PART II.—PAPERS, ETC.

Memories of Saint Dunstan in Somerset.

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DUNSTAN was so great, and Glastonbury in the middle of the tenth century began under his inspiration to play so important a part in the revival of the national religion, that it is worth while to gather up all the little local fragments which in any way recall the memory of the saint or throw light on the home of his childhood and the scenes of his early labours. In the address which I delivered before our Society this year, when I had the honour of being elected to the Presidential chair, I said a few words about the rehabilitation of his character and the recognition of his statesmanship, which have resulted from the publication of the earliest records of his life. But I have since found reason for thinking that I ought to have been more explicit, and to have stated plainly that none of the stories of his grotesqueness and cruelty which disfigured the books of our childhood have any basis of historical fact. His legend grew rapidly after the Norman Conquest, when more than one writer rewrote his life in the first quarter of the twelfth century. Then some of the old stories about him were heightened unhistorically, and new stories were told, such as the tale of the Tongs, for which there is no earlier evidence. Thus his true greatness was veiled by the webs of fancy spun by the ignorant zeal of his devout admirers. In much later times his memory was maliciously blackened by controversialists who chose to present him as a type of monkish superstition and ferocity. But he was

regarded by his contemporaries as a strong and yet gentle ruler: of his devout life there never was a question; and almost as soon as he was dead the instinct of the English people acclaimed him as a saint.

In the address to which I have referred I touched on several points which deserve fuller examination; and shortly after its delivery I stumbled on what at first sight appears to be a new claimant for the honour of St. Dunstan's birthplace. I shall take this as the starting-point of these supplementary observations, which will, I hope, raise several questions of local archæological interest.

I. Edgarley, Ponter's Ball, Havyatt.

A Chronicle attributed to John of Wallingford, a monk of St. Albans (*d.* 1258), was printed by Gale in his *Scriptores XV* in 1691. Here we find the statement that "Dunstan with his people was of *Eadgoresleia*, which is near to Glastonbury." I cannot find that this statement has been noticed by any modern writer. The Chronicle from which it comes is generally dismissed as a compilation of no value. Yet this one sentence is enough to suggest that the writer had some source of information of which we have no knowledge. It is unfortunate that Gale omitted parts of the work, which dealt at some length with the lives of various saints; and it is easy to see that the account of St. Dunstan has not been printed in full. Enough is given, however, to shew us that both the early Lives of the saint were in the writer's hands; whereas Osbern's Life, the first of those which were written after the Conquest, was apparently not used. This Chronicle deserves more attention than it has received, and I shall return to it presently and give some information about it derived from the original manuscript.

The particular statement which concerns us at the moment occurs on p. 544 of the printed text. As soon as Edgar became king of the regions north of the Thames, he recalled "Dunstan and his people" from the banishment into which they had been driven by K. Edwy.[1] "And because their possessions

1. "Dunstanum . . ab exilio revocavit cum suis."

for the most part lay in the kingdom of Edwy his brother (for Dunstan and his people were from Edgarsley near Glastonbury, he being the son of Heorstan and Kynedrith),[1] what he [K. Edgar] could not do for them in his brother's portion he supplemented from his own : for he gave them possessions sufficient for each of them, while he kept the saint himself at his court, as he could not restore him to the abbey of Glastonbury."

Edgarley is now a hamlet in the parish of Glastonbury, about a mile distant from the abbey, on the road which runs eastwards, past West Pennard and Pilton, in the direction of Shepton Mallet. It once possessed a chapel dedicated to St. Dunstan ; and the whole neighbourhood is so full of archæological interest that we may linger here for a while. The road of which we have spoken is marked on the map in Phelps's *History of Somerset*[2] as "British Trackway to Old Sarum," but on what authority I do not know. That the road is of primeval antiquity we need not doubt. A little east of Edgarley it passes through a gap in the very ancient fortification now known as Ponter's Ball—a raised earthwork with a ditch on its eastern side, dating back beyond the Roman occupation to what is called the Early Iron Age. The mound was higher and the ditch was deeper in ancient days ; and the work when crowned with a palisade was an effective barrier across the only route by which a hostile force could approach the "island" of Glastonbury, protected as it was on the other sides by its watery moors.[3]

1. "Erat enim Dunstanus cum suis ex Eadgoresleia, quae vicina est Glastoniae ; natus patre Heorstano, matre vero Kynedrith."

2. I, 485. The map is reproduced in Greswell's *Chapters on the Early History of Glastonbury Abbey* (1909), p. 46.

3. "Isolated from the surrounding country by impenetrable swamps, this island had little need of artificial protection excepting at one point towards the east. Here occurs a solid ridge of ground connecting it with the hill at Pennard, which is a spur of the Mendip range. Along this ridge ran a road or trackway that afforded the only permanent means of access. Cutting this neck of dry land transversely from swamp to swamp at its narrowest part is an ancient earthwork and ditch, nearly three-quarters of a mile in length, locally known as 'Ponter's Ball'" (*Glastonbury Lake Village*, Bulleid and Gray, I, 37).

I venture to suggest that the name Ponter's Ball may mean "Bridge-Keeper's Mound." The *Dialect Dictionary* gives the word *ball*, in the sense of a knoll or rounded hill, as a Somerset word; and it quotes from *The West Somerset Word-Book*, by F. T. Elworthy, as follows: "I know many fields in different parishes called 'the ball,' as 'Cloutsham ball'; all are hilly and rounded." We may add Dunball, at the end of the Poldens, north of Bridgwater. And in the Bounds of the XII Hides, as given by William of Malmesbury in his *Antiquities of Glastonbury*, we have a mention of the Green Ball, near Cheddar.[1] "Ponter" is perhaps not so certain of derivation: but Ducange gives "ponterius" as a by-form of "pontanarius," in the sense of a collector of pontage or bridge-dues. In Abbot Michael's *Custumary of Glastonbury* a "pontarius" is mentioned twice (pp. 121, 123); and on p. 134 we are told that one Richard Po(n)tarius had held land by right of his predecessors in the time of K. Henry I, and had a charter of confirmation from Abbot Henry of Blois. It is just possible therefore that this Richard Ponter or some other of his family kept the bridge over the great moat, and has given his name to Ponter's Ball.[2]

