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Molmutius, Tysilio & Flinders Petrie deserve renown

By **John Hart**

We should honour the contribution of those who have gone before; we owe our ancestors respect.

Sir Walter Raleigh, Elizabethan man of parts, wrote a work entitled *The History of the World*. The first part appeared in 1614. In it he had this to say:

'And it is not the least debt we owe to History, that it hath made us acquainted with our dead ancestors, and out of the depth and darkness of the earth, delivered us their memory and fame'

In this Raleighian spirit, the present author salutes three figures from British history who are too little known. They deserve more than respect, renown. The three are the early British monarch Molmutius, a monk of royal lineage called Tysilio and the archaeologist Flinders Petrie. It will serve the present purpose to meet the monk first, to understand the importance of this trio of Influential Islanders.

Tysilio penned a history of Britain which is known as the *Tysilio Chronicle*. It was updated by his monkish successors. Tysilio was a prince turned monk who became a saint. He is readily detectable in the historical record. The Harleian MSS 4181 and the British Museum Vespasian A XIV contain many ‘lives’ of the early British saints, of which there were quite a number, drawn exclusively from the ranks of royalty. These accounts interlock to form a solid Who Was Who of ancient British history. St Tysilio can be accurately traced as a very real seventh-century person.

Tysilio died around AD 684 in the northwest part of what is now the modern state of France, in Brittany. This was ‘Lesser Britain’, as distinct from the island of Great Britain, on the other side of the Channel. According to the *Tysilio Chronicle* Britons had first migrated to what had been called Armorica in the first half of the AD 300s. Tysilio wrote that ‘from that day to this it has been called Britanny’. This migration is also mentioned by another monkish chronicler, Gildas.

Tysilio was the grandson of King Kyngen and the son of King Brochwael Ysgithrauc, the King of Powys. Tysilio lies buried at the church of St Suliac – his Breton name – a village 10 miles from St Malo in Brittany.

Tysilio’s original manuscript no longer exists, as far as is known. A copy of Tysilio’s chronicle was subject to a translation into medieval Welsh in the 1200s. What now

exists is a copy of *that* manuscript, the copy dating from the late 1400s. It has the shelfmark Jesus College MS LXI. This manuscript is held at the Bodleian Library, Oxford. In 2002 it was subject to a new translation into modern-day English by Bill Cooper. The National CV Group repose a degree of confidence in the overall veracity of the *Tysilio Chronicle* and a high degree of confidence in Bill Cooper as its modern-day translator. This is why Bill Cooper's translation of the *Tysilio Chronicle* is to be found on The National CV Group's website as a More Article, No.18, for readers to evaluate for themselves.

Bill Cooper has this to say about the *Tysilio Chronicle*, in his introduction:

'Traitors, kings and tyrants walk side by side over its pages, and there can be few accounts from any age or nation that can come near to challenging this ancient chronicle either for high drama or the sheer power of its narrative.'

The real title of the *Tysilio Chronicle* is *Brut y Brittaniait*. Bill Cooper renders this as 'The Chronicle of the Early Britons'. 'Brut' comes from Brutus, the Latin version of the name of the founding king of Britain. The word was used to describe histories into early modern times, as in, for example, *The Bruts of England*. The *Tysilio Chronicle* itself is sometimes called *Brut Tysilio*. Brutus, incidentally, is called *Bryttys* in the *Tysilio Chronicle*. Tysilio recounts the history of Britain from the coming of Brutus to Britain, around 1100 BC. The National CV Group believe that what Tysilio says is substantially true. The history of Britain is usually a 2000+ year narrative back to Julius Caesar's incursions. Broad acceptance of Tysilio, yields a 3000+ history.

The *Tysilio Chronicle*, in an earlier English translation by Peter Roberts, published in 1811 and reprinted in 1862, was an important resource for Professor Sir William Matthew Flinders Petrie FRS (1853-1942), known to his contemporaries and posterity alike as Flinders Petrie. He was a pioneering Egyptologist and because of his meticulousness and his training of a generation of researchers in Egypt he is rated by many as the father of modern archaeology. Flinders Petrie became professor of Egyptian archaeology and philology at University College, London.

Late in life Flinders Petrie turned his attention to the history of his native land. He was to disburden himself in 1917, at a time when the First World War was raging and grim history was being made in the trenches of northern France. Yet civilisation was not dormant, for at a meeting of the British Academy in November of that year, Flinders Petrie read a paper entitled 'Neglected British History'. This was published for the British Academy by the Oxford University Press as part of the *Proceedings of the British Academy 1917-1918*, pages 251-278. This paper is reproduced in full as More Article No. 19.

Flinders Petrie starts his paper thus:

'By any one reading the best modern authorities on history, it would hardly be expected that the fullest account that we have of early British history is entirely ignored. While we may see a few, and contemptuous, references to Nennius and Gildas, the name of the so-called Tysilio's Chronicle is never given, nor is any use made of its record. Yet it is of the highest value…'

Flinders Petrie goes on to say that Tysilio is the work that obviously underlies Geoffrey of Monmouth's *History of the Kings of Britain* of around 1138, the identity of which source manuscript had unaccountably been a mystery. Before concluding that 'Geoffrey is a flowery expansion' of *Tysilio*, Flinders Petrie laments that 'Such an ignoring of public documents seems impossible…It is justifiable, then, to speak of the Neglect of British History.' More than a century on, the same claim can be made.

Flinders Petrie reminds us that Geoffrey at the start of his work advises other writers 'to be silent concerning the kings of the Britons since they have not that book written in the British tongue which Walter archdeacon of Oxford brought out of Brittany'. Flinders Petrie points out 'That statements of marvels by Geoffrey are carefully withdrawn by him from historical materials and treated as fabulous'.

Flinders Petrie then cites Tysilio as giving an account of Julius Caesar's invasions of Britain in 55 and 54 BC, which is independent of Caesar's own memoir. He concludes:

'Thus it appears that the British account is in its main lines substantially in accord with Caesar, but with frequent minor discrepancies and side-lights, all naturally due to opposite points of view…It seems on every account to be entirely impossible to suppose that Tysilio, or his sources, were compiled from Caesar's narrative. If not, then, as no other Latin narrative is known or would be applicable, we are bound to refer this strongly British account to a British source.' He goes on to say that 'the narrative is too close to place it much beyond the actual eyewitnesses'.

So the monk Tysilio appears to have written accurately of events seven hundred years before his time.

Although Flinders Petrie does not comment upon it, there is another correspondence between a Roman writer and Tysilio. This concerns the Sack of Rome of 390 BC [see More 20]. In the account of the Roman Historian Livy, Book 5, the barbarian chieftain is named as Brennus. Tysilio supplies the other side of the story. The Britons, under King Belinus of London's Billingsgate fame and his younger brother Brennus, sacked Gaul, with the aid of their allies the Burgundians. The Britons and the Burgundians then invaded and sacked what is now modern-day Italy, eventually taking Rome itself. In this case Tysilio would appear to be writing with insight of events over a thousand years before his time. Note that Belinus and Brennius are the sons of Molmutius, the third of our trio of insufficiently known individuals.

Tysilio also gives us important information on Queen Empress St Helen of the Cross, Constantine the Great's mother, who was British, according to Tysilio. Helen's three brothers are named and they are described as having helped Constantine, as his uncles by marriage, in his military campaign to become emperor [see More 2].

While Flinders Petrie commands lavish respect for drawing our attention to Tysilio, slavish adherence to his views is unhelpful. For example, because Gloucester is mentioned eight times in Tysilio – in Flinders Petrie's view 'gratuitously' – he deduces that 'This points to the original document of Tysilio being the chronicle of the kingdom of Gloucester'. Gloucester is a city that was founded by the Romans in the first century AD on the east side of the Severn River, on the border of the lands

that are now known as Wales and Lloegres. It lies at the first point where the Severn can be crossed easily. The basis for Flinders Petrie claiming that Gloucester was ever a kingdom is unclear.

