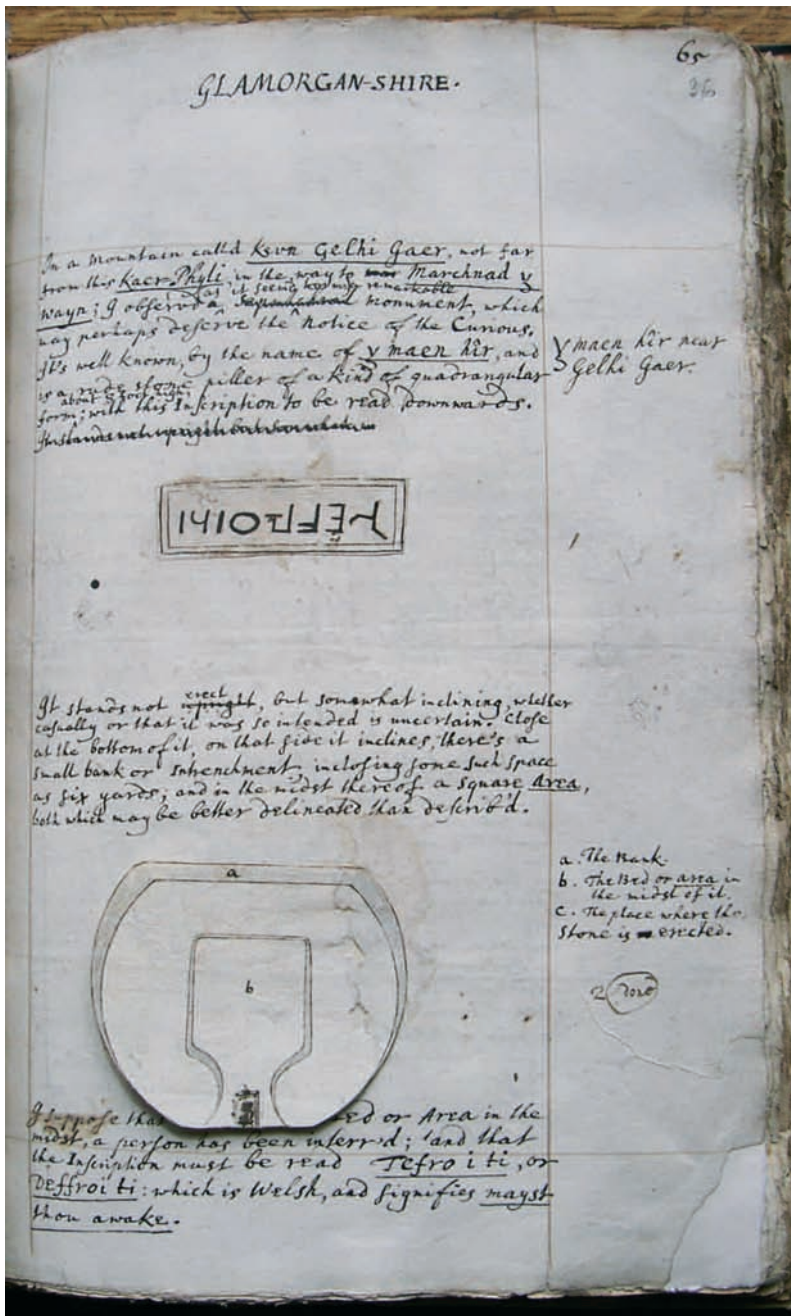
Fig 9. Lhuyd's original manuscript and mounted drawings of the inscribed stone at Cefn Gelli-gaer (Glamorganshire) and its setting prepared for the printer of Gibson's edition of Camden's *Britannia* (1695). The lettering of the inscription has been mounted upside-down. For the second diagram the caption in the margin reads: '*a* The Bank. *b* The Bed or *area* in the midst of it. *c* The place where the Stone is erected' (Cardiff, 4.172, 65). *Drawing*: reproduced by permission of Cardiff Public Library.
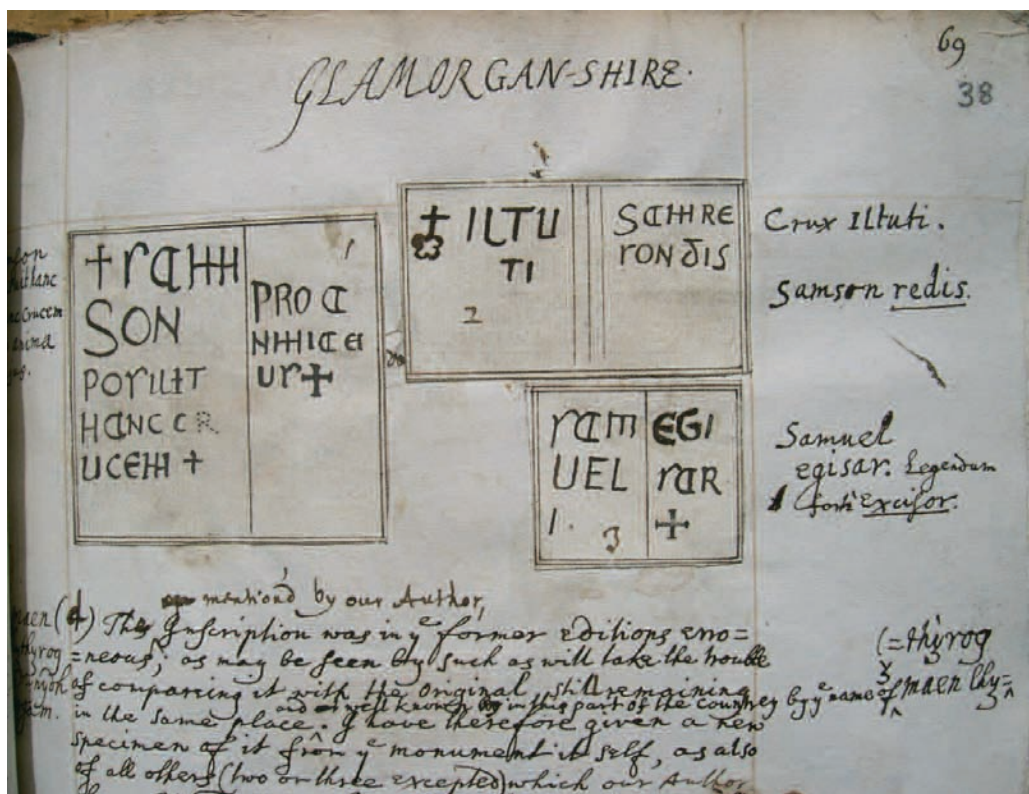
Fig 10. Lhuyd's drawings of the inscriptions on both broad faces of the Samson cross at Llantwit Major (Glamorganshire) prepared for the printer of Gibson's edition of Camden's *Britannia* (1695) (Cardiff, 4.172, 69). *Drawing*: reproduced by permission of Cardiff Public Library.