But this spot has still more of interest to yield. Where the road cuts through Ponter's Ball there is a hamlet called Havyatt. This is a corruption of *hagiete*, which appears in Abbot Henry de Sully's *Inquisition of the Glastonbury Lands* in 1189. There we find "extra haietam" (p. 10), "extra hagietam" (*ibid.*): also "Infra hagiete: Hereward de hagieta tenet . . ." (p. 24). There are other references, and possibly

1. Hearne's *Adam of Domerham*, I, 107: "et sic per divisas de Ceddre usque ad la Grene Balle, et ita ad Litlelakewege."

2. The name Ponter occurs in the "Somerset Quarter Sessions Records of the Commonwealth period" (*S.R.S.*, vol. XXVIII, p 83): Thomas Ponter of Babcary kept a "tiplinge howse." Mr. H. St. George Gray has kindly given me the following note: "In Weaver's *Wells Wills* (1890) you will find Sir John Ponter (p. 46), and Eleanor Ponter (p. 154). There are several Ponters in the *Registers of Bruton*, edited by the Rev. D. L. Hayward, vicar of Bruton, and published in 1911. Then in *Taunton Wills*, published by the British Record Society, you will find two or three Ponters of Bridgwater and Kilton; —and so one might go on." But enough has been said to show that the name Ponter's Ball probably comes from a man called Ponter.

more than one locality may be intended. But it is interesting to read on p. 21 that the last three names of the twelve jurors of Glastonbury are: "Albertus de Edgarle, Eduuard de la hagiete, Aluredus de edgarlega": this at any rate points to the "hagiete" near Edgarley. The "haga-gate" was the way through the enclosure or palisade; and Havyatt, alike by its derivation and by its position, marks the entrance across the moat and through the palisade of Glastonbury's ancient defence.

Two interesting references to the *Hagiete* occur in the work of John of Glastonbury, a monk of the abbey who continued Adam of Domerham's History to about the year 1400. In relating the story of the translation of St. Dunstan's body from Canterbury after that church had been burnt by the Danes in 1012, he says:[1] "When therefore the bearers of so great a treasure came near to Glastonbury, to the place called *La Hawete*, it happened that the convent sat at table having just finished their meal, and behold, marvellous to relate, the small bells hanging in the refectory, and other bells also of the monastery, with no aid from human hands, began to ring aloud." A messenger soon arrived and bade the brethren come to meet the body of the saint at the place above named. The story is of course a pure invention, dating from the beginning of the twelfth century: but this record of it is of interest as shewing the form which the *Hagiete* had assumed at the end of the fourteenth century. It is perhaps worth while to suggest that the existence of a chapel of St. Dunstan at Edgarley may possibly be due to a tradition that his body rested there for a few hours on its arrival. The second reference occurs in an equally apocryphal narrative. In the early days of K. Cnut a party of wandering Danes "came to a certain gate near to Glastonbury, which is called *Hawete*, distant a mile and more from the church." Many of them refused to violate the sacred place; but some who "entered the island" were struck with blindness, which was only removed on their subsequent repentance.[2]

1. Hearne's *John of Glaston.*, I, 145.

2. *Ibid.*, 147; "venerunt ad portam unam Glastoniae vicinam, quae *Hawete* dicitur."

Let us come back now to Edgarley, and to John of Wallingford's statement that "Dunstan and his people were of Eadgoresleia." We naturally ask, if Edgarley was the home of Dunstan's family, how could it have been named after K. Edgar? For Dunstan was born about the year 910; whereas Edgar was born only in 944, when Dunstan was probably already abbot of Glastonbury.[1] We might suppose that, as the saint was closely related to the royal house, part of the land at Edgarley may have belonged to his family and part of it to the king; or, again, that K. Edgar may have acquired it to build himself a house there, as an existing tradition points to such a residence. But a more plausible explanation comes to us through the statement of John of Glastonbury that Edgar himself was born at Edgarley, where there was in those days a royal palace.[2]

Some have thought that Edgarley was a corruption of *Eggerley*, a form given in an old map, and attested for 1651 by the "Somerset Quarter Sessions Records" (p. 167): and they have then derived the name from the Latin *agger*, a mound. But our evidence is too early and too persistent for such a supposition. It is enough to note that William of Malmesbury in his *Antiquities of Glastonbury* speaks of "*Edgarleghe* with the fields and meadows thereto belonging."[3] The conjectural derivation from *agger* is no more happy than the suggestion that Ponter's Ball is a corruption of *pontis vallum*.

In concluding these remarks we may say that the new evidence from John of Wallingford does not disprove the claim of Baltonsborough to be the birthplace of the saint. He does not expressly state that Dunstan was born at

1. It was at Glastonbury "in cella sua" that Dunstan at the time of Edgar's birth heard the heavenly voices chanting "Peace to the Church of the English in the days of the boy now born and of our Dunstan." The story is told in Adelard's Life (p. 56) just after the mention of Dunstan's appointment as abbot.

2. Hearne's *John of Glaston.*, I, 123. Wm. of Malmesbury, writing of Edgar's love of Glastonbury, speaks of it as "insulam nativitatis suae consciam" (*Antiq. of Claston.*, Hearne, p. 78: compare *Gesta Regum*, I, 168*n*).

3. Hearne's *Adam of Domerham*, I, 109.

Edgarley, but only says that he and his people were from thence. The two lie so close together that it may well be that they were in the same ownership: Edgarley by itself would be but a small holding for a family which was clearly of considerable importance.

II. St. Dunstan in John of Wallingford's Chronicle.

I have said above that the historians agree in dismissing John of Wallingford's Chronicle as a compilation of no historical value. I have no desire to dispute their verdict. Yet the work of a man who was trained in the famous historical school of St. Alban's, and who was the contemporary there of Matthew Paris, cannot be altogether without interest. He probably had books before him, especially Lives of Saints, in the great library of his monastery, which time has not preserved for us; and, if he tells something which no one else has recorded and which he hardly could have invented, such as the statement that "Dunstan and his people were of *Eadgorsleia* near Glastonbury," we may well desire to know more about him than is to be found in the very incomplete edition of his Chronicle which was printed by Gale in 1691.