Flinders Petrie continues, 'It is consistent with this Western source that the great revolt of Boudicca is never mentioned in Tysilio, again showing his independence of Tacitus'. As 'Claudius is stated to have founded Gloucester', Flinders Petrie articulates 'a strong presumption that the early Roman period in Tysilio was described from a British account of the first century A.D…' The basis for this is that 'there is no improbability in a Romanized Britain, such as one of the hostages educated by Augustus, having started a chronicle by A.D. 45, or just a century after the attack by Julius'.

This amounts to the claim that without Roman influence no Briton could possibly have fashioned an account unaided or even hold a pen. Evidence for British pre-Roman civilisation is presented in the CVpedia at various places, notably under the heading 'Romans in Britain'. To quote Flinders Petrie himself, who is referring here to a time almost a century before the Claudian Roman invasion of AD 43:

'That there was generally a well-organized peace kept in the country is shown by Caesar's statement that 'the number of the people is countless, and their buildings exceedingly numerous.'

Julius Caesar recorded that the Gauls said Druidism came from Britain and that the Druids were literate, so Britain was literate before the Romans arrived on the island [see More 10].

Although Flinders Petrie's 'kingdom of Gloucester' is a fantasy, Tysilio, a man of Powys in mid-Wales, must have had prior sources, and the western side of Britain would most likely have furnished these.

Flinders Petrie wrote that 'The present requirement for British History, so much neglected, is a scholar…who will deal as an historian, and not as a mythologist, with the [ancient sources]…. From these a consecutive narrative should be framed, from which suitable outlines might some day penetrate the general school books.' This provides part of the remit of The National CV Group, the enlightenment of young islanders about the entirety of their history.

In this way Flinders Petrie's essay has proved influential down to the present. The positive impact of this single article should encourage contributors to the More Article stratum of The National CV Project. You can make a difference.

Flinders Petrie refers in 'Neglected British History' to a set of laws produced by one 'Dyvnwal Moelmud'. In a footnote to Bill Cooper's Tysilio this personage is referred to as 'Dyfnal moel myd'. This is a king as described in medieval Welsh. That language derives ultimately from Kymraec, which was spoken widely across the island of Great Britain but which came to be confined after the period of Roman influence and the coming of the Angles and Saxons increasingly to Wales. In the body text of Bill Cooper's Tysilio the name used

is ‘Dunvallo Molmutius’. This is a Latin rendering of this king’s name, used first by Geoffrey of Monmouth. This can be shortened usefully to ‘Molmutius’.

There are references to Molmutius as a lawmaker and also roadmaker in Welsh records, so Tysilio is not our only source on this monarch, yet Tysilio’s is the most detailed surviving account.

We read in Tysilio that before Molmutius came to prominence the two sons of an aged king called Gorbuduc fell out and were slain. The story continues:

‘And for a long time after, there was civil war and strife throughout the realm. And the kingdom was rent into five parts, each part under its own king, which kings continually fought one another. And after many years there arose a famous youth named Dunvallo Molmutius. He was the son of Cloten, a petty king of Cornwall, and his beauty and courage outshone that of all the kings of Britain. And this same young man, when his father died, took over the governance of the realm, and he straightway slew Pinner, king of Lloegria.

And when Rudaucus, king of Kymry [or Wales], heard of it, and Staterius, king of Albany, they brought their armies into Dunvallo’s land and began to pillage it and burn it. And Dunvallo, on hearing this, came against them with an army of thirty thousand, and did battle with them, and most of the day was spent with neither side gaining the upper hand…

…And presently he won the field, afterwards crossing the land from coast to coast, burning castles and encampments as he went.

And when he had rendered all Britain subservient to himself, he commanded a crown of gold to be made for him, and he wore it upon his head.

And he restored the land to its ancient dignity…’

So Tysilio is describing a Britain that, far from being barbarous, boasted ‘ancient dignity’.

Let us permit Tysilio to complete that last-quoted sentence:

‘And he restored the land to its ancient dignity, and compiled laws which are known [to this day] as the laws of Dunvallo Molmutius, which even the Saxons obey.’

The laws of Molmutius are known as the Molmutine Laws. They take the form of a few hundred *triads* – utterances grouped in threes for ease of recollection. Flinders Petrie has this to say about the Molmutine Laws:

‘The condition of pagan Britain is remarkably preserved in the laws of Dyvnwal Moelmud. That these laws are certainly long before the tenth century is proved by the gulf that exists between the state of society shown by them and that of the laws of Howel fixed to A.D. 914.… the laws of Howel refer back to Moelmud. What takes the laws of Moelmud at least to Roman times is that they are purely Pagan…How much farther back these laws may date, towards the traditional time of Moelmud, the fourth or seventh century B.C., we cannot now inquire.’

The historian of the restored Stuarts, Percy Enderbie, says in his history published in 1661 that Molmutius 'took upon himself the Government of *Britanny* [i.e. Britain] in the year of the worlds creation 4748' [see Appendix IV]. Meanwhile the Tudor historian Holinshed had reported in the 1587 edition of his *Chronicles* that Molmutius 'began his reigne over the whole monarchie of Britaine, in the yéere of the world 3529' [see Appendix III]. In 74 years the world had aged 1219 years! Fortunately Holinshed provides us with an additional calibration: 'after the building of Rome 314' – and both authors agree with Tysilio on the reign's duration, of 40 years. Given that the foundation of Rome was in 753 BC, Molumutius's reign was 439-399 BC. This is right for Molmutius's son Brennus to be the enemy commander at the Sack of Rome in 390 BC and to be named as such by the Roman historian Livy.

Flinders Petrie's analysis of the Molmutine Laws is to be found in Appendix I, below. Flinders Petrie concludes his analysis thus:

'The whole air is that of simple conditions and a free life, with much personal cultivation and sympathy in general conduct. It would be impossible to produce such a code from a savage or violent people, and this intimate view of their life is the best ground for judging of their qualities.'

The Molmutine Laws were translated by William Probart and published in his book of 1823, *The Ancient Laws of Cambria*. The relevant section is the first, 'Institutional Triads of Dyvnwal Moelmud'. Some of the triads will be found to be more orientated towards Wales than expected, with Welsh place-names, for example. Interpolation, as Probart puts it – 'accretion' is the word used by Flinders Petrie – can be suspected, as the ancient British centre of gravity moved westward. Although Molmutius spoke and wrote in what was to become the Welsh language, he was a *British* overking. In Tysilio we have seen that on his way to the throne, at a time of civil war, he had to vanquish the invading king of Wales.

Probart in his introduction comments:

'These triads are remarkably curious and interesting. They throw great light upon the manners and customs of the old Britons, and, in many cases, breathe a spirit of freedom that would not disgrace the polish of the nineteenth century…These triads also merit attention on account of their *antiquity*. They were framed by Dyvnwal Moelmud, who flourished about 400 years before the Christian æra, and consequently are upwards of two thousand years old.'

As pointed out in The National CV, the three fundamental rights are to *life*, *liberty* (freedom with dignity) and *property*; no-one can kill or hurt you, stop you doing anything lawful or steal from you. John Locke, the father of liberalism, had this to say in *The Second Treatise of Civil Government*, 1690:

'Man, being born with a title to perfect freedom, and an uncontrolled enjoyment of all the rights and privileges of the law of nature, equally with any other man, or number of men in the world, hath by nature a power, to preserve his property, that is, his life, liberty and estate, against the injuries and attempts of other men'

Here is Triad 3 of the Molmutine Laws, in Probart's translation:

'There are three protections and securities of the social state: the protection of life and person, protection of possession and place of residence, and protection of natural right.'