When Lhuyd undertook his great tour of Wales in 1697–9 he was in many cases following up on information communicated to him as a result of answers to his *Parochial Queries*. He travelled with his three assistants and it has been suggested that, in order to take in as much as possible, they worked in pairs on foot.[112] The practical difficulties must have been immense. A letter from Lhuyd to Richard Mostyn on 25 July 1698[113] indicates the urgency with which the fieldwork was undertaken and this is borne out by Lhuyd's surviving memorandum book which dates from this period.[114] Close scrutiny reveals that he rapidly made his on-site notes and drawings in pencil, or occasionally reddish-brown conté crayon, because these would stand up to the damp encountered during fieldwork. Then, at some later date, he has gone back and, in most cases, overlaid the pencil lines with pen and ink, usually in black but occasionally in brown, sometimes adding or clarifying information and sometimes applying ink outlines or washes with a brush to indicate shading. Good examples are provided by his records of the Latin-inscribed stone from Llanboidy (Carmarthenshire),[115] now incomplete, and the inscribed stone from Crai, Llywel (Breconshire),[116] now lost (see fig 2).

Locations are carefully noted but dimensions only sometimes. The emphasis is now on recording whole monuments, sometimes in three dimensions but more often in two, with their inscriptions, paying careful attention to the accuracy of the letter forms;
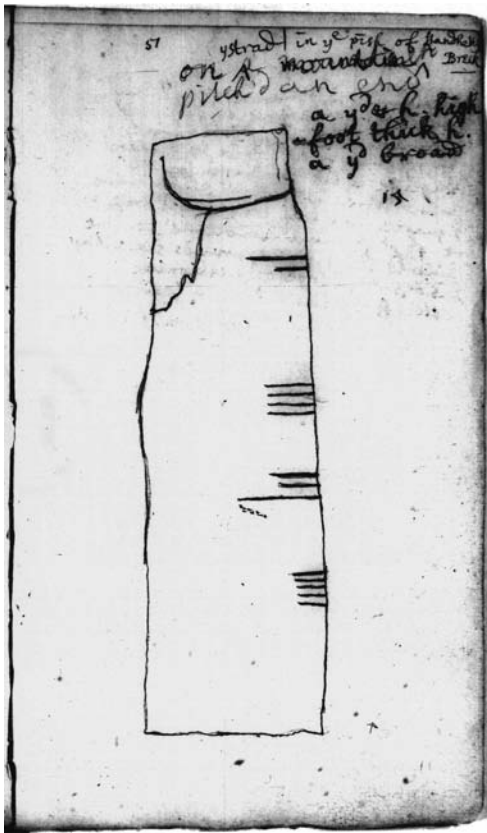
Fig 11. Lhuyd's sketch in his pocket memorandum book of the monolingual(?) ogam stone at Ystrad (Breconshire) (NLW, Llanstephan 185, 51). *Drawing*: reproduced with the permission of the National Library of Wales, Aberystwyth.