The only known manuscript of his work is in the Cottonian Collection in the British Museum, where it is classed as Julius D. 7. It is written by his own hand, and probably no copy was ever made of it. He himself speaks as though it was only intended as a first sketch which he hoped to elaborate into a more perfect work. It is a small codex in a cramped handwriting, full of mistakes in spelling and faults of style. It has the pathetic interest of a literary failure. We shall have occasion presently to admire a certain shrewdness of criticism in his account of the chronology of St. Dunstan's life. We may illustrate this gift in advance by an earlier example. After giving (on p. 535 of the printed edition) a genealogy of K. Alfred, which he has taken directly or indirectly from Asser's *Life of Alfred*—a genealogy which traces him up through Cerdic and Woden to Noah and ultimately to Adam—he says: "If any one does not like this genealogy, let him find another: I do not offer it as authentic: indeed, if pressed for my judgement, I should say it was apocryphal."

This is not quite the language of a historian, but the man who writes so is plainly not content to be a mere copyist or compiler.

Our present concern, however, is only with his account of St. Dunstan; and for this we must supplement the printed text from the original manuscript. On p. 539 of Gale's edition we read the strange statement that Edward the Elder left the disposition of the kingdom wholly in the hands of his three sons, Athelstan, Edmund and Edred. Of these Athelstan, the eldest, was the most attractive and vigorous. With his father's permission he brought back Guthrum from Denmark and gave him the kingdom of East Anglia: moreover by his aid he brought South Anglia under his father's yoke—which led to great scandal in after days. All this is quite new, and much of it is obviously untrue. But it does not follow that our writer invented it. He may have found something of the sort in the Norman history to which he occasionally refers. He will return later to the mischief which he conceives to have arisen from Athelstan's intimacy with the Danes.

After this the printed text omits a passage, which we must recover from the manuscript: it runs as follows: "At this time also, Plegmund archbishop of Canterbury being dead, there was elected in accordance with the decrees of the canons Ealthelmus, the uncle of St. Dunstan; who also [*i.e.* Dunstan] must be believed to have been born in the period above mentioned; and, before he was born, a divine sign indicated his future merit." Then follows the story of his mother's attendance at church on the feast of the Presentation of our Lord; the language shewing that it was derived from Adelard's Life of the Saint, without reference to the later Lives. After this the writer continues: "He was born therefore in the time of Athelstan, not when he was reigning, but when he was governing the kingdom under the sceptre of his father. If any one prefers to believe what is commonly reported and written on this subject, let him reckon up the sequence of events, and he will find St. Dunstan to have presided over the abbey of Glastonbury when he was but twenty years of age or very little more. But on this

question, since it is quite useless, we do not propose to tug the rope of controversy."[1]

I hope to find an appropriate occasion to discuss the date of Dunstan's birth: for a full examination of the question has convinced me that John of Wallingford was right, though all the historians of his own day were on the other side. If Dunstan was born, as is still commonly asserted, in the first year of K. Athelstan's reign, he was a boy of less than eighteen when K. Edmund made him one of his principal advisers; and an abbot, as John of Wallingford says, when he was scarcely more than twenty. But, as the matter would require a long and technical discussion, before the opinions of great modern authorities could properly be set aside, I shall not "tug the rope" now. I only express my regret that Gale should not have printed this curious passage two hundred years ago.

We must observe, before we pass on, that "Ealthelmus" is a mis-spelling of our author's for Athelm, the first bishop of Wells, who, having been translated to Canterbury in the latter part of K. Edward's reign, lived just long enough to crown K. Athelstan and to introduce his nephew Dunstan to the notice of the new king.

We now return to the printed text, which tells of K. Edward's death in 924, and of the succession of his son Athelstan. Our author here gently quarrels with Geoffrey of Monmouth for saying that Athelstan was the first of the Saxon race to wear the diadem. Then, after a passing re-

1. After the words "sufficienter patebit" on p. 539 of Gale's text, the MS. proceeds: "Sub quo tempore etiam, mortuo plegam(un) do cartuariorum archipresule, secundum scita canonum eligitur ealthelmus sancti dunstani auunculus. Qui etiam sub tempore preassignato natus esse credendus est; et antequam nasceretur diuino signo qualis meriti futurus fuerit premonstretur. Dum enim mater eum adhuc in utero haberet, contigit in ypopanti domini, quod in ecclesia cuius erat mater eius parochiana . . . illuminata. Natus est ergo tempore eathelstani nequaquam regnantis, sed sub patris sceptro regnum disponentis. Ad' [*sic*] si quis fame et scripture super [hoc *add. supra lin.*] satis edite magis credat, epyloget sequentia, et inueniet sanctum dunstanum uicennem uel parum quid temporis plus habentem abbatie glastonie prefuisse: sed super hoc, quia inutile est, non multum trahimus ex alterutra parte funem. Regnauit autem eadwardus" [and so forth, as in Gale's text].

ference to William of Malmesbury and Henry of Huntingdon, he proceeds to give some account of Athelstan's reign. Again he blamed him for having Danes so much about him. At this point Gale indicates an omission in his printed text (p. 540). He has in fact left out a long section which is mainly concerned with the story of St. Dunstan. We can here only offer a summary of it.

Athelstan, continues our author, was a man of much refinement and a careful student of manners. From living with Danes he had acquired a preference for mead above all other kinds of drink. This leads on to the story, told by Dunstan's first biographer, of a pious lady, the kinswoman of the king, who lived at Glastonbury and was greatly attached to the young Dunstan—" Dunstanulus," as our author affectionately calls him. He elaborates after a fashion of his own the tale of the king's sudden visit to this lady, and of the miraculous supply of mead at the banquet. Then he returns to Dunstan, and speaks of his growth in years and knowledge, of his becoming involved in secular interests, and of his temptation to marriage. The seniors (" sempectae ") of the monastery reprove him, but in vain. At length Bishop Elfege (of Winchester) comes to Glastonbury on one of his occasional visits of retreat : Dunstan at first rejects his counsels, but after a sharp illness yields and becomes a monk.

Osbern and the later writers make Dunstan go to Winchester, and place the scene of his conversion there. The first biographer leaves the point open ; but our author's interpretation of his words is perhaps the more natural one.

After this we have several stories about Dunstan—the vision of the Dove, the pious matron's death, the pattern for needlework, the harp playing of itself. Presently the fame of Dunstan reaches " Ealdelmus," archbishop of Canterbury, who sends for him. Here we are back again with the printed text (p. 540). Athelm introduces him to K. Athelstan, whose wars the writer then proceeds to describe. Our author has put this visit to Canterbury much too late : Athelm was dead many years before Dunstan became a monk. But several writers have got into difficulties about the succession of the archbishops at this period.