The most remarkable aspect of the Molmutine Laws to the modern mind is that there is provision for democratic voting; not only that but voting by men *and* women; and not only that, voting to depose a bad king!

Yet the present writer's favourite triad is translated by Probart as follows:

'25. There are three common causes of progressive motion: love, emolument, and the fear of punishment and dishonour.'

Quite so: society moves forward as a result of fellow-feeling, a desire for reward and a dread of being found out.

A selection of Molmutine Laws, lacking Welsh accretions, is given in Appendix II. This extract from E O Gordon's book *Prehistoric London* also gives additional information on Molmutius.

As we have seen, Flinders Petrie tells us that the tenth-century AD laws of the Welsh King Howell Dda refer back to those of the fourth-century BC King Molmutius. From the *Tysilio Chronicle* we know that Molmutius was a great lawmaker and that the laws were still being adhered to by the Saxons present in what was to become England. This may have been the seventh century AD when Tysilio originated the work that bears his name, or it might have been later, when the monks who came after him updated the chronicle, generation by generation.

We know from other sources, as noted in Appendix II, that the Saxon King Alfred of Wessex, AD 849-99, had in fact sought the assistance of the learned Welsh monk Asser to translate the Molmutine Laws into Latin. This was in order that he might incorporate them into his own Anglo-Saxon Code. They thus ultimately became the basis of English common law, which was to influence legal codes around the world, notable in the United States of America. The common law system is wisely pragmatic, being based on cumulative case law over time. It learns from experience and is relatively flexible.

While Molmutius in the 400s BC was committing to paper the immemorial oral laws of Britain, the law in distant Rome was also being codified. The Molmutine Laws became the common law tradition, as we have seen, while Roman law become the civil law tradition of Continental Europe, where the rules are written down and judgements made on the text, not so much on precedent.

Shakespeare refers to Molmutius in *Cymbeline*, Act III, Scene I, when he has the first-century AD British King Cymbeline say, 'Molmutius made our laws'. Shakespeare's audience presumably understood the reference. Yet by the time of Winston Churchill, the memory had been lost: there is no mention of the Molmutine Laws in Churchill's three-volume work published in 1956, *A History of the English-speaking Peoples*.

The present essay is a calling to mind of contributions of three great men from the past. King Molmutius is disclosed as the greatest lawmaker in British history and one of the greatest – by dint of his common-law legacy - in world history. The monk Tysilio is the greatest historian of Ancient Britain, though a thousand years on Raphael Holinshed and Percy Enderbie made outstanding contributions too.

Flinders Petrie meanwhile chided his age – the early twentieth century – for neglecting British history. He takes us to Tysilio and Tysilio takes us to Molmutius.

Thus are encountered three men worthy of renown.

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John Hart is the compiler of The National CV.

Four appendices are provided by way of scholarly resources, giving extracts from Flinders Petrie, E O Gordon, Holinshed and Percy Enderbie

Appendix I Flinders Petrie's 'Neglected British History'

Note that this is an extract only, relating to the Molmutine Laws. For Flinders Petrie's full article see More 19.

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The Social State of Pagan Britain.

The condition of pagan Britain is remarkably preserved in the laws of Dyvnwal Moelmud. That these laws are certainly long before the tenth century is proved by the gulf that exists between the state of society shown by them and that of the laws of Howel fixed to A.D. 914. The laws of Howel show a highly complex and detailed condition of law, and an elaborate royal court, with the rights of officials minutely fixed. In the laws of Moelmud there is very simple law, always subject to proved custom and to adaptation to circumstance; there is no royal court, and very few officials, with no defined claims. Moreover, the laws of Howel refer back to Moelmud. What takes the laws of Moelmud at least to Roman

times is that they are purely Pagan, and the only Christian allusion is an addition to the forms of legal oath, saying that 'In subsequent times the form of oath was given by the Ten Commandments, the Gospel of St. John, and the blessed Cross' (no. 219). This stamps the previous oaths and the rest of the laws as of the pagan period, and therefore at least of the third century, as British bishops attended the Council of Aries in A. D. 314. How much farther back these laws may date, towards the traditional time of Moelmud, the fourth or seventh century B.C., we cannot now inquire. Probably they were of gradual accretion; but apparently no part comes under the influence of Christian usage. We can, then, at least accept the picture of society here shown as being that of the Britons under the earlier part of the Roman dominion. Of the two series of legal triads, the short first series, 1-34, is here marked A[1]; the long series is simply numbered 1-248.[2] Skene agrees to the laws of Howel being of the tenth century, but never mentions those of Moelmud. Stephens asserts that the laws of Moelmud were certainly not composed earlier than the sixteenth century. What writer of that date would forge a consistent body of primitive tribal law, entirely pagan in character, and why any one should do so when the laws of Howel were celebrated and prized, are questions ignored by the easy assertion of a late date for which no reason is given.

First we may note the laws referring to the state of society. Wherever little children, dogs, and poultry are found, the place has a right to the privilege of the court and the sacred place (87). The fields were private property, but cultivated in common tillage (A5). The wild land was tribal property, free for wood-cutting, hunting, and gathering acorns to feed pigs (142); but it could not taken into cultivation without consent of the lord and his court (101). Iron mines were common property, but ore dug out was private (49). A permit was needed to shift the family wagon or boot; if done without permission, the mover lost all rights, like a criminal or foreigner (A 33). The only general movement allowed was that of the public shepherd of the township, or the chase of wild beasts by the public horn, or of bards spreading knowledge. But bankrupt men who had no kin or land were free to travel (A 28). Thus organized society was held together.

The idea of the bonds of society was very strong. The mutual of a social state are equal protection, tillage, and law (45). The duties of public help, which every person must render, are in

[1] pp. 8-14 of *The Ancient Laws of Cambria*, trans. Wm. Probert, 1823.

[2] pp. 15-87

invasion, the public cry of base deeds or murder, and fire (A 15). Society is disorganized by oppressive privilege, unjust decision in law, and negligence allowing regulations to be destroyed (31). The tribal bond is broken up by famine, earthquake, flood, or conquest, and the tribe must begin to form a new social state (A 32).

In more personal matters no arms might be shown in a convention of the country and lord, or convention of independence, or convention of the bards (58). The things indispensable to a free man were his tunic, harp, and kettle. The indispensables of a vassal were his hearthstone, bill-hook, and trough (239, 240). The property of which a man might not be deprived were his wife, children, clothes, arms, and implement of the privileged arts (53). The three ornaments of a tribe were a book, a harp, and a sword, and they could not be distrained by law (54). The hereditary owner of land could always reclaim it after sale by offering the value (93). This proves that strictly private ownership co-existed with tillage in common.

Government was not despotic, and the chief or king was hardly more than a spokesman. The chief was the oldest efficient man in the tribe (88, 165). The meeting of a country could be called by public proclamation, not only by the king or lord of the district, or the chief of a tribe, but also by a family representative (171). There were three privileged conventions—first, that of the bards for sound instruction on virtue, wisdom, and hospitality, to record events, actions, and pedigrees, and proclaim laws; second, that of the country and lord for court of law; third, for independence, to establish harmony by mutual reason and agreement of country and country, prince and prince, vote and vote (59, 61). The reasons for taking the vote of the country were to enact or repeal a law, to give judgement when the law is insufficient, and by the privilege of the country to guard against illegal measures by opposing the offenders (161). The consent of the country was needed to abrogate the king's law, to dethrone the sovereign, and to teach new sciences and new regulations in the convention of the bards (63). The native rights of all freeborn men and women were the gift and free use of five acres of land (eight English acres), the carrying of arms, and a vote to a man at puberty, and to a woman when she marries (65). A woman also had the privilege that if she had a son by a foreigner against her consent, as when in the power of foreigners in any

way, by tribal order or accident, her son inherited as a free man, although a foreigner could not inherit privileges of free men for nine generations (116). Each generation of bondmen or foreigners that married a freeborn woman gained one degree of the nine necessary for freedom.