dotted lines are indications of uncertainty. On the Llywel stone (see fig 2), Lhuyd shows not only the Latin inscription but also the ogam strokes on the left angle, and he was clearly curious about the significance of 'ye strokes on ye edges' which he had observed on a number of other monuments.[117] He took the trouble to record comparatively accurately one face of a monolingual(?) ogam inscribed stone from Ystrad (Breconshire), though he appears to have left out the vowel notches (fig 11); the monument was only rediscovered in 1957.[118] A copy of an illustration of another cross-carved ogam stone near Dingle (Co Kerry) shows the monument in three dimensions, with the ogam inscription running up the angle.[119] However, though he included material on ogam as a form of writing in the *Glossography*[120] there is no clear evidence that he made the connection between the two.

Lhuyd's practice was then to make copies of his drawings, often of several monuments on a single sheet, which he sent to correspondents to show what he had recorded and to seek their opinion. This also gave him the opportunity to test his own interpretations of the monuments. The illustrations of inscribed stones and crosses sent to Humphrey Humphreys, though neater than those done in the field, show a similar method of execution and he uses exactly the same techniques to illustrate a page of fossils in the same collection. Again considerable attention is paid to the accuracy of the inscriptions and their letter forms. Interlace and other ornament are quite carefully drawn, though the proportions of the Carew cross (Pembrokeshire) (see fig 7),[121] which

is over 4m tall, have been greatly compressed, possibly because of the small size of the memorandum book in which it might originally have been recorded.

On occasion Lhuyd also noted the monument in its broader context. A detailed account of his visit in 1699 to the inscribed stone known as the 'Catstane' at Kirkliston (Midlothian)[122] survives in a letter to the Anglesey antiquarian Henry Rowlands. He describes it as

> by a River-side, remote enough from any Church. 'Tis an Area of about seven Yards diameter, raised a little above the rest of the ground, and encompass'd with large Stones; all which Stones are laid length-wise, excepting one larger than ordinary, which is pitch'd on End, and contains this Inscription … In oc tumulo jacit Vetta F. Victi.[123]

This is supported by the account of James Paterson who visited the monument with Lhuyd: 'Mr Lhwyd has oft seen a Circle of Stones, with a Large Stone in the middle; but here we have nothing in the middle; the Stone with our inscription stands upright in the Circumference of a circle compos'd of somewhat lesser Stones lying flat. They are all rude and unpolished'.[124] Lhuyd also sent a drawing of the stone in its setting to Humphrey Humphreys (fig 12) and there is a copy giving slightly different dimensions '14 paces long, 12 broad' to his account, which suggests that he paced the monument out on site.[125]

As already indicated, the analysis of early medieval inscribed stones and stone sculpture noted by antiquarians prior to Lhuyd was very limited and relied largely upon explanations provided by local folklore and by links with the mythical past – for example, with Arthur, popularized by Geoffrey of Monmouth, or with other legendary heroes and giants. John Lloyd wrote to Lhuyd: 'I cannot imagine w[ha]t to think of our Traditions ab[ou]t our Giants; for suppose we reject ym in ye main as now deliver'd, yet surely there was some good in these stories'.[126] However, Lhuyd's reply (10 October 1693) clearly indicates his scepticism.[127] Though his analyses of monuments did occasionally attempt to connect names in inscriptions with such legendary figures – in a letter to Humphrey Humphreys, he wonders whether *Mavoheni fili Lunari* on the inscribed stone from Llanboidy (see fig 2) might commemorate the son of Llywarch Hen – but this is the exception rather than the rule.[128] On the whole, building on his scientific training, his analysis is cautious (he is not afraid to say that he cannot read an inscription or is uncertain of the significance of a monument) and his discussion is measured; evidence is advanced to support his opinions and rejected where it does not hold up to his scrutiny.