After relating the death of Athelstan in 939, and his brother Edmund's accession in 940, our author mention the subjugation of the rebel Northumbrians. Then again there is an omission in the printed text (p. 540 *ad fin.*). The manuscript goes on to tell of Dunstan's position at K. Edmund's court, and of his temporary disgrace. Then comes the story of the king's hunting at Cheddar, and of Dunstan's appointment as abbot of Glastonbury.

After this we have a short paragraph about the Northumbrians, as in the printed text. Then Gale has omitted the first part of the incident which preceded K. Edmund's death: the latter fact he prints, and then goes on to the reign of K. Edred, who, as we are told, gave into Dunstan's hands all his estates in the neighbourhood of Glastonbury,[1] and committed to him the ancient treasures of the royal house to be kept in the security of the monastery. Next we have an account of K. Edred's conquest of the Northumbrians; after which, at the bottom of p. 541, we must again have recourse to the manuscript. We are now told of Dunstan's refusal of the bishopric of Crediton, and of the vision of the Apostles, in which St. Andrew strikes him with a rod.

Next we have a paragraph (printed by Gale, p. 541 *ad fin.*) which says that Edwy, the eldest son of K. Edmund, was aspiring to the throne which he considered to be his by right; and, though he dared not openly rebel, he regarded his uncle Edred's friends with so much disfavour that many of them retired from the court, fearing the wrath of the future king. An omitted section now informs us that Dunstan's persistent loyalty to K. Edred roused fierce hatred in the breast of Edwy.

After this Gale prints without break from the top of p. 542 to the middle of p. 544 ("Senium nimirum—viduata est."). This includes the death of K. Edred, the accession of Edwy and the scandal of the coronation feast, the banishment of Dunstan, the revolt against Edwy and his loss of the kingdom north of the Thames, over which his brother Edgar was made king. K. Edgar now recalls Dunstan from his exile—and here comes in the passage about Edgarley from which this investi-

1. This is evolved out of the "rurales cartulas" of the first biographer (p. 29).

gation started. A council is then held at "Bradamford," and it is agreed that Dunstan should be made a bishop. He was chosen for Worcester, which just at that time fell vacant.

Gale now omits the story of his consecration and the prophetic words of Archbishop Oda. Then the printed text tells of Dunstan's further appointment to the superintendence of the diocese of London. Soon afterwards Oda dies, and Elsin, bishop of Exeter (a strange mistake for Winchester) is chosen to the archbishopric. Elsin, we are told, was of Edwy's party: he died in the Alps on his way to Rome to fetch the pall. His place was taken by Brithelm, who is described as "Dorchasinus episcopus." He was a man of excessive gentleness, unable even to assume the aspect of austerity. God saved the Church from the perils of a lax rule: for K. Edwy died, and Edgar now became ruler of the whole kingdom. A council was assembled, Brithelm was sent back to his former see, and Dunstan was acclaimed archbishop.

It is interesting to observe that our author has here corrected the narrative of the earliest biographer of St. Dunstan, who had placed K. Edwy's death before the appointment of the saint to the see of Worcester, with the result that both Elsin and Brithelm appeared as Edgar's nominations to Canterbury. Osbern put K. Edwy's death between Dunstan's consecration to Worcester and his further appointment to London: but William of Malmesbury follows the error of the first biographer. Our author, however, has shrewdly perceived that both Elsin and Brihthelm were appointed by K. Edwy, and that the new king dismissed the latter to make room for Dunstan. This is the reading of the story which has commended itself to our modern historians. John of Wallingford deserves the credit of having seen the solution of the problem in the thirteenth century. Osbern indeed had felt that some explanation was needed of Edgar's appointment of such a man as Elsin: and he invented the statements that Dunstan absolutely declined the archbishopric, and that Elsin bribed the king's advisers; and further that before Brithelm's appointment Dunstan had again refused the primacy. Eadmer and William of Malmesbury followed

Osbern's lead. How John of Wallingford managed to find the true explanation we do not know. He shews no sign of dependence on the later Lives of St. Dunstan. He faced the problem for himself, as if it had never been complicated by the attempted solutions of the post-Conquest writers. He discovered that K. Edwy's death had been placed too early: when that error was corrected, the story became intelligible at once.

We need not carry this enquiry further, for the crisis of Dunstan's history was now past. We have failed to discover any connexion of our author with the abbey of Glastonbury, such as might account for his reference to Edgarley. It is possible that he had before him some Life of St. Dunstan which has not come down to us. It is possible, on the other hand, that his interest in the saint led him to make enquiries at Glastonbury itself, or from some friendly monk of Glastonbury who chanced to come his way.

So then we take our leave of John of Wallingford. He was not a historian, though he tried to write true history. Indeed he was a sad blunderer at times. Yet sometimes, as the reward of his love for our saint, he stumbled upon the truth about him which the historians had missed.

III. The Bounds of the XII Hides near Baltonsborough.

I referred in my address to two mentions of St. Dunstan's name, which occur in ancient records of the Bounds of the XII Hides. One is the bridge built by "Wulgar-with-the-Beard in the time of Abbot Dunstan": the other is the "fossatum sancti Dunstani abbatis" or "Dunstonesdyche." Both are situated on the limits of Baltonsborough, the birthplace of the saint.

These records deserve to be studied by our local archæologists; and it is in the hope of encouraging such study, before it is too late to explain some of the allusions which the lapse of time will soon render hopelessly obscure, that I propose to reproduce those portions which relate to Baltonsborough, and to offer such aid as I can for their elucidation. It will

be convenient to give first the Latin texts, and then a more or less literal rendering into English. I may premise that the earlier document was embodied by William of Malmesbury in his *Antiquities of Glastonbury*, composed about the year 1135. On a visit to the abbey he had ransacked the treasures of the muniment room with the goodwill of the monks who wanted him to write their history for them. There he came across this record, and fortunately for us he copied it into his book. When it was first drawn up we cannot say; but we may accept it without demur as at least eight hundred years old. The second document is four centuries later; but an examination of its language will shew that the writer had the earlier record in his hands: probably it was taken round with the party which made the perambulation under the personal superintendence of Abbot Richard Beere.