Law was but custom enforced. 'There are three pillars of the law: custom before record and tradition; the king through legal authority; and the decision of the country by vote where there has been neither custom or law' (155). Three kinds of custom are to be maintained: first, the custom that sets the law aside; second, custom that excels law, but limited to local use; third, custom which excels law in the special circumstances, to be confirmed by the verdict of the country (228). Three things might supersede law: acts of the king to enforce truth or justice; privilege, which nothing can remove; and a contract with witnesses. The judge was to use his discretion widely; he must know the law, know the customs so that law may not injure them, and know the tendencies of his times and their consequences, leaving a wide opening for judge-made law (12). The court consisted essentially of the king, or lord, to listen and declare what the sense of the law and its application is, the judge to hear the evidence and decide on what is proved of the facts, the clerk to write the pleadings (204, 210) and to destroy the record after the cause is wished (130). This entirely prevented a growth of law by precedents as in England.

Learning was greatly respected. Privilege of support was given to rank, to bards or teachers, and to orphans (A 12). The free man must support a wife, also a fighting man if he does not fight himself, and a family tutor (81). The family teacher was exempt from all manual work, bearing arms, or cultivation, like infants and the aged (55). The privileged arts, that give complete liberty, are bardism, metallurgy, and learning or literature. Those who profess these have an extra five acres of land besides their five acres as free men (68, 71). The smith, mason, and carpenter all had equal rights (73). No bondman was to learn the arts of freemen; if he did so he was free (69), but his sons reverted to bondage (70). Hereditary learning therefore kept the family free, before the nine generations of bondage were over.

The most remarkable part of the law was the respect to foreigners. A foreigner under the protection of the tribe must be assisted in travel (A 8). He was as a trader not to be oppressed or injured though speaking a barbarous tongue (78). The foreigner practising arts obtained the status of freeman in the third generation (70). He was allowed an advocate in law courts (209), protection and support from the taxes (209), and to be excused in case of capital crime as ignorant (23). In case he was shipwrecked on the coast he had free maintenance (198, 199).

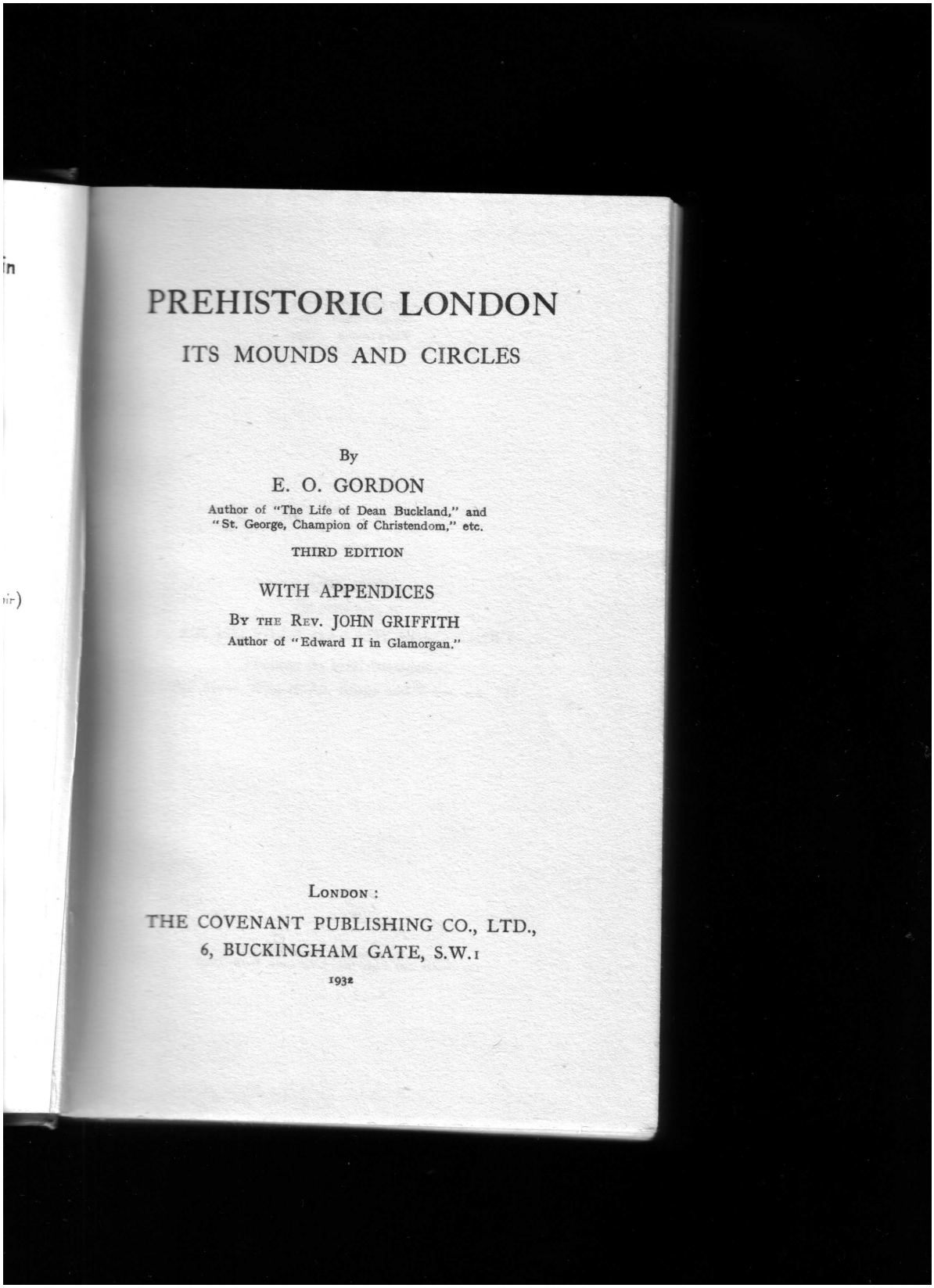
These laws give a remarkable view of a community with the

greatest respect for weakness and misfortune, high rights for women, full consideration for foreigners, and great privilege for learning, for the arts, and the crafts. Social duty was strongly held, and the full power rested on the vote of every free man and woman, even to deposing the king. Arms were prohibited in civil assembly, and the harp was as necessary to a free man as his coat and his cooking-pot. The whole air is that of simple conditions and a free life, with much personal cultivation and sympathy in general conduct. It would be impossible to produce such a code from a savage or violent people, and this intimate view of their life is the best ground for judging of their qualities. That there was generally a well-

organized peace kept in the country is shown by Caesar's statement that ‘the number of the people is countless, and their buildings exceedingly numerous’.

Appendix II E O Gordon's *Prehistoric London*

First published 1914; second edition 1925; third edition 1932.



PREHISTORIC LONDON

ITS MOUNDS AND CIRCLES

By

E. O. GORDON

Author of "The Life of Dean Buckland," and "St. George, Champion of Christendom," etc.

THIRD EDITION

WITH APPENDICES

By the Rev. JOHN GRIFFITH

Author of "Edward II in Glamorgan."