Some of his observations are remarkably perceptive. In his additions to *Britannia* we can see Lhuyd's ideas beginning to take shape. He briskly dismisses the traditional interpretation of the stone at Eglwys Nynnid as the grave of Prince Morgan and instead accurately reads the inscription as commemorating *Pvmpeivs Carantorivs*.[129] He is silent about Camden's report concerning the superstition that anyone reading the monument on Margam Mountain commemorating *Bodvoc* will die soon after; instead his additions concentrate on a more accurate reading of the name forms and their linguistic comparisons.[130] He notes the inscribed stone from Scethrog, Llansantffraid (Breconshire),[131] and, though he could not read the first name about which there is still some doubt, he correctly interprets the monument 'to have been somewhat later in date than the time of the Romans' and much earlier than the nearby cross with inscription at Vaynor,[132] 'and that 'tis only a monument of some person buried there, containing no

Fig 12. Lhuyd's drawing of the inscribed stone known as the 'Catstane', Kirkliston (Midlothian), with its associated circular stone setting. The inscribed stone in the centre is from Mawgan (Cornwall) (Okasha 1993, no. 34) and has been added there so as not to waste space on the page (UWB, Penrhos V, no. 870). *Drawing*: reproduced by kind permission of Lord Stanley of Alderney.

more than his own name and his father's; *N— filius Victorini*'.[133] Likewise, he indicates that the inscribed stone from Newchurch (Carmarthenshire)[134] commemorating *Severini fili Severi* 'might give us grounds to suspect it [is] the epitaph of some person of Roman descent, but that liv'd somewhat later than their time'.[135] He was also the first to connect the inscribed stone at Penbryn (Cardiganshire) commemorating *Corbalengi iacit Ordovs* with a member of the tribe of the Ordovices.[136]

In his discussion of the later monument of unknown function from Llantwit Major with a groove running the length of one side, he carefully describes the interlace knots which he perceptively identifies as 'British carving'.[137] He also puzzles over the use of the groove, rightly doubting whether it might have functioned as a libation stone connected with some Druidic temple. His comments regarding the cross known as *Maen Achwyfan* compare it with those recorded by Plot at Checkley and by Nicolson at Bewcastle, and he wonders whether it might be connected with the Danes. In a letter to Richard Mostyn, who had provided the illustration of the monument for the 1695 edition of *Britannia*, he also muses on whether it is pagan or Christian, coming to the conclusion that the crosses suggest the latter.[138] It is in fact a cross of Viking Age date, the only Welsh example to have pagan Scandinavian iconography.[139]

Later, in addition to his deepening knowledge of Celtic philology, we can trace Lhuyd's increasing interest in the epigraphy of the inscriptions and growing understanding of the chronology of the monuments. He described the inscription on the

later fifth-century inscribed stone known as the 'Catstane', at Kirkliston, as being 'in the barbarous Characters of the Fourth and Fifth Centuries',[140] and therefore thought (erroneously) that it might be the tomb of a Pictish king. In a letter to the Anglo-Saxon scholar Humphrey Wanley (8 February 1703) he begins by considering the origins of writing in Britain, arguing that, whether or not there was any writing in Britain before the Roman conquest, the Britons were influenced by Roman civilization (and as others had argued passed writing on to the Irish), thereby demonstrating that they had writing before the Anglo-Saxons.[141] Such a conclusion would undoubtedly have been supported by his knowledge of the early inscribed stones in Wales and Cornwall, many of which included name forms which Lhuyd recognized as British. He then goes on to identify correctly that Catamanus, commemorated by the inscription on the monument at Llangadwaladr (Anglesey), is Cadfan, the early seventh-century ruler of Gwynedd.[142]

Lhuyd also recorded the only known early medieval inscription in Welsh, on a cross-carved monument from Tywyn (Merionethshire), broadly dating from the seventh to ninth centuries.[143] Writing to Richard Mostyn (17 March 1698), he explains how he had recently seen the monument and, though he could not identify the language of the inscription (which has proved very difficult to read), he perceptively suggests that 'ye form of the letters' being 'very plain' 'might have been of ye seventh or eighth century'.[144]

Lhuyd's transcripts[145] of the complex Latin inscription on the Pillar of Eliseg, Llandysilio yn Iâl (Denbighshire),[146] which was already only partially legible when he noted it in 1696, are of great significance since only traces now survive. The inscription (fig 13) records how the monument had been set up by Concenn in memory of his great grandfather Eliseg who had 'united the inheritance of Powys … by force … from the power of the English'; it also seems to include the mythical genealogical origins of the rulers of Powys.[147] Cyngen (Concenn) died in Rome in 854 or 855,[148] thereby providing a *terminus ante quem* for the monument. Lhuyd also seems to have made this connection in dating it to *c* 850 and using it as evidence that certain Celtic sound changes had taken place by this time.[149]