Through the kindness of Mr. Neville Grenville I am able to append copies of Perambulations made in 1816 and 1842. Such documents ought to be preserved: they contain local details which will soon be irrecoverably lost.

I. Bounds of the Twelve Hides recorded by William of Malmesbury (Hearne, *Ad. of Dom.*, I, 105 ff).

"Sciendum igitur quod inprimis incipit a la Brutascha apud Stretebrugge,[1] in capite australi ejusdem pontis, et tendit versus orientem in australi parte marisci usque ad capud australe pontis de Baltenesberge in parte boriali a domo Wlgari cum barba, qui fuit operator ejusdem pontis tempore sancti Dunstani abbatis: et sic supra caucetum ultra Pinueslake[2] per medium marisci usque ad domum Normanni apud molendinum de Baltenesberge; et sic inde sursum in via usque in semitam quae venit de illa ecclesia; et postea sursum in Zeholt usque ad Lupiwite[3] in orientali parte domus Hosgari Actaholt:[4] et inde in semitam quae ducit per mediam extremitatem illius Holte recte usque ad pontem de Kineward[5] in fossatum sancti Dunstani abbatis: et sic in rivulum qui

1. *Variants in John of Glaston.*, I, 13: a la Brutasche apud pontem de Streta.

2. Pinnelake.

3. In Reholt usque ad la Lupiwite.

4. Osgari Attaholte.

5. Keneward.

venit de Coleburi, et ita ascendendo contra cursum aquae usque ad domum Oswardi de la Burne : et inde sursum contra la Burne usque ad curiam Ailmeri senescalli a la Brodelee."[1]

In the enumeration of principal places within the Twelve Hides (p. 108) we read : " Deinde la Burne et Kineard [Kyneard, *J. of G.*, 1, 15] cum campis suis et pratis. Postea quaedam pars de Baltenesberghe cum campis, pratis, pascuis largis, et cum omni auneto et universis moris versus occidentem in parte boriali de Budeclee usque ad la Brutasca, quae est in capite australi pontis de Strete."

II. The Perambulation of Abbot Richard Beere began on Wednesday, the Feast of St. Anne, 26th July, 1503. His party, consisting of monks and boys of the cloister, various officers and his principal cook, were met first of all by the homage of Street.[2]

" Quibus venerunt obviam apud Brutessayshe, ubi jam crescunt tres fraxinae, pro homagio de Strete, summoniti per praepositum ibidem [the names follow]. Qui insimul congregati processerunt versus orientem a Brutesayshe ad angulum borialem et occidentaliter de clauso vocato Ankerhey, et sic orientaliter per fossatum in parte boriali praedicti clausi usque ad finem orientalem ejusdem, et deinde processerunt a praedicto clauso orientaliter et australiter per fossatum praedictum usque Growthamesoke, qui est terminus dominii de Strete ex parte illa : ubi comparuit Robertus Midwynter praepositus de Budcley cum sexdecim hominibus [the names follow]. Qui progredientes per fossatum praedictum, quod dividit pratum et moram, orientaliter deduxerunt praedictum dominum abbatem, et omnes qui cum eo erant, usque venellam vocatam Byggeslane, quae est extra ; et abinde per fossatum praedictum directe usque ad pontem Wulgari [Middebard *supr. lin.*], qui fuit operator ejusdem pontis tempore sancti Dunstani ; qui quidem pons stat in parte boriali domus ejusdem Wulgari cum barba, olim Johannis Kyttes, et modo Johannis Porter : juxta quem quidem pontem praedictus dominus abbas, et omnes alii qui ad tunc ibidem fuerunt cum (eo), refecerunt se per panem, servisiam, vinum ac alia victualia, sumptibus et expensis dicti domini abbatis. Ac deinde super calcetum ibidem usque Pynneslake, ubi est quidam pons cum duabus meatibus, quorum unus sustentatur per homagium de Budcley et alius per homagium de Baltonesburghe. Ad quem quidem pontem Johannes Weste praepositus de Baltonesburgh comparuit cum undecim hominibus [the names follow].

1. Bradelee.
2. Hearne's *John of Glaston.*, II, 291 ff.

Qui produxerunt praedictum dominum abbatem, et omnes qui ibidem cum eo tunc erant, a praedicto ponte versus oriens borialiter ultra Noggerbrygge usque molendinum de Baltonesburghe, ubi quondam morabatur Normannus, aadudum Thomas Flynt et modo Willelmus Shyphurde ; et de molendino illo orientaliter per cursum aquae usque ad clausa vocata Churchenclos—dimittendo cum ecclesia extra limites duodecim hidarum—transeundo per borialem partem illorum clausorum usque ad semitam quae venit de praedicta ecclesia in orientali parte ejusdem ; et sic ascendendo usque ad domum quondam Osgari de la Holte, modo vocatam la Hame, juxta la Lepyete olim Johannis Taylour, alias Hogges, et modo Johannis Ruysshe : ac deinde orientaliter per la Hame, ultra pontam pedalem ligneum vocatum Hare pathe bruge, in campo vocato la Worthy, per dictam semitam vocatam Harepathe, videlicet inter terras Johannis Ryxe et Johannis Cope, usque lez Barryettes de Southwode, et sic orientaliter et australiter per medium de Southwode usque quondam [? quandam] crucem stantem juxta quatuor quercus ; et abinde ultra la Hulte usque Dunstonesdyche, alias secundum quosdam vocatum Bytterwater ; et sic borialiter contra cursum aquae ibidem borialiter per la Sydewode ultra Lotteshamegrene usque ad portam clausi, quondam Walteri Bryce et modo Johannis Man : quo idem dominus abbas, ac universi qui ibidem cum eo tunc interfuerunt, refecerunt se . . . et tunc divertendo occidentaliter usque ad la Hore-cros in Lotteshamgrene praedictum ; et tunc ingrediendo in la Grenelane borialiter usque ad novam crucem quam Walterus Cary nuper erexit, quae stat super Warmeshyll ; et tunc occidentaliter usque occidentalem angulum clausi vocati Holbreche ; et abinde discendendo borialiter usque mansum, quondam Oswardi Delaburne, et postea Willelmi Martyn, ac modo Thomae Shiphurde ; et ulterius deinde usque Lakehowse, quam Robertus Gosse de Bradeley jam inhabitat [where they were met by the homage of Bradeley].

Translation of I.