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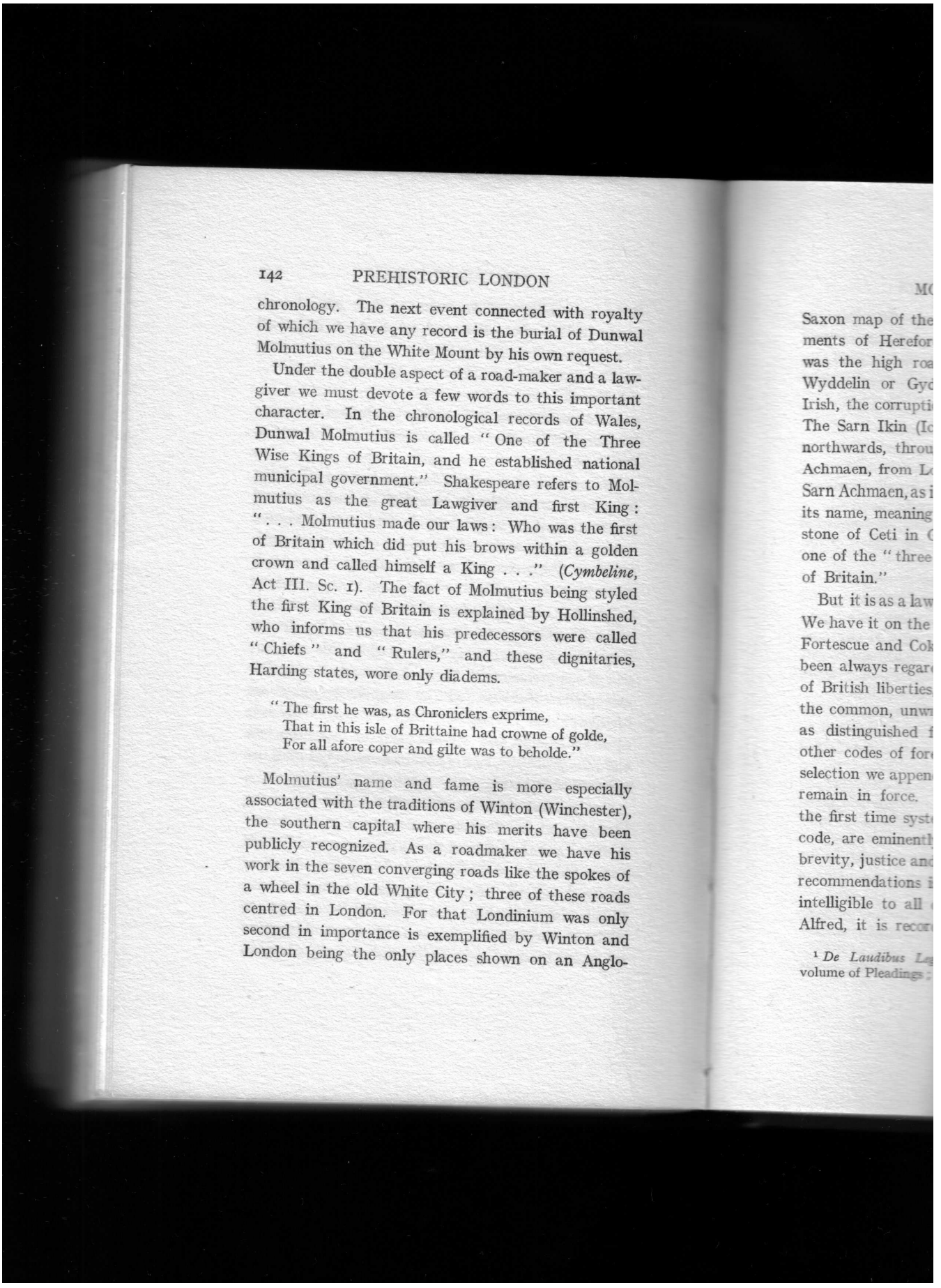
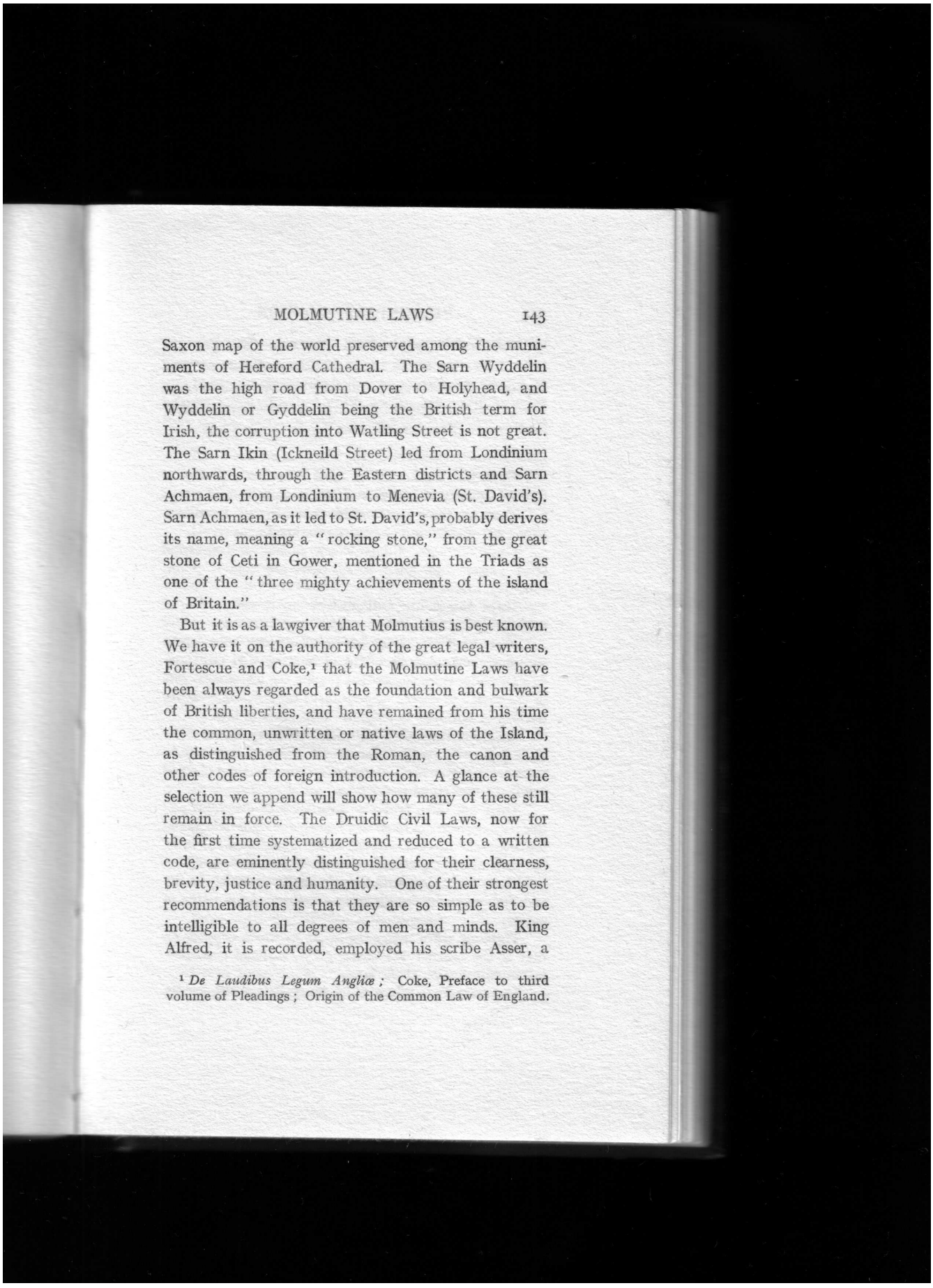


chronology. The next event connected with royalty of which we have any record is the burial of Dunwal Molmutius on the White Mount by his own request.