CONTRIBUTION AND LEGACY

In his research both for his additions to Camden's *Britannia* and for his *Archaeologia Britannica* Lhuyd undertook an enormous and ground-breaking task. He aimed at nothing less than a new scientific understanding of the Welsh, based on the study of their language, history and antiquities, from the earliest times, as well as of the natural history of Wales; he also came increasingly to examine these subjects within the broader Celtic context provided by his travels in Ireland, Scotland, Cornwall and Brittany. His role in the study of the antiquities of Wales, in particular, was pioneering; his fieldwork, first-hand recording and the accuracy of his observations were central to this enterprise, as was his cautious analysis, which sought to break away from a mythical past. He also used the language and epigraphy of early medieval inscriptions as a link between the ancient British past, transformed by the introduction of literacy via the Romans, and the emergence of medieval manuscripts.[150]

In such a huge undertaking Lhuyd was undoubtedly inspired by cultural patriotism, and in this he was backed up by his wide circle of Welsh correspondents and patrons at a time when aspects of traditional Welsh culture were coming under threat.[151] Although
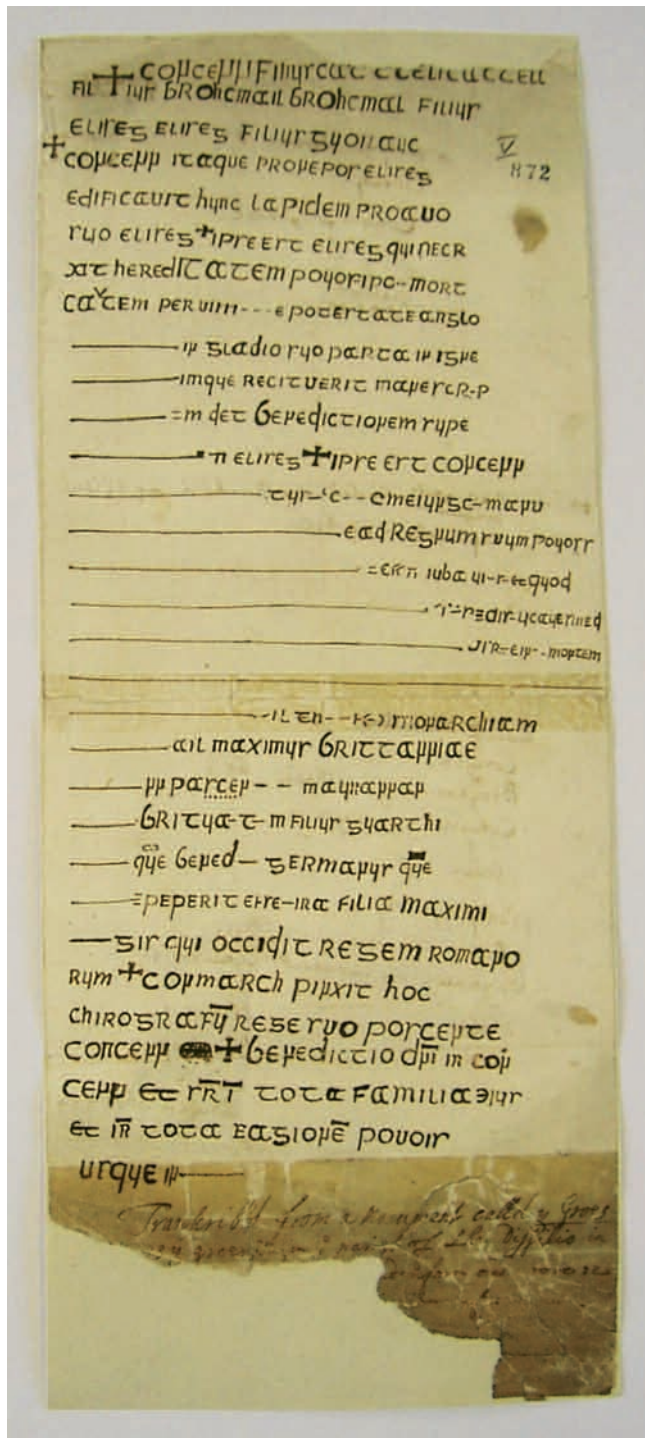
Fig 13. Lhuyd's transcription of the inscription on the Pillar of Eliseg, Llandysilio yn Iâl (Denbighshire) (UWB, Penrhos V, no. 872). *Drawing*: reproduced by kind permission of Lord Stanley of Alderney.