" Starting from *Brutascha*[1] at *Stretebrugge*, at the south end of that bridge ; and moving eastwards on the south side of the moor, as far as the south end of the bridge of *Baltenesberge* : on the north side from the house of *Wlgar-with-the-Beard*, who was the maker of that bridge in the time of Saint *Dunstan* the abbot : and so over the causey beyond *Pinueslake*[2] through the middle of the moor to the house of *Norman* at the mill

1. *Various readings :* Brutasche.
2. Pinnelake.

of *Baltenesberge* : and thence upwards on the road as far as the path which comes from the church there : and after that upwards to *Zeholt*[1] as far as the *Lupiwite*, on the east side of the house of *Hosgar-at-the-Holt* : and thence to the path which leads through the middle extremity of that *Holt* straight on to the bridge of *Kineward*[2] at the dyke of Saint *Dunstan* the abbot : and so to the stream which comes from *Coleburi* ; and so going up against the course of the water, as far as the house of *Osward-of-the-Burne* : and thence upwards against the *Burne* to the court of *Ailmer* the steward at *Brodelee*."[3]

Among principal places within the bounds : "Then the *Burne* and *Kineard* [or *Kyneard*] with its fields and meadows. Afterwards a certain part of *Baltenesberghe* with fields, meadows, large pastures, and with the whole alder-bed and all the moors towards the east on the north side of *Budeclee* as far as the *Brutasca*, which is on the south end of the bridge of *Strete*."

Translation of II.

"There came to meet them at *Brutessayshe*, where now grow three ash trees, for the homage of *Strete* [the names follow]. They proceeded eastwards from *Brutesayshe* to the north corner, and westwards from the close called *Ankerhey*, and so eastwards along the dyke (*or* ditch) on the north side of the said close to the east end thereof ; and thence from the said close eastwards and southwards by the said dyke to *Growthamesoke*, which is the limit of the lordship of *Strete* on that side : where there appeared *Robert Midwynter*, provost of *Budcley*, with sixteen men [names given]. And they went forward along the said dyke, which divides meadow and moor, towards the east, and led the lord abbot and his company as far as the lane called *Byggeslane*, which is outside (the bounds) : and from thence along the said dyke, straight on to the bridge of *Wulgar* [*Middebard* written above the line], who was the maker of that bridge in the time of Saint *Dunstan* : which bridge stands on the north side of the house of the same *Wulgar-with-the-Beard*—late of *John Kyttes*, and now of *John*

1. Reholt.
2. Keneward.
3. Bradelee.

Porter : near which bridge the lord abbot and all who were then with him refreshed themselves with bread and beer and wine and other victuals, at the costs and charges of the said lord abbot. And then over the causey there as far as *Pynneslake*, where there is a certain bridge with two passages [*i.e* of two arches], one of which is kept up by the homage of *Budcley*, and the other by the homage of *Baltonesburghe*. At which bridge *John West*, provost of *Baltonesburgh* appeared with eleven men [names follow] : who conducted the lord abbot and his company from the said bridge towards the east northwards along the course of the water to the closes called *Churchenclos*—leaving them out along with the church, as being outside the limits of the Twelve Hides : and passing along the north side of those closes as far as the path which comes from the said church on the east side thereof ; and so going up as far as the house formerly of *Osgar-of-the-Holte*, now called the *Hame*, near the *Lepyete*, late of *John Taylour* alias *Hogges*, and now of *John Ruysshe* : then eastwards by the *Hame*, past the wooden foot-bridge called *Harepathe bruge*, in the field called the *Worthy*, by the said path called *Harepathe*, to wit between the lands of *John Ryxe* and *John Cope*, as far as the *Barryettes* of *Southwode* ; and so eastwards and southwards through the middle of *Southwode*, as far as a certain cross which stands near four oaks : and from thence beyond the *Holte* as far as *Dunstonesdyche*, otherwise according to some called *Bytterwater* : and so northwards against the course of the water there, northwards through the *Sydewode* beyond *Lotteshamegrene* to the gate of the close formerly of *Walter Bryce* and now of *John Man* : where the same lord abbot and all who were then with him refreshed themselves [as before]. And turning westwards as far as the *Hore-cros* in *Lotteshamgrene* aforesaid ; and going into the *Grene lane* northwards as far as the new cross which Walter Cary lately put up, which stands upon *Warmeshyll* ; and then westwards to the west corner of the close called *Holbreche* ; and from thence going down northwards to the manse formerly of *Osward-of-the-Burne*, and afterwards of *William Martyn* and now of *Thomas Shiphurde* ; and further on from thence to the *Lakehowse*, which *Robert Gosse* of *Bradeley* now inhabits."

I now proceed to offer a few comments, which I hope may be a stimulus to the researches of others who have a better knowledge of the neighbourhood and its past history.

Wlgar-with-the-Beard, who was the maker of that bridge in the time of St. Dunstan the abbot. The road from Butleigh to Baltonsborough crosses the river Brue by a bridge which is marked on the large Ordnance Map as Wallyer's Bridge. It is reasonable to regard this as a corruption of Wulgar's Bridge ; for the Anglo-Saxon *g* often had the sound of *y* : compare *garden* and *yard*, also the A. S. *gear* which is our *year*. Separate enquiries put to two men just south of the bridge shewed me that the name Wallyer's Bridge is still in use. But at the cottage just across the next bridge (over the cut made for the mill)—a cottage called Noah's Ark from the floods which so often surround it—a woman said that the name of the first bridge was Walter's Bridge ; and the same name was given to it by a woman living in the Gatehouse near the mill. Thus we have an interesting example of gradual corruption. *Wulfgar*-with-the-Beard, who built the bridge when Dunstan was abbot (*c.* 950) had become *Wulgar* in 1135 : now he has passed into *Wallyer*, and soon he will lose his identity altogether and become the more familiar *Walter*.