Under the double aspect of a road-maker and a law-giver we must devote a few words to this important character. In the chronological records of Wales, Dunwal Molmutius is called "One of the Three Wise Kings of Britain, and he established national municipal government." Shakespeare refers to Molmutius as the great Lawgiver and first King: ". . . Molmutius made our laws: Who was the first of Britain which did put his brows within a golden crown and called himself a King . . ." (*Cymbeline*, Act III. Sc. 1). The fact of Molmutius being styled the first King of Britain is explained by Hollinshed, who informs us that his predecessors were called "Chiefs" and "Rulers," and these dignitaries, Harding states, wore only diadems.

"The first he was, as Chroniclers exprime,
That in this isle of Brittaine had crowne of golde,
For all afore coper and gilte was to beholde."

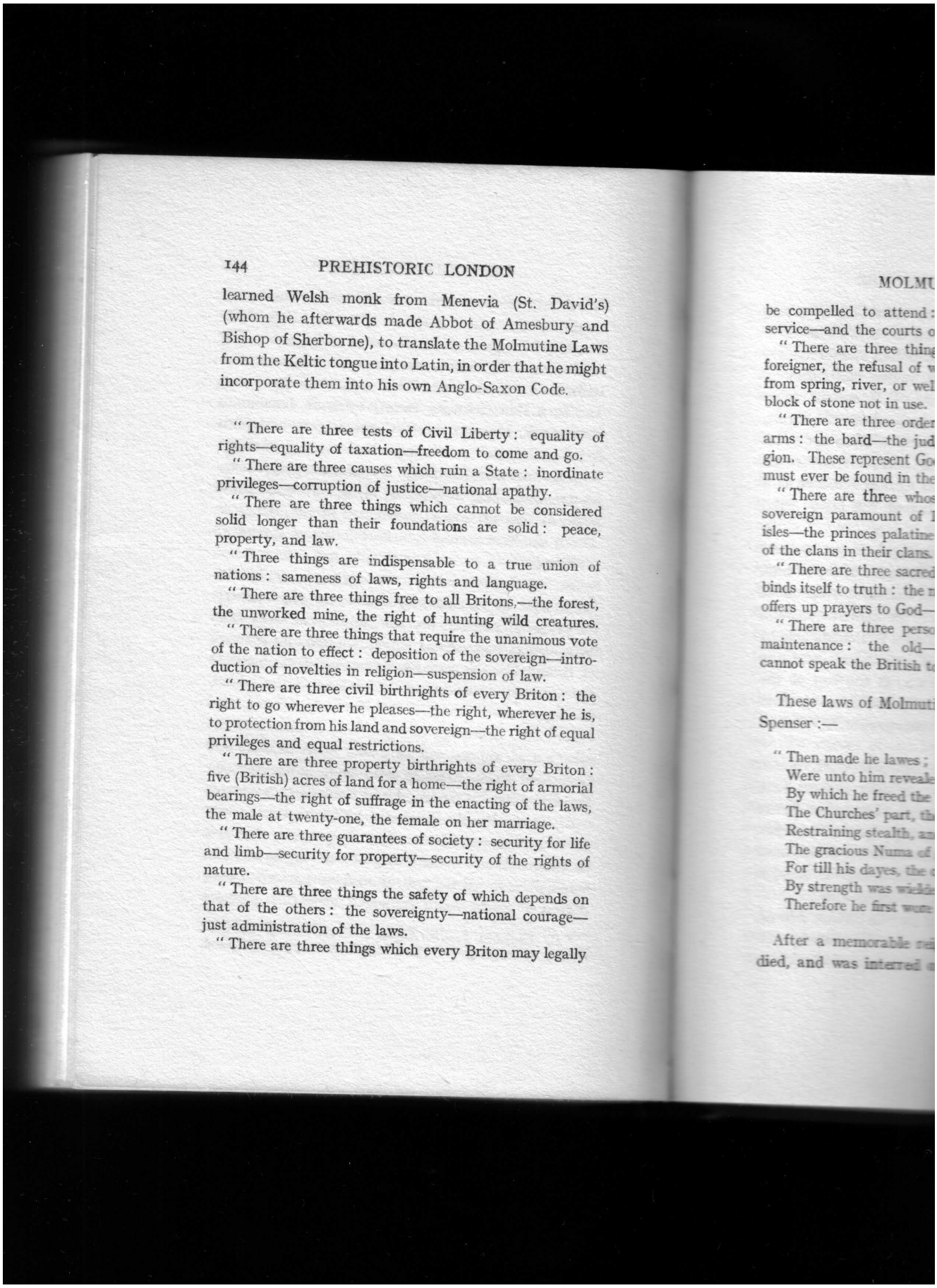
Molmutius' name and fame is more especially associated with the traditions of Winton (Winchester), the southern capital where his merits have been publicly recognized. As a roadmaker we have his work in the seven converging roads like the spokes of a wheel in the old White City; three of these roads centred in London. For that Londinium was only second in importance is exemplified by Winton and London being the only places shown on an Anglo-



Saxon map of the world preserved among the muniments of Hereford Cathedral. The Sarn Wyddelin was the high road from Dover to Holyhead, and Wyddelin or Gyddelin being the British term for Irish, the corruption into Watling Street is not great. The Sarn Ikin (Ickneild Street) led from Londinium northwards, through the Eastern districts and Sarn Achmaen, from Londinium to Menevia (St. David's). Sarn Achmaen, as it led to St. David's, probably derives its name, meaning a "rocking stone," from the great stone of Ceti in Gower, mentioned in the Triads as one of the "three mighty achievements of the island of Britain."

But it is as a lawgiver that Molmutius is best known. We have it on the authority of the great legal writers, Fortescue and Coke,[1] that the Molmutine Laws have been always regarded as the foundation and bulwark of British liberties, and have remained from his time the common, unwritten or native laws of the Island, as distinguished from the Roman, the canon and other codes of foreign introduction. A glance at the selection we append will show how many of these still remain in force. The Druidic Civil Laws, now for the first time systematized and reduced to a written code, are eminently distinguished for their clearness, brevity, justice and humanity. One of their strongest recommendations is that they are so simple as to be intelligible to all degrees of men and minds. King Alfred, it is recorded, employed his scribe Asser, a

[1] *De Laudibus Legum Angliæ*; Coke, Preface to third volume of Pleadings; Origin of the Common Law of England.



learned Welsh monk from Menevia (St. David's) (whom he afterwards made Abbot of Amesbury and Bishop of Sherborne), to translate the Molmutine Laws from the Keltic tongue into Latin, in order that he might incorporate them into his own Anglo-Saxon Code.

"There are three tests of Civil Liberty: equality of rights—equality of taxation—freedom to come and go.

"There are three causes which ruin a State: inordinate privileges—corruption of justice—national apathy.

"There are three things which cannot be considered solid longer than their foundations are solid: peace, property, and law.

"Three things are indispensable to a true union of nations: sameness of laws, rights and language.

"There are three things free to all Britons,—the forest, the unworked mine, the right of hunting wild creatures.

"There are three things that require the unanimous vote of the nation to effect: deposition of the sovereign—introduction of novelties in religion—suspension of law.