it has been claimed that his work was also driven by political nationalism, which should be seen in the context of the years leading up to the 1707 Act of Union,[152] this is misleading. He was, first and foremost, a scholar, but his Welsh background was without doubt of great significance.[153] He was attempting, almost single-handedly, to respond to the enormous strides in the understanding of Anglo-Saxon language, history, manuscripts and other antiquities being made by the joint endeavour of contemporary Anglo-Saxon scholars based in Oxford.[154] At his death, though the enthusiasm for antiquities was maintained in parts of Wales for a further generation,[155] there was no one in Oxford or elsewhere who could bring his work to fruition.[156]

Lhuyd gave more attention to the material remains of Wales (and, to a lesser extent, other Celtic areas) in the early Middle Ages (mainly in the form of the inscribed stones and stone sculpture) than they were to receive again until the mid-nineteenth century. His additions to Camden's *Britannia* remained the standard reference work on Welsh antiquities throughout the eighteenth century and beyond.[157] Indeed, at some point in the mid-nineteenth century, the inscription on the monument from Newchurch (Carmarthenshire) – reading *Severini fili Severi* ('Of Severinus son of Severus') – was recut using Lhuyd's drawing as a model, after it had partially laminated away.[158]

Welsh antiquaries of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries were primarily engaged in the study of literary culture, and legendary interpretations of history again rose to prominence. For example, Lewis Morris (1701–66), who was clearly influenced by Lhuyd, noted several early inscribed stones for the first time but his records were seldom very accurate and he had not always visited the monuments.[159] Iolo Morganwg (1747–1826) was more accurate in his records of monuments at Llantwit Major, for example, but his interpretations were the product of a romantic imagination.[160] Late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century gentleman travellers, such as Sir Richard Colt Hoare, Thomas Pennant and Richard Fenton, sometimes noted early medieval monuments, as did writers of county histories, such as William Rush Meyrick.[161] However, it was not until the foundation of the Cambrian Archaeological Association in 1846 that a more systematic and scientific scholarly approach to early medieval monuments in Wales is again evidenced, culminating in the publication of the first catalogue of early medieval Welsh sculpture, *Lapidarium Walliae* (1876–9), by J O Westwood (1805–93) and the philological study of the inscriptions by Sir John Rhys (1840–1915), himself a great admirer of Lhuyd.[162]

Indeed, Edward Lhuyd's pioneering research on early medieval antiquities in Wales and other Celtic areas continues to be of great worth to the modern scholar. His illustration of the shrine of Gwenfrewi at Gwytherin (Denbighshire) was instrumental in the rediscovery of two fragments of the reliquary.[163] Lhuyd's records of several complete inscriptions which are now fragmentary, for example, the *Mavoheni* inscription at Llanboidy and the *Idnert* inscription at Llanddewibrefi, have enabled confident readings of the whole.[164] In many cases Lhuyd's record of a monument is the only one to have survived and his early attempts to build a chronology based on linking those named in the inscriptions to historical figures, together with his use of epigraphy and language, are approaches we still use today.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

NOTES

1. Jones 1957, 109–10.
2. UWB, Penrhos V, no. 868. Only half the original sheet now survives.
3. Gruffydd and Owen 1957; Gruffydd and Owen 1961; Edwards in press, Llanddewibrefi 2 (CD9); Nash-Williams 1950, no. 116. Pre-1974 counties are used throughout since these are used in Nash-Williams 1950 and have been retained for clarity in the new *Corpus of Early Medieval Inscribed Stones and Stone Sculpture in Wales*: Redknap and Lewis in press; Edwards in press. Both *Corpus* and Nash-Williams monument numbers are also given to avoid confusion since the literature post-1950 employs the latter and *Corpus* numbers have yet to be assigned to vol 3 (*North Wales*: Edwards in prep).
4. When Lhuyd first illustrated the monument, in Camden 1695, col 643, the ends of all three lines of the inscription were shown incomplete. Camden 1722, col 769, incorporates changes in the text but no new illustration of the inscription was included.
5. Camden 1695, col 587.
6. Butler and Graham-Campbell 1990.
7. Herity 1970; Briggs 2006, 386–7.
8. Daniel 1966–7; Piggott 1976, 19, 138; Piggott 1981, 23–4; Piggott 1989, 95–122; McGuiness 1996.
9. In the preface to his linguistic study *Archaeologia Britannica. Vol 1: Glossography* (1707), Lhuyd, influenced by the Breton scholar Paul-Yves Pezron (1639–1706), was the first to use the term 'Celtic' as it is now applied to two linked groups of languages: Goidelic or 'Q' Celtic (Irish, Scots Gaelic and Manx) and Brythonic or 'P' Celtic (Gaulish, British, Pictish, Welsh, Cornish and Breton): James 1997, 44–6, fig 9; Collis 2003, 48–50. In this article Celtic is used to refer to those parts of Britain and Ireland (excluding Anglo-Saxon England) where 'Celtic' languages were spoken in the early medieval period (and continue in active use to this day in the case of Welsh, Irish and Scots Gaelic).
10. Roberts 2004.
11. Roberts 2003, 38.
12. Emery 1971, 11.
13. Roberts 1980, 5–17; Emery 1969, 61–3.
14. Roberts 2003, 41; Williams 1960–1, 125; Jones 1959.
15. MacGregor and Turner 1986, 639–44.