We pass on to *Kineward's Bridge at the dyke of St. Dunstan the abbot.* The road from Baltonsborough to Barton David[1] crosses the Brue by a bridge (Tootle Bridge) near the southern end of what is marked in the Ordnance Map as Dunstan's Dyke. The entry on the map is an antiquarian insertion, for which there is no living tradition, so far as I can discover. Even in 1503 the name had begun to die out : for we read of "*Dunstonesdyche*," otherwise according to some called "*Bytterwater*." It is still within the memory of people at Baltonsborough that in the last generation it was the custom to go out early in the morning in May to drink the water at a special

1. It may be of interest here to record the gradual modification of the name of this village. Barton is a prebend in the church of St. Andrew of Wells. In the earlier documents of the Dean and Chapter it is simply called Barton. But in 1605 we find "the prebend of Barton Davy," and this name recurs in 1607. In 1632, however, it has become Barton David, and so it remains till the last entry calendered, viz., in 1713. See *Wells Calendar of MSS.*, II, 347, 353, 396. I do not know when the final stage, Barton St. David, was reached. It seems to be a regrettable modernism.

spring : but more than one place is pointed to by tradition, and none suggested is in the neighbourhood of Dunstan's Dyke. It may be noted that in the Perambulation of 1842 mention is made of " the Mineral Water." It appears that there is iron in the water of some of the springs, and they have to be fenced off to prevent the cattle from drinking it.

So far then our enquiries have brought us no clear evidence as to the position of Dunstan's Dyke to confirm the entry on the Ordnance Map. Nor does the Perambulation of 1842 help us very much : for it introduces us to a wholly different set of names : the party, we are told, " kept on the left-hand side of *View Ditch*, called *Cunleaze Rhine*, to *Tootle Bridge*." I am told that View Ditch was so called from coming under the view of the Dyke Reeves. Tootle Bridge would appear to be the modern name of what in 1135 was called *Kineward's Bridge* : no reference to it occurs in 1503.

It is worth while however to observe that Kineward's name survives in the neighbourhood in various stages of phonetic corruption. Thus what is now *King Weston* is called in the Domesday Survey *Chinewardestune*. And there is a mill to the east of Barton David which is now called *King-a-Mill*, but in a map of Somerset made in 1811 it is found as *Kenyar Mill*. I do not know whether it is safe to assume that the same man gave his name to *Kennard Moor*, which lies between Edgarley and Baltonsborough on the north bank of the Brue : in Abbot Beere's Terrier it is called *Kynnyard more*.[1] It seems as though on the northern and southern banks of the river the phonetic variation followed different paths.

A few brief notes may be added.

Pinueslake or *Pinneslake*. This I cannot identify. *Lake* is here used in the well-known local sense for a running stream.

Zeholt is perhaps a scribe's error for *Le holt*, meaning *The Grove*.

Lupiwite (1135) or *Lepyete* (1503). This no doubt represents *hlypgeat*, which occurs several times in the Anglo-Saxon bounds given in charters. See Kemble, *Codex Diplomaticus*, III, p. xxvi, where he gives references under the word *Geat*,

1. *John of Glaston.*, II, 312.

which he thus defines "*gate*, an opening either in a fence, wall, or natural rise of the ground, an opening through which cattle can move." *Hlyp* means "leap." We are left still somewhat in the dark as to what a "leap-gate" was.

Coleburi. I am told that Colebury is the name of a farm a little east of Withiel (Withelee). "The stream that comes from *Coleburi*" is Cuttesham Brook.

Harepathe (1503). This is the A. S. *herepath*, "the army-road." It often occurs in boundaries, as we might speak of "The King's highway."

Churchenclos. In the schedule attached to the Tithe Map we find Church Close, between the mill and the west-end of Baltonsborough Church.

Sydewode. From the same schedule we learn that "Side-woods" is what is now called West Wood.

APPENDIX I.

Manor of Glaston.[1]

Perambulation begun 13th May 1816.

From Hartlake Bridge up the short Drove, and through the field to the extent of the Glastonbury parish, and then after the Orchard hedge to Whitelake River near the Farm, after the river to the corner of the Drove.

From Whitelake river across the drove, after New Ditch to the top, then turning to the right after the ditch to the Drove leading to Barrow to the turn to the left down the Drove to the bridge over the Division Rhine which Wells, Wootton and Pilton parishes, after the Rhine and after the Orchard hedge of Farmer Reynolds into Lanckerby Road, across the road after the hedge leading up the hill to the top of Lanckerby Wood.

Messrs Joseph & Robt. Teek pointed out the boundary. Then after the division between the parishes of Wells and North Wootton to the road at the top of Mr. Eades' Orchard (in the Orchard F. S. D.

1. This is printed exactly as it stands in a copy of the Perambulations now in the possession of Mr. Neville Grenville, of Butleigh Court. The coypist has made a number of mistakes which will be obvious to those who know the localities: but I have thought it wisest not to attempt corrections.

sprained his knee) across the road in the field at the top of Eades' orchard, after the stream at Stoodly Bridge up Stoodly Batch to the top, over the Stile at Clark's plantation and down the Leaze into the Leaze Lane to Tollerdown, and into the road leading from Pilton to West Compton, and then down the road to the Swan Orchard gate and through the Orchard and through the Swan Inn into the Parsonage orchard, through the Orchard, through the Parsonage house and through the Church and up through the Park to the Lane, and then keep after the hedge on the left to the top of Pennard Hill, then after the top of the hill to Mr. Bethell's Farm and the Barton belonging to the house, and after the wall in front of the house through the Pool and Barton and then after the division line between the East and West Pennard parishes as far as the lane, then down the lane to the turn to Pennard Drove. (there is a boundary stone near Ford's Well.)

— 2nd Day —

Meet Mr. Churchwarden Welshman of East Pennard, followed the stream to Bull Plot, at the boundary stone up the Bradley road to Bradley Pound and up the road taking in the house of James Ganes and down the road to Parbrook up the Green Grove to Lottisham Green taking in the whole of Lottisham and Dyles' Green.

— 3rd Day —

Street Turnpike to Sharpham taking in whole of Sharpham Bank, and down Walton Drove, keeping Glastonbury Parish on the right, to Courts' Corner, follow the Drove again to the top of the Glastonbury Parish on the left, then taking in Glastonbury Parish to the Canal then follow the Canal to the little Aqueduct across the Canal and follow the Rhine to Mazzes' Wall near the lock, then keep after the Rhine to Babber Leaze Clyse across the river and then follow up to Westhay Bridge down the road to the Turnpike gate, over the Bridge and take after the Division Rhine between Wedmore and Meare to the Rhine called the old Rhine, cross the Rhine and then follow after it to Daggs Lane up Daggs Lane to the top, then down the field in front, by the rank of Elms.

— 4th Day —

6 Houses in Clewer.

Hannah Wall. Willm. Bunns. Jas. Harwick. Chas. Bryant. Benjn. Wall. Jno. Talbot.