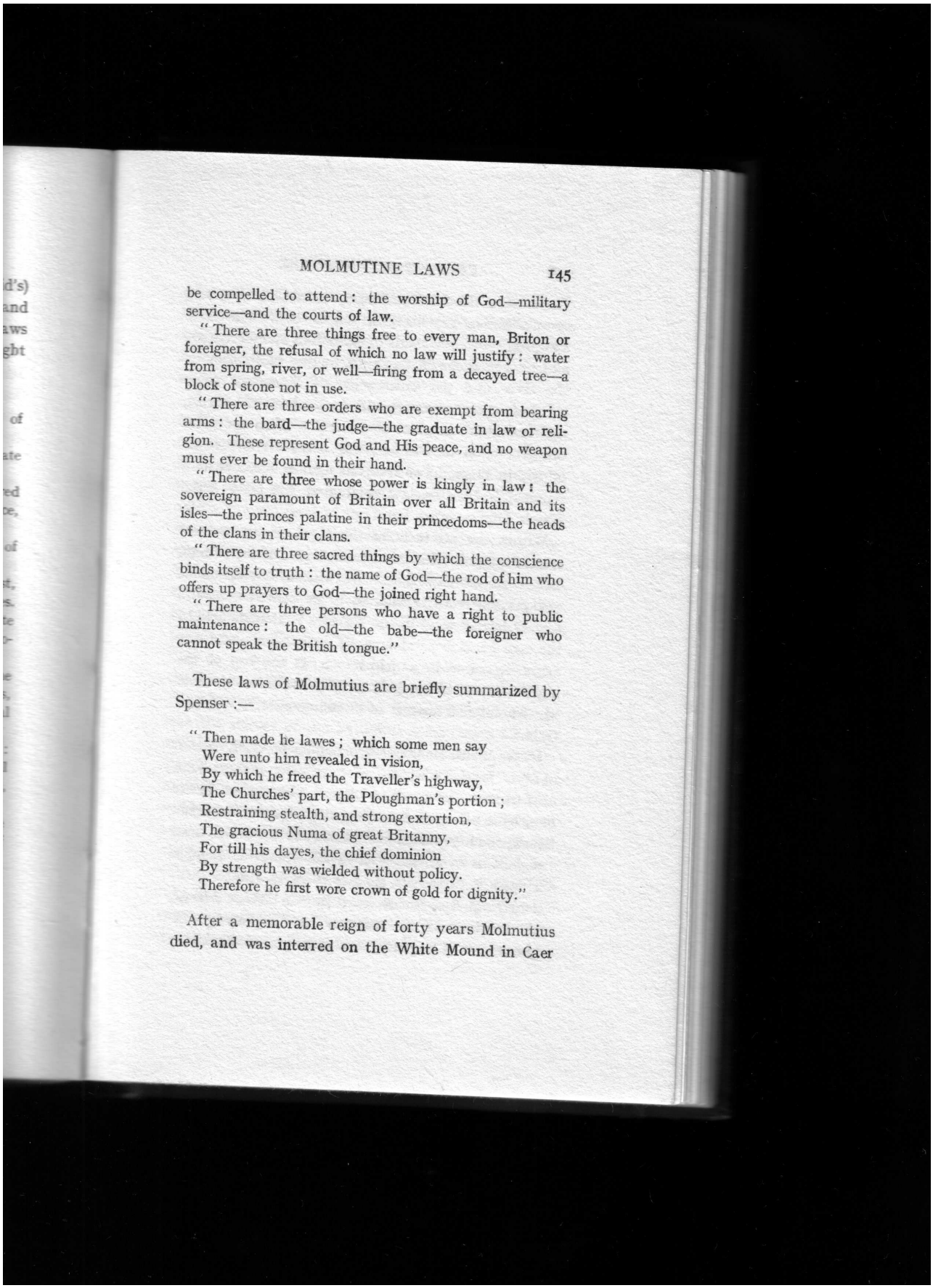
"There are three civil birthrights of every Briton: the right to go wherever he pleases—the right, wherever he is, to protection from his land and sovereign—the right of equal privileges and equal restrictions.

"There are three property birthrights of every Briton: five (British) acres of land for a home—the right of armorial bearings—the right of suffrage in the enacting of the laws, the male at twenty-one, the female on her marriage.

"There are three guarantees of society: security for life and limb—security for property—security of the rights of nature.

"There are three things the safety of which depends on that of the others: the sovereignty—national courage—just administration of the laws.

"There are three things which every Briton may legally



be compelled to attend: the worship of God—military service—and the courts of law.

"There are three things free to every man, Briton or foreigner, the refusal of which no law will justify: water from spring, river, or well—firing from a decayed tree—a block of stone not in use.

"There are three orders who are exempt from bearing arms: the bard—the judge—the graduate in law or religion. These represent God and His peace, and no weapon must ever be found in their hand.

"There are three whose power is kingly in law: the sovereign paramount of Britain over all Britain and its isles—the princes palatine in their princedoms—the heads of the clans in their clans.

"There are three sacred things by which the conscience binds itself to truth: the name of God—the rod of him who offers up prayers to God—the joined right hand.

"There are three persons who have a right to public maintenance: the old—the babe—the foreigner who cannot speak the British tongue."

These laws of Molmutius are briefly summarized by Spenser:—

"Then made he lawes; which some men say
Were unto him revealed in vision,
By which he freed the Traveller's highway,
The Churches' part, the Ploughman's portion;
Restraining stealth, and strong extortion,
The gracious Numa of great Britanny,
For till his dayes, the chief dominion
By strength was wielded without policy.
Therefore he first wore crown of gold for dignity."

After a memorable reign of forty years Molmutius died, and was interred on the White Mound in Caer

…was interred on the White Mound [i.e. the future Tower of London] in Caer Troia [i.e. London].

Appendix III

This appendix gives the notice for Molmutius from *Holinshed's Chronicles*, the 1587 edition, as reprinted in 1807.

HOLINSHED'S

CHRONICLES

OF

ENGLAND, SCOTLAND,

AND

IRELAND.

IN SIX VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

ENGLAND.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR J. JOHNSON; F. C. AND J. RIVINGTON; T. PAYNE; WILKIE AND ROBINSON; LONGMAN, HURST, REES, AND ORME; CADELL AND DAVIES; AND J. MAWMAN.

1807.

THE THIRD BOOKE

OF THE

HISTORIE OF ENGLAND.

Of Mulmucius the first king of Britaine, who was crowned with a golden crowne, his lawes, his foundations, with other his acts and deeds.

THE FIRST CHAPTER.

NOW to proceede with the aforesaid authors, Mulmucius Dunwallō, or as other saie Dunuallo Mulmucius, the sonne of Cloton (as testifieth th'english chronicle and also Geffrey of Monmouth) got the vpper hand of the other dukes or rulers: and after his fathers deceasse began his reigne ouer the whole monarchie of Britaine, in the yéere of the world 3529, after the building of Rome 314, and after the deliuerance of the Israelites out of captiuitie 97, and about the 26 yéere of Darius Artaxerxes Longimanus, the fift king of the Persians. This Mulmucius Dunuallo is named in the english chronicle Donebant, and prooued a right worthie prince. He builded within the citie of London then called Troinouant, a temple, and named it the temple of peace: the which (as some hold opinion, I wote not vpon what ground) was the same which now is called Blackwell hall, where the market for buieng and selling of cloths is kept. The chronicle of England affirmeth, that Mulmucius (whome the old booke nameth Molle) builded the two townes Malmesburie and the Vies. He also made manie good lawes, which were long after vsed, called Mulmucius lawes, turned out of the British spéech into the Latine by Gildas Priscus, and long time after translated out of latine into english by Alfred king of England, and mingled in his statutes. He moreouer gaue priuileges to temples, to plowes, to cities, and to high waies leading to the same, so that whosoeuer fled to them, should be in safegard from bodilie harme, and from thence he might depart into what countrie he would, with indemnitie of his person. Some authors write, that he began to make the foure great high waies of Britaine, the which were finished by his sonne Blinus, as after shall be declared.

MULMUCIUS. *Matth. West. Polyd.*

Fabian. See more in the description.

Malmesburie and the Vies built. *Matth. West.* Lawes made.

Caxton and *Polychron.*

After he had established his land, and set his Britains in good and conuenient order, he ordeined him by the aduise of his lords a crowne of gold, & caused himselfe with great solemnitie to be crowned, according to the custome of the pagan lawes then in vse: & bicause he was the first that bare a crowne héere in Britaine, after the opinion of some writers, he is named the first king of Britaine, and all the other before rehearsed are named rulers, dukes, or gouernors.