75. Dunn 1984.
76. Parry 1995, 45–8, 210–11.
77. Quoted in Miles 1994, lx.
78. Charles 1948, 270; Willis 1717, 64–5; Atkins 1946; Edwards in press, Nevern 4 (P73), St Davids 14 (P103); Nash-Williams 1950, nos 360 and 376.
79. James 1983, 102; Redknap and Lewis in press, G86; Camden 1695, col 613.
80. Camden 1695, col 662.
81. Nash-Williams 1950, nos 289, 282 and 283; Gresham 1985; Jones 1955, 225, 227; White 1985.
82. Camden 1695, col 662.
83. Morris 1909–11, II, 61.
84. Roberts 1999, 5.
85. Nash-Williams 1950, no. 182; Morgan 1980, 401–2; Gunther 1945, nos 81 and 153.
86. Nash-Williams 1950, no. 190; Gunther 1945, no. 81.
87. Camden 1695, col 9.
88. Okasha 1993, 7, nos 10, 43 and 78.
89. Camden 1695, col 835; Cassidy 1992, 10–11; Bailey and Cramp 1988, 61–72.
90. Camden 1695, col 843.
91. Cassidy 1992, 11–12; Ó Carragáin 2005, 15–16, fig 9.
92. Piggott 1978, 29–30.
93. Bailey and Cramp 1988, 136–9; Piggott 1976, 18.
94. Camden 1695, col 842.
95. Emery 1958c, 316–19.
96. UWB, Penrhos V, no. 929.
97. Emery 1958b, 43–4; Emery 1977–8, 250–2.
98. Plot 1674.
99. Morris 1909–11, I, ix–xv.
100. NLW, Llanstephan 185.
101. Camden 1695, col 662.
102. Gunther 1945, no. 75.
103. Redknap and Lewis in press, Gelli-Gaer (Cefn Gelli-gaer) 1 (G27); Nash-Williams 1950, no. 197.
104. Camden 1695, col 616.
105. James 1984, 42.
106. The monument still stands in the same location. A geophysical survey of the site was conducted by Alan Lane and Philip MacDonald (Cardiff University) but nothing survived (Alan Lane, pers comm).
107. Redknap and Lewis in press (G27); Sims-Williams 2003, 138–9.
108. Gunther 1945, no. 95; James 1984, 21.
109. Redknap and Lewis in press, Llantwit Major (St Illtud's Church) 4–5 (G66–7);

110. Nash-Williams 1950, nos 222 and 224.
110. Left reads: *Sam/son / posuit / hanc cru/cem // pro a/nmia ei/us*, 'Samson set up this cross for his soul'. Lhuyd has added extra strokes to the first 'm'. The transposition of letters in *anima* is original. Centre: *Iltu/ti* '(The cross of) Illtud' (the final two letters are now missing). Top right: 'Samson redis' should read *Sam/son // re/gis*, 'of Samson the king'. Bottom right: 'Samueli' should read *Sam/uel*; 'egisar' should read *Ebi/sar*, also a biblical Old Testament personal name.
111. Camden 1695, cols 617–618.
112. Ellis 1945, 31.
113. Gunther 1945, no. 199.
114. NLW, Llanstephan 185.
115. Edwards in press, Llanboidy 1 (CM13); Nash-Williams 1950, no. 149. The complete inscription as shown by Lhuyd reads: *Mavoheni / fili Lvnari / hic occisus*, 'of Mavohenus son of Lunaris, [he was] killed here'.
116. Redknap and Lewis in press, Llywel (Crai) 1 (B41); Nash-Williams 1950, no. 42. According to Lhuyd's drawing the roman-letter inscription may be interpreted to read: *Canntiani et / pa[t]er illius M[a]ccv/treni hic ia/cit*, 'Of Canntianus and his father. Of Maccutrenus, here he lies'. The epitaph of the son may have been added subsequently to that of Maccutrenus, his father.
117. Gunther 1945, no. 75.
118. Redknap and Lewis in press, Llanddety (Ystrad) 1 (B11); Nash-Williams 1950, no. 67a; Webley 1957; the inscription might read: *M[a]q[i]d[e]c[e]d[a]*, a personal name. Lhuyd shows the strokes of the Q, C and second D accurately but does not show the diagonal stroke of the M and there is an extra longer stroke added to the first D.
119. BL, Stowe 1024, fol 192.
120. Lhuyd 1707, 304.
121. Edwards in press, Carew 1 (P9); Nash-Williams 1950, no. 303.
122. Rutherford and Ritchie 1972–4; Cowie 1977–8.
123. Rowlands 1723, 337; Rutherford and Ritchie 1972–4, 183. The inscription is recorded accurately in the drawing except for the final 'I' which is now considered to be an 'R'.
124. Quoted in Rutherford and Ritchie 1972–4, 185.
125. BL, Stowe 1023, fol 19. It is likely that he