Passed from Farmer Brice's round by the Ivy house and down Mead Lane through Talbot's garden and down the road again to the Bridge, up little Rhine to the Boundary Stone of Nyland.

Present :—

Mr. John Vincent.	Josiah Lamport
,, Thomas Classey.	Josiah Lamport, Junr.
,, F. S. Duckett (Steward).	Chas. Lamport.
,, John Goodson.	John Lamport.
,, John Vincent.	James Close
,, Jos. Symes.	Isaac Taylor.
,, Thos. Symes, son of Jos. Symes	John Tucker.
	Eli Higgins.

Wednesday 16th March 1842

Perambulation. Part of Glaston 12 Hides.

Started at Balsbury Flights about ½ past Ten and kept on the left hand side of View Ditch called Cunleaze Rhine to Tootle Bridge then went as far as the bounds of the bridge and returned and passed over the bridge and kept on the left side of the river towards Lydford (left Tootle bridge 5 m.p. 11) to the Wicket Gate at the end of the ground called the Range of Grounds. ½ of the River from Tootle Bridge to this point belongs to the Hundred. left at ¼ before 12 then proceeded after the hedge on the left hand side Eastward to the top of the field, then turned again to the left and down after the hedge to the top of the plantation to Tullard Mead Bridge passed over the bridge and turned after the brook on the left hand side to Moggs Hole Bridge, then along the brook again on the same side to Southwood Bottom, then along the Garden Plot belonging to John Sheat, round the garden against the brook and out into the road again along a little way further and over into the field after the brook to the Little Plantation at the end of Baltonsbury Parish, then up after the hedge to the top of field to the gateway, leaving 3 fields belonging to Ditcheat on the right, then round to the brook again and down thro' Dials Green Garden to Deals Gate, left Dials Gate before 5 min. to One (there is a Well near the gate called the Mineral Water)

Then after the East side of Deal's green (at the extent of the green) through into Lottisham Green keeping on after the hedge against D parish to the Pool opposite a Cottage of Eli Ganes, then back after the hedge on the East side of Lottisham Green through two gardens lately enclosed near Christopher Scott's New house, and then by the pointing End of Scott's house, and after the extent of the green again to Hunbridge Lane, through 1 little garden to a delapidated house, then after the Green again through 2 gardens and up into the green to Parbrook Road across the Road and up after the hedge to the Lamb and Lark " Cider house " left the Cider house round by White Barrow Hedge to White Cross, down Green Lane through the Green Lane Gardens to the end of a field called Little Chetbridge.

APPENDIX II.

NOTE ON THE FIGURE OF ST. DUNSTAN IN A WINDOW OF COTHELSTONE CHURCH.[1]

BY THE REV. PREBENDARY E. H. BATES HARBIN, M.A.

THE upright tracery lights in the heads of fifteenth century windows are admirably adapted for small figures. They do not require canopies, the uppermost cuspings allowing space for a mitre or other head-dress, or even occasionally for the head itself.

At Seavington St. Mary are the figures of St. Margaret overcoming the dragon, and St. Mary Magdalene with the alabaster box. These are drawn in sepia or black outline. A window in Ditcheat Church contains figures of St. Philip and St. James. Nettlecombe Church contains a curious selection of saints, among the number being St. Urith (*Proc.*, LIV, i, 86).

The series at Cothelstone seem chosen to illustrate English Church History. They are arranged in pairs in the windows on the south side of the church.

The first pair are :—

1. Scs : Thomas de Heriford (Cantilupe), who was canonized in 1320, the last Englishman to receive that honour. His left hand holds the episcopal staff, while the right gives the blessing. This representation is referred to in a note to the *Symbolum* of Durandus,[2] edited by J. M. Neale and B. Webb in 1843.

2. Scs : Aldhelm de Sireborn. Holds a chalice with both hands.

Second pair :—

3. Scs : Ricardus de Cicestria (de Wiche). Right hand holds the staff, and the left a chalice.

4. Scs : Thomas de Cant . . . (Becket). Left hand holds the patriarchal cross, while the right gives the blessing.

1. The photograph was taken under considerable difficulties by the Rev. C. F. Metcalfe, Vicar, to whom I am also indebted for information concerning the glass.

2. For this reference I am indebted to some notes by the Rev. W. H. P. Greswell in *Proc.*, XLIV, i, 50.

Third pair :—

5. S : Cuthbert de Du . el . . . The right hand bears the head of St. Oswald, the left the pastoral staff.

6. S : Dunstan : de Glastonia. His right hand holds a pastoral staff, and the left a pair of tongs inclined over the left shoulder. (*See* Plate I).

The figures are represented in glass of a warm sepia colour with the ornamental needlework in pale yellow. The faces are treated in the manner described by Mr. Lewis Day in his book on *Windows and Stained Glass*, 1897, p. 190. "Particularly characteristic of English work (in the fifteenth century) was the delicate tracery of the faces, which were pencilled in fine lines, the treatment altogether flat, and this at a period when foreign work was much more solidly modelled."

Five representations of St. Dunstan are illustrated in Mr. F. Bond's *Dedications of English Churches*, 1914. Two are in glass.[1] One, a circular medallion in a window of the Bodleian Library, introduces another side of the Saint's activity in the shape of a dresser or sideboard covered with different kinds of plate. A particularly repulsive demon has seized a ciborium and a chalice, the shape of the bowl and foot suggesting that the glass was painted in the latter part of the fourteenth century, only to find his nose held tight in the Saint's tongs.

The other is preserved in a window in Ludlow Church (p. 71). The saint stands under a canopy attired in full archiepiscopal robes. His left hand holds the patriarchal cross, and his right a pair of tongs. Underneath : S̄c̄s : Dunstanus.

According to the valuable lists given in *Ancient Painted Glass in England*, by P. Nelson, 1913, St. Dunstan is figured in glass at Wells Cathedral, tracery light of south transept ; the chapel of All Souls College, and the library of Trinity College, Oxford ; and the church of Cockayne-Hatley, Bedfordshire.

1. The others are taken from a boss in Exeter Cathedral ; the screen in Great Plumstead Church ; and the portrait, perhaps by his own hand, in a MS. preserved in the Bodleian, which is well known from its reproduction in the illustrated edition of Green's *Short History*, I, 105.