The first king that was crowned with a golden crowne.

Amongst other of his ordinances, he appointed weights and measures, with the which men should buy and sell. And further he deuised sore and streight orders for the punishing of theft. Finallie, after he had guided the land by the space of fortie yéeres, he died, and was buried in the foresaid temple of peace which he had erected within the citie of Troinouant

Polyd. Weights and measures. Theft punished. *Fabian.*

nouant now called London, as before ye haue heard, appointing in his life time, that his kingdome should be diuided betwixt his two sonnes, Brennus and Belinus (as some men doo coniecture.)

Appendix IV

This appendix gives the notice for Molmutius from Percy Enderbie's *Cambria Triumphans or Brittain in its Perfect Lustre*, of 1661. Note that 'f' is frequently to be read as 's'.

CAMBRIA TRIUMPHANS,

OR

BRITTAIN

IN ITS

PERFECT LUSTRE

SHEVVING THE

Origen and Antiquity

OF THAT

ILLUSTRIOUS NATION.

THE

Succeſſion of their Kings and Princes, from the Firſt, to

KING CHARLES

Of Happy Memory.

The Deſcription of the Countrey : The Hiſtory of the Antient and Moderne Eſtate.

The manner of the Inveſture of the Princes, with the Coats of Arms Of the Nobility.

By PERCY ENDERBIE, Gent.

LONDON,

Printed for *Andrew Crooke*, and are to be ſold at the *Green Dragon* in St. *Paul's* Church-Yard. 1661.

there he added three years for the third year of his rule, in which year, as before is declared, *Troy* was ſacked and deſtroyed; and forty years which paſſed before *Brute* entered *Albion*: It muſt follow, that *Brute* came into this Iſland in the year of the worlds Creation, four thouſand threeſcore and three. iiii. M. xviii. xlii.

MULMUTIUS DUNWALLO.

Mulmutius Dunwallo, or as others pleaſe *Dunwallo Mulmutius* the Son of *Glotene* Duke or King of *Cornwall*, as the Engliſh book and alſo *Gaufride* affirm, after he had fully ſubdued and conquered the five petty Kings or Princes before mentioned, and had brought the Iland into a Pentarchy, took upon him the Government of *Brittany* in the year of the worlds creation 4748. This Prince in ſome Hiſtories is called *Donebant*, and was of a Noble and Heroick Spirit; but much (after he came to be fully ſetled in his Government) inclined to peace, inſomuch that in the City of *Troynovant*, in a place, which now as ſome are of opinion is called *Blackwell-Hall*, he builded a Temple, calling it the Temple of Peace or Concord: The Laws which he made and eſtabliſhed, were of ſuch Authority and eſteem, that holy *Gildas* tranſlated them out of the Brittiſh Language into Latine, and *Aluredus* King of *England* out of *Latine* into *Engliſh*; *Vitus* tells us, that theſe Laws, or at leaſt the heads of them were, *Ut deorum templa tantam dignitatem conſequantur, nequis illo confugiens extrahi poſſit prius quam ab eo quem læſerat veniam impetraverit:* That the Temples of the Gods ſhould enjoy ſuch immunities and priviledges, that no malefactor flying unto them for ſuccour ſhould be drawn from thence, untill he ſhould obtain pardon from him, whom he had offended. *Ut hujuſmodi privilegium immunitatis habeant etiam ipſæ viæ quæ ducunt ad templa & urbes*: that the high ways, leading to the Temples and Cities ſhould enjoy the like immunities and priviledges, *Immo & jumenta quoque illa quæ rei ruſticæ ſubſerviunt, denique Colonorum aratra ipſa tali prerogativa libertatis perfruantur*; nay even the Cattle which were imployed in husbandry ſhould have like priviledges; *Ne qua terra vacaret cultura, neve populus inopia rei frumentariæ premeretur, aut ea minueretur ſi pecora ſola occuparent agros qui ab hominibus coli deberent, conſtituit quot aratra quælibet Diœceſis haberet, ac pœnas ſtatuit per quas ille numerus aratrorum minueretur*: Leaſt any Land ſhould lie until'd, or the people be famiſht for want of bread-Corn; or Grain be diminiſhed, by feeding Herds and Flocks, where Tillage ought to be; to which end he appointed how many Ploughs ſhould be in every Dioceſs or Shire, inflicting a puniſhment upon whomſoever ſhould diminiſh the number of them: *Item vetuit bovem aratorem pro debito pecuniæ aſſignari creditoribus ſi alia bona creditoris eſſent*; He alſo prohibited the working Oxen, or Plough-bullock, to be diſtrained upon for any debt, if any other Chattels or perſonal eſtate be to be found: *Ita fore ne compendii cauſa homines pecuarii agros incultos redderent, ſic enim fore nequid earum rerum quas natura præbet hominibus uſquam deeſſe poſſet*, that by that means Graſiers and Drovers for their own private intereſt ſhould not deprive their fellow Subjects of natures benefits, and liberal gifts; *Optimus iſte Rex viros incumbentes ad bonas artes & opibus & favore juvit adeo ut exemplo ſuo principes regni ad faciendum idem & juventatem totam ad virtutes capeſſendas excitaverit.* This good King was ſuch a patron to thoſe who endeavoured to learn Arts and Sciences, that he not only graced them with his countenance; but alſo aſſiſted them with competent ſubſiſtance; by which his example he invited other Nobles of his Realm to do the like; a great encouragement to youth to endeavour to train themſelves up in vertuous education: *Item pondera & menſuras rebus emendis vendendiſque poſuit, fures & omne noxium genus hominum ſeveriſſime punivit. Itaq; ſub hoc principe latrocinia, rapinæ, ſævitia generis omnis aberat à populo, nec audebat quiſquam vim alteri inferre vel injuriam propter exquiſitam legis obſervationem*; He cauſed weights and meaſures to be made for buyers and ſellers: Thieves and all loytering idle vagabonds he ſeverely baniſhed; ſo that none was found who durſt to offer either force or violence to any man, being terrified with the ſeverity of the Laws.

Having now regulated all things for the due and requiſite Governing of the Commonwealth, by the general requeſt and advice of his Nobles and Council, he cauſed a Diadem of Gold to be made, with which according to the Rights and Ceremonies of thoſe times he was ſolemnly Crowned, in ſo much that properly ſpeaking we may call him the firſt King or rather Monarch of Great *Brittaine*.

He cauſed ſeveral Cities and Towns to be made, amongſt which *Malmeſbury* ſeems to have been the chief, a verity which Mr. *Cambden* ſeems not much to deny: *Dum exilis eſt* Malmesburie *collem ſibi imminentem ſubſtringit receptoq; profluente fere incingit. Oppidum ſane elegans & pannis laneis ſane celebre, quod ut in Hiſtoriarum Eulogio legitur*, Dunwallo Mulmutius Brittannorum *Rex una cum* Lacok, & Tetbury *caſtris adjacentibus conſtruxit* & Caer Bladon *nominavit, Malmeſbury* a polite and neat Town, and famous for Wollen Cloaths, which as it is written in the Eulogy of Hiſtories was founded by *Dunwallo Mulmutius* as alſo the Neighbouring Caſtles *Lacock* and *Tetbury*, which Town he called *Caer Bladon*. The Saxons called this Town in their tongue Ingelborn which appellation continued a long time till *Maildulphus* a Scot, a man of ſingular learning and piety being much taken with the ſhades and ſolitarineſſe of the

[History of Malmesbury and other irrelevant material omitted]

Mulmutius Dunwallo having with great honour rul'd the *Brittains* by the ſpace of forty years, yielded to death what was mortal, and was buried in the Temple of *Troynovant*, which he had built, leaving his two Sons *Bellinus* and *Brennus*, joyntly to ſucceed in the Kingdome.

[ENDS]