recorded the number of paces in his note-book and then translated these into approximate dimensions at a later date.

126. Roberts 1971, 107.
127. Gunther 1945, no. 75; Grooms 1993, li–liii.
128. Jones 1957, 111.
129. Camden 1695, col 619; see also Roberts 1999, 9.
130. Camden 1695, cols 611 and 619.
131. Redknap and Lewis in press, Llansanffraid (Scethrog) 1 (B35); Nash-Williams 1950, no. 68.
132. Redknap and Lewis in press, Vaynor (highway) 1 (B48); Nash-Williams 1950, no. 72.
133. Camden 1695, cols 593–594. The first name may be *Namni* or *Nemni*.
134. Edwards in press, Newchurch 1 (CM36); Nash-Williams 1950, no. 171.
135. Camden 1695, cols 626–627.
136. Camden 1695, col 648; Edwards in press, Penbryn 1 (CD28); Nash-Williams 1950, no. 126.
137. Redknap and Lewis in press, G67; Camden 1695, cols 617–618.
138. Gunther 1945, nos 95 and 100. For both sides of the correspondence, see Lloyd 1971–2.
139. Nash-Williams 1950, no. 190; Edwards 1999.
140. Rowlands 1723, 337.
141. Gunther 1945, no. 253; see also Sweet 2004, 126.
142. Nash-Williams 1950, no. 13.
143. Nash-Williams 1950, no. 287; Williams

144. 1949; Sims-Williams 2002, 6–9; BL, Stowe 1023, fol 16or.
144. Gunther 1945, no. 208.
145. UWB, Penrhos V, no. 872; BL, Harleian 3780, fols 94–95; copied in BL, Stowe 1023, fols 92–93v.
146. Nash-Williams 1950, no. 182.
147. Edwards 2001, 36–8.
148. Morris 1980, *s.a.* 854; Sims-Williams 1994, 33.
149. Lhuyd 1707, 229; see also Gunther 1945, no. 240, 477.
150. Roberts 1999, 10.
151. Jenkins 1998, 219; Jenkins 1979.
152. James 1997, 44–8. Although the *Glossography* was finally published in 1707, it had gone to press in 1704: Gunther 1945, nos 256, 258 and 261.
153. *Contra* Collis 2003, 52.
154. Fairer 1986, 829.
155. Jenkins 1979, 30–40.
156. Ellis 1945, 48; Roberts 2003, 57–65.
157. Sweet 2004, xviii.
158. Camden 1695, col 627; Edwards in press (CM36).
159. Jones 2004; Owen 1896.
160. Sweet 2004, 139–41; Jenkins 2005; Davies 1997, 38–41.
161. Thompson 1983; Pennant 1784; Fenton 1810; Fenton 1917; Meyrick 1808.
162. Daniel 1966–7, 345.
163. Butler and Graham-Campbell 1990; Edwards and Hulse 1994; Edwards and Hulse 1997.
164. Edwards in press (CM13, CD9). See above, notes 3 and 115.

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Abbreviations

BL   British Library, London
Bodleian   Bodleian Library, Oxford
Cardiff   Cardiff Public Library, Cardiff
NLW   National Library of Wales, Aberystwyth
UWB   University of Wales, Bangor

Primary sources

BL, Harleian 3780
BL, Stowe MSS 1023, 1024
Bodleian, Rawl. B. 464

Cardiff, 4.172
NLW, Llanstephan 185
UWB, Penrhos V, nos 868–872, 929

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